

THE WEDDING OF CEYX

The object of these pages is to say what can be said or reasonably conjectured, in the present state of knowledge, about the Hesiodic *Κήνκος γάμος*.

It was, we believe, an independent poem, and not an episode forming part of the Catalogue¹) or a piece expanded from or interpolated into the Catalogue²). These views are based on Plutarch's expression (Mor. 730 F) *ὁ τὸν Κήνκος γάμον εἰς τὰ Ἑσιόδου παρεμβάλων*. But this need only mean, "whoever foisted the Wedding of Ceyx on Hesiod". We may compare the words of the scholiast on Pindar Nem. 2. 1 (iii 29. 12 ff Dr.) about the later Homeridae: *ἐπιφανεῖς δὲ ἐγένοντο οἱ περὶ Κύναιθον, οὓς φασὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ποιήσαντας ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ὀμήρου ποιήσῃν*. Cynaethus was not accused (so far as we know) of interpolating lines into Homer's poems, but of passing off spurious poems as Homer's: *ἦν δὲ ὁ Κύναιθος τὸ γένος Χίος, δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιγραφομένων Ὀμήρου ποιημάτων τὸν εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα γεγραφὼς ὕμνον ἀνατέθεικεν αὐτῷ*.

That the marriage of Ceyx to Alcyone and their metamorphosis into birds was briefly dealt with in the Catalogue is now shown by P. Oxy. 2483 fr. 1 col. ii. It came in the section devoted to the daughters of Aeolus. It is to this passage, apparently, that Julian alludes in the passage printed by Rzach as Hes. fr. 159. The *Κήνκος γάμος*, we hope to show, was concerned with other events³).

1) Rzach, RE VIII 1207.

2) Wilamowitz, Hermes 18, 1883, 417 n. 2 = Kl. Schr. I 132, 0; Hermes 40, 1905, 123 = Kl. Schr. IV 176; Die Heimkehr des Odysseus (1927) 80, 1; doxography in J. Schwartz, Pseudo-Hesiodica 200.

3) The Aspis is another poem that has wrongly been regarded as an interpolation into the Catalogue. We are told that lines 1-56 stood in the Catalogue; it follows that the remaining 424 lines did not. No-one ever put them into the Catalogue; on the contrary, the Alcmena-choia was taken out of it to make a preface for the Cynus-poem.

I. Heracles left by the Argonauts at Aphetæ

The main subject of the poem, or one of the main subjects⁴⁾, was the wedding-feast of Ceyx, at which Heracles intervened. We shall consider the testimonies in a moment; but first we must notice a passage in the scholia to Apollonius of Rhodes (1. 1289) about Heracles leaving the Argo at Aphetæ on the Pagasæan gulf (fr. 154 Rz.): *Ἡσίοδος ἐν τῷ Κήνκος γάμωι ἐκβάντα φησὶν αὐτὸν ἐφ' ὕδατος ζήτησιν τῆς Μαγνησίας περὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀφέσεως αὐτοῦ Ἀφετὰς καλουμένας ἀπολειφθῆναι. Ἀντίμαχος δὲ ἐν τῇ Λύδηι (fr. 58 Wyss) φησὶν ἐκβιβασθέντα τὸν Ἡρακλέα διὰ τὸ καταβαρεῖσθαι τὴν Ἀργὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἥρωος⁵⁾. With this passage are to be compared Herodotus 7. 193: *ἔστι δὲ χῶρος ἐν τῷ κόλπωι τούτῳ τῆς Μαγνησίας, ἐνθα λέγεται τὸν Ἡρακλέα καταλειφθῆναι ὑπὸ Ἰήσονος τε καὶ τῶν συνεταιρίων ἐκ τῆς Ἀργοῦς ἐπ' ὕδωρ πεμφθέντα ... ἐνθεῦτεν γὰρ ἐμέλλον ὑδρευσάμενοι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφῆσεν· ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ τῷ χώρῳ ὄνομα γέγονεν Ἀφεταί. And ps. Apollodorus, Bibl. i [118] 9. 19: *Φερεκύδης δὲ (3 F 111a) αὐτὸν ἐν Ἀφεταῖς τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἀπολειφθῆναι λέγει, τῆς Ἀργοῦς φθεγξαμένης μὴ δύνασθαι φέρειν τὸ τούτου βάρος.***

In Pherecydes and Antimachus it is clear that Heracles was left behind deliberately. This must be assumed for the *Κήνκος γάμος* too, for it is implicit in the *ἄφεις* from which in this version (as opposed to Herodotus' version) the name Aphetæ was explained⁶⁾.

4) It cannot safely be inferred from the title of the poem that it was wholly concerned with the wedding of Ceyx. The *Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι*, 'Works and Days', or more accurately 'Jobs and Dates', take their name from one section that occupies less than a third of the poem and another that occupies less than a twelfth of it. The *Ἀσπίς* is a poem about Heracles' encounter with Cynus; the description of Heracles' shield, which gives the poem its name, again occupies not much more than a third of the whole. So we must bear in mind the possibility that Ceyx's wedding was only one important episode in the whole narrative of the *Κήνκος γάμος*.

5) The Scholia Parisina have *Ἀντίμαχος ... φησὶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἡρώων ἐκβιβασθέντα αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ καταβαρεῖσθαι τὴν Ἀργὴν*.

6) The detail that the Argo grumbled at Heracles' weight is scarcely to be attributed to the poem; the scholiast on Apollonius seems not to have known of it in 'Hesiod', or he would not have turned to a different authority for this detail. Another ground for the abandonment of the hero is given by schol. Pind. Pyth. 4. 303, viz. that he was a clumsy oarsman; but this version is attributed to *οἱ νεώτεροι*, which could only mean Hesiod if it were opposed to Homer.

It is unlikely that what happened at Aphetæ was related by Heracles himself at Ceyx's palace⁷); for it is hard to imagine how, in this case, the etymology of Aphetæ could have been presented. This must have been narrated by the poet in his own person. It appears, then, that Heracles rather than Ceyx was the central character in the poem, and that it did not begin with the wedding at Trachis, but with Heracles leaving the *Argo* at Aphetæ⁸). It must be regarded as a member of that group of epics and epyllia that dealt with exploits of Heracles, like the *Aspis* and the *Capture of Oechalia*.

II. Heracles' arrival at the banquet

Ceyx was celebrating his wedding at Trachis, when Heracles intervened. He came unexpected and uninvited, justifying himself with the magnificent words (fr. 155 Rz.)

αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ δαΐτας ἴενται.

The line is preserved by Zenobius 2. 19 and 46 (Paroem. Gr. I 36 and 44). The ascription to the *Κήνκος γάμος* is based on a conjecture, but a very probable one. Zenobius says, οὕτως Ἡράκλειτος (v. 1. ὁ Βακχυλίδης) ἐχρήσατο τῇ παροιμίᾳ, ὡς Ἡρακλέους ἐπιφοιτήσαντος ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν Κήνκος τοῦ Τραχηνίου καὶ οὕτως εἰπόντος. Schneidewin proposed Ἡσιόδος in place of Ἡράκλειτος, which was probably produced by the following name Ἡρακλέους. Bacchylides' name no doubt stood beside Hesiod's in the original; for we know from another source that he used a dactylo-epitritic adaptation of the verse in an identical context: Athenaeus p. 178 B Βακχυλίδης δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους (Κήνκος Α, corr. Schweighäuser) λέγων, ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Κήνκος οἶκον, φησί: "στᾶ δ' ἐπὶ λάϊνον οὐδόν, τοὶ δὲ θοΐνας ἔντυον, ὧδέ τ' ἔφα: αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθῶν <ἐς> δαΐτας εὐόχθους ἐπέρχονται δίκαιοι φῶτες" (Bacchylides fr. 4. 21-25 Snell⁸). Against the hypothesis that Zenobius named only Bacchylides is the hexameter form in which he quotes the saying. This form is at least as old as the fifth century, for it is comically perverted by Eupolis, fr. 289 Kock,

αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ δειλῶν ἐπὶ δαΐτας ἴασι,

7) Despite the possibility of supplementing P. Oxy. 2495 fr. 37. 2 to mean "when we were in the gulf of Pagasae", - κατὰ κόλπον ἐόντες.

8) It is unlikely that it began earlier still, and that any of the other Hesiodic testimonia relating to the Argonauts' voyage should be placed here (fr. 50, 63, 64 Rz.).

and by Plato, Symp. 174 B, *ἔπου τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἵνα καὶ τὴν παροιμίαν διαφθείρωμεν μεταβαλόντες, ὡς ἄρα καὶ Ἀγάθων' ἐπὶ δαΐτας ἴσιν αὐτόματοι ἀγαθοί*⁹). The scholiast on the Plato passage (p. 56 Greene) notes that the proverb concerns Heracles, *†ὃ ὅτε εἰσ-τιῶντο τῷ Κήνκι †ξένους ἐπέστη*. On the strength of the Bacchylides parallel, as well as the explicit statement of Zenobius, we can confidently put the verse in Heracles' mouth in the *Κήνκος γάμος*¹⁰). In Cratinus and Plato too it is said by the guests.

Rzach and others have placed another fragment here, that cited by schol. A on Iliad *Ε* 119 (fr. 156 Rz.):

ἰδὼν δ' ἐπτηλάτα Κῆνξ ...

They assumed that it came from a verse describing how Ceyx saw Heracles and greeted him. This is a possibility that must be admitted. But we must bear in mind that *Κῆνξ* is here written by conjecture: the manuscript gives *κῆρξ*. The fragment may have stood in quite a different context; it may have referred to *Κῆρξ*, the eponymous ancestor of the Attic family of the *Κῆρνεες*¹¹).

9) Both these passages seem to presuppose the reading *ἴσιν*, which is given by Zenob. 2. 46; cf. also Cratinus fr. 169 *Κοκκ οἱ δ' αὐθ' ἡμεῖς ὡς δ παλαιὸς | λόγος αὐτομάτους ἀγαθοὺς ἔναι | κομψῶν ἐπὶ δαῖτα θεατῶν*. Yet the *ἴενται* of Zenob. 2. 19 deserves preference as the *lectio difficilior*. The scholiast on Plato gives *ἴσιν*.

10) Schwartz, Ps.-Hes. 208 n. 5, gives it to Ceyx. — We may notice in passing a similar utterance by one of the principal heroes of the Kalevala, Lemminkäinen. He was greatly offended at not being asked to the wedding of Ilmarinen and the daughter of Louhi, and resolved to go all the same. His mother advised him not to:

“Go not to the feast at Pohja,
To that mansion's drinking-party,
For indeed they did not ask you,
And 'tis plain they do not want you”.

But Lemminkäinen replied,

“Only bad men go for asking,
Uninvited good men dance there”.

(26. 85–92, transl. W.F. Kirby).

11) Attic-Eleusinian heroes are named in an anonymous verse cited by Herodian, *περὶ μονήρουσ λέξεωσ* p. 10:

Εὐμολπιὸσ Δόλιχόσ τε καὶ Ἴπποδόωσ μεγάλθυμοσ.

Wilamowitz, Menanders Schiedsgericht, 129, attributed the line to Hesiod, perhaps rightly.

Schwartz, Ps.-Hesiodica 87 n. 4, says that fr. 156 Rz. cannot come from the *Κήνκος γάμος*, because the Homeric scholia deriving from Aristarchus' school cited only the Catalogue under Hesiod's name. But as it is not the original wording of the Alexandrian scholars that we have before us, a certain conclusion is not possible. That the commentators on Homer knew the *Κήνκος γάμος* is shown by P. Oxy. 1087. 50 (fr. 159 b Rz.³, see below).

III. *Heracles eats Theiodamas' ox*

While there is no direct evidence, we may consider it as a possibility that the famous story of Heracles and Theiodamas occurred in the Wedding of Ceyx.

In most authors, it is connected with the Dryopes, who formerly dwelt in Middle Greece, in the region later known as Doris¹²). As Heracles was crossing the Dryopes' territory, he came upon Theiodamas ploughing, killed one of the yoke of oxen and ate it. He took away with him the son of Theiodamas, the young and beautiful Hylas. Then he called on Ceyx. Then he made war upon the Dryopes and expelled them from that region, from whence they went south and settled at Hermione and Asine in the Argolid, at Carystus, and elsewhere¹³).

There is an indirect connection between Heracles leaving the Argo, the death of Theiodamas, and the wedding of Ceyx. It is partly given by Apollonius, 1. 1211-19. In this version, Heracles left the ship in Mysia in search of Hylas. Hylas had gone to fetch water for the preparation of Heracles' supper:

δὴ γὰρ μιν τοίοισιν ἐν ἤθεσιν αὐτὸς ἔφερβε,
 νηπίαχον τὰ πρῶτα δόμων ἐκ πατρὸς ἀπούρας
 δίου Θειοδάμαντος, ὃν ἐν Δρυόπεσσι ἐπεφνε
 νηλειῶς, βοὸς ἀμφὶ γεωμόρου ἀντιώοντα.
 1215 ἦτοι ὁ μὲν νειοῖο γύας τέμνεσκεν ἀρότρῳ
 Θειοδάμας ἀνίημι βεβολημένος· αὐτὰρ ὁ τόνγε
 βοῦν ἀρόττην ἦνωγε παρασχέμεν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα.
 ἴετο γὰρ πρόφρασιν πολέμου Δρυόπεσσι βαλέσθαι
 λευγαλέην, ἐπεὶ οὐ τι δίκης ἀλέγοντες ἔναιον.

In other sources, as we have seen, the expulsion of the Dryopes was associated with a visit to Ceyx. This is not in itself of much significance, for Heracles visited Ceyx on a number of occasions. But it has been convincingly argued by W. S. Barrett¹⁴) that the fragment of Bacchylides quoted by Athenaeus, which provides such a close parallel to the fragment ascribed to the Wedding of Ceyx, came from a paeon in which Bacchylides told the story of Heracles' war against the Dryopes and their settlement at Asine (fr. 4 Snell⁸).

12) Herodotus 8. 31, Strabo 9. 5. 10 p. 434.

13) Cf. ps. Apollod. Bibl. ii [153] 7. 7; schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1212; Diod. 4, 36. 5-37. 1.

14) *Hermes* 82, 1954, 421 ff.

This suggests the possibility that the death of Theiodamas, and the Dryopian war associated with it, occurred in the Wedding of Ceyx. If we take this idea seriously, we must ask ourselves how the Theiodamas episode may have been related in the poem. There seem to be two possibilities; we do not propose to decide between them.

(1) It may have been related in a "flashback". The Hesiodic poet, or one of his characters, may have gone back in time from the Argonauts' expedition to the eating of the ox. For instance, Heracles may have recalled the episode in a speech made at the wedding-feast.

(2) Alternatively, the poet may have placed the encounter with Theiodamas between Heracles' disembarkation from the Argo and his arrival at Trachis¹⁵). This is perhaps suggested by Bacchylides' paean. There Heracles arrives at Ceyx's palace just when a banquet is being prepared; and he utters the same famous sentiment as in the Hesiodic Wedding of Ceyx. There can be little doubt that Bacchylides is consciously following the Hesiodic poem. It may be that he has transferred this scene into a quite different narrative context. But it seems somewhat more likely that the narrative context was similar in the two poems. If so, Heracles may have met Theiodamas and eaten his ox, in the *Κήρυκος γάμος*, after leaving Aphetæ and before reaching Trachis¹⁶); and then there will have been some reference to the defeat of the Dryopes, either before Heracles' arrival at Trachis or at the end (?) of the poem after the account of the wedding. Bacchylides will not, of course, have followed his model slavishly; he may well have said nothing of the Aphetæ episode, and he perhaps avoided specifying the *θοῖναι* of fr. 4. 22 as the wedding-feast. The intervention of Apollo (41 ff) is an appropriate motif in a paean that goes on to tell of the establishment of the cult of Apollo Pythæus at Asine, and is likely to be an innovation by Bacchylides.

15) Obviously Hylas cannot have appeared in such a version, at any rate not as son of Theiodamas. But he is not in any case attested for any version in which Heracles left the ship at Aphetæ.

16) The encounter with Theiodamas is not attested for Bacchylides, but it is a traditional element in the Dryopian legend, and is not likely to have been omitted.

IV. *Heracles' eating-contest with Lepreus*

We must now consider a testimony from a very late and somewhat suspect source, namely the "Mythologiae" of Natalis Comes, a sixteenth-century compiler who credits a number of ancient authors with otherwise unknown fragments and items of information. Some of these doubtless arise from conflation of sources or from false inference¹⁷), but there is a residue that cannot simply be ignored, given the possibility that Natalis knew sources not available to us, e. g. manuscripts, since lost or not yet collated, preserving fuller scholia to some ancient poet. In the course of Mythol. 7. 1, a chapter devoted to Heracles, Natalis relates the story of the hero's encounter with Theiodamas¹⁸). After telling how he consumed the ox, he digresses for a page in order to give other evidence of his enormous appetite. The last item in the digression runs as follows (p. 694, ed. Genav. 1612):

Fama est Herculem in Triphyliam regionem Eleorum profectum habuisse controversiam de voracitate cum Lepreo Pyrgei filio, ut inquit Hesiodus in Ceycis Nuptiis; atque cum uterque bovem in epulas occidisset, Lepreus nihilo fuit tardior aut imparior edendo inventus, sed cum post epulas ventum esset ad pugnam ob indignationem aemulae virtutis, Lepreus cecidit ob vim Herculeam.

Natalis then returns to Theiodamas.

The story of Heracles' eating-contest with Lepreus is known from ancient sources¹⁹), but nowhere else is it associated with Hesiod. It is not prima facie absurd that it should have appeared in the Wedding of Ceyx, a poem which we know to have been concerned with Heracles and especially with Heracles' appetite²⁰). One can imagine several ways in which it might have been introduced. Heracles might have announced at Ceyx's palace, "I have such a hunger as when I ate a whole ox in contest with Lepreus the son of Pyrgeus in Elis". Or the occasion might have been referred to in a digression at the point where he ate Theiodamas' ox. Or he might have proceeded to Elis after dealing with the Dryopes. This does not exhaust the possibilities.

17) For a critical evaluation of some of the testimonies see Naeke, *Opuscula II* (1845) 218-25; Roos, *Mnemosyne* 1917, 69-77.

18) He places Theiodamas at Lindos: cf. Philostr. *imag.* 2. 24; *Amm. Marc.* 22. 12. 4; Pfeiffer, *Kallimachos-Studien* 90ff.

19) Zenodotus 19 F 1; schol. *Call. hymn.* 1. 39; *Paus.* 5. 5. 4; *Ael. V.H.* 1. 24; *Eustath.* in *Hom.* p. 1523.

20) Natalis is hardly likely to have discovered this for himself by collecting and comparing the fragments of the poem.

The ascription "*Hesiodus in Ceycis Nuptiis*" appears again on the next page of Natalis' work, where it is correctly attached to the story of the disembarkation from the *Argo* at Aphetæ. It is not impossible, therefore, that the ascription of the eating-contest to our poem is also correct: it is considerably less likely that it is based on guesswork, inference or sheer invention.

V. The riddles at the banquet

We have heard Heracles announce his arrival at the wedding. He is the only guest we are able to name. He seems to have had more to say than the one line. The particle δ' in that line (taken over by Bacchylides) does not necessarily imply that he had said something else beforehand; it may only indicate that he is countering something said to him²¹). However, a new fragment of the poem, P. Oxy. 2495 fr. 37, appears to contain direct speech, for]σωσα at the end of line 4 is not likely to be anything but ἔσωσα or a compound. The verb suggests a heroic exploit, and as such would issue well from the mouth of Heracles, who was not given to modest reticence about his deeds. Unless his speech ended at that point, it would seem that he went on to pose the riddle or series of riddles in the following lines. It had been surmised long before the publication of the papyrus that they were propounded by someone at the wedding-feast, and not by the poet in his own person²²). Let us now look at the whole fragment²³).

]ο υ κ [] []
] πονεοντες []
] οὐ γὰρ ἄτερ τε []

21) Compare the usages in Hes. Th. 549,
 (Zeus) ἃ πέπον, ὡς ἑτεροζήλως διεδάσσαο μοίρας.
 (Prometheus) τῶν δ' ἔλεν δαπνοτέρην σε ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμὸς ἀνάγει.
 And in Op. 454,
 (first farmer) βόε δὸς καὶ ἄμαξαν.
 (second farmer) παρὰ δ' ἔργα βόεσσιν.

22) Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 18, 1883, 417 n. 2 = *Kl. Schr.* I 132. 0;
 Schwartz 202-3; West, *Class. Quart. N.S.* 11, 1961, 144-5.

23) Mention must be made of another papyrus fragment that may belong here, though we ourselves are unable to extract any help from it. It is P. Oxy. 2495 fr. 38, and Lobel says that it "resembles the left-hand side of fr. 37".

] λ α κ []
] επονεν []
] δ [] ο σ []

The text of the passage that concerns us (p. 766 Walz, 224 Spengel) runs:

αἰνιγμῶ ἐστι φράσις διάνοιαν ἀποκεκρυμμένην καὶ ἀσύνετον πειρω-
μένη ποιεῖν, ὡς τὰ παρ' Ἡσιόδου περὶ τῆς ἀκύλου λεγόμενα:

{μηδέ ποτ' οἴνοχόην τιθέμεν κρητῆρος ὑπερθε}²⁶⁾

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δαιτὸς μὲν εἴσης ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο,

†τοῖον οὐ† μητέρα μητρὸς ἄγοντο

ἀζαλέην <τε> καὶ ὄπταλέην –

ἐπεὶ δοκεῖ πρῶτον μὲν ξηραίνεσθαι, εἶτα ὄπτασθαι

σφετέροισι τέκεσσι

τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τέκνοις, λέγει δὲ τοῖς ξένοις· τὸ δὲ

τεθνάσαι,

καθὸ δοκεῖ ἐκ τῆς ὕλης ἐκκεκόφθαι.

ἀσύνετον Finckh: σύνθετον codd. περι eL: παρὰ mb ἀκύλου Merk.:
κύλιος codd. μηδέ – ὑπερθε (= Hes. Op. 744) habent eLm, om. b
omnia quae sequuntur om. e δαιτὸς μὲν θίσης (sic) Bodl. (et b?): δαιτὸς
μὲν θεσίσης Lm: δ' αὐτοὶ μὲν κνίσσης Const. Palaeocappa οἶον οὐ Lmb:
καὶ οὐ Palaeocappa ἀζαλέην Lb: ἀγαλέην Matr. (et m?, inde:) ἀαλέην
Par. 2551 τε add. Bergk πρῶτον b: πρῶτα Lm σφετέροισι Finckh:
ἐφ' ἑτέροισι codd. (ἐφετέροισι Bodl.) ἑαυτῆς Klouček ξένοις codd.
(||ξένοις Bodl.): ξύλοις Cramer τεθνάσαι codd. (τεθνάσαι Matr.): τεθνά-
μεναι Bergk ἐκκεκόφθαι Lmb: ἐκκόφθαι Par. 2551, inde ειλῆφθαι Palaeo-
cappa, inde ἀνήφθαι Ohlert

We have suggested above that P. Oxy. 2495. fr. 37, or the greater part of it, represents a speech by Heracles, and that in line 4 he recalls some past exploit of his. Line 3 seems to fit this assumption well, as the words “For not without...” very probably refer to the assistance of a god in some matter where his assistance was necessary. Lobel rightly remarks that ἄτερ τε is an unlikely end to a verse, and that ἄτερ γε would be a more probable emendation than ἄτερθε. He compares O 292 f,

ὡς καὶ νῦν ἔσσεσθαι ὀλομαι· οὐ γὰρ ἄτερ γε

Ζητὸς ἐριγδούπον πρόμος ἴσταται ὧδε μενοινῶν.

The change is minimal. But there is an alternative possibility²⁷⁾:

οὐ γὰρ ἄτερ τε[υ

ἀθανάτων

26) This line (= Hes. Op. 744) is omitted by some of the manuscripts, and we cannot see what it can possibly mean in this place. It must be mentioned, however, that the verse is used in a somewhat enigmatic fashion by Plutarch, Septem sapientium convivium p. 156 E; see also the scholion of Proclus and W. Schultz, Rätsel aus dem hellenischen Kulturkreise (1909/12) I 110. In the *Erga*, the preceding verses (742/3) are clearly a riddle. There is a possibility that the line is not to be deleted in Trypho, but is a riddle, to which we fail to find the key.

27) West, *Gnomon* 35, 1963, 757.

This would be an expression of a common type; compare, e. g., E 185,

*οὐχ ὁ γ' ἀνευθε θεοῦ τάδε μαίνεται, ἀλλὰ τις ἄγχι
ἔστην' ἀθανάτων.*

W. Bühler, in his note on Moschus, Europa 152 *οὐκ ἀθεεῖ*, observes that "die Wendung kommt fast nur in Reden vor"²⁸). This is because, when the poet is telling the story himself, he has no hesitation in naming the gods involved in any event and specifying the extent of their interference: it is only the heroes themselves who have to guess what is going on above them. If τε[υ is right, therefore, we have another strong indication of direct speech.

The two preceding lines tell us little. The letter before *πονέοντες* in 2 seems to have been α or λ (κ is less probable), and since -*α* *πονέοντες* and *ἀπονέοντες* (swimming away? unloading?) do not appear very likely, *ἵππων ἐόντες* is perhaps the most plausible reading and division. Cf. above, p. 302 n. 7.

In what follows, we are evidently dealing with a chain of riddles. Accumulation of riddles is a very frequent phenomenon in enigma-literature²⁹). These next few lines of the Wedding of Ceyx seem to have been the most famous part of the poem in antiquity: at least three and probably five ancient authors quote from it directly, and another (Lycophron) apparently alludes to it in a riddling passage of his own.

In line 5, Lobel has recognized the place referred to in the two passages printed by Rzach as Hes. fr. 157:

Athenaeus p. 49 B *Ἡσίοδος ἐν Κήνκος γάμωι ... τρίποδας τὰς τραπέζας φησίν.*

Pollux 6. 83 *ἦσαν δέτινες πρῶται τραπέζαι καὶ δευτέραι καὶ τρίται, καὶ τρίποδες μὲν, ἐφ' ὧν ἐκείντο, καὶ ἐστὶ τοῦνομα παρ' Ἡσιόδωι.*

He suggests the supplement *τρίποδας ... τραπέζας*³⁰). This is supported by the fact that Aristophanes produced a similar paradox by speaking of a three-footed tetrapod – tetrapod, *τραπέζα*, being the ordinary Greek word for a table. Aristoph. fr. 530 Kock:

*τραπέζαν ἡμῖν εἴσφερε
τρεις πόδας ἔχουσαν, τέτταρας δὲ μὴ ἔχέτω.
– καὶ πόθεν ἐγὼ τρίπουν τραπέζαν λήφομαι;*

28) Die Europa des Moschos, Hermes Einzelschriften, Heft 13 (1960), 190.

29) We may recall the Technopaegnia, Lycophron's Alexandra, the riddling poems of the Edda, Widsith, the Traugemundlied.

30) *καθέδρας* seems to have been a mere mistake.

Epicharmus conversely introduces a four-legged tripod, fr. 149 Kaibel:

τί δὲ τόδ' ἐστί; – δηλαδὴ τρίπους. – τί μὲν ἔχει πόδας
τέτορας; οὐκ ἐστὶν τρίπους, ἀλλ' <ἐστὶν> οἶμαι τετράπους.
– ἐστὶ δ' ὄνομα αὐτῷ τρίπους, τέτορας γὰρ μὲν ἔχει πόδας.
Οἰδίου τοίνυν ποτ' ἦν αἶνγμα τοικοῦτον, νοεῖς;³¹⁾

As the Greeks hardly used tables for anything except eating from, we may infer the nature of the context from the one word. The inference is abundantly confirmed by the next lines. Line 6, *ἴδ' ἔχον αἰσας*: “they had ... (epithet?) helpings”. This sense of *αἶσα* is rare; it occurs on an Arcadian and on a Cyprian inscription, while the historian Hegesander knew it as *Argive*³²⁾. It is found nowhere else in epic, and must have struck the audience as strange; perhaps strange enough to count as a riddle in itself, to solve which it was necessary to reflect that *Αἶσα* is equivalent to *Μοῖρα*³³⁾.

In 8–11 we come to the passage taken by ‘Tryphon’ as a prime example of *αἶνγμα*. It seems to represent a continuation of the narrative. The meal has now been dispatched.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δαιτὸς μὲν εἰσῆς ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο ...³⁴⁾

But here we have a paradox. Having satisfied their hunger, the banqueters, apparently Pelasgians, go on to gather, roast and eat acorns³⁵⁾. This is a riddle in itself: it apparently hinges on the

31) *τοικοῦτον* West. – A word like *τρίπους* lent itself to use in riddles. We may notice in passing the Pythagorean riddle *τί ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντεῖον*; (Jambl. V. P. 82). The answer, *τετρακτύς*, is a further riddle, to which the solution may have been *τρίπους*. The tripod is a tetrahedron: the tetrahedron is a symbol of the *τετρακτύς*.

32) IG V 2. 40 (Tegea); Hoffmann, Gr. Dialekte I, no. 148; Hegesander ap. Athen. 365 D = fr. 31 Müller FHG IV 419.

33) Cf. *μοῖραι* for ‘helpings of meat’ in Hes. Th. 544. By the early third century even this was unfamiliar: Straton puts it in the mouth of his Homerizing cook (Page, Greek Literary Papyri no. 57, line 42).

34) The text is somewhat uncertain; cf. the apparatus above. *δαιτὸς εἰσῆς* is a Homeric phrase (12 times), and in I 225 we actually have *δαιτὸς μὲν εἰσῆς* in the same place in the verse. But there *μὲν* is legitimately used; here, incomplete as the text of the following lines is, it is hard to see how the particle is justified. *δ' αὐτοὶ μὲν κνίσσης* appears to be a conjecture inspired by the unmetrical *δαιτὸς μὲν τεθείσσης*. All that can be said in its favour is that *κνίσση* is a word that might have more than one sense (fat, or smell), and might therefore be involved in a riddle. But it leaves the line without a valid caesura, and one cannot guess who *αὐτοὶ* are contrasted with. Nauck somewhat boldly conjectured *δαιτὸς μενοεικέος*.

35) West, Class. Quart. N.S. 11, 1961, 142–45. The argument for this interpretation of the riddle need not be repeated here.

word *έίσης*, which could be taken in the sense of *δικαίης*: only their lawful appetites were satisfied, they now went on to devour their mother's mother³⁶).

We have not found any satisfactory explanation of the words *οἶον οὐ* (or *καί οὐ*) which precede *μητέρα μητρός* in the citation. But the sense of the verse, if Lobel's *παισίν* is accepted, must have been something like, "then they brought home³⁷) their mother's mother [together with her childr]en". That is, they gathered acorns (the acorn being the mother of the oak, and the oak their own mother) and also wood from oak-trees. Next we hear why they gathered acorns: "to die dried and roasted by (for, with) her children"³⁸). *σφετέροισι τέκεσσι* is ambiguous: we cannot say with any confidence whether it goes with *όπταλέην*, or with *τεθνάναι*, or both; nor whether the children are the logs or sticks of wood, or the flames that these give birth to, or the Pelasgians themselves³⁹); nor how the dative is to be taken. Perhaps the line was deliberately designed to be applicable not only to the acorns, but also to the wood gathered with them. For it too

36) West, *Gnomon* 35, 1963, 757. For cannibalism as the antithesis of *δίκη*, cf. Hes. *Op.* 276-8,

τόνδε γάρ ἀνθρώποισι νόμον διέταξε Κρονίων,
 ἰθούσι μὲν καὶ θηροῖ καὶ οἰωνοῖς πεπενηοῖς
 ἔσθήμεν ἀλλήλους, ἐπεὶ οὐ δίκη ἐστὶ μετ' αὐτοῖς.

37) This is an attempt at a non-committal translation of *ἄγοντο*. The middle of *ἄγω* could have more than one sense; one particularly paradoxical sense that might well occur to the listener would be 'they married'.

38) This assumes that the grammarian's words *τὸ δὲ τεθνάναι, καθὸ ...* corresponded to an infinitive in the original. An infinitive expressing purpose suits the requirements of the context very well, and accounts for *όπταλέην*, which cannot refer to the state of the acorns when gathered.

Bergk's addition of *τε* before *καί* is probable, though for *καί* unshortened in hiatus in the biceps cf. N 316 (a verse omitted by some witnesses), *Ω* 641, h. Dem. 424, h. Aphr. 13, Hes. Th. 147 and 250 codd., pap. N 20 Merk.; in later verse, Arat. 534, and a number of times in the Orphic hymns (Quandt, ed. p. 41*) and Christian epigrams (Anth. Pal. I 8. 5, 10. 52, 38. 1, 40. 1, 53. 1, 91. 1). In some of these places, but not in all, it is possible to add *τε*.

His change of *τεθνάναι* is less necessary; Homer has *τεθνάμεναι* and *τεθνάμεν*, but *τεθνάναι* is recorded as early as Semonides fr. 3 Diehl. It would of course have to be followed by a vowel. The Matritensis 7211 (Lascaris) gives *τεθνάναι*, a doubtful form offered by MSS. in Aesch. Ag. 539.

39) The grammarian's exegesis *τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ τέκνοις, λέγει δὲ τοῖς ξένοις*, is obscure, and we have no guarantee that it was based on an explanation in the poem itself. Cramer's *ξύλοις* (The Philological Museum 2, 1833, 434) is very attractive. *ἑαυτοῦ* should perhaps be changed (with Klouček) to *ἑαυτῆς*, if it refers to the *μητέρα μητρός* (ἡ ἀκυλος).

'dies' (is burned), dried and roasted, by its 'children' (the flames)⁴⁰. The grammarian's explanation of 'dies' would fit the ξύλα as well as the acorns: they can be said to die, he explains, because they are cuttings from living trees.

Line 11 apparently ended with a reference to wintry weather. This would not be difficult to fit into a context of fire and feasting. One may be reminded of Xenophanes, fr. 18 Diehl,

πὰρ πυρὶ χρῆ τοιαῦτα λέγειν χειμῶνος ἐν ὥρῃ
ἐν κλίῃ μαλακῇ κατακείμενον, ἐμπλεον ὄντα,
πίοντα γλυκὺν οἶνον, ὑποτρῶγοντ' ἐρεβίνθους⁴¹).

The combination is confirmed by a passage of Lycophron which evidently looks back to the celebrated enigma of the Κήνκος γάμος. Lycophron introduces the Arcadian Agapenor thus:

ὁ δεύτερος δὲ νῆσον ἀγρότης μολῶν
480 χερσαῖος αὐτόδαιτος ἐγγόνων δρυὸς
λυκαιομόρφων Νυκτίμου κρεανόμων
τῶν πρόσθε μήνης φηγίνων πύρρων ὀχῆν
σπληδῶι κατ' ἄκρον χεῖμα θαλψάντων πυρός.

"The second who comes to the island is a countryman and a landsman, a self-feaster⁴²) of the children of the oak, of the wolf-shaped carvers of the flesh of Nyctimus, those who before the moon was known heated their staple of oaken bread in the ashes of the fire in the height of winter". (Adapted from A. W. Mair's translation.)

40) Cf. Plut. Mor. 730 EF οὐ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐκείνος ('Αναξίμανδρος) ἰχθύς καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἐν ἰχθύσιν ἐγγενέσθαι τὸ πρῶτον ἄνθρωπος ἀποφαίνεται ... καθάπερ οὐν τὸ πῦρ τὴν ἕλην ἐξ ἧς ἀνήφθη, μητέρα καὶ πατέρα οὖσαν, ἦσθιεν, ὡς ὁ τὸν Κήνκος γάμον εἰς τὰ Ἑσιόδου παρεμβάλων εἴρηκεν, οὕτως ὁ Ἀναξίμανδρος τῶν ἀνθρώπων πατέρα καὶ μητέρα κοινὸν ἀποφῆνας τὸν ἰχθὺν διέβαλε πρὸς τὴν βρωῶσιν. If this is not a mere interpretation of the fragment we are dealing with, it is probable that it belongs in the same context. There is a similar riddle in the R̥gveda, X 79. 4: "This holy Law I tell you, Earth and Heaven: the Infant at his birth devours his Parents". (Transl. R. T. H. Griffith.) The infant is Agni: Fire. For Germanic parallels see K. Ohlert, Philologus 1897, 612f.

41) We may compare Verg. ecl. 10. 20 *uidus hiberna venit de glande Menalcas*, which probably means: "Menalcas came wet from eating acorns in wintry weather". He is an Arcadian; Arcadians eat acorns, Herodotus I 66.

42) That is, 'feasting on his relatives'. The word is formed like *αὐτόφρονος* etc.

The scholiast on this line remarks, inter alia, that Agapenor was according to some authors the son of Dryops, in other words of 'Oakman'. Could there have been any connection between the Dryopes in the Theiodamas episode and the acorns in the riddle?

It is probable that another riddling expression attested for the Wedding of Ceyx stood in the neighbourhood of the series of riddles we have been discussing: *ἀπάτωροι*, 'fatherless', cited for its form without a hint of its context by a learned commentator on Homer in P. Oxy. 1087. 50⁴³). 'Fatherless' would be a paradoxical adjective in most contexts, for it would normally be applied only to things that might be expected to have fathers⁴⁴). It particularly suits the children of the oak, however⁴⁵); and its reference to them is confirmed by Juvenal 6. 5-13 (describing the *Saturnia regna*):

- 5 siluestrem montana torum cum sterneret uxor
frondibus et culmo uicinarumque ferarum
pellibus, haut similis tibi, Cynthia, nec tibi, cuius
turbauit nitidos exstinctus passer ocellos,
sed potanda ferens infantibus ubera magnis,
10 et saepe horridior *glandem ructante marito*.
quippe aliter tunc orbe nouo caeloque recenti
uiuebant homines, qui *rupto robore nati*
compositiue luto *nullos habuere parentes*.

Among the Hesiodic fragments there are two other verses which might be conjectured to come from riddles. They are not explicitly attested for the *Κήρυκος γάμος*, but it is not impossible that they stood there together with the other riddles. Both are from Homeric scholia. The first is found in the note on the passage describing how the maids in Alcinous' palace "grind the bright (?) fruit on the mill(s)":

αἱ μὲν ἀλετρεύουσι μύλης (οἱ μύλης) ἐπι μήλοπα καρπὸν.

(η 104)

The scholiast suggests that the verse perhaps ought not to be taken at face value. 'Mills' may refer to the maids' laps, on which

43) Fr. 159b Rz.^a

44) *ἀπάτωρ* is found elsewhere in *γρίφοι*. In the Theocritean *Syrinx* 15, Pan is called *κλωποπάτωρ ἀπάτωρ*, because his mother Penelope had slept with all her suitors, and no-one could say who the actual father was, or because the father was Nobody = Odysseus; while in Dosiadas' *Altar* 7, Hephaestus is *ἀπάτωρ*, Hera having born him *οὐ φιλόνητι μιν γείσα*, Hes. Th. 927. In Orph. hymn. 10. 10, Physis is addressed as *αὐτοπάτωρ ἀπάτωρ*; cf. Nonn. D. 41. 53. In Pap. Graec. Mag. V 282 the *ἀπάτωρ* is young Horus. Synes. hymn. 3. 146 (1. 146 Terzaghi) has *αὐτοπάτωρ προπάτωρ ἀπάτωρ*. The line refers to the first god, who created himself (he is addressed *αὐτογένεθλε* in the Magic Papyri), who consequently has no father, and from whom, by emanation, every other being came into existence.

45) West, *Class. Quart.* 1961, 144.

they turn their spindles; the *μηλον καρπός* may be 'sheep's fruit', fleece, *μαλλός*: for Hesiod too used the words

ἀλετρεύουσι μύλης ἐπι μήλοπα καρπόν

in this sense (fr. 264 Rz.), "they spin the wool on their laps"⁴⁶).

It is possible that in Hesiod as in Homer the verse referred to Alcinous' maids; we know that he mentioned Alcinous and Arete in some connection (fr. 71 Rz.). But it is certain that its style is graphic, and that it was not just a casual passing narrative detail as in Homer, for the ancient commentator had no doubt what it meant in 'Hesiod'. So it might have been a riddle, followed by its solution.

In the second case the interpretation is more precarious still. Homer has the line

ᾧπτῆσάν τε περιφραδέως ἐρύσαντό τε πάντα (Ω 624).

The A scholia note that Hesiod wrote

ᾧπτῆσαν μὲν πρώτα, περιφραδέως δ' ἐρύσαντο (fr. 208 Rz.)

and criticize him on the ground that one does not draw meat 'carefully' off the spit: it is the roasting that is careful⁴⁷). A valid point; and the explanation might be that 'Hesiod' meant the line as a riddle, containing some double entendre which we can no longer follow. We have already seen that eating was a theme that occurred in the riddles of the *Κήρυκος γάμος*. On the other hand, many may consider it more likely that we are merely dealing with the common type of case in which a formula has been adapted, to the detriment of the sense. Just as such adaptations often involve the transference of an epithet from one noun to another, so here we would have an adverb transferred from one verb to another.

We have found Heracles at the wedding-feast, speaking of exploits of his own, and then going on to a chain of riddles about the Pelasgians of Arcadia. It has often been pointed out that the riddle had a quite different status in early times from that which it enjoys now. It was no mere amusement, but a key to a whole world of hidden reality. Words and names, rightly interpreted,

46) οἱ δὲ ὅτι τὸ ἔριον ἐπὶ τοῦ μηροῦ ἔστρεφον· μύλη γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ μηροῦ. καὶ Ἡσίοδος γὰρ φησι τὸ "ἀλετρεύουσι - καρπόν", ἐπὶ τῆς ἡλακίτης τῆς στρεφομένης δίκην μύλης. μήλοπα γὰρ τὸν τῶν προβάτων καρπόν, ἦτοι τὸν μαλλόν. (I p. 332. 9ff Dindorf.)

47) σημειοῦνται τινες, ὅτι Ἡσίοδος ἐποίησεν "ᾧπτῆσαν - ἐρύσαντο". οὐδείς δὲ περιφραδέως ἐξέλακει κρέα, ἀλλὰ μάλλον ὅπται (II 294. 8ff Dindorf).

revealed unexpected relationships between things. The knowledge so gained might be shared with others, but not freely given: each man must guess the riddle for himself, and so leap across into the number of the initiated. The subject-matter of these riddles reflected the preoccupying interests of the society that discovered them. A common theme in them is cosmogony, origins in general⁴⁸). The modern equivalent to the Hesiodic riddle about the first men would be the riddles concerning Adam and Eve. Abnormal family relationships are another very common element. *μητέρ' ἐμὴν τίκτω καὶ τίττομαι*, says Day (Anth. Pal. 14. 41), to pick an example at random⁴⁹); and there are many riddles of this kind in which parents are killed by children, e. g. Anth. Pal. 14. 20, 21, 30, 38.

Banquets and symposia are a regular occasion for riddles; cf. Aristophanes, *Wasps* 21; Antiphanes fr. 124. 1-5; Diphilus fr. 50; Plut. *Mor.* 673 AB; Eustath. in Hom. p. 1926. 57. Wedding-feasts are no exception. There is the well-known riddle propounded by Samson at his own wedding-feast⁵⁰); and there are many German riddle-poems composed at weddings⁵¹). The earlier state of things may have been that the bride would become the wife of the suitor only when he succeeded in solving the riddle⁵²). So the riddles at the wedding of Ceyx represent an ancient and widespread custom.

48) Cf. Huizinga, *Homo Ludens* (1939) 171ff; Jolles, *Einfache Formen* (1930) 138.

49) There is a typical example in the *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*. The riddle refers to the circumstance that King Antiochus of Tyre had violated his own daughter. Their son was apparently Apollonius, the hero of the novel. The riddle has an allegorical meaning, and applies to the soul's fall into the material world in consequence of the divine "father's" passion for his own creation. With this riddle, the whole eschatology of the Mysteries could be worked out: a characteristic case of a riddle of initiation. Cf. Merkelbach, *Roman und Mysterium* 161f, 168.

50) Judges xiv 12ff. It is interesting to note that 'Choeroboscus' *περὶ τρώων*, *Rhet. Gr.* III 253 Sp. (a work which is in fact a mere re-working of that of 'Tryphon', with many of the classical examples replaced by Christian ones) substitutes Samson's riddle for that of the Wedding of Ceyx. A pity; for he might have given us a better text.

51) Cf. Hippe, *Festschr. f. Theodor Siebs* (Germanistische Abhandlungen, hrsg. von Weinhold-Vogt-Steller, Heft 67, Breslau 1933), 421-444, with literature and parallels.

52) The most famous example is Gozzi's (and Schiller's) *Turandot*. For a very illuminating story, see Frobenius, *Spielmannsgeschichten aus der Sahel* (1921) 79ff. - The rôles may be changed: The girl must follow a suitor, whose riddle she or her relatives were not able to solve.

This is as far as the fragments of the poem take us: far enough to see that it was a curious and interesting little work, and one about which more new evidence is devoutly to be wished.

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DER NAME DER GÖTTIN HERA

Unter dem Titel „Hera und Heros“ (Rhein. Mus., Bd. 104, 1961, p. 302 ff) habe ich in einem längeren Aufsatz gegen die alte, auf der bekannten elischen Nennung von Ἡραφαῖοι basierenden, aber durch die Texte von Linear-B unwahrscheinlich gemachte Ableitung der Wörter Hera und Heros vom selben Wortstamm wie lat. *servare* (°H₀a < °H₀Fa) Stellung genommen; anstatt der nun unhaltbaren Etymologie wurde die Ableitung von *i_{ēr}- aufgenommen, der Name der Göttin (°H₀a < *i_{ēr}-a) als „die (zur Ehe) Reife“ verstanden und als möglichst klar umrissene Gestalt in das soziologische Paradigma¹⁾ eingeordnet. Der ohnehin schon über die für einen Herausgeber zumutbare Grenze angewachsene Umfang von 54 Seiten ließ es mir damals angezeigt erscheinen, die Seitenzahl auch nicht um ein Geringes zu vermehren, sondern lieber vorläufig auf die Diskussion von epigraphischem Material aus Argos zu verzichten. Dies soll hier nachgetragen werden.

A. H. Smith²⁾ bespricht in einer kurzen Studie u. a. ein Gefäß, das sich im Britischen Museum befindet und die Inschrift [b]é[ρ₀aς] Ἀ[ρ₀]γε[ί]ας ἐμὶ τῶν ἀφέθλων trägt. Der Text ist von der Anfangsaspiration im Worte °H₀aς abgesehen³⁾, sicher ergänzt. Auch leuchtet die dort gegebene Datierung des Gefäßes, welche etwa das Jahr 440 v. Chr. nennt, ein⁴⁾. Was die Inschrift auf diesem Siegespreis für unsere Frage zu bedeuten hat, liegt nun auf

1) Zur Beziehung zu anderen Paradigmata vgl. dort bes. p. 355.

2) A. H. Smith, „The tomb of Aspasia“, in *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Bd. 46 (1926), p. 253 ff, bes. 256.

3) „The initial aspirate is quite uncertain“, Smith, a. a. O. p. 256.

4) Smith, a. a. O. p. 256.