

**AN ETYMOLOGICAL COMMENTARY  
ON  
CORNUTUS' *EPIDROME***

**JEREMY GUY ANSCOMBE**

**Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of PhD**

**The University of Leeds  
School of Classics**

**September 2005**

**The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.**

**This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.**

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to thank the University of Leeds for the funding which enabled me to write this thesis.

I would particularly like to thank Dr. Ken Belcher for his constant support and patience above and beyond the call of duty during several years of exposure to me during his inspirational Greek and Latin classes. Further, I am very grateful to my supervisor, Professor Robert Maltby, for his guidance, support and scholarly advice during the last three years, and without whom this project would have been impossible.

My greatest appreciation is due to Janet, whose ability, enthusiasm, and especially humanity were nevertheless insufficient to overcome the prejudice of her inferiors.



## ABSTRACT

This thesis is a commentary on the only extant text by Lucius Annaeus Cornutus, titled variously as *Theologiae Graecae Compendium*, or *peri Hellēnikēs theologias*, or *Epidromē tōn kata tēn hellēnikēn theōrian paradedomenōn*, a summary of the traditions of Greek theology. The thesis consists of an introduction, a translation into English, and a detailed commentary. The introduction comprises various sections: methodology and general findings of the thesis; an historical and cosmological background; a discussion of allegory and its relation to Stoic physics/theology; ancient concepts of wisdom and its transmission by myth; Cornutus' use of etymology, and Stoic etymology generally; the structure and content of the text; Cornutus' sources; Cornutus' readers.

Previous scholarship has been scant, and concludes that the text is unsatisfactory, with inexplicable internal inconsistencies and little overall coherence. This has been a puzzle because the poor quality of the text is incompatible with the high regard with which Cornutus is known to have been held. A further problem has been the array of alternative etymologies which Cornutus provides for the names of the Gods, and various previous attempts have been made to identify Cornutus' sources by examining etymologies found for other writers, and textual parallels with Cornutus. The introduction to the thesis argues that the failure of the text as presented to us is due to its corruption by many accretions. A re-evaluation of the text and identification of accretions on simple and justifiable criteria reveals an unexciting but very well-written text with an overall coherence and clear low-level pedagogical objective. It is a school text which summarizes the theological beliefs handed down by Greek tradition, and aims to encourage correct behaviour and attitude towards the Gods by the avoidance of the two extremes of atheism and superstition. In order to achieve this aim, Cornutus consistently uses rational argument for the explanation of very many details of Greek religious practice, resorting to rhetorical argument where necessary. Etymologies of Gods' names are simply one kind of rational explanation. With this approach, Cornutus achieves a remarkable level of coherence for a fundamentally chaotic system of beliefs.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abbreviations	5
Section 1. Introduction	7
1.1. Methodology and conclusions	7
1.1.1. Thesis structure	7
1.1.2. Editions of text	8
1.1.3. Possible methodologies for this thesis	9
1.1.4. Methodology in detail	11
1.1.5. Conclusions	15
1.2. Historical / cosmological background	20
1.3. Allegory	28
1.3.1. Definitions of allegory	28
1.3.2. Summary of the history of ancient allegory	30
1.3.3. Internal evidence of allegory in the Stoics	33
1.3.4. External evidence for Stoic allegoresis	36
1.4. Ancient Wisdom	39
1.5. The Transmission of Ancient Wisdom	44
1.6. Etymology	50
1.6.1. Stoic status of language	50
1.6.2. Stoic theory of language creation	52
1.6.3. Evidence for Stoic etymology	55
1.6.4. Plato <i>Cratylus</i>	65
1.6.5. Conclusions: Stoic etymology	72
1.7. Structure and content of the text	75
1.7.1. Content of text	75
1.7.2. Textual integrity	76
1.7.3. Structure of text	94
1.8. Sources	100
1.9. Cornutus' readers	108
1.9.1. Age of reader	108
1.9.2. The cultural milieu	108
1.9.3. The political context	110
1.9.4. The status of superstition	112
Section 2. Translation	115
Section 3. Commentary	156
Section A: Theogony, Zeus, Reason (=Hermes)	156
Section B: Interpretation of two Homeric episodes	193
Section C: Cosmogony in Hesiod	196
Section D: Popular Religion	206
Appendixes	276
Bibliography	376

## ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

**Editions** Texts, including fragments, are those used by the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG).

**Dates** Dates accurate to within a century are usually sufficient, and the century has the format of C±x, for example:

C-5 = 5<sup>th</sup> Century B.C.

C+1 = 1<sup>st</sup> Century A.D.

**Authors** For C-5 and C-4 literature, if a name is abbreviated, the LSJ convention is used, thus E. = Euripides. To avoid confusion, however, some names, especially of later and lesser known authors, are given in full, unless specified below in Abbreviations. To avoid any ambiguity, any author deemed less commonly cited in the context of Stoicism and Greek religion is tagged with an additional Latin title (as in TLG).

Thus: Zeno = Zeno of Citium (C-4/-3)  
Zeno Hist. = Zeno of Rhodes (C-2)  
Pausanias = Pausanias Perieg. of Magnesia (C+2)  
Pausanias Attic. = Pausanias the Atticist (C+2).

**Text names** These are always italicized. For C-5 and C-4 literature, the LSJ convention is used, for example E.*El.* for Euripides *Electra* (exception: Hesiod *Theogony* = Hesiod *Theog.*). This however becomes unworkable for lesser known texts, later texts, and texts not cited in LSJ, so the convention is adopted that all later titles have lower-case initials (even for proper names, to avoid confusion with the author's name), and are shortened versions of Latin titles.

Thus: Alexander Aphrodisiensis *In Aristotelis topicorum libros octo commentaria* becomes Alexander Aphrod. *arist. top.*

**Scholia** The TLG classification of scholia is followed: for example the collection 'Scholia in Hesiodum' includes the text 'Scholia in Theogoniam (scholia vetera)', identified by Schol. Hesiod *Theog. sv.*

**Spelling** There is an uncomfortable but unavoidable co-existence between transliterated words and Latinized spellings. Generally, if a name is Greek, then Greek transliteration is used: thus Herakles. If, however, a name has a well-known Latinized spelling, this is preferred: thus Cyclops, not Kuklops, leading, for example, to the awkward juxtaposition of Koios and Cyclopes (as a plural of Cyclops). Ultimately, personal taste decides: Hekate rather than Hecate; 'Cornutus' looks better than 'Kornoutos'. All names retain a consistent spelling throughout the thesis, except for the section containing the English translation. Here, English names must indicate Greek vowel length, thus Haidēs, Alēktō, Hēraklēs etc., because Greek spelling and vowel length are significant for the illumination of etymologies, and this consideration is far more important than consistency of spelling.

**Abbreviations for Secondary Sources:**

- KRS Kirk, G., Raven, J. and Schofield, M. (1983), *The Presocratic Philosophers* (Cambridge).  
LS Long, A. and Sedley, D. (1987), *The Hellenistic Philosophers* (Cambridge).  
LSJ Liddle, H.G., Scott, R. and Jones, H.S. (1996) *Greek-English Lexicon*.  
OCD Hornblower, S. and Spawforth, A. (2003), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford).

Abbreviations for commonly cited Primary Sources:

Ach. Tat.	Achilles Tatius <i>Isagoga Excerpta</i> (C+3).
Aëtius <i>plac.</i>	Aëtius Doxogr. <i>de placitis reliquiae</i> (C+1/+2).
Apollodorus	Apollodorus Gramm. (Apollodorus of Athens) (C-2).
Cicero <i>ND</i>	Cicero <i>de Natura Deorum</i> (C-1).
D. Hali.	Dionysius Halicarnassus <i>Antiquitates Romanae</i> (C-1).
D.L.	Diogenes Laërtius <i>Vitae Philosophorum</i> (C+3).
EM	Etymologicum Magnum (C+12).
Eusebius <i>PE</i>	Eusebius <i>Praeparatio evangelica</i> (C+3).
Eustathius <i>II.</i>	Eustathius Philol. et Scr. Eccl. <i>Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem</i> (C+12).
Galen <i>PHP</i>	Galen <i>de placitis Hippocratis et Platonis</i> (C+2).
Herodian <i>PC</i>	Aëlius Herodianus <i>de prosodia catholica</i> (C+2).
HH	Homeric Hymn (C-8/C-6), Numbered as TLG. Thus: Homeric Hymn 29 <i>In Vestam</i> : HH 29( <i>Vest.</i> ).
Longus <i>DC</i>	Longus <i>Daphnis et Chloe</i> (C+2).
Lydus	Lydus Hist. <i>de Mensibus</i> (C+6).
Origen <i>CC</i>	Origen <i>contra Celsum</i> (C+2/+3).
Orion	Orion <i>Etymologicum</i> (C+5).
Pausanias	Pausanias Perieg. of Magnesia (C+2).
Plutarch <i>IO</i>	Plutarch <i>de Iside et Osiride</i> ( <i>Moralia</i> 351c-384c).
Plutarch <i>QC</i>	Plutarch <i>Quaestiones convivales</i> ( <i>Moralia</i> 612c-748d).
Plutarch <i>SR</i>	Plutarch <i>de Stoicorum repugnantiis</i> ( <i>Moralia</i> 1033a-1057b).
[Plutarch] <i>plac.</i>	[Plutarch] <i>Placita Philosophorum</i> (p.C+2).
[Plutarch] <i>VH</i>	[Plutarch] <i>Vitae Homeri</i> (p.C+2).
S.E. <i>AM</i>	Sextus Empiricus <i>Adversus Mathematicos</i> (C+2/+3).
Stobaeus	Stobaeus <i>Anthologium</i> (C+5).
SVF	Arnim, von J. (1905-1924), <i>Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta</i> (Leipzig).
Zeno	Zeno Citieus (C-4/-3).

## Section 1. Introduction

### 1.1. Methodology and Argument

#### 1.1.1. Thesis structure

This thesis is the analysis of a Stoic text, and Section 1.1. discusses the edition used as a working text, and various aspects of my approach to it. Yet the Stoic school was not a static system of beliefs, and there can be no easy identification of any one writer as being orthodox or unorthodox. The belief in a specifically Stoic nature of the divinity was, however, a constant, even when there is evidence for differences in opinion about various details.<sup>1</sup> The nature of Stoic physics is thus an essential background topic for this text, and this is discussed in Section 1.2.

A work which interprets mythic material must necessarily have a methodology of its own which is identifiable as allegory in its most general sense. This topic has been the subject of some controversy in modern scholarship, and is discussed in Section 1.3. The general question as to why Stoics were intent on rational interpretation of myth is closely connected with their perception of ancient wisdom. Cornutus makes some valuable comments on this subject, and the topic is discussed in Section 1.4. The connection between mythic material and ancient wisdom is treated in Section 1.5, and this leads on to a discussion of ancient concepts of language creation, and the nature and extent of ancient etymology, and Stoic etymology in particular: this is the subject of Section 1.6.

Given that Sections 1.2. to 1.6. contextualize Cornutus' work, Sections 1.7. to 1.9. offer an internal examination of the text and the insights it provides. Section 1.7. discusses the structure of the text, and principles by which sections of text can be identified as accretions, based on the methodological approach specified in 1.1.4; the issue of whether text is an accretion or not is of no significance in the preceding argument in Sections 1.2. to 1.6, except where explicitly discussed. Because Cornutus claims he is merely repeating older material, and because modern scholarship during the past century has generated some heat and little light on the question of his sources, this issue is discussed in Section 1.8. The text contains a vast amount of information, from which insights into the expectations and abilities of his pupils may be gained; his pupils, and the possible influence of Neronian ideology, are topics for Section 1.9.

---

<sup>1</sup> A comprehensive discussion of such differences is outside the scope of this thesis. Cornutus claims to be summarizing earlier philosophers (=Stoics) so such differences should be undetectable in this text.

Section 2 of the thesis is an English translation of the text which includes explanations for the etymologies. For an accurate understanding of the text, a close examination of detail is required, and Section 3 is therefore a comprehensive commentary. The *ca.* 200 etymologies provided by Cornutus are listed in Appendix 1, Tables 1 to 93, together with a total of *ca.* 1600 etymologies attested for all writers from C-8 to C+12 for those words which Cornutus etymologizes. Appendix 1 does not claim to be an exhaustive list: for names with very many attested writers giving etymologies (e.g. Zeus) it is sufficient for a particular root to be recorded once, without necessarily recording all cases of repetitions. An important omission from the list is implicit etymologizing within literary texts, which is a literary technique rather than a philosophical statement, and thus not relevant to the etymologies in Cornutus' text, which are (almost) exclusively etymologies of names and epithets of the gods.<sup>2</sup> Appendix 1 does, however, attempt to identify all roots from other writers for words which Cornutus etymologizes.<sup>3</sup> The other appendixes are specified wherever referenced in Sections 1 and 3 of the thesis. Before any discussion of the text, however, the methodological principles of this thesis are defined below in Sections 1.1.3 and 1.1.4. This is followed by general conclusions of the thesis in 1.1.5. about the nature and purpose of the text, and Cornutus' methods. First, however, 1.1.2. lists the editions of the text.

### 1.1.2. Editions of the text

Editions of the text attributed to Cornutus under various titles and name variations are as follows:<sup>4</sup>

Aldus	<i>Phurnutus, seu, ut allii, Curnutus de natura deorum Venetiis</i> 1505
Clauserus	<i>Cornuti sive Phurnuti de natura deorum gentilium commentarius, e Graeco in Latinum conversus per Conradum Clauserum Tigurinum Basileae</i> 1543
Gale	<i>Cornuti commentarius de natura deorum (in Opuscula mythologica, physica et ethica) Cantabrigiae</i> 1670, <i>Amstelaedami</i> 1688
Osann	<i>L. Annaeus Cornutus de natura deorum</i> Gottingae 1844
Lang	<i>Cornuti theologiae Graecae compendium Lipsiae</i> 1881

There are 35 extant manuscripts dating from C+14 to C+16, and the only text with textual criticism is Lang's, based on 11 manuscripts.<sup>5</sup> A minor lexicon, the *Violarium* of Eudocia (C+11), used to be of interest because it contains significant excerpts of Cornutus, but examination of the text reveals a

<sup>2</sup> This is an over-simplification, because some etymologies from the tragedians are significant. Some are included in Appendix 1, provided their identification as an intended etymology is reasonably secure.

<sup>3</sup> Despite the infinite care taken, doubtless some are missing.

<sup>4</sup> see Lang (1881), *praefatio*, for variations of name.

<sup>5</sup> Lang (1881), xx.

close correspondence with the Clauserus edition of 1543, and is now considered to be a C+16 forgery of a text by Eudocia.<sup>6</sup> A detailed description of each of the 35 manuscripts and an analysis of their relationships is provided by Krafft, who deduces that they derive from two hyperarchetypes (as opposed to the three proposed by Lang) which both derive from an archetype manuscript of unknown date well before C+12.<sup>7</sup> Krafft's meticulous scholarship, however, is characterized by a perverse refusal to indicate where the text supplied by Lang might be improved, and given that a text-critical analysis of the manuscripts is outside the scope of this thesis, I use Lang's 1881 edition as a working text. The text was divided into chapters by Osann, and this chapter division is kept by Lang. For reference purposes, however, whilst the Osann chapter is occasionally used, it is more convenient to refer to the Lang page number and line, and I use the notation (x.y) for page x, line y.

### 1.1.3. Possible methodologies for this thesis

There are two basic methods of studying this text. The first is to accept the text presented by Lang on the basic assumption that the whole text is written by Cornutus, whilst at the same time being conscious of minor irritations such as the occasional uncertainty indicated by the editor, and assumed to be attributable to difficulties in manuscript readings. This approach must arrive at the conclusion that the text is a second-rate and highly unsatisfactory document,<sup>8</sup> with an inexplicable structure, containing some potentially important material but displaying a bewildering array of rather pointless etymologies and baffling internal inconsistencies which defy satisfactory analysis. This methodology inevitably results in the more generally held conclusion that the text has little value for providing any secure insight into ancient thought.<sup>9</sup>

This conclusion has engendered two unfortunate and divergent views. The majority of the modest amount of modern scholarship on Cornutus has treated the text as an uninteresting and

<sup>6</sup> Sandys, 398; Krafft, 338f.

<sup>7</sup> Krafft (1975), 323ff.

<sup>8</sup> Thus Jahn 1843, xii *exilis quaedam sterilitas, qua hic liber compositus est*.

<sup>9</sup> There have been three commentaries on the text. 1) Hays, 1983, provides a working translation into English and basic commentary. 2) Rocca-Serra (1988) *thèse de doctorat*, remains inaccessible, despite several attempts, in a Paris library (Rocca-Serra has published on philosophical matters, and I can only assume his interest in Cornutus remains in that field). 3) Ramelli, 2003, accumulates all material relevant to Cornutus, and a lot that is not, together with an encyclopaedic bibliography (where Rocca-Serra (1988) is absent). Her translation of the Lang text into Italian is provided with a commentary in the form of a report of earlier scholarship, together with vast quantities of Eustathius in Greek and Italian. As far as I am able to understand, Ramelli provides no argument of her own, and I thus usually restrict my discussion of modern scholarship to her sources, especially German scholarship around the beginning of C+20 (listed by Ramelli), which focussed its attention on Cornutus' sources. All commentators which I have been able to examine have taken this approach, namely the assumption of a safe text by Lang: see Section 1.7.2. for a detailed discussion.

incomprehensible oddity, resulting for example in the wildly inaccurate categorization of this text, by an expert specifically describing the Stoic school in the Roman Imperial Period, as ‘*the treatise... of Cornutus on etymology*’.<sup>10</sup> A small but unduly influential minority has taken the opposite approach, and discovered very significant philosophical originality in Cornutus by cherry-picking extracts from the text and discovering for example, ‘*allegory deliberately intended as such*’ i.e. Strong allegory of a Neoplatonist kind, supporting this argument with an extract from the text (56.22-57.5) despite the fact that it is bracketed by Lang, and is, with a very high probability, an accretion.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, this interpretation concerns a school text in which Cornutus explicitly denies any originality, and to use any text as a basis for an argument whilst ignoring the author’s stated claims is as methodologically flawed as ignoring the editor’s reservations.<sup>12</sup>

The second method of approach to Lang’s text is to treat it with caution, using external evidence of what we know about Cornutus to make some modest assumptions as to what we might expect from him, and using internal textual evidence to infer what we might expect in terms of content, style, structure and method, acknowledging, though without prejudice, the passages that Lang has chosen to bracket.<sup>13</sup> This approach has one significant disadvantage but several important advantages. The disadvantage is the risk of circular argument in the identification of significant amounts of material in Lang’s text, whether or not bracketed by Lang, which cannot be attributable to Cornutus.<sup>14</sup> One advantage is the resulting identification of an unexciting but well-written school text with intentionally low-level philosophical content, which displays a remarkable internal consistency and an impressive ability to interpret a fundamentally illogical and chaotic polytheistic religion in terms of a rational and essentially monotheistic Stoic philosophy. Another advantage is an explanation for the structure of the text. Further advantages of this methodology include an insight into the nature

<sup>10</sup> Gill, 45, in no less than *The Cambridge Companion to the Stoics*. See Sections 1.1.5 and 1.6. for the status of etymology in this text by Cornutus.

<sup>11</sup> Thus Boys-Stones (2003b), 205. This Strong allegory would indeed be original for a Stoic: see Section 1.3 for a detailed discussion. Cornutus 76.6 *διὰ πλειόνων δὲ καὶ ἐξεργαστικώτερον εἴρηται τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις φιλοσόφοις*: there is no reason to suspect that this declaration by Cornutus is not genuine, and see commentary at 76.6 for *διὰ πλειόνων*.

<sup>12</sup> See Section 1.7.2.6. for the argument for the exclusion of the passage 56.22-57.5.

<sup>13</sup> Lang brackets 75 different sections of text, the great majority being fewer than 10 words, but fails to give reasons for his objections. Most (1989) 2028, n.107 criticizes Lang for bracketing some alternative etymologies as ‘fundamentally to misconstrue the nature of the treatise’. Since Lang does not, however, always object to alternative etymologies, this is clearly not a criterion used for rejection, and in this instance, Most fundamentally misconstrues Lang’s bracketing. Krafft’s absence of comment on any significant manuscript variations suggests that Lang’s objections are to perceived accretions present in the  $\omega$  archetype (tree diagram, Krafft, 315), and not differences in manuscript readings. See Section 1.7.2. for a detailed discussion.

<sup>14</sup> Argument which takes the form: Cornutus says X, this piece of text says not-X, thus cannot be Cornutus. There is no other extant work attributable to Cornutus from which we could deduce anything about this text.



of ancient etymology generally, and its use specifically by Stoics, and some insights into the nature of the material studied by pupils at the time the text was written.

This thesis started out primarily as an investigation of the etymologies provided by Cornutus, and it has remained the principal focus of the work. But the systematic study of the etymologies has identified several problems which prompted a shift of focus to the more fundamental question of identifying exactly what Cornutus could have written.<sup>15</sup> Therefore, ἀφ' Ἑστίας ἀρχόμενος, I have adopted the second methodological approach which, as far as I am aware, has not previously been applied to this text by any commentator.

#### 1.1.4. Methodology of the thesis in detail

The method I employ to examine the text and, as a first step, to identify material which is not attributable to Cornutus, is ultimately personal judgement. Yet this judgement is based on rational and definable principles, and considering the unsatisfactory results of the first approach described above, is entirely justifiable. As a methodological principle for the identification of accretions, I work on the assumption that the text is genuine unless I can argue for exclusion on the grounds that it disappoints *several* of my expectations of the text, Q1 to Q11, as defined below.

As external evidence, the following information (F=Fact) is used to define my expectations of the text:

- F 1) It was generally recognized that Cornutus was a well-respected and prominent Stoic philosopher.<sup>16</sup>
- F 2) He had some recognition as a teacher.<sup>17</sup>
- F 3) Cornutus is correctly identified as the author of (the vast majority of) this work.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Most (1989), 2016, identifies the anomaly that the quality of the text as we have it is incompatible with the high respect which Cornutus enjoyed.

<sup>16</sup> Cornutus is the last of the 23 Stoic philosophers listed by D.L.: see Nock 995. Various ancient references to him indicate a generally recognized status: Gellius *n.a.* 2.6.1 *nonnulli grammatici aetatis superioris, in quibus est Cornutus Annaeus, haud sane indocti neque ignobiles.*

<sup>17</sup> Persius *Sat.* 5; Cassius Dio 62.29.2 καὶ Ἀνναῖον Κορνοῦτον εὐδοκιμοῦντα τότε ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ. Texts relating to the life of Cornutus are conveniently summarized in Hays, 174-200.

<sup>18</sup> There is external evidence that this text is by Cornutus, and no internal evidence to suggest otherwise. See for example the only explicit attested reference to this work, EM 408.52, and Appendix 1, Table 12.

- F 4) Some basic biographical information about him is secure.<sup>19</sup>
- F 5) Stoics were well-known as describing the divinity, namely the controlling faculty of the universe and equated with Zeus, as a kind of rational principle which pervades the whole of the world. Man's share of this ability for rational thought links him to the divinity and separates him from other animals.<sup>20</sup>
- F 6) Stoics were known for their interest in logic and a systematic approach to philosophy, and they claimed to produce internally self-consistent arguments.<sup>21</sup>

This external evidence can entitle the reader to expect some specific qualities (Q=quality) of the text:

- Q 1) A Stoic text on theological matters would be expected to contain a significant element of that quality which we share with the Gods, namely the capacity for rational thought.
- Q 2) F6 might lead the reader to expect the text to have an internal logical consistency.
- Q 3) From F1 and F2, Cornutus might be expected to be well informed about his subject, to produce a well-written, accurate, grammatically unchallengeable and coherent text with an identifiable evenness of style, with an internal structure which is well designed for its purpose.

As internal evidence, using textual evidence from places in the text which gives no grounds for treating it as not Cornutus, I use the following information:

- F 7) The work is written in Greek.
- F 8) It is a school text.<sup>22</sup>
- F 9) The purpose of the text is to encourage the reader/listener to adopt a correct attitude to the gods by avoiding the two extremes of superstition and atheism.<sup>23</sup>

This internal evidence can entitle the reader to expect these qualities of the text:

---

<sup>19</sup> Rome, C+1, banished by Nero: see Nock 995. Inevitably I assume that the text was used in Rome, but his banishment means that theoretically this assumption is incorrect.

<sup>20</sup> LS 1.277-279, with references; Algra, *passim*; difference between man and animal: Cicero *ND* 2.34, 2.79.1-2.

<sup>21</sup> LS 1.160-161; Algra, *passim*; White, *passim*.

<sup>22</sup> Most (1989), 2029-2034. At various places in the text by Cornutus, usually to signal a change of subject, the reader is addressed with ὦ παιδίον or similar. The text ends with an exhortation about correct living, addressed to the young (76.13 τῶν νέων). The fact that this school text has survived might suggest that somebody thought it to be of particular value.

<sup>23</sup> Cornutus, 76.9f.

- Q 4) As a school text, the content is consistently comprehensible to a school child.<sup>24</sup>
- Q 5) A school text would be expected to display an air of authority, by making clear and unambiguous statements, even at the risk of over-simplification. Considering the relatively late age of the pupil, and the social background (Greek language, and C+1 Rome, thus probably aristocratic), a relatively high level of education can be assumed, sometimes an education beyond intelligence. Some encouragement of individual thought might be expected, such as signalling of areas where facts are unknown and personal opinion is invited, but always in the context of secure information.
- Q 6) In a school text, with its low-level pedagogical aim, one would not expect to find material demonstrating originality.<sup>25</sup>
- Q 7) A Stoic text would be expected to provide rational argument; a school text would be expected to contain reasoned argument with clear explanations provided immediately after a given statement. The study of rhetoric was, however, of major importance in Roman education, thus any school text would be expected to contain argument which if not logically valid, was at least rhetorically convincing.<sup>26</sup> Factors which contribute towards being rhetorically effective include a) the character of, in this case, the teacher; b) arrangement; c) clarity and appropriate style,<sup>27</sup> factors which are entirely consistent with the other expectations listed here.
- Q 8) As a school text, one would expect didactically-convincing connections between topics, generating a flowing style and creating the impression of an authoritative coherence.
- Q 9) Any text urging against superstition would be expected to attempt to eliminate irrational fear of the gods by providing rational explanations for them and emphasizing their benign nature.
- Q 10) Any text urging against atheism would be expected to treat the Gods with respect and emphasize their meaningful nature and importance.

<sup>24</sup> The age of the pupil addressed is discussed in Section 1.9.3, but judging on difficulty of language and content, at least 13, probably older. The sex of the child is not assumed, but throughout the thesis, I use the masculine personal pronoun he/him.

<sup>25</sup> Supported by Cornutus himself, see Section 1.1.2. It is also vital to define *originality* correctly: if Stoic ideas are detected in the text which have not been attested for earlier Stoics, this could simply be a lack of attestation, rather than originality by Cornutus himself. If the commentator attributes the originality specifically to Cornutus, then under the circumstances of Cornutus' own declaration, the onus is on the commentator to argue for the attribution, rather than assume it. This is an important methodological issue, because perceived originality should not be a criterion for praising Cornutus, but rather for consideration of the piece of text as an accretion, or lack of previous sources: see Section 1.7.2.

<sup>26</sup> See e.g. Carcopino, 104-115.

<sup>27</sup> a) Aristotle *Rh.* 1377b20-28; b) *ibid.* 1403b6-20; c) *ibid.* 1404b1 ὀρίσθω λέξεως ἀρετὴ σαφῆ εἶναι.

Q 11) If the archetype is a school text which has been in use, marginal notes and graffiti could be expected, which could then have been assimilated into the text during later copying.

Further general methodological principles are:

- 1) The recognition that attribution of a text to a particular author is insecure. Attribution is uncertain when the text is a quotation by a later writer who attributes his quotation himself, but far more doubtful when the later writer does not name his source, and where the attribution is performed by a modern scholar. This is particularly problematic in the case of the Stoic fragments (SVF), where some are attributed on the basis that ‘this the kind of thing that a Stoic would say’, others with precision where a quotation takes the form ‘Chrysippus says X, but Diogenes Bab. says Y’, and yet others are attributed to either Chrysippus or Zeno because the specific name Chrysippus or Zeno has been used as a generic name for Stoics.<sup>28</sup> As a result, any comparison between Cornutus and other Stoics based on such fragments would have very little conviction.
- 2) As a corollary, the only secure methodology for attributing, say, an etymology, is to classify it as Stoic, non-Stoic, or both. Thus as long as a fragment has been correctly attributed to a Stoic writer, the error in attribution to the specific Stoic is of little concern. The problem is potentially aggravated by uncertainty about a writer’s philosophical position, but, as will be discussed in 1.6.5, this is not a significant issue.
- 3) The total length of the Lang text is 12036 words, including all bracketed text.<sup>29</sup> I shall argue below for the exclusion of 1661 words, 14% of the text, in a total of 86 individual accretions. As discussed in detail in the thesis, I identify *ca.* 450 semantically meaningful units of information in the text, and as a methodological principle, I assume that this number is sufficiently large for valid statistical analysis, and the rejection of such a small proportion of it, without being accused of circular argument.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> See Most (1989), 2017 ‘von Arnim’s heroic but inadequate collection’ (= SVF). Two examples of many: SVF 1009, where οἱ Στωϊκοί are quoted, but assigned to Chrysippus, and SVF 1.514 attributed to Cleanthes, but from Cornutus, a large section of text in which Cleanthes’ name is mentioned, but where the attribution to Cleanthes is by no means secure.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Plato *Ap.* 8500; *Cra.* 19000 words (approx.).

<sup>30</sup> Discussed in detail in Section 1.7.2.

- 4) The discussion in Section 1.8 of sources which Cornutus may be using is based on very simple statistical principles: for example, I reject conclusions based on either statistically inadequate data, or deliberate selection of data, or conclusions drawn from patterns of data which can be explained simply on the grounds of statistical probability. On these grounds, any comparison or identification can only proceed on a statistical basis. It is methodologically unacceptable to state that, say, A uses etymologies X and Y, so does B, therefore A must be using B as a source; one must of course also consider how often A and B disagree on etymologies, and whether there is sufficient information to arrive at any conclusion at all: see Sections 1.6 and 1.8.<sup>31</sup>

### 1.1.5. Conclusions of the thesis.

#### 1.1.5.1. Overall conclusion about the nature of the text.

The structure, integrity and nature of the text is argued in detail in Section 1.7 and Section 3 (the commentary), but my general conclusion about the text is as follows:

If Lang's text is accepted in its entirety, then of the anticipated qualities of the text, enumerated above as Q1 to Q11, apart from Q10 (respect for the gods), none of these expectations is satisfactorily or even remotely met. By removing the material which I claim to be spurious, 10 of these 11 expectations are completely fulfilled, and the hitherto inexplicable structure of the text can be justified by identifying Cornutus' aims (discussed in Sections 1.1.5.2. and 1.7.3). The possible shortcomings of Q4 (comprehensibility to a school child) are limited to the account of Stoic cosmogony, where it is difficult to assess whether it could make sense to anyone.<sup>32</sup>

This thesis thus argues two main conclusions. First, *ca.* 14% of the Lang edition of the text is accretive material, in 86 units, which was already present in the archetype from which the 35 extant manuscripts were generated. The practical application of the criteria for rejection (specified in 1.7.2. and based on the methodological principles listed in 1.1.4.) has resulted in only a very small number of cases where a piece of text could not be classified with confidence as either Cornutus or Not-Cornutus. The conclusion is that where Lang has bracketed sections of the text (75 units, *ca.*

---

<sup>31</sup> This methodological principle is ignored by several modern commentators on Cornutus: see Section 1.8.

<sup>32</sup> But this problem may simply be due to my own culturally-conditioned expectations of 'sense' in the field of physics. Aristotle presumably thought that his *Meteorologica* made sense, but if a modern scientific journal were forced to review one specific topic, say, his explanation of the rainbow (373a32-377a29), the focus of the review would be the state of his mental health rather than his physics.

9% of the text), it was a subjective assessment based on the inappropriate nature of the content, not manuscript variation.<sup>33</sup> The thesis further argues that not only was his judgement sound in almost every case, his approach was conservative, in that several other passages are also accretions.<sup>34</sup>

The second main conclusion is that having removed this accretive material, and apart from the stated aims at the end of the text, virtually the whole of the text can be allocated to one of two categories: *ca.* 450 separate items of information concerning Greek gods, including names, epithets, genealogies, iconography and religious practices, and *ca.* 600 individual items of rational explanation for them in terms of Stoic physics.<sup>35</sup> Thus rational argument saturates the whole text, as one would expect from a didactic text written by a Stoic, a text primarily concerned with the nature of Zeus. The thesis also argues that two fundamental characteristics of the text are carefully planned and deliberate. First, Cornutus requires that every single one of the 450 items of information is provided either with an immediate rational explanation, or where rational explanation is unavailable, a rhetorically convincing argument.<sup>36</sup> Secondly, as far as is logically possible, Cornutus devises methods of connecting each subject with the next producing a didactically convincing and smooth reading of the text. Considering that he is describing a chaotic genealogical tree of deities with a structure which cannot be mapped satisfactorily onto a linear text, the achievement is impressive.

For rational explanation of material, the only items of information which cannot be explained using logical argument are names and epithets of the gods. But Cornutus requires (at least for the purpose of this text) that *everything* is rationally explicable, thus he resorts to etymologies to provide rational explanations for these names and epithets. Of the 450 items of information, only *ca.* 150 are names, all of which require explanations. Whilst the great majority are explained with a single etymology, 34 names are provided with multiple alternative etymologies, giving a total of *ca.* 200 etymologies for these 150 *nominata*. Thus of the 450 items of information, 150 are names and epithets requiring explanation; of the 600 items of rational explanation, 200 are etymologies — the same ratio: for him, a specific etymology is of secondary importance to its explanatory function, and thus he accepts all the alternative etymologies he offers, because they all provide some insight

<sup>33</sup> Except for one section, namely most of Lang 58, where manuscript readings differ significantly, probably due to unintelligible accretions: see Section 3, Commentary.

<sup>34</sup> This main conclusion suggests that further manuscript analysis with the aim of providing a better text is unlikely to produce any significant improvement to Lang's edition: see Section 1.7.2.

<sup>35</sup> This results in an average of about 10 words per semantic item, requiring considerable linguistic skill to achieve such a concise manner of expression whilst retaining a degree of readability. See Section 1.7.2. with text elements tabulated in Appendix 10, Table 2.

<sup>36</sup> See commentary at 72.15 for a good example of rhetorical argument for the epithet  $\chi\theta\omicron\nu\iota\alpha$  of Hekate.

into the nature of the deity. I argue that this criterion is essential for him, and every single one of his *ca.* 200 etymologies is ‘meaningful’ in the sense that it describes some aspect of the nominatum, and conforms to his Stoic physics.<sup>37</sup> The crucial issue for Cornutus, then, is not a name, nor a ‘correct’ etymology in the modern sense of the term, but explanation in rational terms. Etymology is thus for him one aspect of rational argument. In this text, Cornutus is not an etymologist, he is a rationalist who uses etymology as just one weapon in his armoury.<sup>38</sup>

### 1.1.5.2. Conclusion: The purpose of the text.

According to Cornutus himself in his closing remarks (75.18), study of the text will impress on the pupil:

- Respect for the ancient mythographers, who were well capable of understanding their world;
- The usefulness of an overall understanding of the principles of interpreting their material, even when not going on to study in greater depth;
- Acceptance of the tradition of the fathers in its entirety;
- Reverence, and not superstition, i.e. respect for the gods, avoiding the two extremes of superstition and atheism;
- Correctness of behaviour resulting from reverence, specifically in sacrificing and praying, but more generally in appropriate moderation of behaviour in any situation.

As summarized in Section 1.1.5.1, the method Cornutus uses to achieve these ends is primarily the systematic use of reason, supported by rhetorical argument where rationality is not possible. The interpretation of mythic material in a rational manner contributes to the aim of avoiding the extreme of atheism, but there are two further methods used. First, there is an insistence that all gods are fundamentally benign: Cornutus consistently stresses the positive, so that the Erinnyes (*sic*) confine themselves strictly to the wicked, and even Ares has a positive rôle;<sup>39</sup> Hermes, arguably the most benign god, has the central position in the text. Secondly, there is a judicious *selection* of mythic material which enables Cornutus to exorcize all deities with whom a significant element of fear is associated. This method only becomes apparent when all accretions are removed (where circularity

<sup>37</sup> This explains why he sometimes avoids an ‘obvious’ etymology: Hermes is Ἀργειφόντης either from ἀργόν + φωνή *swift sound*, or ἀργόν + φαίνω *causes everything to appear clearly*. Killing one dog does not describe his nature (see Appendix 1, Table 32).

<sup>38</sup> *pace* Gill, 45 (see n.10 above); *pace* Most (1989), 2027: ‘It is obvious that the prime method Cornutus makes use of ... is etymology’. Also Long (1992), 54, ‘He [Cornutus] is an etymologist, not an allegorist’, but Long is focussing here on the difference between allegory and etymology, and Cornutus’ more fundamental methodology is not the issue.

<sup>39</sup> Thus conflicting with Aëtius *plac.* 1.6 = SVF 2.1009 which gives a category of Stoic deities as *agents of harm* τοὺς δὲ βλάπτοντας Ποινάς, Ἐρινύας, Ἄρην: see Section 1.5, and commentary at 11.9.

of argument is avoided by not having fear of a deity as a criterion for identifying accretions; see Section 1.7.2.): very many instances are identifiable where Cornutus minimizes, neutralizes or removes an aspect of a deity which could engender superstition. For example, although the epithet  $\chi\theta\acute{o}\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$  is widely attested elsewhere for several deities, Cornutus (72.18) only provides it for Hekate ( $\chi\theta\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ), and even then it is rhetorically dismissed.<sup>40</sup>

Thus whilst the use of rational and rhetorical argument supports Cornutus' aim of teaching reverence, his implicit denial of harmful gods and careful selection and interpretation of those gods most likely to be feared has the well-planned and consistent aim of eliminating superstition. This thesis concludes that from the list of aims specified by Cornutus, the overriding immediate consideration is the avoidance of atheism and superstition, leading to true reverence, which is a prerequisite for proper behaviour. Whilst the argument reveals a standard Stoic philosophy, this ultimate aim of the text is by no means specifically Stoic: it was a concern of all philosophical schools.<sup>41</sup>

The exposition presented by Cornutus has no parallel elsewhere, and the specific interpretation of myth which provides a basis for a fundamentally benign pantheon free from potentially harmful deities is elsewhere unattested. There is nevertheless the overall impression of an interpretation and selection which might be construed as conscious distortion: he is simplifying or even bowdlerizing to eliminate superstition in a child. This thesis thus concludes that the text represents Cornutus' own philosophical views, but distorted to an unknown extent for pedagogical purposes. A corollary to this conclusion is that any attempt on the basis of this text to isolate a philosophical position specifically for Cornutus is fundamentally unsound.

---

<sup>40</sup> See Section 1.9.4. for a summary of these instances, and see too commentary *ad loc.*

<sup>41</sup> See Section 1.9.4. for a discussion of this and the other aims of the text.



### 1.1.5.3. Conclusion: Cornutus' sources.

Cornutus states that his account is composed of material which has already been provided by earlier philosophers in greater detail, and Section 1.8 examines various text parallels in an attempt to identify his sources. But evidence is also provided at 1.6.5, Conclusions about Stoic Etymology, and 1.7. Structure and Content. The general conclusions of these Sections are summarized as follows:

- 1) Earlier commentators have used parallels between Cornutus and other texts to arrive at conclusions about sources using a methodology which is fundamentally flawed on two counts: first, too much weight is attributed to textual similarities, where differences are conveniently ignored, and secondly, too much significance is attached to the identification of the same etymologies of words for Cornutus and other writers on the unproven premise that this is a source indicator for Cornutus. In any case, provided that an etymology offers an insight into the nature of its nominatum, and is in agreement with Stoic interpretation, the actual etymology is of secondary importance to Cornutus, and its provenance of little significance.
- 2) The definition of *source* requires examination. Modern connotations suggest a direct quotation from a specific book where an exact reference could be given as a footnote. This is however not the method of working which Cornutus would have used: this text was probably written from memory without any immediate reference to any source book.<sup>42</sup> It is inconceivable that an encyclopaedic work on theology such as Apollodorus *περί θεῶν* was unknown to Cornutus, and it would be surprising if he had not been influenced by it in some manner to the extent of incorporating some ideas from it in this text. But Cornutus would also have been aware of a great deal of the writings of Chrysippus and other Stoics, whose work will have covered the same material as Apollodorus, and the extent to which any one text might have been used is not as immediately quantifiable as with a modern work. Thus the concept of a *source* is not as meaningful as earlier scholarship might suggest.
- 3) The coherent structure of the first section of the text nevertheless strongly suggests that, up to and including the exposition of Hermes, Cornutus is following at least the structure and rational argument of one particular Stoic source, derived directly or indirectly from Chrysippus. After this point, other than standard Stoic interpretations no single source seems to dominate. Lack of clear evidence of differences between Stoics, and the unlikelihood that Cornutus is copying directly from one text, ultimately prevents secure identification of the philosophers to whom Cornutus refers.

---

<sup>42</sup> Misquotations of Homer support this view: see Section 1.9.2.

## 1.2. Historical / cosmological background

A common root of all known theories of cosmology was the assignation of divine qualities to astronomical phenomena as characterized for example by the ancient Egyptian cults of the Sun god Ra and the Sky goddess Nut.<sup>43</sup>

Earliest Greek ideas of the physical composition of the world are discernible in Homer, the *Iliad* providing a 4-tier description with 1) οὐρανός 2) Χθών (=Γαῖα) 3) δόμος Ἀΐδew 4) Τάρταρος.<sup>44</sup> γαῖα is variously used for the solid ground generally, a specific country, or the Earth as a unit.<sup>45</sup> In this last sense, γαῖα is contrasted with οὐρανός,<sup>46</sup> and one passage has been cited as evidence that ὕδωρ and γαῖα are recognized as the two basic elements.<sup>47</sup> Homer is sometimes able to differentiate between αἰθήρ, the clear upper air between earth and the οὐρανός ἀστερόεις, and ἀήρ which is closer to earth and misty or hazy.<sup>48</sup> There is, however, general vagueness of terms and an overlapping of boundaries between αἰθήρ and οὐρανός, thus although Ζεὺς δ' ἔλαχ' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἐν αἰθέρι καὶ νεφέλῃσι,<sup>49</sup> αἰθήρ is where Zeus lives, or a region below this, or the sky in general.<sup>50</sup>

Hesiod, however, has a more specific seat for the gods, and he differentiates between οὐρανός and αἰθήρ: Χάος produces Ἐρεβος and Νύξ, Νύξ produces Ἡμέρη and Αἰθήρ by mating with Ἐρεβος. In parallel, Γαῖα, Τάρταρα and Ἔρος are generated, and Γαῖα (πάντων ἔδος) produces Οὐρανός (μακάρεσσι θεοῖς ἔδος).<sup>51</sup> Hesiod also provides an insight into ancient meteorology in recognizing that ἀήρ consists of, or contains, moisture drawn from rivers which provides rain, as does Herodotus in the mid 5th century.<sup>52</sup> The distinction, though vague, between αἰθήρ and ἀήρ is thus already present in epic poetry. Hesiod also refers to αἰθήρ as bright and high, as does Herodotus, who associates αἰθήρ with fine weather and night air.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Union of Earth god Gebb and Sky goddess Nut: Budge, 436; Webster, 44-45.

<sup>44</sup> *Il.* 8.13-16.

<sup>45</sup> Of the 137 occurrences in the *Iliad*, 77 equate to ground, 32 to a country and 28 to Earth, though sometimes unclear.

<sup>46</sup> *Il.* 5.769.

<sup>47</sup> Gilbert, 22: *Il.* 7.99, Menelaos taunts the Achaians reluctant to fight Hektor with ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν πάντες, ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα γένοισθε. Noteworthy too is the shield of Achilles at *Il.* 18.483-484.

<sup>48</sup> *Il.* 14.286-288.

<sup>49</sup> *Il.* 15.192.

<sup>50</sup> *Il.* 2.412 Ζεὺς ... αἰθέρι ναίων; *Il.* 2.458 ... δι' αἰθέρος οὐρανὸν ἵκε; *Il.* 8.558-559 οὐρανόθεν δ' ἄρ' ὑπερράγη ἄσπετος αἰθήρ, / πάντα δὲ εἶδεται ἄστρα.

<sup>51</sup> *Theog.* 116-128. However, *Theog.* 18 Κρονίδης ὑψίζυγος, αἰθέρι ναίων = *Il.* 4.166.

<sup>52</sup> *WD* 547-553; *Hdt.* 2.25.

<sup>53</sup> Hesiod *Theog.* 697 φλῶξ δ' αἰθέρα διὰν ἵκανε; e.g. *Hdt.* 2.25.2-4 ἄτε διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου αἰθρίου τε ἐόντος τοῦ ἡέρος τοῦ κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία.

This distinction was, however, not universally recognized amongst Pre-Socratic philosophers, who proposed numerous models of the physical universe. The Pythagoreans claimed that the earth was spherical, moving round a central primeval fire.<sup>54</sup> Empedocles (500-430?) was the first to postulate that air (αἰθήρ) was an element, in addition to fire, earth and water, with the elements (ῥιζώματα) held in a dynamic equilibrium of the opposing random forces of love and strife.<sup>55</sup> He makes no distinction, however, between αἰθήρ and ἄήρ, equating them both to the πνεῦμα of breathing animals,<sup>56</sup> and even equating air with οὐρανός.<sup>57</sup> Anaxagoras (500-428?) appears to be the first philosopher to make an explicit physical distinction between αἰθήρ and ἄήρ, whereby ἤρξατο ὁ νοῦς κινεῖν,<sup>58</sup> resulting in a separation of the earthly elements from the αἰθήρ.<sup>59</sup> The physical properties of the αἰθήρ are described as ἀραιόν, θερμόν and ξηρόν, and there are large numbers of elements all controlled by one νοῦς.<sup>60</sup> Aristotle reports that Anaxagoras describes the αἰθήρ as fire.<sup>61</sup> Anaximenes (580-530?) claimed that ἄήρ is the principle of existing things, and the ψυχή is 'air controlling us'.<sup>62</sup> Heraclitus (520-460?), however, postulated an everlasting fire as an archetypal form of matter: the world is an ever-living fire ... changes between fire, sea and earth balance each other out; pure, or aethereal fire has a directive capacity.<sup>63</sup> The pure cosmic fire was 'probably identified by Heraclitus with the αἰθήρ'.<sup>64</sup>

Plato objects to the views of Empedocles because the elements operate by unacceptable φιλία καὶ νεῖκος, not divine plan.<sup>65</sup> He also has Socrates dismiss the theories of Anaxagoras for not believing, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι, that the sun and moon are gods,<sup>66</sup> and rejects Anaxagoras' mechanistic causes such as ἀέρας δὲ καὶ αἰθέρας καὶ ὕδατα καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα<sup>67</sup> as being incompatible with his perception of a mathematically perfect, geometrically designed universe fashioned by a divine δημιουργός from the four elements, with a ubiquitous divine ψυχή.<sup>68</sup> He also

<sup>54</sup> Aristotle *Cael.* 293b.

<sup>55</sup> Plutarch fr. 179.97ff.

<sup>56</sup> Empedocles fr. 100. (Aristotle *Resp.* 473a 15).

<sup>57</sup> fr. 22.10 ἠλέκτωρ τε χθών τε καὶ οὐρανός ἦδὲ θάλασσα.

<sup>58</sup> fr. 13.

<sup>59</sup> fr. 15.

<sup>60</sup> fr. 12.4.

<sup>61</sup> *Mete.* 369b14-15; *Cael.* 270b24-25.

<sup>62</sup> fr. 2.

<sup>63</sup> fr. 30.

<sup>64</sup> KRS 197-198.

<sup>65</sup> *Lg.* 889b.1 πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν καὶ ἀέρα φύσει πάντα εἶναι καὶ τύχη φασίν, τέχνη δὲ οὐδέν.

<sup>66</sup> *Ap.* 26d.

<sup>67</sup> *Phd.* 98c.2.

<sup>68</sup> *Ti.* 32ff.

hints at a fifth substance distributed over the heaven as an adornment, presumably a pun on κόσμος, and an opposite of χάος.<sup>69</sup> This hint is fortified by the list of etymologies in the *Cratylus*, with the sequence πῦρ, ὕδωρ, ἀήρ, αἰθήρ, γῆ and the report by Xenocrates that Plato had indeed posited five elements.<sup>70</sup>

Extant sources thus reveal that numerous cosmologies were developing in parallel, which by the end of the fifth century had very little agreement other than that the earth was spherical, at the centre (*pace* Pythagoreans) of a spherical universe consisting of concentric layers of substance extending upwards with an increasing measure of divine quality. Thus the αἰθήρ was at least generally identified as not only higher than ἀήρ but also, at least in poetry, significantly more divine. Since there was no standard scheme for the universe nor for the status of the dead, most of the dead were in Hades, though the αἰθήρ was an alternative destination.<sup>71</sup> An epitaph to the dead of Potidaea (ca. 432) describes the αἰθήρ receiving souls, perhaps elevating the war-dead above ordinary souls.<sup>72</sup> Sophocles refers to this alternative,<sup>73</sup> and Euripides blurs the boundaries by allocating the αἰθήρ to mortals who have become divine,<sup>74</sup> war heroes,<sup>75</sup> and elsewhere the ordinary dead.<sup>76</sup> Euripides is thus 1) relying primarily on contemporary philosophical theories of e.g. Diogenes of Apollonia or 2) reproducing a popular belief from an older theory such as [Pseudo-]Epicharmus,<sup>77</sup> or 3) popularizing the idea himself.<sup>78</sup>

Aristotle specifically adopted αἰθήρ as a fifth element, citing the immutability of region and *consensus omnium*.<sup>79</sup> He argued that the celestial sphere was the only one to move constantly in the natural primary circular motion, superior to the secondary vertical motion of the four elements, and because it was eternal and the others perishable, was a primary element, αἰθήρ, distinct from the other four.<sup>80</sup> He postulated a spherical universe, with a fixed divine sphere of stars at the

<sup>69</sup> *Ti.* 40a.

<sup>70</sup> Sedley (1998), 150; Xenocrates fr. 264-266. fr. 265 πέντε σχήματα καὶ σώματα ὠνόμαζεν, εἰς αἰθέρα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν καὶ ἀέρα. See too [Plato] *Epin.* 981c πέμπτον δὲ αἰθέρα. Date of the latest version of *Cratylus* and possible influence of Aristotle on Plato: Sedley (2004), 14. Plato's sympathy with Pythagoras: Sedley (2004), 15-16.

<sup>71</sup> Mikalson, 114.

<sup>72</sup> *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 1179 Π (*IG* 1<sup>2</sup> 945 Π) αἰθὲρ μὲν φσυχᾶς ὑπεδέχσατο, σόμ[ατα δὲ χθόν].

<sup>73</sup> *S.Aj.* 1192-1193.

<sup>74</sup> fr. papyr. 65.71-72.

<sup>75</sup> *Supp.* 533-534; 1139-1141.

<sup>76</sup> *Or.* 1086-1087; *IT* 843-844; *Hel.* 1013-1016; fr. 839. Mikalson, 115, states without explanation that this was 'always a minority view'.

<sup>77</sup> *Fragmenta Pseudepicharmea* 239.2-4.

<sup>78</sup> Collard, 252.

<sup>79</sup> Although he called it 'το πρῶτον σῶμα', it was later known as the fifth element, *quinta essentia*: *Cael.* 270b.

<sup>80</sup> *Cael.* 270b21-24.

circumference and earth at the centre, with diminishing divinity and *τιμή* towards the centre.<sup>81</sup> The stars are composed of this 5th element, not fire. The element in contact with the spheres which carry the stars is not air, but fire, or rather a flammable material (*ὑπέκκαυμα*) easily ignited.<sup>82</sup> The light the stars emit, and the heat of the sun, is somehow produced by friction with and ignition of the air beneath the flammable material.<sup>83</sup>

Later philosophers expanded on the earlier basic concepts, and two diverse tendencies can be seen to emerge: one views the area above the moon to be completely separate from and with a different nature to the sub-lunar one (e.g. Epicureans), and the other sees the earth and its surroundings containing the same substances as the cosmos and intimately involved with it (e.g. Stoics). The Stoic theory has as a starting point two principles, *ἀρχαί*: passive matter and active *λόγος = θεός*.<sup>84</sup> God is an intelligent, designing fire which methodically proceeds towards creation of the world, a breath pervading the whole world which takes on different names owing to the alterations of the matter through which it passes. Aristotle considered *πνεῦμα* to be a combination of breath and (aether-)heat, and the Stoics took on the features of his *πνεῦμα* as *πῦρ τεχνικόν*.<sup>85</sup> But the Stoics equated each element with one quality (earth = dry, water = moist, air = cold, fire = hot) as opposed to Aristotle's complexity of transformation through eternal opposites. For the Stoics, *πνεῦμα = αἰθήρ*, necessarily having the nature of fire, and having a logical etymology *ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰθεσθαι*. Aristotle had explicitly denied that this etymology was correct, for his 5th element was not fire, but had the property of eternal circular motion with a natural etymology *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀεὶ θεῖν*.<sup>86</sup>

The permanent indestructible world-order for which Aristotle argues is contrasted with a Stoic cycle of *ἐκπύρωσις*, conflagration and regeneration of an infinite chronological series of worlds.<sup>87</sup> Consequently, cosmogony is a crucial element of Stoic theory, and an important element of the background to Cornutus' text. The starting point for Stoic cosmogony is perhaps Heraclitus, two fragments (31, 36) of whom suggest the following schemes:

<sup>81</sup> *Cael.* 269b15.

<sup>82</sup> *Mete.* 341b14.

<sup>83</sup> *Cael.* 289a11-35 (chap.2.vii).

<sup>84</sup> D.L.7.134 citing specifically Zeno, Cleanthes, Chrysippus, Archedamus and Posidonius. See too Stobaeus 1.213, 15-21 (= SVF 1.120) and Aëtius (1.7.33). Hahm, 31, concludes that *ἀρχαί* was indeed the expression used by the early Stoics themselves, not the interpolation of later doxographers.

<sup>85</sup> Aristotle *GA* 736b34.

<sup>86</sup> See Appendix 1.

<sup>87</sup> Aristotle *Cael.* I.x; Aristocles fr. 3 (part) Ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ κατὰ τινὰς εἰμαρμένους χρόνους ἐκπυροῦσθαι τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον, εἴτ' αὖθις πάλιν διακοσμεῖσθαι. Seneca *epistles* 9.16: *..the world dissolved, gods blended into one, nature stops*. Philo (*aet. mundi* 76-77) reports later Stoics (Boethus Sidon, Panaetius, Diogenes Bab.) as having abandoned this cycle theory; Stoic cosmogony: Hahm, 57-90.

Heracl. 31:	Primeval fire	→	water	↗	Earth	→	water	→	fire (αἰθήρ)
				↘	Fire				
Heracl. 36:	Primeval fire (ψυχτή)	→	water	→	Earth	→	water	→	fire (ψυχτή)

Fr. 36 is found in later Stoic reformulations (e.g. fr. 76 Maxim. Tyr.) with air added, providing strong evidence that Heraclitus was at least one root of Stoic cosmogony.<sup>88</sup>

A definite sequence of physical events comprising the regeneration from a state of pure fire to the four elements is traceable to Zeno in an interpretation of Hesiod’s *Theogony* (116-122).<sup>89</sup> Hesiod describes the sequence Χάος, Γαῖα, Τάρταρα, Ἔρος, so if ‘airy’ Tartaros is added as a fourth element, we have some kind of agreement between Zeno and Hesiod.<sup>90</sup>

Hesiod:		→	Χάος	→	Γαῖα	→	Τάρταρα	→	Ἔρος
Zeno:	Primeval fire		water		earth		air		fire

This could suggest Hesiod as another influence, raising the question of the connection between established beliefs and the formulation of Stoic cosmogony. Aristotle used *consensus omnium* to support theories (e.g. *Cael.* 270b – *Gods exist*); apart from Heraclitus, therefore, Zeno either developed his theory from, or harmonized it with, Hesiod.

The only evidence for Cleanthes’ physics of cosmogony is one unclear fragment of Stobaeus (SVF 1.497), but clearly influenced by Heraclitus and the latter’s stress on the balance of opposites, Cleanthes introduced the cyclic process of expansion and contraction, or condensation and rarefaction.<sup>91</sup> According again to Stobaeus, Chrysippus either takes over or develops a symmetrical process, claiming that the primeval fire goes through the following sequence finishing with a fire-like aether, and providing the four elements in the process:<sup>92</sup>

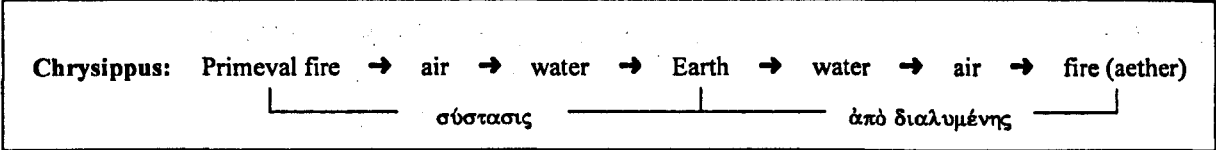
<sup>88</sup> KRS 204 n.1; Hahm, 59.

<sup>89</sup> Schol. A.R. 1.498 =SVF 1.104. Zeno supports his equation χᾶος = ὕδωρ with an etymology from χέεσθαι used by Cornutus. See Appendix 1.

<sup>90</sup> Hesiod *Theog.* 118-119. For the problem of interpolation, and interpretation of scholiast 119, see West (1966), 193-195.

<sup>91</sup> See Hahm, 79ff.

<sup>92</sup> 1.10.16c.18 =SVF 2.413, 15-19.



Plutarch, however, claims to quote Chrysippus *verbatim* in a sequence which omits the second 'water' phase, destroying the symmetry.<sup>93</sup> This is just one example of inconsistency which may be due to misunderstanding or deliberate distortion by later, possibly hostile, writers. Yet another version is found, almost consistent with the quotation from Plutarch, where reference is made to specific texts of Zeno, Chrysippus, Posidonius, Cleanthes, Antipater and Panaetius.<sup>94</sup> It is also possible, however, that there was no universal agreement about the exact mechanism for this change, and furthermore the lack of consistency in the vocabulary of later writers may indicate that the Stoics never spelled out the precise nature of elemental change.<sup>95</sup> For Cornutus, see commentary at 28.10.

Influence on Stoic cosmogony can be suspected in other sources. Plato uses very similar vocabulary when describing ordinary changes between elements.<sup>96</sup> Far more significant, however, is Aristotle's vocabulary of biology, in which he identifies the male and female principles of generation, ἀρχαὶ τῆς γενέσεως, male being active, the female passive:

- o GA 1.716a13 τὸ μὲν ἄρρεν ὡς τῆς κινήσεως καὶ τῆς γενέσεως ἔχον τὴν ἀρχήν, τὸ δὲ θῆλυ ὡς ὕλης.
- o GA 1.729a5-7 τὸ ἄρρεν .... κινοῦν καὶ ποιοῦν, τὸ δὲ θῆλυ ... παθητικόν.

This language is clearly that of the description of the Stoic ἀρχαί. Further, Aristotle considers male seminal fluid:

- o GA 1.729a29f Τὸ δὲ τῆς γονῆς σῶμα ἐν ᾧ συναπέρχεται τὸ σπέρμα τὸ τῆς ψυχικῆς ἀρχῆς, τὸ μὲν χωριστὸν ὄν σώματος ὅσοις ἐμπεριλαμβάνεται τι θεῖον (τοιοῦτος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ καλούμενος νοῦς) τὸ δ' ἀχώριστον...

and describes it as having δόναμις.<sup>97</sup> Indeed, the Stoic description of the (re-)birth of the world is based upon a biological, and specifically anthropomorphic model.<sup>98</sup> Aristotle's (remarkably accurate) biology has been influential, whereas his (remarkably wrong) physics has fortuitously been rejected. Thus 'the soul of a man is the rational "commanding faculty" which pervades and governs his body; god is the rational commanding-faculty of the universe ... at the onset of

<sup>93</sup> Plutarch SR 1053a = SVF 2.579.  
<sup>94</sup> D.L.7.142 = SVF 1.102.  
<sup>95</sup> Hahm, 83 n.4.  
<sup>96</sup> Plato *Ti.* 49b-c contains expressions such as πηγνόμενον, τηκόμενον, διακρινόμενον, συγκραθέντα, συγκριθέν. See too Hahm, 59.  
<sup>97</sup> Aristotle *GA* 1.737a8-11, a17.  
<sup>98</sup> LS 1.279.

cosmogony the divine fire contracts to become a fiery “sperm” or “soul” within a universe whose liquefaction, consequential on the subsidence of the fire, is analogous to the growth of an animal’s body’.<sup>99</sup> With the male providing a δύναμις *power, potentiality* residing in the semen, Aristotle has the female supply the *matter* for an embryo.<sup>100</sup> According to Origen, Chrysippus interpreted Hera as matter, thus conforming to Aristotle’s biological analogy, but this is just one reference to the interpretation of a picture of Zeus and Hera.<sup>101</sup> Elsewhere, the Stoic identification of Ἥρα with ἀήρ points to a difference between Stoic cosmology and Aristotelian biology.<sup>102</sup>

The Stoic god is described as σπερματικός λόγος, the seminal principle of the world — thus Diogenes Laërtius, referring to Zeno, Chrysippus and Archedamus:

- ο 7.136.2 καὶ ὡσπερ ἐν τῇ γονῇ τὸ σπέρμα περιέχεται, οὕτω καὶ τοῦτον σπερματικὸν λόγον ὄντα τοῦ κόσμου..

Here, γονῆ ‘almost certainly means seminal fluid’.<sup>103</sup> Further biological parallels can be found in the Stoic description of the process by which Earth comes from fluids: ὑφίστασθαι, συνίστασθαι, συνίξεσθαι, πήγνυσθαι and στερεμνιοῦσθαι are all found in accounts of embryology, with Aristotle’s account coming nearest to Stoic cosmogony.<sup>104</sup> Whilst thus heavily influenced by Aristotle’s biological concepts and vocabulary, the Stoics adapted his concepts to their own. Although σπέρμα is very common in Aristotle, the concept of σπερματικός λόγος is not found, whereas it is attested 19 times for Stoics before Cornutus, whose text is the first attestation of the expression not as a quotation from elsewhere.<sup>105</sup>

Stoic cosmogony was thus formulated on an idea either that there was an exact parallel with a living animal or that the universe actually was a living animal, born in the same manner. Thus Balbo, the Stoic spokesman in Cicero *ND* draws a biological analogy and equates *natura mundi* with providence (=πρόνοια, equated by Cornutus with Prometheus: see further, 1.4).<sup>106</sup> On the other hand, it is difficult to imagine that this concept has no connection with ancient cosmogonies of

<sup>99</sup> LS 1.279.

<sup>100</sup> Aristotle *GA* 727b31-33 Ὅτι μὲν οὖν συμβάλλεται τὸ θῆλυ εἰς τὴν γένεσιν τὴν ὕλην, τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ καταμνηνίων συστάσει ... δῆλον. This monumental error was not disproved until William Harvey in 1651.

<sup>101</sup> Origen *CC* 4.48.17-26.

<sup>102</sup> Appendix 1; *contra*: Hahm, 72 ‘Hera received an inconsistent interpretation by the Stoics’. However, apart from this one anecdote from Origen, there is no extant source which gives a Stoic interpretation other than Hera=air. Identification Hera=Earth found in 1) Empedocles (*Ach. Tat.* 3.13; *D.L.* 8.76.6); 2) Plutarch *fr.* 157.63; 3) isolated cases replacing Gaia (*KRS*, 57-58 n.2).

<sup>103</sup> LS 2.272. n.B3.

<sup>104</sup> Hahm, 76-77 (paraphrased), though he incorrectly uses embryogony for embryology.

<sup>105</sup> Aristotle: 467 instances of σπέρμα and compounds. Stoic σπερματικός λόγος: 15 in fragments of ‘Chrysippus’, 3 Arius Didymus, 1 Philo, (1 implausible Pythagoras).

<sup>106</sup> Cicero *ND* 2.58.



Egypt, Sumeria, Babylon and India, in which some analogies may be discerned, suggesting that one root of Stoic cosmogony was pre-Greek or imported from Persia.<sup>107</sup>

A system which describes, in biological terms, a controlling deity as being responsible for the deliberate creation and destruction of the world order, and intimately involved in it, thus needs to be in a position to explain the existence of a highly complex anthropomorphic representation of the divine in all its manifestations as being a plausible part of the overall plan. The interpretation of traditional Greek theology by ancient philosophers such as the Stoics is generally referred to as allegorical exegesis, and to investigate what Cornutus is doing, we need first to examine the context of ancient and modern concepts of allegory.

---

<sup>107</sup> Egypt: Atum-Re generates the parts of the universe with his seed (Hahm, 86 n.23); Sumerian mythology: goddess Nammu (primeval water) gives birth to An (Sky god) and Ki (Earth goddess), who then produce Enlil (Air god) (Hahm, 86 n.23); Babylonia: the *Enuma Elish* description of a watery chaos from which the gods Apsu, Ti'mat and Mummu are created (Jacobsen in Frankfort et al., 170-176); India: the *Chāndogya Upanisad* which posits a single being or truth, which produces fire, water, then food (Flood, 233); the *Rg Veda* describes the god Agni as pervading the world as heat (Flood, 46); the Hindu god Shiva, depicted as Shiva Nataraja, the Lord of the Dance, with unlimited energy, creates, maintains and destroys the cosmos, always encircled by fire (Flood, 46).

## 1.3. Allegory

### 1.3.1. Definitions of Allegory

A natural starting point for any discussion of Cornutus' approach to Homer and Hesiod is to clarify the historical context of, and the vocabulary associated with, allegory. As a general term, allegory is *saying one thing and meaning another*, but more precise definitions of allegory and allegoresis are a pre-requisite to this discussion, and modern analysis of ancient writers' interpretations of Homer and Hesiod is clouded by differences in terminology. Comparison of these various definitions reveals a general agreement that there is one fundamental criterion, and that is the *intention* of the original writer. If the ancient writer is considered intentionally to have composed a work with a meaning other than the literal, and is considered to have intended the work to be understood on the level of the 'hidden' meaning, this writer is said to be writing allegorically. This type of allegory seems to be recognized by all modern writers: it is either explicit or can be inferred when a definition is lacking. Many modern writers, however, recognize other levels, or categories, of allegory, and sometimes even provide definitions: thus Long — Strong allegory: composed with the intention of being interpreted allegorically, e.g. Dante's *Divine Comedy*, Spenser's *Faerie Queen*; Weak allegory: irrespective of authorial intention, the work invites interpretation in ways that go beyond its surface or so-called literal meaning, e.g. Pandora's box in Hesiod, Adam and Eve in Genesis.<sup>108</sup>

Defined thus, the difference between Strong and Weak allegory is essentially whether or not the author had the conscious intention of a reading other than the literal, but this distinction requires careful clarification because ultimately, consciousness defies absolute definition.<sup>109</sup> Any human action can be judged on a scale of relative consciousness ranging from total lack of awareness (e.g. sleepwalking) to another extreme of undeniable conscious awareness (e.g. Q-B6 checkmate). Between these extremes, the scale has vaguely defined segments which might be called sub-conscious and semi-conscious, but the boundaries between these segments are indefinable. A poet may thus write with an indefinable degree of consciousness about how a reader might interpret his work. But just as it is possible at some point to identify a frog as a frog, and no longer a tadpole, there is nevertheless a point at which authorial intent has to be described as a fully conscious act: Stesichorus, οἱ τέρτιγες ἑαυτοῖς χαμόθεν ἄσσονται, has to be a fully conscious avoidance of an

<sup>108</sup> Long (1992), 43.

<sup>109</sup> The misunderstanding of intention and conscious intent is discussed in Heath (2002), esp. 60-78. Heath, 61, identifies a fundamental problem by denying that there is a clear concept of consciousness. The problem identified by Heath has a further level of difficulty here because we are examining whether Cornutus himself had a clear concept of consciousness.

overt reference to warfare. For present purposes, however, the indefinability of a level of consciousness associated with Weak allegory is tolerable, because the argument of Sections 1.3-1.5 is a refutation of some modern scholarship, arriving at the negative conclusion that there is no evidence that any Stoic, including Cornutus, considered earlier poets and myth-makers to be engaged in a conscious (Strong) act of allegory.

C+20 scholarship can be divided into the following four groups: those who give no definition;<sup>110</sup> those who provide one single definition, corresponding to Long's Strong allegory;<sup>111</sup> those who provide confusing and effectively useless definitions of categories;<sup>112</sup> and those who provide useful or potentially useful categories.<sup>113</sup> Trapp provides a helpful definition specifically of allegorical interpretation which cuts across the boundaries of authorial intent between Long's categories:

- o Trapp, OCD (2003), 64 '*Allegory, Greek*' (paraphrased) — Allegorical interpretation (allegoresis): Allegorical reading of works of literature ... decoded as accounts of the physical world or the truths of morality.... Defensive allegoresis: rescuing poets and their myths from charges of .. impiety; Positive allegoresis: claiming poets' authority for the interpreter's own doctrines (e.g. Zeno, Chrysippus and others, esp. Cornutus. But they may

<sup>110</sup> e.g. Pfeiffer, 237; Rollinson, *passim*.

<sup>111</sup> e.g. Heinemann, *Mnemosyne* 4 (1949), 5: 'Allegoristik ist eine Methode der Erklärung von Texten, Mythen, Gemälden auf Grund der Annahme, dass sich der Erzähler oder der Maler der Allegorie im heutigen Sinne des Wortes bedient, d.h. dass er mit den Menschen, von denen er spricht, in Wahrheit Gruppen, Abstracta oder Naturgegenstände meint.'; Steinmetz, 18: 'Allegorese ... unter der Annahme, hinter dem wörtlichen Sinn einer Dichtung habe der Dichter *bewußt* einen tieferen Sinn verborgen, eben diesen verborgenen Sinn als das vom Dichter in Wahrheit Gemeinte zu erkennen' (my italics).

<sup>112</sup> e.g. Tate (1935), 109ff.: a) historic (allegorism): interpretation of poetry in the sense in which the author intended it to be taken... 'conscious allegory on the part of the poet' e.g. Porphyry. This is a meaningful category corresponding to Long's 'Strong' allegory. But then Tate has b) pseudo-historic: interpretation offered as historic which perverts the sense [in which the author intended it to be taken], e.g. Diogenes of Apollonia (Homer intends *Zeus* to mean *air*) and practically all pre-Plato, at least some of the Stoics, Crates, Heraclitus; c) intrinsic: interpretation which sets out to consider the words of the poet objectively, quite apart from his intentions known or unknown, and to interpret them according to perceived actual significances and symbolisms of the words themselves. Neoplatonists shift between historic and intrinsic; d) artificial: interpretation that attributes to the poet's words significances which are not offered as historic or intrinsic; the fanciful application of the poet's words to any purpose (other than that intended by the poet or thought to be actually and objectively implicit in his words) for which they may be regarded as appropriate. Tate then proceeds further to muddy the water by adding 'All the pseudo-historic interpretations are really examples of [artificial] allegorism'.

<sup>113</sup> e.g. Long (1992), 43; Whitman, 3f.: ... two traditions ... One is ... allegorical *interpretation* ... the other allegorical *composition*; Innes, 8: a) Ornament of style, b) Continuous metaphor c) Extended allegorical interpretation found in texts such as Heraclitus, ... Porphyry *Homer's Cave of the Nymphs*; Obbink, 180: a) allegory in the specific and restricted sense — extended forms of metonymical explanation involving multiple correspondence, as opposed to b) allegory in the later general sense. Obbink later gives an example of the 'specific and restricted sense': the attempt by Chrysippus and the Stoics to 'accommodate' the poets' meanings to substantiate their own doctrines in Philodemus *piet.* c.13 = Henrichs c.VI.

have thought themselves recovering the beliefs of early man as distorted by poets. If so, this only really applies to the Neopythagoreans and Neoplatonists: Numenius, Porphyry, Proclus).

The necessity for a close examination of the differences is signalled by Trapp's definition of 'positive allegoresis', in which he suspends judgement for Stoics in general and especially Cornutus.<sup>114</sup>

### 1.3.2. Summary of the history and language of ancient allegory

Our understanding of ancient textual interpreters is severely constrained by the lack of explicit and unambiguous definitions of their own terminology. An attempt at an examination of the use of words relating to textual interpretation generally and allegory specifically is thus required, summarizing the history and concentrating on the period immediately prior to, and contemporary with, Cornutus.

The idea that Homer attributed divine names to natural phenomena and should thus be interpreted on a level other than the literal is traceable as far back as C-6, with testimonia relating to Theagres of Rhegium and other Presocratic philosophers.<sup>115</sup> Their significance lies in the fact that they provide evidence for a strong tradition of interpretation of (at least) Homer by the time of Plato.<sup>116</sup> Plato himself can be seen engaging in the debate on several occasions. In *Phaedrus* 229 he denies the usefulness of rationalizing interpretations of the rape of Oreithuia by Boreas, arguing that this should be done for the whole text if at all, and for this he had no time. In the *Protagoras* (343-348), he rejects the discussion of a poetic text because the methodology is flawed, with no convincing procedure to establish truth. Similarly, in the *Cratylus*, he examines the question of whether there are correct names for things or whether naming is merely convention, and discusses whether the deities as described by Homer could be interpreted otherwise. His general conclusion, expressed by Socrates (438d) — Ὀνομάτων οὐδὲν στασιασάντων — is that naming is too unreliable and too inconsistent to deduce anything from the poets.<sup>117</sup> In the *Republic*, indeed, Homer is not even to be admitted into Plato's city because his accounts of the gods' immoral activities would corrupt the young, who are unable to recognize anything other than the literal meaning, even where another meaning might exist.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>114</sup> Hays treats all allegory as 'strong' without actually defining his terms.

<sup>115</sup> Theagres: Schol. Hom. *B II.20.67* = DK fr. 2. Following are Metrodorus of Lampsacus, Diogenes of Apollonia, Democritus of Abdera, Prodicus and Empedocles. Here, a repeat of discussions about the meaning and reliability of these fragments (discussed in e.g. Hays, 1-2, with bibliography, 42) would be superfluous.

<sup>116</sup> Supported by the Derveni papyrus, see further in this Section.

<sup>117</sup> See Section 1.6.4.

<sup>118</sup> 378d.

Plato's view of any interpretation of Homer and Hesiod can thus be summarized as neutral, the poets being subject to divine inspiration and thus irrational. He is aware of a serious debate, but neither affirms nor denies the validity of an interpretation other than literal: the poets are not as reliable a path to knowledge as dialectic.<sup>119</sup> Indeed, an interpretation is described as *ὑπόνοια*, an *undersense*, a hidden underlying thought, within the poetic text. Plato's use of *ὑπόνοια* at this point (or Xenophon if earlier; *Symp.* 3.6.7: Δῆλον γάρ, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὅτι τὰς ὑπονοίας οὐκ ἐπίστανται [οἱ ῥαψωδοί]) is the first instance we have of the word which writers of the classical period used for the process which is broadly equivalent to the present-day meaning of 'allegory', a word which by the time of Plutarch became superseded by *ἀλληγορία*.

The noun *ἀλληγορία* and its cognates is very sparsely attested before the C-1, the extant list of texts containing the term listed in Appendix 3.<sup>120</sup> It is clear from these instances that already half a century before Cornutus, *ἀλληγορία* had a wide and general use. At one end of the spectrum it represented a figure of speech confined to a trope in rhetorical theory, of the kind described by Aristotle (*Rh.* 1412a22: καὶ τῶν ἀποφθεγμάτων δὲ τὰ ἀστεϊά ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὀφθεῖν λέγειν, οἷον τὸ Στησιχόρου, ὅτι οἱ τέττιγες ἑαυτοῖς χαμόθεν ἄσονται.). At the other end of the spectrum it suggested a philosophical interpretation of myth ([Longinus]) and use as a conscious act of composition by a writer, in this case of the revelation of mysteries (Demetrius Rhet). Appendix 3 lists Demetrius using *ὑπονοούμενον* for something implied but not expressed, a close reading shows that this is much akin to *ἀλληγορία*. By C+2, *ἀλληγορία* had taken over the meaning of *ὑπόνοια* as a sustained allegory: Plutarch, using a Homeric example, rejects as unnecessary a particular interpretation of a Homeric scene as a sustained allegory commenting 'οὐδὲ ταῖς πάλαι μὲν ὑπονοίαις ἀλληγορίαις δὲ νῦν λεγομέναις'.<sup>121</sup>

There is, however, one very significant text datable to 340-320 BC, the Derveni papyrus, a commentary on an Orphic poem.<sup>122</sup> Obbink argues that the author is 'a card-carrying member of the hard-core variety of allegorist ... [who] ... saw his elucidation of cosmology as instruction for mystic initiates'; he concludes that 'as far as we know, the earliest form of scholarly exegesis in the Greek

<sup>119</sup> See Tate (1930), 1-10; Richardson (1992), 35.

<sup>120</sup> There are some testimonies to earlier writers who write 'ἀλληγορικῶς', but the language is that of the later writer, not his subject. Thus Alcaeus fr. 306(14).1.11, 2.17; Theages Phil. fr. 2 (Porphyry); Gorgias fr. 2.7 (Suda); Aristotle fr. var. 3.24.175.11 (Eustathius); Cleanthes fr. 526.1 (Apollonius Soph.); Berossus Astrol. fr. 1a.74 (unknown); Chrysippus fr. 1074 (Origen), fr. 1086 (Schol. Hesiod *Theog. sv.*); Agatharchides *marī erythraeo* 21.12 (unknown); Apollodorus fr. 67c.16f (Eustathius); Aristobulus 1a.1 (Clemens Alex.); Orphic fr. 22.

<sup>121</sup> Plutarch *aud. poet.* 19F: the adulterous affair of Ares and Aphrodite (*Od.* 8).

<sup>122</sup> Laks and Most, 26.

tradition derives not from grammarians in museums but from the sphere of ritual and religion.<sup>123</sup> This, together with the flimsy evidence from C-1, suggests that there may have been an unbroken tradition of 'Strong' allegorical interpretation of myth from the Presocratics to the Neopythagoreans and Neoplatonists Numenius, Porphyry and Proclus.

As I shall discuss below, Cornutus does not in fact use the word ἀλληγορία, and his terminology may be significant in the question of whether he can be linked with a putative 'Strong' allegorical tradition.<sup>124</sup>

---

<sup>123</sup> Obbink, 183ff.

<sup>124</sup> *pace* Boys-Stones (2003b), 210 n.31, who notes that it is significant that Cornutus uses ἀλληγορία in a rhetorical work. The work he presumably refers to is that edited by J. Graeven, *Cornuti artis rhetoricae epitome* (Berlin 1891), and attributed to a C+3 Cornutus. The fact that this text cannot be attributed to the Stoic Cornutus is obvious from the references in the text to writers of C+2, e.g. Alexander, son of Numenius (Graeven, 116), and others. Lamberton (1986), 187, also suggests the Stoic Cornutus as an author, but draws no specific conclusions.

### 1.3.3. Internal evidence of allegory in the Stoics

Since Cornutus is a Stoic who, moreover, is interpreting Homer, we now need to examine in detail the evidence for Stoic interest in Homer, and specifically for any traces of Strong allegory. Titles of (lost) books written by Zeno (*προβλημάτων Ὀμηρικῶν πέντε*) and Cleanthes (*περὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ*), and extant fragments of Chrysippus indicate that they were all active interpreters.<sup>125</sup>

Evidence for Zeno's interpretation of Homer is found in Dio Chrysostom (C+1/+2), who states that Zeno's interest was to save Homer from being inconsistent:

- ο *or.* 53. ὁ δὲ Ζήνων οὐδὲν τῶν [τοῦ] Ὀμήρου ψέγει, ἅμα διηγουμένους καὶ διδάσκων ὅτι τὰ μὲν κατὰ δόξαν, τὰ δὲ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν γέγραφεν, ὅπως μὴ φαίνεται αὐτὸς αὐτῷ μαχόμενος ἔν τισι δοκοῦσιν ἐναντίως εἰρησθαι. ὁ δὲ λόγος οὗτος Ἀντισθένους ἐστὶ πρότερον, ὅτι τὰ μὲν δόξη, τὰ δὲ ἀληθεία εἶρη.

Here, omitting discussion of possible interpretations of τὰ μὲν κατὰ δόξαν ... τὰ δὲ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν for the present, it must be noted that the extant fragments do not indicate that Antisthenes was allegorizing.<sup>126</sup> Zeno, and his Stoic pupils, appear to be interested in the exegesis of specific words and phrases, such as:<sup>127</sup>

- ο Strabo 1.2.34 (ref. *Od.*4.84) περὶ δὲ τῶν Ἑρεμβῶν πολλὰ μὲν εἴρηται, πιθανώτατοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ νομίζοντες τοὺς Ἄραβας λέγεσθαι. Ζήνων δ' ὁ ἡμέτερος καὶ γράφει οὕτως· Αἰθίοπας θ' ἰκόμην καὶ Σιδονίους Ἄραβας τε.

Considerably more material has been saved from Zeno's interpretation of Hesiod:

SVF 1.103-105 Chaos, Gaia, Eros (*Theog.* 116-117)

SVF 1.276 Gaia, Uranos (*Theog.* 126-128)

SVF 1.100 Titans Koios, Kreios, Hyperion (*Theog.* 134)

SVF 1.118 Cyclopes, Brontes, Steropes, Arges (*Theog.* 139-140)

SVF 1.121 Helios (*Theog.* 371)

SVF 1.167, 169 Kronos / Rhea Children: Zeus, Poseidon, Hera, Hestia/Demeter (*Theog.* 453-458)

In addition, we have Cicero's Epicurean critic Velleius:<sup>128</sup>

- ο *ND* 1.36 Cum vero Hesiodi Theogoniam interpretatur, tollit omnino usitatas perceptasque cognitiones deorum; neque enim Iovem neque Iunonem neque Vestam neque quemquam,

<sup>125</sup> D.L.7.4, 7.174. For this analysis of Stoic sources I follow generally Steinmetz (1986). The unreliability of the attribution of fragments to Chrysippus when the source writer actually means another Stoic or Stoics in general does not affect my conclusion.

<sup>126</sup> See n.139 below, and Tate (1953).

<sup>127</sup> Dio Chrysostom *or.* 53.5. Thompson, 136, cites this as 'an important testimony concerning Zeno's allegorical practice .. that the defense of Homer's poetry was an important concern of his.' The implication (later used in her assessment of Cornutus' relationship to Zeno) that Zeno wrote an allegorical defence of Homer like that of Heraclitus *QH* is totally unjustified.

<sup>128</sup> Despite being a hostile witness, Velleius may at least be credited with providing correct information about the books which Zeno wrote (see below for reservations about Velleius).

qui ita appelletur, in deorum habet numero, sed rebus inanimis atque mutis *per quandam significationem* haec docet tributa nomina.

These fragments and testimony are clear evidence that Zeno wrote a systematic commentary on the *Theogony*, in which ‘Zenon in dieser physikalisch-kosmologischen Allegorese der *Theogonie* Hesiods nicht sein eigenes System unterschreibt, sondern meint, durch Entkleidung des mythologischen Gewandes die naturphilosophischen Aussagen Hesiods ermitteln zu können.’<sup>129</sup> Zeno is in fact distancing himself from Aristotle, who does not consider it worthwhile to investigate mythology.<sup>130</sup>

From the few extant fragments of Cleanthes, a continuation of Zeno’s detailed interpretation of Homeric words and phrases can be presumed:

- o fr. 526 Apollonius Soph. *lex. hom.* μῶλυ (κ 305) Κλεάνθης δὲ ὁ φιλόσοφος ἀλληγορικῶς φησι δηλοῦσθαι τὸν λόγον, δι’ οὗ μωλύονται αἱ ὄρμαι καὶ τὰ πάθη.<sup>131</sup>

Here too, we see no attempt at an interpretation of the *Odyssey* as a whole, merely explanation of individual items in terms of Stoic theology. Fragments of Chrysippus point to the same conclusion as for Cleanthes — (fr. 775: Schol. Hom. *Il.*) μέσσα: Χρύσιππος ῥύμα γράφει· τὴν γὰρ ῥοπήν τοῦ ζυγοῦ ῥύμην καλεῖσθαι. Chrysippus was noted in antiquity for his excessive citings of poets,<sup>132</sup> and we are left with 70 of his references to verses in Homer. In all of these references, Chrysippus takes the meaning at face value — there is no trace of any attempt at allegorical interpretation.<sup>133</sup>

Further evidence of interpretation of Homer by later Stoics is indirect and scanty, but Diogenes Bab. is quoted by Philodemus (*piet.* c.13, see below) as following the same interpretation of gods’ names as his Stoic predecessors. Steinmetz concludes for the old Stoa there is ‘keine allegorische Deutung von Dichtung als Dichtung, insbesondere keine Allegorese dieser Art der Dichtungen Homers gegeben’.<sup>134</sup> Posidonius is known to have written at least five books on the gods,<sup>135</sup> but we only have evidence of an interest in Homeric interpretation on the level of an explanation of Homeric terms and geographical details.<sup>136</sup> Similarly, Strabo focuses on Homer’s geographical

<sup>129</sup> Steinmetz, 22. Thompson, 137, suggests there is no evidence for a systematic commentary by Zeno.

<sup>130</sup> *Metaph.* 1000a5-19.

<sup>131</sup> fr. 526, 535, 549, 592 for Homer.

<sup>132</sup> D.L.7.180.

<sup>133</sup> Steinmetz, 27.

<sup>134</sup> Steinmetz, 29.

<sup>135</sup> Cicero *ND* 1.123.

<sup>136</sup> fr. 277a Mysians (*Il.*13.5); fr. 281a Eretrians (*Od.*4.84); fr. 293 λάξ (*Il.*10.158). His identification as a Stoic is signalled by a consistent label ὁ Στωϊκὸς Ποσειδώνιος (fr. 51, 55, 58,



detail, without an interpretation of the text.<sup>137</sup> Strabo, defending Homer against criticism from Eratosthenes, is of the opinion that Homer is aware of a distinction between truth and falsehood, and adorns his geographical truths with myth. Strabo uses Homer as a polluted source of geographical information, confident he can remove Homer's mythical additions. His reference to Homer πρὸς ἐπιστήμην ἀλληγορῶν (1.7.2) has to be interpreted within the immediate context of providing anecdotes with a moral content, and 'this one occurrence ... is not enough to take this method, which he uses everywhere else, as being based on allegorism. It is more in accordance with facts to call his method by a separate term: historical exegesis.'<sup>138</sup> This is the most convincing context for the understanding of τὰ μὲν κατὰ δόξαν, τὰ δὲ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν used for describing Zeno's interpretation of Homer.<sup>139</sup> As noted by Tate, this distinction was a common one, separating unscientific guesswork from knowledge founded on reason.<sup>140</sup>

Evidence for Strong (Long), (or Defensive (Trapp), Extended (Innes)) allegorical interpretation of Homer is to be found with Heraclitus, the author of Ἡρακλείτου Ὀμηρικῶν προβλημάτων εἰς ἃ περὶ θεῶν Ὀμηρος ἠλληγόρησεν (*QH*) of uncertain date but probably contemporary with Cornutus and before Plutarch.<sup>141</sup> His text is highly relevant in the modern debate about the Stoic interpretations of Homer, because of confusion over Heraclitus' philosophical affiliation.<sup>142</sup> Heraclitus does in fact declare his intention immediately: to defend Homer against charges of impiety by arguing that Homer had to be allegorizing: πάντα γὰρ ἠσέβησεν, εἰ μὴδὲν ἠλληγόρησεν.<sup>143</sup> If then Heraclitus were a representative of the Stoic method of allegorizing, the Stoic position would be quite clear — Stoics would be allegorists of the Strong (Long) category, and Stoics would therefore belong to a tradition of 'strong' allegorical interpreters. There is, however, no evidence at all to show that Heraclitus was in any way an exponent of Stoic philosophy: the impression of Stoicism derives from his use of Stoic terminology, the predominant vocabulary of his period for philosophical debate, but he fails to offer any consistent standpoint. He

---

60, 67, 70, 80, 93, 111), and he is listed as a Stoic by D.L. book 7. See too Clarke, K. (1999), 185-192 for Posidonius' universalism and Stoic συμπάθεια.

<sup>137</sup> 1.2.19; 1.2.36.

<sup>138</sup> Schenkeveld, 59.

<sup>139</sup> Taken by some (e.g. Thompson, 136) as evidence for Zeno's allegorizing, as noted by Long (1992), 60 n.43. See too n.126 above.

<sup>140</sup> Tate (1930), 7. A search of TLG produces several hundred instances where δόξα and ἀλήθεια are contrasted, e.g. Aristotle *SE* 173a36; D.L.9.22.14. Also distinguishing between lies and truth in a prosecution: e.g. Isocrates *Dem.* 17; Gorgias *Pal.* 24.

<sup>141</sup> Buffière, ix for date. Heraclitus is also highly relevant to Cornutus in the discussion of etymologies and sources.

<sup>142</sup> e.g. Tate (1929) who associates him with the Stoics, and concludes that Cornutus held an eclectic position.

<sup>143</sup> *QH* 1.1.2-3.

locates rationality in the head, unlike Zeno, and he uses Plato's tripartite soul when it suits him.<sup>144</sup> Stoic doctrines are used without reference, and he cites Stoics once, and vaguely (33.1: καθάπερ ὁμολογοῦσι καὶ Στωικῶν οἱ δοκιμώτατοι).<sup>145</sup> His definitions of gods are not only inconsistent with other Stoic definitions (for example he identifies Thetis with ἡ πρόνοια (25)), but expressed in simplistic equations which, apart from *Hera = air*, the Stoics generally avoided: (24.1, 7.15, 15.3) ὁ αἰθὴρ ... Ζεὺς, Ἄϊδην ... τὸν ἄερα; ἡ δὲ Ἥρα ἐστὶν ἀήρ; ὁ Ποσειδῶν, ὑγρά τις ὕλη. cf. Cornutus (4.10) Ποσειδῶν δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀπεργαστικὴ τοῦ ἐν τῇ γῆ καὶ περὶ τὴν γῆν ὑγροῦ δόναμις. Buffière concludes that Heraclitus has no allegiance to any particular school, and Long confirms that Heraclitus 'offers no confirmation for the theory that the Stoics took Homer to be a strong allegorist'.<sup>146</sup>

### 1.3.4. External evidence for Stoic allegorical interpretation (allegoresis)

Much that we know about the Stoics derives from criticism directed at them by their opponents, which varies from accurate, informed and justified criticism to mis-information about their standpoint either through ignorance or deliberate polemic. One good example of the latter case is the criticism of Stoic theory expounded by the Epicurean spokesman in Cicero *ND*.<sup>147</sup> It can be seen that Cicero is following Philodemus closely as a source of Epicurean criticism of Stoicism, and a comparison is instructive, here where both writers name Chrysippus:

Philodemus *piet.* c.13 ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ (scil. *περὶ θεῶν*) τὰ τε εἰς Ὀρφέα καὶ Μουσαῖον ἀναφερόμενα καὶ τὰ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ καὶ Εὐριπίδῃ κ[ι]καὶ ποιηταῖς ἄλλοις, ὡς καὶ Κλεάνθης, πειρᾶται συνοικειοῦν ταῖς δόξαις αὐτῶν...

Cicero *ND* 1.41 ... in secundo autem volt Orphei Musaei Hesiodi Homerique fabellas accommodare ad ea quae ipse primo libro de deis immortalibus dixerat, ut etiam veterrimi poetae, qui haec ne suspicati quidem sint, Stoici fuisse videantur.

The comparison shows that Cicero is summarizing Philodemus, using *accommodare* for the συνοικειοῦν of Philodemus, where one might have expected ἀλληγορεῖν. Further, Cicero distorts the text: Philodemus talks of τὰ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ καὶ Ἡσιόδῳ — divine names and myths *transmitted by the poets*. Cicero adds 'qui haec ne suspicati quidem sint' *who did not even suspect this*. As Long argues, this particular reference to Stoic beliefs has had an undue influence on modern scholarship: 'we have the principal basis for the modern theory about the Stoics' allegorical

<sup>144</sup> e.g. *QH* 19.5, epiphany of Athena to Achilles, *II*.1.193ff. See too commentary at 36.16.

<sup>145</sup> Buffière xxxviii produces a convincing summary of reasons.

<sup>146</sup> Long (1992), 48. In the subsequent section, I follow Long's argument.

<sup>147</sup> 1.39-41 (=Chrysippus fr. 1077).

interpretation of Homer — a text that, in reality, is a Ciceronian distortion of Epicurean polemic.<sup>148</sup> That Cicero is prepared to distort Stoic doctrine for rhetorical purposes is demonstrated in *Pro Murena*, in which he aims to discredit Cato by quoting Stoic maxims distorted *ad absurdum*, and we know this is intentional because Cicero himself says so.<sup>149</sup> This particular example from Cicero *ND* 1.41 illustrates the pitfalls encountered when using non-Stoic sources as evidence of Stoic doctrines. Some writers can be more objective — Philodemus is a staunch opponent of Stoicism, and he derides their attempts at reconciling their doctrines with the poets, but not even he claims that the Stoics are in some way arguing that Homer was a Stoic.

Further insights into Stoic methods can be gleaned by examination of what other Stoic opponents say, or rather do not say, about Stoic interpretation of poetry, in the following two examples. First, the Academic Cotta in Cicero *ND* criticizes efforts by Zeno, Cleanthes and Chrysippus to rationalize myths and explain the names of the gods (3.63: *commenticiarum fabularum reddere rationem, vocabulorum cur quidque ita appellatum sit causas explicare*), but does not claim they are allegorizing the poets. Secondly, Plutarch takes the view that one purpose of poetry is to provide pleasure, and in order to gratify, poets have to tell lies.<sup>150</sup> This is an echo of Strabo (1.2.6-8), who argues that poetry must always have something new to delight and entertain; it is also the reason that Plato would exclude Homer from his city. Plutarch then proceeds to condemn the kind of sustained allegory which explains immoral behaviour of the Homeric gods in astrological and cosmological terms, claiming this to be unnecessary because Homer is mixing truth and fiction: αὐται γάρ εἰσιν ὑγιαίνουσαι περὶ θεῶν δόξαι καὶ ἀληθεῖς, ἐκεῖνα δὲ πέπλασται πρὸς ἑκπληξίν ἀνθρώπων.<sup>151</sup> Here, he is attacking the kind of defensive allegorical interpretation of Heraclitus *QH*, but he does not mention the Stoics.<sup>152</sup> Later in the same work he explains the use of gods' names by metonymy to refer to an entity associated with them, for example at *Il.* 7.329 where *Ares* is used where *war* is meant, but he does not use the term *allegory* for this process. As

<sup>148</sup> Long (1992), 50. Thus Tate (1929), 42: 'Cicero (*ND* 1.41) says that Chrysippus' interpretation of poetry made even the oldest poets appear to have been Stoics'; de Lacy, 259: 'from the first the Stoics gave them [sc. allegorical interpretations] a special prominence' giving a reference to Cicero *ND* 1.36; Pfeiffer, 237: 'Orthodox Stoics were necessarily allegorists in their interpretation of poetry'. He does not define *allegorist*, but continues, 238: 'they secured the support of Homer ... for their own philosophy' citing *ND* 1.41; Hillgruber argues that *ND* 1.41 shows that Chrysippus must be allegorizing like Heraclitus, and that we can presume that Zeno did likewise (Hillgruber, 19 n.33).

<sup>149</sup> *pro murena* 61 e.g. Zeno: 'No one ever feels pity unless he is a fool or an idiot'. In *de finibus* 4.74, Cicero says to Cato that he will not joke as he did when defending Murena, when he had to play to the gallery.

<sup>150</sup> *poet. aud.* 16a.

<sup>151</sup> *ibid.* 20f. See n.140 above.

<sup>152</sup> *pace* Hays, 25, who states that the Stoics are Plutarch's target here. Hays assumes Heraclitus is some kind of Stoic.

Long points out, Plutarch would never have missed the opportunity, but as far as we know he 'never launches any attack on allegorical interpretation of poetry by the Stoics.'<sup>153</sup>

In conclusion, this synopsis argues there is no evidence at all that Stoics before Cornutus were strong allegorists of the kind represented by Heraclitus or the later Neoplatonists. What is now required is an examination of evidence for allegorical interpretation by Cornutus. The material which Cornutus is interpreting has been handed down to him from οἱ παλαιοί (Cornutus 75.19), and we must examine who these might be, and the Stoic perception of them in the context of their view of progress.

---

<sup>153</sup> Long (1992), 62.

## 1.4. Ancient Wisdom

Cornutus makes one intriguing statement about the condition of the first men on earth, and this statement requires examination in the context of the debate concerning ancient theories about the development of man.<sup>154</sup> At the root of the development of philosophical theories was the problem that if a provident god created man, and if the race created was perfect, as Hesiod's Golden Age was, then how could the fall from this ideal state be explained? Cynics believed in a provident god and that the happiness of early man was due to the absence of false belief. For them, the inherent hardship of life enabled the first men to avoid the confusion between happiness and pleasure. Plato, whilst believing in a provident god, unlike the Cynics thought that man had an innate tendency towards vice, so that virtue was never automatic, but had the component of achievement through the resistance of vice.<sup>155</sup> His first discussions about early man, in *Timaeus* and *Statesman*, describe a race of men predisposed towards philosophy, in which a world is ruled alternately by Kronus and Zeus (*Statesman*, 269c-274d). Kronus reigns in a kind of Hesiodic Golden Age, followed by Zeus reigning in a world full of hardships. Plato concludes that the first men were philosophical, which enabled them to become virtuous and thus happy. This view was later revised in *Laws*: human culture is described in book 3 as a cycle of destruction and regrowth (677A). Survivors lived in mountains, wholly unversed in philosophy, even to the extent that they knew no music (677 C-D), culture was destroyed in entirety, and a new cycle heralds a new 'primitive age' of mankind. The beginning of each cycle is blissful — no poverty, strife, violence, envy (679A-C), their ignorance and simplicity makes them 'more guileless, braver, more temperate and altogether more just' (679 D-E). The 'virtue' of early men is merely the absence of vice; virtue itself requires philosophy (678B). Plato concludes that the first men lived in a state of pre-philosophical happiness.

This pre-philosophical theory of early man was widely adopted, but not by Aristotle. A pupil of Aristotle, however, Dicaearchus, provides evidence that this theory continued after Plato. He claims that Hesiod provides a reliable account of the origins of man, an account which has been added to over the years.<sup>156</sup> Other fragments, indeed, also tell us that Dicaearchus claimed that early men lived well, but were not philosophers.<sup>157</sup> The Early Stoic view on Early Man has been inferred from one source: Seneca, *epistles* 90.<sup>158</sup> The theme of the letter is praise of philosophy and its importance for humans, but includes a criticism of Posidonius' view that technological arts were invented by

<sup>154</sup> 39.12-40.4. Hays is strangely silent on this issue.

<sup>155</sup> The following summary of the Platonic view of ancient man follows Boys-Stones (2001), 3-18.

<sup>156</sup> fr. 49 (context: Hesiod *WD* 116ff., Golden Age).

<sup>157</sup> fr. 31; fr. 30 (D.L.1.40).

<sup>158</sup> For discussion of Seneca *epistles* 90, I refer to Kidd (1988), 960-971.

philosophers. Seneca wants to draw a clear line between philosophy and technology, specifically in terms of early man's progress. Seneca's view of the Golden Age is thus:

- o *epistles* 90.4-5 Sed primi mortalium quique ex his geniti naturam incorrupti sequebantur, eundem habebant et ducem et legem, commissi melioris arbitrio. Naturae est enim potioribus deteriora summittere. ... Illo ergo saeculo, quod aureum perhibent, penes sapientes fuisse regnum Posidonius iudicat. Hi continebant manus et infirmiore a validioribus tuebantur, suadebant dissuadebantque et utilia atque inutilia monstrabant. Horum prudentia ne quid deesset suis providebat, ...

That there was a need to protect the weak from the strong suggests that man was not so unspoiled, but Seneca fails to explain this. According to him, Posidonius claims leaders of early man were *sapientes*. Here, Seneca claims he agrees (7: *Hactenus Posidonio adsentior*), but then later seems to change his position, and disagrees, twice saying man could not have been created wise, they were merely strong (36):<sup>159</sup>

- o 36: ... fortunata tempora, cum in medio iacerent beneficia naturae promiscue utenda, antequam avaritia atque luxuria dissociavere mortales et ad rapinam ex consortio discurrere. Non erant illi sapientes viri, etiam si faciebant facienda sapientibus.
- o 44: Sed quamvis egregia illis vita fuerit et carens fraude, non fuere sapientes, quando hoc iam in opere maximo nomen est.

Posidonius is known to have criticized earlier Stoics for saying that vice in mankind is caused by external influences: for Posidonius, the cause is internal:<sup>160</sup>

- o fr. 35 οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ Ποσειδωνίῳ δοκεῖ τὴν κακίαν ἔξωθεν ἐπεισιέναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐδεμίαν ἔχουσαν ἰδίαν ρίζαν <έν> ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν, ὅθεν ὀρμωμένη βλαστάνει τε καὶ αὐξάνεται, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τοῦναντίον εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τῆς κακίας ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς σπέρμα· καὶ δεόμεθα πάντες οὐχ οὕτω τοῦ φεύγειν τοὺς πονηροὺς ὡς τοῦ διώκειν τοὺς καθαρῖσοντάς τε καὶ κωλύσοντάς ἡμῶν τὴν αὐξήσιν τῆς κακίας. οὐ γὰρ, ὡς οἱ Στωικοὶ φασιν, ἔξωθεν ἐπεισέρχεται ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν τὸ σύμπαν τῆς κακίας, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλεόν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἔχουσιν οἱ πονηροὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἔξωθεν δ' ἔλαττον τούτων πολλῶ τὸ ἐπεισερχόμενον ἐστίν.

Posidonius, then, agrees with Plato, and both disagree with the Early Stoics, about the origin of vice.

The above quotations have been the basis for an argument which follows the following steps:<sup>161</sup>

1) Early Stoics (following a tradition traced by Plato, Dicaearchus and Seneca), claimed that the first age of man was pre-technical and pre-philosophical, in which man did what was right without the need for reflection on virtue. There could not have been philosophy. 2) Posidonius claimed that

<sup>159</sup> Taking this to be a reference to a first stage of existence, where the Mss reading is debatable. See Boys-Stones (2001), 19 n.23.

<sup>160</sup> *ap. Galen sequela* 819-820 = *Quod animi mores corporis temperamenta sequantur* 4.820.7.

<sup>161</sup> This seems to be the argument and totally unconvincing conclusion reached by Boys-Stones (2001), 41-52.

philosophy formed a very important part of early human activity: philosophers brought men into communities. 3) Cornutus says that the originally violent men were tamed by the gods who ‘prodded them and reminded them of their rational concepts’, and thus made them into social and ‘philosophical’ beings. 4) Cornutus is therefore heavily influenced by Posidonius and disagrees with the Early Stoics about the nature of Early Man.

There are three serious problems with this kind of argument. First, the whole argument is based on the assumption that the Stoics (or Early Stoics at least) prescribed to the Hesiodic theory of the Golden Age of man, with a degeneration caused by vice. Despite the prevalence of the Golden Age theory in Roman literary society, the only evidence that any known Stoic took this view is Seneca himself, in *epistles* 90, who then also ascribes it to Posidonius.<sup>162</sup> Specifically, the assumption is that Seneca, when attacking Posidonius, is taking the position of the Early Stoa. Whilst this does seem to be a reasonable assumption, it is nevertheless unsupported. In the past, this putative Early Stoic position has been challenged on the grounds that according to Zeno, arts and sciences were created rather recently, and that the human race could not have existed without them. A distant Golden Age was thus not possible. This view is based on an extract from Philo *incoor. mundi* 24 which has been attributed to Zeno without plausible justification (fr. 106 SVF).<sup>163</sup> Even when this disputed evidence is rejected, and granted that the Golden Age theory was widespread, there is no clear evidence to link early Stoics with it.<sup>164</sup>

Secondly, Cornutus (39.15) says οἱ θεοὶ δὲ ... ὑπομνήσκοντες αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐννοιῶν περιγεγόνασιν. *But the gods, ... putting them in mind of their rational concepts (ἐννοιαί), prevailed.* Cornutus is referring to the Stoic ‘common conceptions’ (ἐννοιαί), the basis of rationality, latent in the purely rational soul. He is merely saying that the gods encouraged man to ‘switch on’ these latent forces.<sup>165</sup> Whether this makes them into *philosophical* beings depends presumably on the definition of *philosophical*, but he certainly does not say, as Seneca claims Posidonius does, that

<sup>162</sup> Golden Age: e.g. Tibullus 1.3.35ff. *Quam bene Saturno vivebant rege ...*; Gatz, 228, for a comprehensive *conspectus locorum*. Seneca: commenting on Seneca *epistles* 90, Kidd (1988), 970, states ‘[Seneca] seems to posit an historical picture of the Golden Age, and to assume this in Posidonius, that there was indeed a primeval Golden Age of philosophers, followed by degeneration, including that of philosophy itself.’ See too West (1966), 5.

<sup>163</sup> Edelstein, 138 n.13 claims this is Zeno; see too Boys-Stones (2001), 20 n.27.

<sup>164</sup> Edelstein, 139 n.17 ‘The old Stoa did not defend the myth of the Golden Age ... nor is it attested that the school at first claimed a progressive deterioration of morals.’ *Contra*: Boys-Stones (2001), 18. However, the Stoic Balbus, Cicero *ND* 2.159 quotes Aratus *phaenomena*, 129ff., mentioning in passing the men of the Golden Age, but Aratus, whilst clearly influenced by Stoics, seems to be eclectic. See too Gatz, 156-161.

<sup>165</sup> cf. Plutarch *SR* 1051e9.

they formed societies governed by philosophers.<sup>166</sup> Thirdly, Seneca seems to focus on the *leaders* of early men. There is no connection, however, between what Cornutus says and this issue of leaders in a Golden Age.

These three objections make it wholly unjustifiable to conclude that this is evidence that Cornutus is influenced by Posidonius on this particular issue. Cornutus does not comment on the nature of the first communities; what he is in fact doing can be seen from the context:

- Line-by-line description of Hesiod *Theog.* relating to the Titans;
- Comment that Hesiod has corrupted much of ancient theology;
- Account of Prometheus (= πρόνοια) stealing fire;
- Athena, Hephaistos in connection with Prometheus;
- Description of Athena;
- Athena 'ignites' man's innate rational nature to enable him to live in cities.

This is clearly a version of the Prometheus myth, and Cornutus may be compared directly with Plato *Prt.*:

Cornutus (39.16): βιαίους καὶ  
θυμικούς κατ' ἀλλήλων ... διὰ τὸ  
μηδέπω δύνασθαι ... ἐρριπίσθαι τὸν  
ἐνόητα αὐτοῖς σπινθήρα τῆς  
κοινωνίας

(322a3) Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπος θείας μετέσχε  
μοίρας ...  
(322b7) ἠδίκουν ἀλλήλους ἅτε οὐκ ἔχοντες τὴν  
πολιτικὴν τέχνην ...  
(322c1) Ζεὺς οὖν δεῖσας περὶ τῷ γένει ἡμῶν μὴ  
ἀπόλοιτο πᾶν, Ἑρμῆν πέμπει ἄγοντα εἰς  
ἄνθρώπους αἰδῶ τε καὶ δίκην...

Indeed, the fact that Cornutus is silent about the Golden Age myth and describes the Prometheus myth, immediately after criticizing Hesiod for corrupting much ancient theology, is clear evidence that Cornutus does not ascribe to a primitivist tradition such as the Golden Age theory.<sup>167</sup> Moreover, we have this fragment of Zeno (*ap. Censorinus, die nat. 4.10*):<sup>168</sup>

- fr. 124 Zenon Citieus, ... principium humano generi ex novo mundo constitutum putavit, primosque homines ex solo, adminiculo divini ignis id est dei providentia, genitos.

Zeno equates *divinus ignis* with *providentia*, Cicero translates πρόνοια as *providentia*, and Cornutus (31.19) identifies πρόνοια with Prometheus, thus we have direct evidence that Cornutus is following Zeno, and/or Cicero, in an adherence to the Prometheus myth.<sup>169</sup> This myth may well be compatible with Stoic ideas of progress; as discussed earlier, Early Stoics subscribed to the theory

<sup>166</sup> Oddly, in his argument that Cornutus follows Posidonius, Boys-Stones (2001) does not define his term *philosophical*.

<sup>167</sup> For a comprehensive account of primitivistic ideas, see Lovejoy and Boas.

<sup>168</sup> This *divinus ignis* is also found in Cicero (*de re publica* 3.1.1 *ap. Augustine c. julianum* 4.12.60).

<sup>169</sup> Cicero *ND* 2.58: ... *providentia*.. (*Graece enim πρόνοια dicitur*); Cornutus (31.19) 'Προμηθεῖα εἰρησθαι τὴν προμήθειαν τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὅλοις ψυχῆς, ἣν ἐκάλεσαν οἱ νεώτεροι πρόνοιαν'.



of cyclic *ἐκπύρωσις* and a regeneration parallel to the birth of a living animal with the god at the beginning of the cycle being the *σπερματικός λόγος*.<sup>170</sup> Plutarch describes the development of this cycle:

- *comm. not.* 1067a (= SVF 2.606) *δταν ἐκπυρώσωσι τὸν κόσμον οὔτοι, κακὸν μὲν οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν ἀπολείπεται, τὸ δ' ὄλον φρόνιμὸν ἐστὶ τῆνικαῦτα καὶ σοφόν.*

On a universal level, the principle is that *λόγος* begins as a seminal force, with increasing power during the cycle, at the end of which evil and ignorance will vanish. On an individual level, Stoics believed in the possibility of progress to virtue, and also in the value of education.<sup>171</sup> At least in these respects, there is the belief in a general improvement in the universe, rather than a deterioration, and thus a Golden Age theory would not fit well with these fundamental Stoic convictions. A significant report that some later Stoics held views of earlier man which differed from those of the Old Stoa is provided by Sextus Empiricus, who claims that there was disagreement on this point:<sup>172</sup> If Cornutus does not ascribe to a primitivist tradition, we need to look elsewhere for an anti-primitivist tradition, to Aristotle, who voices his view of the earliest men thus:<sup>173</sup>

- *Pol.* 1269a4-8 *εἰκὸς τε τοὺς πρώτους, εἴτε γηγενεῖς ἦσαν εἴτ' ἐκ φθορᾶς τινος ἐσώθησαν, ὁμοίους εἶναι καὶ τοὺς τυχόντας καὶ τοὺς ἀνοήτους, ὥσπερ καὶ λέγεται κατὰ τῶν γηγενῶν, ὥστε ἄτοπον τὸ μένειν ἐν τοῖς τούτων δόγμασιν.*

It is perhaps significant that Cornutus uses the word *κοινωνία*, a concept fundamental to Aristotle in *Pol.* for example:

- 1253a29-39 *φύσει μὲν οὖν ἡ ὁρμή ἐν πᾶσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τοιαύτην κοινωνίαν· ... ἡ δὲ δικαιοσύνη πολιτικόν· ἡ γὰρ δίκη πολιτικῆς κοινωνίας τάξις ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ δικαιοσύνη τοῦ δικαίου κρίσις.*

To conclude, Cornutus' statements about Early Man suggest strongly that he ascribes to an anti-primitivist tradition, and there is no evidence that he deviates from the position of the Early Stoics on this issue.<sup>174</sup> For Stoics in general, 'The contention that men have come to live in society, not merely for security, but by virtue of an inherent social instinct, distinguishes the Stoic from the Epicurean theory, but was doubtless derived by the Stoics from Aristotle.'<sup>175</sup>

<sup>170</sup> Introduction 1.2; see SVF 2.593-595, 598, 600-603, 606-617, 620, 1174.

<sup>171</sup> Virtue: SVF 3.219, 510, 530, 532, 539; education: SVF 1.41 (line 33), 149, 3.181, 477, 732-742.

<sup>172</sup> *AM* 9.28. Schmekel, 87: 'probably Posidonius'.

<sup>173</sup> Aristotle refers to first men as *τοὺς τυχόντας*, and Cornutus (75,19) could possibly be distancing himself from Aristotle with *οὐχ οἱ τυχόντες ἐγένοντο οἱ παλαιοί*. See too Most (1987), 2021 n.49.

<sup>174</sup> *pace* Boys-Stones (2003b), 192-193: the early Stoics 'did believe that a gradual slide into decadence led to a loss of the purer world-view'. At the same time, he admits that Seneca, *epistles* 90, might not be representing the view of the old Stoa (192 n.3), which is the only evidence he has for such an early Stoic view, and which I claim is unsupported by Cornutus.

<sup>175</sup> Lovejoy and Boas, 246.

## 1.5. The Transmission of Ancient Wisdom

Aristotle developed the theory that the world was eternal, but that there was an infinite sequence of civilizations which are destroyed by catastrophes. The people surviving each catastrophe would be those at the edges of society, but, contrary to the cultural oblivion envisaged by Plato, would nevertheless be able to transmit some ideas of the previous civilization with them. This wisdom would have to be encapsulated in forms which ordinary men would be likely to transmit, such as, for example, a maxim.<sup>176</sup> But this theory would be a way of explaining the rise of mythological traditions, and whilst the Stoics did not agree with Aristotle's eternal world, they did agree that there must have been people of an earlier historical period who had some valuable philosophical insights. Whether these earlier people are perceived to have understood the world better than their descendants or not depends on the whether the view is primitivist or anti-primitivist. Aristotle's view on the transmission of primitive wisdom via myth is expressed thus:

- *Metaph.* 1074a38-b14: παραδέδοται δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ παμπαλαίων ἐν μύθῳ σχήματι καταλειμμένα τοῖς ὕστερον ὅτι θεοὶ τέ εἰσιν οὗτοι καὶ περιέχει τὸ θεῖον τὴν ὅλην φύσιν. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ μυθικῶς ἤδη προσήκται πρὸς τὴν πειθῶ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν εἰς τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸ συμφέρον χρῆσιν· ἀνθρωποειδεῖς τε γὰρ τούτους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῶων ὁμοίους τισὶ λέγουσι, ...

This invites a comparison with Cornutus:<sup>177</sup>

- (26.16) ἔοικε γὰρ ὁ ποιητὴς μυθοῦ [τε] παλαιοῦ παραφέρειν τοῦτο ἀπόσπασμα ... (31.12) ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν Ἡσιόδου <γενεαλογίας> τελειότερα ποτ' ἂν ἐξήγησῖς σοι γένοιτο, τὰ μὲν τινα, ὡς οἶμαι, παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων αὐτοῦ παρειληφότος, τὰ δὲ μυθικώτερον ἀφ' αὐτοῦ προσθέντος, ᾧ τρόπῳ καὶ πλεῖστα τῆς παλαιᾶς θεολογίας διεφθάρη.

Aristotle thus considered the possibility that wisdom could be transmitted from ancient sources, and that myth was a possible medium for its transmission.<sup>178</sup> So too did the earliest Stoics, who made a clear distinction between the material they recovered and the fictions added by poets. Thus Cicero's Stoic spokesman, Balbus, who dismisses anthropomorphic gods, but 'commits himself to a theory of cultural transmission, degeneration and modification.'<sup>179</sup> The puerile nature of the evolution into anthropomorphic gods is also expressed by Chrysippus and his pupil Diogenes Bab.<sup>180</sup> A valuable insight into the relationship between the myth-makers and Stoic theology is provided by

<sup>176</sup> Aristotle fr. 13.

<sup>177</sup> Connection noted by Wehrli, 56-58; dismissed by Tate (1929), 44-45.

<sup>178</sup> Though at *Metaph.* 1000a5 he denies it being worthwhile. See Section 1.3.3.

<sup>179</sup> Cicero *ND* 2.63-70; Long (1992), 53.

<sup>180</sup> Chrysippus: Philodemus *piet.* c.11 (= fr. 1076 SVF); Diogenes: fr. 33 (Philodemus *piet.* c.15).

Aëtius (C+1) in a summary of seven methods by which Stoics considered that man has a conception of the divine:<sup>181</sup>

- ... πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ἐκ τῶν φαινομένων καὶ μετεώρων...
- –εἰς δεύτερον δὲ καὶ τρίτον τόπον τοὺς θεοὺς διεῖλον εἰς τε τὸ βλάπτον καὶ τὸ ὠφελοῦν....
- –τέταρτον καὶ πέμπτον ... τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς πάθεσι, παθῶν μὲν Ἔρωτα, Ἄφροδίτην, Πόθον, πραγμάτων δὲ Ἑλπίδα, Δίκην, Εὐνομίαν.
- –ἕκτον δὲ ... τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν πεπλασμένον.
- –ἕβδομον δὲ..., ἀνθρώπινον δὲ γεννηθὲν ὡς Ἡρακλέα ὡς Διοσκόρους ὡς Διόνυσον.

The writer identifies poets as *merely* one of many sources of theological ideas, and thereby pinpoints the Stoics' interest in Homer and Hesiod primarily as sources of a material which they wish to retrieve. As discussed above, Zeno's interest in Homer is explained by Dio Chrysostom:<sup>182</sup>

- *or.* 53.3-5: πότερον Ὅμηρος ἤμαρτε περὶ ταῦτα ἢ φυσικούς τινας ἐνόησας ἐν τοῖς μύθοις λόγους κατὰ τὴν τότε συνήθειαν παρεδίδου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις... ὁ δὲ Ζήνων οὐδὲν τῶν [τοῦ] Ὀμήρου ψέγει, ἅμα διηγούμενος καὶ διδάσκων ὅτι τὰ μὲν κατὰ δόξαν, τὰ δὲ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν γέγραφεν, ὅπως μὴ φαίνηται αὐτὸς αὐτῷ μαχόμενος ἐν τισὶ δοκοῦσιν ἐναντίως εἰρήσθαι. ὁ δὲ λόγος οὗτος Ἀντισθένης ἐστὶ πρότερον, ὅτι τὰ μὲν δόξη, τὰ δὲ ἀληθεία εἴρηται τῷ ποιητῇ· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἐξεργάσατο αὐτόν, ὁ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν ἐπὶ μέρους ἐδήλωσεν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ Περσαῖος ὁ τοῦ Ζήνωνος κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν γέγραφε καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους.

Cornutus discusses episodes from Homer in the following manner:

- (26.11) μαρτύριον ἂν λάβοι τις καὶ τὸ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ λεγόμενον ...
- ἔοικε γὰρ ὁ ποιητὴς μυθοῦ [τε] παλαιοῦ παραφέρειν τοῦτο ἀπόσπασμα, ...
- ἑτέρου δὲ μύθου μέμνηται τοῦ κατὰ ...
- φαίνεται δ' ὅτι ... (*Interpretation in terms of Stoic physics*)
- (27.19) δεῖ δὲ μὴ συγχεῖν τοὺς μύθους μηδ' ἐξ ἑτέρου τὰ ὀνόματα ἐφ' ἕτερον μεταφέρειν μηδ' εἴ τι προσεπλάσθη ταῖς παραδεδομέναις κατ' αὐτοὺς γενεαλογίαις ὑπὸ τῶν μὴ συνιέντων ἃ αἰνίττονται, κεχηρημένων δ' αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ τοῖς πλάσμασιν, ἀλόγως τίθεσθαι.

and follows Hesiod *Theog.* 116-139 very closely, concluding:

- 31.12 ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν Ἡσιόδου <γενεαλογίας> τελειότερα ποτ' ἂν ἐξήγησίς σοι γένοιτο, τὰ μὲν τινα, ὡς οἶμαι, παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων αὐτοῦ παρεληφότος, τὰ δὲ μυθικώτερον ἀφ' αὐτοῦ προσθέντος, ᾧ τρόπῳ καὶ πλεῖστα τῆς παλαιᾶς θεολογίας διεφθάρη.

<sup>181</sup> [Plutarch] *plac.* 879c-880d = Aëtius *plac.* 1.6 = SVF 2.1009.

<sup>182</sup> See n.127 above.

It is clear that Cornutus considers the works of Homer and Hesiod to be a mixture of genuine ancient theology and some fiction added later by the poets, which if my reading of Dio Chrysostom *or.* is correct, is the view held by Zeno and ἄλλοι πλείους.<sup>183</sup>

Before examining an episode of Homer, Cornutus provides an insight into a theory of cultural transmission based on a comparative study of Greek mythology and myth handed down by other cultures.<sup>184</sup> Although not explicit, his idea seems to be that by examining the myths of other cultures and comparing the differences, one should be able to identify common themes and remove accretions. This would then enable one to identify the true essence of a myth without distortions. Strabo expresses exactly the same idea, that one should be able to extract some truth from the multitude of myths by comparing similarities and differences.<sup>185</sup> Both Strabo and Cornutus express the idea of a comparative study of myth, for which there is no evidence in earlier Stoics.<sup>186</sup> Considering the paucity of extant material for the early Stoics, a lack of evidence, whilst raising the possibility, is no proof that this is a new development of the Middle Stoa: indeed the language used is reminiscent of Aristotle's view on primitive wisdom expressed in *Metaph.* 1074a38-b14, and could well have been a view held by Aristotle and all Stoics. Without evidence to the contrary, we must assume that Cornutus, in using a comparative mythological methodology, is following a usual Stoic practice.

Cornutus ends his work with what today would be an introduction: the specific achievement derived from reading the text (an understanding of the basics of interpreting theological material) in a framework of the overall ethical message (that young men may be introduced to reverence only, and not superstition, ... and behave with appropriate moderation):

- ο 75.19 Οὕτω δ' ἂν ἤδη καὶ τᾶλλα τῶν μυθικῶς παραδεδοῦσθαι περὶ θεῶν δοκούντων ἀναγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ παραδειγμένα στοιχεῖα, ᾧ παῖ, δύναιο, πεισθεῖς ὅτι οὐχ οἱ τυχόντες ἐγένοντο οἱ παλαιοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνιέναι τὴν τοῦ

<sup>183</sup> Hesiod himself knows that his material is unreliable: the Muses mix lies and truth: *Theog.* 27-28.  
<sup>184</sup> 26.7-11.

<sup>185</sup> 10.3.23.1-22.

<sup>186</sup> Thus it is inconceivable that Boys-Stones (2001), 57-58, can seriously claim that 'we have *no* examples of this kind of exegesis before Cornutus at all.' Boys-Stones (2003b), perhaps after having read some Strabo, is still determined to discover some originality in Cornutus by differentiating between Strabo's 'theoretical description of an approach' and the detail discussed by Cornutus. This gives unfair credit to Cornutus; Strabo has after all a different agenda, he has no reason to give detail. This alleged originality in Cornutus is further supported for Boys-Stones by the argument *ex silentio* of Apollodorus 'who hardly seems to have mentioned non-Greek theologies at all' ((2001), 58 n.18; (2003), 204 n.23). This claim is based on the absence of such references in the fragments we have of his work: *ibid.* 'On the Gods— an extensive and highly influential work that was used by Cornutus himself' (no evidence provided: see Section 1.8, sources). We do indeed have extensive fragments, but probably only a fraction of one per-cent of his total output, so the silence proves nothing.

κόσμου φύσιν ἱκανοὶ καὶ πρὸς τὸ διὰ συμβόλων καὶ αἰνιγμάτων φιλοσοφῆσαι  
περὶ αὐτῆς εὐεπίφοροι.<sup>187</sup>

One immediate problem with this statement is who is meant by οἱ παλαιοί. The expression is used about 17 times in the text (ignoring possible accretions and including inflected forms), and is usually sufficiently vague to be uncertain whether pre-Homeric man is meant. The use is primarily in connection with archaic words and myth creation, and whilst out of context οἱ παλαιοί could be taken as meaning the poets themselves, the context probably requires it to refer to pre-Homeric myth-makers.<sup>188</sup> This particular statement by Cornutus has been used to claim that he considered the philosophers to be *deliberately* expressing their ideas in allegory.<sup>189</sup> Indeed, if such an interpretation of Cornutus 75.19-76.6 were correct, it would be highly significant because he would be doing something new. Such an argument, however, is extremely suspect. First, there has to be a convincing reason why the myth-makers would want to go to the trouble of expressing themselves deliberately in allegory, or more specifically why Cornutus would think they were; secondly, this is a school text, not a philosophical treatise, so hardly the vehicle for new ideas (although Cornutus could already have expounded the idea in an earlier text); thirdly, Cornutus is not seen to be doing anything fundamentally original elsewhere in the text, thus one must assume that he takes a standard Stoic position, the burden of proof being with those who claim otherwise; fourthly, the Cornutus text does not actually say that the ancients were *intentionally* allegorizing, they were εὐεπίφοροι, it was their natural manner of expression;<sup>190</sup> and fifthly, Cornutus himself claims he is merely summarizing what others have said, explicitly denying he is doing anything new (76.6: διὰ πλειόνων δὲ καὶ ἐξεργαστικώτερον εἴρηται τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις φιλοσόφοις).<sup>191</sup>

<sup>187</sup> Compare οὐχ οἱ τυχόντες ἐγένοντο οἱ παλαιοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνιέναι... with Plato *Cra.* 401b: οἱ πρῶτοι τὰ ὀνόματα τιθέμενοι οὐ φαῦλοι εἶναι ἀλλὰ μετεωρολόγοι καὶ ἀδολέσχει τινές. See too Section 1.6.4.

<sup>188</sup> Cornutus once refers to an etymological account as ἀρχαία ὄλοσχέρεια. Thus ἀρχαίος can mean C-5 or later. See commentary at 37.11.

<sup>189</sup> Thus Boys-Stones (2001), 52 'they [the myth-makers] appear to have given self-conscious expression to their philosophy in allegorical form'. Again, Boys-Stones (2003b), 205: 'Cornutus is quite clear that the inventors themselves expressed themselves in allegorical terms.' Boys-Stones supports this assertion by two pieces of evidence. First, the reference to the Eleusinian mysteries (Cornutus 56.22-57.5) which he claims is evidence for their 'special mode of expression'. This is unconvincing in itself, and Boys-Stones fails to note that this reference is in any case bracketed by Lang. (I argue in section 1.7.2.6 that this is indeed an accretion.) Secondly, a contemporary of Cornutus, Chaeremon of Alexandria, a Stoic and an Egyptian priest, is cited as saying that ancient Egyptian scribes employed symbolic modes of exposition as a means of concealing their wisdom (fr. 12 van der Horst). Yet the special and exclusive circumstances of an hieratic culture in Egypt provide idiosyncratic and unconvincing evidence.

<sup>190</sup> The 61 instances of εὐεπίφορος as adjective and adverb in TLG strongly suggest this meaning.

<sup>191</sup> My interpretation of what Cornutus is doing agrees with Long (1992), 65. Boys-Stones (2003b), 190 n.1 recognizes Long (1992) as 'a seminal paper', but fails to comment on Long's conclusions which are so at variance with his own interpretation of Cornutus as a 'Strong' allegorist.

The Stoics realized that there was a period when myth was the natural medium to express an interpretation of the world — thus Kirk: ‘Myths achieve their greatest prominence in traditional and non-literate societies. In most such societies traditional tales are an important means of argument, persuasion, consolation and communication. They are the primary form taken by generalized discussion of perennial topics. They are part of a way of life, but they are not usually consistent, still less philosophical.’<sup>192</sup> There was no deliberate concealment of a philosophical truth, it was a manner in which men tended naturally to express themselves, and Cornutus cannot be seen to be making an assumption of authorial intent by οἱ παλαιοί, ancient myth-makers or indeed the poets themselves.<sup>193</sup> The Stoics in general, including Cornutus, are not primarily interested in what Homer or Hesiod are doing with their material. They are not interpreting the poets, they are interpreting the material which the poets used, ‘divine names and myths transmitted by the poets, and not the poet’s own use of these’.<sup>194</sup> There is a clear contrast between this activity and, for example, a defence of Homer by means of a declaration of an authorial intent to allegorize, (i.e. Strong Allegory) even if there is a superficial similarity. Unfortunately, a declaration that a writer considers material to be deliberately allegorical is seldom explicit, and an interpretation out of context often leaves no clue as to the writer’s position. For example, Plutarch fr. 157 can be seen to be inviting the reader to interpret a piece of text allegorically, irrespective of authorial intent:<sup>195</sup> the extract however is prefaced by a presupposition of a *deliberate* intent to conceal natural science in mythology.<sup>196</sup> Thus a Strong Allegorist will sometimes interpret a text in a manner indistinguishable from someone who perceives no authorial intent, where we do not have a declaration of unambiguous Strong Allegory as, for example, Heraclitus *QH*, whose opening declaration πάντα γὰρ ἡσέβησεν, εἰ μὴδὲν ἠλληγόρησεν places him in the later tradition of allegorical exegesis as exemplified by Philo of Alexandria, or Neoplatonists.

We have very few references in ancient scholarship to the writings of Cornutus, most of which tell us little or nothing of use.<sup>197</sup> One extract, however, deserves examination: a report by Eusebius of what Porphyry says about Origen:

- ο Eusebius *eccl. hist.* 6.19.8 συνῆν τε γὰρ αἰεὶ τῷ Πλάτωνι, τοῖς τε Νουμηνίου καὶ Κρονίου Ἀπολλοφάνους τε καὶ Λογγίνου καὶ Μοδεράτου Νικομάχου τε καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς Πυθαγορείοις ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν ὁμίλει συγγράμμασιν, ἐχρήτο δὲ καὶ Χαιρήμονος τοῦ Στωικοῦ Κορνοῦτου τε ταῖς βίβλοις, παρ’ ὧν τὸν

<sup>192</sup> Kirk, 278.

<sup>193</sup> Cleanthes claimed that poetry was the natural mode of expression for noble ideas: see Philodemus *de musica* col. 28 = SVF fr. 486 and Seneca *epistles* 108.10 = SVF fr. 487.

<sup>194</sup> Long (1992), 64.

<sup>195</sup> Plutarch *daed. plat.* 4 (= fr. 157.61).

<sup>196</sup> *ibid.* 157.16.

<sup>197</sup> Listed in Hays, 174-201.

μεταληπτικὸν τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσιν μυστηρίων γνοῦς τρόπον ταῖς Ἰουδαικαῖς  
προσήψεν γραφαῖς.

Porphry refers to Cornutus and Chaeremon in a list of Platonists and Pythagoreans, so it would be tempting to deduce that they are all engaged in the same kind of allegorical interpretation.<sup>198</sup> Chaeremon is a difficult writer to categorize, mainly due to lack of evidence, but also because he can be seen to take an eclectic position.<sup>199</sup> This example of deliberate allegory transpires to be a description of hieroglyphics and the practices of an exclusive Egyptian priesthood, so Porphyry may be casting his net wider than 'Strong' Allegorists. He may indeed just be referring to the technique of interpretation (in this case μεταληπτικός τρόπος) which often conceals assumptions about authorial intent, and it is thus unsafe to draw any inference from this reference to Cornutus.<sup>200</sup>

Far from being interested in specific sources of material associated with the gods, Cornutus, rather, is interested in the material itself, and its mythic background, reflected by the fact that only three percent of his text is actively engaged with interpretation of Homeric episodes, compared with virtually all of Heraclitus *QH*. The material which is the main focus for Cornutus in this particular text is a collection of information handed down by tradition in the form of names, epithets, titles, cult practices, mythical episodes, genealogy, iconography, aetiology, and maxims.<sup>201</sup> His aim is to take this information and provide a coherent and rational interpretation in terms of Stoic physics and theology, in the conviction that archaic beliefs provide valuable theological insights. One tool for him to investigate this material is etymology, and it is to this technique which we now turn.

<sup>198</sup> Thus Boys-Stones (2001), 50.

<sup>199</sup> Tzetzes *ex. in Il.* 1.97 (= part fr. 12 van der Horst). van der Horst, xi 'an interesting syncretistic mixture of Egyptian religious ideas, Stoic philosophic concepts, magical interests ...'.

<sup>200</sup> *pace* Boys-Stones: see n.189 above.

<sup>201</sup> See Plutarch fr. 157.22.

## 1.6. Etymology

### 1.6.1. Stoic status of language

Stoic theory of language, as part of Stoic philosophy in general, has been discussed in numerous places, and a brief summary is necessary to describe the philosophical background relevant to etymology.<sup>202</sup> The Stoics defined philosophy thus:

- ο S.E. *AM* 9.13 (= SVF 2.36) τὴν φιλοσοφίαν φασὶν ἐπιτήδευσιν εἶναι σοφίας, τὴν δὲ σοφίαν ἐπιστήμην θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων.

They divided philosophy into the three subjects of logic, physics and ethics, variously described in biological similes as being integrated with each other and mutually dependant on each other, in a manner which requires them to be inextricably linked.<sup>203</sup> But as Long comments ‘this division ... must be interpreted purely as a methodological principle. It is not an affirmation of three discrete subjects of study. On the contrary, the subject-matter of logic, physics and ethics is *one* thing, the rational universe, considered from three different but mutually consistent points of view.’<sup>204</sup> The unification of all aspects of philosophy in the Stoic system is closely linked with the fundamental concepts of λόγος (reason) and φύσις (nature), and ‘Stoic philosophy is designed to make for complete correspondence between language and conduct on the one hand and the occurrence of natural events on the other hand.’<sup>205</sup> The senses create an impression, leaving a record on the mind. Man has an innate ability to form general concepts, but needs experience to build up a picture of the world. For the Stoics, language and thought develop with time, the mind at birth being like a blank sheet of paper which receives impressions.<sup>206</sup> Thus we are unable to have articulate thoughts ‘without sense-impression, memory image or something based upon prior experience. Impressions and articulate thought will normally be two aspects of a single mental process. The Stoics are

<sup>202</sup> I follow Long (1974), 119ff. in this section.

<sup>203</sup> D.L.7.40.

<sup>204</sup> Long (1974), 119. The order in which these subjects were to be taught was controversial: D.L.4.41 ‘Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Πτολεμαεὺς Διογένης ἀπὸ τῶν ἠθικῶν ἀρχεται, ὁ δ’ Ἀπολλόδωρος δεύτερα τὰ ἠθικά, Παναίτιος δὲ καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἀπὸ τῶν φυσικῶν ἀρχονται, καθὰ φησι Φαινίας ὁ Ποσειδωνίου. Because ethics could not be understood without an understanding of physics in its widest sense, which included theology, this has implications for Cornutus, writing an ethical message concerning religious beliefs and behaviour to boys young enough to be addressed ὡ παιδίον. See section 1.9.2.

<sup>205</sup> *ibid.*, 120. Diogenes summarizes the Stoic position in D.L.7., esp. D.L.7.41, 42, 49, 83. There were differences between the various Stoics: Cicero (*de oratore* 2.157-158) attributes the definition of dialectic to Diogenes Bab. Alexander (*aristotle top.* 1.8.1.4 =SVF 2.124) points to this as a specifically Stoic definition.

<sup>206</sup> Aëtius *plac.* 4.11 = SVF 2.83.



arguing that rational interpretation of experience requires language'.<sup>207</sup> Long summarizes thus: 'A man is a creature who possesses the capacity to see connexions (and to use language) as a natural endowment... For Stoics, the whole world is the work of immanent logos or reason, and in his power of articulate thought a man is supposed to have the means to formulate statements which mirror cosmic events. Language is part of nature and provides man with the medium to express his relationship with the world.'<sup>208</sup> Language is the mechanism of expressing concepts, and a definition (ὄρος) is the linguistic articulation of a concept.<sup>209</sup> This definition of 'definition' relates it closely to rationality, and explains why it is an important component of Stoic philosophy: the list of book titles by Chrysippus under the heading of ethics includes a substantial number of books on the topic.<sup>210</sup> Related to definition is the method of division of topics into various sub-divisions, which are further sub-divided into other topics, producing a tree structure of philosophical concepts as described by Diogenes Laërtius.<sup>211</sup> The detail of this structure is significant here for two reasons: first, Diogenes indicates the structure is by no means universally accepted, there being a considerable variation amongst the Stoics, and secondly, etymology is conspicuously absent.

This Stoic view of language firmly identifies their position in the ancient debate about the significance of words, whether they are merely defined by convention or whether there is a natural component to their signification. 'Such questions have exercised human beings at least since the time of the legendary king Psammetichus ... [and] they have been a perennial topic for debate throughout the history of philosophy. Such questions are a sub-class of the general dispute between empiricism and inatism as explanations for human learning, a dispute which also has ancient roots.'<sup>212</sup> The debate is exemplified by Plato's *Cratylus*, discussed in detail in section 1.6.4, but the correctness of naming was already debated in C-5 when Democritus propounded conventionalism.<sup>213</sup> The debate continued into the next century, when Aristotle took the same stance as Democritus, claiming that words are simply symbols to represent a thing.<sup>214</sup> Epicureans and Stoics, however, adopted the naturalist view. Thus Origen summarizes the differences:<sup>215</sup>

<sup>207</sup> Long (1974), 125. S.E. *AM* 8.275f explains the relationship between impressions and articulate thought in a logical context.

<sup>208</sup> *ibid.*, 125.

<sup>209</sup> Augustine *civ. dei* 8.7 = SVF 2.106. Other sources provide a range of definitions of 'definition': see Schol. Dionysius Thrax 107.5-7 = SVF 2.226; D.L. 7.60-62; [Galen] *def. med.* 19.348.18-349.4.

<sup>210</sup> D.L.7.199-200 = SVF 2.13.

<sup>211</sup> The account D.L.7.49-82 is thought to derive, at least in part, from *Ἐπιδρομή τῶν φιλοσόφων* of Diocles of Magnesia (C-1). See LS 2.196.

<sup>212</sup> Hankinson, 167.

<sup>213</sup> Democritus fr. 26.

<sup>214</sup> *Int.* 16a19; *SE* 165a6.

<sup>215</sup> The Epicurean position is made much clearer by Epicurus *ep. herod.* 75-76. See too Diogenes Oenoanda (fr. 12 Smith, TLG = fr. 10 Chilton) for criticism of Epicurean opponents.

- ο CC 1.24.9-16 (= SVF 2.146) πότερον, ὡς οἶεται Ἀριστοτέλης, θέσει εἰσὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἢ, ὡς νομίζουσιν οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς, φύσει, μιμουμένων τῶν πρώτων φωνῶν τὰ πράγματα, καθ' ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα, καθὸ καὶ στοιχεῖά τινα τῆς ἔτυμολογίας εἰσάγουσιν, ἢ, ὡς διδάσκει Ἐπίκουρος, ἑτέρως ἢ ὡς οἴονται οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς, φύσει ἐστὶ τὰ ὀνόματα, ἀπορρηξάντων τῶν πρώτων ἀνθρώπων τινὰς φωνὰς κατὰ τῶν πραγμάτων.

For Epicureans, language had a natural basis, and they offer a neat solution to the question of the divergences of languages, because language development is affected by environment, and they combine a natural and a conventional stance. Stoics, however, took a fundamentally natural stance, which we now investigate in detail.

### 1.6.2. Stoic theory of language creation

Stoics took the view that a small number of primary sounds (πρῶται φωναί) imitated their nominata, and they were a basis for the construction of a language. Galen claims to be reporting Chrysippus *verbatim* with an explanation of the word ἐγὼ mimicking the gesture towards the chest, where thought was situated.<sup>216</sup> The process by which Stoics thought language was created is summarized by Augustine *de dialectica* book 6. As Origen states (above, CC 1.24.9-16), there exists a basic collection of words (πρῶται φωναί = Augustine *cunabula verborum*) which mimic the object they describe (μιμοῦνται τὰ πράγματα). Augustine provides the examples of *tinnitum aeris* (clinking of brass); *hinnitum* (whinnying of a horse); *balatum* (bleating of sheep); *clangor* (blare of trumpet); and *stridor* (grinding of chains).<sup>217</sup> This primary onomatopoeic or mimetic connection works only for nominata perceived by the sense of hearing, thus objects which do not appeal to the sense of hearing are described by words whose letters have a quality appropriate for the other bodily senses by which the nominata are recognized: *lenis* (soft - touch) has a soft sound; *vepres* (thorn - touch) sounds prickly, *mel* (honey - taste) sounds smooth and sweet, and so on.<sup>218</sup> Having established this primary connection between πρῶται φωναί and their nominata, other objects with qualities less easy to describe can be named by three other methods identified by Augustine. Thus we have:

<sup>216</sup> Galen *PHP* 2.2.10.1 See too Gellius *n.a.* 10.4, who reports that Nigidius (C-1) '*argutissime docuit nomina non positiva esse, sed naturalia*' giving similar etymologies for *vos, nos, tu, ego, tibi, and mihi*. This suggests that this kind of etymologizing was well known and not confined to the Stoics.

<sup>217</sup> I have found no references to the obvious mimetic quality of many Greek animal names: βόυς, μῆλον, χῆν, τέτιξ, ἰέραξ, κόραξ, χοῖρος, βομβυλῖος, στρίξ, φάττα.

<sup>218</sup> Augustine *dialec.* 6.

κατὰ μίμησιν	<i>a similitudine</i> : described above.
καθ' ὁμοιότητα	<i>ipsarum inter se rerum similitudo</i> : similarity between things: <i>crux</i> (πρώτη φωνή) produces <i>crus</i> .
κατ' ἀναλογίαν	<i>a vicinitate</i> : proximity of various kinds: <i>hordeum</i> (barley) produces <i>horreum</i> (granary); <i>orbis</i> produces <i>urbs</i> . <sup>219</sup>
κατ' ἀντίφρασιν	<i>e contrario</i> : a grove is named <i>lucus</i> because there is little light ( <i>minime luceat</i> ); war is called <i>bellum</i> because it is not <i>bellus</i> .

Augustine recognizes that with time, words created according to the above principles have become corrupted and life is too short to pursue the issue.<sup>220</sup> Varro, however, does pursue the issue, listing reasons why words have changed (see section 1.6.3.1).<sup>221</sup> Latin grammarians identify four categories of change: *adiectio*; *detractio*; *immutatio*; and *transmutatio*, which can operate on various qualities of words. Donatus (4.392.8) lists the most of such qualities— *littera*; *syllaba*; *tempus*; *tonus*; and *aspiratio*, so that there are theoretically four times five = 20 modes of change.<sup>222</sup> Other grammarians give fewer categories, Varro (*ling. lat.* 5.6) restricting his to *adiectio*, *detractio*, *immutatio* and *transmutatio* operating on *littera* and *syllaba*.<sup>223</sup> Barwick concludes that 'die Stoiker auch in ihrer Lehre von der *origo verborum* fünf mal vier *modi* unterschieden hatten, die aber von den antiken Berichterstatern nicht immer vollständig mitgeteilt werden.'<sup>224</sup>

The above process relates to words generated with an essential change of meaning. Stoics differentiated between these *extrinsic* changes and *intrinsic* changes, whereby an inflection produced words of essentially the same meaning (for example an oblique case derived from a noun in the nominative case). Barwick argues that this distinction can be traced back to the doctrine of terms from Aristotle's *Categories*, and that Diogenes Bab. formulated the principles of change to support a natural theory of language.<sup>225</sup>

Augustine (*dialec.* 6) provides an extended example of how *extrinsic* word creation can occur by association of ideas with a basic word: *vis* (πρώτη φωνή) the sound of the word being strong and congruent with the thing it signifies, generates *vincula*, *vimen*, *vites*, *vietum*, and *via* in sequence, each word having an association with the previous. When asked where the word *via* originates, he

<sup>219</sup> Barwick, 30 n.2 notes that Augustine confuses *vicinitas* and *abusio* = κατάχρησις.

<sup>220</sup> Augustine *dialec.* 6e: *quot modis autem origo verborum corruptione vocum varietur, ineptum est persequi*. See too commentary at 36.1, Athena.

<sup>221</sup> *ling. lat.* 5.3.

<sup>222</sup> Also Pomponius (5.285.9); Constantius (5.386.15); Audax (7.361.22).

<sup>223</sup> He refers to a detailed account in his lost *ling. lat.* books of the kinds of changes which have taken place: *maxime propter bis quaternas causas*.

<sup>224</sup> Barwick, 31, 'so gut wie sicher'.

<sup>225</sup> Barwick, 46ff. Cornutus is known to have written on Aristotle's *categories*, see Simplicius *aristotle cat. comm.* 8.18.28 etc.

could describe the route backwards to *vis*, but also a direct association with *vis* could be made because the road '*vi pedum trita est*'.

By contrast, words which themselves may have been generated by the processes described above, were routinely and universally deconstructed to produce meaning. Varro (*ling. lat.* 6.11) provides an etymology from Chrysippus: *quod Graeci αἰῶνα, id ait Chrysippus esse ἀεὶ ὄν*. This method is of course the basis for the majority of etymologies discussed in detail later, but behind such etymologies is the fundamental principle that the elements can finally be reduced to *πρῶται φωναί* which have some mimetic quality. The types of impression, *φαντασία*, are described by Diogenes Laërtius in his discourse on Stoic dialectic.<sup>226</sup> There is a parallel to be perceived between the initial sensory impressions (*φαντασῖαι αἰσθητικαί*) resulting in non-sensory impressions (*φαντασῖαι οὐκ αἰσθητικαί*) using reason, and the linguistic process of word generation from *πρῶται φωναί* by a sequence of transformations: the linguistic process proceeds with the categories (Augustine) *similitudo, vicinitas, contrarium*; the mental process is described by Diogenes with the categories *ὁμοιότητα, ἀναλογία, <μετάθεσις,> σύνθεσις, ἐναντίωσις*.<sup>227</sup> Clearly, any comparison is problematic because the sources are presumably different and unspecified, but in general terms it is safe to say that such a close correspondence between the process of creation of knowledge and the creation of language was natural for the Stoics, and therefore *σύνθεσις* *synthesis* was an intrinsic part of word creation.

<sup>226</sup> D.L.7.51-52.

<sup>227</sup> Long (1974), 134ff. See Barwick, 33 for greater detail. Parallel text: S.E. *AM* 11.250f.

### 1.6.3. Evidence for Stoic etymology

#### 1.6.3.1. Varro *De Lingua Latina*

Whilst there is no direct evidence for a systematic Stoic theory of etymology, there have been determined efforts to prove the existence of one from indirect evidence provided by Varro (C-1).<sup>228</sup> We thus need to examine whether Varro makes any assertion about Stoic etymology. In his *Lingua Latina* (5.7-10), Varro provides a description of the various levels of explanation of the origins of individual words, defining four levels of increasing difficulty thus:

1. The lowest level, accessible to the ordinary person — *infimus quo populus etiam venit: quis enim non videt unde cretifodinae et viocurus?*<sup>229</sup>
2. A level accessible to the grammarian (e.g. explanation of words created by a poet) — *secundus quo grammatica ascendit antiqua.*
3. A level accessible to the philosopher — *quo philosophia ascendens pervenit atque ea quae in consuetudine communi essent aperire coepit, ut a quo dictum esset oppidum, vicus, via.*
4. An ill-defined mystical level — *ubi est adytum et initia regis; quo si non perveniam <ad> scientiam, at opinionem aucupabor, quod etiam in salute nostra nonnunquam facit cum aegrotamus medicus.*<sup>230</sup>

The lowest level requires little comment. Varro explains (5.9) that the second level not only covers words which poets have made up, but poetic vocabulary generally. The third level is the realm of philosophy, to which Varro claims to ascend *quod non solum ad Aristophanis lucernam, sed etiam ad Cleanthis lucubravi.*<sup>231</sup> The fourth level is the most difficult, and a matter of guesswork, seen as the explanation of words described as *oblivia* (5.10) and *obruta vetustate* (6.2).<sup>232</sup> Varro appears to be making a clear distinction between the activities of Alexandrian grammarians, whom he considers to have a purely linguistic interest in the meanings of words invented by the poets, and Stoics, who have an interpretation on a philosophical level. Varro sets out his books 5-7: *In hoc libro dicam de vocabulis locorum et quae in his sunt, in secundo de temporum et quae in his fiunt, in tertio de utraque re a poetis comprehensa.*<sup>233</sup> The structure of book 5 is of interest because it is tempting to guess that Varro has a Stoic source, and that he is following a standard Stoic system of

<sup>228</sup> Dahlmann, 14-35, whose conclusions, which I challenge, have been influential. They are convincing for Barwick, 60. Pfaffel, 18, states without any evidence other than references to Dahlmann and works based on him 'Es kann davon ausgegangen werden, daß Varro mit *philosophia* auf die Stoa referiert ... . Auf eine schulübergreifende, allgemeine Etymologie der *philosophia* schlechthin wird sich Varro daher kaum bezogen haben'.

<sup>229</sup> Pfaffel, 13, for textual variations and conjectures.

<sup>230</sup> Pfaffel, 231.

<sup>231</sup> Barwick, 58, and Dahlmann, 12 n.1, both state without argument that 'Cleanthes' means Stoics generally.

<sup>232</sup> Barwick, 58f., arguing that difficulties in coherency suggest a corrupt text.

<sup>233</sup> *ling. lat.* 5.10. Barwick, 59, concludes that Varro places far more importance on the *consuetudo communis* level (level 3) because it takes up 2 books, compared with one book for level 2.

etymologies set out in an accepted sequence, as Dahlmann concludes using the following argument.<sup>234</sup>

**Dahlmann's Argument:**

1. Chrysippus wrote the first *Etymologikon* which we know of, and the works will have included a systematic plan corresponding to his philosophical system.

2. Varro §9 2<sup>nd</sup> level (book 7): 1 named grammarian. 3<sup>rd</sup> level (books 5,6): 1 named philosopher, a Stoic (Cleanthes).

3. Structure of book 5 Stoic because it follows Stoic division of cosmos:

Places (§§14-56)

sky (§§14-21)

earth (§§22-56)

Bodies (§§57-104)

immortal bodies (§§57-74)

mortal bodies (§§75-104)

air (§§75-76)

water (§§77-79)

land (§§80-104)

man (§§80-94) in decreasing importance

animals (§§95-101)

domesticated (§§95-99)

wild (§§100-101)

plants (§§102-104)

Various objects (§§105-184)

Specific to Varro §§14-21:

1. definition of *locus*. Transfer of Stoic definition of τόπος.

2. Stoic distinction between aether and air.

3. Etymology of οὐρανός from ὁ πᾶσιν ὁρώμενος, corresponding to Varro §18 *caelum* from *celatum*. 'Certainly used by Stoics to confirm Zeno's definition of οὐρανός' in SVF 1.115.

4. Zeno's etymology of χάος from χέεσθαι (SVF 1.103).

Specific to Varro §§57-74

1. Varro gives pairs of opposites giving life: Zeno and other Stoics do the same, SVF 1.125.

2. Varro (§59) quotes Zeno - *Animalium semen ignis is qui anima ac mens*.

3. Varro (§60) *quibus iuncti caelum et terra omnia exgenuerunt*: see SVF 2.1088 (Schol. Hesiod *Theog.* sv. δτι τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς Γῆς μίξεως γενομένης ἐξωογονεῖτο πολλὰ).

4. Varro (§61) condition for procreation: fire and water. Quotes SVF 2.1066.

5. Varro (§63) Aphrodite: creation of βίος from βία. (Orion 31.10), parallel etymology of *vita* from *vis*.

6. Varro (§65) Jupiter: *pater, quod patefacit semen*: equivalent to Chrysippus etym. Δία = διὰ.

7. Varro (§67) *Iuno coniunx et is caelum, haec Terra, quae eadem Tellus*. Hera=Ἥρα, see SVF 2.1074.

8. Varro (§68) Etymology σελήνη from σέλας 'Stoic'.

**Comment:**

Wrong. We know of Heraclides Ponticus (C-4) (Et. Gud. Addit. α 190.26). The structure of Chrysippus' work is pure speculation.

Dahlmann assumes Cleanthes means Stoics in general. Why not all philosophers in general?

The overall structure is a sequence of diminishing importance, and ordered air - water - land. There is nothing necessarily Stoic about this division.

Dahlmann refers to the division between plants and animals corresponding to SVF 2.708. He omits to mention this fragment refers to 'Stoics and Epicureans'.

True.

True, but the distinction is universal.

Speculation. In fact this etymology appears in Plato *Cra.* 396b8.

Also Pherecydes (Ach. Tat. 3.28).

See conclusion, below.

True. Reminiscent of Aristotle's biological analogy (Aristotle *GA* 727b). Varro also quotes Epicharmus, Pacuvius, Ennius.

True.

The Stoic fragment does not support the argument. SVF 2.1066: *Iunonem vero aere.*

Dahlmann (21 n.1): 'Die Etymologie ... gehört der Stoa'. Not attested.

True, but a very widespread etymology.

This identification is an anomaly. Usually Stoic Hera = Air. The identification Hera=Earth is found in: 1) Empedocles (Ach. Tat. 3.13; D.L. 8.76.6); 2) Plutarch fr. 157.63. Not attested for a Stoic. In fact, attested for Heraclides (EM 498.24).

<sup>234</sup> Dahlmann, 14-35.

In connection with Varro §63 (§§57-74 item 5, Aphrodite, above), Dahlmann, 21 n.1, seems to be asserting, without evidence, that all instances of etymologies where there are Latin parallels to Greek ones are derived from Stoic sources. At this point, his use of a Stoic fragment is instructive; he quotes SVF 1.125:

- ο Galen *c. julianum* 5.18a.269 τὸ μέντοι γε τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν φύσιν ἦτοι γε ἐξ ἀέρος καὶ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ γῆς ἢ ἐξ ὑγροῦ καὶ ξηροῦ καὶ θερμοῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ συμμετρῶς ἀλλήλοις κεκραμένων γεγονέναι διαπεφώνηται μὲν ... εἶ γε Ζήνων, ... Κλεάνθης καὶ Χρύσιππος—ὁμολογοῦσιν ἅμφ' αὐτάς.

Dahlmann distorts the quotation to give the impression that all Stoics agree on a point, and Varro is following them. In the ellipses, Galen in fact names Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus and Eudemus, his point being that ‘οἱ μὲν Στωικούς οἱ δὲ Περιπατητικούς οἱ δὲ Πλατωνικούς ... ὁμολογοῦσιν ἅμφ' αὐτά’.

Analysis of this set of detailed arguments demonstrates that Dahlmann’s findings of a systematic Stoic etymology echoed by Varro are based on a combination of superficial similarities, highly selective evidence and pure speculation. All the etymologies used in the analysis are attested for non-Stoics: indeed, Dahlmann’s arguments strongly suggest that there is nothing particularly Stoic about any of Varro *De Lingua Latina* book 5, and that neither Varro’s etymologies nor text structure are attributable to any particular philosophical school. As the dominant philosophical school of the period, Stoicism has clearly had a major influence on Varro, but we are not entitled to infer anything about a systematic Stoic etymology from his work. We must conclude that for level 3 etymologies, when Varro says *philosophia*, he is referring to philosophers generally.

The fourth level of etymology described by Varro, *ubi est adytum et initia regis*, has been discussed by Pfaffel, 231-256, who suggests the possibility of a ‘new’ etymology which Varro had worked out on the basis of a diachronic phonology, contrasted with the *grammatica antiqua* of level 2. While this begs the question of why Varro was not more explicit about this putative new development, Varro himself claims that the characteristic of this level is that it relies on *opinionem* rather than *scientiam*, which evokes a comparison with the contrast between δόξα and ἀλήθεια discussed in section 1.3.3. Varro provides no further detail of this level of etymology, but he does specify five processes by which the relationship between a word and its origin has been obscured (5.3):<sup>235</sup>

<sup>235</sup> *pace* Barwick, 66, ‘zweifellos in Anlehnung an stoische Anschauungen’, following Dahlmann’s conclusions. Barwick’s whole chapter (58-69) ‘Die Etymologie der Stoa’ is based on the premise that Varro’s ‘level 3’ etymologies refer specifically to the Stoa, a premise which I argue is totally unfounded.

1. 'Not every word that has been applied still exists, because lapse of time has blotted it out.'  
The chain of words leading back to the *πρώτη φωνή* is broken by a link which is unknown.
2. 'Not every word that is in use has been applied without inaccuracy of some kind.'  
Words which contain an anomaly: e.g. *scopae* (s. or pl.); *aquila* (m. or f.); *vis* (nom. or acc.).<sup>236</sup>
3. 'Nor does every word which has been applied correctly remain as it originally was, for many words are disguised by change of letters.'  
These are the (theoretically 20) changes enumerated by Augustine *de dialectica* book 6 (see section 1.6.2), of which Varro provides a subset of 8.
4. 'There are some whose origin is not from native words of our own language.'  
Varro provides many instances of words imported into Latin, mostly from Greek, but also many other languages.
5. 'Many words indicate one thing now, but formerly meant something else, as in the case of *hostis*, enemy.'  
This obscurity is a question of semantics rather than etymology, which Varro intends to deal with but giving semantics less attention (5.2).

In conclusion, Varro is valuable because he points to a distinction between the etymological activities of grammarians and philosophers generally. The main thrust of etymological activity of Hellenistic grammarians was the interpretation of the poets, and this view is supported by Dionysius Thrax, who introduces his *Ars grammatica* with the definition: Γραμματική ἐστὶν ἐμπειρία τῶν παρὰ ποιητῶν τε καὶ συγγραφεύων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ λεγομένων, dividing it into six parts, one of which is ἐτυμολογία εὐρεσις. Philosophers, however, want to reveal the nature of words in common use, *consuetudo communis*, arriving at some philosophical insight. This distinction between the purpose of etymologies for grammarians and philosophers may, however not be that clear. A definition of etymology given in the Scholia to Dionysius Thrax may indicate a more general understanding of the term (although the unknown author might equally well be referring to a philosophical interpretation):

- 14.23 Ἐτυμολογία ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνάπτυξις τῶν λέξεων, δι' ἧς τὸ ἀληθὲς σαφηνίζεται. ἔτυμον γὰρ λέγεται τὸ ἀληθές .... Ἐτυμολογία οὖν, ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι ἀληθολογία.

This is equivalent to a definition given by Cicero (*Topica* 35): *quam Graeci ἐτυμολογίαν appellant, id est verbum ex verbo veriloquium*. Despite his claims to be achieving this philosophical level, Varro's etymologies in book 7 (level 2, words used in poetry) are effectively indistinguishable from his etymologies in books 5 and 6 (level 3, philosophy), and Dahlmann concludes that Varro 'etymologisiert nicht als Philosoph, nicht als Stoiker, sondern als Grammatiker.'<sup>237</sup> Varro begins his book 6 with his sources: '*Huius rei auctor satis mihi Chrysippus et Antipater et illi in quibus, si non tantum acuminis, at plus litterarum, in quo est Aristophanes et*

<sup>236</sup> Barwick, 66, from Varro 8.7.

<sup>237</sup> Dahlmann, 11; Barwick, 62.



*Apollodorus*.<sup>238</sup> Here, he discusses words for time and things connected with time, where he gives no apparent preference for any particular source, indeed etymologizing as a grammarian. The book provides no particular insight into Stoic methods of etymology.<sup>239</sup>

### 1.6.3.2. General evidence for the extent of Stoic etymology

With a conviction that names have been generated by a recognizable process, and have a natural origin, the reversal of the process of word creation, taking the final word and reducing it ultimately to the *πρῶται φωναί*, that is, etymology with its present-day diachronic sense, was clearly a meaningful and useful linguistic tool that was used extensively. It is not credible, however, to assume, as virtually all modern scholars have, that this was a specific, or even particularly Stoic, activity. For example, in 1903 Sandys wrote ‘The Stoics paid special attention to Etymology’ (Sandys, 146), a statement which has been echoed for over a century: Tate (1928), 66, ‘the Stoics—and above all, Chrysippus—placed such extreme reliance [on wisdom of poets] that by their etymologies and allegories they practically turned the poets into Stoic philosophers’; Dahlmann (1932), 6, ‘Ihre Blütezeit hat die Etymologie in der stoischen Schule gehabt’; de Lacy (1948), 258, ‘The Stoics were inordinately fond of such etymologizing’; Barwick (1957), 58, ‘Daß die Stoiker auf das Etymologisieren großen Wert legten und es eifrig betrieben, ist allgemein bekannt’; Pfeiffer (1968), 201, ‘The ancient game of *ἐτυμολογεῖν* ... was sparingly and soberly played by him [Aristophanes of Byzantium], in contrast to his Stoic contemporaries ...’; Dawson (1992), 27, ‘etymology was especially characteristic of Stoic exegesis’; Blank (1998), 256, ‘[Stoics]...avid practitioners of etymology’; Barney (2001), 55, ‘The Stoics were notorious etymologizers, but the practice was by no means restricted to them’.

The interesting connection between these quotations is that they are either totally unsupported by evidence, or offer references which do nothing to support the assertion. Thus Pfeiffer, who provides a footnote referring to the Stoic fragments from SVF; Tate (citing Cicero *ND* 1.41, which does not mention etymology); and Barwick (citing Cicero *ND* 3.62 as an example). Both these references

<sup>238</sup> Varro 6.2: Aristophanes of Byzantium (C-3/-2 Alexandrian grammarian); and Apollodorus.

<sup>239</sup> *pace* Dahlmann, 35–43, who argues for a continuation of Stoic principles from book 5.

Essentially, Dahlmann, 37, claims Varro is harmonizing Pythagorean and Stoic doctrines on a basis of ‘pythagoreischen Gegensatzpaare’. He argues for a close connection between their doctrines on the basis of Pythagorean *κινούμενον*, equivalent to a Stoic principle of ‘eternal movement’, citing SVF 2.311 (= S.E. *AM* 9.76) as evidence for the latter principle. But ‘eternal movement’ is not Stoic doctrine: SVF 2.311 argues for the eternity of *god*, not *movement*. He further cites the eternity of the 4 elements as a Stoic principle, but this is in fact Aristotelian cosmology. For Stoics, the 4 elements are basic qualifications of matter, temporary between conflagrations (See too LS 1.286). Elsewhere, the argument seems to be pure speculation.

from Cicero are criticisms by opponents of the Stoics, and as discussed above in section 1.3.4, are poor evidence for a general statement of Stoic practice. This present section is a cautious attempt at a quantitative assessment of our evidence with the purpose of arriving at an evaluation of the *extent* of etymology in general, and Stoic etymology in particular.

If a systematic theory of etymology had been developed, one would expect references to be made to books on the subject, and whilst there are many references, the actual number of books to which reference is made is small. For the grammarians, however, as Barwick, 61, argues, these etymologies would perhaps be spread over commentaries on poetic works, thus books of etymologies would not necessarily be compiled. The earliest works on etymology which we know of are as following:<sup>240</sup>

Author	Ref.	
Plato (C-5/-4)		<i>Cratylus</i>
Heraclides Ponticus (C-4)	Et. Gud. Addit. α 190.26	ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλείδης ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἐτυμολογιῶν ...
	D.L.5.87.3. Book titles	Περὶ ὀνομάτων α
Chrysippus (C-3)	D.L.7.200. Book titles	Ἠθικοῦ λόγου τοῦ περὶ τὴν διάρθρωσιν τῶν ἠθικῶν ἐννοιῶν .../ Σύνταξις τετάρτη Περὶ τῶν ἐτυμολογικῶν πρὸς Διοκλέα ζ, Ἐτυμολογικῶν πρὸς Διοκλέα δ.
Demetrius Ixion (C-2)	Athenaeus <i>deipn.</i> 2.33.40	ὡς Δημήτριος ὁ Ἰξίων λέγει ἐν Ἐτυμολογίᾳ.
Apollodorus Gramm. (C-2)	fr. 191 <i>ap.</i> Athenaeus	Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἐτυμολογιῶν ...
Aëlius (C-2) (Stoic)	OCD entry <i>etymology</i>	
Varro (C-1)		<i>De Lingua Latina</i>
Philoxenus (C-1)	Orion (79 refs to etymologies by Philoxenus from various book titles)	
Soranus (C+2)	Orion β 134 etc.	οὕτω Σωρανὸς ἐν ταῖς Ἐτυμολογίαις τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ...
Galen Med. (C+2)	<i>PHP</i> 2.2.7.4.	δέδεικται μοι, τῇ Περὶ ὀνομάτων ὀρθότητος
	<i>libr. propr.</i> 19.44.14	περὶ ὀνομάτων ὀρθότητος τρία

It is impossible to draw any immediate conclusion from this small list, other than that Stoics clearly did not have a monopoly of interest in etymology. The most obvious item, to which all modern scholars draw attention, is the reference to book titles *περὶ τῶν ἐτυμολογικῶν* by Chrysippus. This has doubtless been influential in forming an overall impression that Stoics were the most avid etymologizers, but nobody places these titles in the context of total of more than 750 titles by Chrysippus.<sup>241</sup> Galen is included in the list because he refers to his own (lost) work concerning

<sup>240</sup> Cornutus is not included because he does not discuss etymology *per se*, he uses it as a technique.

<sup>241</sup> D.L.7.180. Barwick, 61, provides a neat circular argument: because Alexandrian grammarians did not write works on etymology, Apollodorus (a pupil of Diogenes Bab.) and Demetrios Ixion (pupil of Aristarchus, later of Crates, neither being Stoics) must have been under Stoic influence.

etymologies (see Section 1.6.3.3), in which he argues that ἀλαζών ἐστι μάρτυς ἢ ἐτυμολογία, demonstrating that writing a book on a subject does not automatically prove support for the topic.<sup>242</sup>

The above statements by modern scholars all make the claim, explicitly or implicitly, that the Stoics were more prone to etymologizing than those of other philosophical affiliations and writers in other genres. The only way of making an assertion of this kind meaningful would be to collate *all* ancient texts ever written and to make a tally of all etymologies devised, then to compute a density of etymologies sorted into the categories to be compared. The nearest practical approach to this, only performing this analysis on all *extant* texts, would suffer from the flaw that they are probably not a statistical sample from the past, nor can we assess the deviation from it. This flaw is sufficiently serious to prevent the statement from having much meaning. Even a carefully worded and cautious assessment such as LS (1987), 1.195 '[Stoic uses of etymology] are scarcely more frequent or more far-fetched than those of most other Greek intellectuals, philosophers included' nevertheless implies some basis of measurement other than subjective guesswork.

One possible method of a limited quantitative measurement of the use of etymology would be an examination of a specific group of words within a topic likely to be of fundamental interest to writers in all genres, and having selected the specific words, to examine all extant instances of etymologies of these words, recording their provenance to produce a table of statistics. Cornutus provides etymologies of over one hundred words connected with religion, and could thus supply such a measurement. Analysis of etymologies prior to Cornutus of those words etymologized by him suggests that etymologizing was indeed very widespread — Table 93, Appendix 1, provides the following figures for those words etymologized by Cornutus, or closely related to them, from earliest times up to and including C+1, but excluding Cornutus himself:<sup>243</sup>

		Number of writers	Number of etymologies
Philosophers	Stoic	6	49
	not Stoic	28	203
Grammarians		8	34
Others		32	25
Totals		74	311

These figures are of course to be interpreted with considerable caution: the analysis necessarily restricts itself to around 100 specific words in one field of study; many have been reported by later

<sup>242</sup> Although taking an Aristotelian view that names are conventional (see *diff. puls.* iv.8.496.6), Galen himself provides 3 of the etymologies listed in Appendix 1.

<sup>243</sup> Stoics being restricted to the universally recognized or self-acclaimed variety.

writers who may be unreliable; the context within which an etymology is made can be relevant; most importantly, we cannot assess the connection between the numbers we have today and those which have been lost. The complete set of tables shows about 1600 etymologies in total over the whole classical period up to C+12, taken from approximately 157 different named writers, only a small proportion of whom were Stoics. The above figures support the view that etymologizing was universally accepted as a valid occupation on some level, and most certainly do not support the view that the Stoics were in any way more prone to it than anyone else. In the absence of figures which actually support the latter theory, it is not safe to conclude that Stoics were in this respect any different to other writers.

### 1.6.3.3. General evidence for the status of etymology

If etymologizing had been a controversial issue, one would expect some ancient criticism of the principle of the practice. There is however very little evidence for such criticism, and where criticism is found, it is generally the denial of a particular etymology in favour of another, which in itself is a confirmation of the acceptance of the practice. One surprising aspect of the etymologies studied in Appendix 1 is that of the 1600 etymologies listed, there are fewer than a dozen explicit denials of a correctness of an etymology, the criticism confining itself in most cases to a preference of the form ‘A is a better etymology than B’.<sup>244</sup> If ancient writers were analysing diachronically, working backwards to arrive at a *πρώτη φωνή*, one would expect the modern perception that an etymology is either right or wrong, but this happens very seldom. This significance of this is discussed further in section 1.6.5.

For many opponents of Stoic philosophy we have considerable amounts of evidence of their criticisms of Stoic theories, but no extant dismissal of etymologizing as a valid activity. Perhaps the most dismissive critic is Galen Med., and his one extant dismissal of the use of etymology deserves close examination.<sup>245</sup> As discussed above in section 1.6.2, Chrysippus is reported as claiming in his *περι ψυχῆς* that the governing part of the soul resides in the heart, citing as evidence the mimetic etymology of *ἐγώ*, when the jaw drops towards the chest, usually accompanied by bringing the hand also to the chest. Galen is struggling with the beginnings of what will become modern scientific principles of objectivity — what evidence is valid for the scientific proof of what he perceives to be a physical biological problem? A practical man, he is clearly irritated by ‘useless’ philosophical discussions on logic, aiming specifically at the Stoics.<sup>246</sup> In his view, the Stoics fail to

<sup>244</sup> Not common, but e.g. Apollonius *Soph. lex. hom.* 6.28. ‘ἀγεληῖδα’.

<sup>245</sup> *PHP* 2.2-2.4, from which excerpts are cited.

<sup>246</sup> *PHP* 2.3.19.5-20.4.

distinguish between dialectical methods and rhetorical and sophistic ones. But his view differs from modern science, which perceives a method as either right or wrong, in that he differentiates between first, second and third class evidence.<sup>247</sup> Galen criticizes Chrysippus for supporting his medical theories with ‘inexpert witnesses’, *ιδιώτας μάρτυρας ... ἔστι δὲ ὅτε ποιητὰς ἢ τὴν βελτίστην ἐτυμολογίαν ἢ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον*, and cites his own lost work, *περὶ ὀνομάτων ὀρθότητος*, referring to etymology thus:

- ο *PHP 2.2.7.* ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν ἀλαζών ἐστι μάρτυς ἢ ἐτυμολογία πολλάκις μὲν ὁμοίως μαρτυροῦσα τοῖς τάναντία λέγουσι τῶν ἀληθῶν, οὐκ ὀλιγάκις δὲ τοῖς ψευδομένοις μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ τοῖς ἀληθεύουσιν.

It is obvious to Galen that in this specific dispute, dissection of the body is the only valid scientific method, everything outside this is superfluous and irrelevant (*PHP 2.3.8.1.*): *ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ πᾶν ὅ τι περ ἂν ἔξω πίπτῃ, περιττόν τ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἀλλότριον*. But in this negative view of etymology, the underlying assumption is that etymology still has some validity, albeit as third-class evidence. In this particular case, Chrysippus is ‘ἐτυμολογοῦντα μοχθηρῶς’ — he offers no first-class evidence and so his etymology is poor, or inappropriate, not wrong.<sup>248</sup>

Perhaps the most convincing indication of the universality of ancient etymologizing is what the Sceptic Sextus Empiricus (C+2) does not say.<sup>249</sup> In *Adversus mathematicos* he sets out to demolish any method used by grammarians, and at 1.241-247 criticizes the use of etymology to determine whether a word is authentically Greek. Here, he argues that if *λύχνος* comes from *λύειν τὸ νόχος*, then we need to know the origin of *νόχος*, resulting in an infinite regression. Or, *προσκεφάλαιον* is said come from *πρός* and *κεφαλῆ*, a preposition and a word without etymology. Moreover, some objects have two names, so that Athenians use *ὑποπόδιον* for *footstool*, and the Coans use *χελωνίς*: one word having an etymology and the other not. He concludes therefore that etymology is no criterion for determining good Greek, but rather whether a word has ‘currency in our own usage’. He then proceeds (1.250) to criticize Dionysius Thrax for a classification of grammar into six parts: skilful reading aloud, interpretation according to the poetic figures present, explication of words and histories, discovery of etymology (*ἐτυμολογίας εὑρεσιν*), calculation of analogy, judgement of poems. This criticism restricts itself however to the classification, not the content, and the previous criticism of the use of etymology for determining good Greek not only does not criticize etymological analysis, an obvious opportunity to do so, but presupposes a certain value for etymologizing as such.

<sup>247</sup> *PHP 2.4.3.1-4.8.*

<sup>248</sup> *PHP 2.2.7.6.* *μοχθηρῶς* (attested 172 times, 86 of which are Galen) means *wretched* or (medically) *ill*.

<sup>249</sup> See Sedley (1998), 142 n.11.

In conclusion, the evidence strongly suggests that although there was a wide range of applications and levels of interpretation, etymologizing was a universal feature of Greek thought, there being no evidence that Stoics were measurably different to other philosophers in the *extent* of the application of etymology. It now remains to consider whether Stoics in general had a practical method or system of etymologizing which could be identified as typically Stoic, and with this in mind, we turn to the only extant text before Cornutus which presents a systematic list of etymologies, Plato's *Cratylus*.

#### 1.6.4. Plato's *Cratylus*<sup>250</sup>

Plato's view of the status of names, and by extension, his view of etymology, is expounded in this Socratic dialogue on the correctness of names, ὀρθότης ὀνομάτων, in which Cratylus is portrayed as an exponent of a radical theory of naming, that objects can have only one name, a name of natural origin.<sup>251</sup> It is known (Aristotle *Metaph.* 987a32-b1) that Cratylus was also an adherent of a Heraclitean doctrine of flux, and an early influence on Plato. Whilst Cratylus is a linguistic 'naturalist', his opponent Hermogenes, whilst taking the stance that naming is purely conventional, is not a radical 'conventionalist', but rather the voice of common sense, ready to change his opinion if persuaded.<sup>252</sup> As arbiter, Socrates (386d-387d) persuades Hermogenes to shift from a Protagorean relativism by admitting that objects have their own nature independent of any individual observer, and that naming of objects requires an objective skill. A name is a tool which separates an object's being:

- 388b-c ΣΩ. Ὀνομα ἄρα διδασκαλικόν τί ἐστὶν ὄργανον καὶ διακριτικὸν τῆς οὐσίας ...

Being a tool, it has to be made by an expert, according to instructions from the user:

- 388e-389a ΣΩ. Οὐκ ἄρα παντὸς ἀνδρός, ὧ Ἑρμόγενης, ὄνομα θέσθαι [ἐστὶν] ἀλλὰ τινος ὀνοματούργου· οὗτος δ' ἐστίν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ νομοθέτης, ὃς δὴ τῶν δημιουργῶν σπανιώτατος ἐν ἀνθρώποις γίγνεται. ...
- 390d ΣΩ. Νομοθέτου δέ γε, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὄνομα, ἐπιστάτην ἔχοντος διαλεκτικὸν ἀνδρα, εἰ μέλλει καλῶς ὀνόματα θήσεσθαι. EPM. Ἔστι ταῦτα.

From this position, Socrates proceeds with an etymological analysis over a wide range of subjects, demonstrating how words have been manufactured by ancient experts to give information about their nominata, but he then proceeds to undermine Cratylus' extreme position by claiming that the name-giver could have been wrong about the nature of what he was describing, which would make the naming process less than perfect. Although Socrates agrees that the name-givers were adherents of Heraclitean flux theory (439c3), Cratylus is further undermined by the argument (439b-440d) that although this flux theory is supported by many etymologies (Ῥέα from ρευμάτων, θεός from θεῖν and so on), the existence of absolutes such as beauty, i.e. Forms, demonstrates that the theory is wrong in at least one instance.

<sup>250</sup> This section draws heavily on the comprehensive and seminal treatment by Sedley (2004) which leaves little if anything to be said. I have therefore been compelled largely to summarize those conclusions which are specifically relevant to this thesis.

<sup>251</sup> Assuming that a Platonic dialogue is Plato thinking aloud, and his position is expressed by Socrates. Plato (*Tht.* 189e6-190a6) explicitly describes the structure of thought as a conversation: ἡ ψυχή ... αὐτὴ ἑαυτὴν ἐρωτῶσα καὶ ἀποκρινομένη. See Sedley (2004), 1-3.

<sup>252</sup> 384d-e.

Plato uses the analogy of a carpenter making a shuttle to a specification made by a weaver in order to illustrate the name-maker constructing a name required by a dialectician (389a-390d), and in the process (above quote) re-names the *ὀνοματουργός* as a *νομοθέτης*. Because names are assigned according to Hermogenes ‘νόμῳ καὶ ἔθει’, and according to Cratylus ‘φύσει’, the debate can be seen as part of the more general Sophistic *nomos-physis* controversy, but here the choice is not a direct *nomos* against *physis* because Socrates clearly states that the *νομοθέτης* assigns a name, but subject to criteria defined by the dialectician, so that the assignation occurs in either case, the difference being the presence or absence of an additional *physis* element (397c1: *θέσις* is a tacit assumption). Sedley argues convincingly that the immediate transition without argument from *ὀνοματουργός* to *νομοθέτης* points to the use of *νομοθέτης* as an already familiar concept, and as ‘a product of the fifth-century etymological industry, a large-scale Sophistic enterprise, of which Plato’s *Cratylus* is no more than a faint echo.’<sup>253</sup> Further, a reference in *Charmides* (175b4): *ὁ νομοθέτης τοῦτο τοῦνομα ἔθετο, τὴν σωφροσύνην* lends support to the idea that there existed an established assumption about the origin of language, that names were assigned in the distant past by specific individuals, and they were known as *νομοθέται*.<sup>254</sup>

The lack of explicit discussion about the origin of language places Plato’s view clearly within the universal perspective, before Epicurus, that language was a deliberately generated artefact constructed at some specific time in the past, by humans, super-humans or gods. For Plato, these ancient *νομοθέται* were of a generation of men *κρείττονας ἡμῶν καὶ ἐγγυτέρω θεῶν οἰκοῦντες*, conforming to the cross-cultural and pervasive belief in the superior wisdom of distant ancestors.<sup>255</sup> The source of their wisdom is divine inspiration: *[θ]εῶν ... εἰς ἀνθρώπους δόσις, .... ποθὲν ἐκ θεῶν ἐρρίφη διὰ τινος Προμηθέως ἅμα φανοτάτῳ τινὶ πυρί*, and the idea that names of eternal and absolute entities are created using a source superior to contemporary man is explicitly posited by Socrates in the *Cratylus* (397c1): *ἴσως δ’ ἔνια αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὸ θειοτέρας δυνάμεως ἢ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐτέθη*, later (416c4) arguing that the power which gave a name is the intellect *ἦτοι θεῶν ἢ ἀνθρώπων ἢ ἀμφοτέρα*.

<sup>253</sup> Sedley (2004), 70-71.

<sup>254</sup> The manner in which the name *νομοθέτης* is introduced at 389a implies a recognized etymological connection between *ὄνομα* and *νόμος*. For detailed discussion of the sense of the word *νομοθέτης* see Sedley (2004), 72-74. Athenian jurors became *νομοθέται* during constitutional changes at the end of C-5, so Plato is perhaps picking up a word in a wider an evolving vogue: see Sullivan, J. 48, n.174, with vast secondary bibliography.

<sup>255</sup> *Phlb.* 16c7; Sedley (2004), 25-34.



The same ideological position is held by Aristotle when etymologizing αἰών from ἀπό τοῦ αἰεὶ εἶναι (*Cael.* 279a18-28): Καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τοῦνομα θείως ἔφθεγκται παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων.<sup>256</sup> It is not clear exactly why both Plato and Aristotle considered the ancients to be more divine or superior, because neither philosopher provides an explicit theory which would explain this phenomenon, and it impossible to judge to what extent they might have been influenced by Hesiod's Golden Age theory. Nevertheless, 'both philosophers present divine inspiration, not inheritance, as our ancestors' principal source of knowledge'.<sup>257</sup> This inspiration from the gods gave the ancients superior knowledge, thus:<sup>258</sup>

- ο *Cra.* 401b7-9 ΣΩ. Κινδυνεύουσι γούν, ὡγαθὲ Ἑρμόγετες, οἱ πρῶτοι τὰ ὀνόματα τιθέμενοι οὐ φαῦλοι εἶναι ἀλλὰ μετεωρολόγοι καὶ ἀδολέσχει τινές.

Plato's assessment of ancient man can be compared with Cornutus:

- ο 75.19... ὅτι οὐχ οἱ τυχόντες ἐγένοντο οἱ παλαιοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνιέναι τὴν τοῦ κόσμου φύσιν ἱκανοὶ ... εὐεπίφοροι.

Two thirds of the dialogue consists of a list of etymologies, starting with cosmology, theology and physics, before moving on to virtues (such as *wisdom* and *justice*), vices (*evil* etc.) and finally to a series of fundamentally important words such as *truth*, *falsehood* and *name*. Socrates chooses this sequence of words for the tactical reason that words relating to the eternal and absolute are most likely to have been given with the greatest care (397b8-9). The first theme is cosmic intelligence: Κρόνος is *pure intellect*, son of οὐρανός, who is derived from ὀρώσα τὰ ἄνω, i.e. astronomy. Zeus is the progeny of *pure intellect*, and is the cause of all life. Thus we have the fundamental Platonic concepts that first, astronomy can be a route to the perfection of a pure intellect, and second, the world is the result of some intelligent force. Both these concepts are thus supported by etymological analysis, and Plato ascribes these insights to the ancient νομοθέται.<sup>259</sup> Other etymologies are equally revealing (399c5-6): ἄνθρωπος is derived from ἀναθρῶν ἃ ὄπωπε, uncovering the property of man which distinguishes (see 388c1: διακριτικόν *separating*) him from other animals,

<sup>256</sup> Thus Aristotle does use etymology to support his arguments, despite his general 'conventionalism' stance concerning names (see *SE* 165a6 and Section 1.6.1.). Aristotle thought the very earliest survivors of regular cataclysms were 'τοὺς τυχόντας καὶ τοὺς ἀνοήτους' (*Pol.* 1269a6). For Aristotle's view on the transmission of primitive wisdom see *Metaph.* 1074a38-b14 and Section 1.5.

<sup>257</sup> Sedley (2004), 32; Plato (*Ti.* 40d) claims ancestors are descended from the Gods. For Plato's view of ancient man, and his modification of it during his lifetime, see Section 1.4.

<sup>258</sup> μετεωρολόγοι καὶ ἀδολέσχει — 'a complex locus of both irony and philosophical approbation': Sedley (2004), 101.

<sup>259</sup> Sedley (2004), 91-92, points out that these are key themes in both the *Republic* vii (527d-528a, 528e-530c) and *Timaeus* (47b-c, 90c-d). He finds it remarkable that Plato credits distant ancestors with such insight, but Plato is surely merely using them as authoritative witnesses for his own: see Aristotle *Rh.* 1376a16 πιστότατοι δ' οἱ παλαιοί· ἀδιάφθοροι γάρ.

his capability for rational awareness. There then follows a series of etymologies which underline the dominance of flux, before Socrates moves on to his ethical agenda.<sup>260</sup>

Appendix 8 lists etymologies which broadly include the theological names analysed by Cornutus, and a superficial inspection shows that irrespective of any theoretical principles, in practice the mechanism for generating an etymology is the same — a name is recognized as either a telescoped version of a short description or derived from just one word which expresses its nature. Where there are alternatives, Plato uses them as a group which complement each other: Ἔστια from οὐσία, ἐσσία and ὠσία indicates a high level of correctness for the name because it manages to incorporate three different fundamental properties; likewise Ἀπόλλων has four roots which encapsulate his four portfolios of healer, soothsayer, archer and musician.

A whole series of etymologies which are ‘obviously wrong’ according to modern theories of language, propounded by a Socrates with a reputation for irony, has led virtually all modern commentators after Grote (1865) to read the whole dialogue as some jovial dismissal of etymology.<sup>261</sup> There are however sufficient grounds for taking the dialogue seriously: first, nobody in antiquity is known to have read it otherwise; secondly, neither Hermogenes nor Cratylus show signs of appreciating a joke; thirdly, the etymologies occupy two thirds of the dialogue, which would be humorous overkill in any culture; fourthly, Socrates is clearly serious at 439c1-4: εἰ τῷ ὄντι μὲν οἱ θέμενοι αὐτὰ διανοηθέντες γε ἔθεντο ὡς ἰόντων ἀπάντων ἀεὶ καὶ βρόντων— φαίνονται γὰρ ἔμοιγε καὶ αὐτῷ οὕτω διανοηθῆναι— an assertion which makes no sense if the remainder is ironic.<sup>262</sup> Further supporting evidence is provided by the well-attested fact that Plato had changed his name from Aristocles, an unusual step to take, and a sign that Plato at least took names seriously.<sup>263</sup> When a process which ancient Greeks took as a science seems manifestly absurd to the modern reader, it does not necessarily require an interpretation as ironic: Aristotle’s treatment of most of the phenomena in his *Meteorologica* is, to the modern reader, far more absurd as scientific explanation than any etymology by Plato, yet nobody has ever suggested that Aristotle was not serious.

<sup>260</sup> Plato’s theory of universal flux: *Tht.* 152d-e. See Sedley (2004), 99-122.

<sup>261</sup> Thus Baxter, O’Hara, numerous others. Sedley (1998) and (2004) is the notable exception.

<sup>262</sup> These points are the main basis for a comprehensive argument given by Sedley (2004), 39-41.

<sup>263</sup> D.L.3.4.5, S.E. *AM* 1.258.2, Proclus *plato cra. comm.* 16.29, etc. Sedley (2004), 21-23, compares the change from Aristocles to Plato with Johnson to Jenkins, and offers no explanation other than an influence of Cratylus. Johnson and Jenkins, however, have no political overtones, and this cannot be said with certainty for ‘Aristocles’ because when Plato was a young man, any Aristo- name might have been seen as politically significant. Perhaps Plato was distancing himself from his cousin Critias and the oligarchy of Thirty: see Aristotle *Ath.* 34.3 with Rhodes, 429-431.

Plato's etymologies reveal an 'analogue' method of assigning a quality on a scale ranging from good and bad for any etymology, fundamentally alien to the modern scientific 'digital' concept that an etymology can have only one of two states, either correct or incorrect: the greater number of connections between the name and fundamental qualities of its nominata, the higher the quality of the name. Socrates enumerates the four-fold root of Ἀπόλλων, for example, judging the name κάλλιστα κείμενον πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ θεοῦ (404e4-5); where two etymologies appear to collide, Socrates judges one to be τεχνικώτερον, *more scientific* (400b5). A further characteristic is often a derivation which to the modern ear seems to be an unnecessarily contrived selection of the obscure, ignoring the obvious: thus φρόνησις as a *perception of motion* and *flowing* (φορᾶς γὰρ ἔστι καὶ ῥοῦ νόησις, 411d4), rather than the 'obvious' derivation from φρονέω. The etymological agenda is to illuminate an insight into the nature of a word, in this case, a perception of flux; the connection between a noun and an associated verb, in this case φρόνησις and φρονέω, is never taken as an etymological connection in the sense that the noun is derived from the verb, or *vice versa*, because this sheds no light on the meaning of either word. Plato no doubt sees some natural connection between φρόνησις and φρονέω, but the connection is irrelevant here.<sup>264</sup> Similarly, Cornutus provides three alternative etymologies for Τερψιχόρη (16.10): 1) τέρπεσθαι + χαίρειν; 2) τέρψις + ὀρᾶσθαι 'the first component of the syllable -χό- in the name being superfluous'; and 3) 'possibly because the ancients used to perform dances to the Gods'. To the modern reader, this seems to be an almost perverse avoidance of the *delighting in dance* which he presumably rejected as not illuminating her nature.<sup>265</sup> Another example (13.18) is the derivation of Τύχη from τεύχειν, more in keeping with the Stoic conception of fate than an 'obvious' etymology from τυγχάνειν with its overtone of pure chance.

After his long series of etymologies, Socrates realizes that at some point of regression words cannot be explained (422a: ἀγαθὸν from ἀγαστόν and θεόν; θεόν from others). Significantly, he rejects the notion of divine authority (425d-e) and recognizes that a theory qualifying as τεχνικόν (426a) must be able to explain the very earliest of names. He suggests (425d-427d) the ultimate origin of words as stemming from the mimetic quality of letters, which he admits might sound ridiculous but cannot be otherwise. Thus he identifies letters representing forms of motion or flux: rho (ῥεῖν, ῥοῆ, τρέχειν, κρούειν, κτλ.); iota indicates subtlety (ιέναι, ἴεσθαι); phi, psi, sigma and zeta imitate blowing; lambda indicates sliding. Sounds indicating binding and rest are delta and tau; gamma suggests stickiness (γλυκύ); nu is an internal sound (ἔνδον); alpha greatness; eta length; o (long and short) roundness (γόγγυλον). A notable similarity is found in Cornutus (53.5), who gives the

<sup>264</sup> Sedley (2004), 34, uses the example of οἰωνιστική (*Phdr.* 244d) to illustrate this point.

<sup>265</sup> For an alternative political explanation, see Section 1.9.

explicit example of -χθ- as *compression*: γῆ has undergone compression, and is thus κατὰ μίμησιν known as χθών. Socrates ends his impromptu and incomplete scientific analysis with the assertion:

- ο 427c-d καὶ τὰλλα οὕτω φαίνεται προσβιάζειν καὶ κατὰ γράμματα καὶ κατὰ συλλαβὰς ἐκάστῳ τῶν ὄντων σημείον τε καὶ ὄνομα ποιῶν ὁ νομοθέτης, ἐκ δὲ τούτων τὰ λοιπὰ ἤδη αὐτοῖς τούτοις συντιθέναι ἀπομιμούμενος. αὕτη μοι φαίνεται, ὦ Ἐρμόγενης, βούλεσθαι εἶναι ἢ τῶν ὀνομάτων ὀρθότης ....

A critical point in the dialogue is reached when Socrates considers the correctness of σκληρότης, and the Eretrian form σκληρότηρ (434c-435b), where Cratylus is forced to admit that the final sigma and rho have the same function, and the word has an equal number of syllables expressing hardness and softness. In this limiting case, only convention enables the recognition of a name indicating hardness, and Socrates, or rather Plato, can be seen as taking the stance ‘for *any* name, its success as tool for communication depends, at least largely, on its imitative powers, but may also depend on a degree of convention’.<sup>266</sup>

Plato thus accepts that names can imitate their nominata, and he makes it explicit that name-making is a τέχνη, an important Platonic criterion for taking something seriously.<sup>267</sup> Less explicit is whether the reverse process, etymology, has the same status, but Socrates insists (426a7) that the process of reduction to primary sounds has to be performed τεχνικῶς, using the same techniques as name-making, which can be argued as giving etymology the respectable status of τέχνη. The *Cratylus* shows that the original name-givers might have been wrong in their concept of an object, so the mimetic relationship to the object might be wrong, in addition to the potential ambiguities in the values of the letters themselves. Socrates’ argument is that even if names are in themselves not a route to knowledge, the fact that they have become names at all must mean that they contain some information of value. Hence etymology is a justified means of examining an object’s nature, even when the results can be unsatisfactory.

Plato’s study of language is however just a minor part of his philosophical syllabus, and must be put in the context of his general belief that knowledge ultimately comes from the study of things themselves, not their names, thus we find statements such as:

- ο *Chrm.* 163d5-7 ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ σοι τίθεσθαι μὲν τῶν ὀνομάτων δίδωμι ὅπη ἂν βούλη ἕκαστον· δήλου δὲ μόνον ἐφ’ ὅτι ἂν φέρης τοῦνομα ὅτι ἂν λέγῃς.

In general terms, therefore, two conclusions can be reached. First, the albeit sketchy theory of language creation illustrated by Plato could well be a starting point for, or at least be in agreement

<sup>266</sup> Sedley (2004), 145. For a detailed and convincing argument of this controversial view, see Sedley (2004), 138-146 and Barney 134-136.

<sup>267</sup> Status of τέχνη: *Gorgias*. Name-giving as τέχνη: 431e6-8 ΣΩ. Οὐκοῦν φῶμεν καὶ ταύτην τέχνην εἶναι καὶ δημιουργοὺς αὐτῆς; ΚΡ. Πάνυ γε.

with, a generally accepted theory of language as described by Varro, in which ancient νομοθέται allocated names according to some mimetic principles. Secondly, it would not be inaccurate to assign an equivalent value of etymology to Plato as Galen, who describes etymologies as *ιδιώτας μάρτυρας*, *second-rate witnesses*.<sup>268</sup>

The *Cratylus* offers alternative etymologies for some words which complement rather than contradict each other. Cornutus also provides alternative etymologies, but explicitly from different sources; similarly to Plato, he accepts the validity of virtually all of them, and once gives a preference (37.14) where one etymology is πανουργότερα than an older one.<sup>269</sup> The conclusions about Stoic etymology are given in Section 1.6.5, but in connection with Plato, the results suggest that Cornutus is following a universal Greek tradition of recognizing etymology as a useful though limited supporting tool to support any philosophical theory, very much on the same level as Plato. Notable are several instances in Appendix 8 where an etymology is linguistically the same for Plato as Cornutus, but is general enough to be applied to whichever philosophical insight is required: thus ῥέα is *flux*, and whereas Plato sees this as Heraclitean flux, for Cornutus it is a valid part of Stoic cosmology; Plato denies an etymology of Ἀπόλλων from ἀπόλλυμι, found in Archilochus, Aeschylus and Euripides (Appendix 1, Table 81) and implicit in the *Iliad* 1, because he sees no destructive force, but Cornutus can find a positive Stoic interpretation. It is indeed tempting to suggest from various similarities in the texts that either the *Cratylus* was well known to Cornutus or the ideas were so common that both writers were using ideas in circulation over centuries. Compare for example:

Plato *Cra.* 397d

φαίνονται μοι οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τούτους μόνους [τοὺς θεοὺς] ἠγεῖσθαι οὐσπερ νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ γῆν καὶ ἄστρα καὶ οὐρανόν.<sup>270</sup> ἅτε οὖν αὐτὰ ὀρῶντες πάντα ἀεὶ ἰόντα δρόμῳ καὶ θέοντα, ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς φύσεως τῆς τοῦ θεῖν "θεοὺς" αὐτοὺς ἐπονομάσαι.

Cornutus 2.16

εὐλογον δὲ καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς θεύσεως ἐσχηκέναι τὴν προσηγορίαν· πρῶτον γὰρ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι θεοὺς ὑπελάμβανον εἶναι οὐδὲς ἐώρων ἀδιαλείπτως φερομένους, αἰτίους αὐτοὺς νομίσαντες εἶναι τῶν τοῦ ἀέρος μεταβολῶν καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν ὄλων.

In conclusion, the theory of language generation, the principles of etymology, the practical application of them to support a philosophical theory, and their τεχνικῶς use as described in the *Cratylus* could equally well apply almost five centuries later than Plato to Cornutus.

<sup>268</sup> Galen *PHP* 2.2.7. See Section 1.6.3.3.

<sup>269</sup> The theoretical possibility exists that Cornutus does not accept them all, but suppresses his own views so that a pupil can make his own mind up.

<sup>270</sup> For the extraordinary inclusion of *earth* in this list, see Sedley (2004), 15-16.

## 1.6.5. Conclusions about the nature and extent of Stoic etymology

### 1.6.5.1. Cornutus

Greek names are usually transparent, thus Pericles, Hermogenes, Aristophanes and the like are recognizably constructed from roots, and take on a meaning, irrespective of the relevance of the meaning to their nominatum.<sup>271</sup> Near Eastern gods too are seen to have self-explanatory names, such as the Sumerian Enki, *Lord of Below*, and the Babylonian Marduk, *Son of the Mountain of the Gods*.<sup>272</sup> The names of Greek gods, however, seem to be impenetrable, and with uncertain roots even by the standards of modern linguistic analysis. But despite their opaque nature, Cornutus was convinced that such fundamentally important names had to have rational explanations (or at least wanted to give this impression to his pupils). As discussed in Section 1.1.5.1, the only items of information which cannot be explained using logical or rhetorical argument are names and epithets of the gods. But Cornutus requires that *everything* is explicable, thus he resorts to etymologizing as a form of rational argument. His interest in etymology, in this text, is not linguistic or theoretical, but practical, as a device for providing rational explanation where argument is unavailable. This specific interest is observable in the limited range of words to which etymology is applied: almost exclusively names and epithets of gods, and a few other etymologies always within the context of a supporting argument.

The Cornutus text provides etymologies for *ca.* 150 names: 119 single etymologies, 22 names with 2 alternative etymologies, 11 names with 3 alternatives, and one with 4 alternatives. This gives a total of *ca.* 200 etymologies for the 150 nominata, thus multiple etymologies are in the minority. Further, there are 36 etymologies in the text identified as accretive (see Section 1.7). The small uncertainty in these figures is attributable to several words where an etymology may be implied (e.g. Table 41: Τηθύς), or where the etymology is so transparent that it hardly counts (e.g. Table 23: Κλωθώ).

Appendix 1 lists all those etymologies which Cornutus provides where a comparison with other writers can be made. Appendix 9 summarizes his signposts for an etymology, where it can be seen that ἀπὸ τοῦ is by far his preferred signal, but where others are employed for variety.<sup>273</sup> The tables were constructed to examine the possibility that there was a discernible pattern, and that specific types of etymologies might be attributable to writers of different philosophical convictions. Positive conclusions, however, remain elusive because Cornutus takes any number of etymologies as

<sup>271</sup> See Section 1.6.4, Aristocles and Plato.

<sup>272</sup> Burkert, 182.

<sup>273</sup> See Section 1.7.2.7. for discussion of a shift to παρὰ τό with time.

acceptable. Two criteria, however, are discernible in the etymologies he provides: first, they are 'useful' in that they describe a significant quality of their nominatum, and secondly, this quality conforms to Stoic physics. The striking method of accepting multiple etymologies strongly suggests that Cornutus does not consider as important the identification of any one etymology as 'correct' in the modern sense of a correct historical root of the word. His concern is that any of his suggested etymologies could be an acceptable rational explanation, and 'correct' in the sense of a plausible description. Thus the appropriateness of a name is paramount, not its linguistic history, and Plato's name for etymology, ὀρθότης ὀνομάτων, is as relevant for Cornutus as it was almost five centuries earlier.

The detection of any pattern of etymological use is prevented by poor attestation of many etymologies before Cornutus. A comparison with earlier Stoics gives:

	No. of etymologies recorded	Agreement with Cornutus	Disagreement with Cornutus
Zeno	5	3	2
Cleanthes	5	1	4
Chrysippus	20	11	9
Posidonius	3	2	1

Clearly, the numbers are insufficient to draw statistically significant conclusions, but there is no evidence of a slavish loyalty to etymologies provided by earlier Stoics, indeed the figures suggest that there is no 'tradition' of acceptance of any etymology.

As further comparisons, we have (where for *Cratylus*, 25 deities are identified which Cornutus etymologizes: see Appendix 8 for details):

	No. of etymologies recorded	Agreement with Cornutus	Disagreement with Cornutus
Plato <i>Cra.</i>	25	13	12
Apollodorus	7	6	1

The figures for Apollodorus include 3 etymologies (Table 87, 88, 89) of Ἀχέρων, Κωκυτός and Πυριφλεγέθων where the etymologies are transparent and almost no alternatives are found, and we have no reports of etymologies by Apollodorus for the names which have prompted most speculation. There is clearly no connection between etymologies from Plato and Cornutus, and there is no support from the etymologies for the notion, as claimed by some modern commentators (see Section 1.8), that Apollodorus is a source for Cornutus.

### 1.6.5.2. Stoics in general

General statistics for the tables in Appendix 1 are:<sup>274</sup>

			'Useful'	'Useless'
No. of words etymologized:	115			
Total no. of different etymologies	407			
Total no. of etymologies recorded	1621			
Etymologies by Stoics		215	213	2
Etymologies by non-Stoics		1406	1216	190

'Useful' indicates those etymologies which describe some aspect of the nominatum; 'useless' are the etymologies where they are unhelpful as a description, for example, 'Ἀργειφόντης from \*Ἄργος (=dog) + φόνος, an episode in his past, not descriptive. The two 'useless' Stoic etymologies are both birthplaces provided by Strabo, a geographer, though an etymology by Cornutus (Table 78) of Dionysus from Mount Nysa is assumed to be 'useful' in that wine was introduced to Greece from the East. On the basis of these figures, we can conclude that Stoic etymologies consistently required that an etymology described some quality of the nominatum, though this criterion also applied to 87% of non-Stoic etymologies. Thus the relationship to nominata is relevant across the board, not just for Stoics. Significant numbers of later etymologies are provided by doxographers who are collecting previous etymologies regardless of their philosophical value, and these could easily account for the 'useless' examples.

A further issue is whether the specific application of etymologies by Stoics is essentially different to other writers: Cornutus uses them as an extension of rational argument, but an insuperable problem with other etymologies is that they are generally quotations from later writers who do not provide the original context. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, it must be assumed that etymologies were universally used as part of rational argument in a manner no different to Cornutus.

The above figures are subject to the distortions and errors described earlier in Section 1.6.3.2, where the extent of Stoic etymologizing is discussed. There, the conclusion was reached that etymologizing was ubiquitous, with nothing to suggest that the *extent* of Stoic etymologizing was any different to any other philosophical school. Here, the conclusion can also be reached that apart from a small percentage of non-Stoics who reported 'useless' etymologies, the *nature* of Stoic etymologizing was not demonstrably different to that of any other philosophical background.

---

<sup>274</sup> Some inaccuracy is inevitable: accretions in Cornutus are assigned 'non-Stoic'.



## 1.7. Structure and integrity of the text

### 1.7.1. Content of Text

Comparison of the two genealogical tables in Appendixes 6 and 7 shows that Cornutus presents a genealogy which is effectively a subset of Hesiod, and listed here are the only instances where Cornutus provides a genealogical connection other than that of the *Theogony* of Hesiod (as transmitted to us), either as the only genealogy or as one of two or more alternatives:

	Hesiod <i>Theog.</i>	Cornutus	Homer
Alkmon	no ref.	<i>some of the poets</i> (2.6)	no ref.
Litae	no ref.	daughters of Zeus (12.5)	daughters of Zeus ( <i>Il.</i> 9.502)
Fates	daughters a) of Night (217) b) of Zeus & Themis (901)*	Zeus ≡ Fate, the Fates are <i>another approach</i> (12.11)	abstract sg., once pl. as personification, no genealogy ( <i>Il.</i> 24.49)
Enyo	daughter of Ceto & Phorcys (273)	Ares nurse/mother/sister (40.15)	no ref.
Cyclopes	children of Ouranos & Gaia (139)	children of Poseidon (44.11)	children of Poseidon ( <i>Od.</i> 1.71)
Leukothea	(Ino) daughter of Cadmus (976)*	daughter of Nereus (44.19)	daughter of Cadmus ( <i>Od.</i> 5.333)
Dione	Titan? (17); daughter Oceanus, Tethys (353)	<i>some say</i> mother of Aphrodite (45.2)	mother of Aphrodite ( <i>Il.</i> 5.370)
Eros	no parents (120)	a) no parents (28.18) b) son of Aphrodite (47.1)	no ref.
Asclepius	no ref.	<i>some say</i> Son of Apollo (70.2)	no ref. (but <i>HH</i> 16( <i>Asclep.</i> ))

\* = after *Theog.* line 900, thus suspect;

■ = accretion in the Cornutus text;

shading highlights similarities.<sup>275</sup>

Appendix 4, Table 1 shows the overall layout of the text, listing the gods in sequence. The table shows that there are only few breaks in the text where a topic is discussed which has no connection with the previous topic, even though some connections seem tenuous and indeed artificial, and the text consists of four distinct sections plus a conclusion, a short explanation of its purpose. The fourth section can be further divided into four subsections of similar lengths, rounded off by a short section on Hades. Cornutus signals new sections or subsections by an abrupt change of the type *next*

<sup>275</sup> *Theog.* 900+: West (1969), 398. Accretions: Section 1.7.2. Cornutus, 66.9, gives no parentage for Apollo and Artemis, but οἰκείως δὲ καὶ ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοὺς παρεισήγαγον.

*we must discuss x*, and the change is sometimes accompanied by an invocation to the reader/listener (ὦ παῦ/παιδίον/τέκνον: 1.1; 28.2; 41.18; 52.4; 65.1; 75.19):

A:	(31%) Zeus, his origins, significant descendants: Muses, Hermes	(Osann 1-16; Lang 1-26.6)
B:	(2%) Interpretation of two episodes in Homer	(Osann 17 part; Lang 26.7-27.18)
C:	(5%) Cosmogony up to Titans, Stoic interpretation	(Osann 17 part; Lang 27.19-31.18)
D:	(62%) Popular religion (τὰ βεβοημένα παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις)	(Osann 18-35; Lang 31.19-75.19)
	D1: <i>Pronoia</i> and some more children of Zeus,	(Osann 18-21; Lang 31.19-41.17)
	D2: Water deities including Aphrodite and Pan,	(Osann 22-27; Lang 41.18-52.3)
	D3: Earth and fertility deities,	(Osann 28-30; Lang 52.4-62.22)
	D4: Herakles, Apollo, Artemis and others	(Osann 31-34; Lang 62.23-74.4)
	D5: Hades	(Osann 35 part; Lang 74.5-75.18)
E:	Conclusion.	(Osann 35 part; Lang 75.19-end)

No modern commentator has presented an explanation for the noticeable restriction of content to specifically Greek theology, nor for its overall structure nor the sequence in which the deities are presented. Section 1.7.3. argues that the content and structure are determined by specific aims of the text. These aims, however, only become manifest when accretions have been identified, thus the integrity of the text must first be examined.

## 1.7.2. Textual integrity

### 1.7.2.1. Cornutus' vocabulary

One notable feature of the text is the high frequency of words which are characterized either by their rarity or their lack of attestation before Cornutus.<sup>276</sup> Thus the text of 12036 words contains 28 *hapax* words (see list below); 63 words which are *hapax* forms, attested elsewhere only in other inflected forms; 102 words where the text is the first attested use of a rare word; and at least as many words which are attested only once or twice before Cornutus, most often by Strabo, Philo or Aristotle. There are a few words which are very common later than Cornutus, but attested first in this text, thus ποσῶς, the first of 353.

<sup>276</sup> This is a subjective assessment, because no figures are available for other texts.

It is tempting to deduce something significant from this feature, but there are, however, several reasons which could account for the peculiar nature of the vocabulary:

- 1) Cornutus is using spellings which have superseded Classical Greek spellings: thus θεσμοθέτιν *hapax*, but θεσμοθέτης is attested earlier 51 times, nom. and acc.; νομοθέτιν *hapax* but νομοθέτην 512 times; Ἐριννύες the first of 73, but 97 earlier instances of Ἐρινύες.
- 2) An attempt at being concise might encourage the use of unfamiliar, but correct, words. For example: 10.20 ἀπὸ τοῦ ταῖς παλάμαις μιάσματα ἀνέκθυτα (*hapax*) ἀποτελεῖν might be expressed in more familiar, but wordier, language.
- 3) Cornutus is inventing words to explain etymologies: 30.10 ἰαφετός τις ὢν (see the list below, with 7 *hapax* words similarly introduced).
- 4) Unfamiliar words may be used stylistically, thus 13.17: Νέμεσις δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς νεμήσεως ... Τύχη δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τεύχειν ... Μοῦσαι ἀπὸ τῆς μώσεως (*hapax*), τουτέστι ζητήσεως (unusual word explained).
- 5) Words are simply not attested. Texts from C-3 to C+1 have been less successful at survival than earlier ones, thus any development in vocabulary during that period is more likely to be manifested in later writers.

If the Cornutus text contained simply a mixture of well-attested words and *hapax* words, the conclusion could be that Cornutus is either inventing them, or using a dialect unfamiliar to us. The presence, however, not only of *hapax* words, but of at least as many words which are attested only earlier by, for example, Strabo and Philo, strongly suggests that there has been a general development of vocabulary which has been poorly attested.

There are four negative conclusions to be drawn: first, the vocabulary offers no evidence that Cornutus is using a specific dialect; secondly, there is no reason to suppose that Cornutus' knowledge of Greek vocabulary is inadequate; thirdly, there are sufficient numbers of words which are attested genuinely in Cornutus for the first time to prevent the use of a particular late word to be used as a criterion for identification of an accretion;<sup>277</sup> fourthly, the fairly random distribution of the *hapax* words gives no clue to possible different sources for parts of the text, as shown in the following list (accretion):

<sup>277</sup> When identifying accretions, oddities in word usage are occasionally taken into account, but only as secondary considerations.

3.1		θετῆρες
11.3		ἀνέκθυτα
14.8		μώσεως
20.9		εὐήθειαν
21.12	οἶον	ἀργεφάντης
26.17		κεκρεμακέναι
28.9	οἶονει	κάος
30.10	τις ὄν	ἰαφετός
36.2		δυσετυμολόγητον
36.8	τάχα δ'	αἰθεροναία
38.11		ἀγελήϊδα
39.1		εὐνόθευτον
39.7		δορικέντορα
39.14		γιγαντοφόντις

41.16		ἀρηϊφθορα
44.4		κρηνοῦχος
44.4		νυμφαγέτης
44.12		μεγαλεπιβούλους
50.3		ἀγριοφανῆ
53.9		χείεσθαι
57.4		μουσία
58.1	οἶον	διάνυσος
59.18		ἀπαμφιασμόν
68.13		εὐέκκαυστος
71.11	ὡς	δικτύνης
71.12		ὄρεσίφοιτον
75.17	οἶον	διαναρκᾶν
76.9		προχειρότης

A further feature of the vocabulary is the striking list of adjectives prefixed with *δυσ-*, which could be accounted for by an attempt at being concise (**accretion**):

8.8	δυσπαρακολουθήτων	
18.13	δυσανάβατον	First of 10
23.2	δυσλύτω	
32.18	δυσχρηστίας	
36.2	δυσετυμολόγητον	<i>hapax</i>
36.12	δυσφορωτάτους	
36.18	δυσαντίβλεπτον	First of 34

38.7	δυσκαταγώνιστον	
38.7	δυσπολιόρκητον	
56.18	δυσπόριστον	
57.5	δυσξόμβλητον	
59.15	δυσκάθεκτον	First of 38
66.10	δυσδιάκριτα	

Other than those indicated, the adjectives are unremarkable, and the frequency is not so unusual as to be worthy of more comment.<sup>278</sup>

### 1.7.2.2. General argument for the identification of accretions

Previous commentators on Cornutus have noted that Lang bracketed considerable amounts of text, though nobody has quantified them: 75 different units amounting to *ca.* 9% of the text. Some of these units, about 20 of them, are small and grammatically incorrect or incomprehensible, and are universally treated as accretions. These have never been considered an issue which might have any bearing on the reading of the text, and are unanimously ignored. The remaining 55 bracketed sections, however, have been an embarrassment, and the text has always been read as if the brackets were non-existent, mainly because Lang did not specify the grounds for his suspicions; thus the inference has always been that Lang was unhappy about reconciling variant manuscript readings.

<sup>278</sup> As a comparison, texts have the number of adjectives (not counting repeats) with *δυσ-* prefix per 10,000 words thus: Marc. Aur., 13; Cornutus, 11; Plutarch *IO*, 8; Strabo, 2.

Thus Schmidt (1912), 1-21, examines the passages bracketed by Lang and isolates the 20 obvious small accretions on the sole criterion of grammatical incorrectness, concluding *Statuendum igitur est libellum Cornutianum, etsi non desunt interpolationis vestigia, multo minus quam editori recentissimo videbatur esse, alienis additamentis foedatum esse.*

In 1975, some clarity could have been achieved when Krafft, in his *Habilitationsschrift* analysed all 35 extant Cornutus manuscripts (Lang had access to far fewer: see Lang x-xix), and deduced that they all came from one archetype of earlier than C+12.<sup>279</sup> Krafft's detailed account of the manuscripts completely fails to explain Lang's bracketing, because other than occasional lacunae, spellings, and differences in specific words, no serious manuscript variations are actually recorded: Krafft seems to have restricted his findings to the correction of the tree structure for the family of manuscripts as postulated by Lang, but his reticence on manuscript variations can only be satisfactorily explained by a general manuscript agreement with the content of Krafft's postulated 'ω' archetype.<sup>280</sup> His conclusion (323-337) seems to indicate that further manuscript examination is unlikely to produce any improvement on Lang's edition, and my own inference from Krafft's general failure to indicate any serious manuscript problem is that Lang has effectively produced the content of the archetype.

This conclusion would seem at first glance to vindicate a universal criticism of Lang's bracketing apart from the 20 small ungrammatical pieces: thus Schmidt, 21, above; Nock, 998, 'mit ... aber einer weitgehenden Neigung zur Annahme von Interpolationen'; Hays, 55, states that he includes most bracketed sections directly in his translation, with the 'the most egregious intrusions' consigned to footnotes. Ramelli, 9, determined to accept Schmidt's conclusion, describes Lang's bracketing as 'probabilmente in un'altra forma di ipercriticismo', her proof being *consensus omnium*, alleging that Krafft and Most agree.

Yet there is no justification whatsoever for the claim that Krafft and Most both dismiss Lang's bracketing: Krafft's mandate was to examine the manuscript tradition, not to comment on the content of the archetype, and Most (1989), 2016, whilst criticizing some bracketing of multiple etymologies by Lang,<sup>281</sup> is merely summarizing previous C+20 scholarship and reporting Krafft. Moreover, there seems to be a universal unspoken assumption that the archetype must somehow be an uncorrupted text, and although the removal of *ca.* 20 ungrammatical accretions has been

<sup>279</sup> See Krafft, 1-339.

<sup>280</sup> Krafft, 327, describes this ω archetype as 'ein durchschnittliches Gebrauchsexemplar ... und noch keine durchgehende Kapiteleinteilung besaß' and cites instances where errors have been transmitted directly from it to the two hyperarchetypes a (*sic*) and δ.

<sup>281</sup> Most (1989) 2028, n.107. See too Section 1.1.3. and n.13.



universally accepted, the blindingly obvious possibility that among Lang's 55 other bracketed passages, or elsewhere, there may be some *grammatically correct* accretions has been universally ignored.

Section 1.1.4. presents my argument for the qualities Q1-Q11 which one might expect of the text, and these provide a basis for defining the criteria for the detection of accretions, where (lack of) grammatical correctness is just one criterion. Whilst there are cases where the suspect text is clearly a gloss and needs little, if any, discussion, there are many cases which need careful scrutiny and to be judged on several criteria which build up a case for retention or rejection. In the following discussion, I designate these criteria R1-R9 (R=reason), based on failure to meet expectations Q1-Q11.

- R1: Position interrupting the flow of logic. (Q1, Q2, Q3, Q8) Cornutus links items together whenever possible, providing logical explanations for each item, and virtually without exception. Example: 5.15, a tangential but pointless comment about Mount Ida in the middle of an exposition of Rhea.
- R2: Position irrelevant to the subject. (Q2, Q3, Q8) Example: 51.2, during an exposition of Priapus, an epithet of Zeus is gratuitously offered.
- R3: Contrary to Stoic philosophy. (Q1, Q2, Q3, Q5, Q8) Cornutus is consistent in presenting a logically coherent exposition in (general) Stoic terms, and thus non-Stoic elements are immediately suspect. There is of course here an inevitable risk of circular argument, but the amount of text rejected using this as a criterion is very small, and more importantly, it is never the sole criterion. Example: 30.2, Empedoclean physics (see below).
- R4: Information without logical explanation. (Q5, Q7) Example: 30.2, Empedoclean physics.
- R5: Inconsistent with Cornutus elsewhere in the text. (Q1, Q2, Q3, Q4, Q5) At least one of two conflicting statements has to be suspect, and a decision must to be made as to which one. (It transpires that for all such instances, one statement seems secure whilst the other is also suspect on other grounds.) Example: the definition of Oceanus in 1.7.2.1.
- R6: Repetition of information. (Q3 [evenness of style]) This does not *per se* have to be a criterion for rejection, but there are examples where information is repeated at different points in the text, but where the manner of presentation is markedly different, and where one instance has the style of a marginal comment by someone who has not noticed that his addition is actually present elsewhere in the text. In these cases, one would generally expect the accretion to come earlier in the text than the genuine information. Example: 20.12-14 (see Section 1.7.2.4.), a short statement that Hephaistos lives with one of the Graces, with 34.12 where the same information is provided in a much expanded and more logical

manner. Also, from the same piece of text identified as an accretion, 20.5 an etymology for the Graces, already given at 10.2-3.

- R7: Pointless gratuitous comment. (Q2, Q3, Q7) When Cornutus provides explanations of information, his list of reasons is occasionally supplemented by a comment which does not affect the flow of logic, but serves no purpose. Example: 7.1 εἴληπται μὲν οὖν οὕτω πάνυ εἰκότως.
- R8: Grammatically unsound or meaningless. (Q1-Q8) These are small text elements which generally, though not always, are those identified by Schmidt, 20-21. Example: 23.19 δὲ δὴ καὶ τυχὸν τῷ ὄντι ἐστὶ τυγχάνων ὧν ἄν πρόθηται.
- R9: Explanatory comment which creates a grammatical difficulty. (Q1, Q2, Q3, Q8) These include the elements which, if removed, solve a grammatical problem. There is clearly some overlap between R8 and R9, in cases where the meaning is clear, but where the grammar is unusual rather than wrong. For my purposes, it is unimportant which of R8 or R9 is employed, provided one or both apply. Example: 21.7 ἦ, ὥς τινες, ἰσχυρός.
- R10: Logical inconsistency in the text. (Q1, Q2, Q9, Q10) Overall logical inconsistency in a school text is generally not an issue likely to trouble a pupil, but this text is written by a reputable teacher from whom a good-quality text might be expected. The commentary *passim* identifies a clear agenda of abolishing superstition with a very carefully designed argument, one element of which is a minimal reference to ‘the daughter of Demeter’, there being a significant element of superstition attached to the name Persephone. This name is, however, found in a passage which thus creates a serious logical inconsistency: see Section 1.7.2.6. for the Mysteries, and commentary 52.4-57.5 (Osann chap. 28) for Demeter.

Further, a few minor manuscript variations help to identify a few words or phrases as accretions, for example 4.13. φουσιδίωv, an explanatory gloss which creates a grammatical difficulty (R9). In addition to the above criteria, there are other objections of a less definable nature, such as style, vocabulary and (lack of) intellectual content, which contribute to an assessment. The issue of style is inevitably subjective, and is thus not used as a logical criterion for rejection. In practice, however, an evenness of style and constant information rate is detectable in more than 85% of the text, and an accretion is invariably detectable by an abrupt change of style in a piece of text which can then be judged on other criteria.<sup>282</sup> This often takes the form of a telegram-style marginal note which sits poorly within the text.<sup>283</sup> Lang has bracketed 75 individual pieces of text, totalling 1028 words of the total 12036. I will argue for the removal of 86 pieces of text, totalling 1661 words, and whilst bracketing by Lang is not a conscious part of my argument, I find a very close agreement between

<sup>282</sup> This recognizes the possibility of accretions which imitate Cornutus’ style and are inserted seamlessly into the text. These, by definition, would be undetectable.

<sup>283</sup> Many instances are noted in the commentary.

our selections: I agree with 71 of his 75 bracketed pieces. Most minor passages identifiable as accretions are discussed in the commentary, but I shall argue here that on the structural and logical considerations enumerated above, there are good reasons for excluding several passages which results in a significant improvement in our understanding of the text. Some of these are discussed below in Sections 1.7.2.3-7, and serve to illustrate the methods used for the others which are discussed in the commentary.<sup>284</sup> All quotations are from Lang's text, and throughout the thesis I have consistently used square brackets [...] to indicate Lang's proposed accretions, not necessarily my own.

Before the specific examples are examined, however, we need to consider some background for the first example which is also relevant to the others. Appendix 10 summarizes the information supplied in the text, and illustrates the most striking characteristic of the text as a whole.<sup>285</sup> Listed here are all the topics mentioned by the author: names of Gods, epithets, attributes, iconography, cult practices, and so on, a total of *ca.* 470 items. For every single item, except those indicated in the table by shading, Cornutus either provides an immediate rational explanation of some kind (often, but far from always, etymological), on a level that a student might understand, or he presents the information in a rhetorically convincing manner. Table 2 of Appendix 10 gives a breakdown of the different items of information, and Appendix 9 shows the extent of the text dedicated to causal clauses and other grammatical constructions employed for offering these explanations. The shaded items in Table 1 of Appendix 10 are those which do not receive a logical explanation. These total 17 items in 4 separate places in the text, and the last 3 are very small pieces of text, all bracketed by Lang, which from their character are identifiable as accretions (see commentary *ad loc.*). We note that every single item prior to Lang page 30 comes equipped with an immediate explanation.

---

<sup>284</sup> As far as I am aware, nobody has analysed this text systematically, and Lang does not give reasons for his bracketing. Hays suspends judgement on the validity of most passages, and Ramelli merely reports Lang sometimes, occasionally with her own opinion, but never with argument.

<sup>285</sup> The table is liable to a 1% error for items where information and reason are inextricably linked. This does not affect my argument.



### 1.7.2.3: Empedoclean Physics (30.2-30.8)

At this point, Cornutus is following Hesiod *Theog.* 116-138 very closely (see Appendix 2, Table 2), and reaches the Titans. There then follows a list of entities in a quotation from Empedocles, followed by an explanation, usually an etymology, of each of the names of the Hesiodic Titans.

30.1	μετά δὲ ταῦτα ἢ τῶν λεγομένων Τιτάνων ἐστὶ γένεσις.	1) <i>After that, those whom we call the Titans were born.</i> OR 2) <i>After that is the birth of the so-called Titans.</i>
30.2 30.3	οὗτοι δ' ἂν εἶεν διαφοραὶ τῶν ὄντων. ὥς γὰρ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς Φυσικοῖς ἐξαριθμεῖται Φυσῶ τε Φθιμένη τε καὶ Εὐναίη καὶ Ἐγερσις Κινῶ τ' Ἀστέμφης τε πολυστέφανος τε Μεγιστῶ καὶ Φορυῆν καὶ Σιωπῆν τε καὶ Ὀμφαίην καὶ πολλὰς ἄλλας, τὴν εἰρημένην ποικιλίαν τῶν ὄντων αἰνιττόμενος,	<i>These would be differences between entities. Empedocles enumerates them in his Physics: Growth, Decay, Repose, Awakening, Motion, Immobility, ...Supremacy. He also mentions Defiled, Silence and Prophetic along with many others, suggesting the variety of entities mentioned above.</i>
30.8	οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν Ἰαπετὸς μὲν ὠνομάσθη ὁ λόγος καθ' ὄν ... Κοῖος δέ, καθ' ὄν ... Κρίος δέ, καθ' ὄν ... Ἐπερίων δέ, καθ' ὄν ... Ἰακεανὸς δέ, καθ' ὄν ... Τηθὺς δέ, καθ' ἦν ... Θεῖα δέ ἐστὶν ἡ ... Ἰρέα δέ ἡ ... Φοίβη δέ ἡ ... Μνημοσύνη δέ ἡ ... Θέμις δέ ἡ ... Κρόνος δέ ἐστὶν ὁ προειρημένος πάντων τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων λόγος...	<i>Thus the name Iapetos was given by the ancients to the rational principle by which...</i> ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... <i>Kronos is the previously mentioned principle of all things that have been completed...</i>

There are some notable oddities here. First, Cornutus seems reluctant to name the group as Titans.<sup>286</sup> Secondly, there is a definition *διαφοραὶ τῶν ὄντων differences between entities* which, if it has any meaning, is impossible to reconcile with *ὁ λόγος the rational principle*, which Cornutus explicitly uses for the Hesiodic Titans (R3), and which Zeno describes as *τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου.*<sup>287</sup> Thirdly, the Empedoclean entities, unattested elsewhere, are a group of names with no consistent common character. Fourthly, there is no logical reason for Cornutus to refer to the Empedoclean entities without discussion, only to return and discuss the Hesiodic ones (R1).

There is no attempt to offer any explanation either for the introduction of the list of Empedoclean names, nor any analysis of the names themselves (R4). Given that virtually every one of the *ca.* 450 other items and issues in the remainder of the text is carefully justified with an immediate rational explanation, and given that the Empedoclean entities are not explained but only serve to create confusion, this reference to Empedoclean physics can only be explained satisfactorily by

<sup>286</sup> Hesiod also displays reluctance: see commentary, 30.1.

<sup>287</sup> SVF 1.100.

concluding that it is an accretion. The extent of the fragment, a speculative reason for its presence as an accretion, and Cornutus' view of the Titans are discussed in the commentary.

#### 1.7.2.4: The Graces (20.5-14)

The text describing the Graces has the following structure:

##### 18.14 Graces as daughters of Zeus

Some say that they were born to Eurydomē because...

Others say they were born to Eurynomē, indicating ...

Some say they were born to Eurymedousē, ...

But others identify Hera as their mother, so that ...

Their being portrayed as naked has another significance: ... (ethical interpretation)

Some, however, think that their nakedness represents.... (ethical interpretation)

##### 19.17 Some people say there are two of them, some three. Two, because ... three, because...

##### 19.22 Another explanation for three was that ... (ethical interpretation)

20.5 [Because it is necessary that good deeds be done cheerfully, and because the Graces make those performing good deeds cheerful, first of all the Graces share the same name, derived from *joy*; they are said not only to be beautiful in form, but also to bestow beauty and persuasiveness.

20.9 In addition, they all have their own names: Radiance (Ἀγλαΐα), Flowering (Θάλεια) and Merriment (Εὐφροσύνη). For this reason, some claimed that Well-Flowering (Εὐάνθη) was their mother, some said it was Brightness (Αἴγλη). Homer claimed that one of the Graces lived with Hephaistos, because the works of the artisans are a source of delight.]

##### 20.15 According to tradition, Hermes is their master, signifying ...

There is clearly something seriously wrong with this structure. The text at 20.5 provides an etymology of the Graces which is a repetition of the same etymology at 10.2-3 (R6). There is no reason why, after some iconographical information (nakedness), Cornutus would discuss their number, only to return to more detail and repeat an etymology. Nor would he be likely to return to a discussion about the mother, without argument, and it would be entirely contrary to his overall practice to give the names of the Graces without some kind of etymological account. The beginning of the extract, 18.14, has a style consistent with Cornutus' overall style, and presents no reason to question its authenticity. On this assumption, Cornutus gives a relatively large amount of consideration to the minor issue of who the mother of the Graces might be, giving logical reasons for all four possibilities. He then moves on to the Graces themselves, arguing the case on ethical grounds for two or three in number. Yet at 20.9, their Hesiodic names are mentioned in passing, with two more candidates for mother. (Thus R1). One of the two additional names for the mother is significant: the only attested case of Αἴγλη being mother of the Graces is Antimachos, but he also gives Helios as father, and it is highly improbable that Cornutus would muddy the waters by

mentioning such a radically different genealogy without explanation (R4).<sup>288</sup> A further anomaly is the reference to one of the Graces living with Hephaistos, information which is repeated at 34.6 but in a much more elegant manner, and at the appropriate place in the text (R1, R6).<sup>289</sup> The lack of logical construction of the whole exposition can be explained by identifying this passage 20.5-20.15, bracketed by Lang, as having no place in the text.

Moreover, a further consideration is the close textual parallel with Seneca: (see Appendix 2, Table 10, and Section 1.8.11.):

- o Seneca *ben.* 1.3.5 Voltus hilari sunt, quales solent esse, qui dant vel accipiunt beneficia
- o Cornutus 20.5 [ἰλαρῶς δὲ εὐεργετεῖν δέοντος καὶ ἰλαροὺς ποιουσῶν τοὺς εὐεργετουμένους τῶν Χαρίτων..].

Seneca proceeds to give the Hesiodic names, then Pasithea, the name of the one Grace given by Homer (*Il.*14.276), then to introduce Hermes, before declaring it all pointless. It is possible that Cornutus wanted to avoid naming the Graces for various reasons: he was unable to decide whether there were two or three (though arithmetical uncertainty did not prevent his naming the Muses); he was unable to find a suitable explanation for the names given by Hesiod (*Theog.* 909, but see commentary at 19.1); he was unable to reconcile the accounts of Hesiod and Homer or explain the inconsistency in Homer about the number of Graces; he wanted to avoid the awkwardness of explaining why the Muse he treats at 16.3, Θάλεια, now appears in a different, or indeed without, guise. There would then be a natural tendency for a later reader to supply this information, interpolating from, say, Seneca, or Seneca's source, Chrysippus. See further Section 1.8.10.

#### 1.7.2.5: Oceanus and Tethys (8.6-9.1, Osann chap. 8)

Appendix 4, Table 1, shows that Section A of the text has a coherence and structure consistent with what we might expect of a Stoic school text which would place a high value on the ascendancy of Zeus, and his most significant offspring, the Muses and Hermes (Reason). Up to and including Hermes, each deity is in some manner logically connected to the previous, providing a smooth transition between topics, with the exception of the introduction of an epithet of Kronos and definitions of Oceanus and Tethys (Osann chap. 8):

<sup>288</sup> Hesychius α 1735; Pausanias 9.35.1.

<sup>289</sup> *Il.*18.382: The wife of Hephaistos is Χάρης, in the singular, inconsistent with *Il.*14.275 Χαρίτων μίαν ὀπλοτεράων Πασιθέην. At *Il.*18.398, Εὐρυνόμη is mentioned as though she could be the mother of Χάρης. Cornutus is concentrating on the ethical significance of the Graces, so the remark about artisans has no relevance here.

Lang

8.3 ἡ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου φύσις ἐπισχύσασα, ἦν δὴ Δία ἐλέγομεν καλεῖσθαι, τὸ λίαν φερόμενον τῆς μεταβολῆς ἐπέσχε καὶ ἐπέδησε μακροτέραν διεξαγωγὴν δοῦς αὐτῷ τῷ κόσμῳ.

8.6 [Κρόνος *called ἀγκυλομήτης* ...]

8.10 [By another line of reasoning (for there was not just one mythological account of this topic), Oceanus was ... Tethys was ... ]

9.1 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἄλλως ὁ Ζεὺς πατὴρ λέγεται θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων εἶναι διὰ τὸ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου φύσιν αἰτίαν γεγονέναι τῆς τούτων ὑποστάσεως, ὡς οἱ πατέρες γεννῶσι τὰ τέκνα.

There is a clear logical connection between the text at 8.5 describing Zeus as διεξαγωγὴν δοῦς αὐτῷ τῷ κόσμῳ and the text at 9.1 (μ)ετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἄλλως ὁ Ζεὺς πατὴρ λέγεται θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων εἶναι, which alone is sufficient to warrant exclusion of the intervening text (R1 above). But in addition, examination of Cornutus' method reveals a discrepancy between the intervening text and the text as a whole: whereas Cornutus provides alternative *etymologies*, he never, apart from this instance, offers *definitions* of a deity which are mutually inconsistent, nor in fact any definition of a deity which is inconsistent with an overall Stoic system. Appendix 5 lists all definitions provided by Cornutus, and it can be seen that the putative interpolation relating to Oceanus gives a definition at 8.10 which is inconsistent with the definition given at 30.18 (R5). Whilst it is clear that Cornutus is uncomfortable with the two definitions of Kronos, gives two alternatives for Chaos, and has some difficulty in presenting a coherent account of Eros, he is elsewhere providing a consistent system which is in agreement with other Stoic writers. The definition of Oceanus as the original source of life (8.10) is not attested elsewhere for a Stoic, being incompatible with the Stoic concept of Zeus, and it is the only non-Stoic definition in the text (R3).<sup>290</sup> Moreover, the associated etymology (8.13) of Oceanus from ὠκέως + νεόμενος is in an unusual position; elsewhere, Cornutus only ever provides alternative etymologies in one sequence of a type 'from x, or some say from y' but this is the only case where mutually inconsistent etymologies are provided at two different places in the text, and the etymology at 8.13 does not agree with that of ὠκέως + ἀνύεται given at 30.18.<sup>291</sup> A further serious objection is that the explanation at 8.15 in terms of physics is not identifiable as Stoic, thus R3 applies (see commentary). These considerations clearly identify this extract as an accretion.<sup>292</sup>

<sup>290</sup> Homer (*Il.*14.201), 'Origin of Gods'; Thales (Plutarch *IO* 364d); Xenophanes ([Plutarch] *VH* 964); Metrodorus (Aristocles fr. f4 in Eusebius *PE* 14.20.1.4). See too Section 1.2.

<sup>291</sup> See Appendix 1, Table 40. The etymology given at 8.13 is only to be found once elsewhere, Galen Gramm. *all. hesiod theog.* 316.25; 322.9. Hades etymologies (Appendix 1, Table 12) are treated twice, but consistently.

<sup>292</sup> See too Appendix 2, Table 1, for parallels with Hesiod for the succession myth, where this passage looks anomalous.

**1.7.2.6: Mysteries (M1: 54.1-54.11 and M2: 56.22-57.6)**

References to the Mysteries are of fundamental importance. Their identification as accretions reveals a clear agenda for Cornutus, and contributes greatly to the understanding of the structure of the text (see Section 1.7.3). The argument here is supported by the commentary to the long exposition of Demeter (52.4-57.6) and elsewhere, where a systematic programme of elimination of superstition is detectable. The Mysteries are mentioned in two places in the exposition of Demeter. Both of these pieces, labelled here M1 and M2, can be taken as accretions purely on their own merit, without reference to the other. This discussion is in three parts, treating M1 and M2 individually, and finally taking both parts together.

**1) M1: 54.1-54.11 ἔοικε γὰρ... ὄντως βίον**

53.20 τοῦτο γὰρ ἀναγκαιότατον ὦν κεχάρισται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἡ ἡμερος τροφή, ἐστὶ. ταύτην δὲ μυθεύεται σπεῖραι διὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὁ Τριπτόλεμος ὁ Ἐλευσίνιος ἀναβιβασάσης αὐτὸν ἐπὶ περωτῶν δρακόντων ὄχημα τῆς Δήμητρος.

54.1 ἔοικε γὰρ πρῶτος τις τῶν παλαιῶν δρακεῖν καὶ συνιέναι θεοῦ τινος ἐπὶ μετεωροτέραν ἐπίνοιαν ἀναβιβασάντος τὸν μεταχειρισμὸν τῆς κριθῆς[, διὸν τρόπον τρίβεται καὶ διακρίνεται [διὰ τοῦ εἰς τὸν ἀέρα ἀναρριπτεῖσθαι] ἀπὸ τῶν ἀχύρων]. [διὸ καὶ κριθὸς ἐπιτηδείως ἔχει πρὸς τὴν σποράν.] ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τὴν ὀνομασίαν εἴληφεν, ὁ τρίψας τὰς οὐλάς· οὐλαὶ δὲ λέγονται αἱ κριθαί· Ἐλευσὶν δὲ ὁ τόπος, ὅπου πρῶτος εὗρέθησαν. [ἐκλήθη καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ Ἐλευσινία ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτόθι πρώτου ἐλεύσεως γενομένης τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀνθρώπινον ὄντως βίον.]

54.12 ἀρκάσαι δ' ὁ Ἄιδης τὴν θυγατέρα τῆς Δήμητρος ἐμυθεύθη ...

The objection here is logical inconsistency (R10). Cornutus has constructed a careful and precise rational argument for the specific nature of individual gods, and in particular, a long exposition of Athena (33.8-40.5) as the intelligence of Zeus and inventor of many skills, in addition to her contribution to the civilization of early society. It is simply not credible that here, in the middle of an exposition about Demeter, he would make such a vague statement as θεός τις *some god* who initiated man in the most fundamental aspect of early civilization, the planting of crops.<sup>293</sup> If he wanted to make such an assertion, he would surely have named either Demeter or Athena.

<sup>293</sup> Admittedly at 39.18 οἱ θεοὶ are nudging man towards civilization. But this instance here is quite specific, and requires a specific deity.

This objection is serious, but is further supported by other reservations:

1. μεταχειρισμόν: the first of only 7 attested examples, no other of which is before C+4.
2. The pieces of text inside M1 which are bracketed by Lang are clearly not genuine, being irrelevant and pointless (R2, R7). At various other places with such clear cases of accretions, the adjacent text is very often suspect.
3. The etymology of Triptolemus, ὁ τρίψας τὰς οὐλάς, is elsewhere unattested, as well as improbable. In a text which claims no originality, such an anomaly provides some supporting evidence that it is spurious. The etymology is further discredited by the observation that he is not a deity, just a king,<sup>294</sup> and more significantly, the etymology is simply an incorrect description of the *nature* of Triptolemus as *he who sowed the crop*. See Section 1.6.5. for the requirement that a Stoic etymology is always a good description of the *nominatum*.
4. οὐλαὶ δὲ λέγονται αἱ κριθαί· Ἐλευσὶν δὲ ὁ τόπος, ὅπου πρῶτως εὐρέθησαν: this has very much the appearance of a marginal note, unlike Cornutus' style elsewhere: there is no μὲν to justify the lack of verb after Ἐλευσὶν δέ (R8). In addition, the information is superfluous (R7).
5. ἐκλήθη καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ Ἐλευσινία: this sits very poorly with the previous statement of the place where corn was first discovered, and there is no mechanism to join the text into a neat narrative. But as discussed in detail in the commentary and below in this section, there is a clear attempt to avoid any reference to the Mysteries and festivals involving Demeter together with her daughter. The very poorly attested epithet θεσμοθέτις is given, but Θεσμοφόρος is conspicuous by its absence (see commentary at 56.19). In this context, the epithet Ἐλευσινία would be completely illogical, and further, the positioning of the epithet within the exposition is arbitrary.
6. Significantly, without the passage, there would be a neat transition between topics using a simple and superficial connection (here, the *chariot*) typical of Cornutus elsewhere in the text:  
*... after Demeter had raised him (Triptolemus) up onto a chariot of winged serpents.*  
 [...Accretion ...] *According to the myth, Hades carried off the daughter of Demeter ... (R1).*

<sup>294</sup> Almost all of the *ca.* 200 etymologies are names and epithets of gods, and of those that are not, most are identifiable as accretions on other criteria. See commentary at 53.9.

2) M2; 56.22-57.6 μυστήρια δ' ἄγειν ... τι ἔχοντα

The text relating to Demeter ends thus:

- 56.13 διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀφθονίαν τῶν σιτηρῶν ἐπαύσαντο οἱ ἄνθρωποι δυσπόρισταν καὶ ἀμφιδήριτον τὴν τροφήν ἔχοντες, ὥστε καὶ συντιθέμενοί τινα πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰ ἥροτριωμένα μέτρων καὶ διανεμόμενοι τὰ γεννώμενα δικαίως ἀρχηγὸν ἔλεγον νόμων καὶ θεσμῶν τὴν Δήμητραν αὐτοῖς γεγονέναι·
- 56.19 ἐντεῦθεν θεσμοθέτιν αὐτὴν προσηγόρευσαν οἷον νομοθέτιν οὖσαν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς τινων θεσμὸν ὑπολαβόντων εἰρησθαι τὸν καρπὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτὸν ἀποτίθεσθαι καὶ θησαυρίζεσθαι.
- 56.22 [μυστήρια δ' ἄγειν ἤρξαντο αὐτῇ φιλοσοφοῦντες, ἅμα τῇ εὐρέσει τῶν πρὸς τὸν βίον χρησίμων καὶ τῇ πανηγύρει χαίροντες ὡς μαρτυρίῳ χρώμενοι τοῦ πεπαῦσθαι μαχομένους αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις περὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων μυσιᾶν τε, ὃ ἔστι κεκορησθαι· πιθανὸν γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν ὀνομάσθαι τὰ μυστήρια, ὅθεν καὶ μυσία παρά τισιν ἢ Δημήτηρ, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ μώσεως δεῖσθαι τὰ δυσξόμβλητον τι ἔχοντα.]
- 57.6 Διὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ ἐκ Θέμιδος λέγεται ὁ Ζεὺς γεννήσαι τὰς Ὠρας, ὅφ' ὧν τὰ ἀγαθὰ πάντα καθ' ἡμᾶς ὠρέεται καὶ φυλάττεται.

In 56.19 Cornutus is explaining why Demeter is called *thesmothetis*, because laws originated from the necessity for fair land distribution.<sup>295</sup> At 57.6, he then says (δ)ιὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν *for the same reason*, the mother of the Seasons is Themis, the protection offered to us by the Seasons being an offspring of Themis, ἢ τοῦ συντίθεσθαι τι μεταξὺ ἡμῶν καὶ φυλάττεσθαι *the principle of making a mutual compact and keeping it* (definition of Themis, 31.7). There is a clear logical connection, and a smooth transition to a new topic, between 56.19 and 57.6, which is broken if the text from 56.22-57.6 is retained (thus R1). Further, there is not the remotest connection between the content of M2 and the surrounding text (R2), and if the Mysteries had actually been mentioned earlier, this second reference would be inexplicable. A further small oddity is *δυσξόμβλητον*, which is the only instance of a ξυ- spelling for the prefix συν- in the text.

3) The Mysteries taken as a whole

The above arguments conclude that both text elements M1 and M2 are at best very unsatisfactory. But Cornutus provides an insight into his methodology in a revealing passage immediately following text element M1, in a passage which there is no reason to reject:

<sup>295</sup> As discussed in the commentary, and in 1) M1 of this section above, there is a very significant avoidance of the epithet *Θεσμοφόρος*. The failure to mention the Mysteries is related to Cornutus' carefully planned avoidance of Persephone.

54.12 ἀρπάσαι δ' ὁ Ἄιδης τὴν θυγατέρα τῆς Δήμητρος ἐμυθεύθη διὰ τὸν γινόμενον ἐπὶ χρόνον τινα τῶν σπερμάτων κατὰ γῆς ἀφανισμόν. προσεπλάσθη δ' ἡ κατήφεια τῆς θεοῦ καὶ ἡ διὰ τοῦ κόσμου ζήτησις.

54.15 τοιοῦτον γάρ τι καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίους ὁ ζητούμενος καὶ ἀνευρισκόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς Ἰσιδος Ὅσιρις ἐμφαίνει καὶ παρὰ Φοίνιξιν ὁ ἀνά μέρος παρ' ἕξ μῆνας ὑπὲρ γῆν τε καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν γινόμενος Ἄδωνις,...

Earlier in the text (31.12), Hesiod's *Theogony* is criticized for the corruption of material. Cornutus demonstrates that his agenda is not apologetic, his interest lies in the material which Hesiod and Homer used (see Sections 1.4 and 1.5 above). His theory of cultural transmission, stated at 26.7, is supplemented at 54.12 by his acceptance of the myth of the rape of Demeter's daughter (n.b. θυγατέρα τῆς Δήμητρος, not Persephone) as representing the disappearance of seeds for part of the year, but with the explicit assertion that the myth relating to the dejection of Demeter and her search for her daughter is a later fabrication. As usual, Cornutus immediately provides a rational explanation (54.15 τοιοῦτον γάρ τι καὶ ...) namely that mythic parallels to Demeter's search for Persephone are found in other cultures, both Egyptian and Phoenician. This proves that each country has its own particular invention and therefore it should not be treated as genuine insights handed down by οἱ παλαιοί (see 75.19). This is an important recognition of the multiplicity of disappearing fertility-deities; 'an almost obsessive motif in Near-Eastern myths— Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite, and Canaanite.'<sup>296</sup> Because of the importance of the Eleusinian mysteries not only in the Greek world, but the Roman Empire,<sup>297</sup> Cornutus must at least allude to them, and he does so at 53.20 (text M1, above) by referring to Triptolemus. But as part of his agenda to eliminate superstition, he removes any reference to the name Persephone, rejecting the material in HH 2(*Cer.*) as a later fabrication, and logically he would also reject any material derived from it, such as the origin of Eleusinian mysteries.<sup>298</sup>

Therefore, based only on internal evidence of each piece of text separately, both M1 and M2 qualify for rejection on my criteria R1 and R10. The case for rejection is strongly supported by the consideration of them together, and the general argument that Cornutus is not interested in their content in this context.<sup>299</sup>

<sup>296</sup> Kirk (1970), 197.

<sup>297</sup> Diodorus Sic. 5.4.4. See too Burkert, 285.

<sup>298</sup> See commentary at 55.2 for further possible references argued to be accretions.

<sup>299</sup> In Section 1.5, I argue against the view that Cornutus is a Strong Allegorist in the Neoplatonist sense, in other words, I argue against the claim that Cornutus is saying that ancient philosophers *deliberately* concealed their views in myth. One piece of evidence for the Strong Allegorist view is this reference to the Mysteries which is claimed to show that Cornutus thought that 'they [the myth-makers] appear to have given self-conscious expression to their philosophy in allegorical form' (see n.189 above). Whilst the 'Strong Allegorist' argument is untenable for other reasons, this piece of evidence may itself be dismissed with the simple explanation that the extract is a later Neoplatonist



### 1.7.2.7. Possible patterns of interpolations

Many more instances of accretions are apparent because they satisfy some of the criteria R1 to R10 above, and these are discussed in the commentary. The question arises whether, from examination of style, further pieces of text can be identified as accretions by signalling their presence with particular devices. Two examples are discussed here.

#### Example 1. παρά τό

Appendix 9, Table 1, lists the types of mechanisms which Cornutus uses to signal an etymology, and it is immediately apparent that when using the formula *X comes from Y*, his preferred preposition is ἀπό τοῦ, used in over a third of all etymologies, whereas παρά τό occurs only five times. This is *per se* unremarkable, but examination of the παρά τό cases produces intriguing puzzles:

παρά 1) παρά 2)	13.13	αὕτη δέ ἐστι καί Ἐδράστεια, ἧτοι παρά τὸ ἀνέκφρευκτος καὶ ἀναπόδραστος εἶναι ὀνομασμένη ἢ παρά τὸ ἀεὶ δρᾶν τὰ καθ' αὐτήν	(Appendix 1, Table 24) the etymologies are given by Stobaeus as quoted from Plutarch, and some of the Cornutus text here is <i>verbatim</i> in the Scholia to Plato (see Section 1.8.9.).
παρά 3)	27.15	σκέψαι δ' εἰ παρά τὸ αἰρεῖν τὴν ὥσαν βορᾶν τῶν τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν ὀνομασται Βριάρεως. [Αἰγαίων μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀεὶ τεθελῶς καὶ γαίωv.]	βορᾶν + αἰρεῖν <i>raising food</i> ; no equivalent found elsewhere. Further, this is the only etymology in Section B, an interpretation of Homer, and seems unconvincing.
παρά 4)	47.19	καλεῖται δὲ καὶ Ἴμερος εἴτουv παρά τὸ ἴεσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν ὠραίων ὀνομασμένος	Probably the least convincing etymology in the whole text.
παρά 5)	57.21	τυγχάνει δὲ ὁ Διόνυσος ἧτοι [διόνυξος ὦν ἢ] οἶον διάνυσος παρά τὸ διαίνειν ἡμᾶς ἠδέως	The text referring to Dionysus is particularly suspect, with a high density of phrases bracketed by Lang in order to make some grammatical sense.

It would of course be nonsense to argue that the five παρά τό instances are necessarily accretions because the preposition is somehow intrinsically suspect,<sup>300</sup> but all five cases lack conviction, and are discussed in the commentary. It is further to be noted that for etymologies signalled with a preposition, there is a clear shift from ἀπό τοῦ before Cornutus to παρά τό afterwards, so that a later accretion would be far more likely to use παρά τό.<sup>301</sup> The following examples are listed in Appendix 1, where the etymologies are practically identical except for the prepositions:

interpolation. Other obvious interpolations or glosses also have a Neoplatonist flavour (see commentary).

<sup>300</sup> κατά and ἐκ are even rarer, but attested and unchallenged: see Appendix 9, Table 1.

<sup>301</sup> Peraki-Kyriakidou, 480, perceives a difference (in etymologizing generally), without giving specific examples, between the use of these prepositions, with ἀπό τοῦ signalling a root, and παρά

Cornutus 3.3	... πρώτως καὶ διὰ παντός ζῶσα καὶ αἰτία οὖσα τοῖς ζῶσι τοῦ ζῆν
EM 408.52	Ζεὺς· Ὁ θεός. Κορνοῦτος ... φησὶν, ὅτι ψυχὴ ἐστὶ τοῦ παντός κόσμου, παρὰ τὸ ζῶν καὶ αἰτία εἶναι τοῖς ζῶσι τοῦ ζῆν
Cornutus 10.21	ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιαῦτα ἀμαρτάνειν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐστὶν ἀλαστήσαι καὶ στενάξαι
Galen <i>ling.</i> 19.74.6	παρὰ τὸ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀμαρτάνειν ἐφ' οἷς ἐστὶν ἀλαστήσαι καὶ στενάξαι
Cornutus 65.20	τάχα δ' ἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπλοῦν καὶ λύειν τὸ συνεστὸς ... καὶ τὸ σκότος
Et. Gud. α 173.25 = EM 130.19	παρὰ τὸ ἀπλοῦν καὶ λύειν τὸ συνεστὸς τῆς οὐσίας καὶ τὸ σκότος

**Example 2. συνοικίζω**

The verb συνοικίζω is attested four times in the text:

20.12	συνοικεῖν δ' Ὅμηρος ἔφη μίαν τῶν Χαρίτων τῷ Ἥφαιστῳ	Accretion: Sec.1.7.2.4.
21.11	ὄθεν καὶ τὴν Ὑγίειαν αὐτῷ συνήκισαν	Accretion: comm. 21.8.
33.3	διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ τῇ πρώτῃ γενομένη γυναικὶ συνοικῆσαι τοῦτον ἔφασαν	Accretion: comm. 33.2.
64.4	οἰκείως δὲ παρέδοσαν αὐτὸν Κῶοι τῇ Ἥβῃ συνοικοῦντα	Accretion: comm. 64.3.

The text at 64.4 refers to myth handed down by the Coans, and is discussed in the commentary. The only other instances of the verb συνοικίζω in the text are identified as accretions. The issue here is whether it would be methodologically sound to use this fact as a criterion for an argument that this case is also an accretion. If there were no other features of the text at 64.4 to arouse suspicion, then clearly the text would be retained. But if, as in this case, there is something indefinably strange about this unexpected reference to Coans, it then becomes a difficult judgement as to whether the use of συνοικίζω is significant. Considering, however, the small number of instances, there would be little justification on strictly statistical grounds to make this kind of inference, and the passage has been identified as accretive on other grounds.

I conclude that whilst these patterns arouse suspicion, using such a pattern as a criterion for identifying accretions is methodologically unsafe because Cornutus clearly varies his vocabulary to enhance the style, and there are insufficient data samples to draw any conclusions.

---

τό signalling a synchronic connection. This would not, however, explain a general shift towards παρὰ τό with time. In fact, I identify only two of the five παρὰ τό instances as accretions, but I can detect no difference between the use of various prepositions in this text as signals of etymologies.

### 1.7.2.8. Conclusion

The above examples serve to demonstrate the method of identifying accretions, and the rest of the text is scrutinized in the commentary, and judged on the criteria R1 to R10 defined above in Section 1.7.2.2.

My conclusion is that application of R1 to R10 results in a very clear categorization of text elements into one of two categories of Cornutus or Not-Cornutus, and the amount of material on which one might wish to suspend judgement is very small indeed, 59 words. If the criteria for rejection were flawed, one would expect a significant amount of material to be incapable of such categorization.

If the original text is to be treated as a document worthy of examination, and of the quality one might reasonably expect, then it has been infiltrated on 86 occasions by accretions, totalling 1661 words, namely 14% of the complete Lang text (Lang bracketed 1028 words, *ca.* 9% of the text, almost all of which I identify as accretive). Krafft's manuscript examinations indicate that these accretions were already present in the 'ω' archetype.<sup>302</sup> The distribution of the accretions throughout the text is shown in Appendix 11 by a linear representation of the text from words 1 to 12036, where accretion blocks are marked with ■. It can be seen that there is no overall pattern to the accretions, but that some areas have attracted more accretions than others: the text relating to Dionysus has *ca.* 20% accretions, whereas Hermes has only 6%.<sup>303</sup> Further, accretive material is often placed at the transitions between topics, where a marginal note might be inserted by a copyist. As discussed in Section 1.6.5.1, the total number of etymologies in the text is *ca.* 236, of which 36 are accretions, i.e. 16%. These features are consistent with a fairly random inclusion of marginal notes, where additions to Cornutus' own alternative etymologies have been made, and where some topics invite more comment than others.

A converse problem to that of accretions is expressed by Most (1989), 2033-2034, who points out that 'ancient school-books are usually addressed to a second person, and when they are, that person is invariably named'; further, 'virtually all systematic handbooks in antiquity begin with an introduction stating the theme of the work ...'. These anomalies together with the uncertainty about the title of the text lead Most to suggest that the simplest explanation is that the manuscripts are incomplete, and that an introduction has been lost. If this is so, the text has not only suffered some accretions, but may also have suffered some irretrievable loss during early transmission. A purely speculative explanation both for accretions and for the loss of an introduction would be that the text

<sup>302</sup> The commentary at 55.7 identifies one accretion which refers to a cult practice in the present tense.

<sup>303</sup> See commentary at 8.3.

was a well-used scroll which had suffered some damage during use, and the damage would naturally be most likely at the beginning of the scroll, particularly that part which was the outermost layer. Apart from an introduction, however, it would be difficult to speculate where loss might have occurred: the pantheon of deities appears to be well covered with no obvious lacunae, except for Persephone (see commentary at 55.7 for the argument that Persephone material is not missing at that point). One possible exception is the account of Dionysus, where the text on Lang page 58 seems to have suffered some irretrievable damage (see Lang app. crit. and commentary). In addition, the join between Sections A and B (Appendix 4, Table 1) is abrupt and without any signalling other than a sense that the Hermes material was exhausted. Apart from these two points, the text appears to be joined seamlessly, with a natural transition between sections.

### 1.7.3. Text Structure

No commentator has ever accounted for the content and structure of the text, its most immediately noticeable features being a restriction to Greek theology (effectively ignoring Roman theology contemporary with Cornutus) and an apparently bewildering sequence of deities.<sup>304</sup> This section offers an explanation, based on the purpose of the text and the methods Cornutus employs to achieve his aims.

#### 1.7.3.1. Content and Position of Section A

Comparison of the text structures of Cornutus and Hesiod *Theog.* (Appendix 4, Tables 1 and 2) reveals that whilst the content of the two texts is unsurprisingly similar (see Section 1.7.1), the order of the deities presented and the emphasis placed on each entity is very different, reflecting the difference between the functions of the texts. Hesiod is constructing a poem which may have the hidden agenda of flattering a particular audience, the primary purpose being to provide entertainment; this could not be claimed for Cornutus, who has a didactic aim, arranging his material in an order which emphasizes the value of learning.<sup>305</sup> An overriding emphasis in Stoic theology is the all-pervading presence of Zeus (3.3): ὁ κόσμος ψυχὴν ἔχει ... αὐτὴ καλεῖται Ζεὺς, and so he naturally occupies an early and prominent position. The most important Olympians are essential background for a convincing exposition of the ascendancy of Zeus, thus the content of Section A is determined by these priorities, being a description of Zeus followed by a detailed account of the Muses, culminating in an extensive exposition of Hermes, the god equated with Reason.

<sup>304</sup> Thus Hays, 156, '... the organization becomes difficult to explain...'; Most (1989), 2032, '... hard to see much sense in the order ...'.

<sup>305</sup> See West (1966), 43-47 for a plausible and ultimately trivial reason for the extended passage in the *Theogony* (411-452) concerning Hekate.

### 1.7.3.2. Positions of Sections B and C

As argued above at 1.7.2.6, and in detail in the commentary, the text has, in part, the agenda of eliminating superstition. The exposition of Demeter as part of Section D is very carefully constructed to avoid direct reference to Persephone, with whom a significant element of fear and superstition is associated. At 54.14, Cornutus asserts of Demeter and Persephone *προσεπλάσθη δ' ἡ κατῆφεια τῆς θεοῦ καὶ ἡ διὰ τοῦ κόσμου ζήτησις*, citing parallels with the Egyptians and Phoenicians (see commentary at 55.7). This assertion is only made after a theory of cultural transmission (part of Section B) and a practical example of how ancient myth has been corrupted (Section C). Thus the discussion of Demeter achieves maximum rhetorical effect when preceded by Sections B and C, and this predominant aim of the text, elimination of superstition, determines the sequence B, C followed by Section D.

### 1.7.3.3. Sequence of Deities within Sections A and D

There is a conflict between the linear nature of a written or spoken narrative and the fractal structure of the genealogical tree system. A comparison between Cornutus and Hesiod *Theog.* is instructive, because both Hesiod and Cornutus face the same problem.<sup>306</sup> Appendix 4, Table 2, shows a simplified structure for Hesiod *Theog.*, and it is immediately evident that Hesiod is constrained by the nature of his material to stop pursuing one branch and return to another, producing many regular and confusing breaks in the text where a new deity is not immediately related to the previous one. This inevitably produces an awkwardness in the flow of the text, which to some extent is alleviated by long passages of narrative.

Cornutus is possibly faced with yet another level of difficulty: he is interpreting ancient theogony as physical entities or processes, and the biological reproduction of anthropomorphic gods described by Hesiod reflects, for Cornutus, causal relationships between these physical entities. Thus where Hesiod describes entities A and B mating to produce children C, D and E, Cornutus interprets this as physical entities or processes A and B acting together causing entities C, D and E. Cornutus states this explicitly when describing Zeus as the cause of everything:<sup>307</sup>

<sup>306</sup> As does [Apollodorus] *bib.* The lack of immediate clarity is evident in Hesiod *Theog.* and [Apollodorus] *bib.*, although perhaps the ancient reader or listener was far more attuned to genealogical connections than we are today.

<sup>307</sup> See Section 1.3. See too D.L.7.147 =SVF 1021.

- ο 9.1 ὁ Ζεὺς πατὴρ λέγεται θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων εἶναι διὰ τὸ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου φύσιν αἰτίαν γεγονέναι τῆς τούτων ὑποστάσεως, ὡς οἱ πατέρες γεννῶσι τὰ τέκνα.

Whilst this causal interpretation of biological reproduction may work well for one generation, sustaining the sequence becomes impossible. Further, he requires a detailed description of each entity in the process, and both of these constraints prevent a smooth and natural transition between topics. But Cornutus does manage to provide connections, albeit sometimes superficial, between his deities and thus avoids the sequence of hiatuses found in Hesiod *Theog.* There are two good reasons for this style: first, as a school text, a didactically sound method of instruction would be to provide a link between the different gods, irrespective of the superficiality of the connection, rather than disparate concepts with no obvious connection; secondly, Stoic theory is holistic, embracing the universe with an emphasis on everything being interconnected, thus connections between gods on any level would be worthy of mention to reinforce this principle.

The difference between the methods employed by Cornutus and Hesiod may however not be as great as it appears. Hesiod is using the Succession Myth as the core of an epic poem, a myth which has very clear connections with ancient eastern mythologies.<sup>308</sup> West argues that whereas this core material is kept by Hesiod, the poet has simply invented (some or indeed all) genealogical relationships between the gods to flesh out his narrative in a natural scientific manner in accordance with the intellectual ethos of the time: as an example, Night is the mother of Day, Death, Sleep, Dreams, Cavi, Pain, Nemesis, Age, and Strife because all these concepts have a natural connection with Night, associated with dark and dreadful events. Allowing that to be so, Cornutus is doing the same, but constrained by the weight of Hesiod's authority to use connections which do not always map successfully onto Stoic physics, hence his complaint at 31.12 that Hesiod has corrupted most of ancient theology. Cornutus, moreover, is then able to exploit this assertion of corruption to reinforce his argument that the myth associated with Persephone is a later addition (7.3.2. above).

#### 1.7.3.4. Differences between Sections A and D

There are differences in style between the sections (see Appendix 4, Table 1): Section A has a coherence and purpose culminating in Hermes (=Reason). Section D is characterized by a lack of overall unity which gives the impression of 'mopping up' after the theory propounded in the previous sections. It is noticeable that the divinities in this section are often treated in pairs (Prometheus-Epimetheus; Athena-Hephaistos; Demeter-Hestia; Apollo-Artemis), and the section is introduced in a manner which might suggest a substantive difference in material, because it is introduced with νῦν δὲ τὰ βεβημένα παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις ἐπισκεπτέον, *but now we must*

<sup>308</sup> See West (1966), 1-39. See too Cornutus 26.7.

*examine that which is asserted by most people.* The material in Section D, however, is treated in detail with no indication that the content is less valuable than the Section A, but there is nevertheless the signal that it differs in some way from previous material.

It is possible that material in Sections A, B and C is a standard Stoic interpretation to which every Stoic adheres, whereas the interpretation in Section D is only a majority view. A second and likelier possibility, however, is a recognition that religion is understood on different levels, and the majority of the population do not rise to the heights of philosophical education which would be required for a profound understanding of the material in Sections A, B and C. Even if a student finishes at this level, without a profound understanding of 'scientific' religion, he must avoid the pitfalls of popular religion: he must reverence the gods, not fear them.

There is precedence for an admission that an educated elite would operate on a level of understanding which the majority would not enjoy. Plato *Lg.* 10 is predicated on the assumption that, in addition to the Olympian gods, the astral deities, the Sun, Moon and stars, are embodiments of divine soul. Two types of religion seem to be assumed: educated religion, giving serious intellectual assent to the new astral gods, and understanding a rationally justified science of the divine; and another traditional form of worship of Olympian gods for the masses. Religion is seen as a political issue for the benefit of a peaceful society; private shrines are illegal, impiety punishable by death. Plato was not alone: Aristotle thought that popular religion for the masses was useful.<sup>309</sup>

- Aristotle *Metaph.* 1074b παραδέδοται δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ παμπάλαιων ἐν μύθου σχήματι καταλειμμένα τοῖς ὕστερον ὅτι θεοὶ τέ εἰσιν οὗτοι καὶ περιέχει τὸ θεῖον τὴν ὅλην φύσιν. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ μυθικῶς ἤδη προσῆκται πρὸς τὴν πειθῶ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν εἰς τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸ συμφέρον χρῆσιν.... ... *the rest of the tradition has been added later in mythical form with a view to the persuasion of the multitude and to its legal and utilitarian expediency...*

Polybius (C-2) considered that superstition maintained the cohesion of the Roman state:

- *hist.* 6.56.7 καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τὸ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ὄνειδιζόμενον, τοῦτο συνέχειν τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα, λέγω δὲ τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν.

Cicero refers more than once to a conscious contrivance of popular religion for political purposes,<sup>310</sup> an anthropomorphic deity being necessary for the unlearned multitude:

- Cicero *ND* 1.101 Quanto melius haec vulgus imperitorum, qui non membra solum hominis deo tribuant sed usum etiam membrorum; dant enim arcum sagittas hastam clipeum fuscina fulmen, ...

<sup>309</sup> See too Goodman, 291-296.

<sup>310</sup> for example, *ND* 1.77, Academic refutation of Epicureanism.



Whereas Plato *Lg.* is theoretical, the actual application of such elitism was practised by the early Christian church.<sup>311</sup> For Greek pantheism, the nature of anthropomorphic gods is ultimately at the root of different levels of perception of the divine: Western thought differentiates between body and soul, material and spiritual, in a manner which was unknown in Archaic Greece when traditions of anthropomorphic gods were formed.<sup>312</sup> The essence of a human was expressed in terms of a host of names for parts of the body,<sup>313</sup> the distinction between the physical and psychological only coming slowly after the development of philosophy around C-5. When Xenophanes introduced the concept of mind and refuted anthropomorphism, ‘the conflict remained classified in the established area of disputes of poets and the contests of wise men; Xenophanes found listeners but no adherents or disciples.’<sup>314</sup>

Thus Greek religious beliefs for the vast majority of the people assumed an anthropomorphic pantheon, and philosophers recognized that abstract concepts to which they were equating the gods had little conviction in popular religion. Stoics in fact recognized that a radical attitude towards religious tradition was not for the majority, and their acceptance of a popular religious tradition, as containing at least some insights, enabled Plutarch to criticize them for worshipping at altars which they said should not exist:<sup>315</sup>

- ο Plutarch *SR* 1034c3-5 αὐτοὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐλέγχονται θύοντες ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν, ἃ μὴτ' εἶναι μὴτ' οἰκοδομεῖσθαι δεῖν ἀξιουσιν.

Given that this recognition of intellectual differences is detectable in other writers, a possible explanation of the structure of Cornutus' text is that he derives Section A (and possibly B and C) from an esoteric Stoic treatise, and then covers the remainder of what he considers to be popular religion either from a second source, or composes it himself, filling in the gaps from the first section with those deities and cultic activities which have not been rhetorically necessary for his argument thus far. Section D is then popular cultic activities with the exception of Hermes.<sup>316</sup> As discussed in Section 1.8.10, the source of Section A could be directly or indirectly Chrysippus, who comments on anthropomorphic deities thus:<sup>317</sup>

<sup>311</sup> Lynch, 14 ‘Its beliefs, expressed in complicated scriptures and precise theological language for the educated minority and story and ritual for the majority...’

<sup>312</sup> Vernant, 27-49.

<sup>313</sup> θυμός, φρήν/φρένες, ἦτορ, κῆρ, κραδίη, πραπίδες, νόος, ‘the θυμός family’: Clarke, M., 61. ‘the complexities of mental life make best sense if apprehended without trying to divide man into mind and body.’ See *ibid.*, 61-126.

<sup>314</sup> Burkert, 309.

<sup>315</sup> See too Algra, 177-178.

<sup>316</sup> Cults of various aspects of Hermes are particularly well-attested: Pausanias reports *ca.* 50 statues, altars and temples dedicated to Hermes with various cult titles, especially in the Peloponnese. Also a very ancient cult of Hermes in Athens is attested (OCD, 691).

<sup>317</sup> But see Philodemus *piet.* 15 for a very similar quotation from Diogenes Bab.



- ο Philodemus *piet.* c.11 (= SVF 1076, part) ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Χρῦσ(ι)ππος ..... ἐν μὲν τῷ πρώτ(ῳ περὶ θεῶν) ν Δία φη(σὶν εἶναι τὸν) ἅπαντ(α διοικοῦν)τα λόγον κ(αὶ τήν) τοῦ ὄλου ψυχῆ(ν καὶ) τῆ τούτου μ(ετοχ)ῆ πάντα (ζήν) .... καὶ παιδαριωδῶς λέγεσθαι καὶ γράφεσθαι κα[ε]ἰ πλάτ(τ)εσθαι (θεοῦ)ς ἀνθρ(ωποειδεῖς) δν τρόπον καὶ πόλεις καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ τόπους καὶ πάθ(η). ...

The whole text is stylistically and compositionally coherent, with material in Sections A and D only very rarely presenting minor incompatibilities, which could easily be accounted for by memory lapse when writing such a manuscript.

### 1.7.3.5. Content of the whole text

Having identified the reasons for the structure of the text, it becomes clear why Cornutus restricts his account to Greek theological tradition: there is mythic material which engenders fear and superstition and has to be eliminated. The principal argument Cornutus uses is that such material is a later addition to myth, and can be safely ignored. The earliest mythic material is the most valuable, being least corrupted, thus Cornutus concentrates on the *earliest* theological tradition. He ends his text with a recommendation to the pupil to continue interpreting mythic material according to the principles demonstrated in the text, but crucially adds (75.19) τὰλλα τῶν ... περὶ θεῶν δοκούντων ἀναγαγεῖν, *other things which appear to concern the gods*: Cornutus is inviting his reader to interpret anything unpleasant as an invention which should be ignored.

### 1.7.3.6. Conclusion

The content of the text is determined by the method Cornutus uses for the elimination of material engendering superstition. Further, there are four considerations which determine the structure of the text. First, Cornutus requires that whilst Zeus permeates the text, Hermes (= Reason) and the Muses (essential for learning) are in this context the principal offspring of Zeus and take central position with him. This determines the position, content, and to some extent the sequence of deities in Section A. Secondly, superstition has to be avoided, and the text is constructed so that the dismissal of the Persephone myth as a later fiction must be as rhetorically convincing as possible. This determines the order of Sections B, C and D (containing Demeter) after Section A. Thirdly, the level of philosophical understanding for an appreciation of the Stoic interpretation of Sections A, B and C also determines the content of Section D. Fourthly, the deities are presented in an order in Sections A and D which, as far as possible, enables connections to be made, even on an entirely superficial level, and results in a smooth transition between topics, providing an impression of coherence, authority and conviction. There is clearly scope in Section D for some degree of arbitrary sequencing, but generally, the text displays a structure and content which is well designed and effective in achieving its aims.

## 1.8. Cornutus' sources

Scholarship on Cornutus has often focussed on the sources of his material, because parallels between some parts of his and other texts suggest a common source.<sup>318</sup> This section examines some parallels noted by earlier commentators, and some that have previously not been discussed, in an attempt at arriving at a conclusion about the evidence for Cornutus' sources. Section 3, Commentary, provides a more detailed discussion of specific areas.

### 1.8.1. Cornutus (Section A) and Hesiod *Theog.* (Appendix 2, Table 1)

The text comparison shows very clearly that Cornutus starts his text by following the genealogy given by Hesiod. As discussed in Section 1.7.1.1, Hesiod is crucial for Cornutus in providing a genealogy handed down from earlier times, and the genealogy provided by Cornutus is almost entirely a subset of Hesiod, with Hesiodic epithets invariably taking precedence over others (see Appendix 2, Table 1, 9.10 etc.). When, however, Cornutus has supplied a background genealogy and turns to detail of specific deities, he also turns to material from other sources, principally Homer. The table shows an increasing amount of shaded material until the exposition of Hermes which is almost entirely shaded: he is pivotal to the Cornutus text, but he receives scant treatment by Hesiod.

### 1.8.2. Cornutus (Section C) and Hesiod *Theog.* (Appendix 2, Table 2)

The parallel between Cornutus Section C and Hesiod is illustrated in Table 2, where Cornutus can be seen to provide a line-by-line commentary and explanation of Hesiod *Theog.* 116-138.

### 1.8.3. Cornutus and Heraclitus *QH*: Apollo (Appendix 2, Table 3)

Parallels between these two texts need scrutiny because they have been used to argue that Apollodorus was a source for both.<sup>319</sup> The exposition of Apollo in both texts is represented in Table 3, where Heraclitus begins his exposition with the claim that it has been proved by Apollodorus (...περὶ πᾶσαν ἱστορίαν ἀνδρὶ δεινῷ) that Apollo is the Sun. This might suggest, though without further evidence, that Heraclitus' exposition of Apollo continues under the influence of, if not directly from, Apollodorus *περὶ θεῶν*. Table 3 shows that apart from the identification

<sup>318</sup> Thus Münzel (1883), Hefermehl (1905), Reinhardt (1910), Schmidt (1913), Nock (1931). Münzel, Hefermehl and Schmidt conclude that Cornutus is systematically following Apollodorus *περὶ θεῶν*, but Nock, 1002, urges caution because of the infinitesimal amount of *περὶ θεῶν* which we have, and significant differences between Cornutus and Apollodorus as well as areas of agreement. See Nock for a summary of this early scholarship. Thompson argues for Apollodorus as one source, as does Hays, and because these theses effectively cover earlier scholarship, my comments are restricted to these two analyses.

<sup>319</sup> Thus Thompson, 159, for Apollo, with references for earlier commentators.

with the Sun, and the explanation of the epithet Φοῖβος, there is very little agreement between Cornutus and Heraclitus. If Heraclitus is following Apollodorus, Cornutus clearly has a different source.<sup>320</sup>

**1.8.4. Comparison of listed epithets of Zeus: Cornutus and [Aristotle] *Mu.* 401a (Appendix 2, Tables 4a, 4b, 4c)**

A comparison between the two texts is necessary because previous commentators have drawn conclusions from the similarities: Hays, 142, calls them ‘striking’; Nock, 999, ‘auffallend’; Thompson, 151ff. uses them as evidence for identification of sources, derived from Chrysippus.

Epithets of Zeus supplied by Cornutus and [Aristotle] *Mu.* 401a-401b are listed in Appendix 2, Table 4a. Both writers give 26 epithets (Cornutus: 22 explicit, 4 implicit) but [Aristotle] then extends his list with another 11 contained in an Orphic hymn, none of which appear in Cornutus. Agreement between the two lists is represented as shaded areas, and there is doubtless much common material: of the 26 epithets given by Cornutus, 18 are also given by [Aristotle]. All earlier scholarship has focused on these similarities and ignored the uncomfortable fact that although there are 18 agreements, there are also 15 disagreements.

What has never been taken into account, however, is the possibility of an accidental similarity, and although the material is clearly unsuitable for rigorous mathematical analysis, the following observation is quantitatively relevant. Suppose two writers were each asked to select 26 epithets of Zeus on a *purely random* basis from a known pool of *equally familiar* epithets. The following table shows the statistical probability of selection of the same epithets, irrespective of order:<sup>321</sup>

Two lists of 26 names selected at random from a pool of names		
no. of names in pool	% probability of at least 14 identical names in both lists	% probability of at least 18 identical names in both lists
40	91	41
45	73	16
50	50	6
55	31	2
60	19	1

These figures suggest that, if πολύωνυμος implies, say, 50 available epithets, then the ‘striking’ similarity between the lists in Cornutus and [Aristotle] *Mu.* could be explained simply on the

<sup>320</sup> Despite which, Thompson, 159, still ‘believes’ that Apollodorus is a common source.

<sup>321</sup> Figures derived from a computer simulation using random numbers. Figures for 14 and 18 are given, because Cornutus gives 22 explicit epithets, plus 4 implicit, resulting in 14 or 18 matches in the lists, depending on whether the 4 implicit are included or not.

grounds of statistical probability, without any need to posit a common source. The statistical probability of two selections of 14 names at random, *but in the same sequence*, however, is vanishingly small.<sup>322</sup> Thus a clear sign of a common source would be epithets given in lists with the same, or similar, sequences. Table 4b of Appendix 2 shows a comparison between the list of epithets of Zeus with other lists (ignoring Stobaeus 1.1.36.47 which explicitly replicates [Aristotle] *Mu.*) and it is immediately obvious that there is no significant connection whatsoever, either in content or sequence, between any two lists. The possible minor exception is the unsurprising listing of ὕετιος and ἐπικάρπιος next to each other, occurring in 4 lists, but it is difficult to see what conclusion could be drawn from this. Nothing can safely be inferred from the fact that these two epithets are rare, and first attested in Cornutus (or [Aristotle] *Mu.* if earlier). Thus a methodology which draws conclusions about sources simply by focusing on the similarities, whilst ignoring the differences, and without considering simple probability, is fundamentally flawed.<sup>323</sup>

Several epithets are attested first in Cornutus, and the case of μιλίχ(ι)ος is instructive: it is first attested at 12.2, for Cornutus, except for Thucydides, who reports an Athenian festival Διὸς ἑορτὴ Μελιχίου.<sup>324</sup> Further, Pausanias reports two (undated) altars of Ζεὺς Ὑέτιος and two of Ζεὺς Μελίχιος.<sup>325</sup> The one reference in Thucydides dates the epithet μιλίχιος at least to classical times, and it can be inferred that other epithets attested first in Cornutus are not later inventions, but simply unattested earlier.

Appendix 2, Table 4c, widens the comparison between Cornutus and [Aristotle] *Mu.* to include attributes of Zeus as well as epithets, where aspects of Zeus under various names connected with fate are included. Areas of agreement total 26, which looks impressive, but there are *ca.* 36 areas with no agreement, so that a general conclusion about a common source is difficult. The similarity between the two texts is, however, particularly noticeable for the list of entities connected with Fate (Cornutus 12.11-13.7). Whilst the lists of nine etymologies are effectively identical in content, plus the identification of three Fates, the ten items 1-10 in Cornutus appear in the order 3, 6, 2, 1, 7, 10, 9, 8, 5, 4 in [Aristotle]. Further, as Tables 19-25 indicate, the etymologies are generally transparent, with very few alternatives, and this obvious nature of the names together with the complete lack of correlation between the sequences is unhelpful when trying to identify a common source. In isolation, the similarity between Cornutus and [Aristotle] here could be explained by these identities and etymologies being common knowledge.

<sup>322</sup> The probability of 2 random selections of just 4 names in the same sequence from 50 possible names is 1 in 5,527,200.

<sup>323</sup> *pace* Thompson, 147-196.

<sup>324</sup> Thuc. 1.126.6.4.

<sup>325</sup> Pausanias 2.19.8.6, 9.39.4.5, 1.37.4.1, 2.20.1.3.

### 1.8.5. Cornutus and Heraclitus *QH* on Hermes (Appendix 2, Table 5)

Earlier commentators have cited these passages as evidence that both Heraclitus and Cornutus have Apollodorus as a source.<sup>326</sup> Again, we see remarkable similarities, indeed almost as many similarities as differences, but where the sequences of information are completely different. If there were a common source which both were following directly, the differences in substance and order would be impossible to explain.

### 1.8.6. Interpretations of Homeric myth - Cornutus, Heraclitus *QH* and [Plutarch] *VH* (Appendix 8, Table 6)

Parallels can be seen between three episodes of Homer interpreted by Cornutus and Heraclitus: Suspension of Hera (*Il.*15.18); Ares and Aphrodite (*Od.*8.266); Plot against Zeus (*Il.*1.399). The first two are also interpreted by [Plutarch] *VH*.<sup>327</sup> The table shows clear parallels of an interpretation in terms of the four elements, where the content and detail vary. The similarities are most apparent in the interpretation of Ares and Aphrodite, where their daughter is given a virtually identical interpretation:

Cornutus 34.12	τῆς μίξεως αὐτοῦ καλὸν καὶ γενναῖον γέννημα, τὴν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἀρμονίαν
Heraclitus 69.10	Ὅθεν εὐλόγως ἐξ ἀμφοῖν Ἄρμονία γεγένηται
[Plutarch] 102	ὅτι ἐκ τῆς Ἄρεος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης συνουσίας Ἄρμονία συνέστηκεν, ἐξ ἐναντίων, βαρέων τε καὶ ὀξέων

The interpretation of this genealogy is notable, because whilst Heraclitus and [Plutarch] are specifically defending Homer, this genealogical detail is in fact Hesiodic (*Theog.* 933ff.), where three children are specified: Φόβος, Δεῖμος and Ἄρμονίη. Arguably, all three writers select specifically this one non-Homeric detail because it is a clever interpretation of Harmony as the result of the combination of two opposites. However, it is also independent of any particular philosophical tradition, and hence likely to be a commonplace unattributable to any specific source. The plot against Zeus is interpreted by Heraclitus in the same manner as Cornutus: see commentary at 27.7. The similarity, however, does not necessarily indicate any particular source.

<sup>326</sup> Reinhardt, 29; Schmidt, 52. Thompson, 218 n.144, is wrong to include Buffière, 78, in this list: Buffière cautiously comments ‘Cornutus procède à peu près de même ... Le Περὶ Θεῶν d’Apollodore était sans doute conçu selon le même plan : ce fut l’ouvrage de base sur ces questions, le dictionnaire classique de mythologie raisonnée’.

<sup>327</sup> Thompson, 162-196, who is focussing on Heraclitus, discusses these parallels, along with several other passages paralleled in Heraclitus and [Plutarch] only. Her conclusion seems to be that there is probably a common source for these two writers (both being defences of Homer), and that Cornutus and Heraclitus are possibly using Apollodorus.

### 1.8.7. Cornutus and Cicero *ND* on the nature of the divine (Appendix 2, Table 7)

Cicero, *ND* 2.57-80, outlines Stoic theory on the nature of the divine, and Table 7 shows that there is considerable, but not total, agreement with Cornutus. It can reasonably be assumed that the exposition is Cicero's own objective understanding of Stoic theory, since the speaker is a Stoic, not an adversary, and he cites Zeno, Cleanthes and Chrysippus. Cornutus' account diverges in significant areas:

- 1) The nature of Saturn/Kronos;
- 2) The tripartite division of kingdoms (Hom. *Il.* 15.187-195) is accepted by Cicero, who then dedicates the earth to Pluto, but equates the earth to Demeter: Cornutus fudges the Homeric tripartite division,<sup>328</sup> and defines Hades differently;
- 3) Cicero differentiates between Demeter and Hestia, Cornutus equates them;
- 4) Cicero accepts the myth of Demeter seeking Persephone, which Cornutus rejects.

There is, however, a very significant similarity in that the avoidance of superstition is clearly a major concern for the Stoic Balbus in Cicero *ND*: he is explicit, whereas in Cornutus the theme is constant but beneath the surface. Cicero *ND* 2.63, 2.70, claims that superstition is caused by the embellishment of ancient myth by the poets, specifically the invention of an anthropomorphic pantheon. Cornutus simply rationalizes the pantheon, and refers to superstition only once in his concluding remarks. The difference in method is doubtless attributable to the difference in audience, but the purpose remains the same.

The differences between these two Stoic accounts may indicate different sources: in the absence of other indicators, Cicero may well be reporting Chrysippus, whom he mentions. If this is so, the assertion by Cornutus that the Persephone myth is a later fabrication, citing other mythic parallels from other countries, could originate from theories of cultural development known to have been propounded by later Stoics such as Posidonius. As discussed in detail in Section 1.5, the problem here is that evidence for views held by earlier Stoics is sparse, and thus identification of a development of ideas is unreliable. It is possible that Cicero is distorting Stoic theory for rhetorical purposes, which would explain the awkward reference to the Homeric tripartite division,<sup>329</sup> but it is much more likely that Cornutus is using Stoic material in an idiosyncratic manner specifically for his own didactic purposes, and has adjusted the accounts of Persephone accordingly (see Section 1.9.4).

<sup>328</sup> 9.9 παντός τοῦ ὑπὲρ τὴν γῆν τόπου ἀπονεμομένου.

<sup>329</sup> Deliberate distortion is demonstrable elsewhere, e.g. *ND* 1.41: see Section 1.3.4.

### 1.8.8. Cornutus *Rhea* and Lucretius *Great Mother of the Gods* (Appendix 2, Table 8)

Table 8 is not directly concerned with sources, but illustrates Cornutus' treatment of Rhea, which is problematic because of a conflation with Cybele. The table shows that Cornutus ascribes all the attributes of Cybele as Mother of the Gods to Rhea, but none of the attributes which represent her as an Earth or Nature goddess. See commentary at 5.9.

### 1.8.9. Cornutus and Scholia in Plato (Appendix 2, Table 9)

Table 9 shows that at five distinct places in the text, the scholia in Plato contain text which is so similar to Cornutus that, apart from no. 4, a common adage,<sup>330</sup> there must be a very close connection, though this has previously gone without comment. The nature of this connection, however, is problematic because instances 3 and 5 are identified as accretions on the criteria of being gratuitous and interrupting the flow of the text. Close examination of the other three instances in Cornutus reveals that all three could theoretically be removed from the text without interrupting the logic, but the material is relevant and fits into the text, and there seems no reason, other than slight objections identified *ad loc.* in the commentary, to identify them also as accretions.

Because both the date and the nature of the scholia are unknown, various explanations could be offered, for example:

- 1) All five cases are accretions in the Cornutus text, and scholiasts are commenting on both Cornutus and Plato;
- 2) Cornutus and a scholiast are both closely following a text (of Chrysippus: see Section 1.8.10 below) for 1 and 2, and another scholiast is commenting on Cornutus and on Plato for 3 and 5, using a different source. Case no. 4 is perhaps a common reference with no immediate connection between Cornutus and Plato.

The first explanation would require the uncomfortable recognition of further accretions in the text which are unidentifiable. The second of these possibilities is the only explanation which is valid if only two of the five Cornutus passages are accretions, and with a lack of information about the scholia, and no other evidence, it remains the best of several unsatisfactory conjectures.

---

<sup>330</sup> Alcaeus Lyr. fr. 366 (Lobel), attested 21 times. See Pausanias Attic. *att. on.* o 10.1.

**1.8.10. Cornutus and Seneca *ben*: Graces (Appendix 2, Table 10)**

The parallels between Cornutus and Seneca here are particularly revealing. Irrespective of Seneca's dismissal of such analysis, we can assume that we have a reliable account of Chrysippus' interpretation of the Graces, and the parallels with Cornutus are, in this case, genuinely striking. Differences between Seneca and Cornutus could be attributed to both writers summarizing Chrysippus' account, where each takes detail according to taste, because there is nothing which could be identified as an inconsistency between the two accounts. Cornutus has augmented his account by providing an alternative mother for the Graces, but significantly, the only other details provided by the Cornutus text which are absent from Seneca are first the etymology of the Graces at 20.7, and secondly 20.12 [συννοικεῖν...], both of which are identified as accretions on other criteria. Other accretions in the Cornutus text could be explained by having a reader who is familiar with Chrysippus' (or Seneca's) account, and feels the need to augment Cornutus' summary.

It would thus be reasonable to conclude that in this one topic, Cornutus is actually following Chrysippus, who is known to have written a work *περὶ Χαρίτων*.<sup>331</sup> Further, evidence that Chrysippus wrote a more general discourse in his *περὶ θεῶν* is provided by Philodemus.<sup>332</sup> As discussed in Section 1.7.1, a possible explanation for the structure of the text is that Cornutus derives Sections A, B and C from an esoteric Stoic treatise. By identifying the source as Chrysippus in this one topic in Section A, and considering the overall cohesion of Section A, and the similarity between Section A and the material quoted by Philodemus, (who, however, continues with material from Section D), there is good reason to suspect that at least the whole of Section A is derived directly from Chrysippus.<sup>333</sup> This conjecture is wholly unsurprising, because this would be a natural source for Cornutus, but Philodemus also provides evidence that caution is required,<sup>334</sup> because later Stoics produced works similar in style and content to Chrysippus, which cover similar ground to Cornutus. Further, the differences between Cornutus and Cicero (Section 1.8.7) need to be explained, thus a derivation of Cornutus Section A from Chrysippus could very well be indirect, and the lack of further specific evidence in the remainder of Section A prevents a more definite conclusion.<sup>335</sup>

<sup>331</sup> Philodemus *piet.* c.14 = SVF 1081.

<sup>332</sup> Philodemus *piet.* c.11 = SVF 1076.

<sup>333</sup> This would be supported by the parallels described in Section 1.8.9. above.

<sup>334</sup> Philodemus *piet.* c.15: Δ(ι)ογένης δ' ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ...

<sup>335</sup> Thompson, 153, arrives at a similar, but too confidently expressed conclusion, and uses the list of Zeus' epithets in [Aristotle] *Mu.* as supporting evidence, which I argue in 1.8.4. is invalid.



### 1.8.11. Conclusions

Each individual case of text parallels is insufficient in itself to draw any conclusion, but the cumulative effect of parallels observed in Sections 1.8.4 (Fates), 1.8.9 (Adrasteia), and particularly 1.8.10 (Graces) strongly suggests that a pattern exists which requires an explanation. It is especially notable that all the parallels which seem to be particularly significant are from Section A (see Appendix 4, Table 1) of the Cornutus text, and the evidence suggests that, for Section A at least, the material derives ultimately, and totally unsurprisingly, from Chrysippus.

Appendix 4, Tables 1 and 2 illustrate the extent to which Cornutus follows Hesiod, and clearly the *Theog.* is of primary importance for Cornutus. For specific alternative sources, however, the evidence is scant. As discussed in Section 1.3.3, there is sufficient evidence from the fragments of Zeno to conclude that he wrote a systematic commentary on Hesiod *Theog.*, and Cornutus can be seen to be broadly following Zeno in Section C. But there is evidence that Cleanthes and Chrysippus also wrote commentaries on Hesiod, and Cornutus' interpretation is sufficiently general to be 'standard' Stoic material where a specific source is unidentifiable.

The tantalizing similarities summarized in Appendix 2 tables have led various commentators to conclude with various degrees of confidence that the *περι θεῶν* of Apollodorus of Athens was a direct source for Cornutus.<sup>336</sup> As discussed in the conclusions of the thesis in Section 1.1.5.3, the method of writing this text does not support the concept of an immediate source from which information is copied directly: Cornutus was no doubt aware of earlier writings, and probably was influenced by them, but when writing the text, a source would not necessarily have been at hand for immediate reference. There is, however, a possible hint that a specific source is sometimes available: 48.5-50.11 is in indirect speech, suggesting that 48.5 Ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ ... νομίζουσιν ... introduces one particular interpretation of Eros and Pan. But this seems to be an exception, and may be merely a stylistic change. Thus when he says (76.6) διὰ πλειόνων δὲ καὶ ἐξεργαστικώτερον εἶρηται τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις φιλοσόφοις, he does not necessarily mean his treatise is an abbreviated compilation,<sup>337</sup> but merely that the ideas he expresses are not original. The text without accretions, however, demonstrates a remarkable degree of coherence which indicates a considerable individual effort by the author, even if ideas from various sources have been incorporated into it. The influence of a comprehensive theological work such as *περι θεῶν* is not only probable, but also undemonstrable, there being insufficient evidence from the few fragments of *περι θεῶν* which we have. Any attempt at a more specific source identification is ultimately speculative.

<sup>336</sup> Thus Reinhardt, 83-121; Schmidt, 44-101; Thompson, 135-195.

<sup>337</sup> *pace* Most (1989), 2015.

## 1.9. Cornutus' Readers<sup>338</sup>

This section discusses the knowledge assumed by the target audience, the information provided by the text, and the context within which it is provided.

### 1.9.1. The age of the reader

The text is an educational text addressed to an anonymous child 'young enough to be called *παῖς* or *παιδίον* or *τέκνον* but old enough to be familiar with *res Veneriae*.<sup>339</sup> In fact there are several explicit sexual references, in addition to references to alcohol.<sup>340</sup> The text also presupposes a familiarity with Homer and Hesiod, the ability to understand some grammatical and literary expressions, and a general all-round basic knowledge and education which would enable the pupil to follow the arguments presented in the text, and broadly described as the *ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία*.<sup>341</sup> Seneca *epistles* 88 refers to 'Liberal studies' *liberalia studia* which include grammar, literature, geometry, music, and astrology, but not philosophy, and completion of this curriculum would be a basis for study of Cornutus' text. The above considerations set the lower limit to the age of the pupil to around 13. Gellius *n.a.* 2.6.1, refers to Cornutus as *grammaticus*, which allows the possibility that Cornutus had pupils from 13 upwards, in addition to older students of philosophy. It is known that Persius studied with Cornutus from the age of 16 after studying with a *grammaticus*,<sup>342</sup> and if this was a normal course to follow, this could be a guide to the upper limit of the age for this introduction to the subject.

### 1.9.2. The cultural milieu

It can be assumed that the text was used in Rome in the latter half of C+1, though this is not necessarily so. An intimate familiarity with Greek culture is supposed, but the Greeks are always discussed from outside, with no attempt to explain this focus.<sup>343</sup> If used in Rome, the text must reflect the predominantly Greek pattern of education of aristocratic Roman families, and the few

<sup>338</sup> I use 'reader' without prejudice to the strong possibility that it was in fact 'listener'.

<sup>339</sup> Most (1983), 2030.

<sup>340</sup> Sex: 17.20, 23.16, 34.6, 34.12, and 45.3-46.17 referring to Aphrodite; Alcohol: 59.15, 60.9.

<sup>341</sup> Stambaugh, 159. See too Shelton, 31.

<sup>342</sup> *Vita Persi* 10-14.

<sup>343</sup> 6.18 *παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι* ...; similarly 26.7-8, 53.14, 75.1-2. An explanation in a lost introduction is possible.

details of Cornutus' life which we have support the view that he was part of that Hellenistic tradition.<sup>344</sup>

Emulation of Greek educational principles resulted in an emphasis on the Muses, through the medium of familiarity with Greek poets from an early age, an ancient principle and explicitly embraced by Stoics.<sup>345</sup> Cornutus' text provides good evidence for these principles: Hesiod is predominant because he is the prime source of material, but argument and linguistic support are constantly supplied by quotations principally from Homer. Without 3 quotations in accretions, and apart from Hesiod *Theog.* 116-124 followed closely in Section C, the text has these direct quotations:

From	no.	ref. (misquotation) <sup>346</sup>
Epicharmus	3	14.7, 17.20, 17.20
Euripides	2	35.9, 45.6
Epic, common	1	43.14
Hesiod	4	17.6, 29.3, 56.2, 68.3
Homer / Hesiod Conflation	1	11.18
Homer	14	13.15, 22.7, 25.22, 26.7, 27.2, 32.21, 42.16, 43.2, 46.1, 47.11, 53.9, 62.7, 65.17, 69.9.
Unknown	3	17.13, 19.19, 55.17, 22.15 (II.2.26?),

The text thus assumes that the poets generally, and Homer in particular, are a very familiar and natural source of elementary philosophy not only for vocabulary and moral guidance, but also more profound truths.<sup>347</sup>

The text must be considered as part of a Stoic curriculum of philosophy in its broadest sense; as mentioned twice in the text, this was tripartite: Physics, Logic, and Ethics.<sup>348</sup> Technical logical and ethical expressions are not found, which suggests that physics is being taught before logic and ethics, and the work 'seems to be intended as a first textbook in philosophy.'<sup>349</sup> Thus the ultimate

<sup>344</sup> Suda κ 2098.16 οὗτος ὁ Κορνουῦτος Λεπτίτης φιλόσοφος· Λεπτις δὲ πόλις Λιβύης.

<sup>345</sup> Strabo 1.2.3.1.

<sup>346</sup> The conflation of Homer and Hesiod at 11.18, and of two Homeric lines at 47.11, strongly suggests lapses of memory rather than variant texts.

<sup>347</sup> Morgan, 69: Papyri from Egypt have recorded 250 gnomic sayings, of which 97 are extracts from *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and 20 from Euripides.

<sup>348</sup> 15.4, 37.14-17. At least the names of the three unspecified divisions are presumed to be known.

<sup>349</sup> Most (1989), 2031. The confusing positions held by various Stoics as to the order of these three divisions, and the analogies used to explain the relationships between them, are summarized in LS 1.160-161, where three different orders are identified: logic, physics, ethics; logic, ethics, physics (Chrysippus); physics, logic, ethics (Posidonius). See too White, 124-125.

ethical aim of living in accordance with nature, τὸ ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν,<sup>350</sup> cannot be achieved before investigation of the φύσις, i.e. physics.<sup>351</sup> And yet the intimate relationship between the three divisions is exemplified by Cornutus' text: ostensibly concerned with physics/theology, there are significant ethical issues,<sup>352</sup> culminating in an ethical message of how to live, and the whole is held together by an all-pervading assumption of a rationality which is the basis of Stoic logic.<sup>353</sup>

The text may, however, not be a first textbook in philosophy: Cornutus (76.7) asserts that a knowledge *even in this form* is useful, with no hint that further specific study of the subject is expected. During the exposition of the Muses, the value of education is stressed strongly, with the highest value placed on rhetoric: it may, therefore, be a summary of Stoic theology as the *only* textbook in philosophy for those proceeding to rhetorical studies. If so, it may have appealed to a wider audience than an elite Stoic philosophical school, becoming a 'standard' text, something which may ultimately have been a factor in its survival.

### 1.9.3. The political context

Commentators have raised the question of whether the text has a political dimension, and specifically whether Neronian ideology is detectable.<sup>354</sup> The connection between Cornutus' text and Nero is the 'curious and pervasive feature of the reign of Nero ... the collocation or even identification of the emperor with the god Apollo.'<sup>355</sup> Thus a text interpreting Apollo in Stoic terms could invite an interpretation of criticism or defence, or both, of Nero, even though 'there does not seem to be a single passage in the "Epidrome" which even the most suspicious police censor could regard as politically subversive in content or implication.'<sup>356</sup> Precisely this neutral surface reading could, however, suggest a concealed layer of political significance at several points in the text:

<sup>350</sup> D.L.7.82.2.

<sup>351</sup> Most (1989), 2031, overstates the case that Cornutus is following neither Zeno nor Chrysippus but rather Posidonius: Chrysippus recognized that physical speculation must come before differentiation of good and bad things (Plutarch *SR* 1035c-d = *SVF* 3.68). Further, regardless of a 'correct' order of divisions, the presentation to a child may take a different sequence depending on ease of understanding.

<sup>352</sup> Particularly associated with the Muses and Graces: indivisibility of virtues, ethical value of learning, etc., detailed in the commentary.

<sup>353</sup> Although there is no trace of formal Stoic logic, the text is rooted in logical or rational argument in the modern sense of the term.

<sup>354</sup> Thus Most (1989), 2034-2043; echoed by Gill, 39, n.19.

<sup>355</sup> Most (1989), 2035. This section draws extensively on Most (1989), 2035-2043.

<sup>356</sup> *ibid.*, 2035.

Ref.	Political interpretation:	Neutral explanation:
14.3 τὸ εἶ ζῆν	Avoidance of political activity	No reference to political activity
15.15 Cornutus is careful to stress the connection not only between the Muses and the Divine, but also with proper behaviour	Disapproval of inappropriate behaviour of artistic performance for a <i>princeps</i> .	Artistic training is generally to be promoted, providing good taste is maintained. see Plato <i>Lg.</i> 654a4.
16.4 Contact with the Muses: careful qualification		
16.6 Muse: singing in good taste		A more meaningful ethical message preferred to an obvious etymology
16.10 The obvious etymology of Τερψιχόρη avoided.		
17.13 Minimal reference to Apollo when discussing the Muses	Apollo and Muses have minimal contact	Text structure: Apollo treated with Artemis later in text
52.4 Δημήτηρ = Ἑστία = Γῆ, Cicero <i>ND</i> 2.67: Demeter = Earth, Hestia = goddess of hearths.	Land = Home: Nero should stay in Rome	Simplifying for didactic purposes
65.1 Apollo = Sun = Hekatos Details of attributes explained	Confirmation of Nero's position	Standard Stoic interpretations.
68.3 Misquotation from Hesiod <i>Theog.</i> 94-96:	Connecting kings more closely with Apollo than Hesiod does	Misquotation
Zeus not stated as father of Apollo	Invalidity of Nero's position	No significance

From the above list it can be seen that if taken politically, Cornutus would be sending mixed subversive and supportive messages. All, moreover, can be explained without a political dimension. Two further general characteristics of the text have prompted suspicion.<sup>357</sup> First, the treatment of specifically Greek theology by Cornutus could be interpreted as support for Nero's philhellenism, which Nero expressed in various ways, culminating in his visit to Greece from 66 to 68.<sup>358</sup> Whilst there is no way of disproving such a connection, such a text is in no way remarkable for a Stoic, who is following a discernible pattern of Stoic interpretation of Greek beliefs within a generally Hellenized culture, and wanting to study the oldest religious traditions (see Section 1.7.3). Secondly, 'a concentration on epithets and attributes as symbols of substance rather than on the substance itself' could suggest support for, or criticism of, the symbolic actions of Nero, such as singing to the lyre, sufficient to entitle him to view himself as a god.<sup>359</sup> To suggest that this parallel has significance, however, is to ignore not only the stated purpose of Cornutus' text, and his method of achieving it, but also his target audience: to convince the student that a system of theological beliefs is not arbitrary, but deeply rooted in traditional meaning which is always rationally explicable. For a child, this requires attention to tangible detail, not symbolism. The parallel is thus naivety: political for Nero, pedagogical for Cornutus.

<sup>357</sup> *ibid.*, 2040.

<sup>358</sup> Griffin, 208-220.

<sup>359</sup> Most (1989), 2040.

A general and clear-cut Stoic opposition to Nero is not demonstrable: whilst many Stoics perished under Nero, so did many others, and more significantly, their downfall was not necessarily attributable to any philosophical affiliation.<sup>360</sup> Further, exact dating of the text would be useful. The period within which any literary work would display material of real Neronian political significance is from 59, after Agrippina's death, when Nero became increasingly exhibitionist and paranoid, to Nero's death in 68, around 10 years.<sup>361</sup> Cornutus taught Persius when the latter was 16, in year 50, and Cornutus was exiled by Nero probably between 65 and 68.<sup>362</sup> The age difference between Persius and Cornutus is unknown, but if Cornutus had a career as teacher and/or philosopher lasting 30 years, a considerable proportion of it would have come either before or after Nero, and thus the likelihood is that this issue is entirely spurious.<sup>363</sup> If the text were written earlier, there could be at least Claudian issues, and if later, at least Vespasianic: why should scholarship focus on Nero, apart from a predisposition to fulfill the expectations raised by Nero's own paranoia? With no demonstrable reason why the text should have any political dimension, and given that the medium is an undateable school text in which the message is invariably loud and clear, it is difficult, if not impossible, to demonstrate any political significance on the basis of the above cases.<sup>364</sup>

#### 1.9.4. The status of superstition

Plutarch, *superstit.*, argues that superstition is worse than atheism, because the fear of harmful gods is omnipresent, even during sleep. He differentiates between the qualities of atheism and superstition:

- Plutarch *superstit.* 165c7 ὁθεν ἡ μὲν ἀθεότης λόγος ἐστὶ διεψευσμένος, ἡ δὲ δεισιδαιμονία πάθος ἐκ λόγου ψευδοῦς ἐγγεγεννημένον.

This emotion engendered from false reason is obviated by Cornutus with a constant provision of rational explanations for attributes of gods. One specific example is the abstention from fish in honour of Atargatis, which Plutarch specifically identifies as superstition:

- Plutarch *superstit.* 170d6 τὴν δὲ Συρίαν θεὸν οἱ δεισιδαίμονες νομίζουσιν, ἂν μαινίδας τις ἢ ἀφύας φάγη, τὰ ἀντικνήμια διεσθίειν, ἔλκεσι τὸ σῶμα πιμπράναι, συντήκειν τὸ ἦπαρ.
- Cornutus 6.11 σημαίνοντες ὅτι τὰ μάλιστα δηλοῦντα τὴν τῆς οὐσίας αἵρεσιν ...ὑδωρ

<sup>360</sup> Griffin, 171-177.

<sup>361</sup> *ibid.*, 37-49.

<sup>362</sup> *ibid.*, 157.

<sup>363</sup> A probability ignored by Most (1989), 2035, 2038, for whom Cornutus' text is exactly contemporary with Nero.

<sup>364</sup> Thus the 'potential fruitfulness of more detailed study' recommended by Most (1989), 2040, is easier to suggest than to provide.

A further significant characteristic of the text is the avoidance of particular details, the cumulative effect of which is a clear pattern of omission of that information which cannot be explained without engendering the notion that the gods are harmful, and therefore superstition.<sup>365</sup>

- The word χθών is carefully avoided or sanitized: it receives a neutral etymology at 53.8; the epithet χθόνιος / χθονία is elsewhere attested for the following deities, but not for Cornutus: Zeus, Hermes, Erinnyes, Demeter, Kore, Hestia, Dionysus, Apollo;<sup>366</sup> the exposition of Hekate, the only deity which Cornutus provides with the epithet χθόνιος / χθονία, is clearly intent on eliminating her frightening aspect.
- 3.13: Cornutus noticeably avoids the usual Stoic expression πνεῦμα for the nature of the soul, possibly to avoid any association with Persephone and φονευόμενον πνεῦμα (see commentary at 3.13).
- 9.4: Tripartite division of kingdoms, παντὸς τοῦ ὑπὲρ τὴν γῆν τόπου ἀπονεμομένου: Hades is not below the earth.
- 10.7: The thunderbolt is not mentioned by name.
- 22.7: Hermes' guiding of souls to the underworld is avoided by equating ψυχοπομπός to τὸ ψυχαγωγεῖν in the sense of *rhetoric*. The Olympian Gods have no contact with Hades.
- 39.19: Ἀρμονίη is named as daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, but Φόβος and Δεῖμος are not mentioned.<sup>367</sup>
- 51.11: Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων is the only Δαίμων mentioned, the only explicitly benign Δαίμων.
- 52.14: The daughter of Demeter is Κόρη and mentioned only once, very briefly, in connection with Hades: Persephone is carefully and deliberately avoided.
- 74.21: Styx (στρυγερή ... δεινὴ Στύξ)<sup>368</sup> is not mentioned.

The above cases are discussed in detail in the commentary, together with many other instances of a consistent emphasis on the benign, and a minimizing of the harmful. An overall pattern emerges where Cornutus either provides rational explanation, or rhetorical argument, or conveniently omits awkward information, and results in a well-planned and consistent message that there is no need for superstition. This theme is fundamental to the text, and suggests that Cornutus is addressing pupils to pre-empt any superstition at an age of maturity where frequent involvement in public religious rituals would be likely.

<sup>365</sup> Some detail is omitted which cannot be thus explained, for example the parentage of Apollo and Artemis.

<sup>366</sup> Ἐρμῆς χθόνιος: S.Aj.832, Elec.111; D.L.8.31.4; Posidonius fr. 398.13; for others see Proc. *plato ti. comm.* 3.140.15; Artemidorus *onir.* 2.34.21.

<sup>367</sup> See Hesiod *Theog.* 934.

<sup>368</sup> *ibid.*, 775.

This particular aim is of considerable interest because, irrespective of difference in approach, it was also the aim of other philosophical schools; a purpose of Epicurean cosmology was the elimination of groundless fears, including fear of the divine:<sup>369</sup>

- Epicurus *RS* 12 Οὐκ ἦν τὸ φοβούμενον λύειν ὑπὲρ τῶν κυριωτάτων μὴ κατειδόμενα τίς ἢ τοῦ σύμπαντος φύσις, ἀλλ' ὑποπτεύοντά τι τῶν κατὰ τοὺς μύθους· ὥστε οὐκ ἦν ἄνευ φυσιολογίας ἀκεραίους τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀπολαμβάνειν.

Plutarch too provides advice on the correct attitude to the gods:

- Plutarch *IO* 355c6 οὕτω δὴ τὰ περὶ θεῶν ἀκούσασα καὶ δεχομένη παρὰ τῶν ἐξηγουμένων τὸν μῦθον ὁσίως καὶ φιλοσόφως καὶ δρῶσα μὲν αἰεὶ καὶ διαφυλάττουσα τῶν ἱερῶν τὰ νενομισμένα, τοῦ δ' ἀληθῆ δόξαν ἔχειν περὶ θεῶν μηδὲν οἰομένη μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς μῆτε θύσειν μῆτε ποιήσειν [αὐτοῖς] κεχαρισμένον, οὐδὲν ἔλαττον ἀποφεύξῃ κακὸν ἀθεότητος δεισιδαιμονίαν.

The prime ethical aim of the text, therefore, was of general philosophical concern, and ultimately the path followed, whether with Stoic physics or Epicurean cosmology, was less intellectually significant than the end result of a correct attitude towards the gods, expressed in terms of correct behaviour: the end to which Cornutus strove with this text was in essence no different to the theory propounded by Plato almost five centuries earlier (similarities shaded):

Plato *Lg.* 821c6

ΑΘ. ...νῦν ἃ δὴ φημι δεῖν περὶ θεῶν τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν τοὺς γε ἡμετέρους πολίτας τε καὶ τοὺς νέους τὸ μέχρι τοσοῦτου μαθεῖν περὶ πάντων τούτων, μέχρι τοῦ μὴ βλασφημεῖν περὶ αὐτά, εὐφημεῖν δὲ αἰεὶ θύοντάς τε καὶ ἐν εὐχαῖς εὐχομένους εὐσεβῶς.

Cornutus (76.8)

περὶ δὲ ἐκείνων καὶ περὶ τῆς θεραπείας τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν οἰκείως εἰς τιμὴν αὐτῶν γινομένων καὶ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὸν ἐντελεῆ λήψη λόγον οὕτω μόνον ὡς εἰς τὸ εὐσεβεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ εἰς τὸ δεισιδαιμονεῖν εἰσαγομένων τῶν νέων καὶ θύειν τε καὶ εὐχεσθαι καὶ προσκυνεῖν καὶ ὀμνυεῖν κατὰ τρόπον καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐμβάλλουσι καιροῖς καθ' ἣν ἀρμόττει συμμετρίαν διδασκομένων.

In the attempt at eliminating superstition, Cornutus may have felt justified in simplifying, thus distorting, his own Stoic interpretation of the Greek theological tradition in order to provide a text which supplies maximum reassurance for a child at risk of fearing unknown and potentially harmful gods. If so, his assertion that previous philosophers have said it all before may not have been entirely truthful, but a rhetorical mechanism to provide greater authority for his text: Cornutus may thus have been displaying some originality after all.

<sup>369</sup> See LS 1.63; see too Cicero *ND* 1.117 (of Epicureans) *Nam superstitione, quod gloriari soletis, facile est liberari...*



## Section 2. Translation

Text bracketed by Lang: [ ... ]. Accretions are given as footnotes. The argument for the identification of text as accretive is given in Section 3, Commentary.

---

### SECTION A: Summary of ascendancy of Zeus; supremacy of λόγος, Reason (=Hermes)

---

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>1.1 <i>Heaven</i>, my child, encloses in its orbit the earth, the sea, and everything upon earth and in the sea, and that is how it acquired this name, because it is the <i>upper boundary</i> of everything, defining a limit for nature. Some say, however, that its name comes from <i>taking care of</i>, i.e. <i>guarding</i> things. The expressions <i>doorkeeper</i> and <i>to care very much for</i> are derived from this word. But yet others etymologize the name from <i>to be seen above</i>.</p>  | <p>heaven: οὐρανός<br/> upper boundary: οὐδρος ἄνω<br/> take care of: ὠρεῖν<br/> to guard: ὠρεύειν<br/> doorkeeper: θυρωρός<br/> care much for: πολυωρεῖν<br/> be seen above: ὀρᾶσθαι ἄνω</p> |
| <p>2.4 Heaven, together with everything it encompasses, is called the <i>world</i>, because it is <i>most beautifully ordered</i>. Some poets have said that heaven is the son of <i>Akmōn</i>, suggesting the <i>unwearied</i> nature of its revolution, or having the preconception that it is immortal, they express this insight with this etymology. For the dead are said to be <i>exhausted</i>.</p>  | <p>world: κόσμος<br/> beautifully ordered: διακεκοσμησθαι<br/> Akmōn: Ἄκμων<br/> unwearied: ἀκμητον<br/> exhausted: κεκμηκέναι</p>  |
| <p>2.10 The substance of heaven has a fiery nature, as is manifest from the sun and other stars. That is why the uppermost part of the world is called the <i>aether</i>, because it <i>burns</i>. Some, however, say it was called thus because it is <i>continually running</i>, which means <i>easily carried along</i>.</p>  | <p>aether: αἰθήρ<br/> to burn: αἴθεσθαι<br/> to run continually: ἀεὶ θεῖν</p>   |
| <p>2.14 For actually the <i>stars</i> are in a way <i>restless</i> bodies, never being still, but always moving. It is also reasonable that the <i>gods</i> got their name because of their own <i>running</i>: for the ancients originally thought that the things which they saw moving incessantly were gods, thinking that they were responsible for changes in the air and the preservation of the universe. But perhaps the gods could be <i>founders</i>, that is to say the makers of things that exist.</p> | <p>stars: ἄστροα<br/> restless: ἄστατα<br/> gods: θεοί<br/> running: θεύσις<br/> founders: θετήρες</p>  |

- 3.3 Just as we ourselves are controlled by our souls, so too the world has a soul which sustains it, and this is called *Zeus*, primarily and eternally *alive*, and the cause of life in living things. Thus because of this Zeus is said to rule over the universe, just like it could be said that our souls and our nature rule over us.
- 3.8 We call him *Dia* because it is *on account of* him that everything comes into being and is maintained. Among some people he is also called *Deus*, perhaps from *moistening* the earth, or distributing life-giving moisture to living things.<sup>1</sup> He is said to live in heaven, because this part of the soul of the world is the most powerful: for in fact our own souls are also fire.
- 3.15 It has been handed down by tradition that *Hēra*, who is the *air*, is both his wife and sister.
- 3.16 For she is tied directly to him and united with him, she rising from the earth, and he covering her. And they have come into being from their *flowing* into one another, for material which has flown towards fineness gives rise to fire (=Zeus) and air (=Hēra). Because of this, myth said that *Rhea* was their mother,
- 4.1 and further, that *Kronos* was their father, either because these things came into being within regular intervals of *time*, or because of the completion of the *separation* into elements by a process of *combination* and agitation, or, which is most plausible, because aether and air arise out of primeval fire whenever nature is moved *to accomplish*, that is, to result in, things that exist.
- 4.7 This is why the ancients claimed that *Poseidōn* was also a son of Kronos and Rhea, for water also comes into being as a result of the changes described above. For Poseidōn is the causing force of water within and around the earth, called thus perhaps from *drinking* or *giving drink*, or he may be the idea that *nature sweats*, or, he is called *earth-shaker* from a specific property of his which will be demonstrated later on.
- 4.16 They say that Haidēs is also their brother. He is the air which is thickest and nearest to earth: he comes into being with them (*sc.* Zeus, Hēra, Poseidōn) when nature starts to flow and to produce entities in accordance with its own internal design.
- Zeus [nom.]: Ζεύς; Ζήν  
to live: ζῆν
- Zeus [accus.]: Δία  
on account of: διά  
Deus: Δεύς  
to moisten: δεύειν
- Hera: Ἥρα  
air: ἀήρ
- flowing: ῥύσις  
Rhea: Ῥέα
- Kronos: Κρόνος  
time: χρόνος  
separation: διάκρισις  
combination: σύγκριστις  
to accomplish: κραινείν
- Poseidōn: Ποσειδῶν  
drinking: πόσις  
nature sweats: φύσις ἰδίει  
earth-shaker: πεδοσειῶν  
earth πέδον  
to shake σείειν

<sup>1</sup> [in addition, he is *Deos* in the genitive case, somehow connected with *Dios*].

- 5.2 He is called *Haidēs* either because on his own he is *invisible*, which is why they pronounce the vowel of the diphthong separately, calling him *Ha-idēs*, or, using antiphrasis, as if he were *the one who pleases*, for at death our souls seem to go to that place, and death is what pleases us least. He was also called *Plutō*, because everything is perishable, and there is nothing which is not ultimately consigned to him and does not become his *property*.
- 5.9 *Rhea* is portrayed in accordance with the *flow* already mentioned, which she embodies, and it is reasonable that the cause of rain is attributed to her. And because rain usually occurs with thunder and lightning, they also represented her as delighting in drums, cymbals, horns and torch processions.
- 5.15 Further, since rainstorms pour down from above, and often appear to come suddenly from the mountains,<sup>2</sup> they said she lived in the mountains, and they introduced lions, the most noble of mountain animals, to draw her chariot.<sup>3</sup>
- 6.3 She wears a turreted crown, either because towns were originally built in the mountains for the sake of security, or because she is an originating power behind the first and archetypal city, the universe. The poppy-head is dedicated to her, symbolizing that she was the cause of the production of life. For the same reason they surround her breast with some other symbols, to show the diversity of beings, and all things which have come into being because of her.
- 6.11 It appears that the Syrian Atargatis is the same as *Rhea*. The Syrians honour Atargatis by not eating pigeons and fish, signifying that air and water particularly demonstrate the fluidity of substance. She is called *The Phrygian* because she is especially worshipped amongst the Phrygians, amongst whom the rites of the priesthood of the Galli are common, suggesting perhaps the same kind of thing which is told among the Greeks about the castration of Heaven.

Haidēs:	Ἅιδης
un-:	ἀ-
to see:	φιδεῖν
to please:	ἀνδάνειν
Pluto:	Πλούτων
wealth:	πλούτος
Rhea:	Ῥέα
flow:	ῥύσις

<sup>2</sup> [Initially they gave her the eponym *Ida* which is a mountain stretching into the high air and which can be seen from afar] (*Ida*: Ἴδη to see: ἰδεῖν).

<sup>3</sup> [or perhaps because storms have something wild about them].

6.20 First of all, it is said that Kronos swallowed the children which were born to him by Rhea,<sup>4</sup> because whatever comes into existence in accordance with the previously described process of motion disappears again periodically by the same process. And time is also rather like this: for things which are created in it are also consumed by it.

7.6 Then, they say, when she had given birth to Zeus, she presented Kronos with a stone wrapped in swaddling clothes, instead of Zeus, saying that this was what she had given birth to. This then was what was swallowed by Kronos, whereas Zeus was brought up in secret to become ruler the world. Here, therefore, the swallowing can be interpreted symbolically. For the myth describes the events concerning the birth of the universe, at a time when its controlling faculty had come to maturity and was predominant, when this stone, which we call earth, had been, as it were, swallowed down into the innermost part of it, and become firmly fixed. For things which exist would never have been established in any other way if they had not been supported by Earth, as on a foundation stone, because all things come into being on, and are nourished by, her.

7.17 Finally it is said that, because Heaven was descending repeatedly to have intercourse with Earth, Kronos castrated him and put an end to his outrage. But then, Zeus expelled Kronos from his dominion, casting him into Tartarus.

7.21 These stories suggest that the order at the beginning of the universe, which we claimed was *Kronos*, from *to accomplish*, checked the flow of the surrounding material, which was at the time in large quantities on the earth, making the exhalations finer.

8.3 But when the nature of the world — which we were saying is called Zeus — gained full strength, it restrained the excessive instability of the change and put it in bonds, giving the universe a greater period of stability.<sup>5</sup>

Kronos: Κρόνος  
to accomplish: κρᾶίνειν

<sup>4</sup> [This was accepted, and quite reasonably so].

<sup>5</sup> [It is quite reasonable that Kronos is also called *crooked-counselled* because the things he will not bring to completion are *crooked*, that is, it is difficult to follow the sequence of the vast quantities of items.] [By another line of reasoning they said that Oceanus was the original source of life, and Tethys was his wife, for there was not just one mythological account of this topic. Oceanus is the *logos*, which *swims swiftly* and changes things sequentially, while Tethys is the permanence of

9.1 Subsequently, Zeus is said to be father of gods and men, because *the nature of the world* is the cause of their existence, just as fathers beget their children. They call him *cloud-gatherer* and *thunderer*, and attribute the thunderbolt and the storm to him, because of the combination of clouds and thunder which occurs above us, and the violent descent of thunderbolts and storms. Alternately, they attribute these things to him as the god who was allocated heaven as his domain when the entire region above the earth was being distributed.

9.10 Because of the *storms*,<sup>6</sup> he was called on the one hand the *aegis-bearer*, but for other easily recognizable reasons he was called *rainy, fruit-producing, descender, lightning-striker* and many other things according to various attributes. They also give him the titles *Saviour, Defender, Guardian of the City, Protector of Parents, Guardian of the Family (Race), Patron of Guests, Founder, Counsellor, Trophy-holder* and *Deliverer*. There is an infinite number of such names because he has extended into every faculty and situation, being the overseer of, and responsible for, the whole of the universe.

storm: αἰγίς

aegis-bearer: αἰγίοχος

9.20 Thus he was also said to be the father of Justice, for he is the one who introduced the concept of society into human affairs, commanding men that they should not do wrong to each other. He is also said to be father of the *Graces*, from which stems the principles of *being kind*, which means being a benefactor. Further, he is also called the father of the *Seasons*, which take their name from *to protect*, because of the changes in the atmosphere which protect all life on earth and everything else.

Graces: Χάριτες

to be kind: χαρίζεσθαι

Seasons: Ὠραὶ

to protect: ὠρεῖν

10.7 They represent Zeus as having the age of a mature man, because he displays neither decline nor immaturity, which is appropriate for one who is perfect. That is why perfectly mature animals are sacrificed to him. The sceptre is a symbol of his power, for that is what a king carries, or it signifies that he is steady and never falls, like those who lean on a staff. The missile which he holds in his right hand is so unmistakable that its name requires no further explanation.

---

qualities. From the mixture or intercourse of these, entities come into being. Nothing would exist if either were unmixed and dominant] (*Oceanus*: Ὠκεανός, *swimming swiftly*: ὠκέως νεόμενος).

<sup>6</sup> [which in fact took their name from *to shake*] (*storm*: αἰγίς *to shake*: ἀΐσσειν).

10.15 He is frequently represented as holding Victory, because he encompasses all, and nothing can defeat him. It is said that the eagle is his sacred bird, because it is the fastest winged creature. He is crowned with olive because it is evergreen, rich with oil and extremely useful, or because its grey-green colour is like the sky.

10.20 There are some who call him *Avenger* and *Avenger of blood* because he punishes those *deserving punishment*, in other words, *murderers*.

Avenger:  
(= deserving punishment): ἀλάστωρ  
Avenger of blood:  
(= murderer): παλαμναῖος

10.22 The former is from the committing of wrongs, from which there is *grieving* and lamenting, the latter from the producing, by *violent hands*, stains which are inexpressible.

to grieve: ἀλαστήσαι

violent hands: παλάμη

11.3 According to the same tradition, the Erinyes (Furies) as they are called have come about, being the trackers of those who do wrong. Their names are *Megaira*, *Tisiphonē* and *Alēktō*, as if Zeus were *holding a grudge* against such people, *avenging* the murders which they commit, and doing this *unceasingly*.

Megaira: Μέγαιρα

to hold grudge: μεγαίρειν

Tisiphonē: Τισιφώνη

to avenge: τίτυσθαι

Alēktō: Ἄληκτώ

unceasingly: ἀλήκτως

Eumenides: Εὐμενίδες

benevolence: εὐμένεια

11.9 These goddesses are actually the *Revered Ones* and the *Eumenides*, in accordance with the benevolent arrangement of nature for mankind, and the punishment of wrong-doing. They have chilling faces, they pursue the impious with fire and whips, and they are called *snaky-curved* because that is how they look to the evil people who are being punished for the crimes they have committed.

11.15 They are said to live in the house of Haidēs because the torments of those people lie in obscurity, and vengeance is unforeseen for those who deserve it. Consequently, it is also said that ‘the eye of Zeus watches over everything and he gives ear to everything’ (II.3.276; WD 267). For how would it be possible for anything happening in the world to escape the notice of the power which pervades all?

12.2 They also call Zeus *Gentle* because he is easily *appeased* by those who are sorry for doing wrong, provided there is no reason for remaining unreconciled. This is why there are altars of *Zeus, Patron of Suppliants*.

gentle: μείλιχος

to appease: μειλίσσειν

12.5 Homer also claimed that the Prayers are daughters of Zeus. They are lame because of the falling of those who entreat by grasping another’s knees; wrinkled to represent the weakness of suppliants; squinting because when they ignore the prayers of a suppliant, they have a more distant necessity in mind.

- 12.11 Zeus is also *Fate*, because the distribution of things which happen to each person is *not visible*. From this, the other allotments have come to be called fates.
- 12.14 *Doom* is the *unseen* hence unknown cause of events — the uncertainty of individual parts of the whole is suggested here — or, according to older sources, the *ever-existing*.
- 12.17 *Destiny* is that to which all things that occur have been *apportioned*, that is, collected in order and in an unending succession.<sup>7</sup> *Necessity* is that which is *impossible to break*, in other words, avoid, or the principle by which everything that comes into being develops accordingly.
- 13.3 From another perspective, the three fates are represented as the three-fold nature of time — Past, Present and Future.
- 13.5 One of them is called *Klōthō*, from the likeness of events to the *spinning* of wool, for different things happen to different people, which is why they portray the eldest as spinning. Another is *Lachesis*, because the things which are granted to each person are like apportioning by *lots*. The third Fate is called *Atropos*, because the things which are assigned in accordance with her are *unavertable*. It is, however, the same force which would seem naturally to have the three names.
- 13.12 *Adrasteia* is also the same force, called thus either because she is *unavoidable*, or because the things which happen according to that force are always active, as though she were the *always-doer*, or perhaps the privative syllable *a-* in *A-drasteia* is an intensifier here, as in *very-wooded forest* (Il.11.155), for she is very active.
- 13.17 She is also called *Divine Justice* (Nemesis) from *distribution*, for she determines what happens to each person; *Fortune* from *fashioning* our environments, that is, being the creator of the things which happen to people; and *Divine Vengeance* from the punishment of the things worthy of retribution, as if she were secretly following *behind*, carefully watching the things we do.
- Fate: Μοῖρα  
not visible: μὴ ὁρωμένη
- Doom: Αἴσα  
unseen: ἀίσιος  
ever-existing: ἀεὶ οὔσα  
Destiny: Εἰμαρμένη  
it has been apportioned: μέμαρπται  
Necessity: Ἄναγκη  
un-breakable: Ἄν-ἀκτός  
resolution: ἀναγωγή
- Klōthō: Κλωθώ  
spinning: κλωσῖς  
Lachesis: Λάχεσις  
lot: λήξις  
Atropos: Ἄτροπος  
not to be turned: ἄτροπος
- Adrasteia: Ἄδράστεια  
unavoidable: ἀναπόδραστος  
always do: ἀεὶ δρᾶν  
'always-doer': ἀειδράστεια  
very active: ἄ-δράστεια  
very-wooded: ἄ-ξύλος  
Nemesis: Νέμεσις  
distribution: νέμεσις  
to distribute: νέμειν  
Fortune: Τύχη  
to fashion: τεύχειν  
Divine Vengeance: Ὀπίς  
behind: ὀπισθεν

<sup>7</sup> Garbled 10-word gloss.

- 14.3 Zeus is said to be the father of the Muses, and Memory their mother, since Zeus himself was the inventor of educational training, which is by nature received through disciplined study and secure retention, as something most essential to correct living.
- 14.7 The *Muses* are so called from *seeking*, the word used in 'Wretch! do not seek luxury; stop hanging on to callous ways' (Epicharmus fr. 37).
- 14.10 There are nine of them because, as is claimed, those who pay attention to them become *remarkable for their learning*. For when constructed like a square, the number 9 is the first number after the number one which clearly has some kind of completeness.
- 15.1 Some say there are only two of them, some say three, others four or seven. Three muses because of the previously mentioned completeness of the triad, or because philosophical enquiry is divided into three categories; two muses because we have to contemplate and do what is necessary, and because being educated consists of these two things; four or seven muses perhaps because ancient musical instruments had that number of tones.
- 15.10 They were represented as female as a symbol of the fact that erudition comes from staying indoors, that is, remaining in one place.<sup>8</sup> They move around together and perform choral dance together as a representation of the fact that the virtues are indivisible from one another, and cannot be separated.
- 15.15 They occupy themselves especially with hymns and worship of the Gods, since the fundamental principle of education is to divert one's attention from other matters and concentrate on the divine, and those who are living like this must always have it on their lips.
- 15.19 Further, one of the Muses is *Kleiō* from the fact that those who are educated gain *renown*, and bestow renown both on themselves and others; the others are:
- 16.2 *Euterpē*, because time spent with her is *pleasant* and inspiring;
- 16.3 *Thaleia*, either because for those who spend time with her life *flourishes* or because they have the virtue of conviviality, conducting themselves cleverly and harmoniously at *festivities*;
- Muses: Μοῦσαι  
inquiry: μῶσις
- remarkable for learning: περιττός
- odd number: ἄριθμὸς περιττός
- Kleiō: Κλειώ  
renown: κλέος
- Euterpē: Εὐτέρπη  
pleasant: ἐπιτερπής
- Thaleia: Θάλεια  
to flourish: θάλλειν  
festivities: θάλεια

<sup>8</sup> [Further, the virtues and education happen to have feminine names.]



- 16.6 *Melpomenē* from the *sweet song* of someone's voice when accompanied by a melody — for good men are celebrated in song by everyone, and they in turn celebrate in song those born before them and the gods;
- 16.10 *Terpsichorē* because the educated are happy and *joyful* most of their life, or because even by *being seen* they provide *pleasure* for those who approach them, the first component of the syllable -χό- in the name being superfluous, or possibly because the ancients used to perform *dances* to the Gods, and the wisest men composed songs for them.
- 16.15 *Eratō* received her name either from *passion*, representing the attention which is associated with all aspects of learning, or, she is the patron of the power of *questioning* and answering, as if virtuous people were dialecticians.
- 16.20 *Polhymnia* is virtue, *much honoured in song*; or, perhaps more likely, which celebrates *many men in song*, and which has created the tradition of whatever things are praised in song about previous generations, paying attention to poems and other writings.
- 17.4 *Ourania* is knowledge of astronomy and the nature of the universe, for the ancients used to call the whole world *heaven*.
- 17.6 *Kalliopē* is rhetoric, having excellent voice, i.e. *excellent speech*, by means of which men govern and address the people, leading them by persuasion rather than force in whichever direction they choose. For this reason he (*sc.* Hesiod) says particularly that she 'attends worshipful kings' (*Theog.* 80).
- 17.11 Various instruments are assigned to them, each instrument showing that the life of good men is harmonious and in tune, i.e. consistent with itself. Apollō dances with the Muses because of his association with the arts. He too is represented as playing the cithara, and you will know the reason for this a little later. It is said that they dance in the mountains because lovers of learning need to be alone and they continually withdraw to uninhabited places, and according to the comic poet, 'without which nothing worthy of awe is discovered' (*Comica adesp. fr.* 242).
- 17.20 This is the reason it is said that Zeus had intercourse with Mnemosyne for nine nights and created them. For in the pursuit of
- Melpomenē: Μελπομένη  
sweet song: μολπή
- Terpsichorē: Τερψιχόρη  
to be joyful: τέρπεσθαι  
pleasure: τέρπισ  
to be seen: ὀρᾶσθαι  
dance: χορός
- Eratō: Ἐρατώ  
passion: ἔρως  
to question: ἔρεσθαι
- Polhymnia: Πολύμνια  
much: πολύ  
honoured in song: ὕμνητος  
many men: πολλοί  
singing: ὕμνουσα
- Ourania: Οὐρανία  
heaven: οὐρανός
- Kalliopē: Καλλιόπη  
excellent speech: καλλιειπή

education it is necessary to inquire even during the night. It was for no other reason that the poets called the night *the kindly time*, and Epicharmus for example said ‘if someone is seeking something wise, he must seek it at night’ and ‘all things important are best discovered at night’.<sup>9</sup>

18.9 They are crowned with *palm* leaves, some think, because they have the same name as the *Phoenicians*, who it seems invented writing. But it is more reasonable to suppose it is because of the qualities of the plant: delicate, productive, perennial, hard to climb, bearing sweet fruit.

date-palm: φοῖνιξ

Phoenician: Φοῖνιξ

18.14 As already stated, the Graces happen to be *beneficent* to us, and most writers have represented them as daughters of Zeus.

Grace: Χάρις

favour: χάρις

Some say that they were born to *Eurydomē* because the desire to give gifts is especially characteristic of *wide*, that is expansive, *houses*.

Eurydomē: Εὐρυδόμη

wide: εὐρύ

house: δόμος

19.3 Others say they were born to *Eurynomē*, indicating that those who have inherited *large* fortunes are somehow more *generous*, or ought to be. Some say they were born to *Eurymedousē*, this name pointing in the same direction, for men *are masters* of what is their own. But others identify Hēra as their mother, so that they may be the highest-born of the Gods, as they are in respect of their deeds.

Eurynomē: Εὐρυνόμη

far-reaching: εὐρύ

to distribute: νέμειν

Eurymedousē: Εὐρυμεδούση

to rule: μέδειν

19.9 Their being portrayed as naked has another significance: that even those who have no possessions are able to provide some beneficial service,<sup>10</sup> and it is not necessary to have an abundance in order to be a benefactor, as the saying goes:

‘The spirit of the hospitable is the finest.’

Some, however, think that their nakedness represents the necessity of being at ease and unencumbered when being generous.

19.17 Some people say there are two of them, some three. Two, because it is necessary for someone to initiate generosity, and another to respond; three, because it is good that the one that has to respond is in a position to give freely, so that the process may continue without interruption; their circular dance signifies something like this. Another explanation for three was that one Grace is that of the man

<sup>9</sup> [Some claim that they sprang from Heaven and Earth, for they assumed that the account of them had to be the oldest].

<sup>10</sup> to be very generous.

who renders beneficial service; another that of the person receiving the service; and the third is that of the person who, when the opportunity arises, performs a service in return.<sup>11</sup>

20.15 According to tradition, *Hermēs* is their master, signifying that favours must be bestowed prudently, not at random but on those who deserve it. For a person who has been shown ingratitude becomes more reluctant to show kindness. Now *Hermēs* is in fact Reason, which the Gods send to us from heaven, having made man alone of all the living creatures on earth a rational being, a quality which the Gods themselves valued above all others.

20.21 He has received his name from *speaking skilfully* i.e. engaging in rational discourse, or perhaps because he is *our defence* and our fortress. But he is also called *guide*, either because he is *piercing*, that is, clear, or because he *conducts* our thoughts to the souls of people nearby. This is why they offer tongues to him at sacrifices.

21.4 He also has other epithets: *Luck-bringer* because he is a great benefactor, and those who make use of him flourish exceedingly; and *Stalwart* as if he were *saviour of the houses*.<sup>12</sup> He is also called *Guileless*, signifying the same kind of thing: for Reason has not come into being in order to *wrong* or to harm, but rather to preserve.<sup>13</sup>

21.11 He is called *Argeiphontēs* as if from *illuminating*, because the ancients used the word *argon* to mean *clear*, and he causes everything to appear clearly. Or, it may be from the swiftness of sound, for swiftness is also called *luminous*. He is called *Chrysorrhapis*, *Carrier of the Golden Wand* because even a blow from him is much revered. For well-timed warnings are worth a great deal, as is the attention paid by those who heed them.

Hermes Ἑρμῆς

to speak skilfully: ἐρεῖν μῆσασθαι

our defence: ἔρυμα ἡμῶν

guide: διάκτορος

piercing: διάτορος

to conduct: διάγειν

Stalwart: σῶκος

saviour: σωτήρ

house: οἶκος

Guileless: ἀκάκητα

wrong: κακά

Argeiphontes: ἀργειφόντης

illuminating: ἀργεφάντης

clear: ἀργόν

to show: φαίνειν

luminous: ἀργόν

sound: φωνή

Chrysorrhapis: χρυσόρραπις

wand: ραπίς

blow: ραπισμός

<sup>11</sup> [Because it is necessary that good deeds be done cheerfully, and because the Graces make those performing good deeds cheerful, first of all the *Graces* share the same name, derived from *joy*; they are said not only to be beautiful in form, but also to bestow beauty and persuasiveness. In addition, they all have their own names: Radiance (Agalia), Flowering (Thaleia) and Merriment (Euphrosynē). For this reason, some claimed that Well-Flowering (Euanthē) was their mother, some said it was Brightness (Aiglē). Homer claimed that one of the Graces lived with Hēphaistos, because the works of the artisans are a source of delight]. (*Grace*: Χάρις *joy*: χαρά).

<sup>12</sup> [or, according to some, because he is strong].

<sup>13</sup> [which is why they had him live with Health].

- 21.18 Tradition says he is the *Herald of the Gods*, and they claimed that he was the messenger of divine events to men. *Herald* because by means of his loud voice he presents to the hearing things which are interpreted according to reason; *Messenger* because we recognize the will of the Gods from the conceptions which are placed within us according to reason. He wears winged sandals and is carried through the air in harmony with the expression *winged words*. For the same reason, they call Iris a *wind-footed* and *breeze-footed* messenger, and give other epithets which they derive from the name.
- 22.7 The myths all agree that Hermēs is *Psychopompos*, *Conductor of Souls*, which is his unique function, the guiding of souls. This is why he is portrayed as carrying a staff in his hand, ‘with which he charms the eyes of mortals — clearly the eyes of the mind — of whomsoever he chooses, but others, even when asleep, he rouses’ (*Il.*24.343f; *Od.*5.47f; 24.3f.), for he is easily able to stimulate the lazy and restrain those who have been aroused. Consequently, he was considered to be the sender of dreams and a prophet,<sup>14</sup> who twists the appearance of dreams as he likes: ‘Dreams also are messengers of the Gods’ (cf. *Il.*2.26).
- 22.18 The serpents coiled round the staff already mentioned which complete the image of the caduceus are a symbol of the fact that even savage men are charmed and bewitched by him, who loosens the conflicts between them and binds them with a knot which is difficult to untie. For this reason the caduceus appears to be a symbol of peace-making.<sup>15</sup>
- 23.6 They claimed that Hermēs was born to Zeus from Maia, thus suggesting again that Reason is the offspring of Investigation and Inquiry. For even those who act as midwives to women are addressed as *Maia*, as if they bring babies to the light by *searching*.
- 23.11 Hermēs is sculptured without hands or feet, and square in shape: square because he has a certain steadiness and safety, so that even his sides are bases; without hands or feet because neither are needed for him to accomplish what is set before him. The ancients made the older and bearded Herms with an erect phallus, and the younger and

Maia: Μαῖα

to seek after: μαίεσθαι

<sup>14</sup> [through this sort of trope].

<sup>15</sup> [Moreover, those who seek peace carry branches in their hands as a reminder of the earth’s desire to be cultivated and that there be some sparing of cultivated and fruit-bearing plants].

beardless with a flaccid one, signifying that in those advanced in age, reason is mature and capable of reproduction,<sup>16</sup> but among the unripe, reason is sterile and immature.

23.22 He is set up on roadsides and is called *Wayside* and *Guiding* because one has to use him as a guide for all tasks, and because he is the very one who leads us with his advice in the direction which we should follow, or perhaps because solitude is necessary for his restoration and service. And because reason is common both to all mankind and the Gods, whenever someone finds something when on the road, it is customary for them to say 'Hermēs belongs to everyone',<sup>17</sup> signifying that whatever is discovered is also considered to be common, which is why things one finds are called *Gifts of Hermēs*.

things found εὐρήματα  
Gift of Hermes ἔρμαιον

24.11 They also heap up stones for the Herms. Each person adds one stone to the rest, either so that everyone may do something which is both useful for himself and for the common good by cleaning up the road; or calling Hermēs as a witness; or as a gesture of the honour due to him when one has nothing else to offer to him; or making the statue more noticeable to passers-by; or as a symbol of the fact that the spoken word is composed of small parts.

25.2 He is also called *God of the Market Place*, and this is appropriate, because he is the guardian of those who speak in public assemblies, and this extends easily to buyers and sellers in the public market because everything must be done with reason. Thus he seemed to become the overseer of merchants, and was called *God of Profit* and *God of Barter* as if he were the only source of true profit for mankind.

25.9 He is the inventor of the lyre, that is, of the harmony and agreement to which, when the living conform, they are happy, i.e. when it happens that they have a *well-tuned* disposition. Some, wanting to suggest his function by using incongruities, passed down the story that he was a thief, and they set up an altar of *Guileful Hermēs*.

Hermes: Ἑρμῆς  
well-tuned: ἡρμωμένης

<sup>16</sup> [for in reality, it does attain the goal it sets].

<sup>17</sup> [for Hermēs is a witness of the discovery, because he is beside the road].

25.14 For unnoticed, he steals away men's former opinions, and there are even times when he steals away the truth by persuasiveness. Which is why they say of certain people that they use 'thievish words'. In fact, sophistry is the sole privilege of those capable of rational speech.

25.18 He is called *God of Law* because Reason corrects things, being Imperative for things which must be done for the common good, and Prohibitive for that which ought not to be done. He was transferred to having care over *pasture* only because of the similarity in the words. He, together with Hēraklēs, is revered at wrestling grounds, because it is necessary to temper strength with reasoning. For to the person who places his trust in the strength of his body, disregarding Reason which introduced skills into life, someone might properly say:

God of Law: νόμιος  
law: νόμος  
pasture: νομός

'Dearest, your own great strength will be your death' (//.6.407).

---

SECTION B: Method, and Interpretation of Homeric myth

---

26.7 Many and varied mythological inventions concerning the Gods have been made by the ancient Greeks, and others by the Persians, the Phrygians, the Egyptians, the Celts, the Libyans and other peoples. One might see evidence of this in the lines said in Homer by Zeus to Hēra:

'Do you not remember the time you hung from high and on your feet I slung two anvils?' (//.15.18-19)

26.16 It seems that Homer is distorting this fragment of ancient myth, according to which Zeus was said to have hung Hēra by golden bonds from the aether — because the stars have a kind of golden sheen — and to have fixed two anvils to her feet — clearly referring to the earth and sea. Thus the air is stretched downwards, unable to be torn away from either one. Homer also mentions a myth about Thetis and how Zeus was saved by her:

'that time when all the other Olympians sought to bind him, Hēra and Poseidōn and Pallas Athēne' (//.1.399-400).

27.7 It seems that each one of these Gods was continually plotting against Zeus, intending to thwart this orderly arrangement, which is what would happen if the moist element seized power and everything became watery, or fire with everything being burnt up, or air. But Thetis, having properly *disposed* everything, set hundred-handed Briareōs against the Gods just mentioned, which perhaps means the exhalations from the earth, which are distributed in all directions, as if the separation into all the individual streams were 'through many hands'. Consider then whether it is called *Briareōs* because it *raises* what could be called the *food* of the parts of the universe.<sup>18</sup>

Thetis: Θέτις  
having disposed: διαθεῖσα

Briareōs: Βριάρεως  
food: βροάν  
to raise: αἴρειν

---

SECTION C: Hesiod *Theogony*: Chaos - Titans, criticism of Hesiod

---

27.19 One must neither conflate myths nor transfer the names from one to another. And if something has been added to the genealogies which have been passed on according to these myths by people who do not understand their real meaning, but who use them simply as fiction, one ought not to accept it without reason.

28.2 To return then, some said that Chaos came into existence first, as Hesiod relates, and after that, Earth itself, then Tartarus then Love. Erebus and Night were produced from Chaos; Aether and Day were produced from Night.

28.7 Now *Chaos* is the moist element which came into being before the organization of the universe, thus being named from *pouring*, or it may be fire, as if from *burning*.<sup>19</sup>

Chaos: Χάος  
pouring: χύσις  
burning: κάος  
to burn: καίειν (Att. κάειν)

29.10 But, my child, fire was once everything, and will be again in the course of the world cycle. When fire has been extinguished into air, a general change into water takes place, which then produces earth by condensation and lighter substances by rarefaction. So they quite rightly said that after Chaos, Earth and airy Tartarus came into being.<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> [*Aigaiōn* is the one who is *always flourishing*, that is, exalting] (*Aigaiōn*: Αἰγαίων, *always*: ἀεί *flourishing*: γαίων).

<sup>19</sup> [and fire is also poured out in a stream because of it consists of small particles].

<sup>20</sup> [which Hesiod called *earth's innermost part* because it encircles and contains earth].

28.18 Love (Erōs), which is the impulse for procreation was said to have come into being with them. For when something is created by something else, one must assume that this force, being most noble and attractive, is present at the creation.

29.3 Erebus arose from Chaos. Erebus is the active principle which causes one thing *to be covered* and surrounded by something else, so when Earth obtained this, she immediately gave birth to Heaven in her own shape,

‘to cover her on every side, and to be a secure seat for the blessed Gods forever’ (*Theog.* 127f.),

that is, a safe dwelling place for the long-lived stars which *run* on it.

29.10 Earth gave birth to Heaven from the exhalations. Heaven is more commonly used now to mean the whole rarefied substance which surrounds the Earth.

29.12 Night is also the daughter of Chaos. For the air which was first taken from the primeval moisture was dark coloured and obscure. But then, as it rarefied, it changed into aether and light. So it is quite reasonable to say that these things have arisen from night. Earth is said to have created the mountains and then the deep ‘without the sweet union of love’ (*Theog.* 132). For the sea remained hidden in the Earth’s hollow recesses, having been condensed by change, whilst the mountains became raised by unequal subsidence.

30.1 After these events, those whom we call the Titans were born.<sup>21</sup>

30.8 Thus on the one hand the name *Iapetos* was given by the ancients to the rational principle by which creatures capable of making sounds came into being, and sound was brought entirely to completion, for ‘Ia’ means *sound*, and it is as if it were ‘*Ia-looser*’.

30.11 But there was also *Koios*, in respect of which entities have *qualities* — for the Ionians often used ‘k’ instead of ‘p’. Or, he is the cause of *hearing*, namely understanding or thinking.

Erebus: Ἔρεβος

to be covered: ἐρέφασθαι

Gods: θεοί

they run: θεοοῦσιν

Iapetos: Ἰαπετός

let loose: ἄφετος

Koios: Κοῖος

of certain quality: ποιός

to hear: κοεῖν

<sup>21</sup> These would be variations in entities. Empedocles enumerates them in his *Physics*: Growth (Physō), Decay (Phthimenē), Repose (Eunaiē), Awakening (Egersis), Motion (Kinō), Immobility (Astemphe) and many-crowned Supremacy (Megistō). He also mentions Defiled (Phoruē), Silence (Siōpē) and Prophetic (Omphiē) along with many others, suggesting the variety of entities mentioned above.



Section 2: Translation

30.14 There was also *Krios*, that by which some things lead and *rule* over affairs, and some are subordinated and ruled over. Perhaps the *ram* received his name from just this position in the flock.

Krios: Κρίος  
ruler: κρείων

30.17 There was also *Hyperion*, that by which some things are *revolving* around others above us.

ram: κριός  
Hyperion: Ὑπερίων  
above: ὑπέρ  
revolving around: ἰών

30.18 And there was *Oceanus*, that by which things are *accomplished* in haste.<sup>22</sup>

Oceanus: Ὠκεανός  
it is being swiftly accomplished: ὠκέως ἀνύεται

31.2 There was also *Tēthus*, that by which a situation remains the same for a long time, *Theia*, who is the source of *light*; *Rhea*, the one who is the state of *flux*; And *Phoebē*, who is the reason why some things are pure and *bright*. Together with these one must also understand the causes of the opposite qualities. Memory is the faculty of remembering things that have happened; *Themis* is that of making a mutual agreement and protecting it;

Theia: Θεία

seeing: θεά

Rhea: Ῥέα

flow: ῥύσις

Phoebē: Φοίβη

bright: φοῖβος

31.8 *Kronos* is the previously mentioned principle of all things that have been *completed*, being the cleverest of the children; he was said to be the youngest because after the birth of those already mentioned, he remained as if he were in the process of being born.

Kronos: Κρόνος

to complete: κραινέιν

31.12 You can, however, obtain a more complete interpretation of Hesiod's genealogy. I think that although he has transmitted some things from the ancients, he has added some myth of his own, and in this way, most ancient theology has been corrupted. But now we must investigate those things which are acclaimed by popular religion.

<sup>22</sup> [Oceanus is also called *soft-flowing* because its flow is so gentle and leisurely that it reveals the movement of the sun, and called *deep-eddying* because of the currents in its depths].

SECTION D, Popular religion: Pronoia; Childen of Zeus; Water, Earth and fertility, Miscellaneous

31.19 Since it has been handed down from ancient times that Promētheus formed the human race from Earth, one must suppose that *Promētheus* is the name given to the *foresight* of the universal soul, which later writers called *providence*. It was in accordance with providence that everything came into being and mankind grew out of Earth, since the composition of the universe at the beginning was suitable for the process.<sup>23</sup>

Prometheus: Προμηθεύς  
foresight: προμήθεια  
providence: πρόνοια

32.8 And they also say that he stole fire for man, to show that our own intelligence and forethought had already perceived the use of fire. Myths relate that it was brought down from heaven either because there was so much fire there, or because lightning bolts crash down from there, setting light to things in their fall. Perhaps they were suggesting something like that with the story of the fennel stalk.

32.15 After this, Promētheus was punished by being bound and his liver continually being eaten by an eagle; for our skill, which possesses the advantage mentioned earlier along with other properties, has a certain difficulty with its own disadvantages, being bound to the cares of life, which are painful. It is as if our very skill were being eaten to the guts by concern for trifling matters.

32.21 It was also said that *Epimētheus* was the younger brother of Promētheus, being somehow more simple-minded because foresight takes priority in rank over that learning which is based on passed events, that is, *afterthought*. For in fact 'once a thing is done, the fool sees it'.<sup>24</sup> (//.17.32)

Epimetheus: Επιμηθεύς  
afterthought: έπιμήθεια

33.6 It is said by some people that Promētheus is the inventor of skills, which is nothing other than saying that understanding, i.e. forethought, is needed to discover them.

33.8 Most people, however, attribute technical skills to Athēna and Hēphaistos: to Athēna because she seems to be intelligence and readiness of wit; to Hēphaistos because most crafts accomplish their tasks by means of fire. For the aether, that is the transparent and pure fire, is Zeus.

<sup>23</sup> [It is said that Promētheus used to associate with Zeus, for every office and position of leadership over many men needs a great deal of forethought, especially the office of Zeus].

<sup>24</sup> [This is why they said that it was Epimētheus who lived with the first woman who came into existence, for the female is somehow more foolish, and more inclined to hindsight than foresight].

33.14 But the fire which is in use and mixed with air is *Hēphaistos*, who is named from the word *to have been kindled*. This is why they said that he was born from Zeus and Hēra, although some say from Hēra alone. For his flames, being somehow rather more dense, are only fuelled as it were from the air which is being burned up.

Hēphaistos: Ἡφαίστος  
to have been kindled: ἠφθαι

33.18 Tradition says that he is lame, perhaps because of the slowness of his progress through material, like people who limp, or perhaps because he cannot proceed without something wooden — a walking stick as it were. Others, however, say that he is lame because fire's upward movement is unequal to its downwards movement,<sup>25</sup> the latter being slower. It is said that he was hurled out of heaven to Earth by Zeus, perhaps because the people who were first to start using fire chanced upon its burning from a bolt of lightning. For they could never have hit on the idea of fiery things by mere thought.

34.6 They claimed his wife was Aphroditē, but a similar story says that his wife was one of the Graces. For just as we claim that products of artisans' skills have grace about them, we also say that a kind of beauty is spread over them. But perhaps this is an invention to represent the great fiery element in the impulses to sexual intercourse. It is also told that he bound Arēs when the latter was committing adultery with Hēphaistos' wife,<sup>26</sup> since iron and bronze are subdued by the power of fire. The adultery myth shows that the war-like and violent do not go very well together with the cheerful and gentle, nor is it in accordance with their natural behaviour to be intimate, a noble and beautiful offspring somehow being claimed from their intercourse: the Harmony of the two of them.

34.20 It is said that Hēphaistos acted as midwife for Zeus when he was giving birth to Athēna, and that cutting open Zeus' head, he caused her to leap out. For the fire which the crafts use, having assisted in the process of revealing the nature of man's sharpness of mind, might be said to have brought it to light from having been concealed. For we say that those investigating something not only conceive it and give birth to it, but also suffer birth pains as well.

---

<sup>25</sup> [in speed].

<sup>26</sup> [the story is even in Homer, for it is very ancient].

35.6 Athēna is the intelligence of Zeus, which is the same thing as his providence, which is why there are temples dedicated to Athēna Pronoia. She is said to have been born from the head of Zeus, perhaps because the ancients assumed that the ruling faculty of our soul was located there, just as other men of later times supposed, or perhaps because the highest part of the human body is the head, and the highest part of the universe is the aether, which is where the ruling faculty of the universe is situated together with the substance of its intelligence. As Euripides said: 'The peak of the Gods, the shimmering aether which surrounds the Earth'.<sup>27</sup>

Athēna: Ἀθηνᾶ  
intelligence: σύνεσις  
providence: προνοία

35.19 So, Zeus swallowed *Cunning* and gave birth to Athēna, since because he is *Counsellor* i.e. intelligent, the source of his intelligence came from nowhere else than from his own counsel. The name *Athēna* is difficult to etymologize because it is extremely old. Some say it is derived from *observing* all, as though she were called *Athrena*; others say that although she is female, she has *little share of femininity*, i.e. feebleness.<sup>28</sup> But perhaps, if it is *Athēnaia* as the ancients used to call Athēna, she is the *aether-dweller*. Her virginity is a symbol of her purity and spotlessness.<sup>29</sup>

Cunning: Μῆτις  
Counsellor: μητιέτης

to observe: ἀθρεῖν  
ἀ-priv. ἀ-  
female: θήλυς  
aether: αἰθήρ  
to dwell: ναίειν

36.10 She is represented as wearing full armour, and they say that she was born thus, showing that thought is self-sufficiently prepared for the greatest and most difficult tasks; tasks associated with war are considered to be the greatest. This is the reason they usually attribute a manly spirit and a grim-eyed appearance to her, her gleaming eyes suggesting something like that; indeed the bravest of wild animals, such as leopards and lions, have flashing eyes: they shine in such a way that it is difficult to return their gaze. Some say she is represented thus because the aether is gleaming.

gleaming: γλαυκός

<sup>27</sup> [Athēna has no mother because of the different quality which the birth of excellence has, for it is not like that of things which are born from copulation].

<sup>28</sup> [yet others say that it is derived from excellence *not becoming struck*, that is, not being put down] (ἀ-priv. *to be struck*: θένεσθαι).

<sup>29</sup> [for virtue is something of this kind].

36.20 Quite appropriately she shares the aegis with Zeus, because she is the same thing as the qualities in which Zeus excels and is superior to everything. There is a Gorgon relief on the middle of the goddess' breast, with its tongue sticking out, as if Reason were the most conspicuous thing in the organization of the universe. Snakes and owls are dedicated to her because of the similarity of their gleaming eyes with hers; for the snake has a gaze which is terrible to look at, and is watchful and sleepless, and seems difficult to catch.<sup>30</sup>

37.9 She is called *Atrytōnē*, suggesting she is *not worn out* by any toil; or, the aether is *unwearied*; she is called *Tritogeneia* because she *engenders panic* in wicked men, for she wages war against evil. Others say that the name is to represent the *three divisions* of speculation in philosophical enquiry, which is a more cunning explanation than that offered by ancient accounts.

37.17 They also call her *people-rouser* because she *shakes people* with battles,<sup>31</sup> or rather because she is the *saviour* of the people who employ her. For in fact Prudence ought to be made the guardian of the city, the household, and the whole of life. That is indeed why she is called *Defender of the City* and *Patroness of the City*, just as Zeus has the title *Patron of the City*, for they are both guardians of cities.

38.2 She is called *Pallas* because of the youth attributed to her by the myths, from which *youths* and *concubines* are called. For youth is *skittish*, that is, unruly. Temples are dedicated to her most often in the heights of the city, either because people wanted to express how hard it is to fight against her and defeat her by siege, or she looks down from above on those who flee to her for protection. Or they are representing the loftiness of that part of nature which Athēna is.

38.10 The poets call her *Protectress* and *Driver of spoil*, the former derived from *to ward off*, — for she is *capable* of defending and bringing aid, which is why she is also called *Victory* — the latter either from *leading the people*, or from the fact that she cannot be tamed, like cattle *in herds*, which are most frequently sacrificed to her.

Atrytōnē: Ἄτρυτώνη

worn out: τρουομένη

unwearied: ἀτρυτος

Tritogeneia: Τριτογένεια

to be afraid: τρεῖν

origin: γένεσις

three divisions: τρία γένη

people-rouser: λαοσσόος

people: λαός

to rouse: σεύειν

to save: σώζειν

Pallas: Παλλάς

to be agile, as youth: πάλλειν

youths: πάλληκες

concubines: παλλακαί

skittish: παλλόμενον

Protectress: ἀλαλκομενήϊδα

Driver of spoil: ἀγεληῖδα

to ward off: ἀλαλκεῖν

capable: ἱκανή

victory: νίκη

to lead: ἄγειν

people: λαός

belonging to herd: ἀγελαῖος

<sup>30</sup> ['for a man burdened with counsels ought not to sleep all night long'] (*Il.2.24*).

<sup>31</sup> [as she was called *dispenser of booty* from *booty*] (*dispenser of booty*: ληῖτις, *booty*: λεία).

- 38.16 She is said to have invented the flute, along with other refinements in the arts, which is why she is also patroness of wool-spinning. But she is said to have thrown the pipes away because the soul was softened by the melody produced from them, the melody seeming to be not in the least manly nor warlike.
- 38.20 The olive is a gift from her, because it flourishes and has something of a gleam. In addition, olive oil is not easily adulterated with another liquid, it remains immiscible, and thus seems to have a property in common with virginity.
- 39.3 She was called *martial* because she is well suited for commanding, that is, of controlling wars and fighting for the just. She is intelligence itself in all its aspects, and the sum total of all virtues.<sup>32</sup> Tradition says that Athēna distinguished herself in the battle with the Giants, and because of this she acquired the name *Giant-Killer*.
- 39.15 It is reasonable to suppose that the first men born from the Earth were violent and hot-tempered towards each other, because they were not yet capable of distinguishing or lighting the spark of community spirit which was latent in them. But the Gods, nudging them as it were and suggesting their ideas, prevailed. Especially skill in reason conquered and subjected them, as if it had marched out and destroyed them, just as it did with the Giants. The result was that these people changed their nature, and became different, and their descendants were made fellow-citizens by Athēna, *Guardian of the City*.
- 40.5 Other Gods, Arēs and Enyō, are also concerned with warfare, but unlike Athēna, they aim neither at stability nor at anything rational, being somehow more disordered. Zeus introduced them also into the world, rousing living creatures against one another, and sometimes causing a dispute to be decided by battle. This is not without use even for humans, for Zeus intended that people should welcome nobility and courage among themselves, but yet also welcome the propriety of peace.

---

<sup>32</sup> [She is also called *Horse-Rider*, *Horse-Tamer*, *Spear-Thrower* and many other names. And they raise trophies to her in olive-wood. Most often they give her *Victory* as an attendant, whose name comes from the cause of *yielding to a single one* who is superior. Victory is represented as having wings, because battle lines shift easily, and the scales of victory tip easily] (*victory*: νίκη, *to a single one*: ἐνί, *to yield*: εἶκεν).

40.13 For this reason tradition has Arēs as a son of Zeus.<sup>33</sup> Concerning *Enyō*, some think she is the mother, some the sister, some the nurse of Arēs. It makes no difference. *Enyō* is called thus because she is the one who *implants courage* and strength into those who are fighting, or by euphemism from being least *gentle* or kind.

40.19 *Arēs* acquired his name from *seizing* and *killing*, or from *bane*, which means *harm*. Or, again as an opposite, as if those who supplicate him might appease him; for he destroys and disintegrates those things which have been *fitted together*.<sup>34</sup>

41.6 It is appropriate that he is called *Blood-stained*, *Man's-bane*, *God of the loud war-cry* and *Loud-shouting*, for the cry sent out by warriors in the ranks is the loudest. That is why some people sacrifice asses to him, on account of their difficult behaviour and the loud noise of their braying, but most people sacrifice dogs to him because they are insolent animals and ready to attack. He is said to be especially revered amongst the Thracians and Scythians, and other such peoples amongst whom the practice of warfare is held in high esteem but for whom justice is not a matter of concern. They say that the vulture is his holy bird, because they appear in abundance wherever there are many bodies of men killed in battle.

41.18 Next, my child, Poseidōn must be discussed. I have already said that he is the ordering force concerned with the watery element, and now a further explanation is required.

41.21 First, his is called *phyalios* because the moisture in the earth is clearly partly responsible for the growth of *things which grow* from it; he is called *Land-Shaker*, *Earth-Shaker*, *Land-Mover* and *Shaker of Earth*, because earthquakes occur for no other reason than that the sea and other bodies of water fall into hollows in the Earth.

42.5 For the air (*pneumata*) confined within the Earth and seeking to escape causes the Earth to be agitated and break, and finally causing rumblings at the area of the fracture.<sup>35</sup>

42.11 It thus seemed that bulls were associated with him, and they sacrifice

Enyō: Ἐνυώ

implanting: ἐνιείσα

courage: θυμός

gentle: ἐντῆς

Arēs: Ἄρης

to seize: αἰρεῖν

to kill: ἀν-αἰρεῖν

bane: ἄρη

to fit together: ἄρσαι

phyalios: φυτάλιος

plant: φυτός

<sup>33</sup> [by no other reason than that by which Athēna is *Daughter of a mighty father*].

<sup>34</sup> [thus (his name) comes from *to fit together*]. Perhaps *Harmony* is also derived from that kind of thing, because the myths say that she was a daughter of Arēs.

<sup>35</sup> [Some people call him *Rumbler* with good reason, for the sea produces noises like that, which is why the sea is known as *resounding*, *loud-wailing* and *loud-roaring*].

completely black bulls to him on account of the colour of the sea.<sup>36</sup> And so he has quite reasonably come to be called *Wearer of the deep-blue chiton* and he is depicted as wearing something of that kind. For this reason rivers are sculpted as having horns and bulls' hooves, to indicate that their movement had something powerful and had a rumbling quality. The Scamander, in fact, according to Homer, 'bellowed as when a bull....' (Il.20.403. cf. Il.21.237)

42.21 From another aspect, it is said by some that Poseidon is called *Earth-Holder* and *Foundation-Holder* and in many places they sacrifice to *Poseidon the Securer*, as if he were responsible for the safety of buildings constructed on Earth.<sup>37</sup>

43.2 He carries a trident, either because it is used for catching fish, or because he uses this implement for moving the Earth, as it is said: 'And the shaker of the Earth himself holding in his hands the trident guided them; and poured out all the foundations.'<sup>38</sup> (Il.12.27-28)

43.14 Poseidōn is called *Broad-Chested* because of the breadth of the sea, as it is also said 'on the broad back of the sea' (Hes. Theog. 781).

Because of this, he is called *wide-ruling* and *of far-reaching power*. He is called *Hippios* perhaps because the speed with which we travel across the sea in ships is as great as when we use *horses*. Later, when this had been accepted, he became patron of horses.

horse: ἵππος

44.3 He is also called by some *Leader of the Nymphs* and *Guardian of the Springs* for the reasons mentioned above. For *nymphs* are the springs of fresh water, so called because they always *seem new*, or from their *shimmering*.<sup>39</sup>

nymphs: νύμφαι

new: νέαι

to seem: φαίνεσθαι

to shimmer: φαίνειν

<sup>36</sup> [and because generally they say that water is black].

<sup>37</sup> Garbled 3-word gloss.

<sup>38</sup> [There is a hidden etymology from *Trident* for both *Tritōn* and *Amphitritē*, either with the letter 't' repeated, and they were thus named from their flow, or for some other reason. Triton, who is bi-form, is half man, half sea-monster, because the liquid element mentioned above has both a beneficial and a harmful power.] (*Trident*: τρίαινα; *Tritōn*: Τρίτων; *Amphitritē*: Ἀμφιτρίτη).

<sup>39</sup> [And they call girls getting married *nymphs* because they who were formerly hidden are *visible* for the first time.] (*to appear*: φαίνεσθαι).



Section 2: Translation

44.9 By the same reasoning, it is held that *Pēgastos* is the son of Poseidon, because he too is named from the *springs*. Because of the manifest power associated with the sea, the myths asserted that all the violent creatures and those plotting great atrocities, such as the Cyclōps, the Laistrygonians and the Alōeidai, are all offspring of Poseidōn.<sup>40</sup>

Pēgastos: Πήγασος

spring: πηγή

44.22 The tradition that Aphroditē also has her origin in the sea is plausible, perhaps because both motion and moisture are needed to produce anything, and there is an abundance of both of them in the sea. Those who said that she was the daughter of *Diōnē* guessed at the same kind of thing, for liquid is *wet*. *Aphroditē* is the force which brings male and female together, perhaps so named because the semen of animals is *foamy*, or, as Euripides suggests, because those defeated by her are fools. (E.Tr.p96M.(989))

Diōnē: Διώνη

to moisten: διαίνειν

Aphroditē: Ἀφροδίτη

foamy: αφρώδη

thoughtlessness: ἀφρόνη

45.8 She is represented as being most beautiful, because the pleasure of coitus is most enjoyable, greater than all other pleasures. Because of this, she is also known as *Laughter-Loving*, for smiles and joviality are appropriate for this kind of intercourse. The Graces, Persuasion and Hermēs share her thrones and altars because a loved person is acquired by persuasion, reason and favours, or because of the attraction of intercourse.

45.15 She is called *Kytheria* because of the *conceiving* of offspring from sexual intercourse, or, because the desires for sexual pleasures are *hidden*. Thus the island of *Cythēra* seems sacred to Aphroditē, and perhaps *Cyprus* as well, since its name has a hidden consonance with *hiding*.

Kytheria: Κυθήρεια

conceiving: κήρσις

to be hidden: κεύθεσθαι

Cythēra: Κύθηρα

Cyprus: Κύπρος

hiding: κρύψις

45.20 *Paphos* is her own personal dwelling place, so she is called Paphian, perhaps by ellipsis from *to beguile*, which means *to deceive*. As Hesiod says she has 'smiles and deceits' (*Theog.* 205), and Homer says 'the whispered words that steal the heart away even from the thoughtful' (*Il.* 14.217).

Paphos: Πάφος

to beguile: ἀπαφίσκειν

<sup>40</sup> *Nēreus* is the sea, and has been named thus because people *swim* in it. They also call *Nēreus* *The Old Man of the Sea* because foam adorns the waves like white hair. And *Leukothea*, who is said to be his daughter, also suggests the same kind of thing, obviously the *whiteness* of the foam. (*Nēreus*: Νηρέυς; *to swim*: νείσθαι; *Leukothea*: Λευκοθέα; *whiteness*: λευκόν).

Section 2: Translation

46.2 Her girdle is *pierced with patterns*, meaning it is *superior*, or embroidered, that is, elaborate. It has the power to bind together, that is, to squeeze together. She is called *Heaven-Dweller*, *Belonging to all the people* and *Of the sea* because her power is to be seen in the Heaven, and Earth, and in the sea.<sup>41</sup>

pierced  
with patterns: κροστός  
superior: κεκασμένος

46.9 The dove is her favourite bird, because it is a pure animal, and friendly on account of its kissing-like behaviour. On the other hand, the pig seems to be alien to her because of its uncleanness. But of the plants the myrtle has been assigned to her on account of its sweet smell, and the *Lime tree* on account of its name.<sup>42</sup>

Lime tree: φιλόρα  
to love: φιλεῖν

47.1 It is not at all surprising that with Aphroditē having this nature, Erōs, who most authorities say is her son, is present with and honoured along with Aphroditē. He is just a child, because those in love are immature in their thoughts and can easily be deceived; he has wings because he makes them light-minded, or because like a bird he keeps flitting into their thoughts; he is an archer because those caught by him suffer a kind of wound merely from the sight of the one they love, neither coming near nor touching them, but seeing them from a distance.<sup>43</sup>

47.11 It is plausible that he is called *Erōs* from *to search* for the loved ones, as the verb used in the line:

Erōs: Ἔρως  
to search: ἐρεῖν

'And Iphitos searching for his horses..' (Od.21.22/31)

From there, I think, is where the *hunt* acquired its name. And many Loves are handed down by tradition because of the variety of lovers.<sup>44</sup>

hunt: ἔρευνα

<sup>41</sup> [They claimed that lovers' oaths are invalid and can be violated with impunity. And as long as she can be easily obtained with oaths, the result is that those who attempt, succeed in obtaining her with whatever oaths they employ.]

<sup>42</sup> [which is incidentally derived from *to love*,] and because people are accustomed to using it especially for the weaving of crowns. They set aside *boxwood* to offer up to the goddess, as if they were somehow dedicating it to her *buttocks* (*boxwood*: πύξος, *buttocks*: πυγή).

<sup>43</sup> [a torch is given to him because he seems to burn their souls].

<sup>44</sup> [and because Aphroditē is provided with many such attendants]. He is also called *Yearning*, either from *to be hurled*, that is, to be carried away to the enjoyment of those in their prime, or to indicate by imitation mental disorientation, as though one were *stupefied*. He is called *Passion*, imitating the sound of kisses, which is where *Papa*, the child's word for *father*, comes from, or because lovers *inquire a great deal* about their beloved [, and also about themselves, and *whence* they are coming, that is, where they were] (*Yearning*: Ἰμερος, *to be hurled*: ἔεσθαι, *to be stupefied*: μεμωρώσθαι, *Passion*: Πόθος, *Papa*: πάππας, *much*: πολλά *to inquire*: πυθάνεσθαι, *whence*: πόθεν).

48.5 Some people even think that the whole cosmos is Love, because it is beautiful and charming; it is at the same time both young and the oldest of all, and supplied with a large amount of fire, and moving quickly with speed as if shot from a bow or propelled by wings.

48.9 Or expressed another way, *Atlas* is the whole cosmos, supporting the heavens *tirelessly*, producing those things which come into being in accordance with the rational principles encompassed by him. Thus lifting up the heaven, he holds the Tall Pillars, the forces of the elements by which some things tend to move upwards, and others downwards. Heaven and Earth are held apart by these forces. It is said that he is called *he who thinks of everything* because he *thinks about the whole* of the cosmos, that is, he gives forethought to the welfare of all its parts.

Atlas: Ἄτλας  
tirelessly: ἀταλαιπώρως

he who thinks of everything: ὀλοόφρονος  
the whole: ὅλος  
to think about: φροντίζειν

48.17 It is also said that the Pleiades being portrayed as his daughters represents the fact that all the stars, of which there are a great number, were produced by him, for Atlas is the same as *Astraios* and *Thaumas*; neither does he *stay still*, being in a general state of movement, although because his movement is so graceful and he seems to be utterly unshakeable, he is the cause of *great wonder* to those who stop and contemplate his extreme orderliness.

Pleiades: Πλειάδες  
many: πλείονα  
Astraios: Ἄστραϊός  
never standing still: ἄστατος  
Thaumas: Θαύμας  
great wonder: θαύμα

49.4 It is also said that *Pan* is the universe because he is equal to *everything*. His lower part is shaggy and goat-like because he has the roughness of Earth, his upper half is like a man because the directing faculty of the cosmos, the rational principle, is in the aether. He is represented as lecherous because he has a vast number both of seminal principles and those things which come from them by commixture.

Pan: Πάν  
everything: πᾶν

49.11 He is said to spend most of his time in remote areas, and is thus depicted as a solitary creature, for the cosmos is single and unique. He is said to chase nymphs, because he takes delight in the moist exhalations without which the world cannot hold itself together. His skittishness and playfulness reveals the eternal motion of the cosmos. He is clad in a fawn-skin or a leopard-skin because of the dappled appearance of the stars and of the other colours which are seen in him.

50.1 He plays the pipes perhaps because the world is blown through by all kinds of winds, or perhaps because it has a melodious harmony which seems wild and harsh, and unsuitable for a public performance.

50.4 Because he spends his time in the mountains and the caves, the pine wreath was associated with him because pine trees usually grow in the mountains and are magnificent. Further, *panic* is the name given to sudden and inexplicable disturbances; thus flocks of sheep or goats are scared when they hear a sudden noise coming from the forest or underground caverns or ravine-like places. Also, quite reasonably they made him patron of the young animals in flocks, and perhaps because of this, sculptors give him horns and cloven feet, or perhaps they are suggesting this by giving him two protruding ears.

of Pan: Πανικόν

panic: πανικόν

50.15 It may well be that *Priapus* is the same entity, that by which all things *enter into light*, and when the ancients described what they thought about the physical nature of the world, they did so in religious terms in this obscenely exaggerated manner. Anyway, the size of his genitalia suggests the abundance of the productive force present in the God; the abundance of fruit in his lap suggests the abundance of fruits which are grown and displayed within his bosom in the appropriate seasons.

Priapus: Πρίαπος

it enters: πρόεισιν

into light: εις φῶς

50.22 He is also portrayed as being guardian of gardens and vineyards, because the care of the produce depends on who has produced it.<sup>45</sup> The grapes represent his abundance and purity, but especially gardens represent what is present in variety, pleasurable, and bring things to life easily, and generally he has colourful clothing of this kind.

51.6 He holds out a sickle in his right hand, either because he uses it for pruning the vines, or because it has something to do with being a guardian and he is armed for his own safety, or it may indicate that the same force which first brings things into existence then cuts them off and destroys them.

51.11 Moreover, the Good Daimōn (Agathos Daimōn) is either yet again the Cosmos, itself laden with fruits, or he is the Reason which governs the Cosmos, to the extent that it divides up, that is, distributes what happens: he is the Good Distributer. He is defender and preserver of household goods because the universe preserves its own home well, and offers itself as an example to others as well.

Daimon: Δαίμων

to distribute: δαίειν

<sup>45</sup> [and hence Zeus is called *saviour*] (*to care*: σώζειν; *saviour*: σωτήρ).

51.17 It is appropriate for him to carry *Amaltheia's* horn, in which all things which grow in their appropriate seasons *flourish* together *simultaneously*. But they do not come into being for him with a single purpose, but for many different reasons in a great variety. Or the horn has this name because periodically, it *destroys* and restores everything again, or, because of the impulse to toil which arises from it, suggesting that good things do not come to those who are *weak*.

Amaltheia: Ἀμαλθεία  
 simultaneously: ἅμα  
 to flourish: ἀλλήσκειν  
 to destroy: ἀμαλδύνειν  
 weak: μαλακός

52.4 Next, my child, something must be said about *Dēmētēr* and *Hestia*, both of whom seem to be none other than Earth. The ancients named the latter *Hestia* because she *stands* eternally.<sup>46</sup>

Hestia: Ἑστία  
 to stand: ἐστάναι  
 Dēmētēr: Δημήτηρ  
 Earth: Γῆ  
 mother: μήτηρ

52.9 *Dēmētēr* was so named from the production and rearing of everything in a motherly fashion, as if the *Earth* were a *mother*.<sup>47</sup>

52.14 *Hestia* is represented as a virgin because absence of movement can produce nothing, and also for this reason she is attended by virgins. But *Dēmētēr* is however no longer a virgin, having given birth to *Korē*, who is as it were *Satiety*, *Koros*.<sup>48</sup>

Korē: Κόρη  
 Satiety: Κόρος

53.1 The eternal fire is associated with *Hestia* because she always seems to be the same. Or perhaps because all fires in the world are nourished by her and they all exist because of her, or because she is *life-giving*, that is, the mother of all living creatures: the fiery element is the cause of their existence.

53.5 She is depicted as being circular, and she is set up in the middle of houses because the Earth has the same shape. It too has also been set up at the centre, and has been compressed, from which the Earth is also called *chthōn*, a word whose letters imitate the sound of compression. [Perhaps *chthōn* comes from *to be poured* or because it *contains* everything, the verb used in:

chthōn: χθών  
 to be poured: χεῖσθαι  
 to contain: χωρεῖν

‘This doorway will accommodate both of us’] (*Od.*18.17).

<sup>46</sup> [Or, because she was *placed at the innermost* part by Nature, or because the whole cosmos stands on her as if upon a foundation.] (*at the innermost*: ἐσωτάτω, *to have been placed*: τεθεισθαι).

<sup>47</sup> Or, *Dēō* mother because both she and all that is produced in abundance on her is *distributed* and *feasted* on by people. [Or, because it is upon her that people *find* what they are seeking.] (*Deo*: Δηῶ *I distribute & I feast*: δάομαι, [Ionic] δήομαι *to find*: δῆειν).

<sup>48</sup> [the material for being nourished until satisfied].

53.12 It is related that she is both the first and the last, because things which come into existence because of her and are composed out of her are also dissolved back into her. This is why at sacrifices, the Greeks have from the very beginning started with her and ended with her. White garlands are put around her because she is crowned with, and hidden on all sides by, the whitest element.

53.18 Dēmētēr, however, characterized quite appropriately as the cause of the germination of seeds, is portrayed as being crowned with ears of grain. For this is the most essential benefit bestowed on man: our food. It is said that Triptolemus of Eleusis sowed it throughout the inhabited world after Dēmētēr had raised him up onto a chariot of winged serpents.<sup>49</sup>

54.12 According to the myth, Haidēs carried off the daughter of Dēmētēr, and because of this, for some time seeds disappear under the ground. The dejection of Dēmētēr and her search throughout the whole world were later fabrications. Among the Egyptians, the search for and discovery of Osiris by Isis indicates the same kind of thing.

54.15 And in addition, among the Phoenicians, *Adōnis* is above the ground, then below ground, for six month periods, his name coming from the fact that Dēmētēr's produce *pleases* people. It is said that a wild boar attacked and killed him because pigs seem to be destroyers of crops, or else the tooth of a plough is being suggested, with which seeds are hidden underground.<sup>50</sup>

Adonis: Ἄδωνις  
to please: ἀδεῖν

55.7 When sowing seeds, they were using what they themselves needed, thus it is in the sowing season that they celebrate her feast.

55.13 But in the spring they sacrifice to Green Dēmētēr with games and

<sup>49</sup> It is probable that some ancient man was the first *to see clearly*, that is, to understand, the handling of barley, with some god raising him to a higher level of inventiveness[: how it is ground and separated [by throwing it up in the air] from the chaff]. [Therefore, vetch is also suitable for sowing.] So that is how *Triptolemus* got his name: *he who grinds the barley oats* for barley seeds are called barley oats. Eleusis is the place where they were first discovered. [Dēmētēr is also called the *Eleusinian* because the *arrival* of a truly human way of life first took place there] (*to see clearly*: δρακεῖν *Triptolemus*: Τριπτόλεμος *he who grinds*: τρίψας, *the barley oats*: τὰς οὐλάς, *Eleusinian*: Ἐλευσινία, *arrival*: ἔλευσις).

<sup>50</sup> It is also said that Adōnis is allocated the same amount of time to stay with Aphroditē and with Persephonē for the reason mentioned above. They called the daughter of Dēmētēr *Persephonē* because she is the embodiment of toil, that is, work is able to *bear toils*, or endurance is produced by toils. (*Persephonē*: Περσεφόνη, *to bear*: φέρειν, *toil*: πόνος). People fast in honour of Dēmētēr, rewarding her in some kind of unique manner with the offering of first fruits by abstaining for a single day from the things which she has given them, or reverently suggesting the want of the Goddess.

celebrations, because they have seen everything become green and showing the expectation of plenty for them. That is why Wealth (Ploutos) seemed to be a son of Dēmētēr, for it is well said:

‘Wealth of grain and barley is best, you fool’

In addition, abundance is roughly opposite to famine, and this is what Hesiod had in mind when he said

‘Work, Perseus, of illustrious lineage, so that Hunger may hate you, and Dēmētēr of the lovely hair may love you’ (WD 300-301).

56.6 Pregnant sows are sacrificed to Dēmētēr, and appropriately so, representing fecundity, ease of conception and productivity. The poppy is also dedicated to her, with reason. For their circular and domed shape represents the shape of the Earth, which is spherical; their irregularities represent the recesses and protrusions of the mountains; their insides resemble caverns and underground passages; they produce countless seeds, just like the Earth.

56.13 Because of the abundance of cereals, man ceased to have a difficult and unreliable source of food, with the result that when they started to make agreements with one another concerning the areas under plough and the fair distribution of the produce, they said that Dēmētēr was the originator of laws and rules.

53.19 This is why they called her *Thesmothetis*, as if she were *Nomothetis*, (*law-giver*), although some have wrongly assumed that the *thesmo-* in the name meant *fruit* because she *sets it aside*, that is, stores it up.<sup>51</sup>

57.6 For the same reason it is said that Zeus begat the *Seasons* from *Themis*, for it is the *Seasons* which *watch over*, that is, protect all good things for us. They are called: *Eunomia*, from the *orderly distribution* of what comes to us; *Dikē*, because she *separates* those who disagree with one another; *Eirēnē* (Peace), because she settles arguments by reason, not by force, [for *Reason* used to be called *Peace*].<sup>52</sup>

thesmothetis:	θεσμοθέτις
law:	θεσμός
law:	νόμος
to set aside:	ἀποτίθεσθαι
custom, law:	θέμις
Seasons:	Ἔωραι
to watch over:	ἄρτυειν
Eunomia:	Εὐνομία
orderly:	εὖ
distribution:	νομή
Dikē:	Δίκη
in two:	δίχα
Peace:	Εἰρήνη

<sup>51</sup> [They began to celebrate the Mysteries to her whilst philosophizing, rejoicing both in the discovery of things necessary for a means of living, and in the great national festival, using it to signify that they had stopped fighting each other over necessities and were *sated* which means *glutted*. It is probable that the *Mysteries* are thus called from this word, and why Dēmētēr is called Mysian by some people. Or, because things which have something hard to understand about them are in need of *searching*] (*Mysteries*: μυστήρια, *sated*: μυσιδ, *searching*: μῶσις).

<sup>52</sup> [*War* has its name from *destroying many*, or from the eagerness to prevail over an enemy by means of *violent hands*] (*War*: πόλεμος, *to destroy many*: πολλοὺς ἄλλύναι, *violent hands*: παλάμαι).

57.16 Quite appropriately, Dionysus also seemed in some respect to be Eirēnē, being the guardian of cultivated trees and a benevolent god.<sup>53</sup> For the land is laid waste of its trees by wars, but in times of peace, everything needed to feast flourishes, of which the most important is wine.

57.21 *Dionysus* happens to be either<sup>54</sup> *having wept* as though it were spelled *Dianysos* because we *weep* with pleasure, or, as though he were called *Dialysos*, which is the reason why they called him *Lysion* and *Lyaios*.<sup>55</sup> But others says that the name came into use because *Zeus* first revealed the vine in the vicinity of Mt. *Nysa*.

58.6 It is said that he was born through the agency of fire,<sup>56</sup> having been stitched into the thigh of Zeus until he reached term there.<sup>57</sup> For his first birth is that which happens at the ripening of late summer, which occurs when the summer heat is at its most fierce.

58.16 The second birth is that which takes place at the treading of the grapes, when he is squeezed out by feet, and one must understand something like that in the phrase ‘out of the thigh’.

59.2 He is called *Bromios*, *Bacchos*, *Iacchos*, *Euios*, *Babaktēs* and *Iobacchos* because of the noises made first by those who tread him and afterwards by those who use him until they are drunk. Symbols of the playfulness in drinking and the subsequent ecstasy are the following: the *Satyrs*, whose name comes from *to grin*; the *Skirtoi*, from *to dance*; the *Silēnoi*, from *to jeer*; and the *Seuidai*, from *to hasten*. Perhaps this is a way of presenting the manner in which people who have been drinking stagger as if from weakness or effeminacy. And because of this, Dionysus is represented as having a woman-like shape, but also with horns, indicating that drunken people discard usual manners, becoming violent, being difficult to control and impulsive.

to weep: διαίνειν  
 releaser: διάλυσος  
 to release: λύνειν  
 Zeus: Δία  
 Nysa: Νύσα

Satyrs: Σάτυροι  
 to grin: σεσηπέναι  
 Skirtoi: Σκιρτοί  
 to dance: σκαίρειν  
 Silēnoi: Σιληνοί  
 to jeer: σιλαίνειν  
 Seuidai: Σευΐδαι  
 to hasten: σεύειν

<sup>53</sup> [and because of this they pour libations].

<sup>54</sup> [he who pricks Zeus or] (διόνυξος - Zeus: Δία, to prick: νόσσειν).

<sup>55</sup> [for he looses cares].

<sup>56</sup> [The myth represents his heat and fiery element of both bodies and souls, because in fact according to the poets wine has ‘a spirit as strong as fire’].

<sup>57</sup> [because wine matures and comes to perfection, for although not yet wine it is still noble in storage, even though not yet mature enough after harvesting for use].



- 59.15 The flowery splendour of his clothing represents the colourful nature of the harvest, and his nakedness displayed by most statues represents the discarding of normal behaviour which happens at drinking parties. This is what the adage *wine and truth* (Alcaeus fr. 366) seems to mean, and perhaps why Dionysus has oracles here and there. The beating of tambourines and drums which invites people to their secret rites also seemed to have something in common with the rowdiness of drunkards. Many people also play the pipes and other instruments of that kind during the harvesting of fruit.
- 60.1 The thyrsos suggests that their own feet are not strong enough to support those who drink a lot of wine, but they need things to prop them up. Some thyrsos have lance-points hidden in their foliage, as if something painful lay in the joviality of a bout of drinking, with some people acting outrageously and even falling into a *frenzy*. This is why Dionysus is called *frenzied*, and the women who are his companions are called *Mainades*.
- 60.9 He is represented in art both as a young and an old man, because he is suitable at any age, and whereas young men drink heavily, older men use him more moderately.
- 60.12 The Satyrs are presented as cavorting with Nymphs, some seducing them, some using force playfully, because the mixing of wine and water was seen to be a good thing.
- 60.16 They make leopards subject to Dionysus, and they represent them as following him, either because of the variegated colour of their skin — Dionysus himself and the Bacchae wear fawn skins — or because a mild state of intoxication with wine tames the wildest natures.
- 60.20 They sacrifice male goats to Dionysus because this animal seems to be the destructive force of vines and figs, and for this reason, youths in villages around Attica skin the goat and dance around on the skin. Perhaps Dionysus would be pleased at such sacrifices because the he-goat is lecherous, and for the same reason the ass often appears in his processions, and phalloi are offered to him and phallic processions are made in his honour. For wine stimulates towards intercourse, and for this reason some people sacrifice to Dionysus and Aphroditē together.

frenzy: μαινάς

frenzied: μαινόλης

Mainades: Μαινάδες

61.4 The cane suggests through the crookedness of its shafts the manner in which drunks stagger about in all directions.<sup>58</sup> Others say, however, that it represents the inarticulate nature of their speech.<sup>59</sup>

61.22 The magpie is considered sacred to him, because it is a chattering bird, and they call him *the one dressed in fox-skins from to talk*, and *Eiraphiōtēs* from *to vent one's anger*. He is garlanded with ivy because of its similarity to the grape vine and because its fruit resembles bunches of grapes.<sup>60</sup>

dressed in fox-skins: βασσαρεύς

to talk: βάζειν

Eiraphiōtēs: ειραφιώτης

to vent anger: ξριν ἀφιέναι

62.7 Theatrical performances do honour to Dionysus, because of their suitability for celebrations such as song and the playing of the cithara 'for these things come as offerings of the feast' (*Od.*1.152).

62.10 The myths say that he was torn apart by the Titans and put together again by Rhea. Those who handed down this myth were suggesting that farmers, being creatures of the Earth, crushed the bunches of grapes together and separated out from one another those parts of Dionysus which were in them. But the conflux of the grape-syrup gathered them together in the same place again and produced one body from them.

62.16 The myth told by Homer also expresses the same idea: Dionysus, fleeing from Lycurgus' plot, submerged himself under the sea and was rescued by Thetis. For grape vines are the nurses of Dionysus, and Lycurgus, being the gatherer of grapes, plundered them, that is, stripped off their grapes. Then, the wine was mixed with sea-water and was safely stored away. So much for Dionysus.

<sup>58</sup> [and because they are light and easy to carry as well].

<sup>59</sup> [as if having joints]. The Bacchai frequent the mountains and like remote places, because wine is made in the countryside and not in towns. Dionysus was called *Dithyrambos* either because he reveals the *double door* of the mouth, which means he causes people to reveal things that ought not be said, or because youths go up to the *doors* or *entering* them, which means falling against them and shaking loose the door bars. He seemed to be destructive of absolutely everything, and be a warrior, and to be the first to introduce the triumphal procession in military victories. The *thriambos* acquired its name from *to cry aloud* which means *to talk in iambic verse*, which is why many people use anapaestic jeering in triumphal processions. (*Dithyrambos*: διθύραμβος, *double door*: δίθυρον, *through doors*: διὰ θύρας, *thriambos*: θρίαμβος, *to cry aloud*: θροεῖν).

<sup>60</sup> [It is also in the nature of ivy to cause trees to fall over, crawling up through them and entwining itself aggressively around their lower trunks].

Herakles: Ἡρακλῆς

hero: ἦρωσ

to be celebrated: κλεῖζεσθαι

62.23 *Hēraklēs* is the universal reason (λόγος) in its capacity of making Nature powerful and strong,<sup>61</sup> being the distributor of strength and vigour to individual members. Perhaps the name comes from *extending into heroes*, meaning that he *causes noble people to be celebrated*. For the ancients used to call *heroes* those who were strong in both body and spirit, and because of this seemed to have something in common with the divine race.

63.7 One does not have to be confused by more recent stories. The son of Alkmēnē and Amphitryōn was considered to be worthy of the same name as the god because of his excellence, with the result that it has become difficult to distinguish between the characteristics of the god and those related about the hero.

63.12 Perhaps the lion's skin and the club have been transferred from ancient theology to the hero.<sup>62</sup> Each of these would be a symbol of strength and nobility of birth, for the lion is the most stalwart of beasts, and the club the most powerful of weapons.

63.21 And the god would be represented as an archer because he reaches everywhere and because he and his supply of missiles have something of a tension about them.<sup>63</sup>

64.8 Further, I suspect that his service to Omphalē is quite probably fitting for him, and the ancients were suggesting again through this story that it is necessary even for the strongest men to submit themselves to reason and to do those things prescribed by it, even if there happens to be a more female element in inquiry and rational investigation involved in its oracular voice. And it would not seem unreasonable that it is called Omphalē. It is possible to assign the twelve labours not unreasonably to the god, as Cleanthes did, but it does not however seem necessary for this inventor of ingenious arguments always to be the best.

Omphalē: Ὀμφάλη

divine voice: ὀμφή

<sup>61</sup> [and indomitable].

<sup>62</sup> [For it does not seem possible that he, having become a good general, and having come across many parts of the world with his forces, would have been able to traverse it without weapons, armed only with a club. Rather, it seems that the hero was decorated with the tokens of a god after he had been made immortal for the sake of the deeds he had performed].

<sup>63</sup> [Nor would it be unreasonable for a general to enter the battle trusting such weapons]. The Coans have quite appropriately handed it down that he lives with Hēbē, indicating that intelligence is mature. As the saying goes: 'The hands of youths are more vigorous in doing things, but the minds of the elders are far superior' (E.*Belloph.* fr.291.).

65.1 Next, my child, come Apollō, who is the Sun, and Artemis, who is the Moon. And the reason that both of them are represented as archers is the suggestion that both send far-reaching rays.

The sun is called *Hekatos*, and the moon is called *Hekatē*, because they release and send forth light to Earth from *afar*, so that for the same reason they have both been given the epithet *far-shooter*.

Hekatos: ἑκατος

Hekatē: ἑκάτη

afar: ἕκαθεν

far-shooter: ἑκατηβόλος

65.8 But some people give a different etymology for Hekatos and Hekatē: those giving them these names pray that they are *far away* and that the harm which comes from them may not draw near them. For there are times when they seem to corrupt the air and cause states of pestilence. Thus the ancients attributed sudden deaths to them, and Homer portrays Achilles as saying during the plague as something self-evident that a seer must be consulted 'so he might say what made Phoibos Apollō so angry' (Il.1.64.). For this reason, it is thought that *Artemis* has her name by euphemism, from making people *safe*, which means *healthy*.

far away: ἕκας

65.20 Apollō, however, has received his name because it is thought that he *delivers* us from diseases, or because he *drives them from* us.<sup>64</sup> But in a similar manner some people say that he is called Apollō from *to destroy*, for they claim that he is the one that destroys the universal order by constantly evaporating the moist element everywhere and assigning it to the aether. Perhaps he is called thus because he *simplifies*, which means *dissolves* the composition of matter, or *simplifies* as it were the darkness.

Artemis: Ἄρτεμις

safe: ἀρτεμεῖς

Apollō: Ἀπόλλων

to release: ἀπολύειν

to drive away: ἀπελάυνειν

to destroy: ἀπολλύειν

to simplify: ἀπλοῦν

66.9 They are appropriately represented as brother and sister because they are similar to each other and have the same kind of motion. In addition, they have a roughly equal power in the universe, and nourish things on the Earth in a similar manner.

66.12 Next, Apollō was depicted as male because his fire is warmer and more active, whereas Artemis was represented as female because her power is dimmer and weak. Apollō is in the full vigour of youth, the time of life in which men appear to be most handsome, for the sun is most beautiful and youthful to see.

<sup>64</sup> [or *destroys* them]. From the same idea he was called *healer* and was thought to be a doctor.

Section 2: Translation

66.18 Next, he is called *Phoebus* because he is pure and *bright*.<sup>65</sup> They called him *Dēlian* and *Light-bringing* on account of things being revealed by him, and the cosmos being illuminated through him, just as they founded a temple of Apollō Anaphaios, the one who *brings everything to light*. This was consistent with Dēlos and Anaphē being considered his sacred places.

Phoebus: Φοῖβος  
 bright: φοῖβος  
 Dēlos: Δῆλος  
 visible: δῆλος  
 Anaphaios: Ἀναφαῖος  
 to bring to light: ἀναφαίνειν  
 Anaphē: Ἀνάφη

67.7 And because, as just explained, he illuminates things, oracular knowledge was also attributed to him, and when the oracle in Delphi was discovered, they called Apollō *Pythian* because men went there *to learn* things concerning their own affairs. The place was called the *navel of the Earth* not because it was the very centre of it, but because of the utterance, namely the *divine voice*, which was heard there. Because the oracles given there are *oblique*, that is, *crooked*, he was called *Loxias*[, or from the *obliqueness* of the path which he makes through the circle of the zodiac].

Pythian: Πύθιος  
 to learn: πυνθάνεσθαι  
 navel: ὀμφαλός  
 divine voice: ὀμφή

67.17 He has been depicted as a musician and a Cithara player because he plucks every part of the universe harmoniously and causes every part to be in tune with all the other parts, there being no disharmony to be observed among things which exist. Rather, he preserves the symmetry of the seasons in relation to one another exactly, as if in rhythm, and causes the voices of animals, and similarly the sounds of other bodies, which are produced in the open air on account of being usefully dried, making them marvellously suitable for hearing. This was the source of his being called *Leader of the Muses* and their overseer, and he himself was thought to play with the Muses:

oblique: λοξός  
 Loxias: λοξίας  
 obliqueness: λοξότης

'For it is because of the Muses and Far-Shooting Apollō that men are singers and kings upon Earth' (cf. Hes. *Theog.* 94f)  
 says Hesiod.

<sup>65</sup> [other epithets are used for him: he is called *golden-haired* and *unshorn youth* because he is golden-faced and stands apart from grief on account of his purity].

- 68.8 Also, for this reason the swan was considered to be his holy bird, being both the most musical and the whitest of birds, whereas the crow is alien to him because it is polluted, and also because of its colour. His wreath is the *laurel*, even though it is to some extent *tawny*, because it is a flourishing and evergreen plant. It happens to be easily combustible and has a property appropriate for purifications, so that it is not inappropriate to be offered to the purest and most consuming god. Perhaps the name of the laurel, sounding much like *to be conspicuous*, caused it to seem suitable for oracular activities.
- 69.1 The tripod was given to Apollō because of the completeness of the number three. It can also be from the three parallel circles, one of which the sun crosses in its annual orbit, two of which it touches.<sup>66</sup>
- 69.9 He was appropriately called *Aguieus*, having been set up in the *streets*, for he illuminates them and fills them with light when he rises. The opposite is described in
- 'The sun set and all the streets were dark' (*Od.2.388*)
- They called him *Guardian of the meetings in the lounging-places* because during the day, men stay together in *places of conversation* for discussion, but during the night they rest at home.
- 69.17 They called him *Paeon*, either by euphemism and attempting to obtain propitiation so that he does not send diseases nor corrupt the air breathed in by them, or to indicate that in fact he really is responsible for bodily health through the good temperament of the environment.
- 70.2 Again, it follows that they said that *Asclēpius* was his son, he who seems to have taught medicine to men, for it was necessary to introduce something divine to this field as well. He was called *Asclēpius* from *healing gently* and from the *stiffness* which occurs after death.
- 70.7 This is why they present a snake as belonging to him, suggesting that those who heal experience something like this with regard to a sort of rejuvenation from their diseases and the shedding of *old age*, and also because the snake is a symbol of paying attention, which is much needed in healing. His staff also seems to be a symbol of some such thing.<sup>67</sup>

laurel: δάφνη

tawny: δαφοινή

to be conspicuous: διαφαίνεται

Aguieus: άγυιεύς

street: άγυια

meetings in the  
lounging-places: λεσχηνόριος

places of  
conversation: λέσχαι

healer: παιάν

Asclēpius: Άσκληπιός

to heal: ίάσθαι

gently: ήπιώς

stiffness: άπόσκλησις

skin of snake: γήρας

old age: γήρας

<sup>66</sup> During a plague the young seem to fall ill first and remain sick longer, or waste away by themselves [in a pestilent manner]. Because of this they attributed the care of flocks to him, calling him *Pasturer*, *Wolf-like* and *Wolf-killer*.

<sup>67</sup> For presented through it is the idea that if we were not supported by these notions, in as much as we are continually falling into sickness, we would succumb even more quickly, being deprived of what we need. It is said that *Chirōn* reared *Asclēpius*, that is, trained him in the study of medicine,

- 70.17 Tradition has it that Asclēpius had a wife, *Ēpionē*, her name not being given idly, for it demonstrates the possibility of appeasing disturbances with the *gentle* use of drugs.
- 71.5 Artemis was called *light-bearing* because she also emits beams and to some extent enlightens the environment. But especially when there is a full moon she is also called *Dictynna* because she *hurls* rays. Or, because her power penetrates into all things on Earth, she is called *Dictynna* as though she were the *flyer-through*.
- 71.11 They depicted her as *huntress with dogs, beast-killer, deer-killer* and *mountain wanderer* either because they wanted to divert the harm coming from her to wild animals, or because she shines particularly brightly at night and there is extreme peace during the night, just as there is in the woods and deserted places. The result is that she seems to roam in such places, and besides this she was depicted as hunting with dogs because she was an archer.
- 71.19 This is probably why dogs were thought to be sacred to her because they are suitable for hunting and because they stay awake at night and howl.<sup>68</sup>
- 72.7 Hekatē, who is none other than the Moon, has been represented as tri-form because the moon displays three principal shapes, starting as crescent-shaped, then becoming full, then taking on another third shape.<sup>69</sup> At this time, although her crescent shape has been completed, her orbit has yet to finish. From that she was called *trioditis* and was considered to be guardian of the *crossroads* on account of her threefold transformation as she journeys through the constellations.
- 72.15 And although the sun only shines during the day, the moon was seen both during the day and during the night and dark, and moreover seen changing. So they called her *nightly, night-wandering* and also *chthonic*, and they began to honour her together with the chthonic gods, bringing meals to her.

Ēpionē: Ἐπιόνη

gentle: ἡπίος

hunting-net: δίκτυον

to throw: δίκειν

flyer-through: δεικτόννης

woodland: ὄλη

to howl: ὕλαν

three: τρία

trioditis: τριοδίτις

meeting of 3 roads: τρίδος

because they wanted to suggest that the skill depended on the *hands* for its success. (*Chiron*: Χείρων, *of hands*: χερῶν).

<sup>68</sup> Also, there is a similarity to hunting because the moon is never stationary but sometimes pursuing the sun, sometimes fleeing from the sun, chasing the animals in the zodiac and quickly overtaking them: for speed is also appropriate to the hunt. [They said that the moon being the nearest of the heavenly bodies to earth spends her time around the peaks of the mountains.]

<sup>69</sup> [they imagine].

72.19 An additional invention was that she defiled the earth just as the dead do, and that she works with sorceresses and plots against houses, then finally that she enjoys mourning and murder. This has led some people to want to propitiate her by unreasonable sacrifices, even by human sacrifice. They declared the *red mullet* sacred to her because of its name. She is called *Wayside* for no other reason than that for which Apollō is called *Roadside*.

red mullet: τρίγλα

Wayside: ένοδία

73.7 Most people think that Eileithyia is also the Moon, so called because she *revolves and moves* constantly around the earth. Women in labour call her *gentle* and *girdle-looser*, praying to her to come to them to loosen the stricture of the womb so that the baby can come out easily and with less pain. She is also called Eleuthō.

Eileithyia: Είλειθυια

revolving: ειλουμένη

moving: θεουσα

73.12 Many Eileithyiai have been handed down by tradition for the same reason that there are many Erōtes: women's childbirths are as variable as are the desires of lovers. The moon manifestly brings to term those things which have been conceived, and it is she who causes their growth and releases them from the women who carry them until they have come to maturity.<sup>70</sup>

74.5 And finally, the air which receives our souls, called *Haidēs*, as I said, because it is *unseen*. And, because things which are under the earth are not seen by us, they proclaimed that those departing this life go to that place. It is said that Haidēs is called *Renowned* because he is the source of *hearing*. For sound is air which has been struck.<sup>71</sup> He has been given the epithets *all-receiving*, *very hospitable* and *wide-ruling* because he both receives many and rules over those who are called *the majority* or *the many*. Homer called him the *gate-closer* indicating that he has the gates shut tightly and releases nobody.

Haidēs: "Αιδης

to see: ριδειν

Renowned: Κλύμενος

to hear: κλύειν

74.18 *Charōn* received his name as a euphemism from *joy*, but it is possible that its true origin is from *to give way*, *go*.<sup>72</sup>

Charōn: Χάρων

joy: χαρά

to give way: χωρεῖν

<sup>70</sup> It is not surprising if on the one hand they guessed at another interpretation, that Artemis was a virgin, being immaculate and pure like the sun, but on the other hand to mean the helper of women giving birth, the safe delivery of babies depending on her. A third interpretation however is something horrible and cruel, just like an interpretation we made of Hekatē.

<sup>71</sup> They called him *prudent* and *the prudent one* out of desperation, suggesting that he has good intentions for mankind because at some time he puts an end to their toils and cares.

<sup>72</sup> [or from *to contain*] [or from *to be open*]. (*to contain*: χανδάνειν, *to be open*: κεχηγνέναι).



Section 2: Translation

74.21 *Acherōn* was introduced from the *sorrows* which befall the Dead.<sup>73</sup> It is clear where both *Kōkytos* and *Pyriphlegethōn* got their names: in ancient times the Greeks used to burn their Dead, raising a *lament*.<sup>74</sup>

Acherōn: Ἀχέρων  
 sorrows: ἄχη  
 Kōkytos = lament: Κωκυτός  
 fire: πῦρ  
 to burn: φλέγειν  
 birdless: ἄορνος  
 air: ἀήρ

75.3 The *birdless lake* was perhaps more philosophically named from *air*, for in fact the ancients used to call *darkness* and *mist* air, unless indeed they were making use of the greyness of air just as that of the so-called sword-plant with which they garland Pluto.

75.8 But they also garland him with *maidenhair fern* as a reminder that the Dead dry out and no longer retain the moist element. They lack the moisture which is necessary for respiration and growth.<sup>75</sup>

maidenhair fern: ἀδιαντός  
 moisture: διερόν

75.15 The *narcissus* also seemed appropriate for the Dead, and they said that the Furies were garlanded with it, observing the parallel between the *numbness* and the *stiffening*, as it were, of dead bodies.

narcissus: νάρκισσος  
 numbness: νάρκη  
 to stiffen: διαναρκᾶν

SECTION E: Conclusion

75.19 And thus, my child, may you now be able also to relate to these demonstrated principles other things handed down to us by myth and appearing to concern the gods, in the conviction that the ancients were no ordinary men, but well capable of understanding the nature of the universe, and philosophized about it through symbols and riddles, as they tended to do.

76.6 Although these things have been said at greater length and in greater detail by older philosophers, I wanted to hand them on to you now in this summarized manner. For a ready knowledge of these things is useful, even in this form.

76.9 But concerning these things and the service paid to the gods, and those things which are appropriately done to honour them, you will accept both the tradition of the fathers and the full explanation. Thus young men may be introduced to reverence only, and not superstition, and taught to sacrifice and pray, to worship and to take oaths in the appropriate manner, and behave with appropriate moderation in whatever situation may arise.

<sup>73</sup> [and the Acherusian lake].

<sup>74</sup> [and for this reason they also called them *demons* from being *burned up*] (*demons*: δαίμονες, *to burn*: δαίειν).

<sup>75</sup> [It must be assumed that in myth, *corpses* got their name in the same manner: they are in Haidēs because the Dead do not have a share in *moisture*.] (*corpses*: ἀλίβαντες, *moisture*: λιβάς).

## Section 3. Commentary

- x.y Lang page and line.
- [ ... ] Text bracketed by Lang.
- <sup>a</sup> Text identified as an accretion according to the criteria specified in 1.7.2.1. The superscript numbering refers to the footnotes in Section 2, the translation.
- ▒ Text identified as possible accretion.
- | Page break in Lang text.
- ◀ ... ▶ Archetype lacuna identified by Krafft (49.17 and 70.18).
- Reference to a Section, for example ●1.9 means 'see Section 1.9. of the Introduction'.
- Table Unless otherwise stated, tables are in Appendix 1.

---

### Section A: Theogony, Summary of ascendancy of Zeus; supremacy of λόγος, Reason (=Hermes)

---

Lang

- 1<sup>1</sup> Ὁ οὐρανός, ᾧ παιδίον, περιέχει κύκλω τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλατταν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ τὰ ἐν θάλαττῃ πάντα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ταύτης ἔτυχε τῆς προσηγορίας, οὐρος ὧν ἄνω πάντων καὶ ὀρίζων τὴν φύσιν.

Cornutus begins, like Hesiod *Theog.*, with the very origin of things, but quickly moves on to cover the most important aspects of Stoic theology: the cosmic cycle, Zeus, Fate, Reason. The opening is unceremonious, suggesting that an introduction is missing.<sup>1</sup> An invocation ᾧ παιδίον, with variations, is repeated at intervals, a not uncommon device (●1.9).<sup>2</sup> The definition of οὐρανός is a conflation of the first two of three definitions given by Aristotle *Cael.* 278b10-25, where a fundamental difference between Aristotelian and Stoic theology is also apparent, the physical abode of the divine:

- 1) τὴν οὐσίαν τὴν τῆς ἐσχάτης τοῦ παντός περιφορᾶς, ἢ σῶμα φυσικὸν τὸ ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ περιφορᾷ τοῦ παντός...(ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἰδρῦσθαί φαμεν) = *heaven, sky*;
- 2) τὸ συνεχές σῶμα τῇ ἐσχάτῃ περιφορᾷ τοῦ παντός, ἐν ᾧ σελήνη καὶ ἥλιος καὶ ἔνια τῶν ἄστρων = *heaven, sky*;
- 3) τὸ περιεχόμενον σῶμα ὑπὸ τῆς ἐσχάτης περιφορᾶς: τὸ γὰρ ὅλον καὶ τὸ πᾶν εἰώθαμεν λέγειν οὐρανόν = *world, cosmos*.

- 2<sup>1</sup> ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ᾠρεῖν ἢ ᾠρεύειν τὰ ὄντα, ὃ ἔστι φυλάττειν, οὐρανὸν κεκλιῆσθαι, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ θυρωρὸς ἀνομάσθη καὶ τὸ πολυᾠρεῖν.

Cornutus immediately provides alternative etymologies and avoids giving a preference between them: ●1.6.5. for an interpretation of this technique.

Throughout the text, words which would seem unfamiliar and archaic to a Roman in C+1 are explained by the quotation of a line of poetry (usually Homer: ●1.9). This particular explanation of the verb ᾠρεύειν (Hesiod *Theog.* 903) seems to be common: Lysimachus fr. 25 ᾠρεῖν = φροντίζειν; Hesychius ο 1564 Ὠρεῖν γὰρ τὸ φροντίζειν καὶ φυλάσσειν· ἔνθεν

<sup>1</sup> ●1.7.2.8. for lack of specific addressee.

<sup>2</sup> [Albinus] *intro plato* 1; Philostratus *imagines* ᾧ καὶ 43 times (but named — see Most (1983), 2033 n.155); Pollux *onom.* (to Commodius); Hermes Tris. Ὅτι οὐδὲν 1: Περὶ ..., ᾧ καὶ, νῦν λεκτέον (See 41.18).

τὸ ὀλιγωρεῖν καὶ πολυωρεῖν; ὡ 318 ὠρεῖν· φυλάττειν. ὄθεν καὶ ὁ θυρωρός.

2 3 ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀρᾶσθαι ἄνω ἐτυμολογοῦσι.

Table 1. The most commonly cited etymology of οὐρανός, also given by Plato.

2 4 καλεῖται δὲ σὺν πᾶσιν οἷς περιέχει κόσμος ἀπὸ τοῦ κάλλιστα διακεκοσμηθῆσθαι.

Table 2. A common and obvious connection attributed to Pythagoras. The third of Aristotle's definitions of οὐρανός (above) is used here.

2 6 τινὲς δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν Ἄκμονος ἔφασαν αὐτὸν υἷὸν εἶναι, τὸ ἄκμητον τῆς περιφορᾶς αὐτοῦ αἰνιττόμενοι.

Table 3. Cornutus consistently avoids naming his sources, content with a vague summary (●1.8), but the etymology is attested for Callimachus.

2 8 ἢ προλαβόντες ὅτι ἀφθαρτός ἐστι τοῦτο παριστάσι διὰ τῆς ἐτυμολογίας· κεκμηκέναι γὰρ λέγομεν τοὺς τετελευτηκότας. ἢ δὲ οὐσία αὐτοῦ πυρώδης ἐστίν, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρον.

●1.2. for this fundamental tenet of Stoic cosmology, and the Stoics' divergence from Aristotle.

2 12 ὄθεν καὶ αἰθὴρ ἐκλήθη τὸ ἐξωτάτω μέρος τοῦ κόσμου ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰθεσθαι· τινὲς δὲ φασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰεῖ θεῖν οὕτως αὐτὸν ὠνομάσθαι, ὃ ἐστι ροίζω φέρεσθαι.

Table 4. An extremely rare explicit denial of an etymology is provided by Aristotle *Cael.* 270b24, who objects to Anaxagoras, because Aristotle's aether does not burn. Cornutus, however, does not see Aristotle's (=Plato's) etymology as necessarily in conflict with Stoic cosmology: Aristotle's aether is a πρῶτον σῶμα (*Cael.* 270b21) with an active motion, distinct from the four elements; Cornutus can interpret the (for him) archaic θεῖν as having a passive sense, moved by the stars.

2 14 καὶ τὰ ἄστρα γὰρ οἶονεῖ ἄστατά ἐστιν ὡς οὐδέποτε ἰστάμενα, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ κινούμενα.

Table 5. Plato derives an etymology from the highest benefit to man, the stars directing man to philosophical contemplation. Cornutus and Posidonius are notably similar.<sup>3</sup>

2 16 εὐλογον δὲ καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς θεύσεως ἐσχηκέναι τὴν προσηγορίαν· πρῶτον γὰρ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι θεοὺς ὑπελάμβανον εἶναι οὓς ἐώρων ἀδιαλείπτως φερομένους, αἰτίους αὐτοῦς νομίσαντες εἶναι τῶν τοῦ ἀέρος μεταβολῶν καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν ὄλων.

Table 6.

θεύσις: *hapax* before Eustathius. θέω is Homeric (*Il.* 11.701 θεύσεσθαι fut. *to run*).

cf. Krafft, 329, ω: θέσεως; Ξ: θεύσεως *recte*.

3 1 τάχα δ' ἂν εἶεν θεοὶ θετήρες καὶ ποιηταὶ τῶν γινομένων.

θετήρες: *hapax*, but Philoxenus Gramm. (C-1) fr. 388 τίθημι ... θέτης ... θετήρ indicates no invention by Cornutus. τάχα δ' ἂν εἶεν suggests Cornutus leaving room for the student to develop interpretational skills, using etymologies as second-rate support for meaning.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> ●1.6.5.

<sup>4</sup> ●1.9.

- <sup>3 3</sup> Ὡσπερ δὲ ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ ψυχῆς διοικούμεθα, οὕτω καὶ ὁ κόσμος ψυχὴν ἔχει τὴν συνέχουσαν αὐτὸν, καὶ αὕτη καλεῖται Ζεὺς, πρῶτως καὶ διὰ παντὸς ζῶσα καὶ αἰτία οὐσα τοῖς ζῶσι τοῦ ζῆν· διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ βασιλεύειν ὁ Ζεὺς λέγεται τῶν ὄλων, ὡς ἂν καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ ἡ φύσις ἡμῶν βασιλεύειν ῥηθεῖη.

An introduction to a fundamental Stoic tenet.

We are controlled by our souls:

- Aëtius *plac.* 4.21 =SVF 2.836 Οἱ Στωικοὶ φασιν εἶναι τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνώτατον μέρος τὸ ἡγεμονικόν.

Zeus as soul of the universe:

- Cleanthes (Cicero *ND* 1.37) tum ipsum mundum deum dicit esse, tum totius naturae menti atque animo tribuit hoc nomen.
- D.L.7.138.8 Τὸν δὴ κόσμον διοικεῖσθαι κατὰ νοῦν καὶ πρόνοιαν, καθά φησι Χρῦσιππός (περὶ προνοίας 5) καὶ Ποσειδώνιος (περὶ θεῶν 23) εἰς ἅπαν αὐτοῦ μέρος διήκοντος τοῦ νοῦ, καθάπερ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τῆς ψυχῆς.
- Philodemus *piet.* c.11 = SVF 1076 ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Χρῦσ(ι)ππος ..... ἐν μὲν τῷ πρῶτ(ῳ περὶ θεῶν)ν Δία φη(σὶν εἶναι τὸν) ἅπαντ(α διοικοῦν)τα λόγον κ(αὶ τὴν) τοῦ ὄλου ψυχῆ(ν κα)ῖ ...
- Schol. Hom. *Il. sv.* 16.233b.5 Ζεὺς γάρ ἐστιν ἡ τοῦ κόσμου ψυχὴ ἀεροειδῆς οὐσα.
- EM 408.52, Ζεὺς (The only reference to Cornutus in EM) Ὁ θεός. Κορνοῦτος ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἑλληνικῆς θεολογίας φησὶν, ὅτι ψυχὴ ἐστὶ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου, παρὰ τὸ ζῶη καὶ αἰτία εἶναι τοῖς ζῶσι τοῦ ζῆν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βασιλεὺς λέγεται τῶν ὄλων, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ἡ ψυχὴ.

- <sup>3 8</sup> Δία δὲ αὐτὸν καλοῦμεν ὅτι δι' αὐτὸν γίνεται καὶ σώζεται πάντα. παρὰ δὲ τισὶ καὶ Δεὺς λέγεται, τάχα ἀπὸ τοῦ δεύειν τὴν γῆν ἢ μεταδιδόναι τοῖς ζῶσι ζωτικῆς ἰκμάδος [καὶ ἡ γενικὴ πτώσις ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐστὶ Δεός, παρακειμένη πῶς τῇ Διός].

Table 7 summarizes this most complex set of alternative etymologies, where etymology is used to support every kind of theological belief.

[καὶ ἡ γενικὴ ... τῇ Διός]: a superfluous comment, not consistent with Cornutus' overall style, and thus identifiable as an accretion.<sup>5</sup>

- <sup>3 13</sup> οἰκεῖν δὲ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ λέγεται, ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖ ἐστὶ τὸ κυριώτατον μέρος τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ψυχῆς· καὶ γὰρ αἱ ἡμέτεραι ψυχὰι πῦρ εἰσιν.

A logical connection between the fiery aether and the Soul:

- Dio Chrysostom *or.* XL § 37 (=SVF 601) ἡ ... ἐπικράτησις αἰθέρος, ἐν ᾧ τὸ βασιλεύον καὶ τὸ κυριώτατον τῆς ψυχικῆς δυνάμεως...

To emphasize the connection, Cornutus is simplifying (presumably for didactic purposes: ● 1.9) the Stoic perception of the nature of the soul, which is more often described as πνεῦμα, usually related to fire, thus:

<sup>5</sup> For my methodology concerning accretions, ● 1.1.4. See too the key at the beginning of this commentary.

- o Cicero *tusc. disp.* 1.19.10 Zenoni Stoico animus ignis videtur,
- o Aëtius *plac.* 388.3 Οἱ Στωικοὶ πνεῦμα νοερὸν θερμὸν (τὴν ψυχὴν),
- o D.L.7.137 Ζήνων ... καὶ Ἀντίπατρος ... καὶ Ποσειδώνιος πνεῦμα ἔνθερμον εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν.

The Stoic spokesman in Cicero *ND* 2.19 speaks of *uno divino et continuato spiritu*, though its fiery nature is constantly stressed, and at 2.32 even equates *animus* with *ardor*. Cornutus avoids the expression πνεῦμα, perhaps to stress the fiery nature and avoid confusion with a term associated with air: see 12.11 and 27.7 below. Possibly, πνεῦμα had a frightening aspect associated with Persephone: see commentary at 56.19, and Table 75, Cleanthes' etymology of Persephone involving φονευόμενον πνεῦμα.<sup>6</sup>

- <sup>3</sup> <sup>15</sup> Γυνὴ δὲ καὶ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ παραδέδοται ἢ Ἥρα, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὁ ἀήρ. συνήπται γὰρ εὐθύς αὐτῷ καὶ κεκόλληται αἰρομένη ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐκείνου αὐτῇ ἐπιβεβηκότος· καὶ γεγόνασιν ἐκ τῆς εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ ῥύσεως, ῥυεῖσα γὰρ εἰς λεπτότητα ἢ οὐσία τό τε πῦρ καὶ τὸν ἀέρα ὑφίστησιν. ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ Ῥέαν τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν ἐμύθευσαν εἶναι,

Despite being a major cult figure and attested alongside Zeus on two Mycenaean tablets (TH Of 28; PY Tn 316), Hera receives virtually no attention compared to her nearest relatives.<sup>7</sup> Hesiod, too, merely lists her as daughter of Rhea and Kronos and the last of Zeus's wives. There is a superficial correspondence between Zeus, Demeter, Poseidon and Hera = fire, earth, water, air, but this does not fit well with Stoic physics because of the all-pervading nature of Zeus and the un-assigned nature of Hades, also a kind of air (74.5: *the air which receives our souls*). In the Stoic theory of generation of prime elements, change in density is a principle of elemental change.<sup>8</sup> Cornutus can interpret the creation of Zeus in his capacity of the element fire, together with Hera as air, as a consequence of *flowing*, which fits neatly with Zeus and Hera being the children of Rhea, their marriage symbolized by the coital position of aether covering air. This may be part of the process of elemental change involving change in density described in D.L.7.142:

- o τὸ δὲ λεπτομερὲς ἐξαραιωθῆ, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ πλέον λεπτυνθὲν πῦρ ἀπογεννήσῃ.<sup>9</sup>

It is, however, difficult to reconcile this with the process described by Chrysippus (●1.2: Stobaeus 1.10.16c.18 =SVF 2.413 15-19). It may just be a simplification of Stoic theory designed for the beginner in physics, the emphasis being on some connection between the physical processes and ancient theology, rather than a philosophically rigorous position.<sup>10</sup> The relative silence concerning Hera may be an unwillingness to emphasize a goddess who is not the mother of the Muses and has no connection with reason and learning.

<sup>6</sup> The concept of *pneuma* was probably introduced by Chrysippus (see LS 1.287).

<sup>7</sup> Hera: 0.4%; Poseidon 4%; Demeter 4%; Zeus 4% of the text (see commentary at 8.3).

<sup>8</sup> See chart, Section 1.2.

<sup>9</sup> See Hahm, 495.

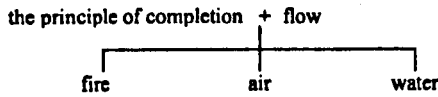
<sup>10</sup> ●1.2. for the uncertainty surrounding elemental change in Stoic theory.

4 1 πατέρα δὲ τὸν Κρόνον ἦτοι διὰ τὸ ἐν τεταγμένοις χρόνου μέτροις γενέσθαι ταῦτα ἢ διὰ τὸ κατὰ σύγκρισιν καὶ βρασμὸν τῆς ὕλης τὴν εἰς τὰ στοιχεῖα διάκρισιν ἀποτελεῖσθαι

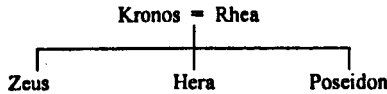
βρασμός: LSJ give *fermentation* here, but unattested elsewhere for a cosmic process. Usually *agitation, shaking*, a medical term or specifically earthquakes. For the vocabulary of cosmic processes, ●1.2.

4 4 ἢ, ὅπερ πιθανώτατον, διὰ τὸ τηνικαῦτα ὑφίστασθαι τὸν αἰθέρα καὶ τὸν ἀέρα, ἠνίκ' ἂν ἐκ πυρὸς κινήται ἡ φύσις ἐπὶ τὸ κραίνειν καὶ ἀποτελεῖν τὰ ὄντα.

Cornutus, unusually, gives a preference for an etymology, presumably because his preferred one fits better with Stoic physics. He can now suggest the causal connection:



to be equivalent to the family tree



This could refer to the second half of the process described by Chrysippus (●1.2), and treated in greater detail in Section C (27.19-31.18), or again be merely a simplification.

4 7 Διὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ἔφασαν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας δῖόν εἶναι καὶ γὰρ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκ τῆς εἰρημένης μεταβολῆς γίνεται. Ποσειδῶν δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀπεργαστικὴ τοῦ ἐν τῇ γῆ καὶ περὶ τὴν γῆν ὑγροῦ δύναμις, εἴτουν ἀπὸ τῆς πόσεως οὕτω κληθεῖσα καὶ τοῦ διδόναι ταύτην,

Table 11. Unattested elsewhere (except Gregory Nyss., C+4), ἀπεργαστικὴ δύναμις is not known to be a Stoic technical expression, but is possibly a synonym for the more common τεταγμένη δύναμις given at 41.18 for Poseidon. Cornutus prefers a more scientific identity, avoiding directly equating Poseidon with water. However, at 65.1, he equates Apollo with the Sun, whereas:

- o Plutarch *IO* 375f4 τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου περιφορᾶς τεταγμένην δύναμιν Ἔρωον, Ἑλληνας δ' Ἀπόλλωνα καλοῦσι.

See too Porphyry *agalmaton* 5-10, where 26 different deities are defined as some form of δύναμις. Either there is no significant difference, the direct equation being perhaps a commonly understood shorthand notation for the *ordered/causing force/power/faculty*, or this could reflect a differering technical nature of Cornutus' sources. (●1.7.2).

4 13 εἴτε λόγος καθ' ὃν ἰδίει ἡ φύσις [φουσιδίων] ἐστίν,

Textual variations and position indicate that the *hapax* φουσιδίων is a gloss to explain the etymology, and thus an accretion.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Lang, 4; Krafft, 184, 224, 243.

- 4<sup>14</sup> εἶθ' οἴονεϊ πεδοσειῶν ἄνόμασται κατὰ τὴν παραδειχθησομένην αὐτοῦ ιδιότητα.  
Poseidon is responsible for earthquakes: Hesiod *Theog.* 15 Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίγαιος;  
Hom. *Il.* 13.43; Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων: Hom. *Il.* 7.445 etc.
- 4<sup>16</sup> Ἀδελφός δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ Ἄιδης εἶναι λέγεται. οὗτος δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ παχυμερέστατος καὶ  
προσγειότατος ἀήρ· ὁμοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῖς γίνεται καὶ αὐτὸς | ἀρξαμένης ρεῖν καὶ κραινεῖν  
τὰ ὄντα κατὰ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ λόγους τῆς φύσεως.

The world at the beginning of a cycle, when the elements are formed, but omitting the mechanism (●1.2).

- 5<sup>2</sup> καλεῖται δὲ Ἄιδης ἢ ὅτι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀόρατός ἐστιν, ὅθεν καὶ διαιροῦντες Ἄϊδην  
αὐτὸν ὀνομάζουσιν,

Table 12. The most common etymology, but for Cornutus Ἄιδης is not below earth, thus *unseen* in the sense of *invisible, indistinct*.

- 5<sup>4</sup> ἢ κατ' ἀντίφρασιν ὡσάν ὁ ἀνδάνων ἡμῖν· εἰς τοῦτον γὰρ χωρεῖν ἡμῖν κατὰ τὸν  
θάνατον αἰ ψυχὰι δοκοῦσιν ἤκιστα ἀνδάνοντος ἡμῖν τοῦ θανάτου.

κατ' ἀντίφρασιν: one of the four methods of word generation described by Augustine, and used three times by Cornutus (69.17; 74.18);<sup>12</sup> attested 375 times, but only 4 writers pre-Cornutus.<sup>13</sup> The less common expression κατ' εὐφημισμὸν (Cornutus 40.18; 65.18), attested 130 times, also seldom before Cornutus, carries a similar meaning but with apotropaic overtones:

- Tryphon *I trop.* 204.4 τὰ κατ' εὐφημισμὸν λεγόμενα καὶ τὴν κακίαν περιτέλλοντα, ὡς ὅταν τὴν χολὴν ἠδεῖαν λέγωμεν, καὶ τὰς Ἐρινύδας Εὐμενίδας.

- 5<sup>7</sup> καὶ Πλούτων δὲ ἐκλήθη διὰ τὸ πάντων φθαρτῶν ὄντων μηδὲν εἶναι ὃ μὴ τελευταῖον εἰς αὐτὸν κατατάσσεται καὶ αὐτοῦ κτῆμα γίνεται.

Table 13. The name is first attested in C-5 (*S.Ant.* 1200; common in Aristophanes) and although all etymologies derive the name from πλοῦτος *wealth*, this non-specific root enables Cornutus to avoid associating Hades with earth, in contrast to most other writers, which would otherwise be in conflict with his above description as dense air.<sup>14</sup>

- 5<sup>9</sup> Τῆς δὲ Ῥέας κατὰ τὴν παραδειγμένην φύσιν εἰδοποιουμένης εἰκότως ἤδη καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄμβρων αἰτίαν ἀνατιθέντες αὐτῇ, ὅτι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ μετὰ βροντῶν καὶ ἀστραπῶν συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι, καὶ ταύτην παρεισήγαγον τυμπάνοις καὶ κυμβάλοις καὶ κεραυλῆαις καὶ λαμπαδηφορίαις χαίρουσαν.

Cornutus' treatment of Rhea is problematic for two reasons. First, his identification of Rhea with *flow* is incompatible with Chrysippus' well attested identification with *earth* (see too Eustathius *Il.* 1.74.16; Orion p 140.2 for an etymological derivation of *earth* from *Rhea*):

<sup>12</sup> ●1.6.2.

<sup>13</sup> Aristotle, Demaratus Hist., Aristonicus Gramm., Philoxenus Gramm. (not counting Scholia).

<sup>14</sup> Table 13 cites the Stoic Posidonius as connecting Πλούτων with earth, but it is unclear whether he does so with Ἄιδης. Here, his focus is minerals, not theology.

- EM Ῥέα (SVF 1084) Χρύσιππος δὲ λέγει τὴν γῆν Ῥέαν κεκλήσθαι, ἐπειδὴ ἀπ' αὐτῆς βεῖ τὰ ὕδατα.
- Schol. Hesiod *Theog.* sv. 135 (SVF 1085) Ῥεία ἢ ἐξ ὄμβρων χύσις ἐστὶ, κατὰ δὲ τὸν Χρύσιππον ἢ γῆ Ῥέα ἢ φθαρτικὴ, ὅτι εἰς αὐτὴν ἀναλυόμεθα καὶ ὅτι πάντες τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ διαρρέουσι.
- Philodemus *piet.* 11 (SVF 1076) Χρύσ(ι)ππος ..... ἐν μὲν τῷ πρώτ(ῳ περὶ θεῶν) ν ... καὶ Κρόνον (μὲν τὸ)ν τοῦ βεῦ(μ)ατος ῥ(ό)ν, Ῥέαν δὲ τὴν γῆν.

Secondly, his iconography is problematic because he is clearly describing the processions associated with the Anatolian goddess Cybele. Her cult was officially introduced to Rome in 205 BC, but Roman citizens were excluded from her orgiastic rituals, and the cult was controlled to restrain religious extremism.<sup>15</sup> Lucretius describes the Mother Earth, Cybele, as *magna deum mater materque ferarum* (2.598), and as mother of the gods, the identification with Rhea is natural: Ovid (*Met.* 10.696) equates this *Mater* with Rhea, as do Arrianus *periplus ponti eux.* 9.1.1; Herodinus *pros. cath.* 3.1.322.6; Tatianus *or. ad graec.* 8.2.7; [Nonnus] *schol. myth.* 4.5.1; Stephanus *ethnica* 389.9; Schol. Aristophanes *sv. Aves* 877; Schol. Soph. *Ph.* 391.1; Strabo 10.3.15.7; most cite the association with mountains as the reason.

Theodoretus despairs:

- *graec. aff. cur.* 1.22.2 Ὅτι δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς Ῥέας ἢ τῆς Κυβέλης ἢ τῆς Βριμοῦς (ἢ ὅπως ἂν ἐθέλητε, ὀνομάζετε· πολλὴ γὰρ εὐπορία παρ' ὑμῖν ὀνομάτων).

The cult of Cybele had already reached Greece in C-5,<sup>16</sup> so the iconography of Rhea might well have been adopted from Cybele at an early stage. Arrianus (C+1/+2) describes a statue in Phasis:

- Arrianus *periplus ponti eux.* 9.1.1 ἢ Φασιανὴ θεός. εἴη δ' ἂν ἀπὸ γε τοῦ σχήματος τεκμαιρομένη ἢ Ῥέα· καὶ γὰρ κύμβαλον μετὰ χειρᾶς ἔχει καὶ λέοντας ὑπὸ τῷ θρόνῳ, καὶ κάθηται ὡσπερ ἐν τῷ Μητρώῳ Ἀθήνησιν ἢ τοῦ Φειδίου.

It is, however, difficult to believe that Cornutus was unaware of a conflation of Rhea and Cybele, but there was a serious conflict between this *earth* goddess and his *flux* goddess. Appendix 2, Table 8 compares Cornutus' account of Rhea with Lucretius' account of a procession in honour of Cybele. Lucretius describes various attributes of Cybele as the Mother of the Gods and as an Earth goddess, and it can be seen that Cornutus ascribes *all* the attributes of Cybele as Mother of the Gods to Rhea, but *none* of the attributes of Cybele which represent her as an Earth or Nature goddess. The only detail given by Cornutus and not provided by Lucretius is the dedication of poppy-heads, but otherwise, their descriptions of the goddess as Mother of the Gods correspond exactly. Further, both writers continue with an account of the birth of Zeus, where Lucretius conflates the Kouretes, the attendants of infant Zeus, with the Korybantes, the lesser gods of Asian origin attending Cybele. (See Hard, 218-219, for the scant evidence) This conflation was common and ancient, see HH 14(*Mat. Deo.*) Εἰς Μητέρα Θεῶν/ Μητέρα μοι πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων;

<sup>15</sup> Scullard 10, 205-207. See Cornutus 76.9 for δεισιδαιμονεῖν.

<sup>16</sup> See Pindar fr. 80; Pherecydes Myth. fr. 13; Aristophanes *Aves* 873-875; E.Ba. 78-79.



E.Ba.64-133 for total confusion. The association of Rhea with mountains (and hence lions) and conflation with Cybele is perhaps also indicated by S.Ph.392 Ὀρεστέρα παμβῶτι Γᾶ, μᾶτερ ἀντοῦ Διός. See too the statue described by Arrianus, above.

Cornutus may be taking his data from a Stoic source which has already eliminated undesirable references to an Earth Mother, or he may have believed that the Rhea/Cybele cult was a conflation and has attempted a reconstruction of the Rhea aspect. The most likely explanation is that Cornutus has consciously simplified his material to incorporate religious events of which a pupil would be aware. This would have the advantage of generating an impression of overall cohesion and order, consistent with the holistic nature of Stoic philosophy, in addition to avoiding confusion for a pupil with the inconsistencies of a fundamentally chaotic situation. Cornutus has thus perhaps been deliberately selective with his material to force a clear distinction between Rhea/Cybele and Demeter, the latter associated with productive land and fertility (equated at 52.4 to Earth); his treatment of Rhea is thus reasonably compatible with that of Demeter, at least to the extent that it might be rhetorically convincing.

5<sup>15</sup> ἐπεὶ δ' ἄνωθεν οἱ ὄμβροι καταράττουσι, πολλαχοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρων ἐπερχόμενοι φαίνονται, [πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Ἰδὴν ἐπωνόμασαν αὐτῇ, μετέωρον ὄρος καὶ δ μακρόθεν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν,]

Rhea, Zeus and Kronos are associated with rainstorms:

- o Orphic H. 14.7, 15.6 Ῥέα / Ζεῦ ὄμβριμόθυμε ...
- o Schol. Hom. II. sv. 15.18.29 Κρόνον δὲ τὸν ἄνω κρουνηδὸν ἐπιφερόμενον ὄμβρον. Ῥέαν δὲ, τὴν ἐπιρρέομένην ὕδασι.

[πρῶτον ... ἰδεῖν]: this interrupts the flow of argument, thus an accretion. The reference is to Mount Ida in Phrygia associated with the cult of Cybele (Lucretius 2.611 *Idaeam vocitant matrem*), but also associated with myths of Zeus and Rhea (see II.16.604-605 Διὸς Ἰδαίου).

5<sup>19</sup> ὄρειαν αὐτὴν προσηγόρευσαν καὶ τὰ γενναϊότατα τῶν | ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι γινομένων ζῴων, τοὺς λέοντας, ἠνιοχομένους ὑπ' αὐτῆς παρεισήγαγον[· τάχα δὲ καὶ ἐπεὶ οἱ χειμῶνες ἀγριωπὸν τι ἔχουσι]. πυργωτὸν δὲ περικείται στέφανον ἥτοι διὰ τὸ καταρχὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρων τίθεσθαι τὰς πόλεις ὀχυρότητος ἕνεκεν ἢ ἐπεὶ ἀρχηγὸς ἐστὶ τῆς πρώτης καὶ ἀρχετύπου πόλεως, τοῦ κόσμου.

Roman statues show Cybele/Rhea wearing a turreted crown and accompanied by lions (Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek); Ovid *Met.* 10.696 *turritaque Mater*; Lucretius 2.606 *muralique caput summum cinxere corona, / eximiis munita locis quia sustinet urbes*. Alternative conflation of Cybele and Demeter is attested by Lydus (4.63.1).

[τάχα δὲ ... ἔχουσι]: a misplaced alternative explanation, interrupting the flow of logic, and thus an accretion.

ἀρχετύπος πόλις: Chrysippus reportedly used the city as an analogy for the universe, the gods being the rulers.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> ● 1.4 for discussion of κοινωνία.

- ο Agius Didymus *ap.* Eusebius *PE* 15.15.3.3 = SVF 528 οὕτω καὶ ὁ κόσμος οἰοῖνεὶ πόλις ἐστὶν ἐκ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων συνεστῶσα, τῶν μὲν θεῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχόντων, τῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ὑποτεταγμένων. κοινωσίαν δ' ὑπάρχειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διὰ τὸ λόγου μετέχειν, ὅς ἐστι φύσει νόμος.

- 6 7 κωδίαν δ' ἀνατιθέασιν αὐτῇ παριστάντες ὅτι αἰτία τῆς ζωογονίας αὐτὴ ἐγένετο. κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τύπους περὶ τὸ στήθος αὐτῆς περιτιθέασιν, ὡς τῆς τῶν ὄντων ποικιλίας καὶ παντὸς χρήματος δι' αὐτῆς γεγονότος.

κωδία (κωδύα, κώδεια): the head of the poppy, whereas the μήκων, the whole poppy, is dedicated to Demeter (56.8). Whilst there is some evidence of a connection between Demeter and the poppy, none is attested for Rhea.<sup>18</sup> Again, some conflation of Rhea and Demeter is suspected. Reference specifically to the poppy head, however, may point to opium and indicate a connection between Rhea and a Minoan poppy goddess.<sup>19</sup>

- 6 11 ἔοικε δ' αὐτὴ καὶ ἡ παρὰ Σύροις Ἀταργάτις εἶναι, ἣν καὶ διὰ τοῦ περιστερῶς καὶ ἰχθύος ἀπέχεσθαι τιμῶσι, σημαίνοντες ὅτι τὰ μάλιστα δηλοῦντα τὴν τῆς οὐσίας αἴρεσιν ἀήρ καὶ ὕδωρ.

αἴρεσιν: Wytttenbach (Lang, *app. crit.*), βεῦσιν. In context, *fluidity*.

Lucian describes Δερκετώ (= Atargatis, Schol. Hom. *Il. sv.* 2.461d etc.), a Syrian mother-goddess, (*syria dea* 15.14):

- ο ἡ θεὸς τὰ πολλὰ ἐς Ῥέην ἐπικνέεται. λέοντες γάρ μιν φέρουσι καὶ τύμπανον ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πυργοφορεῖ, ὀκοίην Ῥέην Λυδοὶ ποιέουσιν.

An etymology of the name Atargatis is provided by the Stoic Antipater fr. 64 (Athenaeus *deipn.* 8.37.5) connected with abstention from fish. Lucian (*syria dea* 14.12) attests the cult practice of abstention from eating pigeons. As a nature goddess, although often identified with Aphrodite, she was eventually identified with Rhea and Cybele.<sup>20</sup> Cornutus takes the opportunity to find a connection with a foreign deity, providing a neat Stoic interpretation of the fish and pigeon symbols, which for others would represent fertility. For the rational explanation of this cult practice as a contrast to superstition, ●1.9.4 with Plutarch *superstit.* 170d6. For the interaction between Greek thought and that of Anatolia and Syria, and for Atargatis and Cybele as fertility goddesses, see Potter, 423-425.

- 6 14 Φρυγία δ' ἰδίως εἴρηται διὰ τὸ θρησκεύεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς Φρυξίν ἐξόχως, παρ' οἷς καὶ ἡ τῶν γάλλων ἐπεπόλασε παρεδρία τάχα τι τοιοῦτον ἐμφαίνουσα, ὁποῖον καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι περὶ τῆς τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ ἐκτομῆς μεμύθεται.

A reference to the well-attested practice of self-castration by the Galli, priests of Cybele:

- ο Tatianus *or. ad graec.* 8.2.7 Ῥέα μὲν γάρ, ἣν οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν Φρυγίων ὀρῶν Κυβέλην φασίν, ἀποτιμήσεις αἰδοίων νενομοθέτηκεν διὰ τὸν ἐρώμενον ταύτης Ἄττιν.

Cornutus suggests a connection with the castration of heaven, but avoids, or cannot provide, detail.

<sup>18</sup> See commentary at 56.8.

<sup>19</sup> Majno, 144; see too Burkert, 41.

<sup>20</sup> Hdt. 1.105.

6 <sup>20</sup> Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὁ Κρόνος λέγεται καταπίνειν τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ῥέας αὐτῷ γινόμενα τέκνα· εἴληπται μὲν οὖν οὕτω πάνυ εἰκότως], ἐπειδὴ ὅσα ἂν γίνηται κατὰ τὸν εἰρημένον τῆς κινήσεως λόγον πάλιν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν περιόδῳ ἀφανίζεται· καὶ ὁ χρόνος δὲ τοιοῦτόν τι ἐστὶ· δαπανᾶται γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὰ γινόμενα ἐν αὐτῷ.

Lang: οὕτω; Krafft: τοῦτο *recte*.

Hesiod *Theog.* 467ff. ἐν περιόδῳ refers to the Stoic cycle of ἐκπύρωσις and possibly suggests the symmetrical process described by Chrysippus.<sup>21</sup> Cornutus seems to be equating *Kronos* with *time*, but this sits uncomfortably with his other descriptions (7.21, 31.8), so he must mean just to indicate a relationship with time. He relates the overthrow of Ouranos by Kronos and that of Kronos by Zeus in reverse order, possibly to make a smooth transition from Rhea to Kronos, then moves smoothly to Stoic cosmogony.<sup>22</sup>

[εἴληπται ... εἰκότως]: a gratuitous comment, thus an accretion (●1.7.2.2.).

7 <sup>6</sup> εἶτα τὴν Ῥεαν φασὶν γεννωμένου αὐτῇ τοῦ Διὸς λίθον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ προσενεγκεῖν ἐσπαργανωμένον τῷ Κρόνῳ, τοῦτον εἰποῦσαν τετοκέσαι· κάκεινον μὲν καταποθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, τὸν δὲ Δία λάθρα τραφέντα βασιλεύσαι τοῦ κόσμου. ἐνταῦθ' οὖν ἄλλως εἴληπται ἢ κατάποσις· συντέτακται γὰρ ὁ μῦθος περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως, ἐν ᾧ τότε ἀνετρέφη ἡ διοικοῦσα αὐτὸν φύσις καὶ ἐπεκράτησεν, ὅτε εἰς τὸ μεσαίτατον αὐτοῦ ὁ λίθος οὗτος, ὃν καλοῦμεν γῆν, οἶονεῖ καταποθεῖς ἐγκατεστηρίχθη.

Section C (27.19-31.18) describes how *Theog.* 116-138 relates to the Stoic cosmogony from Chaos up to the generation of the Titans and Kronos, culminating in a stage of the universe capable of stabilization by Zeus. Cornutus needs to summarize the events leading to the ascendancy of Zeus (*Theog.* 453-506) succinctly here, and he skips the earlier events. The interpretation of Kronos' swallowing of the stone concerns the state of affairs after the events of *Theog.* 116-138 related in Section C, with the argument that no stability can be achieved until Earth has been formed as a foundation. Logically, ἐν ᾧ τότε must be translated *at a time when*, relating to the point where Section C ends.

7 <sup>15</sup> οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως συνέστη τὰ ὄντα, εἰ μὴ ὡς ἐπὶ θεμελίου ταύτης ἠρείσθη, γινομένων καὶ τρεφομένων ἐντεῦθεν πάντων.

See Hesiod *Theog.* 117 πάντων ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ. Cornutus refers to the generation of the elements, and to a sequence possibly the same as Chrysippus in which Earth is formed at the centre of a symmetrical process as the establishment of the natural world.<sup>23</sup>

7 <sup>17</sup> Τελευταῖον δὲ ὁ μὲν Κρόνος ἱστορεῖται συνεχῶς κατιόντα ἐπὶ τῷ μίγνυσθαι τῇ Γῆ τὸν Οὐρανὸν ἐκτεμεῖν καὶ παῦσαι τῆς ὕβρεως, ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς ἐκβαλὼν αὐτὸν τῆς βασιλείας καταταρταρῶσαι.

Hesiod *Theog.* 164ff.

7 <sup>21</sup> διὰ γοῦν τούτων αἰνίττονται ὅτι ἢ τῆς τῶν ὄλων γενέσεως τάξις, ἢ ἔφαμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κραίνειν | Κρόνον εἰρήσθαι, τὴν γινομένην τέως πολλὴν ῥύσιν τοῦ περιέχοντος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἔστειλε λεπτοτέρας ποιήσασα τὰς ἀναθυμιάσεις.

See Section C commentary and Section 1.2. This refers to the second half of the sequence

<sup>21</sup> ●1.2.

<sup>22</sup> Hays, 140, sees no reason.

<sup>23</sup> ●1.2. and commentary Section C.

described by Chrysippus: primeval fire – air – water – Earth – (water) – air – fire (or aether).

Earth has been formed, then creates exhalations of finer parts which make the aether.

8<sup>3</sup> ἡ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου φύσις ἐπισχύσασα, ἦν δὴ Δία ἐλέγομεν καλεῖσθαι, τὸ λίαν φερόμενον τῆς μεταβολῆς ἐπέσχε καὶ ἐπέδησε μακροτέραν διεξαγωγὴν δοῦς αὐτῷ τῷ κόσμῳ.

Cornutus begins his exposition of Zeus. In a Stoic text, one might expect Zeus as ἐπόπτης πάντων (9.14) to receive the most exhaustive treatment, but only *ca.* 4% of the text is allocated to him: more space is allocated to Hermes (8%), Athena (7½%), Dionysus (6½%), Apollo (6½%), and the Muses (6%).<sup>24</sup> The emphasis on Hermes and the Muses is understandable for a school text, and the other deities listed here have more cult detail to be discussed.<sup>25</sup>

Zeus, as ἡ τοῦ κόσμου φύσις, provides a period of stability for the world by creating a kind of dynamic equilibrium. Cornutus draws a parallel between this stabilizing effect of Zeus and the overthrow of Kronos. Zeus is the offspring of Rhea (*flux*) and Kronos (*the principle of accomplishment*): see family tree at 4.3.

8<sup>6</sup> [πάντῳ δ' εἰκότως καὶ ἀγκυλομήτην καλοῦσι τὸν Κρόνον, ἀγκύλων ὄντων καὶ δυσπαρακολουθήτων ἃ μητιάζεται τοσοῦτους ἀριθμοὺς ἐξελίττων.] [Κατ' ἄλλον δὲ λόγον τὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἔφασαν ἀρχέγονον εἶναι πάντων—οὐ γὰρ μία μυθολογία περὶ τοῦτον ἐγένετο τὸν τόπον—, τοῦτου δ' εἶναι γυναῖκα Τηθύον. ἔστι δ' Ὠκεανὸς μὲν ὁ ὠκέως νεόμενος λόγος καὶ ἐφεξῆς μεταβάλλων, Τηθὺς δὲ ἡ [ἐπι] τῶν ποιότητων ἐπιμονή. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς τούτων συγκράσεως ἢ μίξεως ὑφίσταται τὰ ὄντα· οὐδὲν δ' ἂν ἦν, εἰ θάτερον ἄμικτον ἐπεκράτει.]

•1.7.2.5. for the argument that 8.6-9.1 is an accretion. Oceanus and Tethys as original source of life: Thales fr. 12 *ap.* Aristotle *Metaph.* 983b30; Hom. *Il.* 14.201. This fragment of cosmology is without parallel. The vocabulary appears Stoic, and ὑφίστασθαι is used in the sense of *condense out, happen* as in 4.1 above, but the physics is not recognizably Stoic, and too general to assign to any school.

9<sup>1</sup> | Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἄλλως ὁ Ζεὺς πατὴρ λέγεται θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων εἶναι διὰ τὸ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου φύσιν αἰτίαν γεγονέναι τῆς τούτων ὑποστάσεως, ὡς οἱ πατέρες γεννῶσι τὰ τέκνα.

Repeating the ἡ δὲ τοῦ κόσμου φύσις of 8.3, and equating it to πατὴρ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων. An explicit parallel is drawn between a *causation* in nature and a father *begetting* children.

•1.7.3.3. and:

- ο D.L.7.147 =SVF 1021 Θεὸν δὲ εἶναι ζῶον ἀθάνατον λογικὸν τέλειον ... μὴ εἶναι μέντοι ἀνθρωπόμορφον. εἶναι δὲ τὸν μὲν δημιουργὸν τῶν ὄλων καὶ ὥσπερ πατέρα πάντων.

<sup>24</sup> These figures are for the text after accretions have been removed. They are necessarily approximate because much of the text refers to more than one deity at any one time, and various deities equated to Zeus are not counted. Accretions are not uniformly spread (for example *ca.* 20% of the text relating to Dionysus is identified as accretive, for Hermes only 6%), but even for the whole Lang text including accretions, Hermes still tops the list with 7.7%, followed by Dionysus, 7.6%.

<sup>25</sup> •1.9.

πατήρ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων: very common title of Zeus (Hesiod *Theog.* 47; Hom. *Il.*1.544; Orphic H. 13.2; Cicero *ND* 2.64) but also known to refer to Oceanus (Orphic H. 83; S.E. *pyrrh. hypo.* 1.150.5).

- o Stoics: Arius Didymus fr. 31 (and similarly Posidonius fr. 334 =D.L.7.138) Κόσμον δ' εἶναί φησιν ὁ Χρῦσιππος σύστημα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις φύσεων ἢ τὸ ἐκ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων σύστημα καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔνεκα τούτων γεγονότων. λέγεται δ' ἑτέρως κόσμος ὁ θεός...

<sup>9</sup> <sup>4</sup> νεφεληγερέτην δ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἐρίγδουπον καλοῦσι καὶ τὸν κεραυνὸν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν αἰγίδα ἀνατιθέασιν τῷ ἄνω ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς τὰ νέφη καὶ τὰς βροντὰς συνίστασθαι καὶ τοὺς κεραυνοὺς ἐκεῖθεν καὶ τὰς καταιγίδας κατασκήπτειν, [ἄλλως] τῷ τὸν οὐρανὸν λελογχότι θεῷ παντὸς τοῦ ὑπὲρ τὴν γῆν τόπου ἀπονεμομένου.

For the origins of Zeus as weather and sky god, and parallels with eastern mythology, see West (1966), 2-49. By the time of Hesiod, he was already πατήρ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων but his weather portfolio was predominant and remained so in iconography:<sup>26</sup>

- o Hesiod *Theog.* 71-72 ὁ δ' οὐρανῷ ἐμβασιλεύει, αὐτὸς ἔχων βροντὴν ἠδ' αἰθαλόεντα κεραυνόν.

παντὸς ... ἀπονεμομένου: the tripartite division of kingdoms is explicitly above ground for Cornutus (74.5 τὸν δεχόμενον τὰς ψυχὰς ἀέρα "Αἰδην), whereas for Homer, (*Il.*19.259) the Dead are below ground.

<sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> καὶ διὰ μὲν τὰς αἰγίδας[. αἱ δὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴσσειν τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχον,] αἰγίοχος ἐκλήθη, δι' ■ 6  
ἄλλας δὲ ὁμοειδεῖς καὶ εὐεπιγνώστους αἰτίας ἕτεριος καὶ ἐπικάρπιος καὶ καταιβάτης καὶ ἀστραπαῖος καὶ ἄλλως πολλαχῶς κατὰ διαφόρους ἐπινοίας. καὶ σωτήρα καὶ ἔρκειον καὶ πολιέα καὶ πατρῶον καὶ ὁμόγνιον καὶ ξένιον καὶ κτήσιον καὶ βουλαῖον καὶ τροπαιοδχον καὶ ἐλευθέριον αὐτὸν προσαγορεύουσιν, ἀπεριλήπτων δσων ὀνομασιῶν αὐτοῦ τοιούτων οὐσῶν, ἐπειδὴ διατέτακεν εἰς πᾶσαν δύναμιν καὶ σχέσιν καὶ πάντων αἴτιος καὶ ἐπόπτης ἐστίν.

The list of epithets of Zeus has parallels in epic poetry: Norse *Grímnismál* lists 50 names of Óðin; Babylonian *Enûma Eliš* gives 50 names of Marduk (West (1966), 6-7).

Cornutus' list of epithets seems to have some logical order: he starts with those found in Hesiod and Homer, moving on to those connected with fertility as a weather god, then to those connected with civic responsibilities, a roughly chronological sequence. The last 10 epithets starting καὶ σωτήρα conclude with the statement that the number is in fact infinite, which suggests that Cornutus is simply giving the first ten examples he could think of without wishing to labour the point. •1.8.4. for further comment and textual parallels with [Aristotle] *Mu.* and others.

[αἱ δὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴσσειν τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχον]: interrupts the flow of the text, and is gratuitous, thus an accretion.

<sup>26</sup> See Hom. *Il.*8.133 and commentary at 10.18 below.

9 20 οὕτω δ' ἐρρήθη καὶ τῆς Δίκης πατήρ εἶναι—ὁ γὰρ παραγαγὼν εἰς τὰ πράγματα τὴν κοινωνίαν | τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ παραγγείλας αὐτοῖς μὴ ἀδικεῖν ἀλλήλους οὗτός ἐστι—καὶ τῶν Χαρίτων— ἐντεῦθεν τε γὰρ εἰσιν αἱ τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ εὐεργετεῖν ἀρχαί—  
κοινωνία: •1.4, conclusion. At 39.18, Cornutus refers to the σπινθήρα τῆς κοινωνίας which the gods help man to ignite.

Zeus father of Δίκη: Hesiod *WD* 256, (*Theog.* 902);

Zeus father of Χάριτες: Hesiod *Theog.* 907.

10 4 καὶ τῶν Ὠρῶν, τῶν κατὰ τὰς τοῦ περιέχοντος μεταβολὰς σωτηρίους τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς γινομένων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀνομασμένων ἀπὸ τῆς φυλακῆς.

At 57.10, Δίκη is given as one of the Ὠραι (as Hesiod *Theog.* 902), which raises the question of why she is mentioned separately before the Graces: •1.8.

10 7 παρεισάγουσι δ' αὐτὸν τελείου ἀνδρὸς ἡλικίαν ἔχοντα, ἐπεὶ οὔτε τὸ παρηκμακὸς οὔτε τὸ ἐλλιπὲς ἐμφαίνει, κατηρτυκότι δὲ οἰκείον, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τελείων αὐτῷ θυομένων.

κατηρτυκότι: *harax*.

Iconography of Zeus: as father of various deities and man, naturally mature, hence adult male sacrifices, e.g. *Il.*2.403 βοῦν πενταέτηρον; *V. Aen.*3.20 *nitentem taurum*.

10 10 τὸ δὲ σκῆπτρον τῆς δυναστείας αὐτοῦ σύμβολόν ἐστι, βασιλικὸν φόρημα ὑπάρχον, ἢ τοῦ ἀπώτατος αὐτὸν ἔχειν καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ὡς τοὺς ἐπὶ βάκτροις ἐρηρυσμένους· τὸ δὲ βέλος, ὃ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ κατέχει, σαφεστέρας ἢ κατ' ἐπεξήγησιν ὀνομασίας ἐστί.

The σκῆπτρον is a potent symbol of Homeric kingship (*Il.*1.279. etc. σκηπτουχος βασιλεύς), a symbol of justice given by Zeus (*Il.*9.99 Ζεὺς ἐγγυάλιξε σκῆπτρόν τ' ἠδὲ θέμιστας, ἵνα σφισι βουλευθῆσθα), which Zeus himself wields (*Il.*6.159 Ζεὺς γὰρ οἱ ὑπὸ σκῆπτρῳ ἐδάμασσε). Even Ares (*Il.*15.117) and Oceanus (*Il.*21.198) are frightened by the power of Zeus' other iconographic symbol, the thunderbolt, given by the Cyclopes (*Theog.* 141), which Cornutus has already attributed to Zeus, so the artificially euphemistic reference to it here seems odd.

ἐπεξήγησις: first attested use.

10 15 πολλαχοῦ δὲ καὶ Νίκην κρατῶν πλάττεται· περίεστι γὰρ πάντων καὶ ἡτῶν αὐτὸν οὐδὲν δύναται. ἱερὸς δ' ὄρνις αὐτοῦ ἀετὸς λέγεται εἶναι διὰ τὸ ὀξύτατον τοῦτο τῶν πτηνῶν εἶναι.

Speed: *Il.*21.252 αἰετοῦ μέλανος ... ὤκιστος πετεηνῶν. Zeus uses an eagle in Homer (*Il.*8.247 αἰετὸν ἦκε τελειότατον πετεηνῶν) and Hesiod (*Theog.* 523). Cornutus is wrong if he means *fastest*: the Peregrine Falcon (*Il.*13.62 ἶρηξ ὠκύπτερος) is faster.

10 18 στέφεται δ' ἐλαίᾳ διὰ τὸ ἀειθαλὲς καὶ λιπαρὸν καὶ πολύχρηστον ἢ διὰ τὴν ἐμφέρειαν τῆς πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν γλαυκότητος.

Pausanias, 5.11.1-9, describes all the above iconographic details (sceptre, Nike, eagle, olive crown), plus others, for the statue of Zeus at Olympia, with Νίκη in his right hand, but no thunderbolt, so these symbols were already established by mid- C-5.

Cornutus' purpose here is to stress that, in principle, there has to be a reason for the iconographical detail, and he feels entitled to invent rhetorically convincing explanations which might satisfy his pupils, without having to quote his sources.

- 10 <sup>20</sup> λέγεται δ' ὑπό τινων καὶ ἀλάστωρ καὶ παλαμναῖος τῷ τοῦ ἀλάστορα καὶ παλαμναίου κολάζειν, τῶν μὲν ὀνομασμένων | ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιαῦτα ἀμαρτάνειν, ἐφ' οἷς ἔστιν ἀλαστῆσαι καὶ στενάξαι, τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ταῖς παλάμαις μιάσματα ἀνέκθυτα ἀποτελεῖν.

ἀλάστωρ and παλαμναῖος both take active and passive meanings: ἀλάστωρ *avenging deity* (A.Pers.354) or *one meriting vengeance* (A.Eu.236); παλαμναῖος *murderer* (S.Tra.1207) or *one (deity) avenging murder* (E.IT.1218). See Appendix 1, Tables 15,16. Table 15c shows that Cornutus, Chrysippus and Apollodorus all derive different etymologies, and further, that either Galen is copying Cornutus, or they are both using the same source (ἀλαστῆσαι is unattested elsewhere).

ἀνέκθυτα: *harax*.

- 11 <sup>3</sup> Κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον καὶ αἱ λεγόμεναι Ἐριννύες γεγόνασιν, ἐρευνήτριαι τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων οὔσαι, Μέγαιρα καὶ Τισιφὼν καὶ Ἀληκτώ, ὡσπερὶ μεγαίροντος τοῖς τοιοῦτοις τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τινυμένου τοὺς γινομένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν φόνους καὶ ἀλήκτως καὶ ἀπαύστως τοῦτο ποιούντος.

Table 17. All other attested etymologies are later than Cornutus.

Ἐριννύες: Cornutus is the earliest of 73 nominatives with -vv-.

ἐρευνήτριαι: *harax*.

A difficulty arises from the absence of a clear exposition of the Stoic concept of the divine, an omission explained perhaps by a reluctance to confront the pupil with philosophical detail.

This omission, however, renders the text at best difficult to understand. Cornutus wants to provide a meaningful interpretation of tradition, and treats the Erinnyes (*sic*) simultaneously as separate distinct goddesses and as different aspects of Zeus. Logically, they should be daughters of Zeus, but tradition does not support this. Hesiod (*Theog.* 181) gives no meaningful relationship between Zeus and the Erinnyes which Cornutus could use; Homer indicates Zeus has less control over them than he would over his own children, even though the Erinnyes always side with Zeus as eldest brother in a family (*Il.* 15.197-204); at *Il.* 19.418 they even appear to act independently of Zeus by stopping Xanthos from speaking. Cornutus must, however, retain divine retribution as an aspect of a benign Zeus.

This is his first reference to a plurality of gods, which places them in a totally different class to individual gods. Burkert, 173, observes that 'societies of gods are strictly segregated according to sex, ... and are homogeneous in terms of age group. ... The institution of masked societies is so ancient and fundamental that one can never discuss the ideas of the corresponding societies of gods without considering this cultic reality.' See further 14.10.

- 11 <sup>9</sup> Σεμναὶ δ' ὄντως αὐταὶ αἱ θεαὶ καὶ Εὐμενίδες εἰσὶ· κατὰ γὰρ τὴν εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εὐμένειαν τῆς φύσεως διατέτακται καὶ τὸ τὴν πονηρίαν κολάζεσθαι.

Table 18. The etymology of Εὐμενίδες from εὐμένεια *goodwill, favour*, is assumed in most cases. For an explicit etymology: Schol. Aelium Arist. sv. Pan Hypo.108.8; Suda ε 3580. The reason, implicit or explicit, is always euphemism, Tryphon I *trop.* 204.15 uses it as an

example of ἀντίφρασις.<sup>27</sup> Cornutus, however, although using the same derivation, is alone in not using ἀντίφρασις as a reason for the name. In this text, Nature and the deities are fundamentally benevolent, thus there is no need for superstition. Where a god has some attribute to be feared, Cornutus consistently interprets this as something benevolent: he is the only attested writer to derive an etymology of Apollo from ἀπόλλυμι where the destructive force is not directed at man (Table 81: *Sun destroys moisture*). See too 40.5 where even Ares has a positive rôle.

This positive interpretation of the Erinnyes contradicts Aëtius *plac.* 1.6 = SVF 2.1009 where the Stoic concept of the divine is categorized and a distinction made between τοὺς μὲν ὠφελούοντας ... τοὺς δὲ βλάπτοντας ... Ἐρινύας, Ἄρην.<sup>28</sup>

11 12 φρικώδεις δὲ τὰς ὄψεις ἔχουσι, πυρὶ καὶ μᾶστιξι τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς διώκουσαι καὶ ὀφιοπλόκαμοι λεγόμεναι, τῷ τοιαύτην τοῖς κακοῖς φαντασίαν ποιεῖν, ὅς ἂν ἀποτίνασι ποινὰς ἀντι τῶν πλημμελημάτων. ἐν Ἄιδου δὲ οἰκεῖν λέγονται διὰ τὸ ἐν ἀσαφεὶ κείσθαι τὰς τούτων αἰκίας καὶ ἀπροόρατον ἐπίστασθαι τὴν τίσιν τοῖς ἀξίοις.

φρικώδεις ὄψεις: for an avenging deity, see Aristophanes *Ranae* 1335 Νυκτὸς παῖδα, φρικώδη ὄψιν. The Erinnyes live in Hades in Homer, but under the earth.<sup>29</sup> Cornutus stresses that the frightening aspect is applicable only to those who have committed wrongs, and that torment is only for the wicked.<sup>30</sup>

11 18 Ἀκολουθῶς δὲ τούτοις λέγεται καὶ ὅτι πάντ' ἐφορᾷ Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει.

Cornutus conflates a Homeric reference to Ἥλιος (*Il.*3.276; *Od.*11.109; *Od.*12.323), ὅς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει with Hesiod *WD* 267 πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντα νοήσας. Cornutus is thus at least some of the time quoting from memory, rather than using a variant text, which would hardly be likely to contain such a conflation.<sup>31</sup>

11 21 πῶς γὰρ οἶόν τέ ἐστι τὴν διὰ πάντων διήκουσαν | δύναμιν λανθάνειν τι τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ γινομένων;

Krafft, 281 n.2, 303, διήκουσαν: διοικούσαν in some manuscripts.

A fundamental tenet of Stoic philosophy, that Zeus *pervades* all matter in this stable stage of cyclic generation and destruction. ● 1.2. and:

- ο Aëtius *plac.* 1.7.33 οἱ Στωικοὶ νοερὸν θεὸν ἀποφαίνονται, πῦρ τεχνικόν ... καὶ πνεῦμα μὲν ἐνδιήκον δι' ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου.

12 2 προσαγορεύουσι δὲ καὶ μείλικτον τὸν Δία, εὐμείλικτον ὄντα τοῖς ἐξ ἀδικίας μετατιθεμένοις, οὐ δέοντος ἀδιαλλάκτως ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτούς:

εὐμείλικτον: *hapax* until C+5.

<sup>27</sup> See 5.4 above.

<sup>28</sup> ● 1.5. and 1.9.4.

<sup>29</sup> *Il.*3.278f.; cf. *Il.*3.276 which Cornutus misquotes at 11.18.

<sup>30</sup> Wicked men do not see the punishment because the gods deprive them first of their sanity: see Trag. Adesp. fr. 296. *ap.* Lycurgus in *Leoc.* 92.

<sup>31</sup> See the commentary at 42.16 which supports this argument. Ramelli, 321 n.46, fails to notice the conflation, and determines that this line from Cornutus is *adespoton*.



Hence the epithet *μειλίχιος*. The gods are not to be feared if one is repentant, though Cornutus is careful to include a vague caveat.

- 12 4 διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἰκεσίου Διὸς εἰσι βωμοὶ καὶ τὰς Λιτὰς ὁ ποιητὴς ἔφη τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι θυγατέρας, χολᾶς μὲν οὖσας διὰ τὸ πίπτειν τοὺς γονυπετοῦντας, ῥυσᾶς δὲ ἐπὶ παραστάσει τῆς ἀσθενείας τῶν ἰκετευόντων, παραβλῶπας δὲ τῷ παριδόντας τινὰς τινα ὕστερον ἀνάγκην ἴσχειν λιτανείας.

The λιταί do not appear in Hesiod.

- o Hom. *Il.* 9.502-503 καὶ γὰρ τε λιταί εἰσι Διὸς κοῦραι μεγάλοιο / χολαί τε ῥυσαί τε παραβλῶπές τ' ὀφθαλμῶ.

Cornutus provides a 'logical' explanation for the three attributes given by Homer, stating that the gods are still benevolent even when prayers remain unanswered, hinting at the Stoic answer to the problem of theodicy: evil is an unavoidable by-product of an all-powerful benevolent god. According to Chrysippus (Gellius *n.a.* 7.1.1-13 = SVF 2.1169-1170 = LS 54Q), the good and purposeful workings of providence inevitably involve some concomitant evils, 'κατὰ παρακολούθησιν' providing an example (thin bones in the head) from Plato *Ti.* 75a7-c7.<sup>32</sup>

- 12 11 Ὁ Ζεὺς δὲ ἔστι καὶ ἡ Μοῖρα διὰ τὸ μὴ ὀρωμένη διανέμησις εἶναι τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων ἑκάστῳ,

Tables 19-24.

Causation and Fate (consistently referred to as εἰμαρμένη: Cicero *div.* 1.55.125. *Fatum ... quod Graeci εἰμαρμένην* ...) were of fundamental importance to the Stoics; works entitled *περὶ εἰμαρμένης* are attested for Zeno, Chrysippus, Boethus and Posidonius (D.L. 7.149.3). There is however a general confusion of names, with Εἰμαρμένη often equated with Αἴσα and Μοῖρα: e.g. Et. Gen. α 241.

Several non-Stoic reports state that the Stoics equated Zeus and Εἰμαρμένη, thus:

- o Philodemus *piet.* 11 (=SVF 1076) ... τὸν Δία καὶ τὴν κοινὴν πάντων φύσιν καὶ εἰμαρμ(έ)νην καὶ ἀνά(γ)κην. καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι.

Similar: Arius Didymus *ap.* Eusebius *PE* 15.15 (=SVF 528); Stobaeus 1.79 (=SVF 913); D.L. 7.149 (=SVF 915); Proclus *in Hesiod WD* 105 (=SVF 929); Schol. Hom. *Il.* sv. 8.69 (=SVF 931); Plutarch *SR* 1035b9 (=SVF 30) and 1056c3 (=SVF 997). In the last reference, Plutarch reports Chrysippus as praising Homer *Il.* 15.109 for saying *you should accept whatever evil Zeus sends*, followed by κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς λόγον· ὃν τῇ εἰμαρμένη τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι. Diogenes Laërtius signals the confusion of terminology:

- o D.L. 7.135 =SVF 580 ἔν τε εἶναι θεὸν καὶ νοῦν καὶ εἰμαρμένην καὶ Δία· πολλαῖς τε ἑτέραις ὀνομασίαις προσονομάζεσθαι.

It is noticeable that we have no Stoic source making such a clear equation. One definition is reported by Stobaeus (Zeno fr. 87= Stobaeus 1.11.5a): Ζήνωνος·... διὰ ταύτης δὲ διαθεῖν τὸν τοῦ παντὸς λόγον, ὃν ἔνιοι εἰμαρμένην καλοῦσιν...; this suggests that Zeno himself

<sup>32</sup> For possible variant answers by Chrysippus see Algra 171-172; see too Frede, 183.

avoids the equation. Another definition of εἰμαρμένη given by a Stoic is where Gellius admits his translation is obscure:

- o Gellius *n.a.* 7.2 = SVF 1000 Ipsa autem verba Chrysippi, quantum valui memoria, ascripsi, ut, sicui meum istud interpretamentum videbitur esse obscurus, ad ipsius verba animadvertat. In libro *περὶ προνοίας* quarto εἰμαρμένην esse dicit φυσικὴν τινα σύνταξιν τῶν ὄλων ἐξ αἰδίου τῶν ἑτέρων τοῖς ἑτέροις ἐπακολουθούντων καὶ μεταπολουμένων ἀπαραβάτου οὔσης τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιπλοκῆς.

The highly technical nature of Stoic thought on Fate means that Gellius can do no better than refer his readers to Chrysippus' own words if they require further clarity. Frede, 184, summarizes the Stoic standpoint: 'All of nature is administered by the supreme divine reason, and hence there is a global teleological determinism that the Stoics identified with fate.' The number of extant non-Stoic sources discussing Stoic ideas on fate suggests that there was a continuous philosophical debate about the deterministic world, and opponents clearly criticized what they perceived as Stoic inconsistencies and an absence of free will. (For discussion of the degree of freedom for the individual in the Stoic universe, see Frede, 192-205.) Opponents attempting to understand Stoic concepts are likely to reduce, if not deliberately distort, esoteric Stoic definitions to more comprehensible language (as does the Epicurean Velleius in Cicero *ND* 1.36-56: ●1.3.4), one result of which would be to equate Zeus and Εἰμαρμένη.

The difficult philosophical nature of this topic must also have compelled Cornutus to simplify the material, presenting it in a form suitable to a beginner with no experience of philosophical argument.<sup>33</sup> For example, the divine substance permeating the world is usually called πνεῦμα (SVF 1009 πνεῦμα νοερὸν καὶ πυρῶδες; SVF 1027 καὶ πνεῦμα μὲν διήκον δι' ὄλου τοῦ κόσμου), but this term is conspicuously absent in Cornutus.<sup>34</sup> A further oddity is that Cornutus avoids equating Ζεὺς and Εἰμαρμένη, but equates Ζεὺς and Μοῖρα instead, the only attested instance we have. One must conclude that Cornutus wishes to simplify and argue from the basis of familiar tradition: Εἰμαρμένη is absent in Hesiod and Homer, but the Μοῖραι were daughters of Zeus at *Theog.* 904 (but not at 204); Zeus was regularly associated with (the Goddess) Μοῖρα (Hom. *Il.* 19.86 ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ αἰτιός εἰμι, ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς καὶ Μοῖρα ...; *A.Eu.* 1046 Ζεὺς πανόπτας οὕτω Μοῖρά τε ...; *E.El.* 1248 ἃ Μοῖρα Ζεὺς τ' ...). The conflation of these two familiar deities into one concept is then a natural step, and the association of Zeus with other related concepts in this section, Αἴσα, Εἰμαρμένη, Ἀνάγκη, Κλωθῶ, Λάχεσις, Ἄτροπος, Ἀδράστεια, Νέμεσις, Τύχη and Ὅπις is established to present them all as some aspect of Zeus in a general, if not accurate, manner.

The importance attached to the Stoic concept of fate can be measured by their treatment of divination, a topic not discussed in this text, but relevant because it was treated as a science,

<sup>33</sup> ●1.9.

<sup>34</sup> See 3.13 above.

not superstition.<sup>35</sup> Frede, 184: ‘The omnipotence of the active principle explains the Stoic conception of an overall *sumpatheia* within nature.’ There was an inner connection between disparate events, and these connections could be discovered by *signs*, interpreted by divination. The Stoic Balbus in Cicero *ND* 2.4-13 ‘proves’ the existence of gods in four ways: 1) observation of the heavens; 2) consensus of mankind; 3) recorded epiphanies; 4) divination. Balbus declares (2.12) that if divination does not always work, the fault lies with man’s power of inference, not the signs themselves, thus displaying a profound conviction in the significance of fate (and a profound ignorance of statistics).

- 12<sup>13</sup> ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη τῶν ἄλλων μερίδων μοιρῶν ὀνομασμένων. Αἴσα δέ ἐστιν ἡ αἴστος καὶ ἄγνωστος αἰτία τῶν γινομένων—ἐμφαίνεται δὲ νῦν ἡ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀδηλότης —ἢ, ὡς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, ἡ αἰεὶ οὔσα.

Table 20. Cornutus refers to earlier sources, but this is attested only in [Aristotle] *Mu.* 401b14.

- 12<sup>17</sup> Εἰμαρμένη δέ ἐστι καθ’ ἣν μέμαρπται καὶ συνείληπται πάντα ἐν τάξει καὶ στοίχῳ μὴ ἔχοντι πέρασ τὰ γινόμενα [σύλληψιν ἢ εἰ συλλαβὴ περιέχει καθάπερ | καὶ ἐν τῷ εἰρμῷ].

[σύλληψιν ... εἰρμῷ]: many Mss variations and lacunae indicate a corruption of the archetype.<sup>36</sup> Later doxographers have commented on the two perfect tense forms of *μείρομαι* *to share*, *μέμαρμαι* and *εἴμαρται*, seeing the latter as an Attic variation.<sup>37</sup> The bracketed text is either a garbled gloss to the same effect, giving *εἰρμῷ* as an example, or an addition to the explanation of *Εἰμαρμένη* using *εἰρμός* as a root, as with the later etymologies in Table 21.

μέμαρπται: *hapax*. Choeroboscus: pf. *μέμαρται*.

The definition of *Εἰμαρμένη* in terms of *μέμαρπται* is hardly an etymology if Cornutus is aware that the two words have the same root. *Εἰμαρμένη* *having been apportioned* with *μοῖρα* understood: Smyth 1027b.

- 13<sup>1</sup> Ἄνάγκη δέ ἐστιν ἣν ἀξαι καὶ ἧς περιγενέσθαι οὐκ ἔστιν ἢ ἐφ’ ἣν πᾶν δ’ ἂν γένηται τὴν ἀναγωγὴν λαμβάνει.

Ἄνάγκη is often equated with fate: Philodemus *piet.* 11 =SVF 1076; Stobaeus 1.79 =SVF 913 etc.

- 13<sup>3</sup> κατ’ ἄλλον δὲ τρόπον τρεῖς Μοῖραι παρεισάγονται κατὰ τὸ τρισσὸν τῶν χρόνων.

Hesiod *Theog.* 211ff.: amongst others, Νύξ bears Μόρον, Κῆρα, Μοίρας, Νέμεσιν.

Ἄδράστεια and Ἄνάγκη are absent.

Plato *R.* 617c: τρεῖς Μοῖραι are daughters of Ἄνάγκη. Ἄδράστεια is mentioned (451a) in a different context. Three Fates are attested 49 times, 33 of which give the names: 31 in the same order as Hesiod and Cornutus. Plato (and scholia) gives Λάχεσις first; [Aristotle] *Mu.* gives Ἄτροπος first.

<sup>35</sup> But see 22.15 where Hermes is a μάντις.

<sup>36</sup> Krafft, 199, 200 etc.

<sup>37</sup> Orion ε 55.12; Choeroboscus in *Theod.* 77.32; Et. Gud. Add. ε 420.17.

- 13<sup>5</sup> καὶ Κλωθῶ μὲν ὠνόμασται μία αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ κλώσει ἐρίων εἰκέναι τὰ γινόμενα ἄλλων ἄλλοις ἐπιπιπτόντων, καθὸ καὶ νήθουσαν αὐτὴν πρεσβυτάτην διατυποῦσι, Λάχεσις δ' ἄλλη ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆ κατὰ τοὺς κλήρους λήξει τὰ ἀποδιδόμενα ἐκάστω προσεοικέναι, Ἄτροπος δὲ ἡ τρίτη διὰ τὸ ἀτρέπτως ἔχειν τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν διατεταγμένα. ἡ δ' αὐτὴ δύναμις οἰκείως ἂν δόξαι τῶν τριῶν προσηγοριῶν τυγχάνειν. αὕτη δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ Ἄδράστεια, ἥτοι παρὰ τὸ ἀνέκφευκτος καὶ ἀναπόδραστος εἶναι ὠνομασμένη ἢ παρὰ τὸ αἰεὶ δρᾶν τὰ καθ' αὐτήν, ὡσὰν αἰειδράστεια οὔσα.

Table 24. The similarity between Cornutus and Schol. Plato *sv. Dia. R 451a.3* can hardly be coincidental: see Appendix 2, Table 9. The etymology of Ἄδράστεια contains the first two of only five instances of an etymology signalled by παρὰ (●1.7.2.7. and Appendix 9). Although the coincidence with Schol. Plato is striking, the text seems genuine (but ●1.8.9).

- 13<sup>15</sup> ἡ τοῦ στερητικοῦ μορίου πλήθος νῦν ἀποδηλοῦντος ὡς ἐν τῇ 'ἄξύλω ὕλη' πολυδράστεια γὰρ ἐστὶ.

LSJ (ἄξύλος) states Cornutus is wrong to give the prefix ἀ- as an intensifier here. The reference is to *Il.11.155*, ἀξύλω ὕλη, a phrase which clearly troubled ancient commentators because the context requires *very wooded*, not *unwooded*. We have at least 40 references: Porphyry *quae. hom. 11.155. col 1.15* proposes στέρησιν τοῦ ξυλίσασθαι, *not yet timbered* (=LSJ); the remainder, however, claim that ἀ- can indeed be an intensifier: Porphyry *quae. hom. 14.200.47* (ἀφήτωρ ὁ πολυφήτωρ); Antiphon Soph (C-5) fr. 43; Tyrannion Gramm. (C-1) fr. 60; Choeroboscus *epim. psal. 16.32* (ἐπίτασιν, ὡς τὸ "ἄξύλος ὕλη," ἢ πολύξύλος, καὶ Ἄτλας, ὁ πάνυ καρτερικός); Schol. E. *sv. V-arg-schol Hec. 612.4* gives seven meanings of ἀ-, one being ἐπίτασιν, ὡς τὸ ἀξύλος ὕλη. Cornutus is thus following accepted practice. See too LSJ α<sub>III</sub>.

- 13<sup>17</sup> Νέμεσις δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς νεμήσεως προσηγόρευται— διαίρει γὰρ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐκάστω—

Table 25. Ἄδράστεια = Νέμεσις: these are sometimes different Goddesses, e.g. Menander fr. 321. They seem to have merged with time, being the same goddess in about 11 cases, earliest C+2: Diogenianus Gramm. *paroem. 1.54*; Dionysius Attic. v 5.

- 13<sup>18</sup> Τύχη δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τεύχειν ἡμῖν τὰς περιστάσεις καὶ τῶν συμπιπτόντων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δημιουργὸς εἶναι,

Table 26. In accordance with Stoic concepts of fate, and significant because the 'obvious' etymology from τυγχάνω with its overtone of meaningless chance is avoided.<sup>38</sup>

Hesiod (*Theog. 360*) classifies her as an Oceanid; Archilochus fr. 16 relates her to Μοῖρα: πάντα Τύχη καὶ Μοῖρα Περικλεες ἀνδρὶ δίδωσιν. The noun is absent in Homer, and not a deity in the tragedians.

- 13<sup>20</sup> Ὅτις δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ λαίνανουσα καὶ ὡσπερ παρακολουθοῦσα ὀπισθεν καὶ | παρατηροῦσα τὰ πραττόμενα ὑφ' ἡμῶν κολάζειν τὰ κολάσεως ἄξια.

Cornutus is the only attested case where Ὅτις is an actual deity, elsewhere always property of the gods, *divine vengeance*. It is arguable that Νέμεσις, Τύχη and Ὅτις are abstract concepts which Cornutus would not have deified with a capital letter, but that an editor chose to do so.

<sup>38</sup> ●1.6.4. for avoidance of the 'obvious' etymology.

Table 27 shows no etymology other than from *ὀπισθεν following behind*.

Cornutus has thus carefully listed all divinities connected with fate, stating they are effectively different aspects of, or effectively identical to, fate, and provided a rational explanation for their existence from the etymology of their names. This is part of his agenda to explain to a pupil that the gods are not to be feared.<sup>39</sup>

14<sup>3</sup> λέγεται δ' ἐκ Μνημοσύνης γεννήσαι τὰς Μούσας ὁ Ζεὺς, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν κατὰ παιδείαν μαθημάτων αὐτὸς εἰσηγητὴς ἐγένετο, ἃ διὰ μελέτης καὶ κατοχῆς ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι πέφυκε ὡς ἀναγκαιότατα πρὸς τὸ εὖ ζῆν ὄντα.

There is now a transition to the Muses, connected with the previous topic by the intimate association with Zeus. ●1.9. for their pivotal importance in the context of education, involving the learning of poetry by heart. The Muses are the first word (Μουσάων) and thus first subject of Hesiod *Theog.* as his inspiration. Their mother is named as Μνημοσύνη (54), and their devotion to their father attested by the songs they sing. They are the only deities other than Zeus to be given the epithet 'Olympian'.<sup>40</sup> Learning is the offspring of Zeus and Memory, and its importance for correct living is stressed.

*τὸ εὖ ζῆν*: the pupil has presumably not yet had instruction in Stoic ethics, and Cornutus touches on the essential ethical issue of how one leads a good life. For the Stoic, a prerequisite is learning. ●1.9 for Cornutus' ethical agenda, and also consideration of political implications in the context of Neronian ideology.

14<sup>7</sup> καλοῦνται δὲ Μοῦσαι ἀπὸ τῆς μῶσεως, τουτέστι ζητήσεως, καθὸ εἴρηται ὅτι πονηρὴ, μὴ τὰ μαλακὰ μῶσο, μὴ τὰ σκλήρ' ἔχῃς.

Table 28. Very many cases of an etymology from μῶ or similar (with the gloss τὸ ζητῶ), and μῶ is also given as the root of μάντις, μαστός, μαῖα and μυστήρια (see μῶ in TLG word index, and 56.22). Many stress the connection between *seeking* and *learning*:

- ο Schol. Hesiod *WD* sv. proleg.1.120 Ἄλλὰ Μοῦσα μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ διὰ παιδεύσεως γνῶσις.

Plato explicitly connects the Muses and Apollo with learning (see 16.13 below):

- ο *Lg.* 654a6 θῶμεν παιδείαν εἶναι πρώτην διὰ Μουσῶν τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἢ πῶς;

This is the only attested use of the noun μῶσις (except the accretion at 57.5: ●1.7.2.6.).

Cornutus' explanatory quotation from Epicharmus (fr. 37 = [E] fr. 288) was probably well known, attested in Xenophon (*Mem.* 2.1.20.17, different context, and quoted by Stobaeus 3.1.205b.29).

<sup>39</sup> ●1.9.

<sup>40</sup> West (1967), 153. Hesiod *Theog.* 25 Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο; Hom. *Il.* 2.491. Alcman is reported to record them as daughters of Oceanus and Gaia (D.S. 4.7.16).

<sup>14</sup> <sup>10</sup> ἑννέα δ' εἰσὶ διὰ τὸ τετραγώνους, ὡς φησὶ τις, καὶ περιττοὺς τοὺς προσέχοντας αὐταῖς ἀποτελεῖν· τοιοῦτος γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν ἑννέα ἀριθμὸς, συνιστάμενος κατὰ τὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν γενέσθαι τὸν πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῆς μονάδος τελειότητος τινος μετέχειν δοκοῦντα ἀριθμὸν. | Table 28a. Nine Muses appear once in Homer (*Od.*24.60); both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* open with an invocation to one Muse (cf. *Il.*2.484 etc. Μοῦσαι 'Ολύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι).

ἀριθμὸς περιττός is an *odd number*; περιττός also means *remarkable*, especially for great learning (Aristotle *Metaph.* 983a2). Cornutus connects these meanings to explain the appropriateness of the number 9. The number 3 was generally considered to be the first actual number,<sup>41</sup> for example:

- ο Theon Phil. (+2) *util. math.* 46.14 λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὁ γ τέλειος, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτος ἀρχὴν καὶ μέσα καὶ πέρας ἔχει·

(τέλειος: *perfect* in the sense of satisfactory, not to be confused with a 'perfect number'; see Theon *ad. loc.*). The Pythagoreans developed a system of representing numbers as a matrix of dots or alphas:<sup>42</sup> Lang, 14, notes that several manuscripts have the marginal note

α	α	α
α	α	α
α	α	α

to explain the ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν γενέσθαι. Aristotle recognizes the significance of three dimensions, and cites Pythagoreans τὸ πᾶν καὶ τὰ πάντα τοῖς τρισὶν ὄρισται· (*Cael.* 268a12). A universal association of completeness with the number three has resulted in a plurality of gods being represented in triads: Fates, Graces, Furies, Sirens, Hesperides, Thriai, Graiai, etc.<sup>43</sup> The number 9 thus has special significance:<sup>44</sup>

- ο Proclus *plato rem. pub. comm.* 2.80.21 ὁ τῶν Μουσῶν ἱερὸς ἀριθμὸς τῆς ταύτου καὶ ὁμοίου φύσεώς ἐστίν, ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου περιττοῦ καὶ τελείου τετράγωνος ὦν, ἐν τρισὶ τριάσιν ἀφορισμένος, καὶ οὐ μόνον τέλειος ὦν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πάντα τέλειος ...

Galen *Gramm.* (298.24) suggests there are nine Muses to represent the stability (of the square) and completeness (of the three) of studying broadly, whereas ἅπαξ γὰρ ψυχὴ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἐλιχθεῖσα καὶ νοερῶς ἑαυτὴν ἐποπτεύουσα...

Plutarch *QC* 744c suggests the 3 times 3 arrangement relates to three branches of three areas of study: mathematics (arithmetic, geometry, music); philosophy (logic, physics, ethics); rhetoric (epideictic, probouleutic, forensic).

<sup>41</sup> See Cornutus, 69.1: explanation for a tripod.

<sup>42</sup> Thomas, 86.

<sup>43</sup> Language is permeated with the completeness of three: 'ABC'; 'Ready, Steady, Go'. Aristotle, *loc. cit.*, uses this completeness to explain threes in sacrifices and oaths. See too Aristotle *Met.* 374b33-375a2: ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς τρισίν, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὰ πλεῖστα ... διὸ καὶ ἡ ἱρις τρίχρως φαίνεται.

For the issue of pluralities of gods and why they are usually female, see Burkert, 173, and above at 11.3.

<sup>44</sup> See too Plutarch *aet. rom. gr.* 288c; Plutarch *QC* 743f10. Presumably, 3<sup>3</sup>=27 Muses would have been excessive. See Livy 27.37.13: *septem et uiginti uirgines ...carmen in Iunonem reginam canentes ibant.*

15 <sup>1</sup> λέγονται δὲ παρὰ τισι καὶ δύο μόναι εἶναι, παρ' οἷς δὲ τρεῖς, παρ' οἷς δὲ τέτταρες, παρ' οἷς δὲ ἑπτὰ· τρεῖς μὲν διὰ τὴν προειρημένην τῆς τριάδος τελειότητα ἢ καὶ διὰ τὸ τρία γένη σκεμμάτων εἶναι, δι' ὧν ὁ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν λόγος συμπληροῦται· δύο δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεωρεῖν τε καὶ πράττειν τὰ δέοντα ἐπιβάλλειν ἡμῖν καὶ ἐν δυσὶ τούτοις συνίστασθαι τὸ πεπαιδεῦσθαι· τέτταρες δὲ καὶ ἑπτὰ τάχα διὰ τὸ τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν μουσικῶν ὄργανα τοσοῦτους φθόγγους ἐσχηκέναι.

Table 28a. Cornutus claims alternative numbers of 2, 3, 4 and 7; we have attested 3, 4, 5, 7 and 12. Cornutus gives logical reasons why the number of Muses could be other than nine (presumably his reasons, not the reasons given by his sources), but then proceeds to enter into some detail of the Hesiodic nine. His primary concern is that some rational explanation exists, and seems here to suggest alternative possibilities to the Hesiodic nine, in a parallel to his acceptance of alternative etymologies as rational explanations: ●1.6.5.1.

15 <sup>10</sup> θήλειαι δὲ παρήχθησαν [τῷ καὶ τὰς ἀρετὰς καὶ τὴν παιδείαν θηλυκὰ ὀνόματα ἐκ τύχης ἔχειν] πρὸς σύμβολον τοῦ <ἐξ> ἐνδομενείας καὶ ἐδραιότητος τὴν πολυμάθειαν περιγίνεσθαι. 8

[τῷ ... ἔχειν]: the sentence makes (grammatical) ἔχειν without this text, and is syntactically incorrect with it, thus a later gloss.<sup>45</sup>

Cornutus produces a reason for representing a deity as female, on a level which is presumably convincing for a pupil: if so, it reflects poorly on the pupil's naivety. The general question of a deity's gender is usually avoided, for example he does not explain why the Fates or Graces should be female.<sup>46</sup>

15 <sup>13</sup> σῶνεισι δὲ καὶ συγχορεύουσιν ἀλλήλαις πρὸς παράστασιν τοῦ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἀχωρίστους αὐτῶν καὶ ἀδιαζεύκτους εἶναι.

ἀδιαζεύκτους: *hapax* form, first of 10 in different cases.

Hesiod *Theog.* (our version) begins with a description of the Muses as those who perform a choral dance.

The indivisibility of the virtues is well attested:<sup>47</sup>

- Chrysippus SVF 305 *ap.* Arius Didymus 66.2.1 *ap.* Stobaeus Ἀρετὰς δ' εἶναι πλείους φασὶ καὶ ἀχωρίστους ἀπ' ἀλλήλων...; see too SVF 1.199, 1.200, 3.295, 3.296, etc.
- But not only Stoic: Albinus *epi. doc. plato* 29.4.11 ὁ Πλάτων... Ἀχώριστοι οὖν εἰσὶν αἱ ἀρεταὶ ἀλλήλων αἱ τέλειαι; similar: Epicurus (*ep. ad. mem.* 132.11 and D.L.10.132.10).<sup>48</sup>

Cornutus relates the Muses to, if not actually identifies them with, Virtues, which is not immediately obvious.<sup>49</sup> He does not give the etymology of Muses from ὁμοῦ ἀεὶ οὔσαι

<sup>45</sup> Krafft makes no comment. ●1.1.1. and 1.7.2.

<sup>46</sup> Seneca (*ben.* 1.3.5.) provides a reason why the Graces are female (*virgines, quia incorrupta sunt*), even when dismissive of such analysis; see above 14.10.

<sup>47</sup> Hays, 147: 'a well-known Stoic position', without reference.

<sup>48</sup> The expression ἀντακολουθοῦσιν ἀλλήλαις αἱ ἀρεταὶ is sufficiently well attested for non-Stoic writers to conclude that the position is held by philosophers generally: Olympiodorus *plato alc. comm.* 214.10; Alexander Aphrod. *arist. top.* 94.30; Clemens Alex. *strom.* 2.9.45.1.1; Dio Chrysostom *fr. Job* 64.517.9; etc.

<sup>49</sup> ●1.9.

(Table 28) which would support this indivisibility, possibly because the *seeking* aspect of learning is paramount.<sup>50</sup>

15 15 *περὶ δὲ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὕμνους καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν κατασχολοῦνται μάλιστα, ἐπειδὴ στοιχείου παιδείας ἐστὶ τὸ ἀφορᾶν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπόδειγμα τοῦ βίου ποιησαμένων ἀνά στόμα ἔχειν δεῖ.*

Hesiod *Theog.* 10ff. summarizes the list of Gods worshipped in song by the Muses. Cornutus (8.3) has already identified Zeus with ἡ τοῦ κόσμου φύσις, and says the educational process requires attention to the divine (note τὸ θεῖον, not τοὺς θεοὺς). Inspiration is of divine origin: *Theog.* 31-32 ἐνέπνευσαν δέ μοι αὐδὴν θέσπιν, so concentrating on the divine means using reason.

Cornutus is careful to stress the connection not only between the Muses and the Divine, but also with proper behaviour, perhaps suggesting that not all activities connected with singing and dancing are to be applauded: ●1.9.

15 19 *ἄλλως δὲ Κλειῶ μὲν μία τῶν Μουσῶν ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ κλέους τυγχάνειν τοὺς | πεπαιδευμένους καὶ αὐτοῦς τε καὶ ἑτέρους κλείζειν,*

West (1966), 32 and 180-181, suggests that the names were not traditional, they were just 'The Muses', and that Hesiod invented the names using words in preceding lines:

- *Theog.* 77: Κλειῶ τ' Εὐτέρπη τε Θάλειά τε Μελομένη τε from 67 κλείουσιν; 51 τέρπουσι; 65 θαλίης; 66 μέλπονται; 69 μολπῆ;
- *Theog.* 78: Τερψιχόρη τ' Ἐρατώ τε Πολύμνιά τ' Οὐρανίη τε from 7 χορούς (and *Scut.* 272-273 χοροῖς τε τέρψιν ἔχον); 65 ἔρατήν; 70 ἔρατός; 70 ὕμνεύσαις; 71 οὐρανῶ;
- *Theog.* 79: Καλλιόπη from 68 ὀπι καλῆ.

Despite the variations in the tradition of Muses and their numbers, and disregarding the transparent possibility that they were simply invented by Hesiod, Cornutus nevertheless proceeds to examine their names for some insights into their natures. This procedure reveals his conviction that a rigorously detailed examination of ancient Greek traditions can reveal something important.<sup>51</sup>

Table 28b attests the paucity of detail about, or interest in, the nature of the Muses, and a corresponding lack of agreement concerning their individual functions. Cornutus clearly intends to stress the advantages of education, even when his interpretation has the air of being invented on the spot, like Hesiod naming his Muses. The majority of Cornutus' Muses do not have specific individual functions: for him, the virtues cannot be separated (15.13 above), but represent various aspects of the advantages to those who consort with them (even the transparent Οὐρανία is generalized, see below).

<sup>50</sup> Plato *Lg.* 655c6 describes the unnamed Muse of choral dancing (χορεύματα) as a virtue (ἀρετή); see 16.13 below.

<sup>51</sup> See Most (1983), 2040, and Section 1.9. Seneca *ben.* 1.3.6. criticizes this technique.



Κλειώ is associated with the κλείουσιν (*Theog.* 67) where the Muses praise the immortals.

Renown is attainable only by the educated: this may be specifically directed at pupils and their parents, for whom the attainment of renown is a natural aim.<sup>52</sup>

16 <sup>2</sup> Εὐτέρπη δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τὰς ὀμιλίας αὐτῶν ἐπιτερπεῖς καὶ ἀγωγοὺς εἶναι,

- ο Plutarch *QC* 743d10 = SVF 1099 ὡς φησι Χρῦσιππος, αὕτη (sc. Εὐτέρπη) τὸ περὶ τὰς ὀμιλίας ἐπιτερπέες εἶληχε καὶ κεχαρισμένον.

16 <sup>3</sup> Θάλεια δὲ ἦτοι διὰ τὸ θάλλειν αὐτῶν τὸν βίον

αὐτῶν: refers to τοὺς πεπαιδευμένους (16.1), as does αὐτοὺς 16.4 and 16.10, listing the advantages in life which are gained by being educated.

16 <sup>4</sup> ἢ διὰ τὸ ἔχειν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν συμποτικὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιδεξίως καὶ εὐμούσως ἐν ταῖς θαλείαις ἀναστρεφομένους,

Cornutus makes an ethical point that contact with the Muses encourages the virtue of conviviality, but with careful qualification. •1.9. for possible socio-political implications.

16 <sup>6</sup> Μελπομένη δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μολπῆς γλυκείας τινὸς φωνῆς μετὰ μέλους οὐσῆς –μέλπονται γὰρ ὑπὸ πάντων οἱ ἀγαθοὶ καὶ μέλπουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῶν γεγονότας–,

Cornutus seems eager to qualify the Muse as singing in good taste: •1.9 and *Τερψιχόρη*.

16 <sup>10</sup> *Τερψιχόρη* δὲ διὰ τὸ τέρπεσθαι καὶ χαίρειν αὐτοὺς τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τοῦ βίου

This etymology touches on the important ethical issue of happiness. For the Stoic, happiness depends on virtue, and virtue requires living consistently with nature.<sup>53</sup>

- ο D.L.7.87.1 ὁ Ζήνων ... εἶπε τὸ ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ κατ' ἀρετὴν ζῆν.

Virtue is unobtainable without a thorough study of the world we live in, thus only the educated person can be happy. No attempt is made at ethical argument, simply the suggestion that this etymology supports the notion that learning is essential for happiness.

τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τοῦ βίου: Cornutus does not explain this restriction, but if happiness depends on virtue, which in turn depends on study, then childhood cannot be a period of genuine happiness.

16 <sup>11</sup> ἢ διὰ τὸ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀρᾶσθαι παρέχειν τέρψιν τοῖς προσπελάζουσιν αὐτοῖς, ἐνὸς στοιχείου πλεονάζοντος ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι,

An etymological method reminiscent of several instances in Plato *Cra.* where the freedom to ignore awkward syllables has led virtually all commentators to assume that Plato is not being serious. •1.6.4.

<sup>52</sup> Fame as a natural and laudable aim is attested for example in *Commentariolum petitionis* attributed to Q. Tullius Cicero.

<sup>53</sup> See too Galen *PHP* 5.6.7.2; Stobaeus 2.7.5b5.30-33. For Stoic variations and the connection between happiness and virtue, see LS 1.398-401 and Long (2003), 391: 'Virtue, the Stoics will say, is necessary and sufficient for happiness'. For the debate over the meaning of ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν, see Schofield, 241-246; Irwin 346-351.

16<sup>13</sup> τάχα δὲ ἐπεὶ καὶ χόρους ἴστασαν οἱ παλαιοὶ τοῖς θεοῖς, συντιθέντων αὐτοῖς τὰς ᾠδὰς τῶν σοφωτάτων

*χόρους*: another oddity in Cornutus' language. Only 29, of which Cornutus is earliest, of the ca. 6000 attested instances of *χορός* are paroxytone.

Plato *Lg.* 654a4 provides an etymology of *χορός*: *χορός* τε ὀνομακέναι παρὰ τὸ τῆς χαρᾶς ἔμφυτον ὄνομα. He further states that the ability to dance and sing is a necessary and sufficient criterion for being defined as educated (*παιδευμένος*), provided they are *good* songs and *good* dances (εἰ καὶ καλὰ ᾄδει καὶ καλὰ ὀρχεῖται). He sees the possibility of an improper pleasure from movements expressing depravity (656a1): ἡδέα γὰρ τούτων ... *πονηρὰ δέ*.

This may suggest a reason for Cornutus' avoidance of the 'obvious' etymology of *delighting in dance* (transparent in Hesiod) as being too general, being only prepared to provide an etymology from *χορός* under the proper circumstances. •1.6.4. and 1.9.

16<sup>15</sup> ἡ δὲ Ἐρατῶ πότερον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος λαβοῦσα τὴν ὀνομασίαν τὴν περὶ πᾶν εἶδος φιλοσοφίας ἐπιστροφὴν παρίστησιν

Hesiod *Theog.* 70 *ἐρατός*: *lovely*. See Appendix 1, Table 8, Plato: "Ἡρα δὲ ἐρατὴ τις.

16<sup>17</sup> ἡ τῆς περὶ τὸ ἔρεσθαι καὶ ἀποκρίνεσθαι δυνάμεως ἐπίσκοπός ἐστιν, ὡς δὴ διαλεκτικῶν ὄντων τῶν σπουδαίων

With the Muses and *ἀρετή* being closely associated, Cornutus must have the ethical dimension of *σπουδαῖος* in mind here, connected with serious study.<sup>54</sup> This reference either introduces the concept of dialectics as the science of a philosophical dialogue, or supposes some familiarity with the topic: •1.9.

16<sup>20</sup> Πολύμνια δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ πολυῦμνητος ἀρετὴ

Cornutus equates *ἀρετή* with one Muse.

16<sup>20</sup> ἢ μᾶλλον ἴσως ἡ πολλοὺς ὕμνοῦσα καὶ ὅσα περὶ τῶν προγενεστέρων ὑμνεῖται παρειληφύια καὶ τῆς ἐκ τε ποιημάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συγγραμμάτων ἱστορίας ἐπιμελουμένη.

Cornutus unusually gives a preference. He and Diodorus Sic. both derive etymologies from Hesiod *Theog.* 70 *ὕμνεύσαις*, but Plutarch uses *μνήμη* (Table 28b).

17<sup>4</sup> Οὐρανία δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ περὶ τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄλων φύσιν ἐπιστήμη—τὸν γὰρ ὄλον κόσμον οὐρανὸν ἐκάλουσιν οἱ παλαιοί—

Corresponding to the third Aristotelian definition of *οὐρανός*: see 1.1 above. Cornutus treats Astronomy as a study of the divine, but generalizes to include all natural philosophy.

17<sup>6</sup> Καλλιόπη δὲ ἡ καλλίφωνος καὶ καλλιειπὴς ῥητορικὴ, δι' ἧς καὶ πολιτεύονται καὶ δήμοις προσφωνοῦσιν, ἄγοντες αὐτοὺς πειθοῖ καὶ οὐ βία ἐφ' ὅτι ἂν προαιρῶνται, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν ταύτην μάλιστα φησὶ

*βασιλεῦσιν ἄμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖν*.

Hesiod names the last Muse as the most important, but perhaps had a particular audience to gratify. Cornutus avoids that judgement, merely pointing out the political advantage of this

<sup>54</sup> See too Aristotle *Cat.* 10b7 τῷ γὰρ ἀρετὴν ἔχειν σπουδαῖος λέγεται.

Muse. He provides a general definition of rhetoric corresponding to Aristotle,<sup>55</sup> and quotes Hesiod *Theog.* 80 in indirect speech.

- 17 <sup>11</sup> ἀποδίδονται δὲ αὐταῖς ποικίλα ὄργανα, ἐμφαίνοντος ἐκάστου ὅτι ἤρμοσται καὶ σύμφωνος αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ καὶ ὁμολογούμενος ὁ τῶν ἀγαθῶν βίος ἐστί.

Cornutus can make another ethical point from the iconography of the Muses, who unsurprisingly are variously represented holding musical instruments. The Muses are indistinguishable and just sing in Hesiod *Theog.* 36-37, but singing is difficult to represent on pottery for example, and holding a musical instrument is a less ambiguous pose.

- 17 <sup>13</sup> συγχορεύει δ' αὐταῖς ὁ Ἀπόλλων διὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς μουσικῆς· παραδέδοται γὰρ καὶ οὗτος κιθαριστῆς δι' ἣν εἴση μετ' ὀλίγον αἰτίαν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὄρεσιν φασι χορεύειν, ἐπειδὴ χρεῖαν ἔχουσι τοῦ μονάζειν καὶ συνεχῶς εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν ἀναχωρεῖν οἱ φιλομαθοῦντες,

ἧς χάρις οὐδὲν σεμνὸν ἐξευρίσκεται  
κατὰ τὸν κωμικόν.

Apollo is associated with the Muses in Hesiod *Theog.* 94, Hom. *Il.* 1.603, *Od.* 8.488, as a natural association of lyre and singing (see 68.3 where *Theog.* 94 is misquoted). Plato *Lg.* 653d3 identifies him as μουσηγέτης, their leader. This is the only time Cornutus explicitly delays an exposition: Apollo does not fit into his schedule here (● 1.7.3.1), but being obliged to refer to him when discussing the Muses, does so minimally.

- 17 <sup>20</sup> τούτου δ' ἔνεκεν καὶ ἐπὶ ἐννέα νύκτας λέγεται συγγενόμενος τῇ Μνημοσύνῃ ὁ Ζεὺς γεννηῆσαι | αὐτάς· καὶ γὰρ τῆς ἐν νυκτὶ ζητήσεως δεῖ πρὸς τὰ κατὰ παιδείαν· εὐφρόνην γοῦν οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι οἱ ποιηταὶ τὴν νύκτα ἐκάλεσαν, καὶ ὁ Ἐπίχαρμος αὐτίκα αἶτε τι, φησί,

ζατεῖ σοφόν τις, νυκτὸς ἐνθυμητέον, καὶ  
πάντα τὰ σπουδαῖα νυκτὸς μᾶλλον ἐξευρίσκεται.

A curious attempt at an analogy between Zeus' sexual activity and the productivity of studying at night.

εὐφρόνη: euphemism for *night*, Hesiod *WD* 560 etc., yet even Hesiod calls the nights ἐπίρροθοι *helpful*, and many writers explain the expression positively as a time for planning or thought without sensory perceptions.<sup>56</sup> Cornutus again provides a rational explanation, with a strong emphasis (οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι), implicitly denying a need for euphemism, which would admit a superstitious fear of the night.

The two fragments (Epicharmus fr. 27, 28 = [E.] fr. 270, 271) of Epicharmus are unattested elsewhere.

- 18 <sup>7</sup> [τινὲς δ' Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Γῆς ἔφασαν αὐτάς φῦναι ὡς ἀρχαιότατον ἠγγεῖσθαι τὸν περὶ τούτων λόγον δέοντος].

This alternative genealogy is found in Alcman (fr. 5 subfr. 2.1.28) and Mimnermus *Eleg.* fr. 5. If Cornutus were offering an alternative origin of the Muses, the logical place would be at 14.3

<sup>55</sup> *Rh.* 1355b25 Ἔστω δὲ ἡ ῥητορικὴ δύναμις περὶ ἕκαστον τοῦ θεωρηῆσαι τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον πιθανόν.

<sup>56</sup> Plutarch *curios.* 521d5; Libanius *progym.* 4.1.17.1; Clemens Alex. *strom.* 4.22.140.1.1; Eustathius *Il.* 4.169.3; etc.

where they are introduced, not here, where the information seems gratuitous. Moreover, the Muses' parentage of Zeus and Mnemosyne is so fundamental to Stoic thought that an alternative is superfluous, and this text is thus identifiable as an accretion: •1.7.2.

18<sup>9</sup> στεφανοῦνται δὲ φοίνικι, ὡς μὲν τινες νομίζουσιν, διὰ τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν, ἀπὸ τοῦ Φοινίκων δοκεῖν εὕρημα εἶναι τὰ γράμματα, ὡς δ' εὐλογώτερόν ἐστ' ἔχειν, διὰ τὸ τρυφερὸν καὶ εὐερνὲς καὶ ἀείζωνον καὶ δυσανάβατον καὶ γλυκύκαρπον τοῦ φυτοῦ.

Pausanias 8.48.2.7 relates the palm crown for the victor in games at Delos for Apollo, so the iconography probably derives simply from an association with Apollo. Cornutus again uses the occasion to suggest the rewards of learning.

The introduction of writing into the Greek world by the Phoenicians was widely believed (Hdt.5.58), and Scamon (fr. 5, 15) claims the Phoenicians and Syrians invented it.

18<sup>14</sup> Ἐπιβάλλοντος δ' ἡμῖν, ὡς εἴρηται, καὶ εὐεργετικοῖς εἶναι, παραδεδώκασιν οἱ πλεῖστοι Διὸς θυγατέρας | τὰς Χάριτας

εὐεργετικοῖς: *hapax* form. As it stands, the text is a *non sequitur*, reading 'Because, as it has been said, it is encumbant on us to be kind, most writers have represented the Graces as daughters of Zeus'.<sup>57</sup> To be noted are:

- 1) Cornutus uses ἐπιβάλλω seven times (12.12, 13.18, 15.6, 18.14, 25.11, 51.14, 57.9), the other six usages in the sense of *happen*.
- 2) At 9.20 he says ἐντεῦθεν τε γὰρ εἰσιν αἱ τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ εὐεργετεῖν ἀρχαί.
- 3) Chrysippus is quoted as saying the Graces are beneficent to us (Philodemus *piet.* c.14 = SVF 1081) ... φησὶν εἶναι καὶ τὰς Χάριτας τὰς ἡμετέ(ρ)ας καταρχὰς κα(ι) τὰς ἀνταπ(ο)δόσεις τῶν εὐε(ργ)εσιῶ(ν).

In context, therefore, Cornutus must mean that the Graces are beneficent to us, requiring the textual emendation εὐεργετικάς, reading 'As already stated, the Graces happen to be beneficent to us, and most writers have represented them as daughters of Zeus'.<sup>58</sup>

It would be natural to move from the Muses to the Graces, being constantly associated, living next to each other: τυτθὸν ἀπ' ἀκροτάτης κορυφῆς νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου (Hesiod *Theog.* 62). See E.*Her.*673-675 τὰς Χάριτας ταῖς Μούσαισιν συγκαταμειγνύς, ἡδίσταν συζυγίαν.

19<sup>1</sup> οἱ μὲν ἐξ Εὐρυδόμης αὐτῷ γεγονουίας τῷ μάλιστα ἐξ εὐρέων καὶ διαβεβηκότων δόμων τὰς δωρεὰς φιλεῖν δίδοσθαι, οἱ δ' ἐξ Εὐρυνόμης, καὶ τούτου παριστάντος ὅτι χαριστικώτεροί πᾶς εἰσιν ἢ ὀφείλουσιν εἶναι οἱ μεγάλους κλήρους νεμόμενοι, τινὲς δ' ἐξ Εὐρυμεδούσης, εἰς ταῦτό συντείνοντος καὶ τούτου τοῦ ἐτύμου, κυριεύουσι γὰρ τῶν ἰδίων οἱ ἄνθρωποι.

Εὐρυδόμης: *hapax*, an unknown reference.

Εὐρυμεδούση: *hapax* as a goddess, unknown elsewhere as mother of the Graces (Hom. *Od.* 7.8 nurse of Nausikaa). The etymology is from μέδω *to rule* (their own property).

Εὐρυνόμη: Hesiod *Theog.* 907-909

τρεις δὲ οἱ Εὐρυνόμη Χάριτας τέκε καλλιπαρήους,  
Ὠκεανοῦ κούρη πολυήρατον εἶδος ἔχουσα,

<sup>57</sup> See LSJ: ἐπιβάλλω, II.8.

<sup>58</sup> Lang, 18, also gives this emendation in some Mss.

Ἄγλαϊν τε καὶ Εὐφροσύνην Θαλίην τ' ἔρατεινήν·

West (1969), 398, however, argues convincingly that line 900 is the limit for genuine Hesiod.

Cornutus does not give this name first, which might suggest that Hesiod is not his source here,<sup>59</sup> or there was a lack of clarity in Cornutus' version of *Theogony* so the name was Εὐρυδόμη, Εὐρυμεδοῦση or Εὐρυνόμη.<sup>60</sup>

Seneca *ben.* 3. reports Chrysippus as having written books entitled *περὶ Χαρίτων*, adding:

- ο (=SVF 1082, 29-30) Nam praeter ista, quae Hecaton transscribit, tres Chrysippus Gratias ait Iovis et Eurynomes filias esse.

19 8 τὴν δ' Ἥραν ἄλλοι διδόασιν αὐταῖς μητέρα, ἴν' εὐγενέσταται τῶν θεῶν ὦσιν, ὡς περὶ τῶν πράξεων εἰσι.

There is only one attested reference:

- ο Schol. Hom. *Od. sv.* 8. hyp.-v. 364.4 καὶ δύο γενέσεις Χαρίτων, αἱ μὲν Εὐρυνόμης καὶ Διὸς, αἱ δὲ Ἥρας καὶ Διὸς ἔτι παρθένου.

Hera gives one of the Graces, Πασιθέη, to Sleep (Hom. *Il.*14.267) perhaps thus interpreted later as being the mother.

Cornutus uses the uncertainty over the name of the mother to send various ethical messages about the nature and value of the Graces.

19 9 πρὸς ἄλλην δὲ ἔμφασιν γυμναὶ παρεισάγονται, ὡς καὶ τῶν μηδὲν κτήμα ἔχόντων ὑπουργεῖν τινα ὠφελίμως [χαρίζεσθαι πολλά] δυναμένων καὶ οὐ περιουσιάζεσθαι πάντως, ἵνα τις εὐεργετικός ᾖ, δέοντος, ὡς εἴρηται καὶ τὸ

ξενίων δέ τε θυμὸς ἄριστος·

τινὲς δὲ οἴονται διὰ τῆς γυμνητείας αὐτῶν παρίστασθαι τὸ εὐλύτως καὶ ἀνεμποδίστως δεῖν ἔχειν πρὸς τὸ χαρίζεσθαι.

ξενίων δέ τε θυμὸς ἄριστος: unattested elsewhere. Literally *The spirit of the hospitable is the finest* (Hays: *It's the thought that counts*).

The Graces had not always been naked: D.L.2.19.5 and Pausanias 9.35 report a statue at the entrance to the Athenian Acropolis of clothed Graces, the latter also reporting another clothed triad at 6.24.6. Later representations show them naked (Pausanias has no idea why). ● 1.8.10 and Appendix 2, Table 10, for close textual parallels between the accounts of the Graces by Seneca and Cornutus. Seneca is highly dismissive of Chrysippus' explanation of the iconography, viewing it as irrelevant. Cornutus gives effectively the same argument as Chrysippus, but the detail is highly relevant to him because it provides the rational explanation of religious tradition. If Chrysippus had an agenda in his *περὶ Χαρίτων* similar to Cornutus, then Seneca's criticism would be poorly made.

[χαρίζεσθαι πολλά]: interrupting the logic, and grammatically correct when removed. This has the appearance of a marginal note, possibly an etymology, and is identifiable as an accretion.

<sup>59</sup> But Seneca *ben.* 1.3.6. and Pausanias 9.35 have the transmitted *Theogony*, because they name the Graces specifically from Hesiod.

<sup>60</sup> This confusion is not without close parallel: according to [Apollodorus] *bib.* 1.85.4, Glaukos has a mother Εὐρυμέδη, but Hyginus *fab.* 157.1.2 has him *ex Eurynome*.

<sup>19</sup> <sup>17</sup> λέγονται δ' ὑφ' ὧν μὲν δύο εἶναι, ὑφ' ὧν δὲ τρεῖς· δύο μὲν, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς μὲν προκατάρχειν δεῖ χάριτος, τοὺς δὲ ἀμείβεσθαι· τρεῖς δέ, ἐπειδὴ καλῶς ἔχει τὸν τετευχότα ἀμοιβῆς ἐστάναι πάλιν χαριστικῶς, ἵνα ἀκαταπαύστως τοῦτο γίνηται, τοιοῦτόν τι καὶ τῆς χορείας αὐτῶν ἐμφαινούσης.

The Graces are invariably represented with the middle Grace facing the other way, holding hands in a circular dance.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>19</sup> <sup>22</sup> ἕτεροι δ' ἔφασαν | μίαν μὲν εἶναι Χάριν τὴν περὶ τὸν ὑπουργοῦντά τι ὠφελίμως, ἑτέραν δὲ τὴν περὶ τὸν δεχόμενον τὴν ὑπουργίαν καὶ ἐπιτηροῦντα τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀμοιβῆς, τρίτην δὲ τὴν περὶ τὸν ἀνθυπουργοῦντά τι καθ' αὐτὸν ἐν καιρῷ.

Compare:

- o Seneca *ben.* 1.3.1. alii tria beneficorum esse genera, promerentium, reddentium, simul accipientium reddentiumque.

<sup>20</sup> <sup>5</sup> [ἰλαρῶς δὲ εὐεργετεῖν δέοντος καὶ ἰλαροὺς ποιουσῶν τοὺς εὐεργετουμένους τῶν Χαρίτων, πρῶτον μὲν κοινῶς ἀπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς πᾶσαι Χάριτες ὀνομασμέναι εἰσὶ· καὶ εὐμορφοὶ δὲ λέγονται εἶναι καὶ εὐήδειαν καὶ πιθανότητα χαρίζεσθαι· εἶτα κατ' ἴδιαν ἢ μὲν Ἀγλαΐα προσηγόρευται, ἢ δὲ Θάλεια, ἢ δὲ Εὐφροσύνη, διὰ τοῦτο ἐνίων καὶ Εὐάνθη φησάντων μητέρα αὐτῶν εἶναι, τινῶν δ' Αἴγλην. συνοικεῖν δ' Ὀμηρὸς ἔφη μίαν τῶν Χαρίτων τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ διὰ τὸ ἐπιχάρिता εἶναι τὰ τεχνικὰ ἔργα.] 11

εὐήδειαν: *hapax*.

Section 1.7.2.4. argues that this text is an accretion. Of the two putative mothers, Εὐάνθη is unattested elsewhere in this context, and Antimachos says that the Graces are daughters of Αἴγλη and Ἥλιος.<sup>62</sup> At *Il.* 14.275 Homer refers to Χαρίτων μίαν ὀπλοτεράων Πασιθέην, but at *Il.* 18.382, he names Χάρις as wife of Hephaistos, not μίαν τῶν Χαρίτων. This inconsistency would hardly have been unknown to Cornutus.

<sup>20</sup> <sup>15</sup> Ἡγεμόνα δὲ παραδιδόασιν αὐτῶν τὸν Ἑρμῆν, ἐμφαίνοντες ὅτι εὐλογίστεως χαρίζεσθαι δεῖ καὶ μὴ εἰκῆ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀξίοις· ὁ γὰρ ἀχαρισθηεὶς ὀκνηρότερος γίνεται πρὸς τὸ εὐεργετεῖν.

An interesting difference of priorities between Stoics is highlighted here:

- o Seneca *ben.* 1.3.7: Ergo et Mercurius una stat, non quia beneficia ratio commendat vel oratio, sed quia pictori ita visum est.

Cornutus has touched on the fundamental ethical issue of reciprocity, again reducing a complex subject to a carefully formulated clause stating that practical ethics is rationally based. He does not advocate an automatic mechanism of favours bestowed strictly according to return, which Seneca *ben.* 2.31.2.7 calls *non beneficium, sed negotiato*, saying merely that favours should be bestowed εὐλογίστεως. He is perhaps preparing the ground for the Stoic educational curriculum of ethics.

<sup>61</sup> Seneca *ben.* 1.3.4. The Graces were represented thus on Greek imperial coins, or conversely, they are identified as the Graces *because* of this iconography.

<sup>62</sup> Pausanias 9.35.1.

20 18 τυγχάνει δὲ ὁ Ἑρμῆς ὁ λόγος ὧν, ὃν ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ οἱ θεοί, μόνον τὸν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ζώων λογικὸν ποιήσαντες, ὃ παρὰ τὰλλα ἐξοχώτατον εἶχον αὐτοί.

Cornutus now begins what must be considered his core theme, and for which previous topics prepare the way. More space is allocated to Hermes than any other deity (see 8.3 above): he is that rational quality which we share with the divine and which distinguishes us from other animals. He has a unique position amongst the gods because of his special relationship with man:

ο ΗΗ 4(*Merc.*) 576 πᾶσι δ' ὃ γε θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ὁμιλεῖ.

Hermes is equated with Reason, and reason, or rational argument, is the essence of the text: Appendix 9, Table 3, shows that there is a total of 306 causal clauses used for explicit reasoning in the process of explaining genealogies, iconography, epithets and etymologies, in addition to explanations using other grammatical constructions.<sup>63</sup>

20 21 ὠνόμασται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρεῖν μήσασθαι, ὅπερ ἐστὶ λέγειν, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔρυμα ἡμῶν εἶναι καὶ οἶον ὄχθρωμα.

Table 29. The first etymology follows Plato, but otherwise only Hesychius agrees, offering Plato *verbatim*. Of interest is the entry in EM 376.29, which gives the second of Cornutus' etymologies effectively *verbatim*, but not the first. If the authors of the EM are not being selective with source material, it follows that they are not quoting Cornutus directly, from which we can deduce that here, Cornutus is actually following at least one real source and not inventing every etymology spontaneously. The more common etymology from ἑρμηνεύς *interpreter* suggested by Plato is reversed in Et. Gud. ε 527.9 and EM 376.47: Ἑρμηνεύς ... παρὰ τὸ Ἑρμῆς.

Cornutus selects the first etymology from μήδομαι to incorporate the sense of *skill*, thus relating it to rational discourse.

20 23 ἀλλ' | ἐνθένδε πρῶτον μὲν διάκτορος κέκληται ἦτοι ἀπὸ τοῦ διάτορος εἶναι καὶ τρανός ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ διάγειν τὰ νοήματα ἡμῶν εἰς τὰς τῶν πλησίον ψυχὰς καθὼ καὶ τὰς γλώττας αὐτῶ καθιεροῦσιν.

Table 30. Etymologies using διάγω differ, some from his function of guiding souls to Hades, some, as Cornutus, relating it to communication by speech.

γλώττας αὐτῶ καθιεροῦσιν: this practice is mentioned in Aristophanes *Plutus* 1110 and Heraclitus *QH* 72.19.<sup>64</sup> Further, Append. Proverb. 3.1.1. gives Ἡ γλώττα τῷ κήρυκι τέμνεται as a proverb, citing Callistratos.

<sup>63</sup> The analysis was prompted by my impression, which transpired to be unfounded, that there was a significant difference in grammatical constructions between the four sections of the text. •1.8. for textual similarities with Heraclitus *QH* on Hermes.

<sup>64</sup> However, Hermes is universally associated with peace (see 22.18 and Heraclitus *QH* 72.8), and in Aristophanes *Pax* 1062, tongues are sacrificed to Peace.

21 <sup>4</sup> εἶτα ἐριούνιος ἐπονομάζεται ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγαλοφελῆς τις εἶναι καὶ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἰσχύειν τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτῷ

The list of 15 epithets of Hermes is not exhaustive,<sup>65</sup> but the order of the epithets (and/or functions) is significant because Homeric ones come first. Up to and including the two epithets of Iris (διάκτορος, ἐριούνιος, σῶκος, ἀκάκητα, ἀργειφόντης, χρυσόρραπις, κῆρυξ θεῶν, Ἴριν ποδήνεμον, Ἴριν ἀελλόποδα) all are attested in Homer and/or Hesiod. Then at 22.7, ψυχοπομπός, first attested in Diodorus Sic. 1.96.6.1, followed by ἐνόδιος, ἡγεμόνιος, ἀγοραῖος, ἐμπολαῖος, κερδῶος, δολίος, νόμιος. All except ἐνόδιος and κερδῶος are first attested in Aristophanes; κερδῶος is attested in Aesop *fab.* 90.<sup>66</sup> Cornutus is the first attested instance of ἐνόδιος, and it is tempting to conclude that this epithet is relatively late.<sup>67</sup> However, there is only one ἀγοραῖος (for Hermes) before Cornutus (Aristophanes *Equites* 297), without which the same inference would be drawn, so arguably all these epithets had been established by the time of Aristophanes. Although the last epithet νόμιος is attested in Aristophanes, Cornutus has his own interpretation: see 25.18.

21 <sup>6</sup> καὶ σῶκος ὡσάν σωτήρ τῶν οἴκων ὑπάρχων [ἦ, ὡς τινες, ἰσχυρός].

Table 31. S.El.118 σωκῶ *I have strength*. The bracketed text is incongruous, thus an accretion.<sup>68</sup>

21 <sup>8</sup> καὶ τὸ ἀκάκητα δὲ αὐτὸν λέγεσθαι τοιοῦτου τινὸς σημείον ἐστίν· οὐ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ κακοῦν καὶ βλάπτειν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ σῶζειν μᾶλλον γέγονεν ὁ λόγος, ὅθεν καὶ τὴν Ὑγίειαν αὐτῷ συνώκισαν.

Of Hermes in Homer (*Il.*16.185 etc.), but of Prometheus in Hesiod (*Theog.* 614).

Ὑγίεια: This is the only instance of a personification not mentioned in Hesiod (●1.7.1. and Appendix 5), and thus needs scrutiny. It is certain that at some date, Hermes is in some manner associated with health; there are three possibilities:

- 1) Cornutus links Hermes with the personification of Health;
- 2) He uses συνοικίζω in the general sense, translating as 'that is why he is associated with health',<sup>69</sup> ●1.7.2.7 (example 2);
- 3) (My conclusion) It is an accretion, like the end of the previous sentence.

Here, the oddity is the connection with Health, personified or not. There are no attested references to Hermes having a wife or any Goddess as a consort, but several centuries after Cornutus there is confusion between the Caduceus of Hermes and the Staff of Asclepius, a picture further complicated by the daughters of Asclepius being identified with the Graces, and having the Roman names *Meditrine*, *Hygeia* and *Panacea*. For the Caduceus, see below at 22.18, but the connection between snakes and healing may have contributed to an association

<sup>65</sup> For example *HH* 4(*Merc.*) 436 Βουφόνε μηχανιώτα πονεύμενε δαιτὸς ἑταῖρε. See 25.18, νόμιος. Orphic hymn 28 provides several more epithets.

<sup>66</sup> See Aristophanes *Plutus* 1164 Ὡς ἀγαθὸν ἐστ' ἐπωνυμίας πολλὰς ἔχειν.

<sup>67</sup> Plato *Lg.* 914b4 refers to an ἐνοδίαν δαίμονα.

<sup>68</sup> ὡς τινες without verb is unusual, but attested. For example, of the 10 instances in the Aristotelian corpus (without fragments), there is only one instance without verb, the spurious *Mu.* 392a6.

<sup>69</sup> Lang's text gives an uppercase H as editor's interpretation.



of Hermes with Health.<sup>70</sup>

- 21 <sup>11</sup> ἀργειφόντης δέ ἐστιν οἶον ἀργεφάντης ἀπὸ τοῦ λευκῶς πάντα φαίνειν καὶ σαφηνίζειν—τὸ γὰρ λευκὸν ἀργὸν ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοί— ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν φωνὴν ταχυτήτος—καὶ γὰρ τὸ ταχὺ ἀργὸν λέγεται—

Table 32: Although this epithet is today universally translated as *Argos slayer*, the table shows a considerable diversity in ancient opinion, including one rare denial of an etymology. This diversity provides a good illustration of ancient etymological priorities, in that a 'good' etymology highlights some characteristic of the nominatum (●1.6.5). Cornutus offers two alternatives, both based on fundamental characteristics of Hermes.

- 21 <sup>15</sup> χρυσόρραπς δέ, ὅτι πολύτιμος ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ῥαπισμός, πολλοῦ γὰρ ἄξιαί εἰσιν εὐκαιροὶ νοθεσίαι καὶ ἐπιστροφή τῶν προσεχόντων αὐταῖς.

χρυσόρραπς: Hom. *Od.* 5.87; HH 4(*Merc.*) 539. Further benefits from education.

- 21 <sup>18</sup> παραδέδοται δὲ καὶ κῆρυξ θεῶν καὶ διαγγέλλειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, κῆρυξ μὲν, ἐπειδὴ διὰ φωνῆς γεγωνοῦ παριστᾶ | τὰ κατὰ τὸν λόγον σημαίνόμενα ταῖς ἀκοαῖς, ἄγγελος δέ, ἐπεὶ τὸ βούλημα τῶν θεῶν γινώσκομεν ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεδομένων ἡμῖν κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἐννοιῶν.

κῆρυξ θεῶν: Hesiod *WD* 80.

ἄγγελος: with this elementary epistemological statement, Cornutus introduces yet another important element of Stoic thought. Stoics differentiated between conceptions (ἐννοιαί) and pre-conceptions (προλήψεις):

- Aëtius *plac.* 4.11 = SVF 2.83 (part; ●1.6.1) Τῶν δὲ ἐννοιῶν αἱ μὲν φυσικῶς γίνονται κατὰ τοὺς εἰρημένους τρόπους καὶ ἀνεπιτεχνήτως, αἱ δὲ ἤδη δι' ἡμετέρας διδασκαλίας καὶ ἐπιμελείας· αὐταὶ μὲν οὖν ἐννοιαὶ καλοῦνται μόνον, ἐκεῖναι δὲ καὶ προλήψεις.

Only those conceptions which come about by instruction and attention are ἐννοιαί; see 39.20 for a specific instance of when the will of the Gods is placed in the mind of man.

- 22 <sup>3</sup> πέδιλα δὲ φέρει πτερωτὰ καὶ δι' ἀέρος φέρεται συμφώνως τῷ καθὼς εἴρηται τὰ ἔπη πτερόεντα· καὶ γὰρ τὴν Ἴριον ποδήνεμον διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀελλόποδα καλοῦσιν ἄγγελον, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος παρεισάγοντες,

The sandals are golden, not winged in Homer (*Il.* 24.340ff.), but Hermes flies (πέτετο) when wearing them, so the iconography is hardly inaccurate, and Cornutus sees a nice parallel with ἔπη πτερόεντα. See too Ovid *Met.* 11.312 *alipedis* of Mercury.

Ἴριον ποδήνεμος: *Il.* 2.786 etc.; ἀελλόποδα: *Il.* 8.409 etc. Iris is χρυσόπτερος at *Il.* 8.398 and 11.185, otherwise no other epithets are attested. She receives barely a mention, and no etymology. Further, the Greek is unclear, and the overall unsatisfactory treatment of Iris, as an aside in the exposition of Hermes, could suggest (without clear evidence) that it is an accretion.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> See below at 70.7 for Asclepius, snakes and healing.

<sup>71</sup> An etymology παρὰ τὸ εἶρειν καὶ λέγειν is found in Orion ι 77.9; Schol. Hesiod *Theog.* sv. 266; EM 475.37; etc.

22 7 ψυχοπομπὸν δὲ τὸν Ἑρμῆν ἐμύθευσαν εἶναι συμβάλλοντες, ὅπερ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ, τὸ ψυχαγωγεῖν διὰ τοῦτο γούν καὶ ῥάβδον αὐτῷ ἐγχειρίζουσι,

τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει,

τὰ τῆς διανοίας δηλονότι,

ὣν ἐθέλη, τοὺς δ' αὐτε καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρει·

καὶ παρορμῶν γὰρ ῥαδίως τοὺς παρειμένους καὶ καταστέλλειν τοὺς παρωρημένους δυνατός ἐστίν.

ψυχοπομπός: this epithet is not found in Homer or Hesiod.<sup>72</sup> Cornutus provides a highly significant interpretation, unattested elsewhere. He is referring to the unique function of Hermes as messenger to Hades (HH 4(*Merc.*) 571; see too HH 2(*Cer.*) 335), the only Olympian God, other than Persephone, having contact with the dead.<sup>73</sup> Hermes guides the dead suitors of Penelope in *Od.*24.1ff., and this function is recorded in *A.Ch.*622; *S.Aj.*832 (πομπαῖον Ἑρμῆν χθόνιον); and *E.Alc.*743. The lack of earlier reference to this function (and *Od.*24 a possible later addition) leads to the possibility that it was an invention during the Archaic period, perhaps a natural development from Hermes' function as God of boundaries (see 23.22).

Cornutus conflates two functions: the herald with his ῥάβδος = κηρύκειος (*caduceus*), and a guide who would have a βακτηρία. The ψυχοπομπός function in myth clearly refers to guiding souls to Hades, but Cornutus equates ψυχοπομπός with τὸ ψυχαγωγεῖν in the sense of *rhetoric*, as made by Plato *Phdr.* 261a8: ῥητορικὴ ἂν εἴη τέχνη ψυχαγωγία τις διὰ λόγων.<sup>74</sup> He has thus found a linguistic connection between the ψυχοπομπός function and Hermes as Reason, removing all reference to contact with the Dead. This is either a standard Stoic interpretation, or more likely, a rhetorical distortion by Cornutus specifically for a school text designed to eliminate superstition (•1.9.4.).

The lines from Homer occur at *Il.*24.343f.; *Od.*5.47f., 24.3f. The interlinear comment about ὄμματα διανοίας has the look of a later interpolation, but is consistent with Cornutus' remarks about Hermes and persuasion, and Cornutus is interpreting the lines in a broader sense than the purely literal.<sup>75</sup>

22 15 ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη καὶ τοὺς ὄνειρους ἐπιπέμπειν ἔδοξε καὶ μάντις εἶναι [διὰ τοῦ τρόπου], τρέπων ὡς βούλεται τὰς φαντασίας· θεῶν δ' ἄγγελοι καὶ οἱ ὄνειροι.<sup>14</sup>

Apollodorus fr. 30 calls Hermes ὄνειροπομπός. Cornutus gives a quotation unattested elsewhere, but cf. *Il.*2.26 Διὸς δέ τοι ἄγγελός εἰμι. With dreams and Hermes both as

<sup>72</sup> With the first syllable long, ψυχοπομπός does not fit the epic hexameter.

<sup>73</sup> But see Cornutus on Demeter, 52.4-57.6 (=Osann chap. 28), for the exclusion of Persephone from his account.

<sup>74</sup> See too Lucian *deo.* 4.1.15, the only other attested connection of ψυχαγωγεῖν with Hermes, explicitly equated with νεκροπομπός.

<sup>75</sup> The expressions ὄμματα, ὄμμα, ὀφθαλμόν + διανοίας are rare before Cornutus, but not unknown. See Plato *Smp.* 219a3 ὄψις διανοίας.

messengers from the Gods, their responsibilities become confused, thus:

- o Philodemus *piet.* 92, 12 = Acusilaus fr. 9 Ὅμηρος μὲν γὰρ οὐ μόνον [τοὺς] ὄνει[ί]ρους ἀγγέλους τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν [Θ'] Ἑρμῆ Δ[ι]ὸς ἄγγελόν φησιν εἶναι καὶ τὴν Ἴριν· ἔνιοι δὲ ταύτην καὶ τῆς Ἥρας· Ἀκουσίλας δὲ καὶ θεῶν πάντων· Φερεκύδης δ' ὁ Ἀθηναῖος καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆ.

μάντις: this is probably a reference to the science of divination (see 12.11 on Fate) to which Cornutus wishes to refer in passing, but it could be a later accretion which should be included with [διὰ τοῦ τρόπου]. If genuine, this is the only extant text which attributes this quality to Hermes, connecting divination directly with reason.<sup>76</sup>

- 22 <sup>18</sup> οἱ δ' ἀποπληροῦντες περὶ τὴν εἰρημένην ῥάβδον τὸ τοῦ κηρυκείου σχῆμα δράκοντες σύμβολόν εἰσι τοῦ καὶ τοὺς θηριώδεις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κηλείσθαι καὶ καταθέλγεσθαι, | λύοντος τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς διαφορὰς καὶ συνδέοντος αὐτοὺς ἄμματα δυσλύτων· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ εἰρηνοποιὸν δοκεῖ τὸ κηρύκειον εἶναι.

The origin of the serpents coiled round Hermes' wand is unclear, but if Photius is correct, it was before C-4 (Photius α 1336 = Soph. fr. 701): καὶ ῥάβδος ὡς κήρυκος Ἑρμαῖα διπλοῦ δράκοντος ἀμφίκρανος. The possibilities are:

- 1) derived from the 'three branches' description in HH 4 (*Merc.*) 529-30 ὄλβου καὶ πλούτου δώσω περικαλλέα ῥάβδον χρυσεῖην τριπέτηλον;
- 2) Heraldic white ribbons mistaken for snakes;
- 3) A connection with the figure of two entwined snakes on a rod as a symbol of the Babylonian god Ningizzida, a predecessor of the Egyptian god Thor.<sup>77</sup>

Cornutus ignores the obvious 'historical' connection of a herald with a peace envoy, and typically chooses an unnecessary but rational explanation of the caduceus instead.

- 23 <sup>3</sup> [φέρουσι δ' ἄλλως οἱ μετιόντες τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ θαλλοὺς μετὰ χειρᾶς πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν τοῦ γεωργεῖσθαι θέλαιν τὴν χώραν καὶ φειδῶ τινα εἶναι τῶν ἡμέρων καὶ καρποφόρων φυτῶν.] 15

A gratuitous reason for carrying branches which is totally out of context, and must be identified as an accretion.

- 23 <sup>6</sup> ἐκ δὲ Μαΐας ἔφασαν γεγεννησθαι Διὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν ὑποδηλοῦντες πάλιν διὰ τούτου θεωρίας καὶ ζητήσεως γέννημα εἶναι τὸν λόγον· καὶ γὰρ αἱ μαιούμεναι τὰς γυναῖκας ἐντεῦθεν εἰρηναὶ μαῖαι τῷ ὡσάν ἐξ ἐρεύνης προάγειν εἰς φῶς τὰ βρέφη.

HH 4 (*Merc.*) 1: Διὸς καὶ Μαϊάδος υἱόν; Hom. *Od.* 14.435. Plato uses μαίομαι (*Cra.* 421a) for an etymology of ὀνομαστόν from ὄν οὐ μάσμα ἐστίν *being of what the search is*.

Cornutus provides a clever though unoriginal explanation for the parentage of Reason, the result of interaction between Zeus and Inquiry:

- o Philoxenus fr. 148 (*ap.* EM 589.45) καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ, ὃ ἐστὶ τὴν τοῦ λόγου μητέρα, Μαΐαν λέγει, παρὰ τὴν ζήτησιν καὶ εὔρεσιν τῶν μαθημάτων· καὶ μαίω, τὸ ζητῶ· ὄθεν καὶ μαῖα καὶ μούσα.

<sup>76</sup> Heraclitus *QH* which has close parallels with Cornutus on Hermes, does not mention this function. ● 1.8. HH 4 (*Merc.*) 532ff. Apollo says he alone can divine, not Hermes: μαντεῖν δὲ ... ἦν ἐρεεῖνεις οὐτε σε θέσφατόν ἐστι δαήμεναι οὐτε τιν' ἄλλον ἀθανάτων. But Hermes is given the Thriae and command over birds of omen, and thus has some prophetic capacity.

<sup>77</sup> 1) Hard, 162; 2) Graves, I.66.n.3; 3) Burkert 158; various references to a Sumerian vase in the Louvre.

See 34.21 for *μαίδομαι* to deliver a birth. Cornutus is relating the verbs *μαίδομαι* and *μαίδομαι* to produce a connection with a name *μαῖα* familiar to the student.

- 23 <sup>11</sup> πλάττεται δὲ ἄχειρ καὶ ἄπους καὶ τετράγωνος τῷ σχήματι ὁ Ἑρμῆς, τετράγωνος μὲν τῷ [τὸ] ἑδραῖόν τι καὶ ἀσφαλὲς ἔχειν ὥστε καὶ τὰς πτώσεις αὐτοῦ βάσεις εἶναι, ἄχειρ δὲ καὶ ἄπους, ἐπεὶ οὔτε χειρῶν οὔτε ποδῶν δεῖται πρὸς τὸ ἀνύειν τὸ προκείμενον αὐτῷ.

Cornutus is of course referring to Herms set up as boundary markers, and he makes a connection between the physical stability of the cuboid and the mental security of rational thought. His use of *πτώσις* is unique: it can mean 1) *a fall*; 2) grammatical *modification* esp. inflection of nouns, i.e. *case*; 3) instance, i.e. *case*, especially *mathematical case*. Of the ca. 2300 attested instances of *πτώσις* and its declined forms, this is the only instance of it meaning the physical *side* of an object. It is so unusual that one might conjecture the emendation *πλευράς* for *πτώσεις*, but without Mss support. See Appendix 2, Table 5, for a similar interpretation (without *πτώσις*) by Heraclitus *QH*.

- 23 <sup>16</sup> οἱ δ' ἀρχαῖοι τοὺς μὲν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ γενειῶντας Ἑρμῆς ὀρθὰ ἐποίουν τὰ αἰδοῖα ἔχοντας, τοὺς δὲ νεωτέρους καὶ λείους παρειμένα, παριστάντες ὅτι ἐν τοῖς προβεβηκόσι ταῖς ἡλικίαις γόνιμος ὁ λόγος καὶ τέλειός ἐστιν, [ὅς δὴ καὶ τυχὸν τῷ ὄντι ἐστὶ τυγχάνων ὧν ἂν πρόθηται.] ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀώροις ἄγονος καὶ ἀτελής.

The contrast between the symbolic Herms and anthropomorphic statues of Hermes as a young herald is used to send an ethical message about the maturity of reason.

[ὅς ... πρόθηται]: an ungrammatical garbled gloss identifiable as an accretion.

- 23 <sup>22</sup> ἴδρυται δὲ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ ἐνόδιος λέγεται | καὶ ἡγεμόνιος ὡς αὐτῷ δεόντος πρὸς πᾶσαν πρᾶξιν ἡγεμόνι χρῆσθαι καὶ αὐτοῦ ὄντος τοῦ ἐν ταῖς βουλαῖς εἰς τὴν δέουσαν ἡμᾶς ὁδὸν ἀνάγοντος, τάχα δὲ καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐρημίας πρὸς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν δεῖ.

*ἐνόδιος*: the first instance of a seldom attested word (see 21.4) with a textual parallel in Arrianus (C+1/+2) *cyn.* 35.3.3 οὐδὲ Ἑρμοῦ Ἐνοδίου καὶ Ἠγεμονίου. Cornutus interprets Hermes' literal function as guide as a metaphor for rational thought being a guide in life.

- 24 <sup>5</sup> διὰ δὲ τὸ κοινὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν τε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πᾶσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς, ὁπόταν τις εὕρη τι προάγων ἐν ὁδῷ, συνήθως ἐπιφθέγγονται τὸ κοινὸν εἶναι τὸν Ἑρμῆν[. ὅς δὴ συνίσταται ἐστὶ τῆς εὐρέσεως ἐνόδιος ὧν], ἐμφαίνοντες ὅτι κοινὸν ἀξιοῦσιν εἶναι καὶ τὸ εὕρημένον, ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τῶν εὕρημάτων ἐρμαίων λεγομένων.

*κοινὸς Ἑρμῆς*: a proverbial expression, first attested in Aristotle *Rh.* 1401a.22, indicating that a find on the road is to be shared by all. Aristotle *loc. cit.* uses the expression as an example of a homonymic fallacy, that Hermes is *κοινωνικός liberal, common* because he is called *κοινός*. Cornutus connects this proverbial expression with the Stoic identification of reason being common to man and Gods.

[ὅς ... ὧν]: Cornutus has just given the reason for the saying, and this clause is contrary to his argument, thus identified as an accretion.

- 24 <sup>11</sup> προσσωρεβούσι δὲ τοὺς λίθους τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς ἐκάστου τῶν παριόντων ἓνα τινὰ αὐτοῖς προστιθέντος ἤτοι ὡς χρήσιμόν τι τὸ παρ' αὐτὸν ἐκάστου καὶ κοινωνικὸν ποιούντος διὰ τοῦ καθαίρειν τὴν ὁδὸν εἴτε μαρτυροποιουμένου τὸν Ἑρμῆν εἴτε ὡς ἐπισημαινομένου τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν τιμὴν, εἰ μὴδὲν ἄλλο ἔχει προσενεγκεῖν αὐτῷ, εἴτε ἐκδηλότερον τοῖς παριούσι τὸ ἀφίδρυμα ποιούντος εἴτε πρὸς | σύμβολον τοῦ ἐκ μικρῶν μερῶν συνεστάναι τὸν προφορικὸν λόγον.

Cornutus persists in logical reasons, suggesting there is a deeper significance to actions which are manifestly practical.

- 25 <sup>2</sup> λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἀγοραῖος [πρῶτος] εἰκότως· ἐπίσκοπος γὰρ τῶν ἀγορευόντων ἐστίν· ἤδη δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς διατείνει καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀγοράζοντας τι ἢ πιπράσκοντας, ὡς πάντα μετὰ λόγου ποιεῖν δέοντος· ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τῶν ἐμποριῶν ἐπιστάτης ἔδοξεν εἶναι καὶ ἐμπολαῖος καὶ κερδῶος ἐπωνομάσθη, ὡσάν μόνος τῶν ἀληθινῶν κερδῶν αἴτιος ὢν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

ἀγοραῖος: Pausanias attests this epithet for Hermes (1.15.1.2; 2.9.8.5; 9.17.2.6), but also for Artemis (5.15.4.2); Athena (3.11.9.9); and Zeus (3.11.9.8. etc). See too *A.Ag.90*: θεῶν ... ἀγοραίων, appropriate because speaking in public places requires rational thought and rhetorical ability.

ἐμπολαῖος: Aristophanes *Plutus* 1154.

κερδῶος: *Aesop fab.* 90 ver.3 ἄγγελός ἐστι θεῶν καὶ κερδῶος. Cornutus wishes to find a rational reason for Hermes' connection with merchants by associating their business with reason. Mercurius was the Roman god of trade and commodities, and his identification with Hermes has perhaps influenced the importance of these attributes of Hermes.

- 25 <sup>9</sup> τῆς δὲ λύρας εὐρετής ἐστίν οἷον τῆς συμφωνίας καὶ ὁμολογίας καθ' ἣν οἱ ζῶντες εὐδαιμονοῦσιν, ἤρμοσμένην ἔχειν τὴν διάθεσιν ἐπιβάλλοντος.

HH 4(*Merc.*) 39-61. Cornutus finds an explanation for the myth that Hermes invented the lyre: a well-tuned disposition is only possible using reason.

- 25 <sup>11</sup> παραστήσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀπεμφαινόντων θέλοντες κλέπτῃ αὐτὸν παρέδωκαν καὶ Δολίου Ἑρμοῦ βωμόν ἐνιοὶ ἰδρύσαντο· λανθάνει γὰρ ὑφαιρούμενος τὰ προδεδογμένα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ κλέπτων ἔσθ' ὅτε τῇ πιθανότητι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὅθεν τινὰς καὶ ἐπικλόποις λόγοις χρήσθαι λέγουσι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ σοφίζεσθαι τῶν εἰδότην λόγῳ χρήσθαι ἰδιὸν ἐστίν.

δολίος: Aristophanes *Plutus* 1157. Cornutus is reluctant to admit any negative qualities for a God, and finds a positive quality in the ability to be rhetorically persuasive, even when sophistic, which requires intelligence. Aristotle, *Rh.* 1355a-b, defines rhetoric as the discovery of the persuasive, relying on the natural human ear for the truth to ward against misuse: for Aristotle, everything except virtue is capable of misuse and rhetoric is no exception.

- 25 <sup>18</sup> νόμιος δὲ λέγεται τῷ ἐπ' ἐπανορθώσει λόγος εἶναι, προστακτικὸς ὢν τῶν ὡς ἐν κοινωνίᾳ ποιητέων καὶ ἀπαγορευτικὸς τῶν οὐ ποιητέων· διὰ γοῦν τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν μετήχθη καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν νομῶν ἐπιμέλειαν.

Reason tells us what to do and what not to do, widely quoted from Chrysippus' *περὶ νόμου*, and usually connected with νόμος:

- ο Plutarch *SR 1037f4* = *SVF 613* Τόν τε νόμον σπουδαῖον εἶναί φασι, λόγον ὀρθὸν ὄντα προστακτικὸν μὲν ὧν ποιητέον, ἀπαγορευτικὸν δὲ ὧν οὐ ποιητέον.<sup>78</sup>

**νόμιος**: the context clearly demands this be translated as *God of Law*, but there is an ambiguity.<sup>79</sup> All other attested references to νόμιος Hermes (and indeed Pan and Apollo: see 69.8) require *Pastoral*.<sup>80</sup> Cornutus is the only instance where this epithet is used as a connection between Reason and Law, a connection which he cannot resist because for him it is a far more meaningful epithet. His explanation that *Pastoral* arose because of the similarity between νομός and νόμος lacks conviction because it ignores the tradition from *HH 4(Merc.) 568ff.* where Hermes is given dominion over some animals including 'all flocks and all sheep'. Cornutus is possibly distorting or simplifying, or he may mean that the confusion arose before the myths were created.

- <sup>25</sup> <sup>22</sup> σέβονται δ' αὐτὸν | καὶ ἐν ταῖς παλαιστραῖς μετὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ὡς τῇ ἰσχυρί μετὰ λογισμοῦ χρῆσθαι δέοντος· τῷ γὰρ μόνη πεποιθότι τῇ τοῦ σώματος δυνάμει, τοῦ δὲ λόγου, δεῖ καὶ τέχνας ἐπήγαγεν εἰς τὸν βίον, ἀμελοῦντι πάνυ ἂν τις οἰκείως ἐπέποι-  
δαιμόνιε, φθίσει σε τὸ σὸν μένος.

In archaic art, Hermes is represented as mature, with a beard, but his artistic representation changed from the latter part of C-5, and by C-4 he was represented as a beardless and naked youth.<sup>81</sup> Statues of Hermes were set up in gymnasia,<sup>82</sup> and Aristides *Rhet.* reports that Herakles and Hermes had common statues.<sup>83</sup> Cornutus uses the connection to point out yet another virtue of reason, in that strength without reason is destructive.

*II.6.407* is also quoted by Plutarch criticizing Chrysippus (*SR 1036b11* = *SVF 32*), and elsewhere, probably having taken on the proverbial meaning that senseless effort can be counter-productive.

Cornutus ends his lengthy exposition of Hermes abruptly, having utilized all the mythic and iconographic aspects of this deity to emphasize the importance of Reason.

<sup>78</sup> See too Arius Didymus *phil. sec. 77.1.10*; Alexander Aphrod. *de fato 207.8* = *SVF 1003*; *SVF 175, 323, 614*; Marc. Aur. 4.4.1.2.

<sup>79</sup> Hesychius ν 639; Suda ν 465: Νόμιον: δίκαιον. καὶ Νόμιον μέλος, τὸ ἐν τῇ νομῇ.

<sup>80</sup> For example Aristophanes *Th. 977*, with Pan and Nymphs.

<sup>81</sup> For example, Spivey, 307, statue of Hermes by Praxiteles, Olympia. The artistic representations of the gods were variable: see for example 60.9 for Dionysus.

<sup>82</sup> Schol. Plato *Ly. 206d2*; Philostratus *gym. 16.13*;

<sup>83</sup> *Herac. 35.28*.

Section B: Interpretation of two Homeric episodes

26<sup>7</sup> Τοῦ δὲ πολλὰς καὶ ποικίλας περὶ θεῶν γεγονέναι παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς Ἑλλήσι μυθοποιίας, ὡς ἄλλαι μὲν παρὰ Μάγοις γεγόνασιν, ἄλλαι δὲ παρὰ Φρυγῶν καὶ ἤδη παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις τε καὶ Κελτοῖς καὶ Λίβυσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι, μαρτύριον ἂν λάβοι τις καὶ τὸ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς πρὸς τὴν Ἥραν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον·

ἢ οὐ μέμνη ὅτε τ' ἐκρέμω ὑψόθεν, ἐκ δὲ ποδοῖν ἄκμονας ἦκα δύο.

There is a sudden transition from Hermes to two episodes in Homer. Cornutus is not presenting an apologetic interpretation of Homer, but is in fact criticizing Homer's use of myth.<sup>84</sup> This is the only place in the text where there is a substantive thematic change and no signal that a change of direction is coming.<sup>85</sup> As indicated in Appendix 4, this type of change occurs at the beginning of Sections B, C and D, but the last two transitions, although abrupt, have some logical connections which diminish the probability of lacunae at those points. This first transition is, however, problematic. Cornutus is consistent throughout the text in making connections between subjects, which makes this transition sufficiently suspicious to suggest an archtype lacuna here.

The transition itself could be explained by a change of source material: ●1.7.3.4. As far as Cornutus' present didactic purpose is concerned, Homer is one of many sources, and whilst fundamental to the education of students at an earlier stage, the point of interest here is the material which Homer used, not Homer *per se*. Cornutus also sees the differences between, and similarities with, other mythological traditions as evidence of some kind of ancient theological insight which has been corrupted by poetic invention, his first example of which is *Il.* 15.18-19.<sup>86</sup>

26<sup>16</sup> ἔοικε γὰρ ὁ ποιητὴς μυθοῦ [τε] παλαιοῦ παραφέρειν τοῦτο ἀπόσπασμα, καθ' ὃν ὁ Ζεὺς ἐμυθεύετο κεκρεμακέναι τε ἐκ τοῦ αἰθέρος τὴν Ἥραν χρυσαῖς ἀλύσεισι τῷ χρυσοφανέσι τι ἔχειν τὰ ἄστρα καὶ ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῆς δύο ἄκμονας ἐξηρηκέναι, τὴν γῆν δηλονότι καὶ τὴν θάλατταν, ὅφ' ἦν τείνεται κάτω ὁ ἀήρ μηδετέρωθεν ἀποσπασθῆναι δυνάμενος.

κεκρεμακέναι: *harax*.

παραφέρειν: either *transmitting* or *distorting*, the context probably requires the latter. The interpretation of *Il.* 15.18-19 is that of an equilibrium achieved by air being fixed between the aether above it, and earth and water below. The similarity here between Cornutus and [Plutarch] *VH* is illustrated in Appendix 2, Table 6, together with the parallel in

<sup>84</sup> ●1.9 for the reasons for this analysis of Homer. There are 14½ quotations from Homer (●1.9.2), so the text must be familiar to the student at least as literature. This kind of interpretation, however, only takes up *ca.* three percent of the whole text. See Appendix 4 for the text structure, and Sections 1.3.3. and 1.5. for Stoic interpretation of Homer, and Greek concepts of the transmission of ancient wisdom.

<sup>85</sup> I argue in Section 1.7.2. that the text elements discussed in that section are accretions, partly on the grounds of their illogical change of subject or deviation from the chain of thought, which distinguishes them from the substantive thematic change discussed here.

<sup>86</sup> As discussed in Section 1.5, the idea is not new: see Strabo 10.3.23.

Heraclitus *QH*. Cornutus is, however, a Stoic, not defending Homer; [Plutarch] and Heraclitus are non-Stoic apologetic interpretations of Homer as a strong allegorist.<sup>87</sup> The similarities thus suggest that the interpretation in terms of four elements was commonplace.

Cornutus does not spell out the episode in terms of Stoic physics, and it is impossible to infer what level of knowledge is assumed for the student, or how the student is expected to understand Cornutus' interpretation.

- 27<sup>2</sup> ἐτέρου δὲ μύθου μέμνηται τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Θέτιν, ὡς ὑπ' αὐτῆς σεσωσμένου τοῦ Διός, ὁπποτὲ μιν ξυνδῆσαι Ὀλύμπιοι ἤθελον ἄλλοι, Ἥρη τ' ἠδὲ Ποσειδάων καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.

*Il.* 1.399-400: an episode essential to the plot of the *Iliad* to explain why Zeus is indebted to Thetis.

- 27<sup>7</sup> φαίνεται δ' ὅτι κατ' ἰδίαν ἕκαστος τούτων τῶν θεῶν ἐπεβούλευε τῷ Διὶ συνεχῶς μέλλων ἐμποδίζειν ταύτην τὴν διακόσμησιν ὅπερ ἐγένετο, εἰ τὸ ὑγρὸν ἐπεκράτησε καὶ ἐξυδατώθη πάντα ἢ τὸ πῦρ καὶ ἐξεπυρώθη ἢ ὁ ἀήρ.

In 7.12, Cornutus describes Zeus as ἡ διοικοῦσα αὐτὸν φύσις [τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως]: see Appendix 5, Identities. Here, he describes Zeus as ταύτην τὴν διακόσμησιν, *the orderly arrangement of the universe*, which would be disrupted if one element were to be thwarted by a plot involving all the other elements. Heraclitus *QH*, 25, like Cornutus, understands this episode of Homer as a dynamic equilibrium being challenged: Heraclitus makes a non-Stoic, simplistic and comprehensible equation of Hera, Poseidon and Athena with air, water and earth respectively, threatening to disrupt the present equilibrium; Cornutus, however, is more circumspect, and consequently less comprehensible. He is probably referring to an early stage in the creation of the universe where an equilibrium has not yet been reached, at which time everything would disintegrate if any one element were to gain ascendancy and become an obstacle (ἐμποδίζειν) to the attainment of equilibrium.<sup>88</sup>

The list of descriptions of Zeus in Appendix 5 shows that Cornutus is clearly not equating Zeus to one of the four elements, even though he seems to be close to doing so. The problem he faces is that a satisfactory description of the four elements in terms of Stoic physics is too obscure for this school text.<sup>89</sup> The Stoic notion of the concept 'element' is difficult to express succinctly and is easily distorted, which explains why our extant sources are not easily interpreted. LS 1.286 summarize from various sources thus: 'Four distinct elements ... are basic qualifications of matter throughout the duration of each ... world-order. Within this quartet, however, fire occupies a special status. It is the element *par excellence*, and a permanent feature of the universe. ...the elements function as class names which denote

<sup>87</sup> ●1.3. for ancient interpretation of Homer, and ●1.3.3. for the argument that Heraclitus *QH* was not a Stoic.

<sup>88</sup> Buffière, 32, also takes the view (as does Hays, 153) that Cornutus is interpreting the situation at the beginning of the world 'quand toutes choses cherchent encore leur équilibre'.

<sup>89</sup> ●1.9 for Cornutus' readers.



generic properties, hot, cold etc., admitting of continuous specific variation.’ Thus the element *fire* encompasses all aspects of fire, both *τεχνικόν designing* and *ἄτεχνον undesigning*.<sup>90</sup>

- ο Arius Didymus *ap.* Stobaeus 1.25.5.2 = SVF 1.120 (part) Ζήνων ... φησι ... Δύο γὰρ γένη πυρός, τὸ μὲν ἄτεχνον καὶ μεταβάλλον εἰς ἑαυτὸ τὴν τροφήν, τὸ δὲ τεχνικόν, ἀύξητικόν τε καὶ τηρητικόν, οἷον ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς ἐστὶ καὶ ζώοις, ὃ δὴ φύσις ἐστὶ καὶ ψυχὴ τοιοῦτου δὴ πυρός εἶναι τὴν τῶν ἄστρον οὐσίαν.

Cornutus’ various descriptions of Zeus are all aspects of the *designing* fire, which taken as a whole provides for the student a sound idea of this Stoic divinity. For Cornutus’ avoidance of the term *pneuma*, see commentary at 3.13.

- 27 <sup>11</sup> ἡ δὲ κατὰ τρόπον διαθεῖσα πάντα θέτις τὸν ἑκατόγχειρα Βριάρεων ἀντέταξε τοῖς εἰρημένοις θεοῖς, καθ’ ὃν ἴσως διανέμονται πανταχόσε αἱ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναθυμιάσεις, ὡς διὰ πολλῶν χειρῶν τῆς εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς διαιρέσεως γινομένης.

Table 33. All attested etymologies relate to *διάθεσις, arrangement*, or a similar compound of *τίθημι*. This kind of interpretation is significant because it must have had some credibility for Cornutus’ students, and thus reflects on their readiness to accept a ‘scientific’ interpretation which, to the modern reader, is completely implausible. If the attainment of actual understanding is not achieved, at least the overall impression of some form of meaningful interpretation is being offered.

- 27 <sup>15</sup> σκέψαι δ’ εἰ παρὰ τὸ αἶρειν τὴν ὡσάν βορὰν τῶν τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν ἄνόμασται Βριάρεως. [Αἰγαίων μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ὁ αἰεὶ τεθληλὸς καὶ γαίωv.]

See Table 34. This etymology is problematic: the nominatum is a Hesiodic entity, and thus an etymology is not out of place; the sentence does not disturb the flow; the subject is relevant. None of the main criteria for rejection specified in 1.7.2.1. are met. Yet the text remains unconvincing: *σκέψαι* is the only imperative verb in the text; it is the only etymology in Section B; the etymology is unattested elsewhere; it is signalled by *παρὰ τό* (●1.7.2.7.); it is placed at a natural break in the text, where an accretion would be more likely, indeed the last element [Αἰγαίων ... γαίωv] is clearly an accretion, being inserted as an afterthought without any grammatical connection. Thus here, the issue is whether the accretion should include *σκέψαι ... Βριάρεως*.

The etymological interpretation of Βριάρεως from βορά + αἶρειν providing an interpretation like *he who raises food of parts of the universe* is consonant with Stoic physics, but the idea that the sun is fed with exhalations from the earth or sea is very widely attested, thus not especially Stoic.<sup>91</sup> Overall, there are insufficient grounds to identify the entire text from *σκέψαι ...* as an accretion, but suspicions remain.

<sup>90</sup> This *designing* fire has clear biological roots: ●1.2 for an historical background of Stoic physics, and LS 1.286-289 for a summary of the Stoic concept of elements and *pneuma*.

<sup>91</sup> Stoics: Plutarch *IO* 367e5 = SVF 663 οἱ δὲ Στωικοὶ τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἐκ θαλάττης ἀνάπτεσθαι καὶ τρέφεσθαι φασί. Non-Stoics: Thales *ap.* Aëtius *plac.* 276.2 ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ πῦρ τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τῶν ἄστρον ταῖς τῶν ὑδάτων ἀναθυμιάσεσι τρέφεται καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κόσμος. See too Epicurus *ap.* S.E. *AM* 9.73.2; Aristotle *ap.* Aëtius *plac.* 365.20, etc. See too 49.14 with references.

## Section C: Cosmogony in Hesiod

27<sup>19</sup> Δεῖ δὲ μὴ συγχεῖν τοὺς μύθους μηδ' ἐξ ἑτέρου τὰ ὀνόματα ἐφ' ἕτερον μεταφέρειν μηδ' εἴ τι προσεπλάσθη ταῖς παραδεδομέναις κατ' αὐτοὺς γενεαλογίαις | ὑπὸ τῶν μὴ συνιέντων & αἰνίττονται, κεχρημένων δ' αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ τοῖς πλάσμασιν, ἀλόγως τίθεσθαι.

Lang takes 27.19 Δεῖ δὲ μὴ ... as the beginning of a paragraph, thus relating to the exposition following it. It is not, however, entirely clear whether this section Δεῖ δὲ μὴ ... ἀλόγως τίθεσθαι refers to the Homeric episodes before it (my Section B), or the Hesiodic material after it (my Section C).<sup>92</sup> Arguments for relating it to the Homeric section are:

- 1) Comment is usually made at the end of a topic.<sup>93</sup>
- 2) πάλιν τοίνυν (28.2) can signal a change of topic (as does τοίνυν the only other times in Cornutus, 31.19 and 65.1).

Arguments for taking it as introductory to the Hesiodic section are:

- 1) Cornutus is criticizing three methods of corruption: conflating myths; transferring names; and adding to genealogies. The two episodes of Homer discussed here do not commit any of these offences.
- 2) As argued later, Cornutus' criticism of Hesiod's treatment of the Titans seems to restrict itself to a corruption of the genealogies, moving entities around for poetic purposes. This is much nearer to the criticism here than the Homeric episodes.
- 3) πάλιν τοίνυν does not necessarily introduce a new topic, and can often be translated as *again*, leading to another example.<sup>94</sup>

On balance, Lang's interpretation is more plausible, and thus this criticism is taken as relating to Hesiod.

28<sup>2</sup> πάλιν τοίνυν πρῶτον μὲν ἐμύθευσαν τὸ Χάος γενέσθαι, καθάπερ ὁ Ἡσίοδος ἱστορεῖ, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ τὴν Γῆν καὶ τὸν Τάρταρον καὶ τὸν Ἔρωτα, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Χάους τὸ Ἐρεβος καὶ τὴν Νύκτα φῦναι, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Νυκτὸς τὸν Αἰθέρα καὶ τὴν Ἥμεραν.

There is now an exposition of cosmogony as related by Hesiod, the above summarizing *Theogony* 116-124. Cornutus aims to demonstrate that the material in Hesiod is to be taken seriously because it contains valuable insights into the origins of the world, insights which underpin Stoic theory. The text is rather unclear partly because he tries to be succinct, but primarily because his aim is ultimately not entirely achievable. If 27.19 is a criticism relating to Hesiod, then this section starts with a statement of how myth can be corrupted, and at 31.12 Cornutus concludes that the differences between Stoic theory and Hesiod's account of

<sup>92</sup> Tate (1929), 41 n.3, argues for the Homeric. Osann assigns chap. 17 to both sections.

<sup>93</sup> For example the conclusion at 75.18 relating to the whole text; 31.12 relating to Section C.

<sup>94</sup> Thus Aeschin. *Tim.* 152.1; Plato *R.* 544b5; *Lg.* 626e6; etc.

cosmogony exist simply because Hesiod has corrupted material which he did not really understand by adding his own. Despite this, Cornutus takes an optimistic view of the amount of material in Hesiod which can be interpreted in Stoic terms, even interpreting some transparently invented Titan names which (some) Stoics took to be inventions by Hesiod.<sup>95</sup> Cornutus is closely following the genealogy described by Hesiod: ●1.3.3. for Stoic interest in Hesiod, and Appendix 2, Table 2 for the close textual parallel with *Theogony* 116-138.<sup>96</sup>

Throughout this exposition, Cornutus gives the impression that the cosmogony described is generally accepted, and best expressed by Hesiod, rather than Hesiod being the only source (28.2 ἐμύθευσαν ... καθάπερ ὁ Ἡσίοδος ἱστορεῖ...; 28.15 εἰκότως οὖν ἔφασαν... etc.).

28 <sup>7</sup> ἔστι δὲ Χάος μὲν τὸ πρὸ τῆς διακοσμήσεως γενόμενον ὑγρόν, ἀπὸ τῆς χύσεως οὕτως ὀνομασμένον,

There is now an excursus into Stoic physics relating to *Theog.* 116-124.

Table 35. A common etymology for Stoics, and attested even as early as C-6 for Pherecydes Myth. Cornutus does not say that Chaos was the very first state of affairs, only that it existed before the existence of the elements. This conforms to Zeno's cosmogony: ●1.2.

28 <sup>9</sup> ἢ τὸ πῦρ, ὃ ἐστὶν οἰονεὶ κάος [· καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ κέχυται διὰ τὴν λεπτομέρειαν].

This etymology is unattested elsewhere, from καίω *I burn*, Att. κάω. The noun τὸ κάος is *hapax*, but the participle τὸ κᾶον is found.<sup>97</sup> An etymology from *burning* would conform to Chrysippus' cosmogony, referring to the primeval fire: ●1.2.

[καὶ ... λεπτομέρειαν]: this comment about the nature of fire is non-Stoic, illogical and gratuitous. It belongs to the Pythagoreans and Epicureans, and can thus be identified as an accretion.<sup>98</sup>

28 <sup>10</sup> ἦν δὲ ποτε, ᾧ παῖ, πῦρ τὸ πᾶν καὶ γενήσεται πάλιν ἐν περιόδῳ. σβεσθέντος δὲ εἰς ἀέρα αὐτοῦ μεταβολὴ ἀθρόα γίνεται εἰς ὕδωρ, ὃ δὲ λαμβάνει τοῦ μὲν ὑφισταμένου μέρους τῆς οὐσίας κατὰ πύκνωσιν, τοῦ δὲ λεπτυνομένου κατ' ἀραίωσιν.

Cornutus describes the basic tenet of Stoic cosmogony and the theory of cyclic generation of the universe. The process he is describing is the sequence of events leading to the generation of the four elements (●1.2 for Zeno's similar interpretation of Hesiod, the Chrysippus sequence diagram and discussion). Cornutus is describing a sequence similar to, if not identical with, that of Chrysippus, and comparing it to Hesiod:

<sup>95</sup> ●1.5, commentary at 30.1, and [Plutarch] *plac.* 879c-880d = Aëtius *plac.* 1.6 = SVF 2.1009 which cites *Theog.* 134 Κοῖόν τε Κρεῖόν θ' Ὑπερίονά τ' Ἰαπετόν τε as an invention by Hesiod.

<sup>96</sup> After Ἡμέραν, some Mss have a text insertion quoting Hesiod *Theog.* 116 onwards (see Lang xvii).

<sup>97</sup> Plato *Grg.* 476c6; Longus *DC* 3.10.4.4, etc.

<sup>98</sup> Fire as particles: Timaeus *Lochr. fr.*[Sp.] 216.21 (Pythagorean).

fire →	air →	water →	Earth →	water →	air →	fire
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(Hesiod)	Chaos →	Earth →	Tartarus
----------	---------	---------	----------

Cornutus claims that Chaos is either fire (=1) or water (=3) depending on which etymology is correct. Either way, he can claim that Hesiod is, in principle, consistent with this sequence (28.15 εικότως οὖν ἔφασαν...). Cornutus' discussion of water, however, seems unclear, and needs scrutiny.<sup>99</sup>

His account can be compared with two similar accounts: D.L.7.142 = SVF 1.102 = LS 46C, (where D.L. gives references to specific texts of Zeno, Chrysippus, Posidonius, Cleanthes, Antipater and Panaetius), and Plutarch SR 1053a = SVF 2.579 (claiming to quote Chrysippus *verbatim*). Both of these accounts, and Cornutus, give the sequence Fire → Air → Moisture:

C.	πῦρ ... σβεσθέντος δὲ εἰς ἀέρα αὐτοῦ μεταβολὴ ἀθρόα γίνεται εἰς ὕδωρ
D.L.	ἐκ πυρὸς ἡ οὐσία τραπῆ δι' ἀέρος εἰς ὑγρότητα
Plut.	[πῦρ] δι' ἀέρος εἰς ὕδωρ τρέπεται

followed by

C.	ὁ δὲ λαμβάνει τοῦ μὲν ὑφισταμένου μέρους τῆς οὐσίας κατὰ πύκνωσιν, τοῦ δὲ λεπθυνομένου κατ' ἀραίωσιν	
D.L.	εἶτα τὸ παχυμερὲς αὐτοῦ συστάν ἀποτελεσθῆ γῆ, τὸ δὲ λεπτομερὲς ἐξαραιωθῆ, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ πλέον λεπτυνθὲν πῦρ ἀπογεννήσῃ	<i>then the thicker parts of the moisture condense and end up as earth, but the finer parts are thoroughly rarefied, and when they have been thinned still further, they produce fire. (trans. LS 1.275).</i>
Plut.	κὰκ τούτου γῆς ὑφισταμένης ἀὴρ ἀναθυμιᾶται· λεπτυνομένου δὲ τοῦ ἀέρος, ὁ αἰθήρ περιχεῖται κύκλω... <i>and out of this [water] when earth has been condensed out, air is vaporized out, and because the aether is lighter than air, surrounds it on all sides. (my trans.)</i>	

Although D.L. and Plutarch differ, both agree that earth is condensed out from the moisture/water. It is reasonable to assume that given such wide Stoic references in D.L. and the broad agreement with the quotation from Plutarch, the process as described was fairly standard Stoic cosmogony. Cornutus claims no originality (see 76.6): either he is describing the sequence up to Water (1→2→3), for which there is no attested parallel, or, more likely, he is conforming to some standard account, and is describing 1→2→3→4→5→6, in which case he must mean ... *water, which then (ὁ δὲ) condenses out earth κατὰ πύκνωσιν, and vaporizes out air (and/or fire/aether) κατ' ἀραίωσιν.*<sup>100</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Thus the literal but meaningless, or at least inconsistent, translation by Hays, 79: 'The water takes some of the underlying component of substance by condensation, and some of the rarefied (sic) part by rarefaction'.

<sup>100</sup> The difficulty may be explained by a few words missing, where the copyist is unfamiliar with the process being described. Neither Lang nor Krafft comment here. The process κατὰ πύκνωσιν ... κατ' ἀραίωσιν is elsewhere seldom attested, and only for non-Stoics: Anaximenes fr.6; Epicurus fr. 29; Plotinus *enn.* 6.3.25; Plutarch fr. 179 *ap.* Eusebius *PE* 1.7.16.

- 28<sup>15</sup> εικότως οὖν ἔφασαν μετὰ τὸ Χάος τὴν τε Γῆν γενέσθαι καὶ τὰ ἠερόεντα Τάρταρα[, ἃ δὴ μυχὸν Γῆς ὠνόμασεν ὁ προειρημένος ποιητὴς τῷ περιειληφέναι αὐτὴν καὶ κρύπτειν].

20

Cornutus thus claims that Hesiod's sequence of Chaos, Earth and airy Tartarus (*Theog.* 117 and 119), is generally in accordance with Stoic cosmogony (note the *airy*). This is a spurious claim, because Hesiod's Earth and Tartarus are not offspring of Chaos, they arise independently and spontaneously, so comparison with Stoic cosmogony is specious. It is presumably sufficient for Cornutus' didactic purposes merely to establish some kind of rhetorically persuasive link.

[ἃ ... κρύπτειν]: a nonsensical gloss on *Theog.* 119, μυχῶ, which must be taken as an accretion.

- 28<sup>18</sup> ὁ δὲ Ἔρως σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐρρήθη γεγονέναι, ἡ ὁρμὴ ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ γένναν· ἅμα γάρ τι ἔκ τινος γίνεται καὶ παρεῖναι τῇ γενέσει νομιστέον ταύτην τὴν δύναμιν καλλίστην καὶ ἀξιοθέατον οὔσαν.

Ἔρως has no place in Stoic cosmogony, and this Hesiodic Ἔρως is incompatible with Ἔρως, son of Aphrodite, who receives extensive treatment at 47.1. Here, Cornutus clearly has a more refined interpretation of Hesiod than Zeno, who interprets Ἔρως as fire, being πυρωδέστερον.<sup>101</sup> But Cornutus' treatment of Ἔρως is difficult because he has to deal with mutually incompatible myths and give a coherent impression. His treatment here is not inconsistent with that of 47.1, which is carefully presented as an alternative (thus no evidence for accretive material) and perhaps from different sources: ●1.8 for Cornutus' sources.

- 29<sup>3</sup> τὸ δὲ Ἐρεβος ἐκ τοῦ Χάους ἐγένετο, ὁ ποιῶν ἐρέφεσθαι καὶ περιλαμβάνεσθαι τι ὑφ' ἑτέρου λόγος, καθὸ καὶ τούτου τυχοῦσα ἡ Γῆ παραχρῆμα ὁμοίόσχημον αὐτῇ τὸν Οὐρανὸν ἐγέννησεν,

ἵνα μιν περὶ πάντα καλύπτει, ὅφρ' εἴη μακάρεσσι θεοῖς ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ, τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτῷ θεοῦσιν ἄστροις μακραιώσιν οὔσιν ἀσφαλὲς οἰκητήριον.

*Theog.* 125-128. See Appendixes 6 and 7, Genealogies, and Appendix 1, Table 36. This is an explicit reference to the important Stoic concept of active and passive principles. D.L.7.134 =SVF 2.300 describes them thus (●1.2):

- Δοκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς ἀρχὰς εἶναι τῶν ὄλων δύο, τὸ ποιοῦν καὶ τὸ πάσχον. τὸ μὲν οὖν πάσχον εἶναι τὴν ἄποιον οὐσίαν τὴν ὕλην, τὸ δὲ ποιοῦν τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ λόγον τὸν θεόν.

An active principle is thus some aspect of the all-pervading divinity, and is indestructible. Passive ones, such as the four elements, are destroyed at each ἐκπύρωσις. Some physical Hesiodic entities such as Ἐρεβος are treated as aspects of the divine during the generation of the universe.

Cornutus provides an interesting interpretation of Hesiod *Theog.* 127f. which he quotes. Hesiod says that the Gods have their physical abode in the Οὐρανός which provides

<sup>101</sup> Schol. A.R. 1.498 = SVF 1.104: ●1.2.

μακάρεσσι θεοῖς ἔδος, but this would be contrary to the Stoic principle of all-pervading Zeus. The stars, however, are divine, so where Hesiod says Οὐρανός provides a place μακάρεσσι θεοῖς, Cornutus interprets this rhetorically as μακραίωσιν ἄστροις.

29<sup>10</sup> ἐγέννησε δὲ ἡ Γῆ τὸν Οὐρανὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναθυμιάσεων, οὐρανοῦ νῦν κοινότερον λεγομένου παντὸς τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν λεπτομεροῦς.

This definition of Οὐρανός is consistent with that at 1.1. The Hesiodic birth of Heaven from Earth actually conforms to part of the process described by Plutarch SR 1053a = SVF 2.579 (•1.2, Chrysippus diagram, and my notation at 28.10). Plutarch gives the sequence:

fire →	air →	water →	Earth →	air →	fire
1	2	3	4	6	7

(the 5-water missing).

If, as it seems, Cornutus is defining Οὐρανός as *air* + *aether*, then the birth of Heaven from Earth is describing the part-sequence Earth(4) → (air(6) + fire(7)). Comparing Cornutus again with Plutarch, as at 28.10, we see they are in fact describing the same process:

C.	ἐγέννησε δὲ ἡ Γῆ τὸν Οὐρανὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναθυμιάσεων, οὐρανοῦ νῦν κοινότερον λεγομένου παντὸς τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν λεπτομεροῦς.
Plut.	... κάκ τούτου γῆς ὑφισταμένης ἀπὸ ἀναθυμιάται λεπτυνομένου δὲ τοῦ ἀέρος, ὁ αἰθήρ περιχεῖται κύκλω.

Thus with a careful definition of Οὐρανός, Cornutus is able to claim that Hesiod is yet again consistent with Stoic cosmogony.

29<sup>12</sup> τοῦ Χάους δὲ θυγάτηρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Νύξ· ὁ γὰρ πρῶτος ἀρθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχέγονου ὑγροῦ ἀπὸ ζοφώδης καὶ σκοτεινῆς ἦν, εἶτα λεπτυνόμενος εἰς αἰθέρα καὶ φῶς μετέβαλεν, εὐλόγως τούτων ἐκ τῆς νυκτὸς γεγονέναι ῥηθέντων.

Theog. 123. The explanation Cornutus provides for Chaos → Night is not clear. If he is again referring to the process described by Chrysippus or Plutarch (see 28.10), then he has already determined that Chaos is equivalent to fire (1) or water (3) in this, or a similar, sequence:

fire →	air →	water →	Earth →	water →	air →	fire
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Now he describes a process (ἀρχέγονον ὑγρόν) → (*dark* air) → (aether + light). There are several ways this sequence could map onto the Chrysippus sequence, all of them unsatisfactory explanations of the (elsewhere unattested) ἀρχέγονον ὑγρόν:

- ἀρχέγονον ὑγρόν is fire(1), the sequence is: fire(1) → air(2) or (6) → aether(7).
- ἀρχέγονον ὑγρόν is water(3), the sequence is: water(3) → air(6) → aether(7).
- ἀρχέγονον ὑγρόν is water(5), the sequence is: water(5) → air(6) → aether(7).

It seems that such an exact parallel to a sequence is not intended, and Cornutus merely wishes to establish that in principle, Night as daughter of Chaos is somehow consistent with his cosmogony.

29 <sup>16</sup> ἡ δὲ Γῆ τὰ ὄρη καὶ τὸ πέλαγος ἐξῆς λέγεται γεννηῖσαι 'ἄτερ φιλότητος ἐφ' ἡμέρου'. ἢ τε γὰρ θάλαττα ὑπέμεινεν ἐν τοῖς κοιλοῖς αὐτῆς μέρεσι κατὰ μεταβολὴν ὑποστᾶσα, τὰ τε ὄρη περὶ τὸ ἀνώμαλον τῆς συνιζήσεως τὰς ἐξοχὰς | ἔλαβε.

*Theog.* 129-132 (omitting Nymph detail). Cornutus is possibly referring to the process Earth(4) → water(5). If so, he has described the creation of the four elements and demonstrated that Hesiod *Theog.* is consistent with the process.

30 <sup>1</sup> μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἢ τῶν λεγομένων Τιτάνων ἐστὶ γένεσις.

*Theog.* 134. Up to this point, Cornutus has been arguing that Hesiod's *Theogony* is compatible with Stoic cosmogony. Now, however, we reach that part of *Theogony* to which Cornutus is presumably referring with his criticism at 27.19.

λεγομένων Τιτάνων: Cornutus qualifies the name 'Titan', which is not used by Hesiod at this point, who says merely that they are children of Γαῖα and Οὐρανός.

The only extant Stoic references to Titans are:

- 1) Schol. Hesiod *Theog.* sv. 134 lines 14-15 (= SVF 1.100) ὁ Ζήνων φησὶ τοὺς Τιτᾶνας διὰ παντὸς εἰρηῖσθαι τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου ...
- 2) *ibid.* lines 7-9 Ζήνων δὲ Τιτᾶνάς φησι εἰρηῖσθαι φυσικώτερον, διὰ τὸ [μὴ] διατάττεσθαι διὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου τὰ στοιχεῖα ...
- 3) [Plutarch] *plac.* 879c-880d = Aëtius *plac.* 1.6 (= SVF 2.1009) which states the seven methods by which Stoics considered that man has a conception of the divine. ●1.5 for the whole fragment, which contains: -ἔκτον δὲ τόπον προσέλαβον τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν πεπλασμένον. Ἡσίοδος γὰρ βουλόμενος τοῖς γεννητοῖς θεοῖς πατέρας συστήσαι εἰσήγαγε τοιοῦτους αὐτοῖς γεννήτορας - Κοῖόν τε Κρεῖλόν θ' Ὑπερίονά τ' Ἰαπετόν τε. - διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μυθικὸν κέκληται.

At 31.15 Cornutus concludes of Hesiod τὰ δὲ μυθικώτερον ἂφ' αὐτοῦ προσθέντος, without being specific, but the above quotation from Aëtius (unless Aëtius is just following Cornutus) could indicate that it was generally accepted by Stoics that the names of the Titans were poetic fictions created by Hesiod, not material from an earlier source. Since Cornutus makes this criticism of Hesiod immediately after naming these Titans, he is probably referring specifically to these entities.

If so, the sense of awkwardness in this section on Titans can be explained by the difficulty facing Cornutus in trying to provide rational explanations for a group of entities which were generally regarded as Hesiodic fictions. When claiming that Hesiod has corrupted much of the material handed down to him, Cornutus provides no specific detail; the fact, however, that he is prepared to analyse the Titanic names and provide some insight into their meaning suggests that he accepts the validity of the actual entities *per se*. On the other hand, it is possible that Cornutus considers it irrelevant whether the Titans are real concepts or not: for his purpose, and with his methodology, it is not a bad thing if he can show that well-known fictions are capable of this sort of analysis (see Section 1.7.3.5.). As listed in Section 1.7.2.3, Cornutus

defines the Titans as λόγοι (which are perhaps best interpreted as forerunners of the laws of physics), but Hesiod's Titans are not to be distinguished as a group from entities already described, for example (29.3) Ἐρεβος ... ὁ ποιῶν ἐρέφεσθαι ... τι ὑφ' ἑτέρου λόγος.<sup>102</sup> These λόγοι, being aspects of Zeus (see D.L.7.134 =SVF 2.300 at 29.3), are rational and divine, but Hesiod does not introduce them in a manner which makes sense in Stoic physics: the Titans as children of Γαῖα and Οὐρανός are not a group which Cornutus can classify within his system, nor is he able to present them satisfactorily as such in a school text. Cornutus is perhaps thus taking an optimistic interpretation of Hesiod by restricting the latter's corruption to the falsification of the genealogy, rather than the invention of the concepts themselves.<sup>103</sup> His discomfort is exemplified by 31.12, where he cites lack of time, and moves quickly on.

30 2 οὗτοι δ' ἄν εἶεν διαφοραὶ τῶν ὄντων.

ὥς γὰρ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς Φυσικοῖς ἐξαριθμεῖται

Φυσὴν τε Φθιμένην τε καὶ Εὐναίην καὶ Ἐγερσίην

Κινῶν τε Ἀστέρην τε πολυστέφανον τε Μεγιστῶν

καὶ Φορυβήν καὶ Σιωπῆν τε καὶ Ὀμφαίην καὶ πολλὰς ἄλλας, τὴν εἰρημένην ποικιλίαν τῶν ὄντων αἰνιττόμενος,

Empedocles (C-5) had already postulated the notion of a universal divine intelligence pervading all matter:

- o fr. 134 *ap. Ammonius arist. interp.* 249.9 ἀλλὰ φρὴν ἱερὴν καὶ ἀθέσφατον ἔπλετο μόνον, φροντίσι κόσμον ἅπαντα καταΐσσοῦσα θοῆσι ...

But this reference is highly problematic because of its gratuitous nature, and the total lack of explanatory detail.

I have argued that Cornutus finds the Titans unsatisfactory as a group, and that 30.2-8 οὗτοι δ' ἄν εἶεν ... αἰνιττόμενος is an accretion: ●1.7.2.3. for the argument. If this is correct, it explains why Cornutus deviates from his usual style by not immediately providing a definition of the group name 'Titan', or an etymology, or both. Although Hesiod names them as a group at *Theog.* 207, with an etymology from *τισταίνοντας straining*, Cornutus clearly does not consider them meaningful as a group, so cannot give a definition.<sup>104</sup> The absence might then have prompted a later reader to provide one as a suggestion: οὗτοι δ' ἄν εἶεν....<sup>105</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Cornutus in fact only explicitly defines his first and last Titans, Iapetus and Kronos, as λόγοι, leaving room for doubt about the others.

<sup>103</sup> At 31.13, Lang makes a textual emendation <γενεαλογίας> for [γεν.], (no comment by Krafft). Even if the text does read γενεαλογίας, it would be unsafe to interpret this as a signal that specifically the *genealogy* is corrupted, because the title of Hesiod's work may have varied. The title *Theogony* is first attested in Greek in C+2, Galen *PHP* 3.8.5.6, who is reporting Chrysippus (=SVF 908), but not necessarily *verbatim* (pace West (1966), 150, *q.v.* for detail). See Cicero *ND* 1.36 *Hesiodi Theogoniam*.

<sup>104</sup> See too West (1966), 199-210.

<sup>105</sup> Cornutus, however, does occasionally suggest something: 50.15 Ἴσως δ' ἄν οὗτος καὶ ὁ Πρίαπος εἶη (but here, with rational reasoning in the form of an etymology).



30 <sup>8</sup> οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν Ἰαπετός μὲν ὀνομάσθη ὁ λόγος καθ' ὃν φωνητικὰ ζῶα ἐγένετο καὶ τὸ ὄλον ψόφος ἀπετελέσθη, ἰαφετός τις ὧν (ἰὰ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ φωνή).

Table 37. Schol. Hesiod *Theog.* sv. 134 offers an array of etymologies of some of the Titans, some attributed to Zeno (SVF fr. 100) and some without attribution (SVF Chrysippus fr. 1086): see Tables 37-42. Numbering the Hesiodic Titans from 1 to 12, Cornutus treats them in the order 5, 2, 3, 4, 1, 11, 6, 7, 10, 9, 8, 12. No logical sequence is apparent,<sup>106</sup> other than the natural placing of Kronos last because youngest, thus this ordering strongly suggests that Cornutus is quoting from memory, which would be consistent with the occasional Homeric misquotation. It is tempting to postulate that Iapetus is first because uppermost in Cornutus's mind after finding an ingenious etymology elsewhere unattested.

30 <sup>11</sup> Κοῖος δέ, καθ' ὃν ποιὰ τινα τὰ ὄντα ἐστὶ (τῷ γὰρ κ πολλαχοῦ οἱ Ἴωνες ἀντὶ τοῦ π ἐχρῶντο) ἢ ὁ τοῦ κοεῖν αἴτιος, τουτέστι νοεῖν ἢ φρονεῖν· Κρίος δέ, καθ' ὃν τὰ μὲν ἄρχει καὶ δυναστεύει τῶν πραγμάτων, τὰ δὲ ὑποτέτακται καὶ δυναστεύεται,

Table 38.

30 <sup>16</sup> ἐντεῦθεν τάχα καὶ τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ποιμνίοις κριοῦ προσαγορευομένου·

Although having the appearance of an accretion, this is not gratuitous because it serves to suggest a connection to support an etymology from an unfamiliar word, κρείων *ruler*.

30 <sup>17</sup> Ὑπερίων δέ, καθ' ὃν ὑπεράνω τινα ἐτέρων περιπορεύεται·

Table 39.

30 <sup>18</sup> Ὠκεανὸς δέ, καθ' ὃν ἀνύεται ἐν τάχει, ὅς δὴ καὶ ἀκαλαρρείτης κέκληται τῷ ἡσύχιόν τι καὶ σχολαῖον τὴν ῥύσιν αὐτοῦ ὡς τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου | κίνησιν ἐμφαίνειν καὶ βαθυδίνης τῷ βαθέως δινεῖσθαι].

Table 40. This definition is similar to that at 8.10 which has been identified as an accretion:

•1.7.2.5.

βαθυδίνης: Hesiod *Theog.* 133, epithet of Ὠκεανός.

[ὅς ... δινεῖσθαι] identified as an accretion because:

- 1) Cornutus is following Hesiod and providing a minimal summary of Titans. It is highly unlikely that he would pause for this gratuitous explanation of two epithets of Ὠκεανός, one of which is not even Hesiodic;
- 2) the ἀκαλαρρείτης, *soft-flowing*, ... ἡσύχιόν ... σχολαῖον does anything other than reinforce the ἀνύεται ἐν τάχει, and is entirely illogical;<sup>107</sup>
- 3) The copula articular infinitive governed by the first τῷ is ellipsed, having the hallmark of a marginal note (although the text may be corrupt: see further);
- 4) ἀκαλαρρείτης is found at Hom. *Il.* 7.422, and the reference to the movement of the sun is explanatory for the rising of Ἥλιος in the previous Homeric line. This is entirely irrelevant here.

<sup>106</sup> But see note at 31.4.

<sup>107</sup> But see note at 31.4.

- 31 <sup>2</sup> Τηθὺς δέ, καθ' ἣν ἐπὶ μιᾶς καταστάσεως χρονίζει.

Table 41. Similar to the definition at 8.14: ●1.7.2.5.

- 31 <sup>3</sup> Θεία δέ ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς ὄψεως αἰτία,

Table 42.

- 31 <sup>3</sup> Ῥέα δέ ἡ τῆς ῥύσεως,

Table 9.

- 31 <sup>4</sup> Φοῖβη δέ ἡ τοῦ καθαρὰ τινα καὶ λαμπρὰ εἶναι, συνεκδέχεσθαι τούτοις καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐναντίων σχέσεων αἰτίας δέοντος·

If one accepts Lang's punctuation, the comment about opposite qualities, whatever it means, seems to be restricted either to the καθαρὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ referring to Φοῖβη alone, or the three entities Θεία, Ῥέα, and Φοῖβη. It is just possible, however, that the comment in fact refers to all the Titans mentioned up to and including Φοῖβη, in the adversative members of the sentence starting at 30.8 with οὕτως ... Ἰαπετὸς μὲν. Such an emendation of punctuation would help to account for the unexpected sequence in which Cornutus describes the Titans (see 30.8), leaving Memory, Themis and Kronos in a class without opposites, but it would raise even more perplexing questions, for example how this might be interpreted for Ῥέα or Ὑπερίων.<sup>108</sup>

- 31 <sup>6</sup> Μνημοσύνη δέ ἡ τοῦ συναναφέρειν τὰ γεγονότα· Θέμις δέ ἡ τοῦ συντίθεσθαι τι μεταξὺ ἡμῶν καὶ φυλάττεσθαι·

Here, the two concepts are in fact self-explanatory, so Cornutus could mention them without comment. His style, however, requires what look like logical explanations but are merely superfluous definitions. His treatment of these two entities strongly supports the argument in Section 1.1. that Cornutus never introduces a concept without some form of explanation.

- 31 <sup>8</sup> Κρόνος δέ ἐστὶν ὁ προειρημένος πάντων τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων λόγος, δεινότατος ὢν τῶν παίδων· ὀπλότατον δ' αὐτὸν γενέσθαι ἔφη διὰ τὸ καὶ μετὰ τὴν τῶν εἰρημένων γένεσιν ἐπιμένειν αὐτὸν ὡσὰν ἐν γενέσει ὄντα.

Table 10. Cornutus repeats his 'most plausible' etymology from 4.4. This does not necessarily conflict with his alternative etymologies, because they too provide some insight into the nature of Kronos.

- 31 <sup>12</sup> ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν Ἡσιόδου <γενεαλογίας> τελειότερα ποτ' ἂν ἐξήγησίς σοι γένοιτο, τὰ μὲν τινα, ὡς οἶμαι, παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων αὐτοῦ παρεληφότες, τὰ δὲ μυθικώτερον ἀφ' αὐτοῦ προσθέντος, ᾧ τρόπῳ καὶ πλεῖστα τῆς παλαιᾶς θεολογίας διεφθάρη· νῦν δὲ τὰ βεβοημένα παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις ἐπισκεπτέον.

Cornutus concludes that Hesiod has corrupted most of ancient theology, and that one could obtain a more satisfactory or more detailed account. The μὲν .. δέ construction (ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν Ἡσιόδου .... νῦν δὲ τὰ βεβοημένα) suggests that lack of space in this summary is the only reason for not doing so. This underlines the authority of the text and leaves the student

<sup>108</sup> Lang indicates significant textual difficulties with the text relating to Titans; Krafft, 245, indicates a lacuna in hyparchetype δ and other manuscript variations. The possibility thus exists of irretrievable corruption which prevents an establishment of the overall sense at this point.

with the impression that a more profound or more satisfactory explanation could be on offer. Cornutus might, however, be saying (or knowing but deliberately not saying) that this more complete explanation is unavailable because Hesiod has irretrievably corrupted ancient sources.<sup>109</sup>

The personal opinion (ὡς οἶμαι) has been interpreted as a possible deviation from earlier Stoic writers, but [Plutarch] *plac.* 879c-880d = SVF 2.1009 (see quotation at 30.1), and the absence of an emphatic ἐγώ suggest that Cornutus is saying nothing new here.<sup>110</sup>

The transition from Hesiod to the next section is abrupt, leaving the comments about Hesiod frustratingly vague, but the μέν .. δέ construction precludes a lacuna. Cornutus moves on to what he describes as τὰ βεβοημένα παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις. It is difficult to assess the force of the expression, which could have pejorative overtones, but Cornutus treats this material, about two thirds of the whole text, in a manner indistinguishable from that of earlier material.<sup>111</sup>

● 1.7.3. for a discussion of text structure and differences between Sections A and D.

---

<sup>109</sup> ● 1.2 for a possible failure of Stoics to produce a full account of cosmology.

<sup>110</sup> Thus Tate (1929), 41, n.4.

<sup>111</sup> As noted by Hays, 156-157, without explanation. Cornutus is the earliest of 78 attested pf. tense forms of βοάω, where the participle τὰ βεβοημένα takes the sense of *that which is said or claimed*. See e.g. Eusebius *PE* 4.2.8.2.

## Section D: Popular Religion

- 31 <sup>19</sup> Παραδεδομένου τοίνυν ἄνωθεν ὅτι ὁ Προμηθεὺς ἐπλασεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, ἢ ὑπονοητέον Προμηθεῖα εἰρήσθαι τὴν προμήθειαν τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὄλοις ψυχῆς, ἢν ἐκάλεσαν οἱ νεώτεροι πρόνοιαν· κατὰ γὰρ ταύτην τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐγένετο καὶ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἔφυσαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἐπιτηδείως πρὸς τοῦτο ἐχούσης καταρχὰς τῆς τοῦ κόσμου συστάσεως.

Table 43. Although Cornutus claims ancient roots for the myth of Prometheus forming the human race from earth, it is poorly attested, the first extant reference being (C-4/-3), Philemon fr. 89 *ap.* Stobaeus 3.2.26.2; thereafter (C-1) Horace *Ode* 1.16.13-16; (C+1/+2) [Apollodorus] *bib.* 1.7.1; Hyginus *fab.* 142.<sup>112</sup>

Prometheus is identified as the *foresight of the universal soul*, the assertion supported by a transparent etymology which, however, is only a part explanation. A close link between Prometheus and the Stoic concept of Fate is thus forged, equated with Zeus (see commentary at 12.11 and definitions in Appendix 5).

ἢν ἐκάλεσαν οἱ νεώτεροι πρόνοιαν: see Cicero *ND* 2.58 ... *providentia*.. (*Graece enim πρόνοια dicitur*).

• 1.4. for textual parallels between Cornutus and Plato *Prt.*, and the argument that Cornutus is following Zeno, and/or Cicero, in an adherence to the Prometheus myth. There is a notable similarity with Plato in the reason for the creation of mankind:

- ο *Prt.* 320d1 ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ τούτοις χρόνος ἦλθεν εἰμαρμένος γενέσεως ...

Plato ascribes the reason simply to fate, as does Cornutus, but Cornutus equates Fate with Zeus, even though he identifies Ζεὺς with Μοῖρα rather than εἰμαρμένη. See again 12.11.

- 32 <sup>5</sup> [λέγεται δὲ καὶ συνεῖναί ποτε τῷ Διὶ ὁ Προμηθεὺς· πολλῆς γὰρ προμηθείας πᾶσα μὲν ἀρχὴ καὶ προστασία πλειόνων, μάλιστα δὲ ἡ τοῦ Διὸς δεῖται.] 23

A comment which is pointless and interrupts the flow, thus an accretion.

- 32 <sup>8</sup> καὶ κλέψαι δὲ φασιν αὐτὸν τὸ πῦρ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὡς τῆς ἡμετέρας ἤδη συνέσεως καὶ προνοίας ἐπινοησάσης τὴν χρῆσιν τοῦ πυρός.

Cornutus blurs the boundaries between *man's foresight*, which he equates with intelligence, and *foresight of the universal soul*, and the boundaries are blurred even more until by 33.6, the two seem indistinguishable. This is an implicit declaration of the Stoic concept that man is part of the divine (μέρη γὰρ εἰσιν αἱ ἡμέτεραι φύσεις τῆς τοῦ ὄλου).<sup>113</sup>

- 32 <sup>11</sup> κατενηνέχθαι δὲ αὐτὸ ἐμύθευσαν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διὰ τὸ πλεονάζειν ἐκεῖ ἢ ἐπεὶ οἱ κεραυνοὶ ἐκεῖθεν κατασκήπτουσι διὰ πληγῆς τάνθάδε ἐξάπτοντες, τάχα τι τοιοῦτον καὶ διὰ τοῦ νάρθηκος αἰνιττόμενοι.

The aether burns (2.10), and lightning is a natural source for the belief that fire originated in

<sup>112</sup> Plato *Prt.* 320c8-d3 describes how the gods shaped the races of animals, including man, from earth and fire, but Prometheus and Epimetheus allocate qualities to them. Plato may have varied the myth, or his myth may have been distorted later.

<sup>113</sup> Chrysippus, D.L.7.88.2.

the sky. The myth of the fennel stalk is related twice by Hesiod, *Theog.* 567, *WD* 52, and Cornutus suggests an interpretation on a more profound level (presumably relating the fennel stalk to a lightning bolt) than the practical one of transporting fire.<sup>114</sup> This 'unnecessary' interpretation has perhaps a didactic function of always searching for significance in detail, or looking beyond the obvious.

32 <sup>15</sup> δεθεις δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Προμηθεὺς ἐκολάσθη τοῦ ἥπατος αὐτῷ ὑπ' αἰετοῦ καταβιβρωσκομένου· ἡ γὰρ ἡμετέρα ἐντρέχεια, τὸ προειρημένον πλεονέκτημα σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔχουσα, πειρᾶται τινος παρ' ἑαυτὴν δυσχρηστίας προσδεδεμένη ταῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον φροντίσιν ὀδυνηραῖς οὐσαις καὶ ὥσπερ εἰς τὰ σπλάγχνα ὑπὸ τῆς λεπτομεριμνίας ἐκβιβρωσκομένη.

See Hesiod *Theog.* 521-525. This whole sentence has an awkward construction and a higher than normal incidence of unusual words.<sup>115</sup> Further, there appears to be some conflict with Prometheus as *inventor of skills* at 33.6; the latter, however, may simply be a device to connect with Athena. The overall impression is that of an accretion, but the whole purpose is consonant with Cornutus' general theme of rational explanation, and its suspect nature is insufficient to reject it conclusively.

If genuine, it is an ingenious but strained interpretation of the punishment meted out to Prometheus, namely, that our skill ultimately has the disadvantage of complicating life, resulting in unnecessary concern over trifles. This may be an oblique reference to Stoic ideas of determinism, and what exactly a Stoic should be concerned about.<sup>116</sup> Cornutus is intent on providing rational reasons wherever available, but conveniently omits elements of myth which are unsuitable for interpretation, for example the creation of woman as a punishment for man.

32 <sup>21</sup> ἀδελφὸν δ' ἔφασαν εἶναι νεώτερον τοῦ Προμηθεὺς τὸν Ἐπιμηθέα, εὐηθέστερόν πως ὄντα τὸν τρόπον διὰ τὸ προτερεῖν τῇ τάξει τὴν προόρασιν | τῆς ἐκ τῶν ἀποβαινόντων παιδείας καὶ ἐπιμηθείας· τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ῥεχθὲν δέ τε νήπιος ἔγνω.

Cornutus sees significance in Epimetheus being the younger brother: education, generating forethought, is superior to mere knowledge of facts. The quotation from Hom. *Il.* 17.32, 20.198, must have been well known, attested at least 25 times, including scholia.<sup>117</sup> The transparent etymology from ἐπιμήθεια *afterthought* is elsewhere unattested.

32 <sup>2</sup> [διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ τῇ πρώτῃ γενομένη γυναικὶ συνοικῆσαι τοῦτον ἔφασαν· ἀφρονέστερον γὰρ πως δὴ καὶ τὸ θῆλυ εἶναι καὶ ἐπιμηθεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ προμηθεῖσθαι πεφυκός.]<sup>24</sup>

This text is identifiable as an accretion for the following reasons:

- 1) Elsewhere, Cornutus' explanations, although sometimes implausible, are overwhelmingly rational. Here, the reference is to Hesiod *Theog.* 513, where

<sup>114</sup> Transport of fire in fennel: Pliny *NH* 13.126.

<sup>115</sup> e.g. ἐντρέχεια: earliest of 108; *hapax* forms: καταβιβρωσκομένου, λεπτομεριμνίας, ἐκβιβρωσκομένη.

<sup>116</sup> For Stoic determinism, see Frede, 179-205.

<sup>117</sup> e.g. Galen *ad. add.* 8.22; [Plutarch] *VH* 682. The Schol. Hesiod *WD* *sv.* pro-sch. 89.4. and Schol. Hesiod *Theog.* *sv.* 511.2 connect the line with Epimetheus. The quotation is used by [Plutarch] *VH* 681 as an example of ἐπιφώνησις *added remark*.

Epimetheus, not the woman, is ἀμαρτίνοος; thus the explanation why he lived with the first woman is a complete *non sequitur*.<sup>118</sup>

- 2) Contrary to Cornutus' overall technique, there is no logical explanation for the assertion that women are ἀφρονέστερον.
- 3) There is no Stoic parallel for the assertion that women are ἀφρονέστερον, and see 64.8, where Cornutus is very careful in his expression of female rationality. In fact there is strong evidence that Stoics considered women to be just as capable as men of rational thought. This is based on the principle that women could be as virtuous as men, and virtue is only obtainable through rational understanding.<sup>119</sup>
- 4) The second clause, in indirect speech, has the style of a marginal note.

In addition, the text contains συνοικίζω, which also appears at 20.12, 21.8, and 64.4. See commentary at 21.8 for further argument that [διὰ τοῦτο ... πεφυκός] is an accretion.

<sup>33</sup> <sup>6</sup> λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ τινῶν καὶ τῶν τεχνῶν εὐρετῆς γενέσθαι ὁ Προμηθεὺς δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὅτι συνέσεως καὶ προμηθείας δεῖ πρὸς τὴν εὐρεσίαν αὐτῶν.  
e.g. A.PV.506 πᾶσαι τέχναι βροτοῖσιν ἐκ Προμηθέως.

<sup>33</sup> <sup>8</sup> Οἱ πλείους μέντοι τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ αὐτὰς ἀνατιθέασιν, τῇ μὲν Ἀθηνᾷ, ἐπειδὴ φρόνησις καὶ ἀγχινοῖα εἶναι δοκεῖ, τῷ δὲ Ἡφαίστῳ διὰ τὸ τὰς πλείστας τῶν τεχνῶν διὰ πυρὸς τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἔργα ἀποδιδόναι.

Myths disagreed as to which deity assigned skills to mankind, and Cornutus claims that the myth followed by, for example, Aeschylus, is accepted only by a minority. This divergence of strands of myth provides a smooth transition to an exposition of Athena and Hephaistos: indeed, Cornutus will shortly equate Athena with Prometheus (35.6). τέχναι are skills generally, but specifically crafts such as metalwork. Most crafts require both fire and intelligence, so the attribution of skills to either Athena or Hephaistos is logical.

<sup>33</sup> <sup>12</sup> ὁ μὲν γὰρ αἰθὴρ καὶ τὸ διαυγὲς καὶ καθαρὸν πῦρ Ζεὺς ἐστὶ, τὸ δ' ἐν χρήσει καὶ ἀερομιγὲς Ἡφαίστος, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἦφθαι ὀνομασμένος, ὅθεν καὶ ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας ἔφασαν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι, τινὲς δὲ μόνῃς τῆς Ἥρας· αἱ γὰρ φλόγες παχυμερέστεραι πῶς οὔσαι ὡσάν ἐκ μόνου τοῦ ἀέρος διακαιομένου τὴν ὑπόστασιν λαμβάνουσι.

See Table 44 for etymologies of Hephaistos, all deriving from fire or light.

Cornutus provides his last and most explicit definition of Zeus as distinct from Hephaistos (see Appendix 5). Stoics differentiated clearly between two types of fire: τὸ ἄτεχνον (*undesigning* = Hephaistos), and τὸ τεχνικόν (*designing* = Zeus).<sup>120</sup>

Hephaistos is born of Hera alone in Hesiod (*Theog.* 927-928: Ἥρη δ' Ἡφαιστον κλυτὸν οὐ

<sup>118</sup> • 1.1, 1.7.2; Appendix 10.

<sup>119</sup> See for example Musonius (Roman Stoic, contemporary of Cornutus) *diss. luc.* 3 and 4, esp. 3.2-3: Λόγον μὲν, ἔφη, τὸν αὐτὸν εἰλήφασι παρὰ θεῶν αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖς ἀνδράσιν.

<sup>120</sup> Thus Stobaeus (1.213, 15-21 = SVF 1.120) quoting Zeno. • 1.2. and commentary at 27.7. for full quotation.

φιλότῃ μιγείσα γείνατο, but this might not be Hesiod),<sup>121</sup> and HH 3(*Apol.*) 314-318.

The source for Zeus as father of Hephaistos is not named, and this source is worthy of discussion. Cornutus usually has Hesiod and Homer as authorities, and the further exposition of Hephaistos shows Cornutus has Homer very much in mind. Zeus is, however, not the father of Hephaistos in Homer:

- 1) Throughout the *Iliad*, Hephaistos is consistently the son specifically of Hera.<sup>122</sup> Hephaistos gives a sceptre Διὶ Κρονίωνι ἄνακτι (not to his father),<sup>123</sup> although he does construct something Διὶ πατρί.<sup>124</sup> All gods, however, address Zeus as Ζεῦ πάτερ, even when they are not offspring,<sup>125</sup> thus this form of address by Hephaistos proves nothing.<sup>126</sup> Further, Hera speaks to Zeus of Hephaistos as τόν τοι φίλος υἱός.<sup>127</sup>
- 2) In the *Odyssey*, the genealogy is different: Hephaistos lives with Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἄφροδίτη.<sup>128</sup> He appeals to Zeus, blaming his τοκῆε δύω for his lameness, which in fact, unless he is being singularly tactless, clearly suggests that Zeus is not his father.<sup>129</sup>

There is sparse evidence of alternative genealogies,<sup>130</sup> but if Cornutus has Homeric tradition in mind here, this is further evidence that he is using Homer from memory, or just earlier scholarship.<sup>131</sup>

Cornutus, however, finds a very clever rational explanation for Hephaistos either with or without Zeus as father: *undesigned* fire is a mixture of *designing* fire (=Zeus) and air (=Hera); or, *undesigned* fire is an offspring of air alone, being denser than the pure aetherial fire, and existing by burning up air.

33<sup>18</sup> χαλὸς δὲ παραδέδοται τάχα μὲν διὰ τὸ παχεῖαν τὴν διὰ τῆς ὕλης πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐπισκάλουσι δμοίαν, τάχα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι προβαίνειν δίχα ξυλώδους τινὸς ὡσάν βάκτρου· τινὲς δέ, ἐπεὶ τὴν ἄνω | κίνησιν τῇ κάτω [πρὸς στροφήν] ἄνισον ■ 25 καὶ ἀνάμαλον ποιεῖται, βραδυτέρας ταύτης οὔσης, χωλαίνειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν.

The Olympian gods embodied perfection, thus the lame Hephaistos was an outsider.<sup>132</sup>

Cornutus suggests that the lameness signifies a physical property of *undesigned* fire, slow

<sup>121</sup> See Chrysippus SVF 2.908.43 *ap.* Galen *PHP* 3.8.11.4 for variant text, and West (1969), 401-403, for discussion; see too 19.1.

<sup>122</sup> 1.572, 14.167, 14.239, 14.339, 15.396, 21.330, 21.369, 21.378.

<sup>123</sup> 2.101.

<sup>124</sup> 20.11; see too 1.578.

<sup>125</sup> e.g. Thetis, *Il.*1.503; see too Burkert, 129.

<sup>126</sup> Hephaistos uses Ζεῦ πάτερ at *Il.*1.578, *Od.*8.306.

<sup>127</sup> 14.338. (Lattimore, Rieu: *my son*; Fagles: *your son*; Monro, 346: τοι, consessive particle *indeed*).

<sup>128</sup> 8.308; see too Ovid *Met.*4.173 *Iunonigenaeque marito [Veneris]*.

<sup>129</sup> 8.312.

<sup>130</sup> Kinaithon (*ap.* Pausanias 8.53.5.4) gives Hephaistos as son of Hera and Talos.

<sup>131</sup> Modern scholars too claim that Zeus is the father of Hephaistos in Homer: OCD, 682; Hard, 79; West (1969), 413, all citing *Il.*1.578, *Il.*14.338, *Od.*8.312; Graves, 51, without reference. (Burkert, 168, does not.)

<sup>132</sup> Burkert, 168.

progress needing a combustible material such as wood. The other suggestion about upward and downward speeds of fire is either simply personal observation, or a reference to Aristotle's claim that upwards is the natural motion for fire:

- o *Cael.* 304b17 (and *ibid.* 308b13; 311a20) καὶ τὸ πῦρ ὄσω ἂν πλείον γίγνηται, φέρεται θάττον ἄνω τὴν αὐτοῦ φοράν.

34 3 ῥιφήναι δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς εἰς γῆν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ λέγεται διὰ τὸ τοὺς πρώτους ἴσως ἀρξαμένους χρῆσθαι πυρὶ ἐκ κεραυνοβολίου καιομένῳ αὐτῷ περιτυχεῖν, μηδέπω ἐπινοία τῶν πυρίων ἐπιπεσεῖν δυναμένους.

Hom. *Il.*1.590. An apposite interpretation of Hephaistos as a thunderbolt, tied in with Prometheus at 32.8 as being the *idea* behind the invention of fire.

34 6 γυναῖκα δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἔφασαν εἶναι καθ' οἷον λόγον καὶ τῶν Χαρίτων μίαν· ὡς γὰρ χάριν φάμεν ἔχειν τὰ τεχνικὰ ἔργα, οὕτω καὶ ἀφροδίτην τινὰ αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέχειν λέγομεν, εἰ μὴ πρὸς παράστασιν τοῦ πολὺ τὸ πυρῶδες εἶναι ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὰς μίξεις ὁρμαῖς πέπλασται τοῦτο.

γυναῖκα Ἀφροδίτην: Hom. *Od.*8.308 (see notes 33.12 above);

τῶν Χαρίτων μίαν: Hom. *Il.*18.382 (Χάρις). •1.7.2.4. and commentary at 20.8 for the argument that the first reference to the Graces with Hephaistos is an accretion. The text here is totally consistent with Cornutus' overall style, providing inventive and logical alternative interpretations of myth for a student to consider.

34 12 δεδεκέσθαι δὲ μυθεύεται τὸν Ἄρην μοιχεύοντα τὴν γυναῖκα[· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μῦθος παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ ἐστὶ παλαιότατος ὢν], ἐπειδὴ τῇ τοῦ πυρὸς δυνάμει ὁ σιδηρὸς καὶ ὁ χαλκὸς δαμάζεται· τὸ δὲ τῆς μοιχείας πλάσμα παρίστησιν ὅτι οὐ πάνυ μὲν πέφυκε κατάλληλον τὸ μάχιμον καὶ βίαιον τῷ ἰλαρῷ καὶ μειλιχίῳ οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν φυσικὸν αὐτῷ νόμον ἐπιπλέκεται, ἀντιποιοῦμενον δὲ πῶς τῆς μίξεως αὐτοῦ καλὸν καὶ γενναῖον γέννημα, τὴν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἀρμονίαν, ἀποτελεῖ. 26

The adultery myth: Hom. *Od.*8.266-366. Yet another clever rational explanation in the form of a parallel between Hephaistos subduing Ares and fire subduing iron, and a logical demonstration that it is inappropriate for such opposites to be intimate. This appears to be rather inconsistent with the myth as related by Hesiod *Theog.* 933-937 (but see 33.12 for *Theog.* 900+) which relates how Ares and Aphrodite have three children: Cornutus, however, conveniently selects the one, Ἀρμονίη, which fits his logic nicely as being the harmonious fusion of two opposites, creating the noble and beautiful.<sup>133</sup>

[καὶ γὰρ ... παλαιότατος ὢν]: Cornutus regularly quotes from Homer and names him as a source, thus this comment is misplaced, and an accretion.

34 20 λέγεται δὲ ὁ Ἥφαιστος μαιώσασθαι τὸν Δία, ὅτε ᾤδινεν τὴν Ἰθάκην, καὶ διελὼν αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκθορεῖν ἐκείνην ποιῆσαι· τὸ γὰρ πῦρ, ᾧ χρῶνται αἱ τέχναι, συνεργὸν πρὸς τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς φυσικῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀγχινοίας γενόμενον ὥσπερ κεκρυμμένην αὐτὴν εἰς φῶς προήγαγε· τοὺς δὲ ζητοῦντάς τι ὡς προσευρέσθαι κύειν αὐτὸ καὶ ᾤδινειν φάμεν.

This myth provides a natural transition to Athena. She is born from the head of Zeus in Hesiod *Theog.* 941 (but see 33.12 for *Theog.* 900+), but assistance from Hephaistos is first attested in

<sup>133</sup> •1.8.6 for text parallels, and Appendixes 6 and 7 for comparison of genealogies.



Pindar, *Ol.* 7.35-38, and from other deities in various other sources.<sup>134</sup> Cornutus again selects a mythic variant which he can interpret rationally, with the didactic message that ideas can be conceived but the process can be painful.<sup>135</sup>

- 35 6 Ἡ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ Διὸς σύνεσις, ἡ αὐτῆ οὔσα τῆ ἐν αὐτῷ προνοία, καθὼ καὶ Προνοίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἰδρύνονται ναοί.

Cornutus equates Athena to Prometheus, and can thus explain the existence of temples dedicated to Athena Pronoia, but this may be an over-simplification for a school text. He certainly does not explain why he can simply equate the two deities, and only provides an implicit explanation for Athena as the intelligence of Zeus.

This idea that Athena is the providence of Zeus was pre-Stoic, thus Plato:

- o *Cra.* 407a8-b2 εὐόκασι δὴ καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν νομίζειν ὥσπερ οἱ νῦν περὶ Ὅμηρον δεινοί. καὶ γὰρ τούτων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐξηγοῦμενοι τὸν ποιητὴν φασὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν αὐτὸν νοῦν τε καὶ διάνοιαν πεποιηκέναι.

See Appendix 1, Table 45 for further definitions with etymologies, and Tables 46-51 for attributes and epithets of Athena.

In his exposition of Athena, Cornutus is in close agreement with Chrysippus:

- o Philodemus *piet.* c.16 = SVF 910 τινὰς δὲ τῶν Στωικῶν φάσκουσιν, ὅτι τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ φρόνησιν γὰρ εἶναι, διὸ καὶ Μῆτιν καλεῖσθαι. Χρῦσιππον δ' ἐν τῷ στήθει τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν εἶναι (=35.9, implied) κάκει τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν γεγενῆσθαι φρόνησιν οὔσαν (=35.6 σύνεσις), τῷ δὲ τὴν φωνὴν ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐκκρίνεσθαι, λέγειν ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἡφαίστου διότι τέχνη γίνεθ' ἡ φρόνησις (=34.20), καὶ Ἀθηνᾶν μὲν οἶον Ἀθηρῶν εἰρήσθαι (=36.2), Τριτωνίδα (not Cornutus) δὲ καὶ Τριτογένειαν διὰ τὸ τὴν φρόνησιν ἐκ τριῶν συνεστηκέναι λόγων, τῶν φυσικῶν καὶ τῶν ἠθικῶν καὶ τῶν λογικῶν (=37.14).

- 35 9 γενέσθαι δ' ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς κεφαλῆς λέγεται, τάχα μὲν τῶν ἀρχαίων ὑπολαβόντων τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν ἐνταῦθ' εἶναι, καθάπερ καὶ ἕτεροι τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόξασαν, τάχα δ' ἐπεὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἀνωτάτω μέρος τοῦ σώματος ἡ κεφαλὴ ἐστὶ, τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ὁ αἰθήρ, ὅπου τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ τῆς φρονήσεως οὐσία· 'κορυφὴ δὲ θεῶν' κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην 'ὁ περὶ χθόν' ἔχων φαεινὸς αἰθήρ'.

The earlier reference to her birth was to explain the function of Hephaistos: here, the nature of the birth itself is given a logical explanation.

τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς: this was always an issue of debate in antiquity. Plato located the tripartite soul of reason, emotion and appetite in the brain, heart and liver respectively, and Galen followed him.<sup>136</sup> Aristotle, however, took the heart as the ruling faculty of the soul, and this position was adopted by some Stoics, notably Chrysippus, whom Galen contemptuously criticized for an ignorance of anatomy.<sup>137</sup>

<sup>134</sup> See Hard, 625, n.192 for list.

<sup>135</sup> Plato uses this imagery for dialectic: see *Th.* 210b4: Ἡ οὖν ἔτι κυοῦμέν τι καὶ ὠδίνομεν, ὦ φίλε, περὶ ἐπιστήμης...

<sup>136</sup> Plato *Ti.* 69c5-72d3; see Hankinson, 295-298, for a summary of the positions in the debate. Heraclitus *QH* also follows Plato: see below at 36.13 and ●1.3.3 for the argument that he was not a Stoic.

<sup>137</sup> Aristotle *Juv.* 469a5-7; Galen *PHP* 1.6.13, 2.2.12, esp. 2.3.20-27.

Cornutus is not precise about οἱ ἀρχαῖοι, but contextually, it probably refers to the ancient myth-makers who created the imagery of the birth of Athena.<sup>138</sup> οἱ ἕτεροι τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα would then refer, for example, to Plato.<sup>139</sup> There is a parallel to this birth of Athena with that of Thoth, the Egyptian wisdom god, from the head of Seth, which might have provided support for Cornutus' belief that the ancients, in this instance, got it wrong.<sup>140</sup> Like Chrysippus, Cornutus takes the Aristotelian position, that the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus, rather than from his chest, is an embarrassment.<sup>141</sup> Unlike Chrysippus, however, Cornutus chooses a simple logical explanation, a false belief ascribed to the ancients, or a rather unconvincing explanation involving the highest part of the body supported by the meanings *peak* or *head*.

35 <sup>17</sup> [Ἀμῆτωρ δέ ἐστιν ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ διὰ τὸ ἀλλοίαν εἶναι τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς γένεσιν καὶ οὐχ οἷα ἢ τῶν ἐκ συνδυασμοῦ γενομένων ἐστὶ.] 27

A *non sequitur* for a Stoic interpreting the genealogies of the gods, and identifiable as an accretion. The vocabulary suggests the writer has the Pythagorean identification of Athena with the number 7 in mind, a prime number and thus not the product of two other numbers ἐκ συνδυασμοῦ.<sup>142</sup> The connection between Ἀθηνᾶ and ἀρετή links this statement to the two next pieces of text bracketed by Lang, at 36.5 and 36.9, which considered as a group, are identified as accretions because of their non-Stoic or illogical nature. • 1.7.2.

35 <sup>19</sup> τὴν Μῆτιν οὖν καταπιὼν ὁ Ζεὺς ἐγέννησεν αὐτήν, ἐπειδὴ μητιέτης καὶ συνετὸς ὢν οὐδαμόθεν ἄλλοθεν ἢ ἐκ τῆς καθ' αὐτὸν βουλῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ φρονεῖν ἔσχεν.

A play on the words Μῆτις and μητιέτης provides Cornutus with a logical interpretation of the myth. μητίετα (later μητιέτης, Cornutus being the earliest attested) is a common epic epithet for Zeus.<sup>143</sup>

36 <sup>1</sup> τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς δυσετυμολόγητον διὰ ἀρχαιότητά ἐστι, δυσετυμολόγητον: *hapax*.

Taken at face value, this comment makes little sense, because there is no reason to suppose other gods have younger names. But the comment is significant because Cornutus is probably alluding to Stoic theory of language creation and the recognition that words become corrupted

<sup>138</sup> • 1.5 for the identity of οἱ παλαιοί, who are presumably the same. See too 37.11.

<sup>139</sup> Another, less likely, interpretation is that οἱ ἀρχαῖοι refers to Platonists, and οἱ ἕτεροι τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα refers to writers later than Chrysippus (C-3) when anatomical evidence from Hellenistic vivisection had undermined the Stoic position (see Majno, 327-329 and Rihll, 129). These writers could be non-Stoics or the Stoics to which Philodemus (C-1) refers (see 35.6 above, SVF 910).

<sup>140</sup> Burkert, 142, admits the birth is puzzling because 'for the early Greeks, it is, if anything, ... the diaphragm which is the seat of right thinking.'

<sup>141</sup> In *PHP* 3.8.14-26, Galen criticizes Chrysippus for simultaneously claiming that the heart is the ruling faculty of the soul, and that the Hesiodic birth of Athena is not inconsistent with this position. Galen claims of Chrysippus (3.8.21.3) οὐ μάχεται μοι, φησὶν [Chrysippus], ὁ μῦθος λέγων ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς κεφαλῆς γεγεννησθαι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν φρόνησιν ὑπάρχουσαν.

<sup>142</sup> Thus Theon Phil. *util. math.* 103.1-6 καὶ ἡ ἑβδομάς ... οὔτε γεννᾶ ἕτερον οὔτε γεννᾶται ὑφ' ἑτέρου· διὸ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ ὑπὸ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν ἐκαλεῖτο, ... οὔτε γὰρ γίνεται ἐκ συνδυασμοῦ ...

<sup>143</sup> μητίετα: Hesiod *Theog.* 56, *al.*, Hom. *Il.* 1.75, *al.*

with time, and he means that the name Athena has suffered more deterioration than others.<sup>144</sup> Appendix 1, Table 45, attests the diversity of etymologies for Athena, Cornutus suggesting 3 possibilities.

36<sup>2</sup> τῶν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀθρεῖν πάντα οἶον Ἀθρηναῖαν αὐτὴν εἰπόντων εἶναι,  
This follows Chrysippus, a reference to her eyes and intelligence observing everything: see 35.6 and 36.13.

36<sup>4</sup> τῶν δὲ διὰ τὸ καίπερ θήλειαν οὖσαν ἥκιστα θηλύτητος καὶ ἐκλύσεως μετέχειν τὴν Ἀθρηναῖαν·

Cornutus consistently makes positive statements about the gods, and typically interprets an absence as a lack of the negative side of femininity, even when the etymology could refer to the absence of a positive aspect, namely childbearing.

36<sup>5</sup> [ἄλλοι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ πεφυκέναι θένεσθαι καὶ ὑποτάττεσθαι τὴν ἀρετὴν·]  
Considered in isolation, it would be unsafe to categorize this meaningless (and elsewhere unattested) etymology as an accretion, but taken with 35.17 and 36.9, it is clearly an accretion. See 35.17.

36<sup>7</sup> τάχα δ' εἰ Ἀθηναία, ὡς οἱ παλαιοὶ τὴν Ἀθρηναῖαν ἔλεγον, αἰθεροναία ἐστίν. ἡ δὲ παρθενία αὐτῆς τοῦ καθαροῦ καὶ ἀμιάντου σύμβολόν ἐστι· τοιοῦτον γὰρ τι ἡ ἀρετὴ].  
Here, οἱ παλαιοὶ could refer to tragedians, who occasionally used this form, or more likely, Cornutus is guessing that this is an even earlier form of the name.<sup>145</sup> The purity of the aether is then consonant with the purity symbolized by her virginity.

36<sup>10</sup> καθωπλισμένη δὲ πλάττεται καὶ οὕτως ἱστοροῦσιν αὐτὴν γεγονέναι παριστάντες ὅτι αὐτάρκως πρὸς τὰς μεγίστας καὶ δυσφορωτάτους πράξεις παρασκευάζεται ἡ φρόνησις· μέγισται γὰρ δοκοῦσιν αἱ πολεμικαὶ εἶναι.  
The birth with full armour is described in Hesiod *Theog.* 929, of uncertain authenticity,<sup>146</sup> but the artistic representation of armour is attested for C-6.<sup>147</sup> Cornutus finds an interpretation even for this detail.

36<sup>13</sup> διὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τὸ ἔπανδρον καὶ γοργωπὸν αὐτῇ ἀνατιθέασιν πολλὸν ἔχειν, τοιοῦτόν τι ἐμφαινούσης καὶ τῆς γλαυκότητος αὐτῆς· καὶ γὰρ τῶν θηρίων τὰ ἀλκιμώτατα, οἷον αἱ παρδάλεις καὶ οἱ λέοντες, γλαυκὰ εἰσι, δυσαντίβλεπτον στίλβοντα ἀπὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων· ἔνιοι δὲ φασὶ τοιαύτην αὐτὴν παρεισάγεσθαι διὰ τὸ τὸν αἰθέρα γλαυκὸν εἶναι.

τὸ γοργωπόν: found 3 times as an adjective in the tragedians, otherwise the earliest attested use and the only use as a noun *the grim-eyed appearance*.

Cornutus does not explicitly give γλαυκῶπις as an epithet of Athena,<sup>148</sup> from which we can assume that the student would already be very familiar with it. The reference to lions' eyes

<sup>144</sup> ● 1.6.2; see too Augustine *dialec.* 6e.

<sup>145</sup> A. *Eu.* 288; E. *IT.* 1436. But see 37.11: ἀρχαία ὀλοσχέρεια.

<sup>146</sup> The Hesiodic verse σὺν τῇ ἐγείνατό μιν πολεμῆια τεύχε' ἔχουσιν is Galen *PHP* 3.8.14.4 reporting a quotation from Hesiod by Chrysippus. See West (1969), 401-403. *HH* 28(*Minerv.*) 5 σεμνῆς ἐκ κεφαλῆς, πολεμῆια τεύχε' ἔχουσιν.

<sup>147</sup> Vase paintings: Burkert, 142; a bronze relief, Olympia: Hard, 181.

here suggests support for the general belief that vision was achieved by the eye sending out rays.<sup>149</sup>

There are no other attested descriptions of the aether as γλαυκόν.

36 20 πάνυ δ' εικότως συμμετέχει τῷ Διὶ τῆς αἰγίδος, οὐχ ἕτερα οὔσα τοῦ παρ' ὃ δοκεῖ  
| διαφέρειν ἀπάντων καὶ περιγίνεσθαι ὁ Ζεὺς.

Although only Zeus has the title of αἰγίοχος, Apollo uses the aegis as well,<sup>150</sup> but Athena is merely αἰγίοχοιο Διὸς τέκος. The aegis is nevertheless the emblem and armour of Athena.<sup>151</sup>

The text πάνυ δ' εικότως ... ὁ Ζεὺς is, however, unsatisfactory, because the explanation seems rather meaningless. There are two possibilities:

- 1) Cornutus is obliged to refer to this symbol as a natural starting point for an exposition of the goddess, and then as usual feels required to provide a rational explanation, however feeble.
- 2) This is another accretion referring to the excellence of Athena, belonging to the text identified as a group of accretions 35.17, 36.5 and 36.9. Cornutus has assigned the aegis to Zeus (9.10); at 36.10 he describes Athena in armour, and then the decoration on it (37.1). If he has omitted to mention the aegis here, for simplification or because he finds no logical justification for it, an accretion would be unsurprising.

My conjecture is that the rational explanation is too feeble even for Cornutus, and therefore an accretion, but it remains conjecture in the absence of stronger supporting evidence.

37 1 προτομή δ' ἐν αὐτῇ Γοργόνης ἐστὶ κατὰ μέσον τῆς θεᾶς τὸ στήθος ἔξω προβεβληκυῖα  
τὴν γλῶτταν ὡσὰν ἐκφανεστάτου ὄντος ἐν τῇ τῶν ὄλων οἰκονομία τοῦ λόγου.

Mythically Perseus gave the Gorgon's head to Athena, who fixed it in her shield,<sup>152</sup> whilst a possible historical explanation derives from a symbol of virginity, a prophylactic against the removal of a Libyan girl's goat-skin chastity tunic, punishable by death.<sup>153</sup> A more obvious explanation would be that it was simply an image designed to terrify the enemy on the shield of a martial goddess, but Cornutus is compelled again to provide an explanation which avoids

<sup>148</sup> Athena is γλαυκῶπις 93 times in Homer, in 9 of which even the name Athena is omitted, e.g. *Il.* 8.420 (a further 249 references are without the epithet). A further 19 cases are found in Hesiod and the Homeric Hymns. The first Homeric reference to Athena is when Athena checks Achilles' anger (*Il.* 1.200): δεινὸν δέ οἱ ὄσσε φάανθεν. This scene is an obvious opportunity to identify Athena as *rationality*, where Achilles has a moment of prudence during a quarrel. Thus Heraclitus *QH* 19.5, who interprets the scene 'head *versus* heart': ἐπισκοτομένου τοῦ κατὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν λογισμοῦ τοῖς περὶ τὰ στέρνα θυμοῖς. Cornutus' silence here is perhaps because this is not an accurate interpretation of Athena: she is the *intelligence* which invents skills, whereas the *rationality* which checks Achilles is better identified by Stoics as Hermes. In any case, Cornutus is not interested in such allegorical interpretation of Homer: ● 1.3.3. for allegory in Stoics.

<sup>149</sup> See for example Aristotle *Mete.* 374b15, 377a2. Cornutus is accidentally correct here because the flashing of lions' eyes is due to reflected light.

<sup>150</sup> Apollo: Hom. *Il.* 15.229-230, 24.20.

<sup>151</sup> Hom. *Il.* 10.278 *al.*; Burkert, 140.

<sup>152</sup> [Apollodorus] *bib.* 2.40.3: there is confusion between shield and aegis.

<sup>153</sup> Graves, 9.5.

the obvious, and may be rhetorically convincing.<sup>154</sup>

- 37<sup>5</sup> οἱ δὲ δράκοντες καὶ ἡ γλαυξ διὰ τὸ ἐμπερὲς τῶν ὀμμάτων ἀνατίθενται ταύτῃ γλαυκώπιδι οὕσῃ· σμερδαλέον γὰρ ὁ δράκων δέδορκε καὶ φυλακτικόν τι ἔχει καὶ ἄγρυπνον καὶ οὐκ εὐθήρατος εἶναι δοκεῖ· 'οὐ χρῆ' δὲ 'παννύχιον εὐδριν βουληφόρον ἄνδρα'].

30

A rational explanation for animals dedicated to the goddess, because they have the same attributes. Thus:

- ο Eustathius *Il.* 1.138.29 καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ δράκων ἰέρωται... δράκοντος μὲν γὰρ πρόκειται τὸ δέρκω ἤτοι βλέπω, Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ τὸ ἀθρεῖν· ἀθρεῖν δὲ ταυτόν ἐστι τῷ δέρκεσθαι... ἡ δὲ περὶ γλαυκός παροιμία ἢ λέγουσα «γλαυξ εἰς Ἀθήνας» ἐμφαίνει μὲν καθ' ἱστορίαν καὶ αὐτὴ φίλον εἶναι πτηνὸν Ἀθηνᾶ τὴν γλαυκά.<sup>155</sup>

σμερδαλέον: Hektor keeps watch for Achilles ὡς δὲ δράκων ... σμερδαλέον δὲ δέδορκεν.<sup>156</sup>

Cornutus is paraphrasing Homer here, perhaps unwittingly, but there is no reason to suppose he is suggesting an etymology, because his etymologies are invariably explicit.<sup>157</sup>

[οὐ χρῆ ... ἄνδρα]: this quotation (*Hom. Il.* 2.24, *Il.* 2.61) is neither explanatory nor logical in context, and thus an accretion.

- 37<sup>9</sup> λέγεται δ' Ἀτρυτώνη μὲν ὡσανεὶ οὐ τρυομένη ὑπ' οὐδενὸς πόνου ἢ ὡς ἀτρύτου τοῦ αἰθέρος ὄντος,

See Table 46 for rare etymologies of this epithet.

- 37<sup>11</sup> Τριτογένεια δέ, ὅτι ἡ τοῖς κακοῖς ἐγγενῶσα τὸ τρεῖν καὶ τρέμειν αὕτη ἐστίν—ῆρται γὰρ πόλεμον πρὸς τὴν κακίαν—, ἄλλοι δὲ φασι διὰ τούτου παρίστασθαι τὰ τρία γένη τῶν σκεμμάτων τῆς κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν θεωρίας, πανουργοτέραν διόρθωσιν ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ὀλοσχέρειαν ἔχοντος τούτου.

See Table 47 for a large variety of etymologies. No etymology of type c) is attested before Cornutus, although he refers to ancient accounts for his first etymology.<sup>158</sup> His second etymology is attested for Chrysippus.<sup>159</sup> It is notable that of all the etymologies recorded for *Tritogeneia*, Cornutus offers two, one of which describes part of her character, the other which provides some philosophical insight. He eschews a relatively more common but ultimately useless etymology which simply records a past event, such as her place of birth.<sup>160</sup> Athena's benign nature is stressed by her waging war only against *evil* men.

<sup>154</sup> For the image of the Gorgon on Athena's shield, and the connection with reflected light: Vernant, 147-150.

<sup>155</sup> Münzel, *De Apollodori 'Peri Theōn' libris*, Diss. Bonn 1883, as referenced by Ramelli, 363, without argument, claims that Cornutus and Eustathius have Apollodorus as a common source. ● 1.8. and Appendix 1, Table 45.

<sup>156</sup> *Hom. Il.* 22.93-95.

<sup>157</sup> *pace* Ramelli, 233, who indicates otherwise.

<sup>158</sup> This demonstrates the uncertainty in meaning of οἱ παλαιοὶ and οἱ ἀρχαῖοι (● 1.5). These are usually ancient myth-makers from whom Hesiod and Homer took their material. Here, Cornutus is referring to an ἀρχαία ὀλοσχέρεια, an interpretive text, which must be later than the epic poets.

<sup>159</sup> See SVF 910 at 35.6. Notably, Cornutus does not need to enumerate the divisions. ● 1.9.

<sup>160</sup> ● 1.6.5, and 21.11: *Argeiphontes*.

πανουργότεραν: this can have a positive or pejorative sense. If pejorative, he is criticizing an etymology which is unlikely for the pre-epic maker of the epithet (found in Homer, *Il.*4.515, and Hesiod, *Theog.* 895); if positive, the sense is even less clear.<sup>161</sup>

- 37<sup>17</sup> λαοσσόον δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπονομάζουσι διὰ τὸ σεύειν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τοὺς λαοὺς  
Table 48. An epithet not only of Athena (Hom. *Il.*13.128, *Od.*22.10), but of other deities: Ares (*Il.*17.398); Eris (*Il.*20.48); Apollo (*Il.*20.70); and heroes Amphiarus (*Od.*15.244); Electryon ([Hesiod] *Scut.* 3); Amphitryon (*ibid.* 37).

- 37<sup>18</sup> [, ὡς ληϊτις ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ τῆς λείας,] 31  
A gratuitous comment, interrupting the logic, and thus identifiable as an accretion.

- 37<sup>19</sup> ἢ μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ σώτειραν αὐτὴν τῶν χρωμένων αὐτῇ λαῶν εἶναι· καὶ πόλεως γὰρ καὶ οἴκου καὶ τοῦ βίου παντὸς προστάτιν ποιητέον τὴν φρόνησιν· ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐρυσίπτολις καὶ | πολιὰς ὠνόμασται, καθάπερ ὁ Ζεὺς πολιεύς· ἐπίσκοποι γὰρ ἀμφοτέρω τῶν πόλεων.

Cornutus prefers an etymology with an ethical message derived from Athena's overall responsibility, rather than a more obvious one from her war portfolio.<sup>162</sup> Her diverse functions which he goes on to discuss are united 'not [as] an elemental force, but the force of civilization: the just division of rôles among women, craftsmen, and warriors and the organisational wisdom which achieves this. It is not the wild olive of Olympia but the cultivated tree which is the gift of Athena.'<sup>163</sup> φρόνησις is required for a city to function, providing a rational explanation for her epithets as guardian of the city.

- 38<sup>2</sup> Παλλάς δὲ λέγεται διὰ τὴν μεμυθευμένην περὶ αὐτὴν νεότητα, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ οἱ πάλληκες καὶ παλλακαὶ προσαγορεύονται· σκιρτητικὸν γὰρ καὶ παλλόμενον τὸ νέον.  
Table 49.

- 38<sup>5</sup> ἴδρυνται δὲ αὐτὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀκροπόλεσι μάλιστα, τὸ δυσκαταγώνιστον καὶ δυσπολιόρκητον ἐμφῆναι θέλοντες ἢ τὸ ἀνωθεν ἐφορᾶν τοὺς προσπεφευγότας αὐτῇ ἢ τὴν μετεωρότητα παριστάντες τοῦ καθ' ὃ μέρος ἐστὶ τῆς φύσεως ἢ Ἀθηνᾶ.

As ἐρυσίπτολις it was natural for Athena to have her temple at the centre of a city on a fortress hill.<sup>164</sup> Again, Cornutus eschews a simple historical explanation in favour of an unconvincing philosophical interpretation.

- 38<sup>10</sup> ἀλασκομενηῖδα δὲ αὐτὴν καλοῦσιν οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ ἀγεληῖδα, τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλασκεῖν παράγοντες

Table 50, Cornutus again finds a meaningful etymology rather than an historical, and in context unhelpful, derivation from a birthplace. •1.6.5. and 37.11, *Tritogeneia*.

- 38<sup>12</sup> — ἱκανὴ γὰρ ἐπαμύνειν ἐστὶ καὶ προσβοθεῖν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ Νίκη προσαγορεύεται—,

Table 51 shows no attested parallel for this etymology which interrupts the explanation of

<sup>161</sup> This comment foreshadows Cornutus' only named reference to another philosopher, Cleanthes (εὐρεσίλογος at 64.15).

<sup>162</sup> Although, at 36.10, where it suits his argument, Cornutus stresses the greatness of tasks in warfare.

<sup>163</sup> Burkert, 141.

<sup>164</sup> Burkert, 140: thus Athens, Argos, Sparta, Gortyn, Lindos, Larisa (Thessaly). See too *Iliad*: Hom. *Il.*6.207: Αἶ δ' ὅτε νηὸν ἱκανὸν Ἀθήνης ἐν πόλει ἄκρῃ with *ibid.* 305: Ἀθηναίη ἐρυσίπτολι.

ἀγελήϊδα. Another etymology is offered at 39.6, and on stylistic and logical grounds, at least one is likely to be an accretion, probably the second. It is safer, therefore, to accept this comment as genuine, even though it sits awkwardly.<sup>165</sup>

38 13 τὸ δ' ἦτοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄγειν αὐτὴν τοὺς λαοὺς ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδάμαστον εἶναι ταῖς ἀγελαίαις βουσὶν ὁμοίως, ἃς μάλιστα θύουσιν αὐτῇ.

Table 50, the second etymology unattested elsewhere.

38 16 τοὺς δὲ αὐλοὺς εὐρεῖν μὲν λέγεται καθάπερ τᾶλλα ἐν ταῖς τέχναις γλαφυρά, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἐπιστάτης τῆς ταλασιουργίας ἐστί, ῥῖψαι δὲ ὡς ἐκθηλύνοντος τὰς ψυχὰς τοῦ δι' αὐτῶν ἀποδιδομένου μέλους καὶ ἥκιστα ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ πολεμικοῦ δοκοῦντος εἶναι.

Athena is the inventor of the flute: Pi.P.12.6-12, Hyginus *fab.* 165. For patronage (matronage?) of wool-spinners, see 37.19.<sup>166</sup>

Her discarding of the flutes is attested in Aristotle *Pol.* 1341b3 (because they contributed nothing to the intellect); [Apolodorus] *bib.* 1.21.1; Hyginus *fab.* 165 (because of the ugly distortion of the face).<sup>167</sup> The reason Cornutus gives is an over-simplification of the generally accepted view of music, which was considered of fundamental importance to education.<sup>168</sup>

Plato said it affects the soul:

- o R 401d5-e1 Ἄρ' οὖν ... κυριωτάτη ἐν μουσικῇ τροφή, ὅτι μάλιστα καταδύεται εἰς τὸ ἐντὸς τῆς ψυχῆς ὃ τε ρυθμὸς καὶ ἁρμονία, καὶ ἐρρωμενέστατα ἄπτεται αὐτῆς φέροντα τὴν εὐσχημοσύνην, καὶ ποιεῖ εὐσχήμονα, ἐὰν τις ὀρθῶς τραφῇ, εἰ δὲ μή, τοῦναντίον;

But he also advocated a balance between physical training and music. Music can temper the violence of physical training, but is undesirable in excess:

- o R 410d4 οἱ δὲ μουσικῇ μαλακώτεροι αὖ γίνονται ἢ ὡς κάλλιον αὐτοῖς.<sup>169</sup>

The verbs ἐκθηλύνω and μαλακύνω are interchangeable in this context,<sup>170</sup> and thus it is reasonable, but not accurate, to claim that as a war goddess, Athena would find music *per se* unacceptable.<sup>171</sup>

38 20 ἡ δ' ἐλαία δῶρον αὐτῇ διὰ τε τὸ θάλλειν καὶ διὰ τὸ γλαυκωπὸν | τι ἔχειν· καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον δὲ οὐκ εὐνόθευτὸν ἐστί δι' ἄλλου ὕγρου, ἀλλ' ἀκέραιον αἰεὶ μένει ὡς τῇ παρθενίᾳ κατάλληλον εἶναι δοκεῖν.

εὐνόθευτον: *hapax*.

<sup>165</sup> For Athena Nikē: Hurwit, 15; Parker, 90.

<sup>166</sup> See too Hom. *Il.* 9.390: ἔργα δ' Ἀθηναίη.

<sup>167</sup> See too Plut. *Alc.* 2.6.5-7.6 for Alcibiades.

<sup>168</sup> ἡ μουσικῇ having a much wider application than *music*. This view of music is contrasted to Egyptian practice: Plato, *Lg.* 656d1-657b8, refers intriguingly to artistic censorship in Egypt, and Diodorus Sic., 1.81.7.11, attests the damage caused by music, avoided in the education of Egyptian children: τὴν δὲ μουσικὴν νομίζουσιν οὐ μόνον ἀχρηστον ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ βλαβερὰν, ὡς [ἀν] ἐκθηλύνουσαν τὰς τῶν ἀκουόντων ψυχὰς.

<sup>169</sup> Aristotle's opinion of music was substantially the same as Plato's: see *Pol.* 1339a41-1342b34.

<sup>170</sup> Proclus *plato alcib.* 194.12: καὶ γὰρ οἱ μουσικῇ μόνῃ χρώμενοι τὴν ζωὴν ἐκθηλύνονται καὶ μαλακώτεροι γίνονται.

<sup>171</sup> See too *ars rhet.* (attrib. D. Hali.) 1.5, referring to contests: εἰ δὲ γυμνικός, ὅτι τὴν μουσικὴν ὡς ἐκθηλύνουσαν τὴν ψυχὴν παρητήσατο, τὴν δὲ ῥώμην τῶν σωμάτων παρέλαβεν, καὶ ὅτι ὁ τρόπος τῆς ἀγωνίας χρήσιμος πρὸς τὴν ἀνδρείαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις.

Cornutus is again referring to Athena's eyes, and the similarity with the colour of olives. His explanation for the olive as a gift from her is surprisingly weak, again eschewing a practical explanation by missing the opportunity to stress the usefulness of the fruit. He also sees a parallel between the immiscibility of oil and virginity.

39<sup>3</sup> ἄρεια δ' ἐκλήθη τῷ στρατηγικῇ εἶναι καὶ διοικητικῇ πολέμων καὶ ὑπερμαχητικῇ τοῦ δικαίου· δεινότης γὰρ περὶ πάντα ἐστὶ καὶ συγκεφαλαίωμα πασῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν

Cornutus sums up the qualities of Athena.

39<sup>6</sup> [· καὶ ἱππίαν καὶ δαμάσιππον καὶ δορικέντορα καὶ πολλαχῶς ἄλλως αὐτὴν προσαγορεύουσι, καὶ ἀνιστᾶσι τὰ τρόπαια ἐκ ξύλων ἐλαίνων, μάλιστα δὲ καὶ τὴν Νίκην αὐτῇ παρέδρον διδῶασιν, ἥτις ἐνὶ εἴκειν, τῷ περιγυνομένῳ, ποιεῖ, πτερωτὴ παρειαγομένη διὰ τὸ δέξυρροπον καὶ εὐμετάβολον τῶν παρατάξεων].

This passage offers several epithets and other attributes without comment, which is contrary to Cornutus' usual practice (●1.7.2.). Further, the reference to Νίκη is inconsistent with that at 38.12, which gives the name as an epithet, and the iconography of Νίκη seems irrelevant. As a passage illogically placed immediately after Cornutus' summing up of Athena, it is identifiable as an accretion.<sup>172</sup>

39<sup>12</sup> καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς γίγαντας δὲ μάχῃ παραδίδοται ἥριστευκυῖα ἢ Ἄθηνᾶ καὶ γιγαντοφόντις ἐπονομάζεται κατὰ τοιοῦτον λόγον.

[Apollodorus] *bib.* 1.35.10. relates how Zeus sent Athena to fetch Herakles to help in the battle with the giants in which she plays a part. Otherwise, there is little evidence for this myth, and her epithet γιγαντοφόντις is unattested elsewhere.<sup>173</sup> Either we only have one degenerate version of the myth, or Cornutus is exaggerating the importance of Athena in order to provide a rational interpretation for his discussion of early man, and a logical connection to other war gods after that.<sup>174</sup>

39<sup>15</sup> τοὺς γὰρ πρώτους ἐκ γῆς γενομένους ἀνθρώπους εὐλογον βιαίους καὶ θυμικούς κατ' ἀλλήλων γενέσθαι διὰ τὸ μηδέπω δύνασθαι διακρίνεσθαι μηδ' ἐρριπίσθαι τὸν ἐνόητα αὐτοῖς σπινθήρα τῆς κοινωνίας. οἱ θεοὶ δὲ ὡσπερὶ νύττοντες καὶ ὑπομιμνήσκοντες αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐννοιῶν περιγεγόνασι· καὶ μάλιστα ἢ κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἐντρέχεια κατεπολέμησε καὶ ὑπέταξεν οὕτως ὡς | ἐξεληλακέναι καὶ ἀνηρηκέναι αὐτοὺς ὡς τοσοῦτους δοκεῖν· ἄλλοιοι γὰρ αὐτοὶ τ' ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἐγένοντο καὶ οἱ γεγονότες ἐξ αὐτῶν συμπολισθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς Πολιάδος Ἄθηνᾶς.

●1.4 for Cornutus' concept of ancient wisdom.

40<sup>5</sup> Ἄλλοι δὲ περὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀναστρέφονται θεοὶ μηκέθ' ὁμοίως τοῦ εὐσταθοῦς καὶ τοῦ κατὰ λόγον στοχαζόμενοι, ταραχωδέστεροι δὲ πως, ὃ τε Ἄρης καὶ ἡ Ἐνώ· καὶ τούτους δ' εἰσήγεν εἰς τὰ πράγματα ὁ Ζεὺς ἐρεθίσας κατ' ἀλλήλων τὰ ζῶα καὶ οὐκ ἄχρηστον οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔσθ' ὅπου τὴν δι' ὀπλων διάκρισιν ἐμβαλῶν, ἵνα τε τὸ γενναῖον καὶ ἀνδρεῖον αὐτοῖ [τε] ἐν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ γε ἐπ' ἀλλήλους τὸ οἰκεῖον τῆς εἰρήνης εὐ ἄσμενίζωσι. διὰ ταύτην μὲν οὖν αἰτίαν Διὸς υἱὸς καὶ ὁ Ἄρης παραδέδοται

<sup>172</sup> The description of Ἄθηνᾶ γιγαντοφόντις in the next passage is required as an explanatory link to a change of topic.

<sup>173</sup> γιγαντοφόντις: *hapax* form, the epithet is found for Zeus and Dionysus in Nonnus, *dion.* 4.393 *al.*, an adjective in *E.Herc.* 1191.

<sup>174</sup> Graves, 132, 'a post-Homeric story, preserved in a degenerate version.' Archaeological evidence for the mythic part played by Athena in this battle is provided by the altar at Pergamon (C-2), depicting the gigantomachy and possibly dedicated to Athena and Zeus. See Radt, 168-179.



Cornutus is consistent in arguing for the benign nature of the gods, and does his utmost to stress the positive aspects of warfare: the awareness of both nobility and bravery. By stressing the positive, he can then give a rational reason why Ares is a son of Zeus.

40 14 [οὐ κατ' ἄλλον λόγον ἢ καὶ ὄβριμοπάτρις ἢ Ἀθηνᾶ].

Since Ares as the son of Zeus has just been explained, this comment creates an illogical sentence structure. Even without this problem, the explanation is illogical in itself: in Homer, Athena is ὄβριμοπάτρις (*Il.* 5.747 *al.*), and Ares is ὄβριμος (*Il.* 5.845), but this is not a reason why Ares is son of Zeus, and the text is thus identifiable as an accretion.

40 15 περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἐννοῦς οἱ μὲν ὡς μητρός, οἱ δ' ὡς θυγατρὸς, οἱ δ' ὡς τροφοῦ Ἄρεως διαφέρονται, διαφέροντος οὐδέν· Ἐννώ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἐνιείσα θυμὸν καὶ ἀλκὴν τοῖς μαχομένοις ἢ κατ' εὐφημισμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἥκιστα ἐνήης καὶ ἐπιεικῆς εἶναι <ὠνόμασται>.

Table 52. Cornutus is able to use uncertainty about the genealogy to stress the importance of the name describing the nature of Ἐννώ. The etymological method κατ' εὐφημισμὸν is employed twice: see Appendix 9, Table 2, and 65.18.

40 19 ὁ δ' Ἄρης τὴν ὀνομασίαν ἔσχεν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰρεῖν καὶ ἀναιρεῖν | ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρῆς, ἢ ἐστὶ βλάβη, ἢ πάλιν κατ' ἐναντίωσιν, ὡσανεὶ ἐκμειλισσομένων αὐτὸν τῶν προσαγορευσάντων· διαστατικὸς γὰρ καὶ λυμαντικὸς τῶν προσηρμοσμένων

Table 53. Cornutus gives three alternative etymologies, one using his only instance of the method κατ' ἐναντίωσιν. The last etymology derives from προσαρμόζω *to fit closely*.

41 4 [γίνεται οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρσαι, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀρμόσαι], τοιοῦτου τάχα τινος ἐχομένης καὶ τῆς Ἀρμονίας, ἣν ἐμύθευσαν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι.

This explanation gives ἀραρίσκω *to fit together* as the root of the etymology, which is unhelpful and superfluous when a compound of ἀρμόζω has already been provided. The text bracketed by Lang is thus identified as an accretion.

At 34.20, Harmony has already been identified as daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, with an implicit etymology as the Harmony of two opposites. This present reference is thus superfluous and moreover has the style of an added comment (●1.7.2). Further, it occurs immediately after the explanatory comment [γίνεται ... ἀρμόσαι], identified as an accretion, where an etymological connection ἄρσαι ... ἀρμόσαι ... Ἀρμονία can be seen which is unrelated to the earlier implicit etymology. It is identifiable as part of the same accretion.

41 6 εἰκότως δὲ καὶ μαιφόνος λέγεται καὶ βροτολογός, καὶ ἀλαλάξιος καὶ βριήπυος, μεγίστης ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσιν ὑπὸ τῶν μαχομένων ἀφιεμένης φωνῆς, ὅθεν καὶ ὄνουσιν τινὲς αὐτῷ σφαγιάζουσι διὰ τὸ ταραχῶδες καὶ γεγωνὸν τῆς ὀγκήσεως, οἱ πλείστοι δὲ κύνας διὰ τὸ θρασὺ καὶ ἐπιθετικὸν τοῦ ζώου. τιμᾶσθαι δ' ὑπὸ Θρακῶν μάλιστα καὶ Σκυθῶν καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐθνῶν λέγεται, παρ' οἷς ἡ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἄσκησις εὐδοκμεῖ καὶ τὸ ἀνεπιστρεφὲς τῆς δίκης.

Three of the four epithets of Ares are Homeric: *Il.* 5.31 Ἄρες βροτολογεῖ μαιφόνε; *Il.* 13.521 βριήπυος ὄβριμος Ἄρης.

ἀλαλάξιος: attested only once, for Zeus (Callimachus *aetia* fr. 75.60), so possibly Cornutus has misremembered Homer, and had meant ὄβριμος rather than ἀλαλάξιος.

The sacrifice of asses to Ares is attested for the Carmanians (modern Afghanistan) and Scythians, and the sacrifice of dogs to Ares for the Carians. Cornutus, as Strabo, refers to non-Greek tribes who worship a war god equated to Ares.<sup>175</sup>

- 41<sup>15</sup> γύπα δ' ἱερόν φασιν αὐτοῦ ὄρνιν εἶναι διὰ τὸ πλεονάζειν ὄπου πότ' ἂν πτόματα πολλὰ ἀρηϊφθορα ῆ.

ἀρηϊφθορα: *harax*.

There is no other attested reference to the vulture being sacred to Ares, although it is an entirely logical connection for a battleground scavenger.<sup>176</sup>

- 41<sup>18</sup> Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ᾧ παῖ, λεκτέον. προείρηται μὲν ὅτι ὁ αὐτός ἐστι τῆ τεταγμένη κατὰ τὸ ὑγρὸν δυνάμει, νῦν δὲ παραμυθητέον τοῦτο.

Cornutus now begins his exposition of Poseidon with a rare introductory definition and link to a previous reference.

ᾧ παῖ: this appears to be a standard school-book method of introducing a new subject, for example:

- o Hermes Tris. (Corpus Herm.) Ὅτι οὐδὲν ἢ Περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, ᾧ παῖ, νῦν λεκτέον.

- 41<sup>21</sup> πρῶτον μὲν οὖν φυτάλιον αὐτὸν ἐπωνόμασαν, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ φύεσθαι τὰ ἐκ γῆς γενόμενα ἢ ἐν αὐτῇ δηλονότι ἰκμάς παραιτία ἐστίν·

Poseidon is responsible for all forms of water, not merely the sea,<sup>177</sup> and Cornutus recognizes that moisture is essential for plant growth.

φυτάλιος: elsewhere unattested for Poseidon, Pollux *onom.* 1.24, gives names of gods generally, including θεοὶ φυτάλιοι; Orphic Hymn 15.9 gives the epithet for Zeus, in connection with his weather portfolio.

Cornutus skews the nature of Poseidon towards his responsibility for water because it is convenient for his Stoic interpretation. In reality, 'Poseidon remains an embodiment of elemental force; sea storm and earthquake ..., while the horse was the strongest energy which man could then control.'<sup>178</sup>

- 42<sup>1</sup> εἶτα ἐνοσίχθονα καὶ ἐνοσίγαιον καὶ σεισίχθονα καὶ τινάκτορα γαίας ὡς οὐ παρ' ἄλλην αἰτίαν τῶν σεισμῶν γινομένων ἢ παρὰ τὴν εἰς τὰς ἐν τῇ γῇ σήραγγας ἔμπωσιν τῆς τε θαλάττης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑδάτων στενοχωρούμενα γὰρ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ πνεύματα καὶ ἐξοδὸν ζητοῦντα κλονεῖσθαι καὶ ῥήγνυσθαι αὐτὴν ποιεῖ, ἀποτελουμένων ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ μυκημάτων κατὰ τὴν ῥήξιν·

<sup>175</sup> Strabo 15.2.14.26-27 ὄνον τε θύουσι [Carmanians] τῷ Ἄρει, ὃν περ σέβονται θεῶν μόνον, καὶ εἰσὶ πολεμισταί; Apollodorus fr. 13a (*ap.* Clemens Alex. *protrep.* 2.29.4) Πολλὰ κάγαθὰ Κἄρες σχοίεν, οἱ καταθύουσιν αὐτῷ τοὺς κύνας. Σκύθαι δὲ τοὺς ὄνους ἱερεύοντες μὴ παυέσθων. See too Apollodorus fr. 13b *ab.* Arnobius *adv. gent.* IV.

<sup>176</sup> Aëlianus *nat. an.* 2.46 (C+2/+3) reports that vultures followed armies on the march.

<sup>177</sup> See A.Th.307-310 for springs: ὕδωρ τε Διρκαῖον, εὐτραφέστατον πωμάτων ὄσων ἴησιν Ποσειδᾶν ὁ γαιάοχος.

<sup>178</sup> Burkert, 139.

Epithets of Poseidon associated with earthquakes are attested in epic and tragedy:

ἐνοσίχθων: Hesiod *WD* 667; Hom. *Il.* 7.445 etc.

ἐννοσίγαιος: *Il.* 8.440 etc.

σεισίχθων: Pindar *I.* 1; D. Hali. 2.31.2.9 Poseidon (but Orphic *H.* 15.8: Zeus).

τινάκτωρ: S.Tr.502 Ποσειδάωνα τινάκτορα γαίας·

ὡς οὐ παρ' ἄλλην αἰτίαν: suggests that Cornutus is denying another, unscientific, reason for earthquakes, probably the kind of mythical account described by D. Hali. 2.31.2.9. This is consonant with his overall aim of eliminating superstition (see 76.9).

Aristotle *Mete.* 365a14-369a9, presents theories of earthquakes by Anaxagoras, Anaximenes and Democritus as well as his own ideas, all of which claim air or water in the earth is responsible. Aristotle, treating the subject as part of meteorology, argues with confidence that the earth contains much moisture from rain, and internal heat, causing violent winds (365b27: τὸ πνεῦμα). Further, he possibly means steam generated from heated water here:

- o *Mete.* 366a3 οὐκ ἂν οὖν ὕδωρ οὐδὲ γῆ αἴτιον εἴη, ἀλλὰ πνεῦμα τῆς κινήσεως, ὅταν εἴσω τύχη ρυέν τὸ ἔξω ἀναθυμιάμενον.<sup>179</sup>

Posidonius has a similar theory:

- o D.L.7.154 = Posidonius fr. 264 <σεισμοὺς δὲ γίνεσθαι ρυέντος πνεύματος> εἰς τὰ κοιλώματα τῆς γῆς ἢ καθειρχθέντος πνεύματος ἐν τῇ γῆ.

as does [Aristotle] *Mu.*, 396a, suggesting this physical theory is not limited to any philosophical school.

Cornutus, however, appears to refine Aristotle's theory by attributing the root cause of earthquakes to the sea and other bodies of water falling into hollows in the earth, not rainwater percolating into it, thereby providing a clear rational explanation for the association of Poseidon with earthquakes. The water then produces τὰ πνεύματα which create pressure which causes the earth to rupture. For Cornutus' avoidance of the term πνεῦμα, see commentary at 3.13.

<sup>42</sup> <sup>8</sup> [εὐλόγως ὑπὸ τινων καὶ μυκητὰς εἴρηται τῆς θαλάττης τινα τοιοῦτον ἦχον ἀποτελούσης, ἀπ' οὗ καὶ ἠχέσσεια καὶ ἀγάστονος καὶ πολυφλοισβος λέγεται.]  
μυκημάτων κατὰ τὴν ῥῆξιν at 42.8 is clearly closely linked to the ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἔδοξαν καὶ οἱ ταῦροι αὐτῷ προσήκειν at 42.11. This irrelevant comment about the sea and its Homeric epithets interrupts the flow of logic and is thus an accretion.<sup>180</sup>

<sup>42</sup> <sup>11</sup> ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἔδοξαν καὶ οἱ ταῦροι αὐτῷ προσήκειν, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ ταύρους παμμέλανας διὰ τὴν χροιάν τοῦ πελάγους [καὶ ἐπεὶ ἄλλως τὸ ὕδωρ μέλαν εἶναι λέγουσιν], εὐλόγως ἤδη κυανοχαίτου αὐτοῦ εἰρημένου καὶ ἐν ἐσθῆτι εἰσαγομένου τοιαύτη

The bellowing noises produced during an earthquake are also mentioned by Aristotle (*Mete.* 368a24 ὥστ' ἐνίοτε δοκεῖν ... μυκᾶσθαι τὴν γῆν). Cornutus can give a logical

<sup>179</sup> Aristotle insists throughout his lengthy exposition that τὰ πνεύματα are responsible for earthquakes and associated tsunami, and one suspects he is attacking an unnamed alternative theory. His observations (e.g. *Mete.* 368a27: liquefaction) are as commendable as his explanations deplorable.

<sup>180</sup> θάλασσα ἠχέσσεια *Il.* 1.157, ἀγάστονος Ἀμφιτρίτη *Od.* 12.97, πολυφλοισβοιο θαλάσσης *Il.* 1.34.

explanation for the sacrifice of bulls to Poseidon as well as their colour, and he must clearly have Homer *Od.*3.5-6 ... ἱερὰ βέζον, ταύρους παμμέλανας, ἐνοσίχθονι κυανοχαίτη in mind here.<sup>181</sup>

[καὶ ἐπεὶ ... λέγουσιν]: an unnecessary comment, almost repeating the previous explanation, thus an accretion.

- 42<sup>16</sup> τοῦτου δ' ἔνεκεν καὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς κερασφόρους καὶ ταυρωποὺς ἀναπλάττουσιν, ὡσάν βίαιόν τι τῆς φορᾶς αὐτῶν καὶ μυκητικὸν ἐχούσης· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Σκάμανδρος παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ  
ἤρυγεν ὡς ὄτε ταῦρος.

Cornutus quotes Homer *Il.*20.403. This, however, refers to the death throes of Hippodamas, and Scamander appears at 21.237 μεμυκὸς ἦυτε ταῦρος.<sup>182</sup> This mistake is further evidence that Cornutus is quoting from memory, rather than using a variant text: see commentary at 11.18.<sup>183</sup>

- 42<sup>21</sup> κατ' ἄλλον δὲ τρόπον γαιήοχος λέγεται ὁ Ποσειδῶν καὶ θεμελιοῦχος ὑπὸ τινων καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ Ἀσφαλείῳ Ποσειδῶνι πολλαχοῦ ὡσάν ἐπ' αὐτῷ κειμένου | τοῦ ἀσφαλῶς ἐστάναι τὰ οἰκήματα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς [καὶ αὐτοῦ δέοντος].

Poseidon is γαιήοχος 13 times in Homer: (Ποσειδάων γαιήοχος ἐννοσίγαιος *Il.*13.43). θεμελιοῦχος, however, is not Homeric, but first attested for C-3,<sup>184</sup> then for Apollodorus (C-2).<sup>185</sup> ἀσφάλειος is attested for C-5.<sup>186</sup>

[καὶ αὐτοῦ δέοντος]: a garbled gloss with manuscript variations (see Lang, app. crit.), thus identified as an accretion.

- 43<sup>2</sup> τρίαινα δ' αὐτοῦ φόρημά ἐστι πότερον ἐπεὶ χρῶνται αὐτῇ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἰχθύων θήραν ἢ ὡς ἐπιτηδεῖου τοῦτου τοῦ ὄργανου πρὸς τὴν κίνησιν τῆς γῆς ὄντος, ὡς εἴρηται καὶ αὐτὸς δ' ἐννοσίγαιος ἔχων χεῖρεςσι τρίαιναν  
ἠγεῖτ' ἄρα ἐκ δ' ἄρα πάντα θεμέλια χεῖτε θύραζε.

Cornutus quotes Homer *Il.*12.27-28, where he has χεῖτε θύραζε instead of κύμασι πέμπε, again misquoting from memory.

- 43<sup>8</sup> [ἔχεται τινος ἀποκεκρυμμένου ἐτύμου αὐτῆ τε καὶ ὁ Τρίτων καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτη, εἴτουν πλεονάζοντος τοῦ τ στοιχείου, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ῥύσεως αὐτῶν οὕτως ὀνομασμένων, εἴτε καὶ παρ' ἄλλην αἰτίαν. ὁ δὲ Τρίτων διμορφος ὢν τὸ μὲν ἔχει μέρος ἀνθρώπου, τὸ δὲ κήτους, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸ εἰρημένον ὑγρὸν τὴν μὲν ὠφελητικὴν ἔχει δύναμιν, τὴν δὲ βλαπτικὴν.]

Triton and Amphitrite are not defined or provided with explanations, nor are their functions clear in context. Further, the text is in the middle of an exposition of Poseidon with no transition back to him. The information is gratuitous, and the text is thus identified as an accretion.

<sup>181</sup> Bull sacrifice to Poseidon in Homer: *Il.* 11.728, 20.403; *Od.* 3.6, 11.131, 13.181, 23.278.

<sup>182</sup> Ramelli, 370 n.185 gives the *Il.*20.403 reference but fails to notice that Cornutus has misquoted.

<sup>183</sup> *pace* Ramelli, 370, n.188, who assumes a textual variant.

<sup>184</sup> Inscription, Delos, 290.116 θύσαι τ[ῶν] Ποσειδῶνι τῶι Θεμελιούχ[ωι ---].

<sup>185</sup> Schol. Hom. *Il.* sv. 21.446 Ἀπολλόδωρος φησιν ἐν <ι>γ Περί θεῶν· ἐφόσον γὰρ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι προσήκειν ἠγεῖτο τὰ κατὰ τὴν τειχοδομίαν, ὃν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἀσφάλιον καὶ θεμελιοῦχον, αὐτὸς δὲ νοσίχθονα καὶ γαιήοχον καλεῖν εἶωθεν.

<sup>186</sup> Ποσειδῶν ἀσφάλειος: Aristophanes *Ach.* 682.

- 43<sup>14</sup> καλεῖται δ' εὐρύστερνος ὁ Ποσειδῶν διὰ τὸ πλάτος τοῦ πελάγους, ὡς εἴρηται καὶ ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης.

A common expression in Epic poetry.<sup>187</sup>

- 43<sup>18</sup> λέγεται δὲ ἐκ τούτου καὶ εὐρυμέδων καὶ εὐρυβίας, ἵππιος δὲ τάχα ἀπὸ τοῦ ταχεῖαν τὴν διὰ θαλάττης | φορὰν εἶναι καθάπερ ἵπποις ἡμῶν ταῖς ναυσὶ χρωμένων, ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη καὶ ἐπίσκοπον αὐτὸν εἶναι τῶν ἵππων παραδεξαμένων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα.

εὐρυμέδων: Pindar *Ol.* 8.31 εὐρυμέδων τε Ποσειδᾶν.

εὐρυβίας: Pindar *Ol.* 6.58 Ποσειδᾶν' εὐρυβίαν.

ἵππιος: A.*Th.* 130 ὁ θ' ἵππιος ποντομέδων ἀναξ ἰχθυβόλω μαχανῶ Ποσειδᾶν.

These epithets are, however, not always reserved for Poseidon: for example Hesiod *Theog.*

931 Τρίτων εὐρυβίης; A.R. 4.1552 ἵππιος Ἄρης.

HH 22(*Nep.*) 4-5 summarizes the Greek perception of the god: διχθὰ τοι Ἐννοσίγαιε θεοὶ τιμὴν ἐδάσαντο ἵππων τε δημητῆρ' ἔμεναι σωτῆρά τε νηῶν. Cornutus' assertion that the patronage of horses came later may be correct, but possibly for the wrong reasons: it has been conjectured that the cult of Poseidon ἵππιος was associated with the introduction of horses around C-16, the horse representing elemental force of nature.<sup>188</sup> Cornutus' suggested explanation of the epithet ἵππιος is a strained and unconvincing attempt to derive the epithet from his water portfolio.

- 44<sup>3</sup> λέγεται δὲ παρά τισι καὶ νυμφαγέτης καὶ κρηνοῦχος διὰ τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας· νύμφαι γὰρ εἰσιν αἱ τῶν ποτίμων ὑδάτων πηγαί.

See 41.21. νυμφαγέτης and κρηνοῦχος are both *harax*.

- 44<sup>6</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀεὶ νέαι φαίνεσθαι ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ φαίνειν οὕτως ὀνομασμένοι.

Table 54.

- 44<sup>7</sup> [τὰς δὲ γαμουμένας νύμφας καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν πρώτως φαίνεσθαι κρυπτομένας τέως.]

An etymology irrelevant in context, and thus an accretion.

- 44<sup>9</sup> τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ λόγου ἔχεται καὶ τὸ Ποσειδῶνος υἷὸν εἶναι τὸν Πήγασον, ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν ὀνομασμένον.

Table 55. The name Pegasus is explained by Hesiod, *Theog.* 282, though elsewhere an etymology is poorly attested. Cornutus again tries to explain the connection between Poseidon and horses by a carefully planned association with his responsibility for water (see 43.18 ἵππιος).

- 44<sup>11</sup> διὰ δὲ τὴν θεωρουμένην βίαν περὶ τὴν θάλατταν καὶ πάντας τοὺς βιαίους καὶ μεγαλεπιβούλους γενομένους, ὡς τὸν Κύκλωπα καὶ τοὺς Λαιστρυγόνας καὶ τοὺς Ἀλκείδας, Ποσειδῶνος ἐμίθευσαν ἐκγόνους εἶναι.

μεγαλεπιβούλους: *harax*.

Κύκλωπες: one of the very few instances where Cornutus deviates from Hesiod's genealogy

<sup>187</sup> Hesiod *Theog.* 762, 781, 790, 972; Hom. *Il.* 2.159, 8.511, 20.228; *Od.* 3.142 plus 6 others; HH 2(*Cer.*) 123.

<sup>188</sup> Burkert, 138. See 41.21 for Poseidon as god of elemental forces.

(● 1.7.1.). Homer has two of the three types of creature as sons of Poseidon: Ἄλωεῖδαι *Od.* 11.306 with *Il.* 5.386, Κύκλωπες 1.73. The parentage of the Λαιστρυγόνες is unspecified, but they belong naturally in the *Odyssey* to that same group. Cornutus thus recognizes the connection between Poseidon and violent forces, but again confines the connection to a water deity.

44 16 Ὁ δὲ Νηρεὺς ἡ θάλαττά ἐστι, τοῦτον ἄνομασμένη τὸν τρόπον ἀπὸ τοῦ νεῖσθαι δι' αὐτῆς. καλοῦσι δὲ τὸν Νηρέα καὶ ἄλιον γέροντα διὰ τὸ ὥσπερ πολιὰν ἐπανθεῖν τοῖς κύμασι τὸν ἀφρόν· καὶ γὰρ ἡ Λευκοθέα τοιοῦτόν τι ἐμφαίνει, ἥτις λέγεται θυγάτηρ Νηρέως εἶναι, δηλονότι τὸ λευκὸν τοῦ ἀφροῦ.

40

This innocuous little passage is in fact highly problematic and needs scrutiny:

- 1) There is no other attested identification of Nereus as the sea, and it makes little sense in Stoic terms.<sup>189</sup>
- 2) The etymology is unconvincing (as, however, are many others). See Table 56.
- 3) Two entities, Nereus and Proteus, seem to be confused, or conflated into one entity with two names. Here, it would be logical to introduce further offspring of Poseidon (or some other connection with him), but Nereus is son of Pontos in Hesiod *Theog.* 233. Proteus, however, is a servant of Poseidon in Homer: Ποσειδάωνος ὑποδμῶς *Od.* 4.386. Cornutus would mention Nereus rather than Proteus because Hesiod is his preferred source, and he can also find an etymology. But the epithet ἄλιος γέρων is applied to Proteus (*Od.* 4.385), and Nereus is simply γέρων (*Theog.* 234). Both Proteus and Nereus are however νημερτής, and the two are thus hardly distinguishable. But Cornutus is elsewhere very accurate in his reference to myth, omitting material which is confused.
- 4) As discussed in Section 1.7.1, Cornutus generally accepts the genealogical table of Hesiod, and uses Homer to fill in the gaps. If there are divergent strands of myth, he usually provides alternatives (*some say ...*), or argues that it does not matter (Enyo, 40.15).<sup>190</sup> As shown in the table in Section 1.7.1, Leukothea is the only instance in the whole text of a genealogical connection where Homer and Hesiod agree, and where the Cornutus text differs without giving alternatives.<sup>191</sup>
- 5) This is the only one of 143 extant references to Leukothea which gives Nereus as father: all other references are to the one myth of Ino = Leukothea as daughter of Cadmus.<sup>192</sup> The background of this variant parentage is doubtless the fact that Leukothea lived with the Nereids,<sup>193</sup> but the considerable evidence we have indicates

<sup>189</sup> Suda v 328: Νηρεὺς· ὁ θαλάσσιος θεός. παρὰ τὸ νάω, τὸ ῥέω.

<sup>190</sup> A typical example of this style is Aphrodite, starting at 44.22: *Tradition has her origin in the sea* (Hesiod), *others say Dione is the mother* (Homer).

<sup>191</sup> The father of Leukothea (= Ino) is Cadmus in Hesiod *Theog.* (but not until line 976, thus suspect) and in Homer (*Od.* 5.333). Also Pindar (*P.* 11.2).

<sup>192</sup> Some sources implicitly deny Nereus is father, e.g. Artemidorus *onir.* 2.34.18 καὶ Νηρεὺς καὶ Νηρηίδες καὶ Λευκοθέα.

<sup>193</sup> Pindar (*P.* 11.2: ποντιᾶν ὁμοθάλαμῃ Νηρηίδων). See too Myrsilus fr. 10 *ap.* EM.

there is only one Ino = Leukothea myth, and the statement that Nereus is the father is simply incorrect. See too Table 57.

- 6) Cornutus habitually makes links between subjects, and there is an implicit natural link between Pegasus' birth from blood of Medusa's decapitated head (*Theog.* 280-283) and Aphrodite's birth. Here, the context provides a second natural link, between Poseidon and Aphrodite, and without this passage the text reads: (44.11) *the manifest power of the sea produces monsters.* (44.22) *Aphrodite also has her origins in the sea.*

Considering the above serious objections, the whole passage is identified as an accretion.<sup>194</sup>

- 44<sup>22</sup> Πιθανόν δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην μὴ δι' ἄλλο τι παραδεδοῦσθαι γεγонуῖαν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ ἢ ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸ πάντα γενέσθαι κινήσεως δεῖ καὶ ὑγρασίας, ἅπερ ἀμφοτέρα δαυιλῆ κατὰ τὴν θάλατταν ἐστίν.

Hesiod *Theog.* 178-206 relates Aphrodite's origin in the sea from the genitals fallen into it when Kronos castrated his father. Cornutus finds a rational explanation for her origin, without having to explain Hesiodic material which he would find awkward to interpret in terms of Stoic cosmogony.

- 45<sup>2</sup> ἐστοχάσαντο δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ Διώνης αὐτὴν θυγατέρα εἰπόντες εἶναι· διερὸν γὰρ τὸ ὑγρὸν ἐστίν.

Table 58: presumably Cornutus is suggesting an etymological connection between Διώνη and διαίνειν *to moisten*. If so, the διερὸν γὰρ ... ἐστίν seems rather pointless. Dione is the mother of Aphrodite in Homer (*Il.* 5.370), and Cornutus thus covers the Hesiodic and Homeric traditions of Aphrodite's origin.

- 45<sup>3</sup> Ἀφροδίτη δὲ ἐστίν ἢ συνάγουσα τὸ ἄρρεν καὶ τὸ θῆλυ δύναμις, τάχα διὰ τὸ ἀφρώδη τὰ σπέρματα τῶν ζώων εἶναι ταύτην ἐσχηκυῖα τὴν ὀνομασίαν ἢ, ὡς Εὐριπίδης ὑπονοεῖ, διὰ τὸ τοῦς ἠττωμένους αὐτῆς ἀφρονας εἶναι.

See Table 59 for evidence of wide interest in the meaning of the name.

- 45<sup>8</sup> καλλίστη δὲ παράγεται διὰ τὸ μάλιστα ἀρηρεκέσαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν κατὰ συμπλοκὴν ἡδονὴν ὡς πάντων τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρουσαν, λέγεται δὲ καὶ φιλομειδῆς διὰ τοῦτο· οἰκειὰ γὰρ τὰ μειδιάματα καὶ ἡ ἰλαρότης τῶν τοιούτων συνόδων ἐστίν.

Cornutus is presumably using ἡδονή as *sensual pleasure*, as distinct from *τέρψις*, the pleasure associated with learning.<sup>195</sup> This demonstrates a frankness about sexual matters which today would not be expected of a schoolbook: ●1.9.

φιλομειδῆς: Hesiod *Theog.* 200 ἠδὲ φιλομειδέα, ὅτι μηδέων ἐξεφαάνθη, an etymology explaining her birth from μήδεα. But in Homer, she is regularly φιλομειδῆς *laughter-loving*.<sup>196</sup> Whether the root is from μειδάω *to smile* or μήδεα *genitals* depends on the pronunciation of the ΦΙΑΟΜΕΔΕΑ and ΜΕΔΕΟΝ written by Hesiod,<sup>197</sup> but even if Cornutus

<sup>194</sup> An alternative argument is to consider only the second half (καὶ γὰρ ἡ Λευκοθέα ... τὸ λευκὸν τοῦ ἀφροῦ) as an accretion, because the incorrect genealogy is sufficient to reject it, and have Nereus as a link with Aphrodite via his white hair representing foam.

<sup>195</sup> See Appendix 1, Table 28b, etymology of Τερψιχόρη.

<sup>196</sup> Also Hesiod *Theog.* 256 Γλαυκονόμη φιλομειδῆς *laughter-loving*; Homer: φιλομ(μ)ειδῆς *Il.* 5.375 plus 5 others.

<sup>197</sup> See West (1969), 88, for details.

knew this, the awkwardness of the interpretation of associated myth meant he would have been unable to use the Hesiodic etymology, and in any case, the Homeric one has a logical explanation.

οἰκεῖα γὰρ ... ἐστὶ: •1.7.2.1. This explanatory clause illustrates a characteristic of Cornutus' vocabulary which contains many words which are either poorly attested elsewhere, or later than C+1: μειδιάματα— the earliest of 134 instances; ἰλαρότης— the earliest of 197 instances except Diodorus Sic. and Philo; συνόδος— common after Cornutus, but apparently only Aristotle before him used in the narrow sense of *sexual* intercourse.<sup>198</sup>

Perhaps there is a didactic purpose behind the use of three different words for sexual intercourse here, or merely variation: συνόδος, συνουσία, and μίξις.

- 45 12 παρέδρους δὲ καὶ συμβώμους τὰς Χάριτας ἔχει καὶ τὴν Πειθῶ καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν διὰ τὸ πειθοῖ προσάγεσθαι καὶ λόγῳ καὶ χάρισι τοὺς ἐρωμένους ἢ διὰ τὸ περὶ τὰς συνουσίας ἀγωγόν.

A typical rational explanation for an iconographical detail, described by Plutarch advising on married life:

- o *conj. praec.* 138c12 καὶ γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ τὸν Ἑρμῆν συγκαθίδρυσαν, ὡς τῆς περὶ τὸν γάμον ἡδονῆς μάλιστα λόγου δεομένης, τὴν τε Πειθῶ καὶ τὰς Χάριτας, ἵνα πείθοντες διαπράττωνται παρ' ἀλλήλων ἂ βούλονται, μὴ μαχόμενοι μηδὲ φιλονεικοῦντες.

- 45 15 Κυθήρεια δ' εἴρηται διὰ τὰς ἐκ τῶν μίξεων γινομένας κυθήσεις ἢ διὰ τὸ κεύθεσθαι τὰ πολλὰ τὰς τῶν ἀφροδισίων ἐπιθυμίας. ἐκ τούτου δ' ἤδη καὶ ἱερὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἢ τῶν Κυθῆρων νῆσος εἶναι δοκεῖ,

Table 60. These are interesting etymologies because they illuminate Cornutus' technique: he accepts Hesiod's etymology of *Aphrodite* (Table 59) at *Theog.* 197, but eschews the explicit and logical etymology of *Cytheria* because the latter is merely historical, whereas the alternatives offer an insight into her nature.<sup>199</sup> Further, his etymologies cleverly explain the connection with the island of Cythera, with its well-known shrine to Aphrodite.<sup>200</sup>

- 45 19 τάχα δὲ καὶ ἡ Κύπρος, συνάδουσά πως τῇ κρύψει κατὰ τοῦνομα.

Aphrodite is *Κυπρογενέα* in Hesiod *Theog.* 199, occasionally *Κύπρις* in Homer (*Il.* 5.422 *al.*) and very often in the tragedians,<sup>201</sup> thus it seems odd that Cornutus does not mention the epithet. His treatment seems to be an inferior version of the etymologies from Chrysippus, who derives *Κύπρις* from *κύειν* and *Κυθήρεια* from *κύειν* + *θήρ*:

- o Chrysippus (=SVF 1098 *ap.* Lydus) Ὁ δὲ Χρύσιππος οὐ Διώνην ἀλλὰ Διδόνην αὐτὴν ὀνομάζεσθαι ἀξιῶ παρὰ τὸ ἐπιδιδόναι τὰς τῆς γενέσεως ἡδονάς, Κύπριν δὲ ὀνομασθῆναι παρὰ τὸ κύειν παρέχειν, καὶ Κυθερείην ὁμοίως παρὰ τὸ μὴ μόνον ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ καὶ θηρίοις τὸ κύειν ἐπιδιδόναι.

<sup>198</sup> Of the ca. 6300 instances of words prefixed *συνόδ*., fewer than 300 are identifiably earlier than Cornutus.

<sup>199</sup> •1.6.5.

<sup>200</sup> Hdt. 1.105.11; Pausanias 3.23.1: *Κυθήρα ... τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς Οὐρανίας ἀγιώτατον καὶ ἱερῶν ὅποσα Ἀφροδίτης παρ' Ἑλλησίν ἐστιν ἀρχαιότατον.*

<sup>201</sup> *Κύπρις* 25 times in *E.Hipp.*



45 <sup>20</sup> ἡ δὲ Πάφος ἴδιον αὐτῆς οἰκητήριόν ἐστι, Παφίας λεγομένης, τάχα κατ' ἔλλειψιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπαφίσκειν, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀπατᾶν· ἔχει γὰρ κατὰ μὲν τὸν Ἡσίοδον 'μειδήματά τ' ἑξαπατάς τε', κατὰ δὲ τὸν Ὅμηρον |

πάρφασιν, ἢ τ' ἔκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονεόντων.

Πάφος as dwelling place:

ο Hom. *Od.* 8.362 ἡ δ' ἄρα Κύπρον ἴκανε φιλομμειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη, ἐς Πάφον...

Παφίας: Plato *Epigr.* 23 (Παφίη); Strabo 14.6.3.51.

The etymology of Παφίας from ἀπαφίσκειν is attested also for Herodian and Eustathius, but there are no attested alternatives.<sup>202</sup>

μειδήματά τ' ἑξαπατάς τε: Hesiod *Theog.* 205.

πάρφασιν ... φρονεόντων: Hom. *Il.* 14.217.<sup>203</sup>

κατ' ἔλλειψιν: see Appendix 9, Table 2.

46 <sup>2</sup> ὁ δὲ Κεστός ἰμάς [ὡς] οἶον κεκασμένος ἐστὶν ἢ διακεκεντημένος καὶ ποικίλος, δύναμιν ἔχων τοῦ συνδεῖν καὶ συσφίγγειν.

Aphrodite's girdle, κεστόν ἰμάντα: Hom. *Il.* 14.214.

There seems little purpose to this reference, with a very unconvincing, and elsewhere unattested etymology (if indeed an etymology). Presumably the purpose is to explain that it has the power to bind people together, but there is no connection with the rest of the text, and it looks suspiciously like an accretion. Without further evidence, however, this remains conjecture.

46 <sup>4</sup> καλεῖται δ' οὐρανία τε καὶ πάνδημος καὶ ποντία διὰ τὸ καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐν γῆ καὶ ἐν θαλάττῃ τῆν δύναμιν αὐτῆς θεωρεῖσθαι.

Pausanias reports sanctuaries of Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανία, Πάνδημος and Ποντία.<sup>204</sup> Cornutus refers to the early differentiation between the two cults of Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανία and Ἀφροδίτη Πάνδημος. Pausanias connects the latter cult in Athens with the synoecism of Attica,<sup>205</sup> but Philemon Comic. (C-4/-3) connected it with alleged prostitution introduced by Solon, and this connection appears to have persisted.<sup>206</sup> Cornutus was thus either aware of such an association and confined his exposition to the former for the sake of propriety, or he sees no reason to elaborate, finding a rather general and lame explanation for the three epithets he selects.<sup>207</sup>

<sup>202</sup> Three attestations: Herodian *PC* 3.1.103.31; Eustathius *Il.* 3.600.19, *comm. Od.* 1.303.30, the first two of which Ramelli, 373-374 n.195 fails to notice.

<sup>203</sup> Cornutus either has πάρφασιν intentionally, or he misquotes *Il.* 14.217 πάρφασις ...

<sup>204</sup> Pausanias Οὐρανία: 1.14.7.1 *al.*; Πάνδημος: 1.22.3.1, 6.25.1.9, 9.16.3.6; Ποντία: 2.34.11.8. At 9.16.3.6: ...τὴν μὲν Οὐρανίαν ἐπὶ ἔρωτι καθαρῷ καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένῳ πόθου σωματῶν, Πάνδημον δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς μίξεσι, τρίτα δὲ Ἀποστροφίαν ... . Amongst more than 100 references to Aphrodite, Pausanias mentions several other epithets: ἐν Κήποις; Ἐπιστροφία; Ἀκρία; Ἀρεία; Ἀμβολογῆρα. For Οὐρανία see too Hdt. 1.105.

<sup>205</sup> Pausanias 1.22.3.

<sup>206</sup> Plato *Smp.* 180-181. See too Burkert, 155.

<sup>207</sup> See Apollodorus fr. 18.

46 <sup>6</sup> [ἀκύρους δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἐμποίνιμους τοὺς ἀφροδίσιους ὄρκους ἔφασαν εἶναι, παρ' ὅσον κἄν ἢ ῥαδία παρασχεθῆναι μεθ' ὄρκων ἐπάγεσθαι συμβέβηκε τοὺς πειρῶντας ὡς ἂν πειρῶσι.]

41

ἀφροδίσιος <γὰρ> ὄρκος οὐκ ἐμποίνιμος: a saying attested for several writers.<sup>208</sup> But the text is gratuitous, with only a vague connection with the context. Crucially, however, it interrupts the flow, and is thus identified as an accretion. See Appendix 2, Table 9.

46 <sup>9</sup> περιστερᾶ δὲ τῶν ὄρνέων χαίρει μάλιστα τῷ καθάρειον εἶναι τὸ ζῶον καὶ φιλοφρονητικὸν διὰ τῶν ὄσανει φιλημάτων, ἀνάπαλιν δ' ὡς διὰ τὴν ἀκαθαρσίαν ἀλλοτρία αὐτῆς εἶναι δοκεῖ.

The association of the dove with Aphrodite is well attested, and an etymology of περιστερᾶ from περισσῶς ἐρᾶν, based on its perceived lecherous behaviour, is attested for Apollodorus.<sup>209</sup> Cornutus prefers to give a rational reason for the association based on the behaviour of Ἄφροδίτη as Οὐρανία rather than Πάνδημος, and he does not provide the etymology of περιστερᾶ, of which he must have been aware, because it is irrelevant. (●1.8, Cornutus' sources, and Section 1.6.5.)

The dove is described as καθάρειον, which has the association with *white*.

Some sources say the pig was alien to Aphrodite, some claim pigs were sacrificed to her,<sup>210</sup> and perhaps this uncertainty is the reason for Cornutus' cautious assertion and vague reason.

46 <sup>13</sup> τῶν γε μὴν φυτῶν ἢ μὲν μυρσίνη διὰ τὴν εὐωδίαν Ἄφροδίτης εἶναι διείληπται, ἢ δὲ φιλόρα διὰ τε τοῦνομα[, ὅτι τῷ φιλεῖν παρακειμένως ἐξενήνεκται,] καὶ ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν στεφάνων πλοκάς εἰώθασιν αὐτῇ μάλιστα χρῆσθαι.

42

We have evidence of myrtle being dedicated to Aphrodite, myrtle crowns for Aphrodite, and Lime tree crowns, but no evidence that the Lime was connected with Aphrodite.<sup>211</sup>

[ὅτι ... ἐξενήνεκται]: Cornutus has already given the reason why the Lime tree is dedicated to Aphrodite (διὰ τε τοῦνομα) so this comment is illogical and superfluous, and thus an accretion.<sup>212</sup>

The last reason for this association with Aphrodite, the connection with crowns, is unclear. On its own, it reads *the Lime tree is dedicated to Aphrodite ... and also because people are accustomed to using it especially for the weaving of crowns*. This is not an explanation which makes much sense, and thus suspect (see below).

<sup>208</sup> Tr. Adesp. fr. 525 from e.g. Stobaeus 3.28.5.2; Photius *lex.* α 3394; Pausanias *Attic. att. on.* τ17. ●1.8 and Appendix 2, Table 9.

<sup>209</sup> Apollodorus fr. 19a *ab.* Schol. A.R. 3.541: ...ἢ περιστερὰ ἱερὰ Ἄφροδίτης. Διὸ καὶ λάγνον, παρὰ γὰρ τὸ περισσῶς ἐρᾶν λέγεται. Also Schol. A. *Th. hypo.* 292-294.6.

<sup>210</sup> Alien: Aesop, *fab.* 250; the saying Ἄφροδίτη ὡς θύεται meaning an unwanted gift (Diogenianus *Gramm. (C+2) paroemiae* 1.89.1 Ἄφροδίτη ὅν τέθυκεν: ἐπὶ τῶν ἀχαρίστων καὶ ἀνεπαφροδίτων, παρόσον Ἄφροδίτη ὡς οὐ θύεται. Not alien, but pig sacrifice: Callimachus and Zenodotus, from Athenaeus *deipn.* 3.48; Eustathius *II.* 3.224.12.

<sup>211</sup> Myrtle: Diodorus Sic. 1.17.5.7; Plutarch *aet. rom.* 268e7, etc.; myrtle crowns: Plutarch *numa* 19.2.6. Lime crowns: Dionysius *Attic. att. on.* π 14; EM 794.4. (But myrtle and holm-oak crowns for Demeter: Schol. Soph. *OC* 681.20.

<sup>212</sup> παρακειμένως must mean *incidentally*, and would have been the earliest of 28 instances, if genuine.

46 <sup>17</sup> τὴν δὲ πύξον φυλάττονται τῇ θεῷ προσφέρειν ἀφοσιούμενοί | πως ἐπ' αὐτῆς τὴν πυγῆν. ■ <sup>42</sup>

Lang notes some manuscript variation, with πυγμῆν as an alternative.<sup>213</sup> It is hardly surprising that Aristophanes refers to Aphrodite's buttocks,<sup>214</sup> but to find such a reference in a school text is unexpected, even one so sexually explicit elsewhere. Further objections to this comment are first, that there are no other attested connections between Aphrodite and boxwood, and secondly, myrtle and boxwood are so similar that some species are given both common names.<sup>215</sup> Cornutus would probably be aware that there is confusion here, whereas a later less informed reader might not, and the subject matter would naturally invite graffiti. 46.15 ὅτι ... ἐξενήνεκται has been identified as an accretion, and the lack of sense in the text between that accretion and this point has been noted. The obvious conclusion is that the entire passage (only 30 words) from 46.15 ὅτι.. to 47.1 ... ἐπ' αὐτῆς τὴν πυγῆν is in fact an accretion, and the text does not actually suffer if it is removed.

47 <sup>1</sup> Οὐδὲν δὲ παράδοξον εἰ τοιαύτη οὖσα αὐτῇ συντιμᾶται καὶ συμπάρεστιν ὁ Ἔρως, τῶν πλείστων καὶ Ἀφροδίτης υἱὸν αὐτὸν παραδεδωκότων, ὃς δὴ παῖς μὲν ἐστὶ διὰ τὸ ἀτελῆ τὴν γνώμην καὶ εὐεξαπάτητον ἔχειν τοὺς ἐρώντας, περωτὸς δέ, ὅτι κουφόνους ποιεῖ ἢ ὅτι ὡς ὄρνις αἰεὶ προσίπταται ταῖς διανοίαις ἀθρώως, τοξότης δ', ἐπεὶ πληγῆ τινι ὁμοιον ἀπὸ τῆς προσόψεως οἱ ἀλίσκόμενοι αὐτῷ πάσχουσιν, οὔτε πλησιάσαντες οὔθ' ἀψάμενοι τῶν καλῶν, ἀλλὰ μακρόθεν αὐτοὺς ἰδόντες [ἀποδίδοται δὲ καὶ λαμπὰς αὐτῷ, πυροῦν δοκοῦντι τὰς ψυχὰς]. ■ <sup>43</sup>

Hesiod's Ἔρως is a cosmic force, and myth has given him a multitude of different parents,<sup>216</sup> yet Cornutus must try to present the Hesiodic Eros and later tradition convincingly. In his earlier exposition of Hesiod *Theog*, Cornutus has described Eros coming into being (28.5) and defined him as ἡ ὁρμὴ ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ γένναν (28.18). In order to avoid any inconsistency, he has given Eros, son of Aphrodite, as an alternative view of τῶν πλείστων. Typically, the iconography is provided with simple rational explanations.

Eros was depicted as a youth in C-5,<sup>217</sup> but became progressively younger.<sup>218</sup>

<sup>213</sup> Krafft: no comment. The variation may be caused by an attempt to bowdlerize by referring to Πυγμαίων (Hesychius *lex.* π 4281 Πυγμαίων· ὁ Ἄδωνις παρὰ Κυπρίοις).

<sup>214</sup> *Ecclesiastusae* 964 ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ σῶ βούλομαι κόλπῳ / πληκτίζεσθαι μετὰ τῆς σῆς πυγῆς / Κύπρι... .

<sup>215</sup> Theophrastus *hist. plant.* 3.15.5.2 Ἡ δὲ πύξος μεγέθει μὲν οὐ μεγάλη, τὸ δὲ φύλλον ὁμοιον ἔχει μυρρίνω. Also, *Paxistima myrimites* has the common names *myrtle*, *myrtle boxwood* and *false-box* ([www.fs.fed.us/database/feis/plants/shrub/paxmyr](http://www.fs.fed.us/database/feis/plants/shrub/paxmyr)).

<sup>216</sup> Cicero *ND* 3.60 provides three different sets of parents from Greek myth: Artemis and Hermes; Aphrodite and Hermes; Aphrodite and Ares.

<sup>217</sup> Parthenon, east frieze, slab 6, depicts amongst others, Aphrodite with Eros aged 6-10.

<sup>218</sup> Ovid *Met.* 10.515: newly born Adonis resembles Cupid. Also C-1, a marble statue of Pan, Aphrodite and Eros, with Eros as winged baby: Archaeological museum, Athens, Inv. 3335; Longus (+?) *DC* 2.4: a child throwing myrtle-berries. Longus describes him as Cornutus does: παῖς, μύρτα καὶ ροιάς ἔχων, λευκὸς ὡς γάλα ... γυμνὸς ἦν... ἐπαίξεν (2.5.2.4.), Οὗ τοι παῖς ἐγὼ καὶ εἰ δοκῶ παῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Κρόνου πρεσβύτερος καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου (2.6.1.4) καὶ πτέρυγας ἐκ τῶν ὤμων καὶ τοξάρια μεταξὺ τῶν πτερύγων.

[ἀποδίδεται ... τὰς ψυχάς]: the iconography of Eros carrying a torch is perhaps connected with the *Panathenaiac* custom of torch processions and dedications at the altar of Eros,<sup>219</sup> or the perceived fiery nature of love.<sup>220</sup> But at 48.5, Cornutus describes love as having a fiery nature in a style completely in accordance with most of this text, and thus this passage here is identifiable as an accretion.

47<sup>11</sup> Ἔρωτα δ' αὐτὸν εἰρήσθαι πιθανὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιζητήσεως τῶν ἐρωμένων· τίττεται γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ ζητεῖν τὸ ἐρεῖν, ὡς εἴρηται τὸ

Ἴφιτος αὐθ' ἵππους ἐρέων -,

ἐντεῦθεν, οἶμαι, καὶ τῆς ἐρεύνης ὠνομασμένης.

Cornutus derives Eros from ἐρεῖν *to search*,<sup>221</sup> and again provides an explanatory quotation from Homer for an unfamiliar word, together with ἡ ἔρευνα as a further example. This time, however, he conflates

o *Od.21.22* Ἴφιτος αὐθ' ἵππους διζήμενος... with

o *Od.21.31* τὰς ἐρέων Ὀδυσῆι συνήντετο...<sup>222</sup>

Again, probably, he is quoting from memory.

47<sup>16</sup> καὶ πλείους δὲ Ἔρωτες παραδίδονται διὰ τὴν πολυτροπίαν τῶν ἐρώντων

The one Eros found in Hesiod had already become several by the time of Euripides.<sup>223</sup>

47<sup>18</sup> [καὶ τὸ πολλοῖς τοιούτοις ὁπαδοῖς κεχορηγησθαι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην]. (47.19) καλεῖται δὲ καὶ Ἴμερος εἶτουν παρὰ τὸ ἴεσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν ὠραίων ὠνομασμένος (47.21) εἶτε κατὰ μίμησιν τῆς περὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκστάσεως ὡς μεμωρῶσθαι περὶ | ταύτην· (48.1) Πόθος δ' ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν φιλημάτων μιμήσεως, ὅθεν ἔσχε τὴν κλήσιν καὶ ὁ πάππας, (48.2) ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ πολλὰ πυνθάνεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐρωμένων τοὺς ἐρώντας (48.3) [καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, πόθεν ἔρχονται καὶ ποῦ ἦσαν].<sup>44</sup>

This text needs scrutiny as a whole, for the following reasons:

- 1) Lang brackets the beginning, 47.18 [καὶ ... Ἀφροδίτην] and end, 48.3 [καὶ ... ἦσαν] as being accretions. Various textual problems noted in his app. crit. 48 conclude *Vide ne totum quod est de Ἴμέρω et Πόθω comma sit eiciendum*.
- 2) 47.18 [καὶ τὸ ... Ἀφροδίτην]: the previous statement is a rational explanation for the plurality of Ἔρωτες, whereas this text in the guise of an explanation actually makes no sense.
- 3) 47.19 καλεῖται δὲ καὶ Ἴμερος... and (48.1) Πόθος δ'... are highly suspect pieces of information. Cornutus is generally very accurate and provides information which is readily attestable elsewhere. However, the number of writers who provide explicit explanations of the differences between Ἔρωτες, Ἴμερος and Πόθος is so great that an

<sup>219</sup> Hermias *plato phdr. schol.* 37.19.

<sup>220</sup> Schol. Hesiod *Theog. sv.* 120 Ἔρος· ἐνιοὶ δὲ τὸ πῦρ· τὸ πυρῶδες γὰρ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας.

<sup>221</sup> EM 379.40 has the same etymology.

<sup>222</sup> As noted by Schmidt, 98 n.1, and Ramelli, 375, both without comment.

<sup>223</sup> E.Ba.402-406 Κύπρον / νᾶσον τὰς Ἀφροδίτας, / ἴν' οἱ θελξίφρονες νέμονται θνατοῖσιν Ἔρωτες / Πάφον... .

identification of the three seems impossible.<sup>224</sup> Clearly they are related:

Hesychius ι 625 has ἡμέρους· ἔρωτας, πόθους, but this is a kind of inaccuracy which cannot be ascribed to Cornutus, but rather to a poorly informed commentator.

- 4) 47.19 καλεῖται δὲ καὶ Ἴμερος εἶτουν παρὰ τὸ ἴεσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι ... : not only a totally unconvincing etymology, but an unusual nominatum. Also it is signalled with παρὰ τό: ●1.7.2.7. for etymologies with παρὰ τό.
- 5) 47.21 εἶτε κατὰ μίμησιν ... ὡς μεμωρῶσθαι περὶ ταύτην: for an etymology κατὰ μίμησιν, ●1.6.2, language creation, and 1.6.4, Plato's *Cratylus*. Cornutus provides a good example at 53.8 where χθών is derived from the mimetic value of the letters χθ, which sound compressed. With χθών he also explains the κατὰ μίμησιν method, clearly making a didactic point, thus this method would not be expected earlier in the text. Here, at 47.21, the writer seems to derive a very poor etymology of Ἴμερος from μεμωρῶσθαι, explaining that the mental disorientation of one suffering from Ἴμερος mimics the behaviour of the *stupefied* according to the method κατὰ μίμησιν, thereby clearly demonstrating that he has completely misunderstood the concept of κατὰ μίμησιν in connection with etymology.
- 6) 48.1 Πόθος δ' ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν φιλημάτων μιμήσεως. ὄθεν ἔσχε τὴν κλήσιν καὶ ὁ πάππας: again, an incorrect use of κατὰ μίμησιν in the context of language creation.<sup>225</sup> Further, there is no other attested similar etymology for πάππας, which is anyway an unnecessary explanatory diversion: Cornutus only does this for obscure words.
- 7) 48.2 ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ πολλὰ πυνθάνεσθαι ... ἐρῶντας: an etymology elsewhere unattested
- 8) 48.3 [καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων, πόθεν ἔρχονται καὶ ποῦ ἦσαν]: a far-fetched etymology of Πόθος from πόθεν,<sup>226</sup> which does not illuminate the nature of Πόθος, thus highly unlikely to be Cornutus (●1.6.5 for Stoic etymology).
- 9) Removal of this text enables a smooth transition: *And many Loves are handed down by tradition. [ ...Accretion...] Some people even think that the whole of the universe is Love.*

The above considerations identify all of these 68 words as an accretion.

<sup>224</sup> No extant source equates Ἔρωσ to Ἴμερος or Πόθος, or gives Ἴμερος or Πόθος as an epithet of Ἔρωσ. For explicit differentiation, however, see Chrysippus fr. mor. 397 ab. Andronicus *περὶ παθῶν* 4(part) Ἔρωσ δὲ ἐπιθυμία σωματικῆς συνουσίας. ἄλλος ἔρωσ· ἐπιθυμία φιλίας... Ἴμερος δὲ ἐπιθυμία φίλου ἀπόντος ὁμιλίας. ... Πόθος δὲ ἐπιθυμία κατὰ ἔρωτα ἀπόντος. Further explicit differentiation: Hesiod *Theog.* 201; Plato *Cra.* 420a; SVF 1009 line 48; Lucian *dea. jud.* 15.9; Schol. Hesiod *Theog.* sv. 201.2; Stobaeus 2.7.10c.6; [Plutarch] *plac.* 880c5; Eusebius *PE* 5.3.5.2; Anon. Hesiod *Theog.* 383.4; Et. Gud. ε 534.18. Also, Pausanias 1.43.6 records a group of three statues by Skopas of Ἔρωσ, Ἴμερος and Πόθος.

<sup>225</sup> A search of TLG reveals no other cases of ἀπὸ μιμήσεως in the context of an etymology.

<sup>226</sup> The etymology is elsewhere unattested. Et. Gud. π 472.12 gives others for Πόθος, but not πόθεν, the previous entry.

48<sup>5</sup> Ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τὸν ὄλον κόσμον νομίζουσιν Ἔρωτα εἶναι, καλὸν τε καὶ ἐπαφρόδιτον καὶ νεαρὸν ὄντα καὶ πρεσβύτατον ἅμα πάντων καὶ πολλῶ κεκρημένον πυρὶ καὶ ταχεῖαν ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τοξείας ἢ διὰ πτερῶν τὴν κίνησιν ποιούμενον·

Parmenides fr. 13 πρώτιστον μὲν ἔρωτα θεῶν μητίσατο πάντων was well known in antiquity.<sup>227</sup> For the popular perception of Love coinciding with this description by Cornutus, see Longus *DC* 2.5.2.4 quoted above at 47.1. Here, Cornutus incorporates the concept of the fiery nature of love (see 47.1 above), and uses this universal aspect of Love for a logical transition to the next topic, Atlas.

At 48.5 Ἔνιοι δὲ νομίζουσιν..., the transition from Eros as son or attendant of Aphrodite to the alternative Hesiodic interpretation as a universal force, Cornutus lapses into indirect speech and remains there consistently for Atlas and Pan, returning to direct speech at 50.11 when moving on to Priapus. • 1.8.11. for conclusions about sources.

48<sup>9</sup> τοῦτον δ' ἄλλως εἶναι καὶ τὸν Ἄτλαντα, ἀταλαιπώρως ἀποδιδόντα τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἐμπεριεχομένους ἐν αὐτῷ λόγους γινόμενα καὶ οὕτω καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν βαστάζοντα, ἔχειν δὲ κίονας μακρὰς τὰς τῶν στοιχείων δυνάμεις, καθ' ἃς τὰ μὲν ἀνωφερῆ ἔστι, τὰ δὲ κατωφερῆ· ὑπὸ τούτων γὰρ διακρατεῖσθαι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν·

Table 61 for the very poorly attested etymology.

ἐμπεριεχομένος λόγος: not a technical expression, found elsewhere only once.<sup>228</sup>

ἀνωφερῆ... κατωφερῆ... Cornutus introduces basic concepts of his physics, in which the elements fire and air tend to move upwards, and water and earth downwards.<sup>229</sup> Thus Atlas holding the pillars is a representation of the equilibrium achieved.

48<sup>15</sup> ὀλοόφρονα δ' αὐτὸν εἰρήσθαι διὰ τὸ περὶ τῶν ὄλων φροντίζειν καὶ προνοεῖσθαι τῆς πάντων [αὐτοῦ] τῶν μερῶν σωτηρίας.

Table 62. This provides a valuable insight into Stoic etymology (• 1.6.5.). Atlas is ὀλοόφρων in Homer (*Od.* 1.52), but this should produce a problem for Cornutus because the other five of the six Homeric entities described with this adjective are clearly *planning destruction*.<sup>230</sup> It is thus reasonable to assume the same meaning for Atlas, who is, after all, the son of a Titan.<sup>231</sup> This negative attribute of a force which is positive in Hesiod would be totally unacceptable for Stoic interpretation, and Cleanthes, followed by Cornutus, prefers an etymology which describes Atlas in a positive manner consonant with his Hesiodic function: Κλεάνθης

<sup>227</sup> The quotation is attested several times: Plato *Smp.* 178b11; Aristotle *Metaph.* 984b26; Plutarch *amat.* 756f1; Stobaeus 1.9.6.2; Simplicius *arist. phys. comm.* 9.11.20.

<sup>228</sup> Eusebius *comm. is.* 1.79.2.

<sup>229</sup> See for example Chrysippus SVF 555 (part) δύο γὰρ ὑποκειμένων βαρέων, γῆς καὶ ὕδατος, δύο δὲ κούφων, πυρὸς καὶ ἀέρος, τὴν τούτων σύγκρασιν αἰτίαν εἶναι τῆς τοῦ παντὸς τάξεως.

<sup>230</sup> *Il.* 2.723 (watersnake); *Il.* 15.630 (lion); *Il.* 17.21 (wild boar); *Od.* 1.52 (Atlas); *Od.* 10.137 αὐτοκασιγνήτη ὀλοόφρονος Αἰήταο (Aietes, sister of Circe); *Od.* 11.322 (Minos).

<sup>231</sup> Atlas is not ὀλοόφρων in Hesiod: Ἄτλαντα κρατερόφρονα, son of Iapetus and Clymene, *Theog.* 509.

δασύνει· τοῦ περὶ τῶν ὄλων φρονούντος.<sup>232</sup> Thus Cleanthes and Cornutus prefer an appropriate etymology to a manifestly correct one.<sup>233</sup>

48<sup>17</sup> ἔκ δ' αὐτοῦ τὰς Πλειάδας γεγονέναι παρισταμένου ὅτι πάντα τὰ ἄστρα πλείονα ὄντα ἐγέννησεν,

Table 63. From Hesiod *WD* 383 Πληιάδων Ἀτλαγενέων ἐπιτελλομενάων.

Cornutus can make a nice supporting argument for the identification of Atlas with the cosmos by referring to his daughters, known to be promoted to stars for various reasons.<sup>234</sup>

48<sup>19</sup> Ἀστραῖω τε καὶ Θαύμαντι | ὁ αὐτὸς ὢν οὔτε γὰρ ἴσταται, τὸ σύνολον ἀνηρέμητος ὑπάρχων, εἰ καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα εὐβεβηκέναι δοκεῖ καὶ ἀσάλευτος εἶναι, θαυμασμόν τε τοῖς ἐφεστῶσιν ἐπὶ τὴν διάταξιν αὐτοῦ πολὺν ἐμποιεῖ.

Tables 64 and 65.

49<sup>4</sup> Τοῦτον εἶναι καὶ τὸν Πάνα, ἐπειδὴ τῷ παντὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐστὶ. καὶ τὰ μὲν κάτω λάσια καὶ τραγῶδη διὰ τὴν τῆς γῆς δασύτητα ἔχειν, τὰ δ' ἄνω ἀνθρωπόμορφα διὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ αἰθέρι τὸ ἡγεμονικόν εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου, ὃ δὴ λογικόν ἐστὶ.

Table 66. Ἄτλαντα = Ἐρωτα = τὸν ὄλον κόσμον (48.5). There is a natural transition from Atlas to Pan, who seem here to be identical.<sup>235</sup> The Stoics, however, differentiated between τὸ πᾶν *the universe* and τὸ ὄλον *the cosmos*,<sup>236</sup> but Cornutus never uses τὸ ὄλον as a singular noun. He restricts use to τὸν ὄλον κόσμον, ἐν τοῖς ὄλοις, and τῶν ὄλων,<sup>237</sup> and either intentionally avoiding a philosophical distinction, or seeing none, equates the two different mythological characters.

49<sup>9</sup> λάγνον δὲ καὶ ὄχευτήν αὐτὸν παρεισάγεσθαι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ὧν περ εἴληφε σπερματικῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν κατὰ σύμμιξιν ἐξ αὐτῶν γινομένων.

Pan was originally a rustic Arcadian deity, of goatish character, associated with all types of fertility. Cornutus interprets these aspects in considerable detail, using the behaviour of the goat, especially the sexual activity of the male, to great effect.<sup>238</sup>

σπερματικὸς λόγος: a fundamental concept of Stoic physics; ● 1.2. for the influence of Aristotle's biological vocabulary on Stoic cosmogony. (σύμμιξιν: see Aristotle *GA* 785b5.)

Here, and in the following, Cornutus makes clever rational connections between the nature of Πάν and the Stoic universe.

<sup>232</sup> Schol. Hom. *Od. sv.* book 1 hypo-v 52.3. See Table 62 for other instances.

<sup>233</sup> Hays, 127 n.85, misses the point when claiming that Cornutus has made a mistake here: Cornutus finds the etymology more appropriate. Ramelli, 376, notes the issue without comment. See too Table 62 for Herodianus, a grammarian who notes the two etymologies, remarking ἄμεινον δὲ ψιλοῦντας.

<sup>234</sup> Schol. P. *nem.* N2 16.8; Schol. A.R. 225.1-8; Schol. Aratum 254.4-8; Schol. Hom. *Il. sv.* 18.486.8-16.

<sup>235</sup> See Apollodorus fr. 44b *ap. Servius Apollodorus sine parentibus eum sinit, quoniam univsum, i.e. τὸ πᾶν, huic deo sit attributum.*

<sup>236</sup> Sedley (1999), 433.

<sup>237</sup> Adjective with κόσμος: 17.5, 48.5, [52.9]; dat. pl.: 31.20, 62.23, 66.11; gen. pl.: 2.20, 3.7, 7.21, 17.4, 37.4, 48.16, 49.17.

<sup>238</sup> A rational explanation is given for each of these attributes: lower part shaggy and goat-like; lecherous; solitary; chases nymphs; skittishness; clad in a fawn-skin; plays pipes; associated with pine wreath; *panic*; sculptors give him horns and cloven feet, with two protruding ears.

- 49<sup>11</sup> ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις δὲ διατρίβειν μάλιστα τῆς μονότητος αὐτοῦ διὰ τούτου παρισταμένης· εἷς γὰρ καὶ μονογενῆς ὁ κόσμος ἐστί.

A unique and single cosmos is a fundamental Stoic tenet, contrasted with the Epicurean κόσμοι ἄπειροί εἰσιν.<sup>239</sup>

- 49<sup>14</sup> τὰς δὲ Νύμφας διώκειν, ἐπειδὴ χαίρει ταῖς ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὑγραῖς ἀναθυμιάσεσιν, ὧν χωρὶς οὐδ' οἶόν ◀ τ' ἐστὶν αὐτὸν συνεστάναι· τὸ δὲ σκιρτητικὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ παικτικὸν τὴν αἰεὶ κίνησιν ▶ τῶν ὄλων ἐμφαίνει. νεβρίδα δὲ ἢ παρδαλῆν αὐτὸν ἐνήφθαι διὰ τὴν ποικιλίαν τῶν ἄστρον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρωμάτων ἃ θεωρεῖται | ἐν αὐτῷ. συρικτὴν δὲ εἶναι τάχα μὲν διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ παντοίων ἀνέμων διαπνεῖσθαι, τάχα δ' ἐπεὶ τὴν ἐμμέλειαν ἀγριοφανῆ καὶ αὐστηρὰν ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν ἔχει.

This is a rather far-fetched argument that Pan chasing nymphs represents the world delighting in moist exhalations. Stoics thought that physical equilibrium was maintained over a long period by the sun being provided with fuel from moist exhalations. This is attested for Zeno, Cleanthes, Chrysippus and Posidonius, but interestingly here, the Posidonius fragment varies slightly (or the others are truncated). Other fragments have the sun being fuelled ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης θαλάττης, as does Posidonius, but who adds τὴν δὲ σελήνην ἐκ ποτίμων ὑδάτων.<sup>240</sup> (See 44.3: νύμφαι γὰρ εἰσιν αἱ τῶν ποτίμων ὑδάτων πηγαί).

◀ τ' ἐστὶν ... κίνησιν ▶ Krafft, 185, 208, identifies this as one of two lacunae in the ω archetype. For a discussion of these lacunae, see the commentary at 70.13ff., where I argue that the text in the region of the second ω lacuna is an accretion. Here, to be noted are τὸ σκιρτητικόν, a poorly attested word (22 instances) which appears twice (38.4 and here), and τὸ παικτικόν, the first of 12 instances, elsewhere only Herodian (1), and Eustathius (10). The analysis of the second lacuna raises doubts about the genuine nature of this particular passage above, but there are no specific grounds for rejecting it.

ἀγριοφανῆ: *harax*.

- 50<sup>4</sup> τῷ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς σπηλαίοις διαιτᾶσθαι καὶ τὸ τῆς πίτυος στέμμα ἐπηκολούθησεν, ὄρειόν τι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ἔχοντος τοῦ φυτοῦ, ἔτι δὲ τὸ Πανικὰς λέγεσθαι ταραχὰς τὰς αἰφνιδίους καὶ ἀλόγους· οὕτω γὰρ πως καὶ αἱ ἀγέλαι καὶ τὰ αἰπόλια πτοεῖται ψόφου τινὸς ἐξ ὕλης ἢ τῶν ὑπάντρων καὶ παραγωγῶν τόπων ἀκούσαντα.

Further interpretation of iconography, with a rather weak explanation of the pine wreath.

Cornutus provides a clever etymology of πανικός, attributable to Pan, and Plutarch produces a strikingly similar explanation.<sup>241</sup>

<sup>239</sup> Epicurus *ep. her.* 45.3. See too White, 129.

<sup>240</sup> See Zeno fr. 121; Cleanthes fr. 501; Posidonius fr. 262 *ap.* D.L.7.145; Chrysippus *ap.* Stobaeus 1.25.5.16. (= SVF 652) Χρύσιππος τὸν ἥλιον εἶναι τὸ ἀθροισθὲν ἑξαμνα νοερὸν ἐκ τοῦ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀναθυμιάματος. The idea was not new to Stoics: see Aëtius *plac.* 346.18 (Παρμενίδης καὶ Ἡράκλειτος (C-5) fr. 11) τρέφεσθαι δὲ τοὺς ἀστέρας ἐκ τῆς ἀπὸ γῆς ἀναθυμιάσεως. See too 27.15 with references.

<sup>241</sup> Plutarch *IO* 356d7 τὰς μὲν αἰφνιδίους τῶν ὄχλων ταραχὰς καὶ πτοήσεις ἔτι νῦν διὰ τοῦτο πανικὰς προσαγορεύεσθαι. (Ramelli, 378-379, in almost 2 pages of notes on *panic*, fails to notice this striking parallel.) The etymology is attested before Cornutus: Apollodorus fr. 44b (part) *Metus vero ad repentinas fugas Panicus, pro subitaria aeris commotione* (repeated in detail in Schol. E. *sv. vit.arg.schol.* Rh.36.17). For popular association of Pan with the pine wreath, pipes, nymphs and Eros, see Longus *DC passim*, and the specific creation of panic by Pan *ibid.* 2.26-29, 3.23.



50 11 οἰκειῶς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀγελαίων θρεμμάτων αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐποιήσαντο, τάχα μὲν διὰ τοῦτο καὶ κεράστην αὐτὸν καὶ δίχηλον πλάττοντες, τάχα δὲ τὸ διττὸν τῶν ἐξεχόντων ἐν αὐτῷ ὧτων αἰνιττόμενοι.

ἀγελαίων θρεμμάτων ἐπίσκοπος: the only attribute of Pan lacking a rational explanation, but οἰκειῶς makes it rhetorically convincing. In context, the title is natural, though unattested elsewhere.<sup>242</sup>

50 15 – Ἴσως δ' ἂν οὗτος καὶ ὁ Πρίαπος εἶη, καθ' ὃν πρόεισιν εἰς φῶς πάντα, τῶν ἀρχαίων δεισιδαιμόνως καὶ ἀδρῶς διὰ τούτων & ἐφρόνουσιν περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου φύσεως παριστάντων.

Table 67. Cornutus moves from Pan to Priapus, the most obvious connection between them being the size of the genitalia. An ithyphallic god, Priapus is variously described as an epithet or son of Dionysus, with Aphrodite or Dione as mother, as well as being hermaphrodite,<sup>243</sup> his cult being introduced relatively late into Greece from Lampsacus.<sup>244</sup> The three deities Πρίαπος, Ὑγία (21.8) and Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων (51.11) are the only deities in Cornutus' text which are found neither in Hesiod, Homer nor the Homeric Hymns, nor explicitly cited as foreign. Elsewhere, I argue that the text with Ὑγία is an accretion, but the two others, one following on from the other, seem to be genuine. Possibly the greater popularity of Priapus' cult in the Roman world compels Cornutus to comment, and he can argue that Pan, Priapus and the Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων are effectively the same expressions of a productive and fertile cosmos.<sup>245</sup>

It is difficult to gauge exactly what Cornutus means here with his reference to οἱ ἀρχαῖοι,<sup>246</sup> and although this could be a vital piece of evidence for his concept of ancient wisdom, there has been virtually no comment (● 1.4).<sup>247</sup> δεισιδαιμόνως and ἀδρῶς are both very poorly attested adverbs: δεισιδαιμόνως could take a positive sense of *religiously*, but is only attested for three other writers, and all three mean *superstitiously*.<sup>248</sup> ἀδρῶς is attested for Hesychius π 1170.1, equated with παχυμερῶς and παχέως *thickly, broadly*, which is the sense in the other three late attested cases.<sup>249</sup> In this context, however, it probably means *crudely*, i.e. *obscenely*.<sup>250</sup> The text could thus read *and when the ancients described what they thought about the physical nature of the world, they did so in religious terms in this vulgar manner.*

<sup>242</sup> The only one of 10 instances of οἰκειῶς where an explicit logical explanation is not provided. (See 13.11, 26.5, 53.19, 56.6, 57.16, [64.3], 66.9, 75.14, 76.10.)

<sup>243</sup> Schol. Luc. sv. 21.6.3; Strabo 13.1.12; Pausanias 9.31.2. The similarity with Pan in this respect is of course superficial, because Pan, part goat, has large testicles, whereas Priapus is ithyphallic.

<sup>244</sup> Of the ca. extant 300 references to Πρίαπος / Πρίηπος the earliest reference to the god is the title of play no. 10, by Xenarchus (C-4) (earlier references are to the city on the Black Sea), and thereafter Theocritus (C-4/-3). Most references are very much later.

<sup>245</sup> Popularity of Priapus: OCD, 1245.

<sup>246</sup> I assume that οἱ ἀρχαῖοι and οἱ παλαῖοι are used interchangeably: ● 1.5.

<sup>247</sup> As far as I am aware, only Schmidt, 78-79, who, as everywhere, detects traces of Apollodorus *περὶ θεῶν*, and Nock, 1002, who detects *Originalität* by Cornutus at this point. Ramelli, 380, quotes Schmidt and Nock without comment.

<sup>248</sup> Aristae Epist. phil. 129.4 ap. Eusebius PE; Philo quod det. 18.5; Lucianus Soph. pr. im. 7.10.

<sup>249</sup> Anon. Phil. Plato Phil. (p.C+6); Theophilus Prot. Steph. (C+9); Nicetas (C+12).

<sup>250</sup> Hays, 99, *superstitious and exaggerated*; Ramelli, 255, *con spirito religioso e opiosità*.

50 <sup>18</sup> ἐμφαίνει γοῦν τὸ μέγεθος τῶν αἰδοίων τὴν πλεονάζουσαν ἐν τῷ θεῷ σπερματικὴν δύναμιν, ἢ δ' ἐν τοῖς κόλποις αὐτοῦ παγκαρπία τὴν δαψίλειαν τῶν ἐν ταῖς οἰκείαις ὤραις ἐντὸς τοῦ κόλπου φυομένων καὶ ἀναδεικνυμένων καρπῶν.

Priapus was a guardian of gardens, and was thus portrayed with fruit in his lap, and carrying a sickle.<sup>251</sup> Cornutus does not associate the fruit in his lap with his guardianship, preferring an interpretation in terms of the σπερματικὴ δύναμις, the productive force of the Stoic deity.

50 <sup>22</sup> παρεισάγεται δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς φύλαξ τῶν τε κήπων καὶ τῶν ἀμπέλων, | ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὸν γεννῶντὰ ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ σώζειν ἃ γεννᾷ [καὶ τοῦ Διὸς ἐντεῦθεν σωτήρος εἶναι λεγομένου], καὶ τὸ μὲν πολύφορον καὶ καθαρὸν αἰ ἄμπελοι παριστᾶσι, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ ποικίλον καὶ ἐπιτερπὲς καὶ ῥαδίαν τὴν γένεσιν ποιούμενον οἱ κήποι, τοιαύτην ὡς ἐπίπαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἔχοντος. δρέπανον δὲ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ προτείνει πότερον ἐπεὶ τούτῳ χρῶνται πρὸς τὴν κάθαρσιν τῶν ἀμπέλων ἢ ἐπεὶ κατὰ τὸν τηροῦντὰ τί ἐστὶ καὶ καθωπλίσθαι πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν αὐτοῦ ἢ ὡς τῆς αὐτῆς δυνάμεως μετὰ τὸ ἐνεγκεῖν τὰ ὄντα ἐκτεμνοῦσης αὐτὰ καὶ φθειροῦσης.

Cornutus is either referring to the creation and destruction of plants, or generally to Stoic cosmogony and ἐκτύρωσις.

[καὶ τοῦ Διὸς ἐντεῦθεν σωτήρος εἶναι λεγομένου]: Zeus has been given this epithet at 9.14. This is a good example of a gratuitous comment which interrupts the flow of logic, and is thus an accretion.<sup>252</sup>

51 <sup>11</sup> -'Αγαθὸς δὲ Δαίμων ἦτοι πάλιν ὁ κόσμος ἐστὶ βρίθων καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς καρποῖς ἢ ὁ προεστὼς αὐτοῦ λόγος, καθ' ὅσον δατεῖται καὶ διαμερίζει τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἀγαθὸς διαίρετης ὑπάρχων.

Table 68. This reference is very significant, being the only genuine reference to a Δαίμων (see commentary at 74.23). The deity is an oddity, having its roots in Hesiod and Homer and an unspecific name:<sup>253</sup> 'Daimon does not designate a specific class of divine beings, but a peculiar mode of activity.'<sup>254</sup> The 'Αγαθὸς Δαίμων was already established by the time of Aristophanes as a god to whom one makes libations,<sup>255</sup> but the god had an unspecific nature despite evidence for a cult, connected with *Luck*.<sup>256</sup>

It must, however, be a deliberate strategy by Cornutus to refer to a quite specific Δαίμων, and one which is explicitly benign.<sup>257</sup> Whereas in Homer, Δαίμων was a normal name for a god,

<sup>251</sup> Horace *Sat.* 1.8; Priapae 11, 30. See too Graves, 69, 18e.

<sup>252</sup> The comment may have been prompted by the association with the 'Αγαθὸς Δαίμων, discussed immediately following. Libations to both were customary, thus Eriphus (C-4) *ap.* Athenaeus *deipn.* 15.47.37: ἐκπεπήδηκας πρὶν 'Αγαθοῦ πρῶτον Δαίμονος λαβεῖν, πρὶν Διὸς σωτήρος.

<sup>253</sup> Hesiod *WD* 122, δαίμονες, kindly spirits of the deceased Golden Age generation. In Homer, the Olympian Gods are all δαίμονες: *Il.* 1.222 δῶματ' ἐς αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς μετὰ δαίμονας ἄλλους.

<sup>254</sup> Burkert, 180.

<sup>255</sup> *Vespae* 525. See too Diodorus Sic. 4.3.4.9.

<sup>256</sup> See Pausanias 9.39.5.4 τὸ δὲ οἶκημα Δαίμονός τε ἀγαθοῦ καὶ Τύχης ἱερόν ἐστιν ἀγαθῆς. See too Plutarch *laude ipsius* 542e7, *QC* 655e7. Of the 318 attested references to such a deity, no information other than the libation is forthcoming.

<sup>257</sup> There are 39 attested references before Cornutus, and Cornutus is the earliest text in which the deity is specific enough for the editor to provide him with uppercase initials (though this could simply be editor's style).

as a class of deity the Δαίμων later took on more disturbing functions: 'What was new and made a momentous impression was the thesis [of Xenocrates] that among these *daimones* there are downright evil beings, filled with greed for blood and sexuality.... they are the driving force behind all the dark and uneasy rituals of the religious tradition.'<sup>258</sup> Reference to a Δαίμων was cautious,<sup>259</sup> and the name clearly has connotations of unknown and uncontrollable forces which engender fear. Because the elimination of superstition is a fundamental aim of the text, the Δαίμων is represented in the most beneficial and harmless light: see commentary at 55.7 for Persephone, and 65.1-74.5 for Hekate.

- 51 <sup>15</sup> προστάτης δὲ καὶ σωτὴρ τῶν οἰκείων ἐστὶ τῷ σώζειν καλῶς τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον καὶ ὑπόδειγμα παρέχειν ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀμαλθείας κέρασ οἰκεῖον αὐτῷ φόρημά ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ ἅμα πάντα ἀλδήσκει τὰ κατὰ τοὺς οἰκείους καιροὺς φυόμενα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γινόμενα, περὶ πολλὰ δὲ ἀθρόως καὶ ποικίλα, ἧ ἐπεὶ ἐμπεριόδως ἀμαλδύνει | καὶ πάλιν κεραΐζει πάντα ἢ διὰ τὴν γινομένην ἐξ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ πονεῖν προτροπὴν ὡς τῶν ἀγαθῶν μὴ μαλακιζομένοις προσγινομένων.

Table 69. Three etymologies are offered for a name which has few etymologies elsewhere, each one defining the name in useful terms. The myth of Amaltheia's horn is poorly attested, but reference is made as early as Anacreon (C-6).<sup>260</sup>

Cornutus has constructed a smooth transition through Eros – Pan – Priapus – *Agathos Daimon* – Amaltheia's horn, using the subject of fertility and abundance to move to Demeter and Hestia.<sup>261</sup>

- 52 <sup>4</sup> Ἐξῆς δὲ περὶ Δήμητρος καὶ Ἑστίας, ᾧ παῖ, λεκτέον· ἑκατέρα δ' ἔοικεν οὐχ ἕτερα τῆς γῆς εἶναι.

Cornutus identifies Demeter and Hestia with Earth, Δημήτηρ = Ἑστία = Γῆ, then provides etymologies of both, with detailed explanations first of Hestia, then Demeter.

Identification of Demeter with the earth was universally recognized: see Table 71 for the wide range of similar definitions. Hestia is, however, rather problematic because although very often closely connected with Demeter, the only other sources to equate her to Earth and/or Demeter are non-Stoic.<sup>262</sup> The Stoic spokesman in Cicero *ND* 2.67 equates Demeter with Earth (Δημήτηρ *quasi* γῆ μήτηρ *nominata est*) but then proceeds to define Hestia (=Vesta) as

<sup>258</sup> Burkert, 332. For Spirit Gods and Demons, Burkert 329-332.

<sup>259</sup> Pi.P.3.34 δαίμων δ' ἕτερος, *evil daimon*.

<sup>260</sup> Anacreon fr. 16. Thereafter, some fleeting detail in Diodorus Sic. 4.35.4.6-16; Hyginus *fab.* 31.7.5; Ovid *Fas.* 5.11-128 and *Met.* 9.85-8. I find no reference to the *Agathos Daimon* carrying Amaltheia's horn.

<sup>261</sup> In Roman mythology, Amaltheia's horn was the *cornu copias*, connected with Copia, the personification of plenty, and Ceres, the harvest goddess, identified with Demeter. The transition to Demeter is thus logical. See Hard, 280.

<sup>262</sup> Philochorus Hist. (C-4/-3) fr. 185, an uncertain reference to Empedocles; D. Hali. 2.66.3.1; Lydus 4.94.4; Proclus *prim. euc. comm.* 173.18; Hermias Phil. *plato phdr. schol.* 141.32; Galen Gramm. *all. hes. theog.* 331.5. Plotinus (Neoplatonist, C+3) *enn.* 4.4.27 associates Demeter and Hestia with Earth, but with a distinction between them explained by Proclus *plato ti. comm.* 3.140.10 [ἡ γῆ] ... τὸν μὲν νοῦν αὐτῆς Ἑστίαν καλῶν, Δημήτηραν δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν: Hestia is *Earth-Mind*, Demeter is *Earth-Soul*. See too Porphyrius *agalmaton* 6.1 Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἡγεμονικὸν τῆς χθονίας δυνάμεως Ἑστία κέκληται, ἧς ἄγαλμα παρθενικὸν ἐφ' Ἑστίας πυρὸς ἰδρυμένον.

the goddess of altars and hearths, clearly of a quite different nature. There are two possibilities: either Cornutus is simplifying for didactic purposes, or there is a political significance of equating land and home. •1.9 for discussion of a political agenda and Neronian ideology.

52 <sup>6</sup> ταύτην μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὸ ἐστάναι διὰ παντός Ἔστιαν προσηγόρευσαν οἱ παλαιοὶ [ἢ διὰ τὸ ταύτην ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐσωτάτω τεθεῖσθαι ἢ διὰ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὄσανει ἐπὶ θεμελίου τὸν ὄλον ἐστάναι κόσμον], (52.9) διὰ δὲ τὸ μητρὸς τρόπον φύειν τε καὶ τρέφειν πάντα Δήμητραν οἶονει γῆν μητέρα οὔσαν ἢ Δηὸν μητέρα τῷ καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἀφθόνως ἐφείσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δατεῖσθαι καὶ δαίνυσθαι [ἢ ἐπ' αὐτῆς δῆειν, ὃ ἐστὶν εὐρίσκειν, ἃ ἐπιζητοῦσι].

46  
47

Table 70. The first etymology for Hestia is actually attested for Stoics, thus Lydus 4.94.5: οἱ μὲν φυσικοὶ (=Stoics) τὴν Ἔστιαν βούλονται τὴν γῆν εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐστάναι, but the second from ἐσωτάτω is unconvincing and elsewhere unattested. The third etymology is from the same root, ἐστάναι, as the first, but there is a strong similarity with Philo *cher.* 26 where Hestia is interpreted as *the only part of the world standing firmly* ἵνα περί τι βεβαίως ἰδρυμένον. Philo, however, is engaged in strong allegorical interpretation,<sup>263</sup> and such a parallel would be completely out of place in a Stoic text.<sup>264</sup>

Lang brackets the third etymology, which is an extension of the second, but the second itself, from Δηὸν μητέρα makes very little sense, or is at best unexplained.<sup>265</sup>

Indeed, elsewhere Cornutus is at pains to explain unusual words, and, moreover, the structure of this piece with etymologies of Demeter and Hestia is ungrammatical and lacks a logical construction. Cornutus firmly identified the two deities to be identical with the Earth, and juxtaposes the two names twice:

- 1) (52.6) ταύτην μὲν γὰρ διὰ (*etymology from ἐστάναι*) Ἔστιαν προσηγόρευσαν οἱ παλαιοὶ [*two more Hestia etymologies*] διὰ δὲ (*production and rearing*) Δήμητραν οἶονει γῆν μητέρα οὔσαν [*two more Demeter etymologies*].
- 2) (52.14) παρεισάγεται τε ἡ μὲν Ἔστια παρθένος ... ἡ δὲ Δημήτηρ οὐκέτι...

In the first comparison, the text gives three etymologies for Hestia, then three for Demeter. The sentence, however, as in 1) above, is not grammatically correct and balanced unless only the first etymology for Hestia and the first for Demeter are included. For both goddesses, the etymology is given before the name, and the four causal clauses introduced by ἢ, with

<sup>263</sup> Philo *cher.* 25 τὰ μὲν δὴ Χερουβὶμ καθ' ἓνα τρόπον οὕτως ἀλληγορεῖται: •1.5 for Philo as a Strong allegorist.

<sup>264</sup> It is thus inexplicable that Ramelli, 381, seems to argue that the etymology bracketed by Lang should be retained *because* of the parallel with Philo. She seems to be unaware that when a Stoic text (especially a text which is demonstrably corrupted by accretions) contains non-Stoic material, this material is not likely to be genuine. It is difficult to determine whether Ramelli makes no distinction between Strong allegory and Stoic interpretation of myth, or whether she thinks Philo is a Stoic, or both.

<sup>265</sup> See Table 71 for the extent of ancient interpretation as Earth Mother using an etymology from Γῆ and μήτηρ. Modern linguistic theory identifies μήτηρ as correct, but Δη is unknown (Burkert, 159). Herodian *PC* 3.1.347.16 criticizes the etymology from Δηὸν μητέρα on grammatical grounds. Δηὸν is a shortened form of Δημήτηρ (HH 2(*Cer.*) 47), so an etymology from it is meaningless.

articular infinitives offering more etymologies, are placed after the names creating an illogical sentence structure.

Elsewhere, when offering more than one etymology, Cornutus is consistently logical in the presentation. Considering the unsafe nature of these extra etymologies, and the grammatical problems they cause, they can be identified as accretions.

52 <sup>14</sup> παρεισάγεται τε ἡ μὲν Ἑστία παρθένος διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀκινήσιαν μηδενὸς εἶναι γεννητικὴν—καὶ τοῦτου χάριν καὶ ὑπὸ παρθένων νεωκορεῖται—, ἡ δὲ Δημήτηρ οὐκέτι, ἀλλὰ τὴν Κόρην τετοκυῖα οἶον τὴν Κόρον [ἢ πρὸς τὸ τρέφεσθαι | μέχρι κόρου ὕλη]. 48  
 Hestia as a virgin: *HH 5 (Ven.) 22-32*, has high honour and a place at the centre of the house because of her virginity. Fire has always been a purifying agent, Hesiod *WD 733* expresses ancient sexual taboo when advising against sexual intercourse at the fireplace as impairing purity.<sup>266</sup> Although highly honoured in Greek cult, there is little mythical material associated with her, and she never attained the status of other Olympians. Her Roman equivalent, Vesta, had a much higher profile, with the only female members of the Roman priesthood attending her, the six *sacerdotes Vestales*.<sup>267</sup> This reference to Hestia surrounded by virgins is thus one of the very few traces of Roman religious practice in this text.

Κόρη: Table 72. Satiety is the product of a fertile earth, thus a good etymology for the daughter of Demeter. Κόρη is the only difference between Hestia and Demeter, and the following text is carefully planned to minimize her significance.

[ἢ πρὸς τὸ τρέφεσθαι μέχρι κόρου ὕλη]: this explanation of the word has the style of a marginal note, being grammatically unconnected with the preceding text, and without a verb. If the text is not corrupt, then according to the criteria defined in 1.7.2.1, it has to be identified as an accretion.

53 <sup>1</sup> τὸ δ' αἰείζωνον πῦρ ἀποδέδοται τῇ Ἑστία διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι [ῶν],  
 The hearth was the centre of the house, and the eternal fire in the temple at Delphi was seen as the communal hearth for Greece.<sup>268</sup> Another symbol of the eternal fire was the Omphalos, which was the same size, shape and whitish colour of a charcoal fire covered in ash to keep it burning.<sup>269</sup>  
 53 <sup>2</sup> τάχα δ' ἐπεὶ τὰ πυρὰ ἐν κόσμῳ πάντα ἐντεῦθεν τρέφεται καὶ διὰ ταύτην ὑφέστηκεν ἢ ἐπεὶ ζείδωρός ἐστι καὶ ζῶων μήτηρ, οἷς αἴτιον τοῦ ζῆν τὸ πυρῶδες ἐστι.

<sup>266</sup> See West (1978), 333-346, for superstition and taboo in Hesiod *WD*, and 336 for commentary on line 733. See too Burkert, 170.

<sup>267</sup> See Cicero *ND 2.67*; D. Hali. 2.64.5.

<sup>268</sup> Plutarch *arist.* 20.4.4 ἐκ Δελφῶν ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἐστίας. For the Roman *ignis inexstinctus*: Ovid *Fas.* 6.297.

<sup>269</sup> Graves, 75. Cornutus (67.11), however, denies an etymology of Omphalos from *centre*, preferring a more meaningful connection with the oracle of Apollo.

Cornutus underlines the identification of Hestia with Demeter by providing ζῶων μήτηρ as a parallel to the γῆ μήτηρ etymology of Demeter. The fiery element refers to the designing fire causing growth and preservation in plants and animals.<sup>270</sup>

- 53<sup>5</sup> στρογγύλη δὲ πλάττεται καὶ κατὰ μέσους ἰδρύεται τοὺς οἴκους διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν γῆν τοιαύτην εἶναι καὶ οὕτως ἰδρῦσθαι συμπεπλημένην, ὅθεν κατὰ μίμησιν ἢ γῆ [τε] καὶ χθῶν προσηγόρευται.

The Earth, the centre of the world; the hearth, the centre of the house; both are circular. The etymology of χθῶν is an instructive case of an etymology κατὰ μίμησιν: •1.6.2. for Stoic language theory, and above at 47.18 for an incorrect use of the term.

- 53<sup>9</sup> [τάχα δὲ ἢ χθῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ χεῖσθαι ἦτοι χωρεῖν πάντα ἐκλήθη, ὡς εἴρηται τὸ οὐδὸς δ' ἀμφοτέρους ὀδε χεῖσεται.]

χεῖσθαι: *hapax* with χεῖσθαι as textual variant. See Lang app. crit. and Krafft, 209.

One suspicious property of this sentence is the nature of the nominatum: of the ca. 200 etymologies in the text which I consider to be genuine, the nominata are virtually all deities, epithets of deities, or iconographical details connected with them. As shown in the summary of Appendix 1, several other nominata are given etymologies, but are all taken as accretions, where argument other than the nature of the nominatum is used for their exclusion. But, annoyingly, there are exceptions: κριός (30.16) looks perfectly genuine, and serves a didactic purpose. Here, χθῶν is not directly relevant, but is perhaps an unusual word which Cornutus might deem worthy of explanation.<sup>271</sup> The procedure of providing a line of Homer (here, *Od.*18.17) in an explanation of an unusual word is well attested elsewhere in the text, and there seems no reason to exclude this instance, particularly when the comment does not interrupt the flow of the text.<sup>272</sup>

- 53<sup>12</sup> μυθεύεται δὲ πρώτη τε καὶ ἐσχάτη γενέσθαι τῷ εἰς ταύτην ἀναλύεσθαι τὰ ἀπ' αὐτῆς γινόμενα καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς συνίστασθαι, καθὸ κὰν ταῖς θυσίαις οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀπὸ πρώτης τε αὐτῆς ἤρχοντο καὶ εἰς ἐσχάτην αὐτὴν κατέπαυον.

First and last libations to Hestia: *HH* 29(*Vest.*) 3-6; Aristophanes *Vespae* 846; Plato *Cra.* 401d. A saying for *correct procedure* is found in Plato *Cra.* 401b1 and:

- ο Ζηνοβίος (C+2) 1.40 Ἄφ' Ἑστίας ἀρχόμενοι μετενήνεκται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ δρωμένων. Ἔθος γὰρ ἦν τῇ Ἑστία τὰς ἀπαρχὰς ποιεῖσθαι.

By identifying Hestia with Earth, and identifying circular shape as a common feature, Cornutus is able to provide a rational (even if unhistorical) explanation for the first and last libations and sacrifices, symbolizing the generation from, and decay into, the Earth of all plants and animals.

<sup>270</sup> SVF 1.120 (part) Ζήνων ... φησι τὸ δὲ [πῆρ] τεχνικόν, ἀύξητικόν τε καὶ τηρητικόν, οἷον ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς ἐστὶ καὶ ζῷοις. Hestia and fire are mentioned by Aristotle, *Mete.* 369a32, the noise of a flame: οἱ μὲν τὸν Ἥφαιστον γελᾶν, οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἑστίαν.

<sup>271</sup> Χθῶν is a deity in *A.PV.*205 and *Eu.*6. See too commentary, 55.7.

<sup>272</sup> The Homeric line is well attested in antiquity, with 15 other extant instances, mostly deriving from Philoxenus Gramm. (C-1) (fr. 80, 202, 206) in explanations of χεῖρῃ (*Il.*22.93) and various etymologies. See Aristonicus *sig. Od.* 18.17.1, *sig Il.* 22.93.6; Athenaeus *deipn.* 11.53.36; Schol. Hom. *Il. sv.* 22.93a; *EM* 229.53, 809.13 (etymology of χθῶν); Eustathius *Il.* 1.559.2, 4.580.23; etc.

53 <sup>16</sup> στέμματα δ' αὐτῇ λευκὰ περίκεινται τῷ στέφεσθαι καὶ καλύπτεσθαι πανταχόθεν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ λευκοτάτου στοιχείου.

There is no other attested Greek iconography of white garlands around Hestia, but it would be a reasonable representation of ash placed on a fire to keep it burning (see 53.1 above). This iconography is perhaps better associated with the Roman Vesta, and the *sacerdotes Vestales* who wore white Vitta and white Suffibulum, bordered with purple, as headgear (see 52.14 above).

τοῦ λευκοτάτου στοιχείου: a puzzling statement. If λευκοτάτου means *brightest*, it would seem to refer to the aether, which is γλαυκός at 36.20. But the Stoic aether was not a fifth element as Aristotle proposed, because the four Stoic elements were not permanent, whereas the Stoic god needed to be active at all stages of the universe.<sup>273</sup> τὸ λευκότερον στοιχεῖον then should mean *air*, which is nearest to the earth, though this is often referred to as *dense*, thus not particularly bright (see 4.17 Hades). If λευκοτάτου means *clearest*, then it is hard to see how the Earth is hidden by it, thus *whitest* is likeliest. Yet despite the puzzling nature of this iconographic detail of white garlands, it comfortably links the subject of Hestia to the next subject, Demeter, who is crowned with ears of grain.

53 <sup>18</sup> ἡ μέντοι Δημήτηρ κατὰ τὸ ἀναδοτικὸν τῶν σπερμάτων εἰδοποιουμένη πάνυ οἰκείως εἰσάγεται στάχυσιν ἐστεφανωμένη.

Corn is very closely linked to Demeter, whose iconography includes ears of corn as a crown. At 54.12, however, Cornutus will deny the relevance of other iconography such as the bereaved expression and a torch.<sup>274</sup>

53 <sup>20</sup> τοῦτο γὰρ ἀναγκαιότατον ὦν κεχάρισται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἡ ἡμερος τροφή, ἐστὶ. ταύτην δὲ μυθεύεται σπεῖραι διὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὁ Τριπτόλεμος ὁ Ἐλευσίνιος ἀναβιβασάσης αὐτὸν | ἐπὶ πτερωτῶν δρακόντων ὄχημα τῆς Δήμητρος.

Demeter teaches Triptolemus how to raise corn in HH 2(*Cer.*) 471-479. The winged chariot is attested for [Apollodorus] *bib.* 1.32 (δίφρον πτηνῶν δρακόντων τὸν πυρὸν ἔδωκεν), and Ovid *Met.* 5.642-647; D. Hali. 1.12 refers to the myth in Sophocles' *Triptolemus*.<sup>275</sup>

54 <sup>1</sup> ἔοικε γὰρ πρῶτός τις τῶν παλαιῶν δρακεῖν καὶ συνιέναι θεοῦ τινος ἐπὶ μετεωροτέραν ἐπίνοιαν ἀναβιβασάντος τὸν μεταχειρισμὸν τῆς κριθῆς[. ὃν τρόπον τρίβεται καὶ διακρίνεται [διὰ τοῦ εἰς τὸν ἀέρα ἀναρριπεῖσθαι] ἀπὸ τῶν ἀχύρων]. [διὸ καὶ κριθὴ ἐπιτηδείως ἔχει πρὸς τὴν σποράν.] ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τὴν ὀνομασίαν εἴληφεν, ὃ τρίψας τὰς οὐλάς· οὐλαὶ δὲ λέγονται αἱ κριθαί· Ἐλευσινὶ δὲ ὁ τόπος, ὅπου πρῶτως εὐρέθησαν. [ἐκλήθη καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ Ἐλευσινία ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτόθι πρῶτον ἐλεύσεως γενομένης τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀνθρώπινον ὄντως βίον.]

This piece of text is highly problematic. Clearly, not all of the text is genuine, but the nested bracketing by Lang is confusing, and Krafft makes no useful comment. I argue in Section 1.7.2.6. that in fact the whole of 54.1 ἔοικε... to 54.11 ... ὄντως βίον is spurious.

<sup>273</sup> • 1.2. and LS 1.286-287.

<sup>274</sup> Parthenon, central section of east frieze, slabs 4 and 5. See too Burkert, 159.

<sup>275</sup> cf. Philo, *praem. et poen.* 8, who dismisses such myth: τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὡσπερ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα τοῖς εἰωθόσι τερατεύεσθαι μύθου πλάσμα ὃν ἀπολελείφθω σοφιστείαν πρὸ σοφίας καὶ γοητείαν πρὸ ἀληθείας ἐπιτετηδευκόσιν.

54 <sup>12</sup> ἀρπάσαι δ' ὁ Ἄιδης τὴν θυγατέρα τῆς Δήμητρος ἐμυθεύθη διὰ τὸν γινόμενον ἐπὶ χρόνον τινα τῶν σπερμάτων κατὰ γῆς ἀφανισμόν. προσεπλάσθη δ' ἡ κατήφεια τῆς θεοῦ καὶ ἡ διὰ τοῦ κόσμου ζήτησις. (54.15) τοιοῦτον γάρ τι καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ὁ ζητούμενος καὶ ἀνευρισκόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς Ἰσιδος Ὅσιρις ἐμφαίνει καὶ παρὰ Φοίνιξιν ὁ ἀνὰ μέρος παρ' ἕξ μῆνας ὑπὲρ γῆν τε καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν γινόμενος Ἄδωνις, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὕτως ὀνομασμένου τοῦ Δημητριακοῦ καρποῦ.

An important recognition of the multiplicity of disappearing fertility-deities: see the discussion at Section 1.7.2.6. The identification as a later addition of the myth of Demeter searching for her daughter is, as with every statement in the text, immediately provided with a rational argument: (τοιοῦτον γάρ τι καί) namely, that a parallel myth is found not only for the Egyptians, but also another for the Phoenicians, demonstrating that different countries developed their own different myths.<sup>276</sup>

Etymology of Adonis: Table 73. There is no attested version of the Adonis myth in Phoenicia to which Cornutus refers, but the range of attested variant myths suggests that such a myth is plausible.<sup>277</sup>

Δημητριακοῦ καρποῦ: a seldom attested and late (after C-1) expression for the *fruits of Demeter*. Cornutus strongly implies that this is a definition of Adonis.

54 <sup>21</sup> τοῦτον δὲ πλήξας κάπρος ἀνελεῖν λέγεται διὰ τὸ τὰς ὕς δοκεῖν ληιβότερας εἶναι ἢ τὸν τῆς ὕνεως | ὀδόντα αἰνιττομένων αὐτῶν, ὅφ' οὗ κατὰ γῆς κρύπτεται τὸ σπέρμα· Adonis killed by a boar: [Apollodorus] *bib.* 3.183.

ὕς ληιβότερας: Hom. *Od.* 18.29 σοὺς ὡς ληιβοτείρης.

ῥυγίς -εως: the earliest of 51 attested instances. Plutarch *QC* 670a derives it from ὕς.

A clever and rational double interpretation: the image of the plough's tooth hiding the seed, or Adonis represents crops which a pig is prone to destroy.<sup>278</sup>

55 <sup>2</sup> διατετάχθαι ... (55.11) † θεοῦ

55 <sup>2</sup> The text 55.2-55.11 is discussed in three parts below, followed by an overall conclusion.

55 <sup>2</sup> διατετάχθαι δὲ ὧδε, παρά τε τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ τὸν ἴσον χρόνον μένειν τὸν Ἄδωνιν καὶ παρὰ τῇ Περσεφόνῃ, δι' ἣν εἶπομεν αἰτίαν.

Allocation of time with Aphrodite and Persephone: [Apollodorus] *bib.* 3.185, one third of a year with each, plus a third on his own, which he chose to spend with Aphrodite.

This text is strikingly different in style to Cornutus elsewhere, having a telegraphic style suitable for a marginal note. It is illogically placed, because Adonis' whereabouts have been discussed before the interpretation of his death. Although Cornutus varies his style, nowhere else is ὧδε used in the text, nor expressions like δι' ἣν εἶπομεν αἰτίαν, which is in any case ungrammatical. On these criteria alone, it can be identified as an accretion.

<sup>276</sup> See Burkert, 160-161, for parallels in Near-Eastern myth.

<sup>277</sup> Adonis myths are found in [Apollodorus] *bib.* 3.183-185; Ovid *Met.* 10.469-502; Hyginus *fab.* 58; Schol. Hom. *Il. sv.* 5.385b.

<sup>278</sup> ῥυγίς: a *ploughshare*, presumably used both for ploughing and deep harrowing to protect seeds over winter.



55 <sup>4</sup> ἐκάλεσαν δὲ Περσεφόνην τὴν τῆς Δήμητρος θυγατέρα διὰ τὸ ἐπίπονον εἶναι καὶ πόνων οἰστικὴν τὴν ἐργασίαν ἢ τῷ ἐκ πόνων ὑπομονὴν φέρεσθαι. 50

The most serious problem here is that the naming of the daughter of Demeter as Περσεφόνη is incompatible with her being named as Κόρη at 52.18. Whilst she is known with the two names, it is highly improbable that Cornutus would introduce her twice, at different parts of the text, with different names, without mentioning the connection.

Table 75 illustrates various ancient attempts at an etymology of Persephone connected with her two principal characteristics, daughter of Demeter and wife of Hades.

The etymology provided in this text here is curious in that it signals two alternative etymologies:

διὰ τὸ ... εἶναι καὶ ... ἢ τῷ ... φέρεσθαι

*from ... (articular inf.) which means ..., or from .. (articular inf.).*

The second alternative has the root φέρω + πόνος, but the first defies construction, unless one is expected to infer φέρω from οἰστικός, a grammatical connection highly unlikely for a school text.<sup>279</sup> Further, it is not obvious whether either etymology actually makes sense, and this is problematic because Cornutus is usually very careful to make them clear.<sup>280</sup> Nor is there any parallel to πόνος as a root, and most associate Persephone with death, hence her epic epithet ἐπαινή is taken to mean *dread, awesome*.<sup>281</sup> The illogical timing of the naming, and the illogical nature of the etymologies identify this as an accretion.

55 <sup>7</sup> νηστεύουσι δ' εἰς τιμὴν τῆς Δήμητρος ἥτοι γεραίροντες αὐτὴν ἰδίῳ τρόπῳ τινὶ ἀπαρχῆς [ῆ] διὰ τοῦ πρὸς μίαν ἡμέραν ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν δεδομένων αὐτοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἢ κατ' εὐλάβειαν ἐνδείας παρεισεληλυθότος τοῦ θεοῦ. 50

The fasting in honour of Demeter, specifically for a single day, suggests two possibilities: a reference to the second day, ἡ νηστεία, of the Thesmophoria festival (11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> Pyanopsion in Athens, but see 55.11), celebrated by women, and involving cult secrets,<sup>282</sup> or the Eleusinian *Mysteria*, taking place on the 19<sup>th</sup> of Boedromion, which probably involved a fast on the previous day.<sup>283</sup> Regardless of the exact reference, it certainly alludes to the mourning of Demeter for her lost daughter, and is thus inconsistent with Cornutus' dismissive assertion at

<sup>279</sup> Another consideration is that οἰστικός is unattested elsewhere for Stoics, but attested *ca.* 80 times, of which 7 are Philo, and the remainder much later, predominantly Neoplatonists: Proclus (C+4) 33 times, Hermias Phil. (C+5) 3 times, Damascius (C+5) 7 times, Simplicius (C+6) 13 times. The SVF 203 with ἐποιστική is from Simplicius.

<sup>280</sup> Thus either *work capable of bearing toil* or *endurance produced by toil*.

<sup>281</sup> Hom. *Il.* 9.457, 9.569; *Od.* 10.491, 10.534; Hesiod *Theog.* [768].

<sup>282</sup> Thesmophoria: Hdt. 2.171. As Burkert, 242, notes, Aristophanes is unable to give details of the festival in *Thesmophoriazousae*. A TLG search of words prefixed νηστεύ- gives 1407 instances, only 24 pre-Cornutus. Of these 24, only 5 have a religious significance: Aristophanes *Aves* 1519; *Th.* 949, 984; Demochares *Hist. ap. Plutarch demosth.* 30, all referring specifically to the Thesmophoria; and one other, Philo *Lg.* 2.197. Thus Plutarch *op. cit.* 30.5: κατέστρεψε δ' ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Πυανεπιῶνος μηνός, ἐν ᾗ τὴν σκυθρωποτάτην τῶν Θεσμοφορίων ἡμέραν ἄγουσαι παρὰ τῇ θεῷ νηστεύουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες.

<sup>283</sup> Burkert, 286-287, with references.

54.12 that this is a later fabrication.<sup>284</sup>

κατ' εὐλάβειαν: first of 9 attested instances, most very late.

Lang app. crit. indicates irretrievable corruption just before 55.11 ἐπειδή...<sup>285</sup>

55.2-55.11 taken as whole: this passage is very unusual. As discussed above in three parts, there is a complete change of style, illogical flow, a naming of Persephone incompatible with an earlier naming, grammatical uncertainty, an etymology which has no content, followed by another which is elsewhere unattested, followed by a direct reference to the part of the Thesmophoria or other festival which refers to the bereavement of Demeter, at a point where there is some textual uncertainty. I argue in Section 1.7.2.6. that there is a very strong case for considering the two text passages discussing the Mysteries as accretions. Following the same argument, and applying the same criteria for considering the nature of the entire passage 55.2-55.11, this passage is also identifiable as an accretion, which, moreover, refers to cult practice in the present tense (55.7 νηστεύουσι).

It remains to be noted that the text flows very neatly without the above section: ... *the tooth of a plough is being suggested, with which seeds are hidden underground.* [Accretion] *When sowing seeds, they were using what they themselves needed ...*

This precludes the possibility that genuine text discussing Persephone is missing here. A corollary of this conclusion is the remarkable fact that the daughter of Demeter is merely referred to in passing at 52.18 (Κόρη) and 54.12 (θυγάτηρ τῆς Δήμητρος). Her conspicuous absence in the exposition of Hades at the end of the text is consistent with this treatment.

Persephone (Attic: Pherephatta) was invariably treated with dread, and much superstition was centred on her.<sup>286</sup> Her remarkable absence in this text, a text which at 76.9 has the express purpose of introducing reverence and not superstition, may point to a difference between ancient and modern concepts of superstition. At least for Cornutus, a proper, i.e. rational, understanding of the gods is sufficient for avoiding the two extremes of atheism and superstition. Here, we find an interesting didactic technique: if the text were written today with the object of eliminating superstition, such a dread figure would be introduced in much detail, with a comprehensive argument for her being treated in a rational manner, with maximum explicit reassurance to the reader. Here, the technique is the opposite: a dismissive reference and statement (54.14), supported by a very carefully prepared rational argument,

<sup>284</sup> N.B. γεραίροντες not γεραίρουσαι but the text is unreliable here: see Lang, app. crit. Also, the present tense is used throughout this extract (the Eleusian *Mysteria* were proscribed by Theodosius, (C+3), see Burkert, 285).

<sup>285</sup> Lang app. crit. 'Os. ed. Totum locum desperatum sic constituit.' Krafft, 225, comments τοῦ θεοῦ: τῆς. The problem may, however, simply be a difficulty with the very unusual παρεισεληλυθότος (but not *hapax*: see Philo *op. mund.* 150).

<sup>286</sup> Plato *Cra.* 404c5 "Φερρέφαττα" δέ· πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ τοῦτο φοβοῦνται τὸ ὄνομα.

that the mythic material relating to her was a later addition, with the inference that she is to be ignored. Socrates is prepared to discuss the name, with notable care and respect, but even he admits he is afraid to talk about the gods.<sup>287</sup> It is hard to resist the speculation that Persephone was such a dread figure, and that there was such an embargo on even talking about her, that Cornutus felt unable to tackle the subject in any other way, perhaps especially with children.

The above argument concludes that the material relating to Persephone is accretive, and that Cornutus' original intention was to treat her myth as a later fiction, and to avoid mentioning in any detail a chthonic figure loaded with such superstition. Two pieces of internal evidence strongly support this interpretation. First, the word *χθών* is carefully avoided or sanitized; it receives a neutral etymology at 53.8, and is otherwise found only three times: in two quotations (Euripides, 35.16; Hesiod, 68.7) and a passing reference at 72.18, *τοῖς καταχθονίοις θεοῖς*, where the epithet *χθονία* of Hekate is explained rhetorically from her being the Moon. Secondly, the discussion of Hekate during the exposition of Apollo and Artemis (65.1-74.5) is clearly intent on eliminating her chthonic aspect. Hekate was another figure of dread, around whom much superstition was generated,<sup>288</sup> and whilst Cornutus can hardly avoid mentioning her, he simply equates her with Artemis and the moon, and when summarizing some positive attributes, explains unreasonable sacrifices to her by remarking (72.19) *en passant* *προσανεπλάσθη δὲ τούτω καὶ τὸ μαιίνειν τὴν γῆν ταύτην ὥσπερ τοὺς κατοικομένους*. See further the commentary at 72.19. See too commentary at 51.11 for *Δαίμων*.

55 <sup>11</sup> ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔσπειρον, ἀφήρουν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων χρεῶν, καθὼς παρὰ τὸν τοῦ σπόρου καιρὸν τὴν ἑορτὴν αὐτῆς ἄγουσι.

The act of sowing could be seen as a kind of sacrifice to the goddess, thus an appropriate time to celebrate her feast. The reference is presumably to the Thesmophoria,<sup>289</sup> (11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> Pyanopsion in Athens), taking place in autumn, and coinciding with the sowing season. Pig sacrifice was a particular feature of this festival: see 56.6 below. Burkert, 244-245 points to a very ancient tradition, with Early Neolithic Age findings connecting corn and the pig, and this is consonant with Cornutus' assertion at 54.12 that the Persephone myth is later.<sup>290</sup>

55 <sup>13</sup> περὶ δὲ τὸ ἔαρ τῇ Χλόῃ Δήμητρι θύουσι μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ χαρᾶς, ἰδόντες χλοάζοντα καὶ ἀφθονίας αὐτοῖς ἐλπίδα ὑποδεικνύντα. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ καὶ ὁ Πλοῦτος τῆς Δήμητρος υἱὸς ἔδοξεν εἶναι.

The festival of Green Demeter is poorly attested, but see Eupolis fr. 183 *θύσαι γάρ με δεῖ κριὸν Χλόῃ Δήμητρι*.

Wealth is the son of Demeter in Hesiod (*Theog.* 969-974 (but 900+)) and see Hom.

*Od.* 5.125-128. In antiquity, prosperity was intimately linked to agricultural success, thus the

<sup>287</sup> *ibid.* 407d6-7 ὡς ἐγὼ δέδοικα περὶ αὐτῶν διαλέγεσθαι.

<sup>288</sup> For example *E.Hel.* 569-570.

<sup>289</sup> Noticeably unnamed: see 56.19.

<sup>290</sup> Burkert, 245, questions the connection with the sowing period, because in Thebes and Delos, it was much earlier. Here, however, it is sufficient that it sounds logical, irrespective of historical accuracy.

genealogical connection is very logical. But Cornutus selects his data carefully, because the father of Ploutos, Iasion, cannot be explained, hence the vagueness of the information.

55 <sup>17</sup> καλῶς γὰρ εἴρηται τὸ |

σίτου καὶ κριθῆς, ᾧ νήπιε, πλοῦτος ἄριστος.

This appears to be a variation on a well-known saying:

ο Schol. Hesiod *Theog.* sv. 969.2 πυρῶν καὶ κριθῶν, ᾧ νήπιε Πλοῦτε.

56 <sup>2</sup> καὶ ἐναντίον πῶς ἐστὶ τῷ λιμώττειν τὸ περιουσιάζεσθαι, εἰς δὲ καὶ ἀπιδῶν ὁ Ἡσίοδος φησιν·

Ἐργάζεο, Πέρση, δῖον γένος, ὄφρα σε λιμὸς

ἔχθαιρη, φιλέη δέ σ' ἐυπλόκαμος Δημήτηρ.

Hesiod *WD* 299-300, but has ἐυστέφανος Δημήτηρ; Homer has ἐυπλόκαμος Δημήτηρ once: *Od.* 5.125 (see 55.13); *HH* 2(*Cer.*) has ἐυστέφανος Δημήτηρ four times, the one text which Cornutus claims (54.12) is an addition to myth. Either Cornutus had a textual variant of *WD*, or he was familiar with ἐυπλόκαμος from the *Odyssey*, and thus misquoted Hesiod.

56 <sup>6</sup> θύουσι δ' ὕς ἐγκύμονας τῇ Δήμητρι πάνυ οἰκείως, τὸ πολύγονον καὶ εὐσύλληπτον καὶ τελεσφόρον παριστάντες.

See 55.11, above.

56 <sup>8</sup> ἀνατιθέασι δ' αὐτῇ καὶ τὰς μήκωνας κατὰ λόγον· τό τε γὰρ στρογγύλον καὶ περιφερὲς αὐτῶν παρίστησι τὸ σχῆμα τῆς γῆς σφαιροειδοῦς οὔσης, ἣ τε ἀνωμαλία τὰς κοιλότητος καὶ τὰς ἐξοχὰς τῶν ὀρῶν, τὰ δ' ἐντὸς τοῖς ἀνθρώδοις καὶ ὑπονόμοις ἔοικε, σπέρματά τε ἀναρίθμητα γεννώσιν ὥσπερ ἡ γῆ.

The ear of corn and the poppy for Demeter: Schol. *Theoc.* sv. prol. anc. poem 7.157a.1 τὴν Δήμητράν φησι μὴ μόνον ἀστάχους, ἀλλὰ καὶ μήκωνας ἔχειν. See EM 583.55.

Cornutus finds imaginative logical reasons for associating the poppy with Demeter. See commentary at 6.7 for the dedication of poppy heads to Rhea, with a possible slight conflation of the two goddesses.

56 <sup>13</sup> διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀφθονίαν τῶν σιτηρῶν ἐπαύσαντο οἱ ἄνθρωποι δυσπόριστον καὶ ἀμφιδίηριτον τὴν τροφήν ἔχοντες, ὥστε καὶ συντιθέμενοί τινα πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰ ἡροτριωμένα μέτρων καὶ διανεμόμενοι τὰ γεννώμενα δικαίως ἀρχηγὸν ἔλεγον νόμων καὶ θεσμῶν τὴν Δήμητραν αὐτοῖς γεγονέναι·

A high density of unusual words, created by the attempt at a concise explanation. An agricultural deity is naturally associated with the move from a hunter-gather to an agricultural society, and thus with the introduction of agreements about land usage. This observation about the development of civilization appears to conflict with Cornutus' account of Athena and her contribution to the establishment of societies. On the other hand, he may well be referring to a later development: having settled in communities (thanks to Athena), man then has to find means to provide sustenance (Demeter).

56 <sup>19</sup> ἐντεῦθεν θεσμοθέτιν αὐτὴν προσηγόρευσαν οἶον νομοθέτιν οὔσαν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς τινῶν θεσμῶν ὑπολαβόντων εἰρήσθαι τὸν καρπὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτὸν ἀποτίθεσθαι καὶ θησαυρίζεσθαι.

There is no other attested case of θεσμοθέτις as an epithet of Demeter, but her association with laws sounds plausible, and the epithet is attested for Isis, the Egyptian equivalent of Demeter.<sup>291</sup>

The absence of the epithet Θεσμοφόρος is striking, being far better attested for Demeter.<sup>292</sup> Significantly, however, τὸ Θεσμοφόρῳ is the dual epithet for Demeter and Persephone,<sup>293</sup> and Θεσμοφόρος is also Persephone alone.<sup>294</sup> It is revealing that at 55.11, Cornutus carefully avoids referring specifically to the Thesmophoria when he mentions the feast of Demeter (τὴν ἑορτὴν αὐτῆς), because of its close association with Persephone and the myth that he explicitly rejects. This, however, presents Cornutus with a problem, because the transparent etymology of Θεσμοφόρος is precisely what he wants for Demeter as law-giver.<sup>295</sup> He solves the problem with the obscure epithet θεσμοθέτις, but presumably an etymology of this word has been provided by others as *storing up fruits*, which he must now deny.<sup>296</sup>

The flow of the text gives no reason to reject this comment as an accretion, and thus, it is very significant that this is one of only two instances where Cornutus denies an etymology, even though θεσμοθέτις is an epithet of a deity and a definition which would be consonant with Stoic physics.<sup>297</sup> Moreover, whereas Cornutus avoids naming Persephone, Cleanthes does give an etymology for her (see Table 75) τὸ διὰ τῶν καρπῶν φερόμενον καὶ φονευόμενον πνεῦμα. For Cornutus' avoidance of πνεῦμα see commentary at 3.13. Either Cornutus is providing a distorted version of his philosophy for didactic purposes (the elimination of Persephone), or there was disagreement between Cornutus and Cleanthes on this issue of Persephone and the amount of mythic material which can be meaningfully interpreted. Moreover, at 64.15 (if genuine) Cornutus makes the only reference to another philosopher, where he criticizes Cleanthes for being rather too clever. Probably, therefore, the differences between Cleathes and Cornutus were more than mere detail.

<sup>56</sup> <sup>22</sup> [μυστήρια δ' ἄγειν ἤρξαντο αὐτῇ φιλοσοφούντες, ἅμα τῇ εὐρέσει τῶν πρὸς τὸν βίον χρησίμων καὶ τῇ πανηγύρει χαίροντες | ὡς μαρτυρίῳ χρώμενοι τοῦ πεπαύσθαι μαχομένους αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις περὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων μυστιῶν τε, ὃ ἔστι κεκορηθῆναι· πιθανὸν γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν ὀνομάσθαι τὰ μυστήρια, ὅθεν καὶ μυσία παρὰ τισιν ἢ Δημήτηρ, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ μύσεως δεῖσθαι τὰ δυσξέμβλητόν τι ἔχοντα.]

At 56.19, Cornutus gives the reason for θεσμοθέτις as an epithet of Demeter. There is a clear logical connection between that statement and 57.6 which is interrupted by this intervening text: ● 1.7.2.6. for its identification as an accretion.

<sup>291</sup> Anthologia ep. ex. 32.20.

<sup>292</sup> Hdt. 6.91.9, 6.134.9; Pausanias 1.31.1.3. See *ibid.* 1.31.4.6. Ἀνησιδώρα *sending up gifts*.

<sup>293</sup> Aristophanes *Th.* 83, 282, 1229, *al.*

<sup>294</sup> Pi. fr.37.

<sup>295</sup> Diodorus Sic. 1.14.4.1 διὸ καὶ τοὺς παλαιοὺς Ἕλληνας τὴν Δήμητραν θεσμοφόρον ὀνομάζουσιν, ὡς τῶν νόμων πρῶτον ὑπὸ ταύτης τεθειμένων; Suda θ 271 Θεσμοφόρος: ὁ τοὺς νόμους ἐπιφερόμενος.

<sup>296</sup> The epithet is not necessarily obscure, but possibly merely eclipsed by θεσμοφόρος. The only extant example of θεσμός = *store* is Anacr. fr. 61 θεσμὸν μέγαν.

<sup>297</sup> Also denying ὀμφαλός, 64.8.

57 <sup>6</sup> Διὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ ἐκ Θέμιδος λέγεται ὁ Ζεὺς γεννησάμενος τὰς Ἔσθρας, ὅφ' ὧν τὰ ἀγαθὰ πάντα καθ' ἡμᾶς ὠρεύεται καὶ φυλάττεται.

Hesiod *Theog.* 901-903 and Table 14. Cornutus cleverly connects Demeter with the next subject, the Seasons, using laws as a link. This is one of the few instances where Cornutus repeats himself, but the etymologies (not spelled out at 10.4) are in total agreement, and both parts of the text seem genuine. This may indicate different sources: ●1.8.

57 <sup>8</sup> καλεῖται δ' αὐτῶν ἡ μὲν Εὐνομία ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντος διανεμήσεως,

A transparent etymology, but Cornutus is stressing the connection between Demeter and the Seasons, the association of the yearly agricultural cycle and law and order.

57 <sup>10</sup> ἡ δὲ Δίκη ἀπὸ τοῦ δίχα χωρίζειν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τοὺς διαφορομένους,

Table 74. An etymology which provides a valuable insight into the ancient perception of law, not primarily to decide right and wrong, but to prevent blood feuds. The basis of Aeschylus *Oresteia* is the transformation to social justice, persuading the Furies to become Eumenides. Cornutus (11.3-18) has already removed any frightening aspects of this myth, and now supports this interpretation with an innocuous etymology.

57 <sup>11</sup> ἡ δὲ Εἰρήνη ἀπὸ τοῦ διὰ λόγου καὶ οὐ δι' ὄπλων διακρίνεσθαι ποιεῖν[· ἐκάλουν γὰρ τὸν λόγον εἰρήνην].

An obvious reason for a Stoic.

[ἐκάλουν ... εἰρήνην]: although bracketed by Lang, the text requires that Εἰρήνη is provided with an etymology here, and Table 76 shows many ancient sources agreeing that Εἰρήνη derives from εἶρω = λέγω.<sup>298</sup> Cornutus is presumably prepared to equate the nouns.

57 <sup>13</sup> [ὁ δὲ πόλεμος ἀπὸ τοῦ πολλοὺς ὀλλύναι οὕτως ὠνόμασται ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ παλάμαις σπεύδειν περιγίνεσθαι τῶν ἐναντίων].

Cornutus has set up the connection Δημήτηρ - Ἔσθρας - Εἰρήνη and then 57.16 ... Εἰρήνη ὁ Διόνυσος .... The intervening text is a good example of a gratuitous and accretive etymology, and moreover not a name or epithet of a god.<sup>299</sup>

57 <sup>16</sup> Οἰκείως δ' ἔδοξεν Εἰρήνην κατὰ τι καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος εἶναι, τῶν ἡμέρων δένδρων ἐπίσκοπος ὧν καὶ δοτὴρ θεός[· καὶ διὰ ταῦτα σπονδὰς ποιοῦνται]· δενδροκοποῦνται γὰρ αἱ χῶραι τοῖς πολέμοις· ἐν εἰρήνῃ δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν εὐωχιῶν θάλλει, οἷς ἀναγκαιότατος ὁ οἶνός ἐστι.

The text moves on to Dionysus, a topic which has the highest density of identifiable accretions in the whole work (10, amounting to ca. 20% of the section). At 60.20, goats are identified as destroyers specifically of vines and figs; here, Dionysus is guardian of trees generally, and equated with peace, with the ingenious logical reason that trees, representing peace, are cut down in times of war.<sup>300</sup>

<sup>298</sup> This meaning is not given by LSJ, 490 εἰρήνη, and 1057-1059, λόγος. A global TLG search for prefixes λογ- & ειρην- fails to find the connection.

<sup>299</sup> The only other attested etymology of Πόλεμος: EM 679.45 Παρὰ τὸ τὰς πόλεις μειοῦν ... Ἡ παρὰ τὸ πόλεις ὀλλύειν.

<sup>300</sup> Dionysus and Peace: E.Ba.420; Diodorus Sic. 4.4.4.

[καὶ ... ποιοῦνται]: a gratuitous accretion disrupting the flow.

δοτῆρ θεός: θεοὶ δωτήρες, Hesiod *Theog.* 46, 633, 664; Hom. *Od.* 8.325.

57 <sup>21</sup> τυγχάνει δὲ ὁ Διόνυσος ἦτοι [διόνυξος | (58.1) ὦν ἦ] οἶον διάνυσος παρὰ τὸ διαίνειν ■ 54  
 ἡμᾶς ἡδέως ἢ ὠσανεὶ διάλυσος κεκλημένος, ἀφ' ἧς ἀρχῆς καὶ λύσιον αὐτὸν καὶ ■ 55  
 λυαῖον ἐπώνομασαν [λύοντα τὰς μερίμνας]: τινὲς δὲ φασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸν Δία περὶ τὸ  
 Νύσιον ὄρος φῆναι πρῶτον τὴν ἄμπελον παρεληλυθέναι τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα εἰς τὴν  
 συνήθειαν.

Most of Lang page 58 has textual uncertainties and reconstructions which he has tried to reconcile. Only at 58.14 ἐπεὶ πρώτη μὲν αὐτοῦ γέννησις is the text secure again.<sup>301</sup> It is impossible to identify from Lang's app. crit. what is a reading and what a guess, but the above section has a style consistent with the rest of the text, apart from the following two phrases:

[διόνυξος ὦν ἦ]: identified as an accretion because no explanation is forthcoming, and not obvious. Further, the text is much neater with ἦτοι οἶον διάνυσος παρὰ τὸ διαίνειν ... ἢ ὠσανεὶ διάλυσος κεκλημένος.

[λύοντα τὰς μερίμνας]: an unnecessary comment, thus an accretion.

Table 78 identifies no fewer than 18 different etymologies for Dionysus, and although the first two by Cornutus are elsewhere poorly attested or unattested, there is no reason to reject them. The third etymology is significant: as discussed in Section 1.6.5, Stoic etymologies are always based on a meaningful description of the nominatum. Thus for example, Table 47 Τριτογένεια; Cornutus provides two 'useful' etymologies, not merely the birthplace of Athena. Apart from this one, and two instances by Strabo (a geographer), no instances are recorded of a Stoic etymology from a birthplace. The text does not have the style of a marginal note, and the unique quality of the etymology described above is not a sufficient criterion for its rejection. It is possible that Cornutus thought that the birthplace of Dionysus was significant in connection with the introduction of wine from the Near East.

λύσιος and λυαῖος are reasonably well attested epithets of Dionysus.<sup>302</sup> More epithets of Dionysus follow later, but these two are related to the etymologies, thus logically placed.

58 <sup>6</sup> λέγεται δὲ διὰ πυρὸς λοχευθῆναι, [τὸ θερμὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ πυρωτικὸν τῶν τε σαμάτων ■ 56  
 καὶ τῶν ψυχῶν παριστάντος τοῦ μυθοῦ— ὄντως γὰρ οἶνός τι πυρὶ ἴσον μένος ἔχει κατὰ ■ 57  
 τοὺς ποιητὰς—], ἔρραφθεις δ' εἰς τὸν μηρὸν τοῦ Διὸς ἐκεῖ τελεσφορηθῆναι [διὰ τὸ  
 πεπαίνεσθαι καὶ τελειοῦσθαι τὸν οἶνον, εἰ γὰρ μὴ πεφυκότα γενναῖον ἀποτιθέμενον,  
 ἀτελεῖ δ' ὡς πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν συγκομισθέντα τάδε], ἐπεὶ πρώτη μὲν αὐτοῦ γέννησις  
 ἐστὶν ἢ κατὰ πέπανσιν τῆς ὀπώρας, ἧτις γίνεται καυμάτων ἀκμαζόντων, δευτέρα δ' ἢ  
 κατὰ τὴν πάτησιν, ἐκθλιβομένου | τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι ἐκ τοῦ μηροῦ  
 συνεκδέχεσθαι δέοντος.

Lang has bracketed two sections, and both interrupt the sense. The fire is presumably a

<sup>301</sup> Krafft again makes no significant comments, which suggests an ungrammatical archetype with minor manuscript attempts at a grammatical reconstruction. Ramelli, 386, ignores the problem, relying on Lang.

<sup>302</sup> λύσιος: Pausanias 9.16.6.2, etc.; λυαῖος: D.L.4.61.8 = Anthologia 7.epi 105; Schol. Soph. sv. *Ant.* 1115; etc. See esp. Plutarch *QC* 613c1 ... ὁ Διόνυσος Λυσίος ἐστὶ καὶ Λυαῖος.

reference to Zeus, thus the first bracketed section seems out of place, and is identifiable as an accretion. The second bracketed section is superfluous and unconvincing, and thus also identifiable as an accretion.

The birth of Dionysus and the stitching into Zeus' thigh: HH 1 (*fr. Bac.*) 6-9; Ovid *Met.* 3.259-298; Diodorus Sic. 3.64.4; but Hesiod *Theog.* 940-942 merely registers the parentage. Cornutus interprets the burning of Semele and rescue of Dionysus as the first birth, i.e. the grape harvest, and the removal from the thigh of Zeus as the second birth, i.e. the treading of the grapes. The whole passage is, however, rather unconvincing: the first birth by fire, with the combustion of Semele, is plausible, but the second interpretation, the treading of the grapes equated to removal from the thigh seems highly strained. Cornutus is presumably referring to material from the lost part of HH 7 (*Bac.*).<sup>303</sup> Crucially, however, there is a clear connection with the next segment of text, and thus, apart from the two pieces bracketed by Lang, there is no reason for rejecting this text.

- 59<sup>2</sup> βρόμιος δὲ καὶ Βάκχος καὶ Ἰακχος καὶ εὐῖος καὶ βαβάκτης καὶ Ἰόβακχος καλεῖται διὰ τὸ πολλὰς τοιαύτας φωνὰς τοὺς πατοῦντας αὐτὸν πρῶτον, εἶτα τοὺς ἕως μέθης μετὰ ταῦτα χρωμένους ἀφιέναι.

The most common epithets of Dionysus explained in a group.<sup>304</sup>

- 59<sup>6</sup> τῆς δ' ἐν τοῖς πότοις παιδιᾶς, εἴτ' ἐκστάσεως σύμβολόν εἰσιν οἱ Σάτυροι τὴν ὀνομασίαν ἐσχηκότες ἀπὸ τοῦ σεσηρέναι καὶ οἱ Σκιρτοὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ σκαίρειν καὶ οἱ Σιληνοὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ σιλαίνειν καὶ οἱ Σευῖδαι ἀπὸ τοῦ σεύειν, ὃ ἐστὶν ὄρμᾶν. διὰ τούτων δ' ἴσως παρίσταται τὸ ὠσανεῖ μετ' ἐκλύσεως καὶ θηλύτητος παράφορον τῶν πινόντων. τούτου δὲ ἔνεκεν καὶ θηλύμορφος μὲν πλάττεται, κέρατα δὲ ἔχων, ὡσάν τοὺς μὲν τόνους ἀποβαλλόντων τῶν μεθυσκομένων, βίᾳ δὲ χρωμένων καὶ δυσκάθεκτόν τι καὶ ὀρμητικὸν ἔχόντων.

See Table 77. The various symbols of drunkenness are used to explain why Dionysus is represented with female characteristics.<sup>305</sup>

- 59<sup>15</sup> καὶ τὸ μὲν τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἀνθηρὸν παρίστησι τὴν ποικιλίαν τῆς ὀπώρας, ἢ δ' ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν πλασμάτων γυμνότης τὸν παρὰ τοὺς πότους γινόμενον ἀπαμφιασμόν τοῦ τρόπου, καθὼς δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ 'οἶνος καὶ ἀλήθεια' εἰρησθαι, τάχα διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μαντεῖα ἔσθ' ὅπου τοῦ Διονύσου ἔχοντος.

*ἀπαμφιασμὸν: harax.*

Behaviour at symposia is well attested, as is the quotation from Alcaeus Lyr., fr. 366 οἶνος, ὦ φίλε παῖ, καὶ ἀλάθεια.<sup>306</sup> Cornutus suggests that the connection between wine and truth provides a rational explanation for the god's oracular power.

<sup>303</sup> Diodorus Sic. 3.66.3.5-9 refers to a Homeric hymn in which the double birth is related, probably the lost part of HH 7 (*Bac.*).

<sup>304</sup> Many attested instances, for example Schol. S. *Ant.* 1115 πολυώνυμε ὦ Διόνυσε· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Βάκχον οἱ δὲ Ἰακχὸν οἱ δὲ Λυαῖον οἱ δὲ Εὐῖον οἱ δὲ Διθύραμβον αὐτὸν καλοῦσιν.

<sup>305</sup> See Hard, 171, photo Hellenistic sculpture, Thasos museum.

<sup>306</sup> Plutarch *artax.* 15.4.3=Ctesias fr. 26; Athenaeus *deipn.* 2.6.4; Pausanias *Attic. att. on.* o 10; Eunapius (C+4) 1.253.23-30; etc.



59 <sup>21</sup> τῷ δὲ θορυβῶδει τῶν μεθυσκομένων οἰκειὸν τι ἔδοξεν ἔχειν καὶ ὁ τῶν ῥόπτρων ψόφος καὶ τυμπάνων, ἃ παραλαμβάνουσιν εἰς τὰ ὄργια αὐτῶν. χρώνται δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀυλοῖς παρὰ τὴν συγκομιδὴν | τοῦ καρποῦ καὶ ἄλλοις τοιοῦτοις ὄργανοις.

Cornutus finds connections first between drunken rowdiness and secret rites, then moves on to harvesting, combining all aspects of wine harvest and behaviour relating to Dionysus.

60 <sup>1</sup> ὁ δὲ θύρσος ἐμφαίνει τὸ μὴ ἀρκεῖσθαι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ποσὶ τοὺς πολὺν οἶνον πίνοντας, τῶν δ' ὑποστηριούντων αὐτοὺς δεῖσθαι. τινὲς δὲ τῶν θύρσων καὶ ἐπιδορατίδας κρυπτομένας ὑπὸ τοῖς φύλλοις ἔχουσιν ὡσάν καὶ ὀδυνηφόρου τινὸς ἔσθ' ὅτε κρυπτομένου τῆ παρὰ τὴν πολυποσίαν ἰλαρότητι εἰς ὕβρεις ἐνίων καὶ παρακοπὰς ἐμπιπτόντων, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ μαινόλης τε ὁ Διόνυσος ἐκλήθη καὶ Μαινάδες αἱ περὶ αὐτὸν γυναῖκες.

Dionysus is attested as μαινόλης several times,<sup>307</sup> and an etymological reason is given for the name *Mainades*. Here, Cornutus is restricting Dionysus' rôle to god of wine and ecstasy. 'But the experience of Dionysus goes far beyond that of alcohol and may be entirely independent of it; madness becomes an end in itself.'<sup>308</sup>

60 <sup>9</sup> πλάττεται δὲ καὶ νέος καὶ πρεσβύτης διὰ τὸ πάση ἡλικίᾳ πρόσφορος εἶναι, τῶν μὲν νέων λαβρότερον αὐτῷ χρωμένων, τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων ἥδιον.

Carpenter, examining artistic representations of the god, shows three distinct means of depiction: mythic, where Dionysos is a beardless and effeminate youth; comic, where he is also beardless, but where his implicit effeminacy is made explicit by means of female attire; and cultic, where Dionysos is a mature male, bearded and dignified.<sup>309</sup>

60 <sup>12</sup> οἱ δὲ Σάτυροι παρεισάγονται ταῖς νύμφαις ἐπιμιγνύμενοι καὶ τὰς μὲν πειρῶντες, τὰς δὲ μετὰ παιδιᾶς βιαζόμενοι τῷ τὴν πρὸς τὸ ὕδωρ κρᾶσιν τοῦ οἴνου συνῶφθαι χρησίμην οὖσαν. τὰς δὲ παρδάλεις ὑποξευγνύουσι τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ παρακολουθοῦσας εἰσάγουσιν ἥτοι διὰ τὸ ποικίλον τῆς χροιάς, ὡς καὶ νεβρίδα αὐτός τε περιήπται καὶ αἱ Βάκχαι, ἢ ὡς καὶ τὰ ἀγριώτατα ἦθη τῆς συμμέτρου οἰνώσεως ἐξημερούσης.

A clever interpretation of myth and an ethical message that wine should be mixed, and explanation of iconography connected with Dionysus. Some sources account for the association with leopards because Dionysus was reared by them.<sup>310</sup>

60 <sup>20</sup> τὸν δὲ τράγον αὐτῷ θύουσι διὰ τὸ λυμαντικὸν δοκεῖν τῶν ἀμπέλων καὶ τῶν συκῶν εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ ζῷον, καθὼ καὶ ἐκδέροντες αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ἀσκὸν ἐνάλλονται κατὰ τὰς Ἀττικὰς κόμας οἱ γεωργοὶ νεανίσκοι. τάχα δὲ ἂν χαίροι τοιοῦτῳ θύματι ὁ Διόνυσος διὰ τὸ ὀχευτικὸν εἶναι τὸν τράγον, ἀφ' | οὗ καὶ ὁ ὄνος ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς αὐτοῦ θαμίζει καὶ οἱ φαλλοὶ αὐτῷ ἀνατίθενται καὶ τὰ φαλλαγωγία ἄγεται· κινητικὸν γὰρ πρὸς συνουσίαν ὁ οἶνος, διὰ τοῦτ' ἐνίων κοινῇ θυόντων Διονύσῳ καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ.

Cornutus seems to be approving of mild intoxication but warning of the negative aspect of drunkenness, by identifying the male goat as a destructive force.<sup>311</sup> This reason for the

<sup>307</sup> Clemens Alex. *protrep.* 2.12.2; Origen *CC* 3.23.10; Eustathius *II.* 2.259.13, 4.445.16, 4.655.5; etc. See Hom. *II.* 6.132 μαινομένοιο Διώνύσοιο and 62.16 below.

<sup>308</sup> Burkert, 162.

<sup>309</sup> Carpenter, 103; cf. Hard, 180; OCD, 481, where a chronological development is seen.

<sup>310</sup> e.g. Aristophanes *Gramm. hist. an.* 2.266 (also, leopards were fond of wine); Athenaeus *deipn.* 2.7.20.

<sup>311</sup> Goat (and bull) sacrifice and phallos processions in Greek Dionysus festivals: Burkert, 163 with references. Pausanias, 7.25.9.5, describes a temple dedicated to Dionysus and Aphrodite, and several sites where they have adjacent temples.

sacrifice of goats to Dionysus is also found in Virgil *Georgics* 2.378-382. Notable here is the reference not only to vines, but also figs, which were used in the brewing of beer.

- 61 <sup>4</sup> ὁ δὲ νάρθηξ διὰ τῆς σκολιότητος τῶν κάλων ἐμφαίνει τὸ τῆδε κάκεισε περιφερόμενον τῶν μεθύντων [ἄμα δὲ καὶ ἐλαφροὺς καὶ εὐβαστάκτους αὐτοὺς εἶναι]· τινὲς δὲ φασιν ■ 58  
 ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἀναρθρον [μὲν] τῆς λαλιᾶς αὐτῶν [ῶσανεὶ ἄρθρα ἔχον] παρίστησιν. ■ 59

[ἄμα ... εἶναι]: the interpretation of the cane makes sense, but this additional explanation does not, and thus identified as an accretion.

Cornutus gives an explanation of the cane which derives from the connected nature of the elements, representing the lack of separation of syllables when drunk. It is not clear whether an etymology of νάρθηξ from ἀναρθρον is accidental, but it is of a very different nature to his etymologies of gods names.

[ῶσανεὶ ἄρθρα ἔχον]: a misplaced explanation, and thus an accretion.

- 61 <sup>9</sup> ὀρεῖφοιτοί ... (61.22) σκώπτοντες χρῶνται.  
 61 <sup>9</sup> The text 61.9-61.22 is discussed in three parts below, followed by an overall conclusion.  
 61 <sup>9</sup> ὀρεῖφοιτοί δ' εἰσὶ καὶ φιλέρημοι αἱ Βάκχαι διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν χωρίων γεννᾶσθαι τὸν οἶνον. ■ 59

ὀρεῖφοιτοί: *harax* form, but ὀρειφοίτης Διόνυσος: Phanocles fr.3 *ap.* Plutarch *QC* 671c1.

The Bacchae are, however, mentioned in passing at 60.19, and this reference to an otherwise unattested epithet of the Bacchae is misplaced and inappropriate.

- 61 <sup>11</sup> διθύραμβος δ' ὁ Διόνυσος ἐκλήθη πότερον ὡς τὸ δίθυρον τοῦ στόματος ἀναφαίνων καὶ ἐκφερομυθεῖν τὰ ἀπόρρητα ποιῶν ἢ ὡς δι' αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἀναβαινόντων τῶν νέων ἢ ἐμβαινόντων εἰς αὐτάς, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐμπιπτόντων καὶ διασαλευόντων τὰ κλειῖθρα. ■ 59

The epithet διθύραμβος, derived from *dithyramb*, a choral song in honour of the god, is explained with two etymologies.<sup>312</sup> The first, δίθυρον is perhaps plausible, but the second, from διὰ θύρας, is incomprehensible.<sup>313</sup> A similar description is found in Philo, *agr.* 37, of youths when drunk being uncontrollable in satisfying sexual urges, with the detail πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἐρωτικὰς μίξεις ἐπειγόμενοι κωμάζουσι καὶ θυραυλοῦσι.<sup>314</sup> Thus this may be a specific reference to visiting mistresses,<sup>315</sup> or a more general reference to rowdy behaviour disturbing people at night. This attempt at a rational explanation is highly unsatisfactory, and untypical for Cornutus. Yet taken in isolation, it cannot be identified immediately as an accretion because it has some connection with the next piece of text.

<sup>312</sup> Plato *Lg.* 700b4 Διονύσου γένεσις οἶμαι, διθύραμβος λεγόμενος. The epithet is attested in EM 274.45, etc., but not only Dionysus: thus Athenaeus *deipn.* 1.54.15 τιμᾶται δὲ παρὰ Λαμψακηνοῖς ὁ Πρίηπος ὁ αὐτὸς ὢν τῷ Διονύσῳ, ἐξ ἐπιθέτου καλούμενος οὕτως, ὡς Θρίαμβος καὶ Διθύραμβος.

<sup>313</sup> First etymology: Schol. A.R. *sv.* 307.10, double doors of a cave.

<sup>314</sup> See 61.2. κινητικὸν γὰρ πρὸς συνουσίαν ὁ οἶνος.

<sup>315</sup> Plotinus *enn.* 6.5.10.3.

61 <sup>16</sup> καθαιρετικός δὲ παντὸς οὐτινοσοῦν ὑπάρχων ἔδοξε καὶ πολεμιστῆς εἶναι καὶ πρῶτος καταδειχθέναι τὸν ἐν ταῖς πολεμικαῖς νίκαις ἀγόμενον θρίαμβον. ὁ δὲ θρίαμβος ἀπὸ τοῦ θροεῖν καὶ ἰαμβίζειν τὴν κλήσιν ἔλαχεν, ὅθεν καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων θριάμβοις πολλοὶ ἀναπαίστοις σκώπτοντες χρῶνται.

καθαιρετικός: universally rendered as *destructive*,<sup>316</sup> but this is very problematic and requires scrutiny. Although the qualities of Dionysus are essentially ambiguous, namely peaceful and ecstatic and potentially violent, Cornutus has already referred to the occasionally outrageous and even frenzied behaviour of those under the influence of Dionysus, and this would seem to be the extent of the negative aspect of the god until this sudden description of a warlike character. But there is a fundamental difference between drunken rowdiness and a military nature, and there are serious objections to the above text being considered genuine:

- 1) Dionysus has already been identified with Peace (57.16), thus the text is completely incompatible with his being καθαιρετικός δὲ παντὸς οὐτινοσοῦν ὑπάρχων.
- 2) Cornutus consistently stresses the benign aspects of deities. Even Ares is represented in a positive light (see 40.5), and describing any deity as καθαιρετικός would be inconsistent with his overall strategy of eliminating fear of the gods.
- 3) An etymology of θρίαμβος is given, even though it is not specified as an epithet of Dionysus in the text.
- 4) This is the only clear reference in the whole text to a specifically Roman institution, the *triumphus* which was fundamentally a military phenomenon.<sup>317</sup> Although this does not conflict with the expectations of the text as specified in Section 1.1.4, Cornutus is seen to be dismissive even of myth where it can be shown to be a later addition, and thus a reference to contemporary and non-Greek military pageantry is highly inappropriate.
- 5) The text is misplaced, because the aggressive nature of Dionysus has already been treated before moving on to the connection with Aphrodite.

It could perhaps be argued that the *triumphus* was essentially the celebration of a major victory over barbarians and the termination of war,<sup>318</sup> thus necessarily closely connected with peace, and under the patronage of a god who is πολεμιστῆς. Such a victory over barbarians might have the connotation of *cleansing*, and an alternative meaning of καθαιρετικός is *cathartic* or *purifying* from καθαίρω *to purge*.<sup>319</sup> There is, however, no attested reference to

<sup>316</sup> LSJ, 849 καθαιρετικός 'destructive Cornutus ND30'; Hays, 108 *destructive*; Ramelli, 273 *distruttivo*.

<sup>317</sup> Although the *triumphus* was typically Roman, it is elsewhere attested, and in connection with Dionysus; thus Arrian *anab.* 6.28.2.3: καὶ Θρίαμβόν τε αὐτὸν ἐπικληθῆναι τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις ταῖς ἐκ πολέμου πομπὰς ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ θριάμβου. See too Plutarch *marc.* 22.7.2.

<sup>318</sup> OCD, 1554.

<sup>319</sup> Of the 133 instances of καθαιρετικός -ή -όν in TLG, the clear majority have the sense of *cleansing*. Philo, *leg. gaium* 14.6 καθαιρετικά *destructive* but at 113 has καθαιρετικός πολέμων which must read *cleansing of wars*.

Dionysus being connected with any form of *cleansing*,<sup>320</sup> and attempts to reconcile καθαίρειτικός with Dionysus as Peace remain unconvincing.

61.9-61.22: the three passages discussed above all have aspects which, taken individually, indicate that there are grounds for taking them as accretions. Taken as a whole, however, their position in the text is clearly anomalous:

- 57.16 Dionysus also = Eirēnē, guardian of cultivated trees, benevolent god
- 57.21 Etymology of name. Epithets *lyision, lyion*
- 58.6 born through the agency of fire - interpretation of myth
- 59.2 Epithets *Bromios, Bacchos, Iacchos, Euios, Babaktēs, Iobacchos* - reasons
- 59.6 Symbols of playfulness: Satyrs, Skirtoi, Silenoi, Seuidai
- 59.10 Behaviour: woman-like, difficult to control and impulsive
- 59.15 Clothing, drums - rowdiness, Thyrsos - *Mainades*. Epithet *Mainoles*
- 60.9 Artistic representation, Satyrs, Nymphs. Dionysus, Bacchae fawn skins
- 60.20 Goat sacrifice. Wine - intercourse, sacrifices to Dionysus + Aphrodite together
- 61.4 The cane - unarticulated nature of speech

61.9 The Bacchae: Epithets

61.11 Epithet of Dionysus *Dithyrambos*

61.16 Destructive of absolutely everything, and a warrior

61.9 - 61.22

61.22 Magpie sacred because of speech. Epithets from *to speak* and *to vent anger*

62.2 Garlanded with ivy

62.7 Connection with theatrical performances

62.10 Interpretation of more myth

The treatment of Dionysus follows the same pattern as other deities: definition, description, epithets, iconography, rational reasons for connections with other gods, interpretation of myth.

It can be seen from the above summary that the subject matter flows naturally except for:

- 1) The epithet of the Bacchae at 61.9 which is clearly unrelated to its context.
- 2) Epithets of Dionysus appear in several groups, where an explanation of the epithets arises naturally from the context: the group at 61.22 relates to speech, hence tagged on to the magpie. The epithet *Dithyrambos* at 61.11 is the only one which does not follow this pattern, and is misplaced.
- 3) The description at 61.16 as a warrior is not only incompatible with Dionysus as Peace, but also misplaced because the aggressive nature of Dionysus has been discussed earlier.

Crucially, however, it can be seen that 61.9 - 61.22 in fact interrupts the flow of the text, and its removal reveals a connection, typical for Cornutus, between topics. Here, the connection is λάλος:

- ο (61.4) ὁ δὲ νάρθηξ ... τινὲς δὲ φασιν ὅτι καὶ τὸ ἀναρθρον τῆς λαλιᾶς αὐτῶν παρίστησιν. [accretions] (61.22) καὶ τὴν κίτταν δὲ ὡς λάλον ὄρνεον καθιεροῦσιν αὐτῷ ...

This, in addition to the objections described above, identifies 61.9-61.22 as an accretion (or three distinct accretions) according to the criteria specified in 1.7.2.1.

<sup>320</sup> One such oblique reference is possibly Aristotle, referring to the purifying affect of tragedy (hence Dionysus): *Po.* 1449b27-28 δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τὴν τῶν τοιοῦτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν. Heath (1987), 124-125, however, denies the intrinsic importance of *katharsis* in Aristotle *Poetics*.

- 61 <sup>22</sup> καὶ τὴν κίτταν δὲ ὡς λάλλον | ὄρνεον καθιεροῦσιν αὐτῷ καὶ βασσαρέα καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βάζειν καὶ εἰραφιώτην ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔριν ἀφιέναι.

Cornutus explains the magpie κίττα (LSJ *jay*) as sacred (elsewhere unattested) because it chatters, presumably a reference to the behaviour of those under the influence of Dionysus. This descriptive interpretation, for Cornutus, is more meaningful than the obvious reason, the similarity of the name with κίττος *ivy*, which is much more commonly identified with Dionysus (see below).

βασσαρέα: *hapax* form, but βασσαρεύς is attested.<sup>321</sup>

εἰραφιώτης: attested in HH 1 (*fr. Bac.*), with an etymology from having been sown into the thigh of Zeus.<sup>322</sup> This would seem obvious, but Cornutus clearly considers an etymology from aggressive drunken behaviour as more relevant, because it is a better description of one aspect of Dionysus.

- 62 <sup>2</sup> τῷ κίττῳ δὲ στέφεται διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὴν ἄμπελον ἐμφέρειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς βότρυς ὁμοιότητα τῶν κορύμβων[· πέφυκε δὲ καὶ σφάλλιν τὰ δένδρα, ἀνέρπων δι' αὐτῶν καὶ περιπλεκόμενος βιαιότερον τοῖς πρέμνοις].

Ivy associated with Dionysus: e.g. *E. Ba* 81; ivy garland: Longus *DC* 3.11.1.4.

[πέφυκε ... πρέμνοις]: a highly gratuitous comment, and thus identifiable as an accretion.

- 62 <sup>7</sup> τὰ δὲ θυμελικά ἀκροάματα τὸν Διόνυσον θεραπεύει διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὰς θαλίας οἰκειότητα αὐτῶν, οἶον φῶδης καὶ κιθάρας· 'τὰ γὰρ τ' ἀναθήματα δαιτός'.

A connection is made between the theatre and Dionysus on a simple level of appropriateness, supported by a Homeric quotation where entertainment is requested after a feast, once song and dance (*Od.*1.152), once song and the lyre (*Od.*21.430).

- 62 <sup>10</sup> μυθολογεῖται δ' ὅτι διασπασθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Τιτάνων συνετέθη πάλιν ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥέας, αἰνιττομένων τῶν παραδόντων τὸν μῦθον ὅτι οἱ γεωργοί, θρέμματα γῆς ὄντες, συνέχεαν τοὺς βότρυς καὶ τοῦ ἐν αὐτοῖς Διονύσου τὰ μέρη ἐχώρισαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἀ δὴ πάλιν ἢ εἰς ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐπέτελλε. καὶ ὁ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ δὲ μῦθος, ὡς φεύγων ποτὲ τὴν Λυκούργου ἐπιβουλήν ὁ θεὸς ἔδωκεν κατὰ θαλάττην, εἶθ' ἢ Θέτις αὐτὸν διέσωσεν, ἐμφανῆ τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχει.

A very brief summary of the various strands of myth relating to Dionysus, where it is argued that they are essentially the same as the myth told by Homer, *Il.*6.130-140.

- 62 <sup>19</sup> τιθῆναι μὲν γὰρ εἰσι τοῦ Διονύσου αἱ ἄμπελοι· ταύτας δ' ὁ Λυκούργος τρυγητῆς ὦν ἐσκύλευσε καὶ ἀπεκόσμησεν, εἶθ' ὁ οἶνος θαλάττη μίγεις ἀσφαλῶς ἀπετέθη.

Cornutus interprets the Homeric myth of Dionysus being protected under the sea by Thetis as the safe storage of wine by mixing with seawater. For example:

- Athenaeus *deipn.* 1.47.20 ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τὴν Διονύσου φυγὴν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν οἰνοποιίαν σημαίνειν φασὶ πάλαι γνωριζομένην. ἥδυν γὰρ εἶναι τὸν οἶνον παρεγχεομένης θαλάσσης.

- 62 <sup>22</sup> καὶ περὶ μὲν Διονύσου τοσαῦτα.

The long exposition of gods associated with earth and fertility ends without a link to the next subject, Herakles. Whilst Cornutus manages to provide links between subjects wherever he

<sup>321</sup> EM 191.7.

<sup>322</sup> Also Schol. Dionys. perieg. 579.2; EM 302.53.

can, there are a few instances where the connection is unsustainable: ●1.7. and Appendix 4 for the text structure. These places in the text which make a clear break between subjects are thus points where theoretically there could be undetectable lacunae or accretions. For example, the chapter on Herakles, 62.23-64.17 (Osann 31), is linked neither to Dionysus before it, nor Apollo following it. If the whole of the Herakles section were spurious, the genuine text would read neatly (62.22) ... καὶ περὶ μὲν Διονύσου τοσαῦτα. (65.1) Ἐχομένως τοίνυν, ᾧ τέκνον, Ἀπόλλων.... But as discussed below, although there are serious textual difficulties in the Herakles chapter, the treatment of the material is not inconsistent with the rest of the text, and there are no rational reasons why Cornutus would be silent on such a popular cult figure such as Herakles.

62 23 Ἡρακλῆς δ' ἐστὶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς ὄλοις λόγος | καθ' ὃν ἡ φύσις ἰσχυρὰ καὶ κραταιὰ ἐστὶν [καὶ ἀπεριγένητος οὐσα], μεταδοτικὸς ἰσχύος καὶ τοῖς κατὰ μέρος καὶ ἀλκῆς ὑπάρχων. ■ 61

Although no immediate connection is made between Dionysus and Herakles, they are linked by the identification of the seven divisions of Stoic deities by Aëtius, who gives the seventh division thus:<sup>323</sup>

- *plac.* 1.6 = SVF 2.1009 (●1.5) – ἔβδομον δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὸ διὰ τὰς εἰς τὸν κοινὸν βίον εὐεργεσίας ἐκτετιμημένον, ἀνθρώπινον δὲ γεννηθὲν ὡς Ἡρακλέα ὡς Διοσκόρους ὡς Διόνυσον.

Cornutus, however, differentiates clearly between the deity and the hero, giving a definition:

- Herakles the God, *the rational principle of the universe according to which nature is powerful and strong.*

This definition can be contrasted with the description of Herakles the Hero given by Heraclitus *QH*, 33.1, explicitly attributed to Stoics:<sup>324</sup>

- Ἡρακλέα δὲ νομιστέον οὐκ ἀπὸ σωματικῆς δυνάμεως ἀναχθέντα τοσοῦτον ἰσχύσαι τοῖς τότε χρόνοις, ἀλλ' ἀνὴρ ἔμφρων καὶ σοφίας οὐρανοῦ μύστης ὡσπερὶ κατὰ βαθείας ἀχλύος ἐπιδεδυκυῖαν ἐφώτισε τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, καθάπερ ὁμολογοῦσι καὶ Στωικῶν οἱ δοκιμώτατοι. *Herakles should not be seen as a man whose physical powers have made him a champion of force in those times, but a rational man initiated in the wisdom of the heavens, he illuminated philosophy plunged as it were in a dark mist. Thus the most famous Stoics agreed.*

The dual nature of Herakles is well attested: Pindar describes him ἦρωσ θεός, both hero and god, and Pausanias reports on sacrifices made to both.<sup>325</sup> But in this text, Cornutus clearly differentiates between gods and mortals, and never admits to the apotheosis of a mortal as specified in the seventh division of Stoic deities by Aëtius (see Dionysus the God, above, and Asclepius the mortal, below). This may be a personal interpretation by Cornutus and unusual for a Stoic, or the text may be a simplification for didactic purposes, or Aëtius may not be recording the views of the majority of Stoics.

<sup>323</sup> See too Cicero *ND* 2.62, naming Hercules, Castor, Pollux, Aesculapius, Liber and Romulus.

<sup>324</sup> See too Schol. A.R. 1.865 παρὰ δὲ τοῖς φυσικοῖς ὁ Ἡρακλῆς σύνεσις καὶ ἀλκὴ λαμβάνεται.

<sup>325</sup> *Pi.N*.3.22; Pausanias 2.10.1. See Burkert, 208-211.

λόγος: von Arnim has attributed 62.23-64.18, the whole chapter on Herakles, to Cleanthes, SVF 514, and has emended it noting for 62.23 *τόνος scribitur necessario, λόγος libri*. Neither Lang nor Krafft comment here, thus von Arnim's emendation must be his own conjecture. He is of course not necessarily disputing what Cornutus has written, but rather reconstructing what Cleanthes might have said, on the unargued assumption that Cornutus is taking the whole chapter on Herakles from Cleanthes: see 64.15 below.

[καὶ ἀπεριγένητος οὐσα]: the participle here is ungrammatical, and the comment is pointless, hence identified as an accretion.

<sup>63</sup> <sup>3</sup> ὠνόμασται δὲ τάχα ἀπὸ τοῦ διατείνειν εἰς τοὺς ἥρωας, ὡς αὐτοῦ ὄντος τοῦ κλειῖζεσθαι τοὺς γενναίους ποιούντος· ἥρωας γὰρ ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοὶ τοὺς ἀδρούς τοῖς σώμασι καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο τοῦ θεοῦ γένους μετέχειν δοκοῦντας. Table 79 shows that the modern assumption of an etymology from \*Ἡρα + κλέος was by no means universally accepted in antiquity, and typically, Cornutus has an etymology which describes an important quality connected with heroes, and which supports his assertion here that the god and the hero are distinct.

<sup>63</sup> <sup>7</sup> οὐ δεῖ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς νεωτέρας ἱστορίας ἐπιταράττεσθαι· διὰ γὰρ ἀρετὴν ἠξιώθη τῆς αὐτῆς τῷ θεῷ προσηγορίας ὁ Ἀλκμήνης καὶ Ἀμφιτρώωνος υἱός, ὥστε δυσδιάκριτα γεγονέναι τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἴδια ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τοῦ ἥρωος ἱστορουμένων. τάχα δ' ἂν ἡ λεοντῆ καὶ τὸ ῥόπαλον ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς θεολογίας ἐπὶ τοῦτον μετενηνεγμένα εἶη. Despite differentiating between the God and the Hero, Cornutus claims that the two are difficult to distinguish, and provides a rational explanation for the confusion.

<sup>63</sup> <sup>14</sup> [στρατηγὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀγαθὸν γενόμενον καὶ πολλὰ μέρη τῆς γῆς μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐπελθόντα οὐχ οἶδόν τε γυμνὸν ἔδοξε περιελθῆναι, ξύλω μόνον ὠπλισμένον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐπισήμοις τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ τὸν ἀπαθανατισμὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐεργετουμένων κεκοσμηθῆσαι.] 62

A good example of a clear accretion according to the criteria in Section 1.7.2.1: the passage is bewildering in its complete lack of sense, but crucially, the text following it relates directly to the text before it, thus creating a logical difficulty and interrupting the flow of text.

<sup>63</sup> <sup>19</sup> σύμβολον δ' ἂν ἐκάτερον εἶη βῶμης καὶ γενναιότητος· ὁ μὲν γὰρ λέων τὸ ἀλκιμώτατον τῶν θηρίων ἐστί, τὸ δὲ ῥόπαλον τὸ καρτερώτατον τῶν ὄπλων.

The lionskin and the club represent nobility and power, the club perhaps representing brute force rather than skill.

<sup>63</sup> <sup>21</sup> καὶ τοξότης δ' ἂν ὁ θεὸς παρεισάγοιτο κατὰ τε τὸ πανταχοῦ διικνεῖσθαι | καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔντονόν τι ἔχειν καὶ τὴν τῶν βελῶν φορὰν· στρατηλάτην δ' οὐκ ἄλογον τοιοῦτοις ὄπλοις πεποισθῆτα εἰς τὰς παρατάξεις ἀπαντᾶν]. 63

A rational explanation for an iconographical detail.

τὸ ἔντονόν τι ἔχειν: perhaps a deliberate reference to *τόνος*, *pneumatic tension*. See SVF 876 *ap. Galen loc. aff.* 4.8.301.17. for the Stoic technical expression ὁ ζωτικὸς τόνος, and above at 62.23 for von Arnim's emendation of SVF 514.

[στρατηλάτην ... ἀπαντᾶν], στρατηλάτην: Euripides and very late prose. Another pointless additional explanation, and whilst not interrupting the flow, the similarity of the content of this text with the previous accretion (compare 63.14 στρατηγὸν ... with here στρατηλάτην ...) identifies it also as an accretion.

64<sup>3</sup> οἰκείως δὲ παρέδωσαν αὐτὸν Κῶοι τῇ Ἥβῃ συνοικοῦντα ὡς ὄλοσχερέστερον [αὐτὸν] τὴν διάνοιαν ὄντα, ὡς εἴρηται

νέων τι δρᾶν μὲν εὐτονώτεραι χέρες,

ψυχὰι δ' ἀμείνους τῶν γεραιτέρων πολὺ.

SVF 514 attempts to emend [αὐτὸν] to αὐτὸ <σῶμα ἤ>: see 62.23. The meaning of ὄλοσχερέστερον is unclear, since the usual meaning makes no sense.<sup>326</sup>

No commentator has questioned the genuine nature of the text, yet unless a significant amount of explanatory text is missing, it is identifiable as an accretion on the following grounds:

- 1) Cornutus generally introduces deities in an explicit and clear manner, providing a definition. It is entirely inconsistent that a deity (here Ἥβη) is mentioned in passing.
- 2) The information that Herakles lives with Hebe is reasonable (οἰκείως) in context, but following the definition of the god Herakles, the association with Hebe does not follow logically as a Stoic interpretation.
- 3) The text makes little, if any, sense, and is corrupt: emendations are unsatisfactory.
- 4) It is adjacent to an identifiable accretion: in several other places in the text, the text neighbouring an accretion is also identifiable as an accretion.
- 5) The quotation from Euripides *Bellerophon* is known from Stobaeus 4.50a.2.2: Εὐριπίδου Βελλεροφόντη ᾧ καὶ, νέων τοι δρᾶν μὲν ἔντονοι χέρες, / γνῶμαι δ' ἀμείνους εἰσὶ τῶν γεραιτέρων. Other quotations in Cornutus' text show that he can be inaccurate, but if Stobaeus is reliable, this quotation is an extremely poor rendering of Euripides.

συνοικίζω is used a total of four times in the whole text, and in Section 1.7.2.7, example 2, the four passages containing the verb are listed. On criteria unrelated to the verb, the other three passages are clearly identified as accretions. The identification of this passage as an accretion is consistent with this pattern.

64<sup>8</sup> ὕπονω δὲ καὶ τὴν παρ' Ὀμφάλῃ λατρείαν ἐκείνω πιθανωτέραν εἶναι προσήκειν, ἐμφαινόντων πάλιν διὰ τούτου τῶν παλαιῶν ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἰσχυροτάτους ὑποτάττειν δεῖ ἑαυτοῦς τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τούτου προσταττόμενα ποιεῖν, εἰ καὶ θηλύτερόν τι κατὰ τὴν θεωρίαν καὶ τὴν λογικὴν σκέψιν προσπίπτει <ἐκ> τῆς ὀμφῆς, ἣν οὐκ ἀτόπως ἂν δόξαιεν Ὀμφάλῃν προσηγορεῦκεναι.

At 67.11, Cornutus makes the second of two denials of an etymology: ὀμφαλός is not from *navel*, but derived from ὀμφή, the oracular voice,<sup>327</sup> so the myth of service to Ὀμφάλῃ should be interpreted accordingly. His choice of words is significant: he cannot produce an

<sup>326</sup> The 120 other attested incidences in TLG give no other meaning than *generally* or *entirely*. First attested in Strabo, otherwise all later than Cornutus.

<sup>327</sup> With 56.19.



unambiguous rational explanation, so resorts to the rhetorical οὐκ ἀτόπως. Also noteworthy is his expression of the nature of oracles: not rational assertions, but open to interpretation, thus θηλότερον. See the commentary at 33.2 for Stoic attitude to women.

<sup>64</sup> <sup>15</sup> τοὺς δὲ δώδεκα ἄθλους ἐνδέχεται μὲν ἀναγαγεῖν οὐκ ἄλλοτρίως ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, ὡς καὶ Κλεάνθης ἐποίησεν· οὐ δεῖν δὲ δοκεῖ πανταχοῦ εὐρεσίλογον πρεσβεύειν. |

The text states that Cleanthes assigned the twelve labours to the god, and this is therefore a unique textual reference to another philosopher. The issue here is whether this reference to Cleanthes is seriously contrary to our expectations of the text as a schoolbook. It is difficult to assess the likelihood of a pupil's familiarity with the philosopher, but a Stoic teacher might well have introduced, for example, Cleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus* to pupils at an earlier stage.

Arguments for accepting this text as genuine are:

- 1) The style is consistent with the rest of the text.
- 2) It does not interrupt the logic.
- 3) There is evidence earlier in the text of differences of opinion between Cornutus and Cleanthes: see commentary at 56.19.

Arguments for identifying it as accretive are:

- 1) A unique reference to another philosopher
- 2) The external evidence that Cornutus propagated the teachings of Cleanthes, and would not be expected to be critical of him.<sup>328</sup>

These latter considerations are insufficient to identify the text as an accretion. Further, the interpretation of the Herakles material by Cornutus is clearly not consonant with what Cleanthes was doing, because Cornutus is criticizing Cleanthes. Thus the attribution of the whole of the Cornutus material on Herakles to a fragment of Cleanthes (SVF 514) has no justification. If von Arnim were to claim the fragment is merely a context for the specific reference to Cleanthes, then his speculative textual emendations are completely unjustified.

εὐρεσίλογος: *clever*, or *ingenious* with theoretically positive or pejorative overtones.<sup>329</sup>

Because Cornutus is criticizing Cleanthes, it would be logical for this to be pejorative: see *πανουργότεραν* at 37.11.<sup>330</sup> Cornutus thus signals that mythic material is open to over-interpretation: it would be possible to provide a logical interpretation of the twelve labours relating to the god, but he sees no necessity for doing this. This reference to Cleanthes thus leaves as unexplained the difference between the reference by Persius *Sat.* 5.63, and the criticism of Cleanthes in this text.

<sup>328</sup> *Per. Sat.* 5.63-64 *cultor enim iuvenum purgatas inseris aures fruge Cleanthea*. Anyway, do we know that Persius is serious?

<sup>329</sup> In 125 instances of noun and verb, I find none with a clear positive overtone. Very many have an obvious pejorative sense: Philo *aet. mun.* 132 (=Posidonius fr. 310) *quibbling, sophistic* Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ πρὸς τὴν τοσαύτην εὐρεσιλογίαν ἀπαντῆσαι. See too Photius *ε* 38.21: Εὐρεσιλόγος: φλύαρος.

<sup>330</sup> *pace* Hays, 169-170, who suggests no negative overtone in order to reconcile this text with *Per. Sat.* 5.63-64.

65 <sup>1</sup> Ἐχομένως τοίνυν, ὦ τέκνον, Ἀπόλλων ὁ ἥλιός ἐστιν, Ἄρτεμις δὲ ἡ σελήνη διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τοξότας αὐτοὺς ἀμφοτέρους παρήγαγον, τὴν ὡσανεὶ ἄφρσιν πόρρω τῶν ἀκτίνων αἰνιττόμενοι.

Cornutus now moves to Apollo and Artemis, without a link from the previous topic, and identifies Apollo = Sun = Hekatos, and Artemis = Moon = Hekate (=Eileithyia). Their common attribute as archers is given a logical explanation. Similar identifications are made by many other writers.<sup>331</sup> • 1.9. for Cornutus' treatment of Apollo in connection with Neronian ideology.

65 <sup>4</sup> καλοῦνται δὲ ὁ μὲν [ἥλιος] ἑκατος [διὰ τοῦτο], ἡ δὲ ἐκάτη τῷ ἑκαθεν δεῦρο ἀφιέναι καὶ ἀποστέλλειν τὸ φῶς, ὥστε παρακειμένως καὶ ἐκατηβόλους αὐτοὺς προσηγορεύκασιν. ἔνιοι δὲ τὸν ἑκατον καὶ τὴν ἑκάτην ἄλλως ἐτυμολογοῦσιν, ὡς τῶν τεθειμένων αὐτοῖς τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτα ἐκάς αὐτοὺς εἶναι εὐχομένων καὶ τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν βλάβην μὴ προσπελάζειν αὐτοῖς· δοκοῦσι γὰρ καὶ φθεῖρειν ἔσθ' ὅτε τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τῶν λοιμικῶν καταστάσεων αἴτιοι γίνεσθαι· διὸ καὶ τοὺς ὀξεῖς θανάτους αὐτοῖς ἀνετίθεσαν οἱ πάλαι, καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς ὡς ἐμφανές τι ἐν τῷ λοιμῷ παρεισάγει τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα λέγοντα ὅτι ζητητέος μάντις,

ὅς κ' εἶποι ὅτι τόσσον ἐχώσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.

[ἥλιος] and [διὰ τοῦτο]: both are superfluous, and thus identifiable as accretions. Alternative etymologies are given for ἑκατος and ἑκάτη, of a transparent nature from ἑκαθεν or ἐκάς, with no alternatives attested elsewhere. Cornutus uses the etymologies to explain the association with disease and sudden deaths, and quotes Homer, *Il.* 1.64, to explain that the ancients considered the connection self-evident.

65 <sup>18</sup> τοῦτου δ' ἕνεκεν οἴονται κατ' εὐφημισμὸν τὴν μὲν Ἄρτεμιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρτεμείς ποιεῖν, ὃ ἐστὶν ὑγίεις, ὀνομάσθαι,

Table 80. Typically, Cornutus emphasizes the potentially benign nature of the goddess.

65 <sup>20</sup> τὸν δ' Ἀπόλλωνα ὡς ἀπολύονθ' ἡμᾶς τῶν νόσων ἢ ἀπελεύνοντα ἀφ' ἡμῶν αὐτάς  
Table 81 attests, in part thanks to Macrobius, the ancient interest in the name Ἀπόλλων, and then attempts to reconcile it with his various functions. Yet again, Cornutus carefully accepts all etymologies which describe some aspect of the nature of the god, yet denies any negative aspect: thus only in his capacity as sun is he destructive, destroying universal order in this relatively stable part of the Stoic cycle.

65 <sup>21</sup> [ἢ ἀπολλύντα] ταύτης | τετευχέναι τῆς προσηγορίας, καθ' ἣν ἔννοιαν καὶ παιήων ἐκλήθη καὶ ἰατρὸς ἔδοξεν εἶναι.

An etymology from ἀπόλλυμι is given later, and this comment, probably intended to offer an alternative, *destroying disease*, creates a grammatical difficulty. But the whole of the above is

<sup>331</sup> Some give a more careful definition than mere equation, thus Plutarch *IO* 375F2 τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου περιφορᾶς τεταγμένην δύναμιν ... Ἑλληνας δ' Ἀπόλλωνα καλοῦσι; see too *A.Sup.* 213; Empedocles fr. 23; Theagenes fr. 2.9; Clemens Rom. *hom.* 6.9.5.1; Dio Chrysostom *or.* 31.11.7; D. Hali. *ars rhet.* (attrib.) 1.2.9; Philo *decal.* 54.1; Plato *Lg.* 946d1; and many others. Cicero quotes Cleanthes at length (*ND* 2.40, Balbus, Stoic), declaring the divinity of stars, then later (*ND* 2.68) states Apollo = Sun, Artemis = Moon as a Greek concept. It might be inferred from this that Cleanthes never made the equations. For Apollodorus: Heraclitus *QH* 6.6-7.1 ὁ δὲ γε Ἀπόλλων ἥλιος ... Ἡκρίβωται δ' ἡ περὶ τούτων ἀπόδειξις καὶ Ἀπολλοδώρῳ, περὶ πᾶσαν ἱστορίαν ἀνδρὶ δεινῷ.

identifiable as an accretion because

- 1) it spoils the symmetry of τὴν μὲν Ἄρτεμιν ... τὸν δ' Ἀπόλλωνα ...;
- 2) Cornutus treats the epithet παιήων (παιῶν) below at 69.17, typically in a list of epithets, and generally does not repeat himself;
- 3) at 69.17 the epithet is used in the context of linking Apollo to Asclepius as a son and doctor, thus such a trite reference to Apollo as a doctor is inappropriate here.

<sup>66 2</sup> τινὲς δὲ αὐτόθεν Ἀπόλλωνα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπολλύναι φασὶν εἰρησθαι· καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἀπολλύντα ταύτην τὴν διακόσμησιν τοῦτον εἶναι διὰ τοῦ διατμίζειν ἀδιαλείπτως πάντοθεν αὐτῆς τὸ ὑγρὸν καὶ τῷ αἰθέρι προσκατατάττειν· (66.6) τάχα δ' ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπλοῦν καὶ λύνειν τὸ συνεστὸς τῆς οὐσίας ἢ καὶ τὸ σκοτός ὡσὰν ἀπλῶν εἰρημένος εἴη.

Notably, Cornutus offers first the etymology from his positive healing properties, and the connection with Stoic cosmology, the negative aspect, last.

<sup>66 9</sup> οἰκείως δὲ καὶ ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοὺς παρεισηγάγον ἔμφερεῖς ἀλλήλοις ὄντας καὶ ὁμοειδῆ κίνησιν κινουμένους καὶ δύναμιν παραπλησίαν ἐν τοῖς ὅλοις ἔχοντας καὶ τρέφοντας ὁμοίως τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς.

Cornutus is usually eager to give rational explanations for divine offspring of Zeus, but despite this Hesiodic genealogy,<sup>332</sup> Cornutus chooses to ignore it. His choice of words is notable: he does not say they are siblings, merely that it is appropriate that they are portrayed as such. He notes that the sun and moon are of similar size and with similar motions (at least compared with the fixed rotation of the stars) and asserts that they have roughly equal powers, because they both provide nourishment.<sup>333</sup>

<sup>66 12</sup> εἶθ' ὁ μὲν Ἀπόλλων ἄρρην ἀνεπλάσθη, θερμότερον ὦν πῦρ καὶ δραστικώτερον, ἢ δ' Ἄρτεμις θήλεια, ἀμβλυτέρα καὶ ἀσθενῆ τὴν δύναμιν ἔχουσα.

The active heat of the sun is contrasted with the passive heat of the moon, equated to male and female. Cornutus now discusses Apollo in detail, and from the starting point of identification with the sun, proceeds to give a consistent logical argument for all the epithets and attributes of the god in terms of qualities of the sun.

<sup>66 15</sup> βούπαιδος δ' ἠλικίαν ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἔχει, καθ' ἣν καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι εὐειδέστατοι ἑαυτῶν φαίνονται· κάλλιστος γὰρ ὀφθῆναι καὶ νεαρώτατός ἐστὶν ὁ ἥλιος.

Cornutus explains the iconography of Apollo in terms of the vigour and energy of the sun, hence the representation of Apollo in the prime of life, with maximum energy.

<sup>66 18</sup> μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Φοῖβος μὲν λέγεται διὰ τὸ καθαρὸς εἶναι καὶ λαμπρός· ἐπιθέτοις ἄλλοις εἰς αὐτὸν χρῶνται, χρυσοκόμαν καὶ ἀκειρεκόμαν προσαγορεύοντες, [ἐπειδὴ χρυσωπὸς ἐστὶ καὶ ἔξω πένθους καθεστὼς διὰ τὴν ἀγνότητά]. Δήλιον δὲ αὐτὸν ὀνόμασαν καὶ Φαναῖον ἀπὸ τοῦ δηλοῦσθαι δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄντα καὶ φωτίζεσθαι τὸν κόσμον, ὡς καὶ Ἀναφαίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἰδρύσαντο, τοῦ ἀναφαίνοντος πάντα· τοῦτ' ὁ δ' ἠκολούθησε καὶ τὸ τὴν Δήλον καὶ Ἀνάφην ἱεράς αὐτοῦ νομισθῆναι.

<sup>332</sup> *Theog.* 918, but 900+: see West (1969) 401-403, 410. Apollo and Artemis are named in the same Hesiodic line, whereas elsewhere in the *Theogony* the sexes are kept apart.

<sup>333</sup> Plant nourishment by sun and moon is attested in Aristotle *GA* 767a1-13 (for control of the weather and rainfall by sun and moon), 777b30-778a2 (for control of ἀέρα καὶ τὰ πνεύματα necessary for life); *PA* 680a34 (for warmth of full moon). The effect of the moon on rainfall may have a scientific basis: see Culver and Ianna, 183, with references.

Φοῖβος: Table 91.

[ἐπιθέτοις ἄλλοις ... ἀγνόητα]: the explanations of the epithets χρυσοκόμας and ἀκειρεκόμαν are not rational,<sup>334</sup> and the text produces a difficulty in that, for ἐπιθέτοις ἄλλοις to be correct, it should be placed after the epithets Δῆλιος and Φαναῖος. Further, a change of tense between the clauses presents a grammatical problem, and these objections identify the text bracketed by Lang as an accretion.

Δῆλιος: Cornutus is consistent in his rational argument: denying by omission the parentage of Apollo, he has to account for the connection with the island of Δῆλος, where according to HH 3(*Apol.*), 16, Apollo was born. He does this by attributing light to Apollo, making all things visible (δῆλος), then connecting with the island. Similar argumentation is used to explain the temple of Apollo Anaphaios from the transparent etymology of ἀναφαίνειν, *to bring to light*.

<sup>67</sup> <sup>7</sup> διὰ δὲ τὸν εἰρημένον σαφηνισμόν τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τὴν μαντικὴν αὐτῷ προσήψαν καὶ εὐρεθέντος τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντείου τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα προσωνόμασαν Πύθειον ἀπὸ τοῦ δεῦρο ἐρχομένουσ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πυνθάνεσθαι τὰ καθ' ἑαυτούς.

Continuing the same logic, his bringing light was understood as oracular knowledge, hence the epithet Πύθειος from πυνθάνομαι.

<sup>67</sup> <sup>11</sup> ἐλέχθη δὲ καὶ ὁ τόπος ὀμφαλὸς τῆς γῆς οὐχ ὡς μεσαίτατος ὢν αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀναδιδομένης ἐν αὐτῷ ὀμφῆς, ἣτις ἐστὶ θεία φωνή.

Hence ὀμφαλός is from ὀμφή, not *navel*: see above at 64.8.

<sup>67</sup> <sup>14</sup> λοξῶν δὲ καὶ περισκελῶν ὄντων τῶν χρησμῶν, οὗς δίδωσι, λοξίας ὠνόμασται.

An explanation for the epithet λοξίας following the same reasoning. See Table 82 for the variety of ancient etymologies, and note the variation attributed to Cleanthes.

<sup>67</sup> <sup>15</sup> [· ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς λοξότητος τῆς πορείας, ἣν ποιεῖται διὰ τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ κύκλου].

An alternative etymology which Lang has bracketed. Table 82 shows that this etymology is as common as the first one given, and moreover it is consonant with Apollo's identification with the sun. Further, one etymology of Cleanthes probably means the same. Neither Lang, *app. crit.*, nor Krafft comment on the text, thus the reasons for Lang's bracketing are unclear. There is nothing grammatically defective, and there is even a possible balance between οὗς δίδωσι and ἣν ποιεῖται. It is not inconsistent with the reference to the ecliptic at 69.1, and according to the criteria defined in 1.7.2.1, there is no reason to reject this text.<sup>335</sup>

<sup>67</sup> <sup>17</sup> μουσικὸς δὲ καὶ κιθαρῖστος παρεῖσηκται τῷ κρούειν ἑναρμονίως πᾶν μέρος τοῦ κόσμου καὶ συνφθὸν αὐτὸ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις μέρεσι ποιεῖν, μηδεμιᾶς [αὐτῶν] ἐκμελείας ἐν τοῖς οὖσι θεωρουμένης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν χρόνων πρὸς ἀλλήλους συμμετρίαν ἐπ' ἄκρον ὡς ἐν ῥυθμοῖς τηροῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς τῶν ζῳῶν φωνὰς | καὶ ὡσαύτως τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων σωμάτων ψόφους, οἱ διὰ τὸ ξηραίνεσθαι χρησίμως ὑπὸ τὸν ἀέρα ἀποδίδονται, δαιμονίως ἡρμόσθαι πρὸς τὰς ἀκοὰς ποιοῦντος.

Cornutus explains Apollo's musical attributes in terms of the symmetry of the seasons and the

<sup>334</sup> χρυσοκόμας: *E.IT.1236, Pi.Ol.6.41*; ἀκειρεκόμαν: *hapax* but ἀκειρεκόμης *Lucian alex. 36.10*.

<sup>335</sup> See Posidonius fr. 282 for a similar reference to the obliquity of the ecliptic.

rhythm of the year, for which the sun is responsible. Further, the sun dries the air and makes it capable of carrying voice and assists the hearing. Thus, he argues, music is a direct cause of the sun's influence.

68 <sup>3</sup> ἀπὸ ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ Μουσηγέτης ἐκλήθη καὶ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ αὐτὸς παίζειν μετὰ τῶν Μουσῶν ἐνομίσθη·

ἐκ γὰρ τοὶ Μουσέων καὶ ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος

ἄνδρες ἀοιδοὶ ἔασιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ καὶ βασιλῆες—

φησὶν ὁ Ἡσίοδος.

Continuing the logical argument, this musical attribute is the reason for Apollo being the overseer of the Muses. Of huge potential significance is the misquotation from Hesiod *Theog.* 94-96,<sup>336</sup> where Hesiod has:

ἐκ γὰρ τοὶ Μουσέων καὶ ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος

ἄνδρες ἀοιδοὶ ἔασιν ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ κιθαρισταί,

ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες·

Hesiod is saying that singers and cithara players are from the Muses and Apollo, and kings are (not from the Muses but) from Zeus.<sup>337</sup> Cornutus says that it is because of Apollo and the Muses that there are singers and kings on earth, thus connecting kings more closely with Apollo than Hesiod does. A further striking feature is that Cornutus avoids any reference to the Hesiodic genealogy of Apollo as son of Zeus. The question is whether this effective equation of singers and kings is a deliberate and rhetorically loaded misquotation, because the use of the word βασιλεύς in the context of Neronian ideology could have been highly significant: ●1.9.3.

68 <sup>8</sup> διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἱερός αὐτοῦ ὁ κύκνος τῷ μουσικώτατον καὶ λευκώτατον ἅμα εἶναι τῶν ὀρνέων, ὁ δὲ κόραξ ἀλλότριος διὰ τε τὸ μιαρὸς εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὴν χροιάν.

Swan sacred to Apollo: Aëlianus *nat. an.* 2.32.1.<sup>338</sup> But the crow also sacred to Apollo: *ibid.*

1.48.1; Plutarch *IO* 379d8. Cornutus presents the reasons for being sacred to Apollo as

rational: λευκώτατον presumably means *brightest*, compared with the sun which is the brightest object in the sky, hence the *whitest* bird.<sup>339</sup> Whether the reasons he gives are his own,

or ancient belief, cannot be determined from the text. The musical nature of the swan is well

attested,<sup>340</sup> a remarkable testimony to the triumph of myth over easily observable fact.<sup>341</sup>

<sup>336</sup> Noted also by Most (1989), 2039.

<sup>337</sup> Paraphrased from West (1969), 186.

<sup>338</sup> Although their sacred nature is well attested, the reasons are obscure.

<sup>339</sup> This indicates the lack of distinction between *white* and *bright* which is hard to reconcile with modern concepts of colour. See too the commentary at 53.16.

<sup>340</sup> Philo *post. ca.* 105 τῆς ἀηδόνων ἢ κύκνων μουσικῆς; Plutarch *de E* 387c7; Dionysius Soph. *epist.* 2.2 εἰ γὰρ ὁ κύκνος σιγᾶ, τίς ἔσεται μουσικὴν;

<sup>341</sup> This musical nature may be belief in the mythical *swan song* of the dying mute swan. See Artemidorus *onir.* 2.20.72.

The alienation of the crow derives from the myth that they were originally white, until Apollo was displeased with a messenger crow, and turned them black.<sup>342</sup> The pollution of the crow may be connected with being a scavenger, or specifically with a belief that it spread plague.<sup>343</sup>

68 11 ἡ δὲ δάφνη καίπερ δαφουινή τις οὔσα στέμμα αὐτοῦ ἐστίν, ἐπειδὴ εὐερνές τε καὶ ἀειθαλὲς φυτὸν ἐστὶ τυγχάνει δὲ καὶ εὐέκκαυστος οὔσα καὶ πρὸς τὰς καθάρσεις οἰκεῖόν τι ἔχουσα, ὥστε μὴ ἀλλοτρίως ἀνακεῖσθαι τῷ καθαρωτάτῳ καὶ καυστικωτάτῳ θεῷ.

*εὐέκκαυστος*: *harax*.

Having argued that white is appropriate for Apollo, Cornutus must now produce an unconvincing argument for the sanctity of the manifestly unwhite laurel, whose colour is suggested by his etymology. His reasoning from combustibility is at least rhetorically convincing.

68 16 τάχα δὲ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς, προστρέχον πως τῷ διαφαίνειν, ἐπιτηδεῖαν αὐτὴν ἐποίησε πρὸς τὰς μαντείας εἶναι δοκεῖν.

Cornutus adds an etymology (elsewhere unattested) to support his rational argument for the laurel and its association with the oracle.

69 1 ὁ δὲ τρίπους διὰ τελειότητα τοῦ τῶν τριῶν ἀριθμοῦ δέδοται αὐτῷ· δύναται δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν παραλλήλων κύκλων, ὧν ἓνα μὲν τέμνει κινούμενος τὴν ἐνιαύσιον κίνησιν ὁ ἥλιος, δυοῖν δ' ἐφάπτεται.

See commentary at 14.10 for the integer 3. The explanation of the tripod is entirely consistent with Cornutus' overall technique that blindingly obvious practical reasons are eschewed, and more profound, but nevertheless rational explanations are offered.<sup>344</sup> The ecliptic is again mentioned (see 67.15), the (tenuous to a modern) connection with three being the two tropics and celestial equator.

69 5 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν τοῖς λοιμοῖς ὡς ἐπίπαν δοκεῖ τὰ θρέμματα πημαίνεσθαι πρῶτον καὶ συνεχέστερον ἢ καθ' αὐτὰ φθεῖρεσθαι [λοιμικῶς], κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν τῶν ποιμνίων ἐπιμέλειαν ἀνέθηκάν αὐτῷ, νόμιον καὶ λύκιον καὶ λυκοκτόνον προσαγορεύοντες.

This passage needs scrutiny:

- 1) It is grammatically unsound: the causal clause is introduced with ἐπεὶ δ', followed by a redundant κατὰ τοῦτο. Lang app. crit. indicates several attempts at reconstruction, and the passage may be corrupt at [λοιμικῶς].
- 2) The reference to plagues is badly misplaced, because their association with Apollo and Artemis has been carefully explained at 65.4, with the quotation from *Il.* 1.64.
- 3) The epithets νόμιος, λύκιος and λυκοκτόνος are attested for Apollo, but are relatively obscure and, if discussed at all, are unlikely to start a list.<sup>345</sup>
- 4) The claim that the young are more vulnerable to plague than others, even if correct, is

<sup>342</sup> [Apollodorus] *bib.* 3.118.5-119.3; Dionysius Perieg. *ix.* 1.9.7.

<sup>343</sup> Aristotle fr. cat. 8 fr. 496.20.

<sup>344</sup> Tripod: bronze was very expensive, thus three, not four, legs; further, a tripod does not wobble.

<sup>345</sup> νόμιος: several gods, either *pastoral* or *of law*; Apollo: Callimachus *apollo* 42; λύκιος: Pi.P.1.39; λυκοκτόνος: Plutarch *sol. an.* 966a8.

no explanation for Apollo being in charge of flocks, nor an explanation for the three epithets given.

- 5) Crucially, at 50.11 Cornutus has provided a rational argument that Pan is responsible for the young of a flock. It would be entirely inconsistent for him now to argue the case for Apollo.

Even if there is a lacuna at [λοιμικῶς] which if filled could supply an acceptably logical text, the conflict with Pan is unacceptable, and the text must be identified as an accretion.

- 69<sup>9</sup> ἀγνιεύς δ' ἐκλήθη δεόντως ἰδρυθεὶς ἐν ταῖς ἀγνυαῖς· καταυγάζει γὰρ ταύτας καὶ πληροὶ φωτὸς ἀνατέλλων, ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων εἴρηται τὸ  
 δύσετο τ' ἥελιος σκιάωντό τε πᾶσαι ἀγνυαί.

ἀγνιεύς: *E.Ph.*63; Pausanias 2.19.8.6, 8.32.4.9; Pausanias Attic. *att. nom.* α 22. Cornutus gives a rational explanation for the epithet, and typically gives an example of the use of an unusual word in a quotation from Homer (*Od.*2.388 +7 others).

- 69<sup>14</sup> καὶ λεσχηνόριον δ' αὐτὸν προσηγόρευσαν διὰ τὸ τὰς ἡμέρας ταῖς λέσχαις καὶ τῷ ὁμιλεῖν ἀλλήλοις συνέχεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, τὰς δὲ νύκτας καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀναπαύεσθαι.

λεσχηνόριος:

- o Plutarch *de E* 385b καὶ Λεσχηνόριος ὅταν ἐνεργῶσι καὶ ἀπολαύωσι χρώμενοι τῷ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους.
- o Harpocration *lex. dec.* 191.8 Κλεάνθης ἐν τῷ περὶ θεῶν ἀπονενεμήσθαι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὰς λέσχας φησὶν, ἐξέδραις δὲ ὁμοίας γίνεσθαι αὐτὰς, καὶ παρ' ἐνίοις τὸν θεὸν λεσχηνόριον ἐπικαλεῖσθαι.

- 69<sup>17</sup> παιᾶνα δ' αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσαν εἴτουν κατ' ἀντίφρασιν καὶ ἐξιλαστικῶς, ἵνα μὴ νόσους αὐτοῖς ἐπιπέμῃ μηδὲ φθείρῃ τὸν ἀναπνεόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀέρα, εἴτε καὶ ὡς τῷ ὄντι τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὑγείας τῷ σώματι | αἰτίου γινομένου διὰ τῆς τοῦ περιέχοντος εὐκραςίας.

Παιῶν (*Il.*5.401, 899) is the Homeric healer of the gods: see 65.4 above for the Homeric association of Apollo with plagues. As an epithet of Apollo, however, it is poorly attested.<sup>346</sup> Cornutus clearly wishes to associate healing with Apollo, thus being able to explain why Asclepius came to be considered as his son.

- 70<sup>2</sup> Κατ' ἀκόλουθον πάλιν τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἔφασαν γενέσθαι, τὸν δοκοῦντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑποδεδειχέναι τὴν ἰατρικὴν· ἐχρῆν γὰρ καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ θεῖόν τι ἐπιστῆσαι. ὠνομάσθη δὲ ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἠπίως ἰᾶσθαι καὶ ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν κατὰ τὸν θάνατον γινομένην ἀπόσκλησιν.

Asclepius as son of Apollo: *A.Sup.*263 ἰατρόμαντις παῖς Ἀπόλλωνος. Cornutus is precise with his language, *it follows that they said ...*: see above at 62.23 on Herakles for the Stoic divisions of deities, with the seventh division of apotheosized men. Cornutus, however, consistently separates the gods and men: Dionysus is a god; there are two distinct Herakleis, the God and the Hero; Asclepius is explicitly a mortal who taught something which had a divine quality, associated with Apollo.

<sup>346</sup> *E.AI.*220 ὦναξ Παιᾶν; see Schol. Hom. *Il. sn.* 1.473 παιᾶν δὲ ἐστὶ ὕμνος εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπὶ ἀφέσει λοιμοῦ ἀδόμενος.

See Table 83 for etymologies of Asclepius, all deriving from various aspects of healing.

ἀπὸ τοῦ ἠπίως ἰᾶσθαι: Lang app. crit. and Krafft, 230, 232 and 235 indicate a textual problem here. As presented by Lang, there appear to be two etymologies of Asclepius, one from ἠπίως ἰᾶσθαι, one from ἀπόσκλησις. If this textual reading is correct, this would be the only instance where Cornutus is offering etymologies not as alternatives X or Y, but claiming both roots X and Y. Because this would be highly significant for the understanding of Stoic etymology generally (●1.6.5), and because this is an isolated case of a double etymology, where, moreover, there is evidence of textual corruption, it would be unsafe to accept Lang's text as reliable here. Moreover, there is no further immediate reference to stiffness, nor does death indicate successful healing, thus καὶ ἀναβάλλεσθαι ... is possibly an accretion (see 75.15 *νάρκη*, *stiffness*, of the dead).

70 7 διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ δράκοντα αὐτῷ παριστᾶσιν, ἐμφαίνοντες ὅτι ὁμοίον τι τοῦτο πάσχουσιν οἱ χρώμενοι τῇ ἰατρικῇ κατὰ τὸ οἰοεὶ ἀνανεάζειν ἐκ τῶν νόσων καὶ ἐκδύεσθαι τὸ γῆρας, ἀμα δ' ἐπεὶ προσοχῆς ὁ δράκων σημεῖον, ἧς πολλῆς δεῖ πρὸς τὰς θεραπείας. (70.12) καὶ τὸ βᾶκτρον δὲ τοιοῦτου τινὸς ἔοικεν εἶναι σύμβολον·

The snake rejuvenates itself by sloughing its skin; healing rejuvenates by removing the symptoms of old age.<sup>347</sup> Yet again, Cornutus provides a rhetorical explanation and ignores probable historical reasons, in this case, for the snake and staff symbols.<sup>348</sup>

70 13 παρίσταται γὰρ δι' αὐτοῦ ὅτι, εἰ μὴ ταύταις ταῖς ἐπινοίαις ἐπεστηριζόμεθα ὅσον ἐπὶ τὸ συνεχῶς εἰς ἀρρωστίαν ἐμπίπτειν, κἂν θᾶπτον τοῦ δέοντος σφαλλόμενοι κατεπίπτομεν.

Having mentioned the staff and suggesting some connection with healing, this added explanation is superfluous. It has the further disadvantage of incomprehensibility: elsewhere Cornutus provides added explanations which actually clarify, but this text has no explanatory value. Considered on its own merit, therefore, according to the criteria specified in 1.7.2.1, it is an accretion. See commentary below for the remainder of the accretion.

70 17 λέγεται δὲ ὁ Χείρων τετροφέναι τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν κἂν τοῖς τῆς ἰατρικῆς θεωρήμασιν ἠσκηκέναι, τὴν ◀ διὰ τῶν | χειρῶν ἐνέργειαν τῆς τέχνης ἐμφαίνειν αὐτῶν βουλομένων. παραδέδοται δὲ καὶ γυνή ▶ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, Ἰπίονη, τοῦ ὀνόματος οὐκ ἀργῶς εἰς τὸν μῦθον παρελημμένον, δηλοῦντος δὲ τὸ πραῦντικὸν τῶν ὀχλήσεων διὰ τῆς ἠπίου φαρμακείας.

◀ διὰ τῶν ... γυνή ▶ needs scrutiny because Krafft, 185, 208, identifies this as one of two lacunae in the ω archetype. He argues that although all extant manuscripts derive from the ω archetype, there is sufficient evidence for the existence of a Ξ *extra archetypum* manuscript,

<sup>347</sup> γῆρας: 1) *old age*; 2) *skin of snake*. See Aristotle *HA* 549b25-26.

<sup>348</sup> See commentary at 21.8 for confusion between Hermes' Caduceus and Asclepius' staff. There are two possible historical reasons for the snake. First, the widespread belief in the healing properties of a snake licking wounds, attested for the sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus: when plague struck in C-3, the Romans imported Asclepius in the form of the snake *Elaphe longissima longissima* (Majno, 202, 340). The second possible explanation for the symbol of Asclepius, one snake coiled round a staff, is a healer's symbol derived from the method of removing the subcutaneous parasitic worm *Dracunculus medinensis* by winding it slowly round a stick as it emerges from an incision under the skin. This kind of historical explanation is completely alien to Cornutus.



from which he postulates a V<sup>2</sup> manuscript was derived.<sup>349</sup> This V<sup>2</sup> manuscript was used to emend various errors in other manuscripts which contained the lacunae identifiable as originating from the ω archetype.<sup>350</sup> The V<sup>2</sup> manuscript described by Krafft, 204-211, also emends several expressions throughout the text by reconstituting a *terminus technicus* from a simpler form provided in the ω archetype:

	ω archetype	V <sup>2</sup>	Lang
2.17	θέσεως	θεύσεως	θεύσεως
44.19	πολιόν	πολιάν	πολιάν
51.8	κάθαρσιν	διακάθαρσιν	κάθαρσιν
65.21	ἀπόλλαντα	ἀπείλλαντα	[ἀπολλύντα]
73.11	πεσεῖν	ἐκπεσεῖν	ἐκπεσεῖν
75.11	ἀνακαινίζεσθαι	διαπνεῖσθαι	διαπνεῖσθαι

accretion

Krafft may be correct in that the use of a Ξ *extra archetypum* manuscript is demonstrable, but if so, the fact that corrections are made at, say, 44.19, which has been identified above as an accretion, shows that this Ξ manuscript still contained the accretions present in the ω archetype. Further, a demonstrable use of a Ξ manuscript for corrections at definable points in the text (see Krafft, 181-213 for the complete argument) does not preclude the possibility, which I argue below is indeed the case, that additional corrections have been made without any manuscript authority: Krafft's assertion that this is hardly likely presupposes a methodology of an unknown editor, and has no justification.<sup>351</sup>

Returning to the text above which contains the second ω lacuna, we find an interpretation of the myth of Chiron rearing Asclepius.<sup>352</sup> There are three serious objections:

- 1) The etymology does not provide a description of a nominatum as is the case with all other etymologies which Cornutus provides.
- 2) Cornutus has already explicitly said that Asclepius was a mortal: his dismissal of the myth of Demeter and Persephone is sufficient to claim he would not be interested in explaining the myth surrounding Asclepius.
- 3) Part of the text inserted into the ω lacuna, διὰ τῶν χειρῶν ἐνέργειαν τῆς τέχνης

<sup>349</sup> See above at 49.14 for the first lacuna. The issue is discussed here because the significance of the second ω lacuna is far greater.

<sup>350</sup> Krafft, 208 'Gegen die Zurückführung der V<sup>2</sup>-Lesarten auf die Divinatio eines kritischen Benutzers spricht aber, daß drei seiner Adnotationes Quellenangaben besitzen und damit von einem Textvergleich zeugen ... Der endgültige Beweis für seine Bindung an ein Kontrollexemplar ergibt sich daraus, daß V<sup>2</sup> einen gegenüber ad vollständigeren Text besaß (a), lectiones difficiliore bzw. voces rariores einkorrigiert (b) und öfters einen glatten und grammatisch einwandfreien Wortlaut in ad als verderbt oder ergänzungsbedürftig zu erkennen vermag (c).' This is followed by details of (a), (b), (c). Under (a), the two lacunae 49.15-17 and 70.18-71.2 are discussed.

<sup>351</sup> Krafft claims the lacunae must have been completed from V<sup>2</sup>, remarking 'Es scheint kaum zweifelhaft, daß so ingeniose Lösungen allein aus der Divinatio eines Bearbeiters nicht herzuleiten sind.'

<sup>352</sup> Pi.P.3.45-55; [Apollodorus] *bib.* 3.119.

ἐμφαίνειν αὐτῶν βουλομένων, is an explicit claim that the myth makers were consciously allegorizing, i.e. ‘strong allegory’ as defined in Section 1.3.1: as discussed there, this kind of interpretation is Neoplatonist, not Stoic.

The first two objections to the text are sufficient in themselves to identify the text as an accretion. The third objection, however, is even stronger: the explicit recognition of ‘strong allegory’ in this text forms no part of Stoic interpretation of myth. Since, moreover, Krafft identifies this passage as the completion of an archetype lacuna, the logical conclusion is that there can be no justification for its acceptance as part of the text. The most obvious explanation, *pace* Krafft, is that the emendation of the lacuna is guesswork by an editor who was either a Neoplatonist, or unaware of differences between Stoic and Neoplatonist interpretation of myth. See too commentary at 73.18 for another such passage.

I have thus argued that three distinct pieces of text are part of the same accretion:

- 1) 70.13 παρίσταται ...κατεπίπτομεν, suspect because incomprehensible,
- 2) 70.17 λέγεται δὲ ὁ Χείρων ..., irrelevant interpretation of myth,
- 3) spurious completion of a lacuna, demonstrating non-Stoic interpretation of myth.

The text becomes clear at the point where the name of Asclepius’ wife is given, with an etymology.<sup>353</sup> There is no method of determining whether the reference to Ἥπιόνῃ is genuine, but for an overall understanding of the text, this uncertainty has little significance.

<sup>71</sup> <sup>5</sup> Ἡ δ’ Ἄρτεμις φωσφόρος μὲν ἐπωνομάσθη διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτὴ σέλας βάλλειν καὶ φωτίζειν ποσῶς τὸ περιέχον, ὁπόταν μάλιστα πανσέληνος ᾖ, δίκτυννα δ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ βάλλειν τὰς ἀκτῖνας—δίκειν γὰρ τὸ βάλλειν— ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ δικνεῖσθαι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς εἰς πάντα τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς ὡς δικτύνης αὐτῆς οὐσης.

The epithet φωσφόρος is attested for both Artemis and Hekate, but also for Dionysus and Venus. The reason for the epithet for Dionysus is unclear, but Venus, as the morning star, is always closely followed by the sun, and Artemis/Hekate is a *torchbearer* in the darkness.<sup>354</sup> The etymologies of δίκτυννα are elsewhere unattested.<sup>355</sup>

<sup>71</sup> <sup>11</sup> κυνηγέτιν δ’ αὐτὴν καὶ θηροκτόνον καὶ ἐλαφιβόλον καὶ ὄρεσίφοιτον παρεισήγαγον ἦτοι τρέπειν εἰς τὰ ἄγρια βουλόμενοι τὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς βλάβην ἢ ἐπειδὴ μάλιστα νυκτὸς καταφαίνεται, πολλὴ δ’ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἡσυχία πανταχοῦ καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ὕλαις καὶ ταῖς ἐρήμοις ἐστίν, ὥστε ἐν τοιοῦτοις τισὶ χωρίοις αὐτὴν πλάζεσθαι δοκεῖν, ἐξωθεν ἦδη τούτῳ προσπεπλασμένου τοῦ κυνηγετεῖν αὐτὴν τοξότιν οὐσαν.

<sup>353</sup> The etymology is elsewhere unattested. See EM 434.15: epithet of Asclepius ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης καὶ τῆς τῶν χειρῶν ἠπιότητος, also name of wife. References to the wife include Pausanias 2.27.5.8, 2.29.1.4.

<sup>354</sup> Artemis: E.JT.19; Pausanias 4.31.10.6; Dionysius Geog. *bos. nav.* 36.3. Hekate: E.Hel.569; Aristophanes *Th.* 858; Plutarch *IO* 379d8. Dionysus: Aristophanes *Ranae* 342 (φωσφόρος ἀστήρ). Venus: Cicero *ND* 2.53.

<sup>355</sup> See Aristophanes *Vespae* 367: play on δίκτυον / Δίκτυννα, with Schol. Aristophanes *vespas tric.* arg-dram per-sch sch vesp. 368c ἢ Ἄρτεμις Δίκτυννα ὀνομάζεται διὰ τὸ ἀγρευτικὴ εἶναι καὶ δικτύοις χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἄγραν τῶν ζῴων.

ὄρεσίφοιτον: *harax*.

As a parallel to the argument of all aspects of Apollo following from his identification as the sun, Cornutus now proceeds to explain why Artemis, identified with the moon, has various epithets and is depicted as a huntress.

71 <sup>19</sup> συνωδὸν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὸ τοὺς κύνας ἱεροὺς αὐτῆς νομισθῆναι πρὸς τε τὰς θήρας ἔχοντας | ἐπιτηδείως καὶ ἀγρυπνεῖν ἐν ταῖς νυξὶ καὶ ὕλακτεῖν πεφυκότας.

Dogs sacred to Artemis: Plutarch *IO* 379d9. The dog is sacred not only because of the connection with hunting, but also the perceived etymological connection between barking, ὕλακτεῖν, and woodland, ὕλη.

72 <sup>2</sup> κυνηγία δ' ἔοικε καὶ τὸ μὴ διαλείπειν αὐτὴν ὅτε μὲν διώκουσαν τὸν ἥλιον ὅτε δὲ φεύγουσαν, εἶτα ἐν τῷ ζῳδιακῷ μετερχομένην ζῳδία καὶ ταχέως συνιοῦσαν οἰκεῖον γὰρ κυνηγία καὶ τὸ τάχος[· προσγειότατόν τε τῶν οὐρανίων οὔσαν αὐτὴν περὶ τὰς κορυφὰς τῶν ὄρων ἔφασαν ἀναστρέφεσθαι].

At 71.17, Cornutus has explained why Artemis is represented as a huntress, and this is followed by an argument for dogs being sacred to her. The text at 72.2 contributes to the explanation of the huntress, but is clearly misplaced: Cornutus has already moved on to dogs. It is noticeably at the end of a small section dealing with the iconography of Artemis, having the effect of an afterthought, but a natural place for a marginal note adding to the argument.

The text [προσγειότατόν ... ἀναστρέφεσθαι] is instructive in that it is also an additional thought as to why Artemis is said to roam the mountains, but is again misplaced. In fact the whole of the above text is identifiable as two separate accretions, one following the other, inserted at the end of the Artemis exposition.

72 <sup>7</sup> οὐχ ἑτέρα δ' οὔσα αὐτῆς ἢ Ἑκάτη τρίμορφος εἰσήκται διὰ τὸ τρία σχήματα γενικώτατα ἀποτελεῖν τὴν σελήνην, μηνοειδῆ γινομένην καὶ πανσέληνον καὶ τρίτον τι ἄλλο σχῆμα [πλάττουσιν] ἀναλαμβάνουσιν, καθ' ὃ πεπλήρωται μὲν αὐτῆς ὁ μηνίσκος, οὐ πεπλήρωται δ' ὁ κύκλος.

[πλάττουσιν]: a superfluous word creating a difficulty with the sense, thus identifiable as an accretion. As with Apollo and the sun, Cornutus finds some quality of the moon connected with the number three, this time in order to justify the epithet *τριοδίτις*. He claims three forms: crescent-shaped, full moon and waning gibbous, before returning to a new cycle. Although an arbitrary division into three phases, there is some justification from the construction of the Greek monthly calendar.<sup>356</sup>

72 <sup>13</sup> ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη καὶ τριοδίτις ἐπεκλήθη καὶ τῶν τριόδων ἐπόπτης ἐνομίσθη διὰ τὸ τριχῶς μεταβάλλειν ὀδεύουσα διὰ τῶν ζῳών.

τριοδίτις: the earliest of 38 attested cases, e.g. Plutarch *fac. orb.* 937e10; Lydus 3.10; and see Table 84. With διὰ τῶν ζῳών Cornutus may mean constellations generally, not just those in the zodiac.

<sup>356</sup> The Greek month was generally divided into three such phases: the Athenian calendar, for example, had 10 days waxing moon, 10 days around full moon, and eight days waning moon (OCD, 274). Generally, therefore, the moon was considered tri-form: see too Lydus 3.10.

- 72<sup>15</sup> τοῦ δ' ἡλίου διὰ τῆς ἡμέρας μόνον φαινομένου, αὐτὴν καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ σκότους ὄρωμένην καὶ μεταβάλλουσαν νυχίαν τε καὶ νυκτιπόλον καὶ χθονίαν ἐκάλεσαν καὶ τοῖς καταχθονίοις θεοῖς ἤρξαντο συντιμᾶν, δεῖπνα ἐμφέροντες αὐτῇ.  
Cornutus appears to give a rational explanation for the epithets νυχία,<sup>357</sup> νυκτιπόλος<sup>358</sup> and χθονία,<sup>359</sup> but whilst the first two are self-explanatory, χθονία is actually unexplained. Here, a conscious rhetorical argument is being constructed: he uses two poorly attested epithets which are capable of rational explanation, and smuggles a third epithet into the same argument. The reason for this, and the dismissive passing reference to undefined καταχθόνιοι Θεοί, becomes immediately clear, below.
- 72<sup>19</sup> προσανεπλάσθη δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὸ μιαίνειν τὴν γῆν ταύτην [καὶ μιαίνειν] | ὥσπερ τοὺς ■ κατοικομένους καὶ τὸ ταῖς φαρμακίαις συνεργεῖν καὶ ἐπάγεσθαι ταῖς οἰκίαις, εἶτα τελευταῖον τὸ πένθεσι καὶ φόνῳ χαίρειν, ἐξ οὗ τινες προήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ καὶ θυσίαις αὐτὴν ἀτόποις καὶ σφαγιασμοῖς ἀνθρώπων ἰλάσκεσθαι θέλειν.  
See commentary at 55.7 for Cornutus' (lack of) treatment of Persephone, and an approach consistent with that aspect of Hekate which engendered as much superstition: προσανεπλάσθη, merely an additional fiction which has unjustifiably led to unreasonable human behaviour. The playing down of Hekate's rôle is already signalled with the introduction at 72.7: οὐχ ἕτερα δ' οὐσα αὐτῆς ἢ Ἐκάτη ... . The epithet χθονία was clearly associated with her functions which Cornutus claims are just a fiction, which explains why he has to resort to the rhetorical argument at 72.15 for a different reason for the epithet.
- 73<sup>5</sup> καθιέρωσαν δὲ καὶ τὴν τρίγλαν αὐτῇ διὰ τοῦνομα. ἐνοδία δὲ ἐστὶν οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι ἢ διὸ καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἀγυιεύς.  
Uncharacteristically, the reason for an animal (red mullet) being sacred is on the level of an obvious similarity of the name with an epithet (see the magpie at 61.22), and an epithet is given for an equally transparent reason. Here, it seems Cornutus was unable to find any significant property of the mullet other than its name.
- 73<sup>7</sup> δοκεῖ δὲ τοῖς πλείστοις ἢ αὐτὴ εἶναι καὶ Εἰλείθια, ἀπαύστως εἰλουμένη καὶ θεούσα περὶ τὴν γῆν,  
Table 85 shows that Cornutus' etymology from εἰλουμένη + θεούσα is elsewhere unattested, but it is a clever explanation of her name when equated with the moon.
- 73<sup>9</sup> ἦν εὐχονται ἐλθεῖν αὐταῖς ἠπίαν καὶ λυσίζωνον αἱ ὠδίνουσαι, λύουσαν τὸ ἐσφιγμένον τῶν κόλπων πρὸς τὸ ῥῆον καὶ ἀπονώτερον ἐκπεσεῖν τὸ κυσκόμενον, λεγομένης αὐτῆς καὶ Ἐλευθοῦς.  
ἠπία is too general, but λυσίζωνος is attested for Eileithyia: Theoc. *Id.* 17.60 Εἰλείθιαν λυσίζωνον (but cf. Hesiod *λ.* 1443 λυσίζωνος· γυνή, ἥτις ἐνυμφεῦθη. καὶ ἐπίθετον

<sup>357</sup> Lucian *men. siv. nec.* 9.19 καὶ νυχίαν Ἐκάτην καὶ ἐπαινήν Περσεφόνειαν.

<sup>358</sup> *E.Ion* 1048 Εἰνοδία θύγατερ Δάματρος, ἃ τῶν νυκτιπόλων ἐφόδων ἀνάσσεις; Acusilaus *Hist.* F.fr. 42; A.R. 4.829.

<sup>359</sup> Aristophanes fr. 500; Artemidorus *onir.* 2.34.23. See too Schol. Lycoph. *sv.* 1176 Βριμῶ ἢ Φερσεφόνῃ. ἢ δὲ αὐτὴ λέγεται καὶ Ἐκάτη. <καὶ> Ἀπολλώνιος Βριμῶ νυκτίπολον χθονίην ἐνέροισιν ἀνασσαν.

'Αρτέμιδος).<sup>360</sup> Ἐλευθώ is attested poorly as an alternative name: see Schol. Pi. *OP Ode 6* schol. 71-86.2; but often as an etymology:

- ο EM 298.39 Εἰλείθυια· Θεαὶ τῶν τικτουςῶν ἔφοροι, Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας θυγατέρες. Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔλευθω, τὸ παραγίνομαι, ἐλεύθυια.

73<sup>12</sup> πλείους δ' Εἰλείθυια παραδέδονται καθ' ὃν λόγον πλείους Ἔρωτες· πολύτροποι γὰρ καὶ οἱ τοκετοὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ὡς αἱ τῶν ἐρώντων ἐπιθυμίαι. φανερώς δ' ἡ σελήνη τελεσφορεῖσθαι τὰ συλλαμβανόμενα ποιεῖ καὶ ταύτης ἐστὶ τό τε αὖξιν αὐτὰ καὶ τὸ ἀπολύειν τῶν φερουσῶν πεπανθέντα.

A plurality is Homeric (*Il.* 11.270 Εἰλείθυια). The association of Artemis, Moon and Eileithyia with childbirth is an aspect of the ancient link between human female biology and the lunar cycle which persists even today despite the complete lack of scientific evidence.<sup>361</sup>

Cornutus takes it as self-evident: φανερώς...

73<sup>18</sup> οὐ θαυμαστὸν δ' εἰ κατ' ἄλλην μὲν ἔμφασιν παρθένον ὑπενόησαν τὴν Ἄρτεμιν ἄχραντον καὶ ἀγνήν οὖσαν ὁμοίως τῷ ἡλίῳ, κατ' ἄλλην δὲ ἐπικούρον τῶν τικτουςῶν, ἐπ' αὐτῇ κειμένου τοῦ εὐτοκεῖσθαι τὰ τικτόμενα, κατὰ τρίτην δὲ φρικῶδες τι καὶ χαλεπὸν ἔχουσαν, οἷαν ἔφαμεν περὶ τῆς Ἑκάτης ὑπόνοιαν εἶναι.

The anomalies of this passage are numerous:

- 1) There has been a careful construction of an argument following from Artemis' identification with the moon: Artemis (epithets, iconography, sacred animal); Hekate (epithets, nature, sacred animal); Eileithyia (epithets, nature, plurality). We now have an anomalous repetition of the different aspects of Artemis, offered as alternatives. Three interpretations of Artemis are given: a) *a virgin, immaculate, pure, like the sun*; b) *a helper of births*; c) *something terrifying (φρικῶδες) like an interpretation we made of Hekate*.
- 2) Earlier in the text, at 72.19, the reference to a chthonic aspect of Hekate is introduced with προσανεπλάσθη. Cornutus is carefully cleansing all material which might engender superstition; it would thus be highly inconsistent to introduce vocabulary like φρικῶδες immediately afterwards.
- 3) 73.19 ὑπενόησαν is a spectacular oddity: who exactly is the subject of this verb?<sup>362</sup>

An explanation may be found by referring to Plutarch and Proclus (C+5 Neoplatonist):

- ο Plutarch *aud. poet.* 19F οὗς ταῖς πάλαι μὲν ὑπονοίαις ἀλληγορίαις δὲ νῦν λεγομέναις.

<sup>360</sup> Hays, 129, suggests another elaborate etymology for Εἰλείθυια: ἠπίαν + λυσίζωνον + κυισκόμενον giving ἠ + λυ + υι. This is ingenious, but too concealed to be included with Cornutus' other etymologies.

<sup>361</sup> Thus Aristotle *GA* 738a.22 wrongly asserts that menstruation starts when the moon is waning: there is no correlation at all. The human gestation period is exactly nine months, thus the mechanism was seen to be governed by the moon.

<sup>362</sup> Neither Hays nor Ramelli comment here. The verb appears 5 times in the text, where the other four instances are unremarkable: 1) 32.1 ὑπονοητέον Προμηθέα *one must suspect...*; 2) 45.7 ὡς Εὐρύπιδης ὑπονοεῖ ...; 3) 64.8 ὑπονοῶ δὲ καὶ (Cornutus himself) ...; 4) 75.12 [έντεῦθεν ὑπονοητέον...]. Further, the noun appears once only, in this passage under discussion: 74.3 ὑπόνοιαν *interpretation, allegory*.

- o Proclus *plato cra. comm.* 179 Ὅτι τῆς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Ἀρτέμιδος τρεῖς ὁ Πλάτων παραδίδωσιν ιδιότητας, τὴν τε ἄχραντον καὶ τὴν κόσμιον καὶ τὴν ἀναγωγόν· καὶ διὰ μὲν τὴν πρώτην παρθενίας ἔρῶν λέγεται ἡ θεός, διὰ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν, καθ' ἣν τελεσιουργός, [ὡς] ἀρετῆς ἔφορος εἶναι λέγεται, διὰ δὲ τὴν τρίτην, καθ' ἣν ..... μισῆσαι λέγεται τὰς γενεσιουργοὺς ὀρμάς...., εἴτε Ἑκατικὴ προσαγορευομένη θεότης, ὡς οἱ θεουργοὶ φασιν, εἴτε Ἄρτεμις, ὡς Ὀρφεύς.<sup>363</sup>

Plutarch gives ὑπόνοια as a synonym for ἀλληγορία, *sustained allegory*,<sup>364</sup> Proclus is describing a three-fold interpretation of Artemis, which can be compared with the above from the Cornutus text:

Proclus	Cornutus text
Ὅτι τῆς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Ἀρτέμιδος τρεῖς ... ιδιότητας	οὐ θαυμαστὸν δ' εἰ κατ' ἄλλην μὲν ἔμφασιν
τὴν τε ἄχραντον ... καὶ ... παρθενίας ἔρῶν λέγεται ἡ θεός...	παρθένον ὑπενόησαν τὴν Ἄρτεμιν ἄχραντον <sup>365</sup> καὶ ἀγνήν <sup>366</sup> οὖσαν ὁμοίως τῷ ἡλίῳ
καθ' ἣν τελεσιουργός, <sup>367</sup> [ὡς] ἀρετῆς ἔφορος εἶναι λέγεται ...	κατ' ἄλλην δὲ ἐπίκουρον τῶν τικτουσῶν, ἐπ' αὐτῇ κειμένου τοῦ εὐτοκεῖσθαι τὰ τικτόμενα
καθ' ἣν ..... εἴτε Ἑκατικὴ προσαγορευομένη θεότης, ὡς οἱ θεουργοὶ φασιν, εἴτε Ἄρτεμις, ὡς Ὀρφεύς.	κατὰ τρίτην δὲ φρικῶδές τι καὶ χαλεπὸν ἔχουσαν, οἷαν ἔφαμεν περὶ τῆς Ἑκάτης ὑπόνοϊαν εἶναι.

There is a remarkable parallel between this Neoplatonist interpretation by Proclus and this section of Cornutus' text, where the only meaningful rendering of ὑπενόησαν is *they* (mythmakers) *were allegorizing*. If the Cornutus passage were integrated seamlessly into the text, this would be evidence that Cornutus was a 'strong allegorist', but the anomalies described above clearly identify the passage as a Neoplatonist accretion. See too the accretion at 70.13.

- 74 <sup>5</sup> Τελευταῖον δὲ τὸν δεχόμενον τὰς ψυχὰς ἀέρα Ἄιδην, ὡς ἔφην, διὰ τὸ ἀειδὲς προσηγόρευσαν. μὴ φαινομένων δ' ἡμῖν τῶν ὑπὸ γῆν, ἐκεῖσε χωρεῖν τοὺς διαλλάττοντας διεβόησαν.

Cornutus starts the final section with a signalled repetition of the etymology of Hades given earlier at 5.2 (see Table 12). He argues that although Hades is the *air receiving our souls*, the mistaken belief in a subterranean place derives from the etymology of the name from *unseen*.

- 74 <sup>9</sup> Κλύμενος ὁ Ἄιδης λέγεται τῷ αἴτιος εἶναι τοῦ κλύειν· ἀπὲρ γὰρ πεπληγμένος ἡ φωνή. Κλύμενος: more commonly an epithet of heroes, but also Hades: Pausanias 2.35.9; EM 521.4.

<sup>363</sup> See Plato *Cra.* 406b1 Ἄρτεμις δὲ <διὰ> τὸ ἀρτεμὲς φαίνεται καὶ τὸ κόσμιον, διὰ τὴν τῆς παρθενίας ἐπιθυμίαν.

<sup>364</sup> ● 1.3.2. for a full discussion of these terms.

<sup>365</sup> ἄχραντον: of the 1241 attested instances in TLG, only 20 are pre-Cornutus, only once for a Stoic (Marc. Aur. 3.4.3.4, different context), but 267 times for Proclus.

<sup>366</sup> ἀγνήν (also 67.2 ἀγνότητα, but an accretion); words with this root are unattested elsewhere in Cornutus, who consistently (7 times) uses ἱερός for *sacred*.

<sup>367</sup> τελεσιουργός: *creating perfection* (τελεσιουργέω *bring young to perfection*).

The concept of sound as air being struck, ἀήρ πεπληγμένος, is attested for other Stoics,<sup>368</sup> thus a clever etymology of Κλύμενος from κλύειν.

74 10 εὐβουλον δὲ καὶ εὐβουλέα κατὰ ἀποδυσπέτησιν ὀνόμασαν αὐτὸν ὡς καλῶς περὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βουλευόμενον διὰ τοῦ παύειν αὐτούς ποτε τῶν πόνων καὶ τῶν φροντίδων. ■ 71  
εὐβουλον, εὐβουλέα are very poorly attested, and only obscure:

- ο Orphic fr. 19 ἔρχομαι ἐκ καθαρῶν [χθονίων] καθαρὰ, χθονίων βασιλεία, Εὐκλε καὶ Εὐβουλεῦ καὶ <ὄσοι> θεοὶ δαίμονες ἄλλοι.

ἀποδυσπέτησιν: the first of 37 instances, most very late.

These epithets are highly suspect: Cornutus usually starts his list with Hesiodic and Homeric epithets, and the next sentence at 74.14 in fact starts exactly as one would expect Cornutus' list to be introduced, and so these obscure epithets are incorrectly placed. Further, the passage has a distinctly Christian flavour: compare for example

- ο J. Chrysostom (C+4/+5) *ep. eph.* 62.124.23 ... ὁ σωματικὸς θάνατος διαλύσας ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα, τὸ μὲν πολλῶν φροντίδων καὶ πόνων ἀνέπαυσε...<sup>369</sup>

The combination of misplaced text, obscure epithets and dubious content is sufficient to identify this passage as an accretion.

74 14 ἐπονομάζεται δὲ ἐπιθετικῶς καὶ πολυδέκτης καὶ πολυδέγμων καὶ πολύαρχος πολλοὺς τε δεχόμενος καὶ τῶν λεγομένων πλειόνων ἢ πολλῶν ἄρχων. πυλάρτην δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ ποιητὴς προσηγόρευσε ὡς ἀκριβῶς ἠρμοσμένας τὰς πύλας ἔχοντα καὶ μηδένα ἀνιέντα.

πολυδέκτης, πολυδέγμων: HH 2(*Cer.*) 9, 17; πολύαρχος: elsewhere unattested for Hades. πυλάρτην: II.8.367 *al.*: εἰς Ἀΐδαο πυλάρταο.

Cornutus explains some transparent etymologies of epic epithets. The exposition of Hades is surprisingly short, and, as discussed above at 55.7, Persephone is noticeably absent.

74 18 ὁ δὲ Χάρων ἴσως μὲν κατ' ἀντίφρασιν ἐκ τῆς χαρᾶς ὀνομάσθη· δύναται δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρεῖν [ἢ τοῦ χανδάνω] τὸ ἔτυμον ἔχειν [ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ κεχηνέναι]. ■ 72

Table 86. The etymologies bracketed by Lang are elsewhere unattested, nor are they good descriptions of the nominatum. Further, they produce a grammatical problem and disrupt the balance of the μὲν ... δέ construction. Both, therefore, can be identified as accretions.

74 21 ὁ δὲ Ἀχέρων ἀπὸ τῶν γινομένων ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν ἀχῶν παρήχθη [καὶ ἢ Ἀχερουσία λίμνη]. ■ 73

Table 87. Ἀχέρων is the Homeric river in the underworld into which Κωκυτός and Πυριφλεγέθων flow (*Od.*10.513).

[καὶ ἢ Ἀχερουσία λίμνη]: a geographical reference.<sup>370</sup> Not only is this irrelevant, but it creates a grammatical problem, and is thus identifiable as an accretion.<sup>371</sup>

<sup>368</sup> Diogenes Bab. *ap.* D.L.7.55.3; Zeno *ap.* Eustathius II. 4.237.6.

<sup>369</sup> The great majority of the 29 texts containing πόνων + φροντίδων are late Christian writers.

<sup>370</sup> Thuc. 1.46.4.3; Strabo 1.2.18.20.

<sup>371</sup> But see Apollodorus fr. 10.

74 <sup>23</sup> φανερόν δὲ πόθεν καὶ ὁ Κοκκυτὸς καὶ ὁ Πυριφλεγέθων τὴν κλήσιν | ἔσχον, πάλαι καιώντων τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ κοκκυτὸν ἐγειρόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, [διὰ τοῦτο καὶ δαίμονας αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κεκαῦσθαι καλούντων].

74

See Tables 88 and 89.

[διὰ τοῦτο ... καλούντων]: Cornutus has previously avoided any reference to δαίμων in the text, and it would be unconvincing to introduce such an important concept in passing in an etymology. Further, the etymology is not made explicit, and Cornutus would surely have inserted a reference to the unfamiliar δαίειν as an explanation. These anomalies identify the text as an accretion.

Not only is δαίμων avoided, but the river Styx is noticeably absent from this list of rivers of the underworld.<sup>372</sup> The only etymology attested for the Styx is related to *hate, dread*,<sup>373</sup> thus in keeping with his avoidance of deities associated with superstition (see 55.7, Persephone, and 72.19, Hekate), Cornutus avoids a name which has a negative aspect.

75 <sup>3</sup> ἢ δ' ἄορνος λίμνη φυσικώτερον ἴσως ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος προσηγορεύθη καίτοι καὶ τὸν σκότον ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ τὴν ὁμίχλην ἀέρα οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐκάλουν, εἰ μὴ νῆ Δία οὕτως ἀπεχρήσαντο τῇ τοῦ ἀέρος γλαυκότητι ὡς καὶ τῶν λεγομένων φασγανίων οἷς στέφουσι τὸν Πλούτωνα.

Aristotle, *Mir.* 839a12, reports an ἄορνος λίμνη, as does Diodorus Sic., 4.22.1.1, who also claims it was sacred to Persephone, a detail which Cornutus naturally omits. If φυσικώτερον requires a comparison, it may be the assumption of a transparent etymology from *birdless*, but Cornutus' clever *more technical* etymology from ἀήρ (elsewhere unattested) relies on suggested archaic meanings of σκότος and ὁμίχλη. There is a neat connection with the air and the gladiolus, having a grey colour, leading on to the *maidenhair fern*.<sup>374</sup>

75 <sup>8</sup> στέφουσι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἀδιάντω πρὸς ὑπόμνησιν τοῦ ἀναινεσθαι τοὺς τελευτῶντας καὶ μηκέτι τὸ διερόν ἴσχειν, στέρεσθαι δὲ τῆς παραιτίας τοῦ διαπνεῖσθαι καὶ θάλλειν ἱκμάδος.

The iconographical detail of *maidenhair fern* has an etymological explanation: see Table 90.

75 <sup>13</sup> [ἐντεῦθεν ὑπονοητέον καὶ τοὺς ἀλίβαντας μεμυθεῦσθαι· ἐν Ἄιδου εἰσὶ διὰ τὴν τῆς λιβάδος ἀμεθεξίαν τῶν νεκρῶν].

75

Table 90. Regardless of the value of this etymology of ἀλίβαντες, *corpses*, from λιβάς, *moisture*, the corpse is totally irrelevant in context, being neither a deity nor an epithet nor iconographical detail. It is thus identifiable as an accretion. See Table 90 and Appendix 2, Table 9 for an identical piece of text.

75 <sup>15</sup> οἰκείως δὲ τοῖς κατοικομένοις καὶ ὁ νάρκισσος ἔχειν ἔδοξε καὶ τῶν Ἐρινύων ἔφασαν αὐτὸν στεφάνωμα εἶναι, προσεδρεύσαντες τῇ παραθέσει τῆς νάρκης καὶ τῷ οἶον διαναρκᾶν τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας.

<sup>372</sup> Hom. *Od.* 5.185, 10.514.

<sup>373</sup> Philoxenus fr. 320 τὸ οὖν στυγεῖν, τὸ φοβεῖσθαι, ἀπὸ τῆς Στυγός. See too Apollodorus fr. 10.

<sup>374</sup> The maidenhair fern has fine hairs which prevent water penetration, thus always remaining dry.



Erinnyes garlanded with narcissus: unattested until Eustathius *II*. 1.138.13, with the same explanation. Cornutus does not use an etymology of *νάρκισσος*, but observes a similarity between the name and the *νάρκη*, *stiffness*, of the dead.<sup>375</sup>

- 75<sup>19</sup> Οὕτω δ' ἂν ἤδη καὶ τᾶλλα τῶν μυθικῶς παραδεδοσθαι | περὶ θεῶν δοκούντων ἀναγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ παραδεδειγμένα στοιχεῖα, ᾧ καὶ, δύναιο, πεισθεὶς ὅτι οὐχ οἱ τυχόντες ἐγένοντο οἱ παλαιοὶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνιέναι τὴν τοῦ κόσμου φύσιν ἱκανοὶ καὶ πρὸς τὸ διὰ συμβόλων καὶ αἰνιγμάτων φιλοσοφῆσαι περὶ αὐτῆς εὐεπίφοροι.

Cornutus concludes his text with a statement of the purpose of the work, and the underlying conviction that a study of ancient theological beliefs is beneficial because of its insights. This might have been expected in an introduction, though recapitulation was not uncommon:

• 1.7.2.8. for the possible loss of the beginning of the text. • 1.3-1.5 for a full discussion of this statement by Cornutus, and especially 1.7.3.5. for the highly significant expression *περὶ θεῶν δοκούντων*.

- 76<sup>6</sup> διὰ πλειόνων δὲ καὶ ἐξεργαστικώτερον εἴρηται τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις φιλοσόφοις, ἐμοῦ νῦν ἐπιτετημένως αὐτὰ παραδοῦναι σοι βουλευθέντος· χρησίμη γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον προχειρότης ἐστί.

*διὰ πλειόνων*: attested *ca.* 800 times. The position requires this to be a comparative adverbial phrase to balance *ἐξεργαστικώτερον*, meaning *at greater length*. See Isocrates *Bus.* 2.3, and Galen *plenit. liber* 7.528.12 (=SVF 440.29) *πρὸς μὲν δὴ τὴν τῶν Στωικῶν ὑπόθεσιν ἐτέρωθι λέλεκται διὰ πλειόνων*.

- 76<sup>9</sup> περὶ δὲ ἐκείνων καὶ περὶ τῆς θεραπείας τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν οἰκείως εἰς τιμὴν αὐτῶν γινομένων καὶ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὸν ἐντελῆ λήψη λόγον οὕτω μόνον ὡς εἰς τὸ εὐσεβεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ εἰς τὸ δεισιδαιμονεῖν εἰσαγομένων τῶν νέων καὶ θύειν τε καὶ εὐχεσθαι καὶ προσκυνεῖν καὶ ὁμνυεῖν κατὰ τρόπον καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐμβάλλουσι καιροῖς καθ' ἣν ἀρμόττει συμμετρίαν διδασκομένων.

*θύειν τε καὶ εὐχεσθαι*: describing the reciprocal belief underpinning Greek religion. See for example:

- o Socrates (Plato *Euthphr.* 14c8) ΣΩ. Οὐκοῦν τὸ θύειν δωρεῖσθαι ἐστὶ τοῖς θεοῖς, τὸ δ' εὐχεσθαι αἰτεῖν τοὺς θεοὺς;

Cornutus ends with an appropriate ethical message: an understanding of the text will enable the avoidance of the extremes of atheism and superstition, resulting in correct behaviour. As discussed in Section 1.9, however, this message was by no means restricted to Stoics. The rhetorical effect of the whole text is clear: even when the details are difficult to understand, and when explanations occasionally resort to pure rhetoric rather than rational argument, there is a forceful conviction of a unified and coherent structure of religious beliefs, of the benign nature of the universe, and man's unique position in that universe as the only creature which has a share of the fundamentally divine power of rational thought.

<sup>375</sup> One etymology is attested: Schol. Clem. Alex. *areth.* (Aretha (C+9?)) 200, 23 ὁ *νάρκισσος* *νάρκην* ποιεῖ καὶ τοῦτο σημαίνει τοῦνομα.

## Appendix 1: Tables of etymologies

The etymology tables are usually presented in the same order as the sequence of etymologies in the Cornutus text. Etymologies from other writers are presented in each table for comparison, where they are listed in chronological order wherever possible, but where the ordering is not an assertion that the order is correct.

Accretions in the Cornutus text are bracketed [...].

Some tables have ✓ indicating an etymology, and ✗ indicating an explicit denial of a particular etymology.

	Table
Ἄγαθος Δαίμων	68
ἀγγελίδα	50
Ἀδράστεια	24
*Ἄδωνις	73
Ἀθηνᾶ	45
*Αἶδης	12
αιθήρ	4
Αἶσα	20
*Ἀκμων	3
Ἀλαλοκομενής	50
ἀλάστωρ	15
Ἀληκτώ	18
ἀλίβας	90
Ἀμάθεια	69
Ἀνάγκη	22
Ἀπόλλων	81
Ἀργειφόντης	32
*Ἄρης	53
*Ἄρτεμις	80
Ἀσκληπιός	83
ἄστρα	5
Ἀστραῖος	64
*Ἄτλας	61
*Ἄτροπος	23
ἀτρυτώνη	46
Ἀφροδίτη	59
Ἀχέραν	87
Βριάρεως	34
Δημήτηρ	71
διάκτορος	30
Δίκη	74
Διόνυσος	78
Διώνη	58

	Table
Εἰλείθουια	85
Εἰμαρμένη	21
Εἰρήνη	76
Ἐνώ	52
*Ἐρεβος	36
Ἐρινύες	17
Ἐρμῆς	29
Ἐστία	70
Ἐμμενίδες	18
Ζεὺς	7
*Ἡρα	8
Ἡρακλῆς	79
*Ἡφαιστος	44
Θαύμας	65
Θεία	42
θεός	6
Θέτις	33
Ἰαπετός	37
Κλωθῶ	23
Κοῖος	38
Κόρη	72
κόσμος	2
Κρίος	38
Κρόνος	10
Κυθήρεια	60
Κωκυτός	88
λαοσσός	48
Λάχεσις	23
Λευκοθέα	57
Λητώ	92
Λοξίας	82
Μέγαιρα	18
Μοῖρα	19

	Table
Μοῦσαι	28
Νέμεσις	25
Νηρεὺς	56
Νίκη	51
Νύμφη	54
ὀλοόφρονος	62
*Ὀπις	27
οὐρανός	1
παλαμναῖος	16
Παλλάς	49
Πάν	66
Περσεφόνη	75
Πήγασος	55
Πλειάδες	63
Πλούτων	13
Ποσειδῶν	11
Πρίαπος	67
Προμηθεὺς	43
Πυριφλεγέθων	89
Ῥέα	9
Σάτυρος	77
σῶκος	31
Τηθύς	41
Τισιφώνη	18
Τριοδίτις	84
Τριτογένεια	47
Τύχη	26
*Υπερίων	39
Φοῖβος	91
Χάος	35
Χάραν	86
Ἵκεανός	40
*Ὦραι	14

**Table 1:** οὐρανός

	<i>boundary above</i>	<i>to guard</i>	<i>to be seen above</i>	❶ <i>others</i>
Plato <i>Cra.</i> 396b8			ὀρώσα τὰ ἄνω	
[Aristotle] <i>Mu.</i> 400a	ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρον εἶναι τὸν ἄνω			
Cornutus 1.1	οὐρος + ἄνω	ὠρεῖν	ὀρᾶσθαι + ἄνω	
Ach. Tat. 5.51	οὐρος εἶναι	ἡμᾶς οὐρεῖ	ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀρᾶσθαι	ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀρούειν <i>to move</i>
Orion o 118.28		ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρεῖν	διὰ τὸ ὀρᾶσθαι ἄνω	
Simplicius <i>aristotle cael.</i> 7.281.25			τὸ ἄνω ὀρῶν	
Olympiodorus <i>plat. phaed. comm.</i> 1.5.1			παρὰ τὸ τὰ ἄνω ὀρᾶν	
Et. Gud. o 441.55		παρὰ τὸ ὀρῶ τὸ φυλάσσω	διὰ τὸ ὀρᾶσθαι ἄνω	1. ὀρᾶται νοερώς <i>it is perceived by the mind</i> 2. ὄρασις νοῦ <i>a vision of the mind</i> 3. παρὰ τὸ ἄνω φέρειν τὸν νοῦν <i>to bring the mind to the things above</i>
EM 642.10		παρὰ τὸ οὐρῶ	ὁ πᾶσιν ὀρώμενος	

❶ Tsantsanoglou (Laks & Most 15 n.34) suggests an etymology from οὐρίζων νόος at Orphica *fr. derv.* Col. XIV (Laks & Most) (340-360 B.C.) (See Kronos table).

**Table 2: κόσμος**

Pythagoras (Ach. Tat. 5.46)	τὸ δὲ πᾶν κόσμον ...ἐκ τῆς διακοσμήσεως
Pythagoras ([Plut.] <i>plac.</i> 886B6)	Πυθαγόρας πρῶτος ὠνόμασε τὴν τῶν ὄλων περιοχὴν κόσμον ἐκ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ τάξεως
Anaxagoras ([Galen] <i>hist. phil.</i> 35.7)	Ἄναξαγόρας δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τὸ διατεταχέναι τὸν κόσμον παρειληφῶς ἐστηκότα τὰ σώματα κατ' ἀρχὰς διακεκοσμηκέναι φησί
Aristotle <i>Cael.</i> 280a.20-24	᾿Ωστ' εἰ τὸ ὅλον σῶμα συνεχὲς ὄν ὅτε μὲν οὕτως ὅτε δ' ἐκείνως διατίθεται καὶ διακεκόσμηται, ἡ δὲ τοῦ ὅλου σύστασις ἐστὶ κόσμος καὶ οὐρανός..
Chrysippus fr. 527 (=Arius Didym.fr. 31)	τοῦ δὲ κατὰ τὴν διακόσμησιν λεγομένου κόσμου
Stoics: (Aristocles fr. 3)	Ζήνωνα, Κλεάνθην, Χρύσιππον ... κόσμον, εἴτ' αὖθις πάλιν διακοσμεῖσθαι
❶Stoics: (D.L.7.137.13)	καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν διακόσμησιν [τῶν ἀστέρων] κόσμον εἶναι λέγουσι
<Aristaeus> 52.22-24	.... ὁ κόσμος. εἰ γὰρ ἀρχὰν λήψεται διακοσμάσιος, ἕκαμέ ποκα τὸ κινέον αὐτὸ κατ' ἄμπαυσιν διακοσμάσιος
[Aristotle] <i>Mu.</i> 397a.8	ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου λεγόμενον κεκοσμηθῆσαι
Cornutus 2.4	καλεῖται δὲ σὺν πᾶσιν οἷς περιέχει κόσμος ἀπὸ τοῦ κάλλιστα διακεκοσμηθῆσαι
Ach. Tat. 5.33	ὠνόμασται δὲ κόσμος παρὰ τὴν τῶν συμπάντων διακόσμησιν
Iamblichus <i>theol. arith.</i> 79.25	.. καὶ κατὰ μέρος εὐρίσκεται [καὶ] διακεκοσμημένα κατ' αὐτήν....
Simplicius <i>aristotle cael.</i> 7.421.30	ἀλλὰ διὰ τί ὁ κόσμος οὕτως, ὡς νῦν ἔχει, διακεκόσμηται

❶ referring generally to Zeno, Kleantes, Chrysippus, Archedamus, Posidonius, Apollodorus Sel.. [] del. Arnim: see LS 2.268.

**Table 3: Etymology and genealogy of ἄκμων.** Cornutus: 1) ἄκμητον *indefatigable* 2) κεκμηκέναι *exhausted*

Genealogy	Source		Ref.
ἄκμων ↓ Οὐρανός	οἱ παλαιοί.	ὅτι ἄκμονίδαι οἱ Οὐρανίδαι	Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 4.218.3
	Alkman	ἄκμωνος ὁ Οὐρανός	
		λέγεται πατήρ διὰ τὸ ἀκάματον τῆς οὐρανίου κινήσεως	
	Callimachus	ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀκαμάτου φύσεως	EM 49.47
	Theocritus	(see below)	Schol. Theocrit. sv. <i>Prol.</i>
	τινὲς τῶν ποιητῶν	ἄκμωνος ἔφασαν αὐτὸν υἱὸν εἶναι, τὸ ἄκμητον τῆς περιφορᾶς αὐτοῦ αἰνιττόμενοι... κεκμηκέναι γὰρ λέγομεν τοὺς τετελευτηκότας	Cornutus 2.6
		ἄκμονίδης.. ὁ Οὐρανός. ἄκμωνος γὰρ παῖς	Hesychius <i>lex.</i> α 2456.1
		ἄκμονίδης.. ὁ Οὐρανός. ἄκμωνος γὰρ παῖς	Photius <i>lex.</i> α 774.1
	γενεαλογουῖσιν	ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀκαμάτου φύσεως	Et. Gen. α 340.1
		ἄκμονίδης: .. καὶ ὁ Οὐρανός. ἄκμωνος γὰρ παῖς	Lex. Seg. α 56.29
	τ[ε καὶ δύνειν. ἴνις ἄκμωνος ὁ Οὐρα]νός· οὗτος γὰρ ἄκμωνος υἱ[ός]	Schol. Callimachum <i>aetia</i> fr. 110 65-9.19	
ἄκμων ≡ Ὠκεανός	τινὲς	διὰ τὸ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἀκαμάτους	Et. Gen. α 340.1
	τινὲς	διὰ τὸ τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἀκαμάτους	EM 49.47
ἄκμων ≡ Αἰθήρ ↓ Οὐρανός	οἱ δὲ	ἄκμονα τὸν Αἰθέρα, Αἰθέρος δὲ παῖς ὁ Οὐρανός	Et. Gen. α 340.1
	οἱ δὲ	ἄκμονα τὸν αἰθέρα· αἰθέρος δὲ υἱός, ὁ οὐρανός. Ὁ δὲ αἰθήρ, ἀκάματος· ἐπειδὴ τὸ πῦρ ἀκάματος	EM 49.47
Ὠκεανός ↓ Οὐρανός		Ὠκεανοῦ δὲ υἱὸν τὸν Οὐρανόν	Et. Gen. α 340.1
		Ὠκεανοῦ δὲ υἱὸν τὸν Οὐρανόν	EM 49.47
Γαῖα ↓ ἄκμων = Γαῖα ↓ Οὐρανός	Theocritus	ἄκμονίδαν δὲ φησι τὸν οὐρανόν· Γαῖα μὲν <γὰρ> ἄκμονα ἔτικτεν, ἀπὸ δ' ἄκμωνος ὁ Οὐρανός	Schol. Theocrit. sv. <i>Prol.</i>



**Table 4: αἰθήρ**

	<b>Stoic:</b> αἶθεσθαι <i>to glow</i>	<b>Aristotle:</b> αἰεῖ θεῖν <i>always running</i>
Anaxagoras (Aristotle <i>Cael.</i> 270b 24)	ὀνομάζει γὰρ αἰθέρα ἀντὶ πυρός	
Plato <i>Cra.</i> 410b.6		ὅτι αἰεῖ θεῖν περὶ τὸν ἀέρα ῥέων "αἰεθεῖρ" δικαίως ἂν καλοῖτο
Aristotle <i>Cael.</i> 270b 23		ἀπὸ τοῦ θεῖν αἰεῖ
[Aristotle] <i>Mu.</i> 392a.9		διὰ τὸ αἰεῖ θεῖν
❶ Philo <i>conf. ling.</i> 156.4	ὁ αἰθήρ, ἱερὸν πῦρ, φλόξ ἐστὶν ἄσβεστος, ..παρὰ τὸ αἶθειν	
Cornutus 2.10-14	πυρώδης ἐστίν... ἀπὸ τοῦ αἶθεσθαι	τινὲς δὲ φασὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰεῖ θεῖν οὕτως αὐτὸν ὀνομάσθαι
Nicomachus <i>harm. ench.</i> 3.1.15		καὶ αἰεῖ θεῖν, παρ' ὃ καὶ θεὸς καὶ αἰθήρ ὀνοματοποιεῖται
Ach. Tat. 21.59	ἀπὸ τοῦ αἶθεσθαι (πυρώδης γὰρ ἐστίν)	ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰεῖ θεῖν καὶ ὁρμῶν
❷ Eusebius <i>PE</i> 3.10.11.4	πυρώδης ἀπὸ τοῦ αἶθεσθαι	
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 2.524.9	ἢ παρὰ τὸ αἶθειν	εἰ καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς σοφοῖς ἀρέσκει παρὰ τὸ αἰεῖ θεῖν αἰθήρ λελέχθαι
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 3.629.20		παρὰ τὸ αἰεῖ θεῖν αἰθήρ καλεῖται
EM 33.5		Παρὰ τὸ αἰεῖ θεῖν κυκλοφορικῶς

❶ Assigned to Chrysippus fr. 664.

❷ Same: Orion α 612.18; Hesychius *lex.* α 1855.2; Theognostus *orth.* 523.1; Et. Gen. α 196.1; Photius *lex.* α 571.3; Et. Sym. 1.142.14; Zonaras *lex.* α 67.20.

**Table 5: ἄστρα**

Plato <i>Cra.</i> 409c.10	τὰ δ' "ἄστρα" ἔοικε τῆς ἀστραπῆς ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχειν. ἢ δὲ "ἀστραπή," ὅτι τὰ ὄψα ἀναστρέφει, "ἀναστρωπή" ἂν εἴη, νῦν δὲ "ἀστραπή" καλλωπισθεῖσα κέκληται	
Posidonius (Arius Didym. fr. 32)		"Ἄστρον ...οὐδέποτε στάσιν ἔχον, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ φερόμενον ἐγκυκλίως
Cornutus 2.14		καὶ τὰ ἄστρα γὰρ οἶονεὶ ἄστατά ἐστιν ὡς οὐδέποτε ἰστάμενα, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ κινούμενα
Schol. Hom. <i>II.</i> sv. 10.52 Scholia line 4		ἄστατα. "Ὅθεν καὶ ἀστήρ κέκληται, παρὰ τὸ μὴ στηρίζεσθαι
Et. Gud. 220.1	'Αστραπή· παρὰ τὸ ἀστάτως καὶ ῥᾶον πάυεσθαι· ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἀστέρος ὄψα ἔχειν, ἥγονον διάπυρος <ὡς> ἀστήρ	

Plato, above, has ὄψα ἀναστρέφει → ἀναστρωπή → ἀστραπή → ἄστρα (it turns our eyes upwards)

**Table 6: θεός**

	θέω <i>to run</i>	θεάομαι, θεωρέω, <i>to look at, behold, contemplate</i>	τίθημι <i>to place</i>
'οί Πελασγοί' (Hdt. 2.52)			Θεός ... από τοῦ τοιούτου ὅτι κόσμῳ θέντες τὰ πάντα πρήγματα καὶ πάσας νομάς εἶχον
Plato <i>Cra.</i> 397d.2	ἄτε οὖν αὐτὰ ὀρῶντες πάντα ἀεὶ ἰόντα δρόμῳ καὶ θέοντα, ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς φύσεως τῆς τοῦ θεῖν "θεοῦς" αὐτοὺς ἐπονομάσαι.		
❶οί Στωικοί = [Plut.] <i>plac.</i> 880B5	βλέποντες δὲ τοὺς ἀστέρας ἀεὶ θέοντας αἰτίους	τε τοῦ θεωρεῖν ἡμᾶς ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην θεοῦς προσηγόρευσαν	
Apollodorus fr. 237c (Et Gud. 258.57)	Θεός, ἀπὸ τοῦ θεῖν		
Cornutus 2.16	ἀπὸ τῆς θεύσεως		τάχα δ' ἂν εἶεν θετῆρες
Macrobius <i>sat.</i> 1.23.3	Θεοῦς enim dicunt sidera et stellas, ἀπὸ τοῦ θέειν, id est τρέχειν, quod semper in cursu sint,	ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεωρεῖσθαι	
❷Et. Gud. θ 258.57	Θεός, διὰ τοῦ θέειν ἤγουν τρέχειν	τινὲς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴτιον εἶναι τοῦ θεᾶσθαι.. ἢ διὰ τὸ θεωρεῖν τὰ πάντα	
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 1.17.32	Ὅτι δὲ τὸ θεός ὄνομα ἐπὶ τε ἄστρον λέγεται παρὰ τὸ θέειν		καὶ ἐπὶ στοιχείων παρὰ τὴν εὐτακτον θέσιν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ τὰ πάντα εὖ διατιθεμένου νοῦς ...
Galen Gramm. <i>all. hes. theog.</i> 306.19	θεοῦς δὲ νῦν λέγει τὰ ἄστρα, ...διὰ τὸ θέειν ἀεὶ		

❶assigned to Chrysippus fr. 1009.

❷also has οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς θερμότητος λέγουσιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄρχοντα τὸν θάνατον, ψυχρὸν ὄντα κατ' ἀντίφρασιν, ὡς καὶ θερμοῦ θεῖν τὸ ἱερὸν Αἰγυπτίων, ψυχροποιὸν γάρ ἐστι.



Table 7: Ζεύς

Etymologies of Ζεύς, Ζήνα:	Etymologies of Δία:
<b>z1:</b> Ζεύς ← ζῶσι, Ζήνα ← ζῆν <i>creating or being the cause of life</i>	<b>d1:</b> Δία ← <i>everything is on account of Zeus</i>
<b>z2:</b> Ζεύς ← ἔζησε <i>being the only child of Kronos who was not swallowed</i>	<b>d2:</b> Δίας ← διαμένειν <i>to survive for all time</i> (no equivalent to z3)
<b>z3:</b> Ζήνα ← ζῆν + ἄω <i>the life-making breath</i>	(no equivalent to z4)
<b>z4:</b> Ζεύς ← ΖΑ + αὔω <i>shouting loudly</i>	<b>d5:</b> Δία ← διὰ πάντων τῶν ὄντων φοιτᾷ <i>pervading all that exists</i>
<b>z5:</b> Ζήνα ← ζῆν κεχώρηκεν <i>pervading life</i>	<b>d6:</b> Δία ← διαίνειν <i>to moisten</i> (no equivalent to z7)
<b>z6:</b> Ζεύς ← δεύω <i>to moisten</i>	(no equivalent to z8)
<b>z7:</b> Ζεύς ← ζέσις, ζέω <i>to boil or ferment</i>	<b>d9:</b> Δία ← διοικέω <i>to manage, control, administer</i>
<b>z8:</b> Ζεύς ← δέος <i>fear</i> (no equivalent to d9) (no equivalent to d10)	<b>d10:</b> Δία ← δεῖν <i>to tie together, bind together</i>
<b>C:</b> combination of <b>z1</b> and <b>d1</b>	

date	Author	Ref.	C	Z1	Z2	Z3	Z4	Z5	Z6	Z7	Z8	D1	D2	D5	D6	D9	D10
-8/7	Hesiod	WD 2		✓													
-6-5	Aeschylus	A.1485, Supp.584-585		✓													
-5	Empedocles	[Plut.] plac. 878A.8								✓							
-5-4	Plato	Cra. 396a2	✓														
-3?	Orphica	Galen Gramm. all. hes. theolog. 343.29		✓								✓					
-3	Chrysippus fr. 1062	Arius Didym. fr. 30 =Stobaeus ecl. 1.1.26.1		✓								✓					
-3	Chrysippus fr. 1063	Lydus 4.71.7										✓					
-3	Stoics	D.L.7.147.6 =Chrysippus fr. 1021		✓				✓				✓					

date	Author	Ref.	C	Z1	Z2	Z3	Z4	Z5	Z6	Z7	Z8	D1	D2	D5	D6	D9	D10
-2-1	Posidonius	Lydus 4.71.5 =Chrysippus fr. 1063														✓	
-1	Dion. Scyto. fr. 7.285	Dio. Sic. <i>bib.</i> 3.61.5		✓													
-1	Crates Mallos	Lydus 4.71.3 =Chrysippus fr. 1063													✓		
3/+1	Aristeae	<i>ep. phil.</i> 16.3	✓														
	non-Stoics?	Lydus 4.71.1		✓?													✓
+1?	[Aristotle]	<i>Mu.</i> 401a.13	✓														
+1	Josephus	<i>ant. jud.</i> 12.22.2		✓													
+1	Heraclitus	<i>QH</i> 23.6.1		✓						✓							
+1	Cornutus	3.5		✓					✓			✓					
+1	Clemens Rom.	<i>hom.</i> 4.24.4.1								✓							
+1/+2	Apollonius Soph.	<i>lex. hom.</i> 55.12		✓													
+2	οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοῦας	①Athenagoras <i>leg. supp.</i> 6.4.8								✓							
+2	Aristides Aël.	<i>eis dia</i> 6.30		✓								✓					
+3	Porphyry	<i>q. Il.</i> 15.189.9		✓													
+4	Eusebius	<i>PE</i> 2.2.50.5		(✓)													
+4	Theodoretus	<i>graec. aff.</i> 3.44.6												✓			
+5	Proclus	<i>theol. plat.</i> 5.83.21		✓												✓	
+5	Proclus	<i>plat. cra. comm.</i> 101.17		✓								✓					
+5	Stobaeus	1.1.26.2		✓								✓					
+5	Orion	65.4								✓							
+6	Olympiodorus	<i>plat. phaed. comm.</i> 1.20.5	(✓)														
+11	Psellus	<i>op. log.</i> 46.35						✓				✓		✓			
+11	Et. Gud.	ζ 230.16		✓	✓				✓	✓			✓				

Appendix 1 (Etymologies)

date	Author	Ref.	C	Z1	Z2	Z3	Z4	Z5	Z6	Z7	Z8	D1	D2	D5	D6	D9	D10
+12	Galen Gramm.	<i>all. hes. theog.</i> 343.26		✓								✓					
+12	Eustathius	<i>Il.</i> 1.686.35, 4.381.13		✓					✓			✓					
Va.	Schol. Aristoph. <i>mub.</i>	365a.5							✓								
Va.	Schol. Oppianum	409.2			✓				✓								
Inc.	Sotadea fr. 14.2	= Stobaeus 1.1.24.3		✓													
Va.	Schol. Aratum	Scholion 1 line 79								✓							
Va.	Schol. Hom. <i>Il. sv.</i>	15.192-3, 20.127.1		✓								✓					
+12	EM	408.52		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓						

+12	EM	408.52	<p>Ζεύς: Ὁ θεός, Κορνοῦτος ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἑλληνικῆς θεολογίας φησὶν, ὅτι ψυχὴ ἐστὶ τοῦ παντός κόσμου, παρὰ τὸ ζῶη καὶ αἰτία εἶναι τοῖς ζῶσι τοῦ ζῆν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βασιλεὺς λέγεται τῶν δλων, ὡς καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ἡ ψυχὴ.</p> <p>*Ἡ ὅτι ἔζησε μόνος τῶν τοῦ Κρόνου παίδων, καὶ οὐ κατεπόθη.</p> <p>*Ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ ζῆν καὶ τοῦ ἄω τὸ γὰρ ζωοποιόν ἐστι πνεῦμα.</p> <p>*Ἡ παρὰ τὸ ΖΑ καὶ τὸ αἰω, τὸ βοῶ, ὁ μέγας αἰων.</p> <p>*Ἡ παρὰ τὸ δέος φοβερός γάρ.</p> <p>*Ἡ παρὰ τὸ δεύω, τὸ βρέχω, δεύσω, Δεὺς καὶ Ζεύς ἕτιος γὰρ ὁ θεός.</p> <p>*Ἡ παρὰ τὴν ζέσιν θερμότατος γὰρ ὁ ἀήρ.</p> <p>*Ἡ παρὰ τὸ ζέω, Ζεὺς, ὡς τρέω Τρεὺς, καὶ Ἄτρεϋς.</p>														
-----	----	--------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

❶ Athenagoras must be mistaken in attributing this etymology, illogical in context and unparalleled, to Stoics.

**Table 8:** Ἦρα

	<i>Air</i>	Others
Empedocles fr. 33 Philodemus <i>pietate</i>	<τὴν δ' Ἦραν ... ἀέρα	
Plato <i>Cra.</i> 404b.9	τὸν ἀέρα Ἦραν' ὠνόμασεν	Ἦρα δὲ ἐρατὴ τις, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ λέγεται ὁ Ζεὺς αὐτῆς ἐρασθεὶς ἔχειν
οἱ περὶ τὸν Ποσειδώνιον (D.L.7.147.9)	Ἦραν δὲ κατὰ τὴν εἰς ἀέρα	
Heraclitus <i>QH</i> 15.3	ἡ δὲ Ἦρα μετ' αὐτόν ἐστιν ἀήρ	
Cornutus 3.16	ἡ Ἦρα, ἣτις ἐστὶν ὁ ἀήρ	
Athenagoras <i>leg. supp.</i> 6.2.17	Ἦρα δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα	
[Plut.] <i>VH</i> 994	Ἦρα μὲν νοεῖται ὁ ἀήρ	
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 1.74.4	Ὅτι δὲ Ἦρα ὁ ἀήρ, δηλοῦται, φασί, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγραμματισμοῦ	
EM 434.45	Ἦρα: Ἡ θεός ὅτι ἡ αὐτὴ τῷ ἀέρι ἐστίν	Ἦ ὅτι ἡ Ἦρα αὐτὴν ἔτεκεν

Additional etymologies from ἀήρ: Philo *vit. contemp.* 3.4 (τὸν ἀέρα παρὰ τὸ αἴρεσθαι καὶ μετεωρίζεσθαι); Porphyry *agalmaton* 5.2; Orion η 68.20; Psellus *op. log.* 54.3; Zonaras η 1004.3; Vitae Arati *e cod. vat.* 4.9; Epim. *epim. hom.*; Suda; etc.

Table 9: ῥέα.

Plato <i>Cra.</i> 402b2	ῥέαν ... ἀπὸ τοῦ βρυμάτων ὀνόματα θέσθαι	Flux (cf. Heraclitus)
❶ Chrysippus (EM 701.25)	Χρύσιππος δὲ λέγει τὴν γῆν ῥέαν κεκληῆσθαι, ἐπειδὴ ἀπ' αὐτῆς βεῖ τὰ ὕδατα	Flow of <i>water</i>
Egyptians (EM 701.23)	Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ φασιν αὐτὴν εἶναι ῥύσιν καὶ φορὰν τῶν γινομένων πραγμάτων	Flow of <i>passed events</i>
Heraclitus <i>QH</i> 41.7	Μητέρα δ' αὐτοῖς ἔνειμεν εἶναι ῥέαν, ἐπειδὴ ῥύσει τινὶ καὶ ἀεννάῳ κινήσει τὸ πᾶν οἰκονομεῖται	Creative flux producing 4 elements
Cornutus 3.18	καὶ γεγονασιν ἐκ τῆς εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ ῥύσεως, ῥυεῖσα γὰρ εἰς λεπτότητα ἡ οὐσία τὸ τε πῦρ καὶ τὸν ἀέρα ὑφίστησιν. ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ῥέαν τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν ἐμύθευσαν εἶναι	Flow of <i>material</i> producing Fire (Zeus) and Air (Hera)
Clemens Rom. 4.25.2.3	ῥέαν τὴν ἀεὶ ῥέουσαν τοῦ ὕδατος φύσιν	Flow of <i>water</i>
Iamblichus <i>theol. arith.</i> 14.7	Δία δ' ἔλεγον τὴν μονάδα—καὶ ῥέαν ἀπὸ τῆς ῥύσεως καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τάσεως, ὅπερ οἰκεῖον καὶ δυάδι καὶ φύσει τῇ πάντα γινομένη	Flow? (Neopythagorean)
Eriphanus <i>ancor.</i> 103.2.3	... ῥέαν διὰ τὸ βρυστόν, οἶμαι, τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων πολυμιξίας	Flow = <i>seminal fluid</i> ? (Christian critic.)
Schol. Hes. <i>glossae</i> 453.1	ῥέα. ἤγουν ἡ ὕλη .. ἡ βρύσις τοῦ παντός	Flow of <i>material, everything</i>
Schol. A.R.1.1098	ἐτυμολογοῦσι παρὰ τὸ βεῖν ἀεὶ καὶ ποιεῖν τεῖρεα	Flow of <i>stars, constellations</i>
Psellus <i>op. log.</i> 43,112 (= Galen <i>Gramm. all. hes. theog.</i> 333.19)	ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ καθ' ἕκαστον ζωῆ κινουμένη καὶ παραρρέουσα, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ῥέαν μητέρα τῷ Διὶ ὁ μῦθος ἐπέστησεν	Flow of <i>life</i>
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 1.74.16	ἀναγραμματιζόμενον τὸ ῥέα κύριον εἰς τὸ ἔρα, ὃ ἐστὶ γῆ	= <i>Earth</i> Etym. from ἔρα
EM 701.18	οἱ δὲ, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῆς Διὸς ὄμβροι καταρέουσι	Flow of <i>rain from Zeus</i>

❶ Supported by Chrysippus fr. 1085 (Schol. Hes. *Theog. sv.* 135): ῥεῖα ἡ ἐξ ὄμβρων χύσις ἐστὶ, κατὰ δὲ τὸν Χρύσιππον ἡ γῆ ῥέα ἡ φθαρτικὴ.



**Table 10:** Κρόνος. (grouped as *P-W* 11 (1922) 1986-7) Cornutus has 'a or f or most plausibly b'

**a:** ← χρόνος *time*

**b:** ← κραίνω *accomplish, fulfill*

**c:** ← κρουνός *spring, well*

**d:** ← κόρος/κορός νοῦ *pure intellect*

**e:** ← κερᾶν, κερνᾶν (κεράννυμι) *to mix*

**f:** ← κρίνω *to separate, ἔκκρισις separation (σύγ- διάκρισις)*

**g:** ← κρούων νόος *the mind that strikes things against each other*

C	Author	a	b	c	d	e	f	g
-8	Hom. <i>Il.</i> 2.419		✓					
-6	Pindar <i>Ol.</i> 2.17	✓						
-6	Pherecydes Myth. (Hermias: <i>irrisio</i> 12.4)	✓						
-5	A.Pr. 911		✓					
-5	S.Tr. 127		✓					
-5	E. <i>Heracl.</i> 899-900	✓						
-4	Orphica fr. <i>deriv.</i> Col. XIV (Laks & Most) (340-360 B.C.)							✓
-4	Plato <i>Cra.</i> 396b5				✓			
-3	Chrysippus fr. 1076.14 (Philodemus <i>pietate</i> )			✓				
-3	Chrysippus fr. 1089 (EM 540.10 etc.)						✓	
-3	Stoics (Chrysippus fr. 1091) (Cic. <i>ND</i> 2.64.)	✓						
-2	Stoics (Athenagoras <i>leg. supp.</i> 22.6.2)	✓						
+1	Cornutus 4.1	✓	✓				✓	
+1 to +12	Thus further ← χρόνος : [Aristotle] <i>Mu.</i> 401a15; Heraclitus <i>QH</i> 41.6; Clemens Rom. <i>hom.</i> 4.24.4.1, 6.7.3.3; Plutarch <i>aetia</i> 266e14, <i>IO</i> 363d5; Macrobius <i>sat.</i> 1.8.6; Eusebius <i>PE</i> 3.3.11.5; Sallustius <i>deis</i> 4.2.2; Lydus 3.15.6, 4.71.16; Psellus <i>op. log.</i> 43.106; Schol. A.R. <i>sv.</i> 1.1098; Anon. <i>Hes. Theog.</i> 400.17; Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 1.310.4; Galen <i>Gramm. all. hes. theog</i> 308.22	✓						
	Thus further ← κόρος or κορός νοῦ: Plotinus <i>enn.</i> 5.1.4.9; Damascius <i>parm.</i> 164.7; Proclus <i>theol. plat.</i> 4.32.19; Lydus 2.11.28; Olympiodorus <i>plat. gorg. comm.</i> 47.3.2; Schol. <i>Hes. WD sv. proleg.</i> 111.8; Proclus <i>plat. cra. comm.</i> 107.1				✓			
5	Theodoretus <i>graec. aff.</i> 3.43.4	✓			✓			
+12	Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 3.721.4	✓			✓			
	Schol. <i>Hes. Theog. sv.</i> 137.1	✓					✓	
	Schol. <i>Hes. Theog. sv.</i> 459.2 = Et Gud. add. 586.21	✓				✓	✓	
+12	EM 540.4	✓			✓	✓	✓	

Table 11: Ποσειδῶν

	<i>foot-bond</i>	<i>(Ground)-shaker</i>	❶ <i>drink variations</i>	others
Plato <i>Cra.</i> 402e4	ὡς "ποσίδεσμον" ὄντα	ὁ σειῶν		πολλὰ εἰδότος <i>knowing many things</i>
'Stoics' (Athenagoras <i>leg. supp.</i> 22.4.1)			Ποσειδῶν ἢ πόσις	
❷ Tryphon I <i>Treatise</i> 21 fr. 3			ἀπὸ τῆς πόσεως	
Cornutus 4.11		πεδοσειῶν	ἀπὸ τῆς πόσεως	ἰδῆι ἡ φύσις <i>nature sweats</i>
Herodian <i>fr. gr.</i> 240.24	ἀπὸ τοῦ δεσμέω τοὺς πόδας		παρὰ τὴν πόσιν μὴ διδούς	
Schol. E. <i>sv.</i> 322.6 (cf. Hom. <i>Il.</i> 13.18)		τὸν σειῶντα τοῖς ποσὶ		
Schol. Oppianum <i>hal. Hypo-bk</i> 1 scholion 385.2			παρὰ τὸ τὴν πόσιν δεῖν	
Choerob. <i>orth.</i> 253.20		πεδοσειῶν		
Et. Gud. π 476.64	παρὰ τὸ τοὺς πόδας ... δεσμεῖν	παρὰ τὸ πέδον σειεῖν		η 237.33 παρὰ τὴν πόσιν ἀναπίειν τῷ δάει <i>water extinguishes fire (=sun)</i>
EM 684.27	τοὺς πόδας δεῖν	πεδοσειῶν	πόσιν δεσμεῖν	παρὰ τὸ τὴν πόσιν τῷ δάει, ἤγουν τῷ ἡλίῳ, ἀναπέμπειν ἐκ γὰρ τῆς θαλάσσης ὁ ἥλιος ἀνιμάται τὴν ὑγρότητα. Ἐκ τούτου γίνεται καὶ Ποσειδάων. <i>because water is sent up to the sun,</i> <i>i.e. the sun draws moisture up, creating P.</i>

❶ similar: Philo *vit. contemp.* (τάχα που διὰ τὸ ποτόν) 3.1; Heraclitus *QH* 7.15.1; Clemens Alex. *protrept.* 5.64.4.2; Porphyry *q. Il.* 15.189sq; Eustathius *Il.* 3.719.5; Anon. Aristotle *Rh. comm.* 146.10; Schol. Hom. *Il. sv.* 15.8. sch. line 41, 15.192-193 sch. 14.

❷ fr. 3: Δίδυμος καὶ Τρύφων ἀπὸ τῆς πόσεως, Ἀλεξίων δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος διὰ τοῦ ι παρὰ τὴν ποσὶν δοτικῆν.

Table 12: ἄιδης

	<i>invisible, unseen, formless, indistinct</i>	<i>to know</i>	<i>antiphrasis</i>	<i>others</i>
❶ Plato <i>Cra.</i> 404b1	✗	✓		
❷ οἱ Στωικοί (Plutarch <i>prim. frig.</i> 948e16)	✓			
Philoxenus fr. 418 (Orion 21.7)	✓			
Heraclitus <i>QH</i> 23.9.6	✓			
Heraclitus <i>QH</i> 74.6.1	✓			
Cornutus 5.2, 74.5	✓		✓	
Orac. Sib. <i>orac.</i> 1.81				✓
Porphiry <i>q. Il.</i> 15.189.9	✓			
Proclus <i>plat. cra. comm.</i> 153.6	✓	✓		
Et. Gud. α 22.12	✓			✓
Et. Sym. 1.66.18	✓		✓	
Galen Gramm. <i>all. hes. theog.</i> 331.10	✓			

❶ Contradicting the ‘unseen’ etymology in *Phaedo* (80d) Ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἄρα, τὸ αἰδέες ... καὶ αἰδῆ, εἰς ἄιδου ὡς ἀληθῶς.

❷ assigned as Chrysippus fr. 430.20.

Also ‘unseen’ category: Herodian *peri orth.* 3.2.467.21; Eustathius *Il.* 2.101.17, 3.719.14, 3.721.22, 4.661.10; EM 17.16; Photius *lex.* 299a.4; Psellus *op. log.* 40.9 (citing Porphiry); Schol. Hom. *Il. sv.* 15.192-3 sch. 23; etc. ‘Antiphrasis’ as Et. Sym: Eustathius *Il.* 1.26.23.



**Table 13: Πλούτων**

		Area of wealth or abundance
1	Aristophanes fr. 488	'why is he called Πλούτων? whenever you weigh, the full pan goes down, the empty one moves to Zeus'
2	Plato <i>Cra.</i> 403a2	'giver of wealth, because wealth comes up from below out of the earth.' (crops or metals or both?)
3	Posidonius (Strabo 3.2.9.10)	crops and metals
4	Cornutus 5.7	'He was also called Πλούτων because ... there is nothing which ... ultimately... does not become his property'
5	Clemens Rom. <i>hom.</i> 6.6.3.5	the extent of the property lying below
6	Lucian <i>luctu</i> 2.11	corpses
7	Lucian <i>timon</i> 20.16	'giver of wealth'
8	Schol. Hom. <i>Il. sv.</i> 15.192-3 sch.20	'... and because he is rich'
9	Orphica <i>H.</i> 18	yearly fruits
10	Iamblichus <i>vit. pyth.</i> 27.123.1	wealth of offerings for the dead
11	Proclus <i>plat. cra. comm.</i> 153.5	wealth of thought in the mind
12	Hesychius <i>lex. ε</i> 7077.3	abundance of barley and wheat
13	Eustathius <i>Od.</i> 1.151.47	not from the abundance of souls, but metals

**Table 14: ὤρραι**

		to guard, protect (ὠρεύειν)	to separate, divide (ὀρίζειν)
1	●Hesiod <i>Theog.</i> 901-903	✓	
2	Plato <i>Cra.</i> 410c5		✓
3	Cornutus 57.6	✓	
4	Lucian <i>sacrif.</i> 8.11	✓	
5	Schol. Hes. <i>Theog. sv.</i> 901b.1	✓	
6	Schol. Hom. <i>Il. sv.</i> 10.183.1	✓	
7	Et. Gud. ω 580.17	✓	
8	EM 823.7	✓	✓

●Implicit etymological connection ὤρραις - ὠρεύουσι.

**Table 15: ἀλάστωρ**

**a) Definitions**

1	<i>he who has done deeds meriting vengeance</i>	e.g. Galen <i>ling.</i> 19.74.6	ἀλάστορες: αὐτοὶ τε οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἱ τὰ ἄλιστα ἐργασάμενοι ...	Similarly for both: Zonaras <i>lex.</i> α 116.27; Photius <i>lex.</i> α 896.1; Pausanias <i>Attic. on.</i> α 61.1; Et. Gud α 400.1; EM 57.39.
2	<i>avenging deity</i>		... καὶ οἱ τιμωροὶ αὐτῶν δαίμονες.	

**b) Identification with Zeus**

Pherecydes <i>Hist. fr.</i> 114a (A.fr.Tetr.31B fr.317)	ὁ Ζεὺς δὲ Ἰκέσιος καὶ Ἀλάστορος καλεῖται	attr: Ph. <i>Hist. Ath.</i>
Herodian <i>PC</i> 3.1.49.13	ἀλάστωρ ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ ὑποπτεύων τοὺς ἄλαστα καὶ χαλεπὰ ποιούντας	Also EM 57.39
Pausanias <i>Attic. on.</i> α 61.1	ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Διός, οἶον Ἀλάστωρ Ζεὺς'	Also: Et. Gud. α 400.1; EM 57.39
Orphica <i>H.</i> 73.3	Ζῆνα μέγαν, πολὺπλαγκτον, ἀλάστορα, παμβασιλῆα	
Orion α 612.14	ἀλάστωρ ὁ ἀσεβῆς· ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ ἐποπτεύων τοὺς τὰ ἄλαστα καὶ χαλεπὰ ἐμποιοῦντας	etym. as Didymus
Photius <i>lex.</i> α 896	λέγουσι δὲ ἀλάστορα καὶ τὸν Δία, ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτὸν τῶν τολμωμένων παρὰ ἀνθρώποις λαθεῖν δυνάμενον	
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 1.750.2	παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ὕστερον καὶ Ζεὺς ἀλάστωρ, ὃν ἐλάνθανεν οὐδέν	

**c) Etymologies**

Writer	Source		Root	
Chrysippus	EM 57.28; Suetonius <i>Tranquillus blas.</i> 4.3	ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ καὶ φονέως, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλάσεως, ὁ ἄξιος τοῦ ἐλαύνεσθαι διὰ φόνον	ἐλασις	<i>banishment (for murder)</i>
		ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλάσθαι τὸ πλανᾶσθαι	ἀλάσθαι	<i>to be outcast</i>
Apollodorus <i>fr.</i> 211	Pausanias <i>Attic. on.</i> α 61.1; Schol. <i>Nicand. alex.</i> 393; EM 57.39; Photius <i>lex.</i> α 896	ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλιτεῖν, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀλιτανεύτως ἀδικεῖν	ἀλιτεῖν	<i>to commit something unlawful</i>
Didymus <i>Gramm.</i> (?)	Photius <i>lex.</i> α 896; EM 57.39	οἶον ἀλάστωρ Ζεὺς, ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῖς τὰ ἀλαστὰ πάσχουσιν ἐπαμύνειν	ἀλαστὰ	<i>to aid those suffering greatly</i>
Cornutus 10.21		ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιαῦτα ἀμαρτάνειν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐστὶν ἀλαστήσαι καὶ στενάξαι	ἀλαστέω	<i>to be distraught</i>
Galen <i>ling.</i> 19.74.6		παρὰ τὸ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀμαρτάνειν ἐφ' οἷς ἐστὶν ἀλαστήσαι καὶ στενάξαι		

**Table 16: παλαμναῖος**

a) **Definitions.** Synonym for ἀλάστωρ in e.g. Hesychius *lex.* α 2781; distinction made by e.g. Philo *sac. Abel.* 32.7.

1	<i>he who has committed murder</i>	e.g.: Dionysius Attic. π 4	οἱ διὰ χειρὸς ἀνδροφονοῦντες	<i>Thus:</i> Hyperides fr. 85; Hesychius <i>lex.</i> α 2781	<i>Similarly for both:</i> Photius <i>lex.</i> π 371.13; Suda π 46; Et. Gud. π 448.25; EM 647.43.
2	<i>he who avenges murder</i>		καὶ ...ὁ τοῦς τοιοῦτους τιμωρούμενος	Dionysius Attic. π 4	

**b) Identification with Zeus**

[Aristotle] <i>Mu.</i> 401a; Dionysius Attic. π 4; Eudemus <i>peri</i> F 170b.4; Suda π 46; Photius <i>lex.</i> π 371.13	Zeὺς Παλαμναῖος
Et. Gud. π 449.20; EM 647.43	καὶ Zeὺς δὲ παλαμναῖος λέγεται ἐν Χαλκίδι
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 2.156.9	καὶ Zeὺς δέ, φασί, παλαμναῖος ὁ τοῦς φονεῖς καταρρίπτων

**c) Etymologies**

	<i>by violent hands</i>	<i>from managing many things</i>	<i>wrestling with strength</i>
Cornutus 11.2	ἀπὸ τοῦ ταῖς παλάμαις μιάσματα ἀνέκθιστα ἀποτελεῖν		
Dionysius Attic. <i>onomata</i> π 4	παρὰ τὴν παλάμην		
Lex. Seg. <i>v.d.rec.</i> π 326.9			
Photius <i>lex.</i> π 371.13			
Suda π 46			
EM 647.43			
Et. Gud. π 449.20			παρὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἀμᾶν



Table 17: Ἐρινυδες

1	ἐρευνήτριαι τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων οὔσαι	<i>being trackers of wrong-doers</i>
	παρὰ τὸ ἐρευνᾶν	<i>to track</i>
2	παρὰ τὸ ἀράς ἀνύειν	<i>to bring curses to completion</i>
3	παρὰ τὴν ἔραν γέγονεν ... οἰοῖται ἢ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀνερχομένη ... καταχθονία γὰρ ἡ δαίμων	<i>coming out of the earth, being a chthonic deity</i>
4	ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἐρί ... καὶ τὸ ἀνύειν γέγονεν Ἐρινύς, οἰοῖται ἡ μεγάλης ἀνύουσα	<i>doing great things</i>
5	παρὰ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἔρας γεγενῆσθαι τιμωρός	<i>retribution from the earth</i>
6	παρὰ τὸ ἐλινύειν ... τὸ ἡσυχάζειν γέγονεν ἐλινύς, οἰοῖται ἡ ἡσυχάζουσα· κατὰ ἀντίφρασιν	<i>being peaceful (antiphrasis)</i>
7	Ἐρινυδὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔρι ... καὶ τοῦ νύσσω, τὸ τιμωρῶ	<i>to prick greatly, i.e. to revenge</i>
8	οἱ δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἔριν, ὅτι δυσμενεῖς ἕως τέλος εἰσὶν	<i>strife, because they are a hostile force</i>
9	τὰ αἴσια ἀνύουσα καὶ ἐκτελοῦσα	<i>bringing about fate</i>
10	Ἐρινυδὸς γίνεται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔρρειν τὸ φθείρειν καὶ τοῦ νοῦς	<i>to destroy the mind</i>
11	Ἐρινυδί ὁμοιωθεῖσα μίγνυται Ποσειδῶνι καὶ γεννᾷ τὸν Ἀρείονα ἵππον	<i>Areion (horse)</i>

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
Cornutus 11.5	✓											Cornutus: ἐρευνήτριαι <i>hapax</i> , (all others use verb)
Choerob. <i>orth.</i> 198.8		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓						
Schol. A. <i>sv.</i> Th. <i>hypo.</i> 70c.1		✓	✓									Scholia dates uncertain
Schol. A. <i>sv.</i> Th. <i>hypo.</i> 700h				✓						✓		
Schol. A. <i>sv.</i> Pr. <i>hypo.</i> 516h			✓				✓					
Schol. Hes. <i>Theog. sv.</i> 472.2	✗	✓	✓	✓		✓						objects to etym. 1: that the <i>ev</i> could not become <i>i</i> .
Schol. Hom. <i>Il. mel.</i> 9.571			✓									
Schol. Hom. <i>Il. sv.D</i> 9.568			✓					✓				
Schol. Hom. <i>Il. sv.D</i> 19.87	✓											
Schol. Lycophr. <i>tz.</i> 153.3, 406.10		✓	✓								✓	
Et. Gud. <i>ε</i> 523.7	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓				
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 3.723.20	✓		✓									‘καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο, ζητητέον ἐν ἄλλοις’
EM 374.1		✓	✓	✓		✓			✓			

**Table 18: Μέγαιρα, Τισιφόνη, Ἄληκτώ, Εὐμενίδες.**

Cornutus 11.5	Μέγαιρα	ὡσπερὶ μεγαίροντος τοῖς τοιοῦτοις τοῦ θεοῦ	<i>As if Zeus were holding a grudge against such people</i>
	Τισιφόνη	καὶ πινυμένου τοὺς γινομένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν φόνους	<i>and avenging the murders they commit</i>
	Ἄληκτώ	καὶ ἀλήκτως καὶ ἀπαύστως τοῦτο ποιοῦντος	<i>and doing this unceasingly, i.e. without respite</i>
Schol. Lycophr. tz. 406.11		very similar etymologies:	
	Τισιφόνη	Τισιφόνη παρὰ τὸ τίνειν τοὺς φονέας	
	Μέγαιρα	Μέγαιρα παρὰ τὸ μεγαίρειν καὶ φθονεῖν τοῖς κακοῖς	
	Ἄληκτώ	Ἄληκτώ παρὰ τὸ μὴ λήγειν τιμωρεῖν τοὺς τοιοῦτους	

Notes:

- 1) The names are attested only 17 times in Greek texts: Bacchylides (C-5) fr. 24 (incert. from Tzetzes); [Apollodorus] *bib.* 1.3.7; Cornutus; Harpocration *lex. dec.* 140.16; Photius and later lexica. The order of the names varies, nobody else following Cornutus order. No etymologies found other than above.
- 2) *V. Aen.* 6.571 Tisiphone; 7.324 Allecto; 12.846 Megaera.
- 3) The Ἐριννύες are identified with Εὐμενίδες in 35 instances: e.g. Schol. E. *sv. Or.* 37.2: τὰς Ἐριννῶς. οὐκ ὀνομάζουσι δὲ, ἀλλ' εὐφημιζόμενοι σεμνάς θεὰς ἢ Εὐμενίδας καλοῦσιν.

**Table 19: Μοῖρα.**

Chrysippus fr. 913 (quoted by Aëtius, Plutarch, Theodoretus):	Μοίρας δὲ καλεῖσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὰς διαμερισμοῦ
Chrysippus fr. 914 (Diogenianus Phil. fr. 2):	ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς μοίρας ὀνομάσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ [κατα]μεμερίσθαι καὶ κατανεμεμηθῆσαι
Cornutus 12.11	διὰ τὸ μὴ ὀραμένη διανεμησις
[Aristotle] <i>Mu.</i> 401b15	αἱ Μοῖραι, κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους μεμερισμένα
Et. Gud. e 251.34	παρὰ τὸ μείρω τὸ μερίζω

**Table 20: Αἴσα**

	<i>unseen</i>	<i>ever-existing</i>	<i>always remaining the same</i>	<i>to distribute</i>
[Aristotle] <i>Mu.</i> 401b14; Stobaeus 1.5.22.9		Αἴσαν δὲ αἰεὶ οὖσαν		
Cornutus 12.14	ἡ αἴστος καὶ ἀγνώστος αἰτία τῶν γινομένων	ἡ, ὡς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, ἡ αἰεὶ οὖσα		
Orion α 8.26			ἡ αἰεὶ οὖσα ἴση, καὶ μὴ μεταβαλλομένη	
Et. Gen. α 241; Zonaras <i>lex.</i> α 82.10			παρὰ τὸ αἰεὶ ἴσημι	παρὰ τὸ δαίω, τὸ μερίζω, ὁ μέλλων δῆσω... καὶ ἀποβολῆ τοῦ δ αἴσα
Et. Gud. α 54.23			ἡ αἰεὶ ἴση	

**Table 21: Εἰμαρμένη**

All etymologies except Cornutus and Et. Gud ε 420.6 are ultimately derived from εἶρω *to string together*. The earlier ones use the verb εἶρειν or its pf. participle εἶρομένη, the later ones use the derivative noun εἶρμός *a concatenation*:

Chrysippus	εἶρομένην Quoted by Diogenianus (SVF 914) etc. below
οἱ Στωικοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀρείου Διδύμου (Arius Did. fr. 29) = Eusebius <i>PE</i> 15.15.1-9 (SVF 528)	καθ' ὅσον δὲ εἶρομένην λόγῳ πάντα διοικεὶ ἀπαραβάτως ἐξ αἰδίου
[Aristotle] <i>Mu.</i> 401b9 = Stobaeus 1.5.22.5 = Et. Gud. ε 419.10	Εἰμαρμένην δὲ διὰ τὸ εἶρειν τε καὶ χωρεῖν ἀκαλύτως
Cornutus 12.17	Εἰμαρμένη δὲ ἐστὶ καθ' ἣν μέμαρται καὶ συνείληπται πάντα ἐν τάξει
(SVF 914) Diogenianus (C+2) fr. 2 = Theodoretus (C+4) <i>graec. aff.</i> 6.11.7 = Et. Gud. ε 419.10. Similar: [Plut.] <i>de fato</i> 570b4; DL 7.149.7 (SVF 915); Iamblichus <i>theol. arith.</i> 81.4; Lydus 4.7.3; Suda εἰ 142.3	τὴν τε εἰμαρμένην εἶρομένην τινὰ εἴτε ἐκ θεοῦ βουλήσεως εἴτε ἐξ ἧς δὴ ποτ' οὖν αἰτίας
Nemesius <i>de nat. hom.</i> 36.20. Similar: Greg. Nyss. (C+4) <i>c. fatum</i> 35.13; Proclus (C+5) <i>plat. rem. pub. comm.</i> 2.29.14 = <i>plat. tim. comm.</i> 3.272.25; Suda εἰ 142.3	εἶρμός τις οὖσα αἰτιῶν ἀπαραβάτος (οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὴν οἱ Στωικοὶ ὀρίζονται, τουτέστι τάξιν καὶ ἐπισύνδεσιν ἀπαραβάτων)
Et. Gud ε 420.6	Εἰμαρμένη παρὰ τὸ μείρω μέμαρμαι καὶ εἶμαρμαι



**Table 22: Ἀνάγκη**

	<i>impossible to break</i> (ἄγω aor. ἄξει)	<i>development, resolution</i> (ἀνάγω fut. ἀνάξω)	<i>to rule over</i> (ἀνάσσω fut. ἀνάξω)	<i>unconquerable</i> (ἀνίκητον), <i>no remedy</i> (ἄκος)
[Aristotle] <i>Mu.</i> 401b8				οἶονεὶ ἀνίκητον αἰτίαν ὄντα
Cornutus 13.1	ἦν ἄξει καὶ ἧς περιγενέσθαι οὐκ ἔστιν	ἦ ἐφ' ἦν πᾶν ὃ ἂν γένηται τὴν ἀναγωγὴν λαμβάνει.		
Orion α 14.16			ἀνάσσω, ἀνάξω	
Choerob. <i>psalmos</i> 136.4	παρὰ τὸ ἄγω ἄγη			πρὸς ἦν ἄκος οὐκ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν
Et. Gen. α 783		παρὰ τὸ ἀνάγω ἀνάγη		
Et. Gud. α 129.20			ἀνάσσω, [καὶ] τὸ κρατῶ	

**Table 23: Κλωθῶ, Λάχεσις and ἄτροπος**

All instances of etymologies, no alternatives found (no etymologies given in later lexica).	
<p>Κλωθῶ: κλώθω: <i>to spin</i></p> <p>Λάχεσις: λαγχάνω (λαχεῖν, λήξις): <i>to obtain destiny</i></p> <p>ἄτροπος: ἄτροπον: <i>unchangeable</i>, ἄτρεπτος: <i>unavoidable</i></p>	Chrysippus fr. 913 = Aëtius <i>stob.</i> 323.28; [Plut.] <i>plac.</i> 1.28; Theodoretus <i>graec. aff.</i> 6.12.5; Stobaeus 1.5.15.21
	Chrysippus fr. 1092
	[Aristotle] <i>Mu.</i> 401b15
	Cornutus 13.5
	Schol. Pind. <i>sv.</i> O 7.118c.3
	Schol. Lycophr. <i>tz.</i> 144.17
	Eusebius <i>PE</i> 6.8.10.1
	Anon. Hes. <i>Theog.</i> 384.28

**Table 24: Ἐδράσσεια**

	<i>to escape, run away from</i>	<i>always active</i>	<i>very active</i>
Arius Didym. fr. 29 (Eusebius <i>PE</i> 15.15.1–9)	ἀποδιδράσκειν		
[Aristotle] <i>Mu.</i> 401b13	ἀναπόδραστος		
Cornutus 13.12	ἀνέκφρευτος καὶ ἀναπόδραστος	ἢ παρα τὸ ἀεὶ δρᾶν τὰ καθ' αὐτήν, ὡσάν ἀειδράσεια οὖσα	ἢ τοῦ στερητικοῦ μορίου πλῆθος νῦν ἀποδηλοῦντος ὡς ἐν τῇ ἄξόλω ὕλῃ· πολυδράσεια γὰρ ἐστὶ.
Plutarch fr. 21 (Stobaeus 1.5.19.6)	ἀνέκφρευτος οὖσα καὶ ἀναπόδραστος		
Schol. Plat. sv. <i>Dia.</i> R 451a.3	οὐκ ἂν τις αὐτήν ἀποδράσειεν,	ἢ ὅτι ἀειδράσειά τις οἶόν ἐστιν, ὡς ἀεὶ δρῶσα τὰ καθ' ἑαυτήν,	ἢ ὡς πολυδράσεια· πολλὰ γὰρ δρᾶ- του ἄλφα πλῆθος δηλοῦντος ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀξόλου ὕλης.
Pausanias Attic. α 26	ἀποδιδράσκειν		
Dionysius Attic. ν 5	ἀναπόδραστος		
Clemens Alex. <i>strom.</i> 7.3.20.8.2	διαδρᾶναι (διαδιδράσκω)		
Photius <i>lex.</i> α 384; <i>Suda</i> α 523	ἀποδράσειεν		
Et. Gud. α 24.4	οὐδείς αὐτήν ἀποδιδράσκει· ἢ ἀναπόδραστος αἰτία		



**Table 25: Νέμεσις**

1) νέμεσις (νεμεσάω):	Implicit from νέμεσις ( <i>divine</i> ) <i>retribution</i> by almost all writers (e.g. Hes. <i>WD</i> 200), or explicit from νεμεσάω <i>to feel just resentment, wrath</i> (e.g. Damascius <i>phaed.</i> 404.2: νεμεσῶσα τοῖς ὑπεράνομοις)		
2) νέμησις (νέμω): (only 2 instances found)	Cornutus 13.17	ἀπὸ τῆς νεμήσεως προσηγόρευται— διαίρει γὰρ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐκάστῳ	from 'assigning' for she determines what happens to each person
	Schol. Plat. <i>sv. Dia. R</i> 451a.3	λέγεται ἀπὸ τῆς νεμήσεως, ὡς διαίρουσα καὶ νέμουσα τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐκάστῳ	

**Table 26: Τύχη**

	τύχαιον <i>accidental</i>	τεύχειν <i>to fashion</i>
Cornutus 13.18		Τύχη δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τεύχειν ἡμῖν τὰς περιστάσεις
Anon. Hes. Theog. 397.7	Τύχη διὰ τὸ τύχαιον καὶ ἄστατον τῶν ὑδάτων	

**Table 27: Ὅπισ**

	ὄπισθεν <i>following behind</i>
Cornutus 13.20	Ὅπισ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ λαθάνουσα καὶ ὡσπερ παρακολουθοῦσα ὄπισθεν
Philoxenus fr. 568 = Orion 120.27 = EM 627.19	ὄπισ, ἢ ἐξόπισθεν ἐπομένη τίσις

**Table 28: Μούσαι**

	μῶ or related verb (Selection only - list incomplete after Cornutus)	Others: μνεῖν <i>to close</i> ; ὁμοῦ ἀεὶ οὔσαι <i>always being together</i>
Plato <i>Cra.</i> 406a4	✓	
Dio. Sic. <i>bib.</i> 4.7.4.1		✓
Philoxenus fr. 148.	✓	
Cornutus 14.7	✓	
[Herodian] <i>peri kuri.</i> 3.2.2.3	✓	
Most later lexica and many scholia	✓	
Schol. Hes. <i>Theog. sv.</i> v ante 1.3		✓
Photius <i>bib. cod.</i> 279 530b.40	✓	✓

**Table 28a: Number of Muses:**

Number	Writer	quoted by	
3	Pausanias 9.29.2.9		οἱ δὲ τοῦ Ἄλκωεως παῖδες ἀριθμὸν τε Μούσας ἐνόμισαν εἶναι τρεῖς καὶ ὀνόματα αὐταῖς ἔθεντο Μελέτην καὶ Μνήμην καὶ Ἄοιδήν
	Mnaseas	Herodian <i>peri kuri.</i> 3.2.1.15	Μνασέας δὲ φησιν, ὅτι αἱ πᾶσαι τρεῖς εἰσὶν· Μούσα, Θεά, Ὑμνώ
	Eumelos (730 BC)	Schol. Hes. <i>WD sv. proleg. schol.</i> 1.39	(θυγατέρας Ἀπόλλωνος) Κηφισοῦν, Ἀπολλωνίδα, Βαρυσθενίδα
4	Aratus		Ἄρχην, Μελέτην, Θελξινόην, καὶ Ἄοιδήν
5	‘τινές’		καὶ ὀνόματα ἔχειν τῶν πέντε αἰσθήσεων
7	Epicharmus		Νειλοῦν, Τριτώνην Ἀσωποῦν, Ἑπταπόλην, Ἀχελωῖδα, Τιπόπλου, Ῥοδίαν
9	Hes. <i>Theog.</i> 60		agreeing with at least 44 others, including Cornutus (and Eumelos fr. 16)
12	Anth. 5 epi. 95.1		Παφία δύο καὶ δέκα Μούσαι

**Table 28b: Etymology of Muses and diversity of their portfolios:**

Explicit etymologies are bracketed, no other different etymologies found.

	Dio. Sic. <i>bib.</i> 4.7 ff.	Cornutus	Plutarch <i>QC</i> 743c7 ff.	Schol. A.R. <i>sv.</i> 215.5 ff.	Anon. Hes. Theog. 374.7ff.
Κλειώ	laudatory eloquence (κλέος)	renown from education (κλέος)	1) laudatory eloquence (κλέος) 2) glorify love of honour (κλέος)	ιστορίαν	ῥητορικήν
Εὐτέρπη	the delight from education (τέρπειν)	time spent with her (learning) is pleasant (ἐπιτερπές)	1) delightful elements in conversation (ἐπιτερπές) 2) study of facts of nature	μαθήματα	αὐλητικὴν
Θάλεια	flourishing of fame from laudation (θάλλειν)	1) life flourishes with education (θάλλειν) 2) virtue of conviviality 3) clever at festive meetings (θάλεια)	1) flourishing of plants (θάλλειν) 2) social aspect of food and drink (θαλιάζειν) 3) truth about the gods (θεός-ἀλήθεια)	γεωργίαν ... πραγματείας	καμφοδίαν
Μελπομένη	song (μελωδία)	voice with melody (μολπῆ)		ὄδῃν	τραγωδίαν
Τερψιχόρη	the delight from education (τέρπειν)	1) joy of the educated (τέρψις - χαίρειν) 2) providing pleasure by being seen (τέρψις.. δρᾶσθαι) 3) dances to the Gods (χορός)	orderliness of pleasure reaching ear and eye (τέρψις)	παιδιάν	κιθαροδίαν
Ἑρατώ	passion for learning (ἔρωσ)	1) passion for all aspects of philosophy (ἔρωσ) 2) patron of questioning (ἔρεσθαι)	rational control of sexual urge	ὄρχησιν	ποίησιν
Πολυμνία	song (πολλῆ ὑμνήσις)	1) virtue honoured in song (πολυμνητος) 2) celebrates many men (πολλοὺς ὑμνοῦσα)	1) ἱστορικόν (μνήμη πολλῶν) 2) love of learning (μνήμη πολλῶν)	λύραν	γεωμετρίαν
Οὐρανία	astronomy (οὐρανός)	astronomy (οὐρανός)	astronomy (οὐρανός)	ἀστρολογίαν	ἀστρονομίαν
Καλλιόπη	rhetoric / eloquence (καλὴν ὄπα)	rhetoric (καλλιεπής)	rhetoric	ποίησιν	τὰ ἔμμετρα ἔπη

Notes:

1) See too Anth. Epi. 9.504.

2) Compare: Cornutus

Εὐτέρπη δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμιλίας αὐτῶν ἐπιτερπεῖς καὶ ἀγωγὸς εἶναι.  
Plutarch Χρῆσιμος (fr. 1099), αὕτη τὸ περὶ τῆς ὁμιλίας ἐπιτερπὲς εἴληχε καὶ κεχαρισμένον.

Table 29: Ἑρμῆς

	<i>to speak</i>	εἴρειν ἐμήσατο <i>to contrive speech</i>	ὄχύρωμα <i>defence</i>	① ἐρμηνέα <i>interpreter</i>	ἔρμα <i>prop</i>
Plato <i>Cra.</i> 407e		✓		✓	
Dio. Sic. <i>bib.</i> 5.75.2		✗		✓	
Philo <i>leg. gaium</i> 99.3				✓	
Heraclitus <i>QH</i> 28.2				✓	
Cornutus 20.21		✓	✓		
Hippolytus <i>ref. haer.</i> 5.7.29.3				✓	
Macrobius <i>sat.</i> 1.17.5				✓	
Schol. Hom. <i>Od. sv.</i> 1 hypo 38.11				✓	
Orion ε 54.18					✓
Hesychius <i>lex.</i> α 7037.5		✓			
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 1.279.13	✓			✓	
EM 376.29	✓		✓		✓

①cf. opposite Et. Gud. ε 527.9 and EM 376.47: Ἑρμηνεύς: ... παρὰ τὸ Ἑρμῆς.



Table 30: διάκτορος

	ἄγω, διάγω	διάκτορος <i>piercing, clear</i>	διακονεῖν, διακτορεῖν <i>be messenger</i>	others
Nessas fr. 2 (Schol. Hes. <i>WD sv. pro.s. 77c.1</i> )	✓			
Cornutus 21.1	✓	✓		
Orion δ 45.6; 50.1	✓	✓		
Hesychius <i>lex.</i> δ 1095	✓	✓		
Schol. Hes. <i>WD sv. pro.s. 67b 8</i>			✓	
Schol. Hom. <i>Od. sv. 1 hypo 38.11</i>	✓		✓	
Et. Gud. δ 357.16	✓			✓
Eustathius <i>II.</i> 1.279.8	✓	✓		
Zonaras <i>lex.</i> δ 505.24	✓		✓	✓
EM 268.10	✓	✓		✓

Table 31: σωκος

	<i>saving houses</i>	<i>strength</i>	<i>moving quickly</i>	<i>help</i>	<i>save</i>
Sophocles (Eustathius)		✓			
Tyrannion fr. 47 (Herodian <i>PC</i> 3.1.147.18)	✓			✓	
Apion <i>fr. hom.</i> 133 (Apollonius Soph. 148.15)	✓				
Heraclitus <i>QH</i> 72.13					✓
Cornutus 21.6	✓	[✓]			
Apollonius Soph. <i>lex. hom.</i> 148.15	✓		✓		
Herodian <i>schem. hom.</i> 95.1	✓				✓
Orion σ 142.7	✓	✓	✓		
Hesychius <i>lex.</i> σ 3064	✓	✓		✓	
Schol. Hom. <i>Il. sv.</i> 20.72		✓	✓		
Schol. Lucian. <i>sv.</i> 21.40.9	✓				
Et. Par. α 85.6				✓	✓
Et. Gud. α 154.6		✓			
Suda σ 832		✓			✓
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 3.228.21, 4.374.3	✓	✓		✓	✓
EM 113.7, 742.10	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 32: Ἄργειφόντης

	Hermes:	root		example
1	destructive	ἄργος (=dog) + φόνος	<i>Argos slayer</i>	ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ἄργον
2		ἀργῆς (=ὄφις) + φόνος	<i>snake slayer</i>	ὄφιν τὸν Πυθῶνα ἀνείλε
3	peace-loving	ἀργός (=καθαρός) + φόνου	<i>free from murder, undefiled</i>	ὁ ἀργός φόνου· εἰρηνικός γὰρ ὁ θεός
4	dream-bringing	ἀργόν (=λευκόν) + φαντασία	<i>making clear images visible (in dreams)</i>	ἐναργεῖς τὰς φαντασίας ποιεῖν
5		ἀργεῖ (+ἄρι) + φαντάζω	<i>making many images visible in dreams</i>	ὁ μέγας φανταζόμενος τοῖς ὀνείροις
6	swift	ἀργόν (=ταχύ) + φωνή	<i>swift sound</i>	τὴν φωνὴν ταχυτήτος
7		ἀργόν (=ταχύ)	<i>swift messenger</i>	τὸ ἀργός, ὁ ταχὺς ἄγγελος
8	birthplace	ἄργος (=city) + φαίνω	<i>first appeared in Argos</i>	ὁ ἐν Ἄργει πρῶτον πεφηνώς
9	= ὁ λόγος Reason	ἀργός (=καθαρός) + φαίνω	<i>makes thoughts clearly visible</i>	ἐκφαίνει ἐναργῶς τὸ νοούμενον
10			<i>the clarity / purity of thoughts of soul</i>	τὸ ἀργεννὰ .. καθαρὰ φαίνειν τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνθυμήματα
11		ἀργόν (=λευκόν) + φαίνω	<i>causes everything to appear clearly</i>	λευκῶς πάντα φαίνειν καὶ σαφηνίζειν
12		ἀργός (=ἄπρακτος) + φόνος	<i>destroys useless / bad arguments</i>	τοὺς ἀργοὺς καὶ ἀπράκτους λογισμοὺς ἀναίρει

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Tryphon I tr. 21 fr. 2					✓								
Didymus Gramm.(?): Et. Gud. α 185.7					✓								
Heraclitus <i>QH</i> 72.10	✗								✓				
Cornutus 21.11						✓					✓		
Apollonius Soph. <i>lex. hom.</i> 42.10	✓		✓					✓					εἰρηνικός γὰρ ὁ θεός
Pausanias Attic. <i>on.</i> α 143		✓											
Hesychius <i>lex.</i> α 7022			✓										
Schol. Hom. <i>Il. sv.</i> 2.103 schol.1	✗		✓										
Schol. Hes. <i>WD tz.</i> 67.5 =Schol. Hom. <i>Od. sv.</i> 1h.v.38.6	✓		✓							✓		✓	Argos = 'τὰ λυσσώδη ἐνθυμήματα'
Et. Gud. add. α 185.14	✓	✓	✓	✓*	✓		✓	✓					* 'οὕτως ... τοῦ Ἡσιόδου'
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 1.279.24	✓		✓										εἰρηνικὸν γὰρ ὁ λόγος
EM 137.5 = Et. Gen. α 1578	✓		✓	✓	✓			✓					

Also Etym. 1: [Apollodorus] *bib.* 2.6.3; Epiphanius *pan.* 2.44.11; Elias *aristotle comm.* 140.30; Schol. A. *sv.* *PV* 569.4; Schol. E. *sv.* *vita Ph* 208.4.

✗: Explicitly denying Etym. 1: Schol. Hom. *Il. sv.*: ... οὐκ οἶδεν ὁ ποιητής, πέπλασται δὲ τοῖς νεωτέροις τὰ περὶ τὸν ἄργον.

**Table 33: Θέτις**

Heraclitus <i>QH</i> 25.8	Θέτιν· αὕτη γὰρ ὑπέστη τῶν ὄλων εὐκαιρον ἀπόθεσιν, ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις νόμοις ἰδρύσασα τὰ στοιχεῖα. [διάθεσιν: Buffière 104]	<i>preservation</i> [διάθεσιν <i>arrangement</i> ]
Cornutus 27.11	ἡ δὲ κατὰ τρόπον διαθεῖσα πάντα Θέτις	<i>arrangement</i>
Schol. Hes. <i>Theog.</i> sv. 244b1	Θέτις· ἡ θέσις τῶν ὑδάτων	<i>disposition</i>
Schol. Hom. <i>Il.</i> sv. 1.399-406 sch.18	Θέτιν δὲ τὴν θέσιν καὶ φύσιν τοῦ παντός.	<i>disposition</i>
Schol. Lycophr. <i>tz.</i> 22.62	Θέτις ἡ θάλασσα, ὅτι εὐθεσίας αἰτία·	<i>good condition</i>
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 1.190.19	Θέτιν δὲ τὴν τῶν ὄλων διάθεσιν τε καὶ διακόσμησιν	<i>arrangement</i>

**Table 34: Βριάρεως**

Cornutus 27.15	βορὰν + αἰρεῖν	<i>raising food</i>
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 1.190.19, <i>Od.</i> 1.26.10	τὸ βριαρόν, βρίθω	<i>to be heavy, prevail</i>
Et. Gen. β 253		
Zonaras <i>lex.</i> β 408.11		
EM 213.14		
Galen Gramm. <i>all. hes. theog.</i> 339.6	οἶα τὰ βόρεια	<i>northerly winds</i>



Table 35: Χάος

	χεισθαι <i>to pour</i>	χώρα <i>space</i>	κάος <i>burning</i>
Xenophanes (Aristotle <i>Xen.</i> 976b17)		✓	
Pherecydes Myth. (Ach. Tat. 3.28)	✓		
Aristotle <i>Ph.</i> 208b30		✓	
Zeno fr. 103 (Probus <i>virg. ecl.</i> VI 31, p. 21,14)	✓		
Philoxenus fr. 199 (Orion 164.25; Et. Gud. 562.12)		✓	
Philo <i>aet. mund.</i> 18.1	✓	✓	
Cornutus 28.7	✓		✓
Plutarch <i>QC</i> 678F4		✓	
Plutarch <i>aq. ig.</i> 955E6	✓		
Hippolytus <i>ref. haer.</i> 5.10.2.2	✓		
Menander Rhet. <i>peri epi.</i> 438.20	✓		
S.E. <i>pyrr.</i> hypo 3.121.2		✓	
Schol. Aristoph. <i>nub.</i> Arg-dram per-sch. 424.1	✓		
Plotinus <i>enn.</i> 6.8.11.15		✓	
Hesychius χ 168	✓	✓	
Simplicius <i>aristotle ph.</i> 9.527.19		✓	
Themistius <i>aristotle ph.</i> 5.2.103.29		✓	
Orac. Sib. <i>orac.</i> 8.241		✓	
J. Philoponus <i>aristotle ph.</i> 17.501.4		✓	
Schol. Hes. <i>Theog. sv.</i> 116b20	✓	✓	
Et. Gud. 562.11	✓		
Galen Gramm. <i>all. hes. theog.</i> 305.30	✓		

**Table 36: Ἔρεβος**

	ἐρέφω <i>to cover</i>	<i>earth</i>
Philoxenus fr. 484 (Orion 62.12 = EM 370.26))	παρά τὸ ἐρέφω τροπή τοῦ φ εἰς β· τὸ κατεστεγασμένον ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς	παρά τὸ ἔραν τὴν γῆν. τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἔ(ρ)αν βαῖνον
Cornutus 29.3	ὁ ποιῶν ἐρέφεσθαι καὶ περιλαμβάνεσθαι τι ὑφ' ἑτέρου λόγος	
Schol. S. Aj. sv. 395b1 = Et. Gud. ε 518.2 = Zonaras lex. ε 858.6	ἔρεβος τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν σκότος, παρά τὸ ἐρέφω τὸ στεγάζω· τὸ κατεστεγασμένον ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς	ἢ παρά τὴν ἔραν, τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἔραν βαῖνον
Galen Gramm. <i>all. hes. theolog.</i> 307.7	Ἔρεβος δ' ἂν εἴη ὁ κοσμητικὸς λόγος καὶ τακτικὸς, ὁ ἐνθεθεῖς ἡμέρα τε καὶ νυκτί, καὶ ποιῶν ἐρέβεσθαι, ἧγουν καταλαμβάνεσθαι θάτερον ὑπὸ θατέρου	

© Schol. Hes. *Theog.* sv. 124-125F 100.

For the etymology of the word of Apollo, cf. *ibid.* 5 and 241.25.

Note: The etymology given by Cornutus is wrongly analyzed in *Etymologiae* § 123.

Table 37: Ἴαπετός

	ιά + ἀφίημι <i>sound-looser</i>	ἴεσθαι: movement of heaven	ἵπτω, ἰάπτω 1) <i>to harm</i> 2) <i>to hurl</i>
❶ Zeno		Ζήνων ... τὸν οὐρανὸν ... καὶ Ἴαπετὸν τὴν κίνησιν αὐτοῦ ... παρὰ τὸ ἴεσθαι καὶ πέτεσθαι· ὁ γὰρ οὐρανὸς ἀεικίνητός ἐστιν	
❶ 'Chrysippus'		Ἴαπετὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰέναι· ἐπεὶ γὰρ φύσιν ἔχει πάντα τὰ βάρη ἀφιέμενα πίπτειν ἄνω<θεν>, τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶδος Ἴαπετὸν ἐκάλεσεν	
Cornutus 30.8	ἰαφετός τις ὢν (ἰά γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ φωνή)		
Schol. Hes. <i>WD</i> sv. prol-sch 56b20		παρὰ τὸ ἰέναι, καὶ ὀρμῶν καὶ πέτεσθαι πανταχοῦ	
Choerob. <i>orth.</i> 222.16			παρὰ τὸ ἵπτω, τὸ σημαῖνον τὸ βλάπτω
Et. Gud. ι 269.22		παρὰ τὸ ἴεσθαι καὶ πέτεσθαι	ἤγουν παρὰ τὸ ἵπτω τὸ βλάπτω
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 2.621.1, 1.28.1		Ἴαπετός δὲ κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς ἡ ὀξυκινήσια τοῦ οὐρανοῦ παρὰ τὸ ἴεσθαι καὶ πέτεσθαι	τάχα δὲ ... ἵπτω γίνεται αἵπτω τὸ ἄγαν βλάπτω ... ὄθεν καὶ ὁ Ἴαπετός
Zonaras <i>lex.</i> ι 1079.3			παρὰ τὸ ἵπτω, τὸ βλάπτω
Galen Gramm. <i>all. hes. theog.</i> 334.19; Anon. Hes. <i>Theog.</i> 378.14		Ἴαπετός δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴεσθαι καὶ πέτεσθαι	
EM 463.53		ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἴημι, τὸ πέμπω	Παρὰ τὸ ἵπτω, τὸ βλάπτω, Τὸ δὲ ἵπτω, παρὰ τὸ ἰός, ὃ σημαίνει τὸ βέλος

❶ Schol. Hes. *Theog.* sv. 134 =SVF 100.

Note: ἰαφέτην *archer* epithet of Apollo (Anth. 9.epi 524.25).

Note: The etymology given by Cornutus is wrongly assigned to Empedocles fr. 123.

**Table 38: Κοῖος and Κρίος**

	ποιότητα <i>qualities</i>	<i>understanding</i>
❶ Zeno	Κοῖον γὰρ λέγει τὴν ποιότητα κατὰ τροπὴν Αἰολικὴν τοῦ π πρὸς τὸ κ	
Cornutus 30.11	Κοῖος δέ, καθ' ὃν ποιά τινα τὰ ὄντα ἐστὶ (τῶ γὰρ κ πολλαχοῦ οἱ Ἴωνες ἀντὶ τοῦ π ἐχρῶντο)	ἢ ὁ τοῦ κοεῖν αἴτιος, τούτεστι νοεῖν ἢ φρονεῖν
Anon. Hes. Theog. 378.9		τὸ ποιὸν νοεῖται
Schol. Hes. Theog. sv. 134.2	Ποῖόν φησι, τὴν ποιότητα (οἱ Αἰολεῖς τὸ κ ἀντὶ τοῦ π τίθενται)	
Schol. Hes. Theog. sv. 404.4	ἢ Κοῖος ἢ ποιότης	
Et. Gud. κ 333.7 = EM 523.48 = Et. Par. κ 52 = Suda κ 2566		παρὰ τὸ κοεῖν, ὃ ἐστὶ νοεῖν, καὶ συνιέναι ὃ ἐστὶ συνετός

	διάκρισις, κεκρίσθαι <i>separation, distinction</i>	κρείων <i>ruler</i>	ἀκράτητον <i>uncontrollable</i>
❶ Zeno	Ζήνων ... καὶ Κρείων τὴν διάκρισιν		
Cornutus 30.11		Κρίος δέ, καθ' ὃν τὰ μὲν ἄρχει καὶ δυναστεύει τῶν πραγμάτων, τὰ δὲ ὑποτέτακται καὶ δυναστεύεται	
Herodian <i>peri orth.</i> 3.2.437.12 = EM 539.22 = Et. Gud. κ 346.44	παρὰ τὸ κεκρίσθαι		
Anon. Hes. Theog. 378.9			διὰ δὲ τοῦ Κρείου τὸ ἀκράτητον τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς γῆς
Schol. Hes. Theog. sv. 134.2		τὸ βασιλικὸν καὶ ἡγεμονικόν	
Schol. Hes. Theog. sv. 375.1	Κρίος ... θέλουσι δὲ αὐτὸν τὴν διάκρισιν τῶν ὄντων καλεῖν		
Choerob. <i>orth.</i> 226.16	Κρίος: παρὰ γὰρ τὸ κεκρίσθαι ἐστίν		

❶ Schol. Hes. Theog. sv. 134.8.

Cornutus *implies* κρείων as a root for Κρίος, but then derives an etymology for κριός as flock leader. cf. Herodian *peri orth.* 3.2.437.12 καὶ κριός ὁ προηγούμενος τῆς ποιμνῆς παρὰ τὸ κεκρίσθαι τὰς τρίχας.



Table 39: Ὑπερίων

	ὑπέρ + ἰών <i>rising above us</i>	ὑπέρ + ἰών <i>revolving around above us</i>
Zeno (Schol. Hes. <i>Theog.</i> sv. 134.17)	Ὑπερίονα δὲ τὴν ἄνω κίνησιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπεράνω ἰέναι	
Cornutus 30.18		Ὑπερίων δέ, καθ' ὃν ὑπεράνω τινὰ ἑτέρων περιπορεύεται
[Plut.] <i>VH</i> 1081	καὶ ὅτι αἰεὶ ὕπερ ἡμᾶς ἰών' ...τὴν τε ἀνατολὴν ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος	
Photius <i>lex.</i> v 622.21 = <i>Lex. Seg. v.d.rec.</i> v 396.6 = <i>Suda</i> v 296	Ὑπερίονα: ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἀνατέλλοντα	
Schol. Pind. <i>sv.</i> Ode I 5 schol 1b.5	διὰ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἰέναι	
Schol. Hom. <i>Il.</i> sv. 19.398c.2	καὶ ὅτε γὰρ δοκοῦμεν αὐτὸν κάτω φέρεσθαι	ὑπεράνω ἡμῶν ἔστιν
❶ Schol. Hes. <i>Theog.</i> sv. 134.11		Ὑπερίονα δὲ τὸν οὐρανόν, τὸν ὑπεράνω ἡμῶν ἰόντα... ὁ γὰρ οὐρανὸς ἀεικίνητός ἐστι
Schol. Hom. <i>Od.</i> sv. 12 hypo-v 133.1	τῷ ὑπεράνωθεν ἡμῶν ἰόντι	
EM 523.53	Ὑπερίονα, κουφότητα	

❶ assigned to Chrysippus fr. 1086 at same point as Zeno who is named.

Some writers etymologise ὑπερίων as an epithet of the sun: Xenophanes (Heraclitus *QH* 44.5) ἥελιός θ' ὑπεριέμενος γαῖαν τ' ἐπιθάλων; Hesychius v 415; EM 779.1; Schol. Hom. *Il.* sv. 8.840.5 (ὁ ὑπεράνω ἡμῶν ὦν); Zonaras *lex.* v 1768.8.

[Philo - all cases of ὑπεράνω mean *above, superior*; all 18 other cases of περιπορεύεται are related to circular motion.]

Table 40: Ὠκεανός

	ὠκέως	ὠκέως +			
	<i>swiftly</i>	<i>to flow</i>	<i>accomplish</i>	<i>to go</i>	subject
Heraclitus <i>QH</i> 22.7		νάειν			fast flowing of the liquid element
Cornutus [8.13]; 30.18			ἀνύεται	[νεόμενος]	1) (Accretion) [the logos which swims swiftly and changes things sequentially] 2) quality by which things are accomplished in haste
Agathemerus <i>geo.</i> 4.9			ἀνύειν		river circling the earth
Herodian <i>part.</i> 98.14					river circling the earth ἀπὸ τοῦ ὠκός
Proclus <i>plat. tim. comm.</i> 3.177.24			διανύουσιν		1) river 2) motion of the moist element 3) aether 4) the depth of the mind
Anon. Hes. Theog. 378.5		νάειν			river
Schol. A. sv. <i>PV</i> vita-arg-schol-epi sch 309b.9		νάειν			fast flow of reasoning and thoughts
Schol. Aratum sv. 26.9	ὠκέως				river (ὠκέως ῥεῖ)
Schol. Aratum sv. 26.20	ὠκέως				horizon, the fast (ὠκέως) rising and setting of stars
Schol. Hom. <i>Il.</i> sv. 5.6b sch.1			ἀνύεσθαι		horizon, the fast (ὠκέως) rising and setting of stars
Schol. Oppianum <i>hal. hypo.</i> -1.385.22; 1.387.4		νάουσι	ἀνύω		river
Et. Gud. ω 577.44			ἀνύειν		1) river 2) fast completion of a circle
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 3.617.11; 2.8.11		νάειν	ἀνυόντων		river
Galen Gramm. <i>all. hes. theog.</i> 316.25; 322.9		νάειν		νεόμενον	river
Pediasimus <i>schol. hes. scut.</i> 645.4		νάειν			river
Zonaras <i>lex.</i> ω 1883.18		νάειν	ἀνύεσθαι		river
EM 821.20		νάειν	ἀνύττειν ἀνύω		fast setting of heaven

**Table 41: Τηθός**

	<i>sifted + filtered spring</i>	τίτθη <i>wet-nurse</i>	στῆθος <i>breast</i>	τή + θῶ <i>to suckle</i>	τροφός <i>rearer</i>
Plato <i>Cra.</i> 402c7	✓				
Cornutus 31.2 (implied?)					
❶ Schol. Hes. <i>Theog.</i> sv. 136b					✓
Anon. Hes. <i>Theog.</i> 395.20					✓
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 3.617.13; 3.615.19		✓	✓	✓	✓
Galen <i>Gramm. all. hes. theog.</i> 308.17					✓
EM 756.37 = Et. Gud. τ 528.25 = Suda τ 475 = Schol. Hom. <i>Il.</i> sv. 14.201 sc.4		✓			✓

❶ assigned to Chrysippus fr. 1085.

Cornutus has Τηθός *that by which a situation remains the same for a long time*, perhaps suggesting an etymology from τίθημι.

**Table 42: Θεία**

	<i>source of light</i>	<i>running</i>
Cornutus 31.3	Θεία δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς ὄψεως αἰτία	
Schol. Pind. sv. Ode I 5 schol 1b.1	διὰ τὸ τῆς θέας καὶ τῆς ὄψεως ἡμῖν αἴτιον εἶναι	εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεῖν αὐτὴν φασιν
Et. Gud. θ 257.11	σημαίνει δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀκτίνα τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τῆς σελήνης	

Pindar scholia refer to *Is V*, invoking Μᾶτερ Ἄελιου πολυώνυμε Θεία. The second etymology is coupled with Hyperion (above).

**Table 43: Προμηθεύς**

A.PV 85-87	προμήθεια <i>foresight</i>
Plato <i>Prt.</i> 361d2 (word play)	
Heraclitus <i>QH</i> 26.14.1	
Cornutus 31.19	
Clemens Rom. <i>hom.</i> 6.14.2.1	
Schol. A. <i>sv.</i> PV vita-schol-epi 120c5	
Schol. Hes. <i>WD sv.</i> proleg-schol 49b3	
Schol. Pind. <i>sv.</i> P 5 sch. 35d4	
Galen Gramm. <i>all. hes. theog.</i> 334.12	

**Table 44: Ἐφαιστος**

	ἄπτω		others
	ἄπτω, ἀνάψαι <i>to kindle</i> ἔξαψις, ἀφή <i>kindling</i>	<i>untouchable</i>	
Plato <i>Cra.</i> 407c4			φάεος ἵστορα <i>knowing about light</i>
Philo <i>vit. contemp.</i> 3.3	παρὰ τὴν ἔξαψιν, (ἔξαψις <i>kindling</i> )		
Cornutus. 33.15	ἀπὸ τοῦ ἦφθαι ὀνομασμένος		
❶ Schol. Hom. <i>Od. sv.</i> 8 hypo 297.3	ἀπὸ τοῦ ἦφθαι ὀνόμασται		
Clemens Rom. <i>hom.</i> 9.6.2.1			Φθάε (Egyptian for <i>fire</i> )
Apollonius Soph. <i>lex. hom.</i> 85.11	οἶονεὶ ἄφαιστος ὄν, κατὰ στέρησιν τῆς ἀφῆς		
Herodian <i>PC</i> 3.1.543.24	παρὰ γὰρ τὸ ἄπτω ἐγένετο		
Orion η 69.5		τοῦ γὰρ πυρὸς οὐκ ἔστιν ἄψασθαι	
Et. Gud. η 252.10	ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ πυρὸς ἐξάψεως	τοῦ γὰρ πυρὸς οὐδεὶς δύναται ἄψασθαι	Πλάτων δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ φάους ἱστορίας

❶ Only other instance of ἦφθαι.

Similar to Apollonius Soph: Psellus *op. log.* 54.51; Choerob. *spir.* 211.18; Eustathius *Il.* 1.138.14, 1.232.29.

Similar to Herodian: Comm. Dion. Thrax *w4* 471.23; Schol. Hes. *WD sv.* prolog-schol sch v70.7; Schol. Hom. *Il sv.* 1.600a1 schol. 1; Schol. Oppianum *hal.* hypo-book 2 schol. 28.8; Eustathius *Od.* 1.84.27.



Table 45: Ἄθηνᾶ

	ἀθρεῖν <i>look at, consider</i>	θηλάσσω <i>to suckle</i>	(α-)θηῆλυς <i>female</i>	αἰθήρ	θένεσθαι <i>be struck</i>
❶ Chrysippus fr. 910	✓				
❶ Diogenes Bab. fr. 33				✓	
Philoxenus fr. 33a (Orion 612.29)		✓			
οἱ περὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶνιον (D.L.7.147.8)				✓	
Heraclitus <i>QH</i> 19.8	✓				
Cornutus 36.1	✓		✓	✓	[✓]
Porphyry <i>agalmaton</i> 8.57 = Eusebius <i>PE</i> 3.11.31.1	✓				
Nicomachus <i>theol. arith.</i> 71.9 = Iamblichus <i>theol. arith.</i> 71.9			✓		
Athenagoras <i>leg. supp.</i> 17.4.3			✓		
Schol. Hes. <i>WD sv. proleg-schol</i> <i>sch page-v</i> 76.2; 769-771.45	✓	✓	✓		
Orion α 612.29		✓			
Proclus <i>plat. rep. comm.</i> 2.192.18			✓		
Et. Gen. α 134	✓	✓			
Epim. <i>epim. hom.</i> Il. 194.c gloss 1		✓			
Et. Gud. α 31.3	✓	✓			
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 1.132.5; 137.9; 139.1; 1.485.21; 3.433.21	✓	✓	✓		
EM 24.44	✓	✓			

Plato *Cra.* 407b5: 1) ἡ θεοῦ νόησις *mind of god* 2) τὰ θεῖα νοοῦσα *contemplating the divine*; 3) ἐν ἧθει νόησις *wisdom of character*.

Apollonius Soph. *lex. hom.* 55.10: ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰθεῖν ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως *to glow, burn from the eyes*.

❶ from Philodemus *piet.* c.16.

**Table 46: ἀτρυτώνη**

Cornutus (37.9)	αὐ τρυομένη ὑπ' οὐδενός πόνου	ὡς ἀτρυτοῦ τοῦ αἰθέρος ὕψους	
Olympiodorus <i>plat. alcib. comm.</i> , Eustathius <i>Od.</i> 1.191.38	similar		
Et. Gen. α 1376.1= Et. Gud. add. α 230.19 =EM 167.18 = Et. Sym. 1.298.19			παρά τὴν τρυτάνην, ἥτις ἐστὶ ζυγός, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄζευκτε παρθένος γὰρ ἡ θεός <i>unyoked (in marriage)</i> :

**Table 47: Τριτογένεια**

A: List of etymological roots and single etymologies after Cornutus:			
a)	Place of Birth	Lake, Libya (E. <i>Ion</i> 872); Pausanias 8.26.6.5 (spring, Arcadia), 9.33.7.4 (river, Boeotia); Strabo 9.2.18; Schol. Pind. <i>sv.</i> Ode P 4 36a.1	
b)	Born from the Head of Zeus (τριτώ = <i>head</i> in var. dialects)	Schol. Aristoph. <i>nub. rec.</i> v.989g.2; Schol. Hes. <i>Theog. sv.</i> 924a.1; Galen <i>Gramm. all. hes. theog.</i> 355.10	
c)	τρεῖν to fear	Zonaras <i>lex.</i> τ 1745.19; Photius <i>lex.</i> τ 603.20; <i>Lex. Seg. v.d.rec.</i> τ 390.11	
d)	3 kinds of thought	d1) Stoic:	τῶν φυσικῶν καὶ τῶν ἠθικῶν καὶ τῶν λογικῶν (Chrysippus)
		d2) Democritus:	βουλευέσθαι καλῶς, λέγειν ἀναμαρτήτως καὶ πράττειν ἃ δεῖ
		d3) 3-fold soul:	φανταστικόν, λογιστικόν καὶ μνημονευτικόν (Schol. Aristoph. <i>nub. rec.</i> 989g.1)
e)	3 seasons (Athena = air)	ἔαρος καὶ θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος; Eusebius <i>PE</i> 3.3.7.1 (hence born three times per year)	
f)	3 <sup>rd</sup> day of month (A = Moon)	τὴν τρίτην τοῦ μηνός ... δοκεῖ δὲ γεγενῆσθαι τότε ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ. Τριτογένειαν αὐτὴν φησι διὰ τοῦτο λέγεσθαι, τὴν αὐτὴν Σελήνην νομιζομένην (Ister)	
g)	3 <sup>rd</sup> born	'μετὰ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα'	
h)	3 fathers	'Ἀθηνᾶν ἐκ τριῶν φῦναι πατέρων: Schol. Theocrit. <i>sv.</i> Pro.-anec.-p Bom Bes sec.-v 26a.1 ( <i>sic</i> )	

**B: Pre-Cornutus and multiple etymologies:**

	a)	b)	c)	d1)	d2)	d3)	e)	f)	g)
Democritus Phil. (D.L.9.46.5); fr 2					✓				
Callisthenes fr. 52 (Schol. Lycophr. tz. 519)								✓	
Chrysippus fr. 910 (Philodemus <i>piet.</i> c.16 (DDG p. 550.6)).				✓					
Ister Hist. fr. 26 (Harpocration <i>lex. dec.</i> 294.14)								✓	
Dio. Sic. <i>bib.</i> 1.12.8.1 (Hecataeus fr. 25), 5.72.3.1	✓						✓		
Cornutus 37.11			✓	✓					
Herodian <i>orth.</i> 3.2.594.1	✓	✓	✓					✓	✓
Apollonius Soph. <i>lex. hom.</i> 154.21	✓		✓						
Schol. A.R. <i>sv.</i> 313.15	✓		✓						
Schol. Aristoph. <i>nu. rec.</i> 989g.1		✓				✓			
Schol. Hom. <i>Il. sv.</i> 4.515.1; 8.39.1	✓	✓	✓		✓				
Schol. Hom. <i>Od. sv.</i> 3 hypo-v 378.6		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
Schol. Lycophr. <i>tz.</i> 519.4	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	
Orion τ 151.10; τ 153.5	✓		✓			✓		✓	
Hesychius <i>lex.</i> τ 1443	✓		✓						
Lydus 4.22	✗					✓	✓		
Choerob. <i>psalmos</i> 160.5; <i>orth.</i> 264.16			✓					✓	✓
Photius <i>lex.</i> τ 603.11	✓	✓	✓						✓
Suda τ 1019-1021	✓	✓	✓			✓		✓	✓
Et. Gud. τ 535.34	✓		✓						
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 1.798.25, 2.521.19; <i>Od.</i> 1.133.46; <i>comm. dion.</i> 267.3	✓	✓	✓			✓		✓	
EM 767.51	✓	✓	✓					✓	✓

## Notes:

- 1) Cornutus says 'd1)' (Stoic) is better than the older 'c)', although there is no earlier attested c. (n.b. *Il.* 5.156 τρεῖν μ' οὐκ ἔφ' Παλλὰς 'Αθήνη.) Note πανουργότεραν *cleverer*, probably in a positive sense.
- 2) Similarity of wording between Cornutus, Hesychius and Eustathius.
- 3) Cornutus describes birth from Head of Zeus, but does not etymologize.
- 4) a) also etymology for Τριτωνίδα e.g. Dionysius Scyto. fr. 8.99 (Dio. Sic. *bib.* 3.70.2).

**Table 48: λαοσσός**

	λαός + σεύειν <i>rousing people in(to) battle</i>	λαός + σώζειν <i>saviour of people</i>
Cornutus 37.17	✓	✓
❶ Apollonius Soph. <i>lex. hom.</i> 107.3	✓	✓
Hesychius λ 295	✓	✓
Schol. Hom. <i>Il. sv.</i> 17.398.1	✓	
Schol. Theocrit. <i>sv.</i> Proleg-anec-poem 3 sec-v 24a.1	✓	✓
Et. Gud. λ 31 = EM 556.34	✓	
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 4.71.2	✓	✓
Eustathius <i>Od.</i> 2.282.37	✓	✓

❶ Not specifically an epithet of Athena



Table 49: Παλλάς

1	a	πάλλω	<i>to brandish a weapon</i>
	b		<i>to move, divine movement</i>
	c		<i>to be agile, as youth</i>
	d		ἀνα-πάλλω <i>to jump, rise up out of head of Zeus</i>
	e		<i>to beat, the heart of Dionysos-Zagreus still beating after murder by Titans, brought to Zeus by Athena (Dio. Sic. bib. 5.75)</i>
2	a	Πάλλας	a giant killed by Athena
	b		a young girl killed by accident by Athena
	c		Father of Athena, whom she killed
3		παλάμη	<i>hand, metaph. cunning</i>
4		παίειν + λαούς	<i>to strike people</i>

	1a	1b	1c	1d	1e	2a	2b	2c	3	4	
Plato <i>Cra.</i> 407a	✓										ἀπό τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὀρχήσεως
Apion <i>fr. hom.</i> 100 (Apollonius Soph. <i>lex. hom.</i> 126.29)	✓		✓							✓	ἀπό τοῦ πάλλειν κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν· παρθένος γὰρ ἐστίν, ὅθεν καὶ ὁ πάλλαξ ὀνόμασται
Cornutus 38.2			✓								διὰ τὴν μεμυθευμένην περὶ αὐτὴν νεότητα, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ οἱ πάλληκες καὶ παλλακαὶ προσαγορεύονται
Apollonius Soph. <i>lex. hom.</i> 126.29						✓					
Clemens Rom. <i>hom.</i> 6.8.1 [Apollodorus] <i>bib.</i> 3.144		✓						✓			διὰ τὸ πάλλεσθαι, τεχνικωτάτην οὖσαν φρόνησιν (A=air)
Eudemus <i>peri</i> 171.7	✓					✓					= Photius <i>lex.</i> π 374.16; Suda π 50; Schol. Hom. <i>Il. sv.</i> 1 hypo-v 252.6; <i>Od. sv.</i> hypo-v 252
Schol. Hom. <i>Il. sv.</i> 1.199-200 sc. 1									✓		παρὰ τὰς παλάμας, ἢ ὅτι εὐκίνητος ὁ νοῦς
Schol. Hom. <i>Il. mel.</i> 5.1bis.1		✓									
Schol. Hom. <i>Il. sv.</i> 1.200.sc.1	✓			✓	✓	✓					
Schol. A. <i>sv.</i> Th. hypo-epi-schol 130b.1						✓					
Epim. <i>epim. hom.</i> II.1 sce 200 a1	✓			✓	✓	✓					
Zonaras <i>lex.</i> π 1506.23	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓				✓	
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 1.134.7		✓		✓	✓	✓					διὰ τὸ τῆς προνοίας ἢ φρονήσεως, ... ὀξυκίνητον, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ πάλλω τοῦ δηλοῦντος τὸ κινῶ
Schol. Lycophr. <i>tz.</i> 355.1	✓				✓	✓		✓			
EM 649.52	✓			✓	✓	✓					

**Table 50: Ἄλαλκομενήϊς and ἀγεληΐδα**

- Ἄλαλκομενήϊς: 1 Ἄλαλκομεναί town in Boeotia, where Athena was born, or grew up, or worshipped.  
 2 Ἄλαλκομενίος mountain in Attica  
 3 ἀλαλκεῖν to ward off, protect, help  
 4 ἐν ἀλκῇ μένουσα remaining in battle

	1	2	3	4	
Aristarchus (from Herodian)			✓		
Strabo 9.2.36	✓				
Cornutus 38.2			✓		ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλαλκεῖν
Herodian PC 3.1.84.11, 3.1.363.17	✓		✗		οὐ παρὰ τὸ ἀλαλκεῖν, ὡς Ἀρίσταρχος
Apollonius Soph. lex. hom. 22.7		✓	✓		ἢ τῷ ἰδίῳ μένει ἀπαλέξουσα τοὺς ἐναντίους. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ ... τόπου τινός
Hesychius lex. α 2755			✓		ἢ ἀλάλκουσα τῷ ἑαυτῆς μένει, ὃ ἐστὶ βοηθοῦσα
Stephanus Gramm. ethnica 68.12	✓		✗		οὐ γὰρ παρὰ τὸ ἀλαλκεῖν, ὡς Ἀρίσταρχος· ἦν γὰρ ἂν καὶ Ἀλαλκήϊς
Schol. Hom. Il. mel. 4.8.1	✓				
Schol. Hom. Il. sv. 4.8.2	✓	✓	✓		
Et. Gen. α 395	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Et. Sym. 1.250.25	✓	✓	✓		
Eustathius Il. 1.693.21		✓	✓		ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλαλκεῖν ... ἢ ἀπὸ τινος Ἀλαλκομενέως ἥρωος
EM 56.10	✓		✓	✓	

- ἀγεληΐδα: 1 τὸ ἄγειν λεῶν (οἱ λαοὺς) leading the people (to battle)  
 (Ἀγελεΐη, 2 ἡ ἄγουσα λείαν taking away plunder  
 ἀγελεΐα) 3 τὸ ἄγη ἐλαύνειν driving away jealousy  
 4 ἀγελαΐος unable to be tamed, like a herd animal

	1	2	3	4	
Cornutus 38.11	✓			✓	
Apollonius Soph. lex. hom. 6.28	✓	✓			'no. 2 is better'
Hesychius α 382		✓			= Schol. Hom. Il. sv. 4.128.sc1, Il. mel. 4.128.sc1; Suda α 190; Schol. Lycophr. tz. 356.9; Zonaras lex. α 26.7
Anon. Hes. Theog. 412.26		✓	✓		
Et. Gen. α 31	✓				= Galen Gramm. all. hes. theolog. 355.15
Eustathius Il. 1.716.9, 3.111.16; Od. 1.133.46	✓	✓	✗		
EM 7.39	✓	✓			

**Table 51: Νίκη**

Cornutus (38.9)	ἰκανή	(39.9) [ ἐνὶ εἴκειν ] Accretion
Epim. <i>epim. hom.</i> II.1.579.1b		τὸ δὲ νίκος ... γέγονε παρὰ τὸ ἐνὶ ἀνθρώπῳ εἴκειν
Eustathius <i>II.</i> 2.389.9		διὸ καὶ ἡ νίκη παρὰ τὸ ἐνὶ εἴκειν γίνεται

**Table 52: Ἐνυώ**

	<i>to shout</i>	<i>to kill</i>	<i>to urge, implant courage</i>	<i>gentle (euphemism)</i>	others
❶ Apollodorus fr. 233	✓				
❷ Herakleon		✓			
Cornutus 40.17			✓	✓	
Schol. A. sv. Th. hypo-epi-schol 45b.1	✓				✓
Schol. Hom. <i>II.</i> sv. 5.333b.2, 5.333.2	✓	✓			
Schol. Oppianum <i>hal.</i> hypo-bk2 sch.25.5	✓		✓		✓
Et. Gud. ε 481.9		✓	✓		
Schol. Lycophr. <i>tz.</i> schol. 519.1		✓			✓
Eustathius <i>II.</i> 1.216.24, 2.82.8	✓	✓			
EM 337.35	✓	✓	✓		

❶ Eustathius *II.* 2.26.17. Also Et. Gud. add. ε 482.17.

❷ Eustathius *II.* 2.26.18: Heracleon of Tilotis, Stoic, C-1 (Sandys 158); also Epim. *epim. hom.* II.13.d2d.1; Et. Gud. α 170.21; ε 467.9.



Table 53: ἄρης

1	τὸ ἄρρεν, ἄρσεν, ἄρρατον	<i>virility, courage, unbending nature</i>	5	ἀρή	<i>bane, ruin</i>
2	ἀναιρεῖν	<i>to lift up, give impulse to</i>	6	αἰρέω	<i>to seize, destroy</i>
3	ἄ + ῥήσις	<i>without speech (war = not agreeing)</i>	7	ἀράω	<i>to plough</i>
4	ἀρήγειν	<i>to help, ward off</i>	8	ἀρμόζω, ἄρσαι	<i>to fit well, make pleasing</i>

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Plato <i>Cra.</i> 407d1	✓								= Schol. Oppianum <i>hal.</i> hypo-b1 schol 178.3
Chrysippus fr. 1094 (Plutarch <i>amat.</i> 757b4)		✓							ἀναιρεῖν φησίν, ἀρχὰς διδοὺς τοῖς τὸ μαχητικὸν ἐν ἡμῖν
Philoxenus fr. 476 (Orion 61.27)			✓						= Choerob. <i>alex. nom.</i> 162.35
Philo <i>leg. gaium</i> 112.3				✓					παρὰ γὰρ τὸ ἀρήγειν, ὅπερ βοηθεῖν
Heraclitus <i>QH</i> 31.1					✓				παρὰ τὴν ἀρὴν ἄνομασμένος, ἥπερ ἐστὶ βλάβη.
Cornutus 40.20					✓	✓		✓	5: ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰρεῖν καὶ ἀναιρεῖν
Plutarch fr. 157 (Eusebius <i>PE</i> 3 Proem.)				✓					ἄρης ὡς 'ἀρήγων' τοῖς κατὰ βίαν καὶ μάχην συμπτώμασιν
Clemens Alex. <i>protrept.</i> 5.64.4						✓			ἀπὸ τῆς ἄρσεως καὶ ἀναιρέσεως κεκλημένος
Herodian <i>PC</i> 3.1.63.18							✓		ἄρης ὁ θεὸς παρὰ τὸ ἀρῶ καὶ ἀρῶμαι
Orion α 19.6					✓				= Schol. E. <i>sv.</i> v-arg-sch. Ph sec 350.6
Lydus 4.34 'οἱ φυσικοί'		×		✓					οὐχ ἐκ τῆς ἄρσεως, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ἀρήγειν καὶ συλλαμβάνειν
Et. Gud. α 192.6; 196.4			✓	✓	✓	✓			
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 1.53.4, 1.693.19				×	✓				1.693.19: ἀρηγῶν derived from ἄρης



**Table 54: Νύμφη**

Cornutus	ἀπό τοῦ αἰεὶ νεαί φαίνεσθαι <i>always seeming new</i>	ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ φαίνειν <i>shimmering</i>
Orion (ν 107.17, ν 110.28, ν 112.5)	Similar pairs of etymologies	
Anon. Hes. Theog. 381.25		
Choerob. <i>psalmos</i> 131.13		
Et. Gud. ε 484.6, ν 412.22		
Eustathius <i>Od.</i> 1.9.10, 1.242.34		
Zonaras <i>lex.</i> ν 1408.18; EM 608.37.		

**Table 55: Πήγασος**

Hes. <i>Theog.</i> 282-283	ὄτ' ἄρ' Ὀκεανοῦ παρὰ πηγᾶς γένθ'	
Cornutus 44.10	ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν ὀνομασμένον	
Hesychius <i>lex.</i> ι 858	similar	
Galen <i>Gramm. all. hes. theog.</i> 316.13.	similar	
Galen <i>Gramm. all. hes. theog.</i> 319.35		ἢ παγετοῦσα ψύξις <i>melting</i>
Anon. Hes. <i>Theog.</i> 390.2		παρὰ τὸ πηδᾶν <i>to leap</i>

**Table 56: Νηρεύς**

	Derived from νήχω <i>to swim, dive</i> ; νέω, νεῖν <i>to swim</i> ; νάω <i>to flow</i> :
Tryphon I <i>trop.</i> 203.12	ἐκ τοῦ νήχω
Cornutus 44.17 (Accretion)	ἀπὸ τοῦ νεῖσθαι
Schol. Hom. <i>Il. sv.</i> 18.38 sc.2; Suda ν 328; Zonaras <i>lex.</i> ν 1397.20; Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 1.137.19, 1.689.7, <i>Od.</i> 1.337.19; Anon. Hes. <i>Theog.</i> 386.25; Schol. Lycophr. <i>tz.</i> 163.15	νάω
EM 604.40	ἀπὸ τῆς νήξεως καὶ τοῦ ῥαδίως νεῖν, οἶονεὶ ὁ νηχόμενος θεός

**Table 57: Λευκοθέα**

Philostephanus fr. 37 (Schol. Hom. <i>Il. sv.</i> 7.86.sc51)	διὰ τὸν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἄφρον Λευκοθέαν	
<b>Cornutus</b> (44.20) (Accretion)	δηλονότι τὸ λευκὸν τοῦ ἀφροῦ	
Schol. Lycophr. tz. (107.16	ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀφροῦ	
Zeno Hist. fr. 1 (Dio. Sic. <i>bib.</i> 5.55.)	Ἄλιαν δὲ ρίψασαν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν Λευκοθέαν ὀνομασθῆναι	
EM 561.44 = Eustathius <i>Od.</i> 1.228.15 = Et. Gen. λ 77		διὰ τοῦ λευκοῦ πεδίου θέουσα

**Table 58: Διώνη**

Chrysippus fr. 1098 (Lydus 4.64.52); EM 280.41; Zonaras <i>lex.</i> δ 522.25; Schol. Hom. <i>Il. mel.</i> 5.370 sch.1	ἀπὸ τοῦ διδῶ, Διδάνη καὶ Διώνη, ἡ διδοῦσα τὰς τῆς γενέσεως ἡδονὰς
<b>Cornutus</b> (45.2)	διαίνεσθαι
Orion δ 46.20; Herodian <i>peri orth.</i> 3.2.493.15; Et. Gud. δ 371.5	ἀπὸ τοῦ διὰ πάντων ἰέναι
EM 280.41; Herodian <i>peri orth.</i> 3.2.493.15; Et. Gud. δ 371.5; Zonaras <i>lex.</i> δ 522.25; Schol. Hom. <i>Il. mel.</i> 5.370 sch.1	ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς, Διώνη, ὅτι αὐτὴ πρῶτον γέγονε γαμετὴ τοῦ Διός
EM 280.41	διεύνη τις ἐστίν, ἡ πρώτη διευνασθεῖσα
EM 280.41	ἀπὸ τοῦ διαίνεσθαι καὶ ὑγραίνεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὑετῶν ἢ αὐτὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ τῆ γῆ

Table 59: Ἀφροδίτη

	1) ἀφρόνη = ἡ ἀφροσύνη <i>thoughtlessness</i>	2) ἀφρός <i>foam</i> ; ἀφρώδης <i>frothy</i> a) 'frothy' seminal fluid      b) sea foam		3) ἀβρόν <i>graceful</i> , <i>(extravagant) way of life</i>
Hes. <i>Theog.</i> 195-198		✓		
E. <i>Tr.</i> 989	✓			
Plato <i>Cra.</i> 406c7			✓	
Aristotle <i>GA</i> 736a 18-21		✓		
❶ Cincius <i>Hist.</i>			✓	
Aristoph. <i>Gramm. hist. an.</i> 1.56.2		✓		
Didymus <i>Gramm.</i> (Herodian)				✓
Cornutus 45.3	✓	✓		
Herodian <i>peri path.</i> 3.2.367.19	✓		✓	✓
[Nonnus] <i>myth. Or.</i> 39 hist.5		✓		
Proclus <i>plat. cra. comm.</i> 183.4		✓	✓	
❷ Schol. E. <i>sv. v-arg-sch. sch Tr. sec</i> 989.2		✓	✓	✓
Schol. Hes. <i>Theog. sv.</i> 191b.1, 196.1	✓	✓	✓	
Choerob. <i>orth.</i> 170.16	✓		✓	
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 1.138.4, 1.649.14, 1.651.27; similar: Et. Gud. α 246.8; Et. Gud. add. α 246.21	✓		✓	
EM 179.28 = Et. Gen. α 1490; similar: Et. Gud. 245.6	✓	✓	✓	✓

❶ Lydus 4.64: Κίγκιος ... ἐξ ἀφροῦ ... οἶονει ἐκ τοῦ χιονώδους ἀέρος καὶ τῆς ψυχρᾶς οὐσίας τὸ ἔαρ ἀποτεχθῆναι.

❷ also (unique) οἱ δὲ ἀφόρητόν (*irresistible*) τινα εἶναι, ὡς αὐτὸς φησι [E. *Hipp.* 443]: 'Κύπρις γὰρ οὐ φορητὸς, ἦν πολλὴ ῥύψι'.

2b) also: Galen *sem. lib.* ii 4.531.14; Athenaeus *deip.* 7.126.11; Et. Sym. 1.346.19; Macrobius *sat.* 1.8.6.

Table 60: Κυθήρεια

	<i>reaching Cytherea</i>	κύειν <i>to conceive</i>	κεύθειν <i>to hide</i>
Hes. <i>Theog.</i> 198	✓		
Chrysippus SVF 1098 <i>ap.</i> Lydus		Ⓢ ✓	
Cornutus 45.15		✓	✓
Schol. Hom. <i>Od. sv.</i> 8 hypo-v 288.4; 18 hypo-v 193.1	✗	✓	✓
Schol. Hes. <i>Theog. sv.</i> 196.4			✓
Schol. Hom. <i>Il. sv.D</i> 5.422.schol.42 = Eustathius <i>Od.</i> 1.300.17	✗		✓
Schol. Theocrit. <i>sv. proleg-anec-poem</i> 3 sec-v 46.1		✓	
Ⓢ Orion κ 79.22 = EM 543.40 = Et. Gud. 351.57	✓		✓
Hesychius κ 4440 = Photius <i>lex.</i> κ 184.8 = Suda κ 2628	✗		✓
Zonaras <i>lex.</i> κ 1266.12			✓

Ⓢ various alternatives also given, e.g. secrecy of sexual passion, concealing love, etc

Ⓢ Also etymologies: παρά τὸ χεῖν τοὺς ἔρωτας (*over*)flowing of desires; παρά τὸ χύδην θέρειν καὶ φλέγειν τῷ πάθει *uncontrollable inflaming of passions*.

Ⓢ Etymology from κύειν + θήρ: see commentary at 45.19.

Table 61: Ἄτλας

Cornutus 48.10	ἀταλαιπώρος <i>tirelessly</i>
Herodian <i>peri klis.</i> 3.2.652.20	τοῦ τλάς
Orion α 19.30	κατὰ στέρησιν τοῦ τλῆναι, τουτέστι κοπιᾶν
Schol. E. <i>sv. vita-arg-sch Hipp</i> sec 747.3; Et. Gud. α 227.20; Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 1.18.32, 1.74.13; Zonaras <i>lex.</i> α 337.5	τάλας <i>suffering</i> , τὸ ἄτλητον etc.



**Table 62: ὀλοόφρων (Ἄτλας)**

	<i>thinking of everything</i>	<i>planning destruction</i>
Homer (6 times, all <i>destructive forces</i> )		λέων ὀλοόφρων <i>Il.</i> 15.630
❶ Cleanthes fr. 549	τοῦ περὶ τῶν ὅλων φρονούντος	
Cornutus 48.17	διὰ τὸ περὶ τῶν ὅλων φροντίζειν καὶ προνοεῖσθαι	
❷ Apollonius Soph. <i>lex. hom.</i> 120.6		ὀλέθρια φρονούντος
❸ Herodian <i>peri Od.</i> 3.2.130.10	τοῦ περὶ τῶν ὅλων φρονούντος	ἄμεινον δὲ φιλοῦντας ἀκούειν τοῦ τὰ ὀλέθρια καὶ δεινὰ φρονήσαντος

❶ Cleanthes quoted by: Herodian *peri Od.* 3.2.130.10; Schol. Hom. *Od. sv.* book 1 hypo-v 52.3; Eustathius *Od.* 1.17.25. Same etym.: Hesychius ο 623.

❷ Similar: Schol. Hom. *Od. sv.* Book 10 hypo-v 137 (for Aietes), 11 hypo-v 322.23 (Minos); Suda ο 196; Eustathius *Il.* 2.668.21.

❸ = Schol. Hom. *Od. sv.* book 1 hypo-v 52.

**Table 63: Πλειάδες.**

Cornutus 48.19	πλείονα ὄντα	
Athenaeus <i>deip.</i> 2.2.63.7		daughters of Πλειόνη
Hyginus Fab. <i>astr.</i> 2.21	<i>being many</i>	
Schol. Aratum <i>sv.</i> 254-255.4	<i>being many</i>	daughters of Πλειόνη
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 4.224.20	<i>being many</i>	daughters of Πλειόνη

**Table 64: Ἄστραῖος**

Cornutus 49.1	οὔτε γὰρ ἴσεται
Schol. Aratum <i>sv. sch.</i> 10.24 (inverse etym.)	παρὰ δὲ τὸ ἐστηρίχθαι ἠτυμολόγησε τῶν ἀστέρων τὸ ὄνομα. ἄλλοι δὲ φασιν ἀπὸ Ἄστραίου. διὰ δὲ τοῦ ἐστήριξε τὸ ἀκίνητον τῶν ἀπλανῶν ἐδήλωσεν

**Table 65: Θαύμας**

Plato <i>Tht.</i> 155d1	μάλα γὰρ φιλοσόφου τοῦτο τὸ πάθος, τὸ θαυμάζειν· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλη ἀρχὴ φιλοσοφίας ἢ αὕτη, καὶ ἔοικεν ὁ τὴν Ἴριν Θαύμαντος ἔκγονον φήσας οὐ κακῶς γενεαλογεῖν
Cornutus 49.3	θαυμασμόν
Schol. Hes. <i>Theog. sv.</i> 780b.1	Θαύμαντος: διὰ τὸ θαῦμα ἐμποιεῖν

**Table 66: Πάν**

HH 19( <i>Pan</i> ) 47	Πάνα δέ μιν καλέεσκον ὅτι φρένα πάσιν ἔτερπε
Plato <i>Cra.</i> 408c2	ὁ λόγος τὸ πᾶν σημαίνει
Apollodorus fr. 44b	Apollodorus sine parentibus eum sinit, quoniam universum, i. e. τὸ πᾶν, huic deo sit attributum
Cornutus 49.4	ἐπειδὴ τῷ παντὶ ὁ αὐτός ἐστι

**Table 67: Πρίηπος**

Cornutus 50.15	πρόεισιν εἰς φῶς πάντα
Hippolytus (C+3) <i>ref. haer.</i> 5.26.32.4	ὁ πρὶν τι εἶναι ποιήσας
Schol. Theocr. <i>sv. proleg.anec.</i> 1. 21/22a.6.	Πρίηπος ἀπὸ τοῦ προῖσθαι τὸ σπέρμα

**Table 68: Ἄγαθος Δαίμων** (found 39 times pre-Cornutus, 318 total. Cornutus the only etymology specifically for Ἄγαθος Δαίμων, else for Δαίμων:

Plato <i>Cra.</i> 398b	δαίμων, related to 'knowing' but not the one god
Philoxenus fr. 466 (Orion 48.15)	καὶ δαίμων, ὁ πάντα εἰδώς
Cornutus 51.11	διαμερίζει, ἀγαθὸς διαιρέτης ὑπάρχων: <i>good distributor</i>
Herodian <i>fr. gr.</i> 238.30	δαίω, ὃ σημαίνει τὸ μερίζω, ὅθεν καὶ δαιτρός ὁ διαμερίζων· καὶ δαίμων
EM 251.10	Δαίμων: Δαίω, τὸ μανθάνω, ἐξ οὗ καὶ δαίμων, οἶονεὶ δαήμων τις ὢν. Ἡ παρὰ τὸ δαίω, τὸ γινώσκω, γίνεται δαίμων, ὁ πάντα ἐπιστάμενος καὶ γινώσκων

**Table 69: Ἄμάλθεια** (τὸ τῆς Ἀμαλθείας κέρας)

Cornutus 51.17	ἅμα πάντα ἀλθίσει· καιροῦς φύομενα: <i>all flourish together in their appropriate seasons</i>	ἢ ἐπεὶ ἐμπεριόδως ἀμαλδύνει καὶ πάλιν κεραίζει πάντα: <i>or because periodically it destroys and restores everything again</i>	ἢ ὡς τῶν ἀγαθῶν μὴ μαλακιζομένοις προσγινομένων: <i>or suggesting good things do not come to the weak</i>
Hermias <i>plat. phaed. schol.</i> 161.18			ἢ δὲ Ἄμάλθεια κατὰ τὸ ἀκλινές καὶ μὴ μαλθάσσεσθαι
Et. Gud. α 106.5; Et. Sym. 1.372.17; Suda α 1478; EM 76.36			παρὰ τὸ μὴ μαλθάσσεσθαι <i>not to soften</i>

Lydus 4.71: Ἄμάλθειαν δὲ τροφὸν Διός, τὴν ἄμα καὶ ἀθρόως καὶ ἐνὶ χρόνῳ τὰ ὄντα τῷ Διὶ αὐξοῦσαν· ἄλθειν γὰρ τὸ αὔξειν.

Table 70: Ἔστια

Archelaus fr. 1a (Plutarch <i>prim. frig.</i> 21.954f)	διὰ τὴν στάσιν
Plato <i>Cra.</i> 401b	εἰσὶν οἱ "ἔσσιαν" καλοῦσιν, οἱ δ' αὖ "ᾠσίαν"
Philoxenus fr. 291 (Orion 78.3)	ἡ δὲ ἔστια παρὰ τὸ ἔζω
Philo <i>cherubim</i> 26	ἔστῶσα
Cornutus 52.6	διὰ τὸ ἐστάναι διὰ παντός
Porphiry <i>agalmaton</i> 6.1	ἐφ' ἑστίας πυρὸς ἰδρυμένον
Proclus <i>plat. cra. comm.</i> 139.11	ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσσίας κεκλησθαί φασιν
Lydus 4.94.5	Ἔστιαν βούλονται τὴν γῆν εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐστάναι
Anon. Hes. Theog. 399.28	τὴν Ἴστίαν, τὴν στερεὰν δηλονότι καὶ ἠδρασμένην καὶ ἐστῶσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴστημι
Et. Gud. ε 542.5	Ἔστια ... παρὰ τὸ ἐστάναι <ἐπι> τῇ γῆ
Et. Gud. add. ε 542	Ἔστια· ἡ θεός· παρὰ τὸ εἶσασθαι, ὃ ἐστὶ ἰδρῦσασθαι· αὕτη γὰρ πρῶτον οἶκον συνέστησεν, ἢ ὅτι πανταχοῦ ἰδρυταὶ καὶ τιμάται, ἢ ὅτι τὰ ἀγάλματα αὐτῆς ἰδρύνοντο καθήμενα, παρὰ τὸ ἦσθαι. ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἐστάναι
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 2.659.1	Ἡ δὲ Ἔστια θεὰ τις καὶ αὐτὴ ἐνομίζετο εἶναι οἴκου συστατική
Galen <i>Gramm. all. hes. theolog.</i> 331.5	Ἔστια δὲ προσαγορεύεται ἡ Δημήτηρ, ...στάσεως καὶ μονῆς αἰτία ἐστὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ κινούμενον περὶ τι ἀκίνητον κινεῖται



**Table 71: Δημήτηρ**

1. Identification with Earth - pre-Cornutus (numerous later)

E.Ba. 275
Xenocrates fr. 213 (Stobaeus 1.1.29b.55)
Orphica fr. <i>deriv.</i> Col. XXII (Laks & Most) (340-360 B.C.)
Philochorus fr. 185 (Philodemus <i>piet.</i> Pap. 1428 A 3 v. 5)
Megasthenes fr. 23 (Arrianus <i>indica</i> c. 7)
Manetho Hist. fr. 81 (Eusebius <i>PE</i> 3.2)
Chrysippus fr. 1076.12 (Philodemus <i>piet.</i> c.12.27)
Chrysippus fr. 1077.16 (Cic. <i>ND</i> 1.40) [Velleius, Epic.]
Stoics (assigned Chrysippus fr. 1080) (Cic. <i>ND</i> 2.71) [Balbus, Stoic]
Diogenes Bab. fr. 33 (Philodemus <i>piet.</i> c.15)
Apollodorus fr. 22 (Photius <i>lex.</i> κ 127.8)
Plutarch <i>fac. orb.</i> 943B2 (allocated to Posidonius fr. 398)
οἱ περὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶνιον. (D.L. 7.147.8) =Chrysippus fr. 1021
Philo <i>decalogo</i> 54.1
Cornutus 52.4
[Apollodorus] <i>bib.</i> 1.34.1

2. Single etymologies of Δημήτηρ from Γῆ + μήτηρ

Cornutus 52.10; Orphica fr. *deriv.* Col. XXII (Laks & Most); Cicero *ND* 2.67; Philo *op. mundi* 133.4; *vit. contemp.* 3.5; Orphica (Dio. Sic. *bib.* 1.12.4.5 = Eusebius *PE* 3.3.4.4); Dio. Sic. *bib.* 3.62.7.17; Orion δ 46.18; Schol. A. *sv.* Ag hypo-epi-sch. 1072; Schol. Hes. *WD tz.* prol.-schol sch p-v 32ter 1.2; Zonaras *lex.* δ 499.27; Suda δ 426; Eustathius *II.* 2.766.26, 3.655.15.

3. Other and multiple etymologies (various from Plato *Cra.* 404b8; Et. Gud. 351.17; Zonaras *lex* δ 501.2; EM 263.49, 265.54; Galen *Gramm. all. hes. theog.* 331.5)

- a) κατὰ τὴν δόσιν τῆς ἐδωδῆς διδοῦσα ὡς μήτηρ "Δημήτηρ" κεκληῖσθαι
- b) παρὰ τὸ δηροῦν τὴν γῆν (seeking daughter)
- c) παρὰ τὸ δαίειν, ὃ ἐστὶ καίειν, λαμπαδοῦχος γὰρ [εἴθιστο] ἢ θεός
- d) δήμου μήτηρ
- e) παρὰ τὸ δήω τὸ σημαίνον τὸ εὐρίσκω (seeking daughter).



**Table 72: Κόρη**

Cornutus 52.18	Κόρην ... οἷον την Κόρον
Porphiry <i>agalmaton</i> 6.8 (=Eusebius <i>PE</i> 3.11.7.2 = Zonaras <i>lex.</i> p 1608.12)	ἡ Δημήτηρ ... κρεῖ τὴν Κόρην ἐκ Διός, τουτέστι τὸν κόρον ἐκ τῶν φρυγανωδῶν σπερμάτων
Lydus 4.71.34; Schol. Aristoph. <i>vespas tric.</i> Arg-dram. p-schol. 1438a.1.	τουτέστι τοῦ κόρου καὶ τῆς εὐωχίας αἴτιον αὐτὸν γενέσθαι·
Eusebius <i>PE</i> 3.13.13.3	τὴν δὲ Κόρην τὸν κόρον ἀλληγοροῦντες τίνι λόγῳ

**Table 73: ἄδωνις**

Cornutus 54.19	ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις <i>pleasing to people</i> (Demeter's produce)
Herodian <i>PC</i> 3.1.539.20 (=Schol. Hom. <i>Il. sv.</i> 11.88.sch.4)	κρεῖττον ἐστὶ δασύνειν, ἵνα καὶ παρὰ τὸ ἀδεῖν τῇ δαίμονι ἐτυμολογηθῇ
Zonaras <i>lex.</i> α 42.17 (= EM 19.10)	Παρὰ τὸ ἄδω τὸ ψάλλω ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἦδω τὸ εὐφραίνομαι <i>to sing, or to gladden, please</i>

**Table 74: Δίκη**

Aristotle <i>EN</i> 1132a30	διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὀνομάζεται δίκαιον, ὅτι δίχα ἐστίν
Philo <i>heres</i> 161.1	δικαιοσύνην, ἧς ἴδιον, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸ που δηλοῖ τοῦνομα, τὸ δίχα τέμνειν εἰς μοίρας
Cornutus 57.10	ἡ δὲ Δίκη ἀπὸ τοῦ δίχα χωρίζειν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τοὺς διαφορομένους
Orion δ 47.7	Δικαιοσύνη. παρὰ τὸ διχάζειν τὸ ἄδικον τοῦ δικαίου
Apsines <i>ars rhet.</i> 383.2; Choerob. <i>psalmos</i> 60.21 etc.	very similar
EM 275.52	Δίκη: Ἡ θεός· παρὰ τὸ διχάζειν καὶ διαλύειν τοὺς φιλονεικούντας καὶ δικαζομένους, δίχη καὶ δίκη. Ἡ παρὰ τὸ διχάζειν καὶ χωρίζειν τὸ ἄδικον ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου, δικαιοσύνη τις οὖσα, παρὰ τὸ εἰς δύο χεῖν τὰ πράγματα· ἢ παρὰ τὸ δίω, τὸ ζητῶ, ἢ ζητοῦσα τὸ ἀληθές

Table 75: Περσεφόνη

Plato <i>Cra.</i> 404c	φέρω + ἐπιφάω
Cleanthes fr. 547 (Plutarch <i>IO</i> 377d)	φέρω + φόνος
Philoxenus fr. 678 (EM 665.47)	φέρω + φόνος
Philoxenus fr. 399 (EM 790.55)	φέρω + φθείρω
Cornutus 55.4 (Accretion)	φέρω + πόνος
Plutarch <i>fac. orb.</i> 942d8	φέρω + φῶς
Schol. Hes. <i>Theog. sv.</i> 913a	φέρβω
	πέρθω + φῶς
Orphica <i>H.</i> 29.16	φέρβω + φόνος
Anon. Hes. <i>Theog.</i> 412.3	φέρβω + φόνος
Proclus <i>plat. cra. comm.</i> 173.1	φέρω + φόνος
Et. Gud. π 462.58	φέρω + φόνος
	περσεύς
Et. Gud. φ 551.8	φέρβω + φόνος
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 2.761.13; <i>Od.</i> 1.389.7	φθείρω + φόνος

Table 76: Εἰρήνη

Philoxenus frt. 124, 476	παρὰ τὸ εἶρειν
Cornutus 57.11	ἡ δὲ Εἰρήνη ἀπὸ τοῦ δια λόγου καὶ οὐ δι' ὀπλων διακρίνεσθαι ποιεῖν [ἐκάλουν γὰρ τὸν λόγον εἰρήνην]
Herodian <i>peri orth.</i> 3.2.502.29	οὕτω καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἶρω τοῦ σημαίνοντος τὸ λέγω γίνεται εἰρήνη, ὅπερ διὰ διφθόγγου γράφεται
Orion 61.27, 90.17; Choerob. <i>orth.</i> 209.23; <i>psalmos</i> 192.12; Et. Gud. add. ε 428.15, 430.9; Et. Gud. 345.53, 427.11; Eustathius <i>II.</i> 1.35.20, 1.544.16; EM 140.28, 303.42, 537.43	similar
Choerob. <i>psalmos</i> 192.12	παρὰ τὸ εἶρω τὸ συμπλέκω
Et. Gud. 427.11, EM 303.42	διὰ τὸ ἡρεμεῖν τὸν νοῦν

Table 77: Σάτυρος

Cornutus 59.7	ἀπὸ τοῦ σεσηρέναι ... καὶ οἱ Σιληνοὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ σιλαίνειν	grinning, Silenoi from 'to jeer'
Aelianus Soph. <i>var. hist.</i> 3.40.3	ἀπὸ τοῦ σεσηρέναι. Σιληνοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σιλλαίνειν	
Macrobius <i>sat.</i> 1.8.9	παρὰ τὴν σάθην (etym. for Satyr and Saturnus)	from 'penis'
Schol. Theocrit. <i>sv. pro.-anec-poem</i> 4 sec-v 6263.1	παρὰ τὸ σάθη	
Orion σ 147.14	παρὰ τὴν σάθην	
Zonaras <i>lex.</i> σ 1627.21	παρὰ τὸ σάθη	

οἱ Σκιρτοί, οἱ Σευῖδαι : no other references (Cornutus: ἀπὸ τοῦ σκαίρειν; ἀπὸ τοῦ σεύειν).

οἱ Σιληνοί: Schol. Nicand. *alex. schol* 31a.1: Σατύρους λέγομεν, οἱ ἀρχαῖοι Σιληνοὺς ἐκάλουσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ σιλλαίνειν; Photius *lex.* σ 511.24: Σιληνοί: Εὐπολις. Plutarch *alex.* 24.8.1 and Artemidorus *onir.* 4.24.18 report dream of Alexander involving a satyr meaning 'σὰ Τύρος'.



Table 78: Διόνυσος

1	διαίνειν	to moisten, weep	10	διανύσαι	to accomplish successfully
2	διάλυσος	releaser	11	δινεῖν (διανύειν)	setting of the sun
3	Δία + νύσσωα (διόνυξος)	to prick Zeus	12	δονεῖν	to shake (the body)
4	Δία + Νῦσα	Nysa mountain (birthplace, origin of wine)	13	δύο νύσσους	two points (horns pricking Zeus' thigh)
5	Διός ἕτεοῖς (κεράννυσθαι)	mixed with water	14	δάος	torch (=fire, sunlight, producing wine)
6	Διός + νοῦς	mind of Zeus	15	διανεύειν	to nod, not keep still
7	Διός ἄοντος (ἐτέχθη)	born from rainy Zeus	16	ἡ πυρὸς δύναμις	power of fire
8	Διός + νύσας (νύσας=δένδρα)	flowing from trees (D. as guardian of trees?)	17	διανοεῖν	to have in mind
9	Δεόνυσος	king of Nyssa	18	διδούς + οἶνος	giving wine

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Stesimbrotus fr. 16 (EM 277.35))			✓															
Pherecydes Hist. fr. 1a								✓										
Plato <i>Cra.</i> 406c2																		✓
Cleanthes fr. 546 (Macrobius <i>sat.</i> 1.18.14)											✓							
Dio. Sic. <i>bib.</i> 1.15.7.1				(✓)														
Cornutus 57.21	✓	✓	[✓]	✓														
Artemidorus <i>onir.</i> 2.37.63										✓								
Aristides Aël. <i>dionysus</i> 29.6				(✓)														
Herodian <i>peri orth.</i> 3.2.492.23			✓	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓						
Macrobius <i>sat.</i> 1.18.12: 'Orpheus'											✓							
Macrobius <i>sat.</i> 1.18.15: 'Physicists'						✓												
① Porphyry <i>agalmaton</i> 8.38											✓					✓		
Lydus (Et. Gud. δ 367.1)				✓									✓					
Schol. Hom. <i>Il. sv.</i> 6.132b.2, 14.325a			✓	✓					✓			✓			✓			
Suda δ 1185										✓								✓
Eustathius <i>comm. dion.</i> 1153.15				✓														
Galen <i>Gramm. all. hes. theog.</i> 359.15			✓															
Zonaras <i>lex.</i> δ 478.15; 508.22			✓	✓					✓									
Et. Gud. add. δ 367.10		✓		✓		✓	✓						✓	✓				
② EM 277.35		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓		✓		✓	✓			

(✓) = connection, not explicit etym.    ① = Eusebius *PE* 3.11.27.1    ② names 3=Stesimbrotus; 4=Diodorus, Pindar; 5= Aristodemus; 10= Alexander Thasios (?)

Table 79: Ἡρακλῆς

1	Ἡρα + κλέος	Hera + fame	7	ἔαρ + κλέος	spring + fame
2	Ἡρα + ἀκλεής	Hera + without fame	8	ἔρα + κλέος	earth + fame
3	Ἡρα + ἀλκεῖν, κλήσις	Hera + (calling to) aid ❶	9	ἦρα + ἀκλεής	gratitude + without fame
4	ἦρος + κλεῖζεσθαι	causing noble people to be celebrated	10	ἦρα + κλέος	gratitude + fame, quoting Oracle: (Anth. App. <i>orac.</i> 2) Ἡρακλέην δέ σε Φοῖβος ἐπώνυμον ἐξονομάζει· ἦρα γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι φέρων κλέος ἀφθιτον ἔξεις
5	ἀήρ + κλάσις	air + refraction			
6	ἀήρ + κλέος	air + fame			

	Hera			unrelated to Hera						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Cornutus 63.3				✓						
Herodian <i>peri klis.</i> 3.2.683.1	✓									
Aëlianus Soph. <i>var. hist.</i> 2.32.1										✓
Nicomachus (Lydus 4.67.1)					✓					
Macrobius <i>sat.</i> 1.20.10						✓				
Orion <i>etym. ex.Paris</i> 186.29	✓	✓	✓							
Proclus <i>plat. cra. comm.</i> 123.25	✓									
Schol. Hom. <i>Il.</i> sv. 14.324b.1	✓									✓
Comm. Dion. Thrax. w5 380.24										✓
Anon. Hes. Theog. 390.23						✓	✓			
Choerob. <i>alex. nom.</i> 186.6	✓	✓								
Et. Gud. ε 247.48	✓					✓				✓
Galen Gramm. <i>all. hes. theog.</i> 337.9: ὁ κλεῖζων ἐκ τότε τὴν ἔραν								✓		
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 2.102.5, 3.655.6	✓		✓							✓
EM 435.4	x ✓	✓	✓					✓	✓	✓

❶ Eustathius has Ἡρας κλήσις, others ἀλκεῖν.

EM has both 1) and an explicit denial of it. Some (e.g. Choerob.) are unhappy with 1) on philological grounds: see Burkert 432 n.21.

Table 80: Ἄρτεμις

	ἀερότεμιν <i>cutting the air</i>	ἀρτεμῆ <i>safe, healthy</i>	ἀρτεμῆ ποιεῖν <i>making healthy</i>	<i>perfection</i>	<i>hating intercourse</i>
Plato <i>Cra.</i> 406b		✓		✓	✓
Strabo 14.1.6.19			✓		
Heraclitus <i>QH</i> 57.3	✓				
Cornutus 65.18			✓		
Artemidorus <i>onir.</i> 2.35.14		✓			
Porphyry <i>agalmaton</i> 8.54 = Eusebius <i>PE</i> 3.11.29.1	✓				
Macrobius <i>sat.</i> 1.15.20	✓				
Theodoretus <i>graec. aff.</i> 3.45.5	✓				
Schol. Hom. <i>Il. sv.</i> 20.74 sch.27	✓				
Lydus 2.2.15, 2.7.3	✓			✓	
Et. Gud. α 207.5	✓	✓	✓		
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 1.53.8			✓		
Et. Gen. α 1241		✓	✓	✓	
EM 150.13	✓		✓	✓	

Lydus 2.7.3 (ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρτίου) referring to second day of month, allocated to Philo fr. 13a.



Table 81: Ἀπόλλων

		root		quality	identical or similar
1	❶ Archilochus fr. 26	ἀπόλλυμι	<i>destroying people</i>	destructive	2, 3, 23, 38, 49
4	❶ Speusippos	ἀπὸ πολλῶν	<i>of many</i>	= Sun	
5	❶ Timotheus fr. 24	ἄει πόλον	rays striking <i>eternal vault</i> (word play)	= Sun	
6	❶ Plato	ἀποπάλλω	<i>hurl forth</i>	= Sun	28, 29, 32, 40, 47
7		ἀπολύω, ἀπολούω	<i>release, cleanse</i>	healer	
8		ἀπλοῦν	<i>simplicity</i>	soothsayer	
9	Plato <i>Cra.</i> 405a6	ἄει βάλλω	<i>ever hurling</i>	archer	
10		α - πόλον	<i>with poles, accompanying</i>	musician	
11		(ἀπόλλυμι)	( <i>destructive</i> )	destructive	(explicit denial)
12	❶ Chrysippus fr. 1095	α - πολλῶν	<i>not of many properties</i>	= Sun	
13		α - πολλοί	<i>not one of many</i>	= Sun	
14	❶ Cleanthes fr. 540	ἀπ' ἄλλων	<i>rises in different places at different times</i>	= Sun	
15	❶ Cornificius	ἀναπολέω	<i>returns to place of rising</i>	= Sun	
16		ἀπολύω	<i>releases from disease</i>	healer	21, 27, 30, 31, 33, 36, 39, 41, 44, 46
17		ἀπελάυνω	<i>drives away disease</i>	healer	22, 50
18	Cornutus 65.20	❷ ἀπόλλυμι	<i>destroys order by evaporating water</i>	= Sun	
19		ἀπλόω	<i>simplifies = dissolves</i>	= Sun	37, 48
20		[ἀπόλλυμι]	(Accretion) <i>destroys disease</i>	healer	
24	Schol. Hom. <i>Od.</i> sv. 3 hypo-v 279.4	α - πολλῶν	<i>not one of many</i>	= Sun	26, 43
25	Hermias Phil. <i>pl. ph.</i> 89.32	ἀπὸ πολλῶν	<i>from many</i>	ἐν τὸ πᾶν	
34		ἀπόθετα βάλλω	<i>strikes unseen</i>	destructive	
35	Et. Gud. α 173.25	ἄποθεν βάλλω	<i>strikes from afar</i>	destructive	
42	Zonaras <i>lex.</i> α 235.6	ἀπόλλυμι	<i>un-destroyed after setting</i>	= Sun	
45	EM 130.19	ἀπελάυνω, ἀπολύω	<i>drive away, release</i>	healer	

❶ and ❷ see next page.

❶ from Macrobius *sat.* 1.17. Macrobius quotes Plato, but neither πάλλ- nor ἀποπάλλ- is found as a prefix anywhere in Plato, and the quotation conflicts with *Cra.*

After a series of etymologies of Apollo, Macrobius (1.17.19) proceeds with an etymology of Ἴήτιος from ἱεσθαί + ἰέναι by Apollodorus *περὶ θεῶν* book 14. This suggests Apollodorus did not etymologize Apollo, otherwise Macrobius might have said so.

❷ Same principle for the epithet *Lycius*: Cleanthes (Macrobius *sat.* 1.17.36) *Cleanthes Lycium Apollinem appellatum notat, quod, veluti lupi pecora rapiunt, ita ipse quoque humorem eripit radiis.*

Macrobius *sat.* 1.17.36 *Apollinis Lycii plures accipimus cognominis causas. Antipater Stoicus Lycium Apollinem nuncupatum scribit ἀπὸ τοῦ λευκαίνεσθαι πάντα φωτίζοντος ἡλίου.*

Identical or similar etymologies: key

2: A. *Ag.* 1081; 3: E. fr. 781 (*Phaethon*); 21: Plutarch fr. 157 (Eusebius *PE* 3.1.5.1); 22: Macrobius *sat.* 1.17.14; 23: Schol. A. sv. *Ag hypo-epi-sch* 1081; 26: Lydus 2.11.35; 27: Epim. *epim. hom.* gloss II. 21.b1.1; 28: Epim. *epim. hom.* gloss II. 21.b1.1; 29: Et. Gen. α 1051; 30: Et. Gen. α 1051; 31: Et. Gud. α 173.25; 32: Et. Gud. α 173.25; 33: Et. Gud. α 173.25; 36: Et. Gud. α 173.25; 37: Et. Gud. α 173.25; 38: Eustathius *II.* 1.23.13; 39: Eustathius *II.* 1.53.5; 40: Zonaras *lex.* α 235.6; 41: Zonaras *lex.* α 235.6; 43: Zonaras *lex.* α 235.6; 44: EM 130.19; 46: EM 130.19; 47: EM 130.19; 48: EM 130.19; 49: Macrobius *sat.* 1.17.9.

Note similarity:

Speusippos fr. 85	4	ὡς ἀπὸ πολλῶν οὐσιῶν πυρὸς αὐτοῦ συνεστῶτος
Cornutus 65.20	20	τάχα δ' ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπλοῦν καὶ λύειν τὸ συνεστὸς τῆς οὐσίας ἢ καὶ τὸ σκότος ὡσάν ἀπλῶν εἰρημένος εἶη
Et. Gud. α 173.25 = EM 130.19	37	παρὰ τὸ ἀπλοῦν καὶ λύειν τὸ συνεστὸς τῆς οὐσίας καὶ τὸ σκότος



Table 82: Λοξίας (Απόλλων)

	ambiguous or unclear oracles	obliquity of ecliptic
A.Ch. 558	✓	
Oenopides (Macrobius <i>sat.</i> 1.17.31)		✓
Cleanthes <sup>❶</sup>		
Cornutus 67.15	✓	✓
Clemens Alex. <i>strom.</i> 5.4.21.4.1	✓	
Schol. Aristoph. <i>comm. plut.</i> Arg-dram per-schol sch plut v.8b line 1	✓	✓
Schol. E. <i>sv.</i> v-arg-schol sch Or sec 165.11	✓	
[Nonnus] <i>myth.</i> Or.4.95	✓	
Orion λ 93.9 = EM 569.46	✓	✓
Olympiodorus <i>proleg.</i> 12.11	✓	
Vitae Arati <i>cod. vat.</i> 5.88		✓
Anon. Herm. Rhet. <i>peri stas.</i> 7.692.27	✓	
Suda λ 673	✓	✓
Schol. Lycophr. <i>tz.</i> Schol. 1466.3a	✓	✓

❶ Cleanthes (Macrobius *sat.* 1.17.31) provides two alternatives unattested elsewhere:

ἐπειδὴ καθ' ἑλικας κινεῖται, λοξαὶ γὰρ εἰσι καὶ αὐταὶ *he moves in spirals and these are oblique,*

ἢ ὅτι λοξὰς τὰς ἀκτίνας ἴησιν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς βορείους ὄντας νότειος ὢν, *or because we being north and he being south, his rays strike us obliquely.*

The former (only) is allocated to Cleantes fr. 542.

**Table 83: Ἄσκληπιός**

Cornutus 70.5	ἀπο τοῦ ἥπιως ἰάσθαι καὶ ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν κατὰ τὸν θάνατον γινομένην ἀπόσκλησιν
Orion α 10.8	καὶ Ἄσκληπιός, ὁ μὴ ἔων ἐσκληκέναι, ἦτοι ξηραίνεσθαι καὶ ἀποθανεῖν τῶν θεραπευομένων τὰ σώματα
Orion α 15.8	παρὰ τὸ τὰ σκέλη ἥπια ποιεῖν, ἢ ἀπὸ μέρους ὄλον τὸ σῶμα ἀσκεληπιός οὖν ἐστί
Orion α 30.12	ὁ τὰ ἄγαν σκληρὰ ἥπια ποιῶν, τοῦ α ἐπίτασιν σημαίνοντος
Similar for: Plutarch <i>vit. dec.</i> 845b11 (γὰρ ... ἥπιον); Schol. Aristoph. <i>comm. plut.</i> arg-dram pers-schol sch v 407.6; Schol. Hom. <i>Il. sv.</i> 4.195a sch 4, 1 hypo-v 68.4; Schol. Lycophr. <i>tz.</i> 1054; Porphyry <i>q. Il.</i> 19.68, <i>q. Od.</i> 1.68.3; Suda α 4173; Et. Gen. α 1280; Et. Gud. α 213.7, α 213.12, α 213.16; Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 1.733.7; Zonaras <i>lex.</i> α 311.21; EM 154.42.	

**Table 84: Τριοδίτις** (as Epithet of Moon)

Cornutus 72.13	διὰ τὸ τριχῶς μεταβάλλειν ὀδεύουσα διὰ τῶν ζῶων
Iamblichus <i>theol. arith.</i> 49.11	τάχα μὲν παρὰ τὴν τῆς θεοῦ φύσιν, εἰκὸς δέ, ὅτι καὶ ἡ ἐξὰς τὰ τρία τῶν διαστάσεων κινήματα πρώτη ἔλαχε
Lydus 3.10.3	τριῶν γὰρ εἶναι λεγομένων τῶν τῆς σελήνης δρόμων, ὀξέως μέσου καὶ ἀνειμένου
Stephanus Gramm. <i>ethnica</i> 636.7	ὅτι ἐν ταῖς τριόδοις τετίμηται

**Table 85: Εἰλείθια**

	ἐλεύθω = ἔρχομαι	<i>arrival</i>	= moon
Cornutus 73.7			ἀπαύστως εἰλουμένη καὶ θέουσα περὶ τὴν γῆν
Herodian <i>peri orth.</i> 3.2.499.24; Choerob. <i>orth.</i> 209.1; Schol. Oppianum <i>hal.</i> hypo-book 1 schol 477.9; Zonaras <i>lex.</i> ε 632.17; EM 298.39	παρὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐλεύθω		
Et. Gud. β 277.21, ε 415.5, add. ε 415.15	παρὰ τὸ ἐλεύθειν εἰς φῶς	εἰς ἔλευσιν ἄγουσα τὰ βρέφη	ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν εἴλησιν τῆς πορείας θύειν
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 3.194.25, 3.195.4; <i>Od.</i> 2.198.20	εἰς φῶς ἐλεύθειν		

Table 86: Χάρων

	χαίρειν <i>to greet</i>	χαρά <i>joy</i>	χωρεῖν <i>to give way</i>	χαυδάνω <i>to take in, contain</i>	χάσκω <i>to gape</i>	ἄρχων <i>ruler</i>
Achaeus fr. 11	✓					
Aristoph. <i>Ranae</i> 184	✓					
Philoxenus fr. 200 (Orion 165.15; Et. Gud. 563.11)			✓			
Cornutus 74.18		✓	✓	[✓]	[✓]	
S.E. <i>AM</i> 9.sec 277						✓
Schol. Aristoph. <i>plut.</i> arg schol. 277.90						✓
Schol. Aristoph. <i>comm. plut.</i> arg-dram. pers-schol sch. 1187.1		✓				
Sophonius <i>theod. alex.</i> 398.18	✓					
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 1.27.13	✓					



Table 87: Ἀχέρων

	ἄχος	α + χαρά
❶ Melanippides fr. 3	✓	
❶ Licymnius fr. 3b	✓	
Zenodotus (Et. Gen. α 1508)	✓	
❷ Apollodorus fr. 10	✓	
Cornutus 74.21	✓	
Herodian (Et. Gen. α 1508)	✓	
Theodosius Gramm. <i>peri klis.</i> 21.22	✓	
Schol. A.R. sv. 155.13	✓	
Suda α 4687	✓	
Photius <i>lex.</i> α 3431	✓	
Lex. Seg. <i>v.d.rec.</i> α 175.5	✓	
Suda κ 1530	✓	
Schol. Lycophr. tz. 411, 706.9	✓	
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 1.316.25	✓	
Zonaras <i>lex.</i> α 360.28	✓	✓
Et. Sym. 1.354.28 = EM 180.46	✓	✓

❶ from Apollodorus from Porphyry from Stobaeus 1.49.50 Πορφυρίου ἐκ τῶν περὶ Στυγός.

❷ from Porphyry from Stobaeus 1.49.50: Τοῦ δὲ Ἀπολλοδώρου ἐν τῷ εἰκοστῷ περὶ τῶν Θεῶν συγγράμματι ...

Διαπεραιοῦσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπογινομένων τὸν Ἀχέροντά φασι εἰκότως· ὁ γὰρ μετηλλαχῶς πάντα τὰ τοῦ ζῆν ἄχη σχεδὸν ὑπερήρε, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν ἀπονίᾳ καὶ ἀλυπία πάση. Cornutus differs in defining the sorrows *of the dead*. Apollodorus also etymologizes Στύξ and Κωκυτός.

**Table 88: Κωκυτός**

Apollodorus. fr. 10: (Stobaeus 1.49.50.45)	ἀπό τοῦ κωκύειν	
Cornutus 74.23	κωκυτόν ἐγειρόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων	
similarly Schol. Lycophr. tz. schol. 706.9; Schol. Lucian. sv. wk 19.3.11; Suda κ 1530; Eustathius <i>Od.</i> 1.392.18	similar	
EM 550.33, Zonaras <i>lex.</i> κ 1273.8		ἀπό τοῦ τὰ ἄχη εἰς αὐτὸν χεῖσθαι, χωαχυτός, χωχυτός

**Table 89: Πυριφλεγέθων**

Apollodorus (Stobaeus 1.49.50)	ἀπό τοῦ πυρὶ φλέγεσθαι τοὺς τελευτῶντας, ὡς Ὅμηρός φησιν ( <i>Od.</i> 11.219-222)
Cornutus 75.1	πάλαι κατόντων τοὺς νεκροὺς
Eustathius <i>Od.</i> 1.392.19	παρὰ τὸ πῦρ ᾧ οἱ θνήσκοντες ἐφλέγοντο

**Table 90: ἀλίβας**

<b>Cornutus</b> 75.12 (Accretion)	[ἐντεῦθεν ὑπονοητέον καὶ τοὺς ἀλίβαντας μεμυθεῖσθαι· ἐν Ἄιδου εἰσι διὰ τὴν τῆς λιβάδος ἀμεθεξίαν τῶν νεκρῶν]
Schol. Plat. sv. 387c.2:	ἀλίβαντας δὲ τόπους ἐν Ἄιδου εἶναι μυθεύονται, διὰ τὴν τῆς λιβάδος ἀμεθεξίαν τῶν νεκρῶν
Galen <i>temp.</i> iii 1.522.17	καλεῖσθαι γοῦν ἀλίβαντας τοὺς νεκροὺς ὡς ἂν οὐκέτι λιβάδα καὶ ὑγρότητα
Orion α 30.14	ὁ νεκρὸς, παρὰ τὸ λιβάδα καὶ ὑγρότητα μὴ ἔχειν
Similarly for: Plutarch <i>aq. ig.</i> 956A2; Schol. Hom. <i>Od.</i> sv. 6 hypo-v 201.4; Schol. Lucian. sv. wk 19.3.11; Suda κ 1530, υ 31; Et. Gen. α 489; Et. Gud. α 87.9, ζ 234.5; Et. Gud. add. α 87.22; Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 1.249.16; Zonaras <i>lex.</i> α 119.6; EM 63.51.	

Table 91: Φοῖβος

	grandmother Φοίβη, ἡ μάμμη	pure, bright καθαρός	oracle φοιβάζειν = μαντεύεσθαι	radiant bow φαόβιος = λαμπρὸν βίον ἔχων	hair τὸ φοίβας = κόμας
A.Eu.7	✓				
Heraclitus QH 7.5	x	✓			
Cornutus 66.19		✓			
Apollonius Soph. lex. hom. 164.10	✓	✓	✓		
Herodian part. 147.6	✓		✓		
Schol. Hom. Il. mel. 1.43.sch.3	✓			✓	
Hesychius lex. α 2336		✓			
Orion φ 157.1		✓			
Psellus op. log. 48.63				✓	
Theognostus orth. 138.4		✓			
Photius lex. φ 652.1		✓	✓		
Et. Gud. φ 555.21, 40	✓	✓		✓	
Zonaras lex. φ 1816.13			✓	✓	✓
Eustathius Il. 1.61.12	✓			✓	✓
EM 796.54	✓	✓		✓	

also: Macrobius sat. 1.17.33: Φοῖβος appellatur, ut ait Cornificius, ἀπὸ τοῦ φοιτᾶν βίαι ... plerique autem a specie et nitore Φοῖβον, id est καθαρὸν καὶ λαμπρὸν, dictum putant.

Table 92: Λητώ

	τὸ θέλω <i>willing</i>	λεῖον <i>mild, gentle</i>	ληθῶ <i>forgetfulness, night</i>
Aristarchus (Herodian)	✓		
Euripides (Herodian, Eustathius)	✓		
Plato <i>Cra.</i> 406a	✓	✓	
Heraclitus <i>QH</i> 55.2			✓
Plutarch fr. 157 (Eusebius <i>PE</i> 3 prooem.)			✓
[Plut.] <i>VH</i> 1059			✓
Herodian <i>PC</i> 3.1.347 = Orion λ 93.14	✓	✓	✓
Schol. Hom. <i>Il.</i> sv. 20.74. sch. 31			✓
Schol. Hes. <i>Theog.</i> sv. 406.1			✓
Porphyry <i>agalmaton</i> 5.1 = Eusebius <i>PE</i> 3.11.5.3			✓
Porphyry <i>q. Il.</i> 20.67.43			✓
Theodoretus <i>graec aff.</i> 3.54.4			✓
Proclus <i>plat. cra. comm.</i> 178.19	✓	✓	
Lydus 4.71.16			✓
Et. Gud. λ 369.14	✓	✓	✓
Zonaras <i>lex.</i> λ 1304.17			✓
Eustathius <i>Il.</i> 1.37.8			✓



**Table 93:** Etymologies before or approx. contemporary with Cornutus (only of words etymologized by Cornutus or closely related to them)

	Etymologies		Date
Achaeus	1	Trag.	-5
Aeschines	1	Orat.	-4
Aeschylus	4	Trag.	-5
Aëtius	1	Dox.	+1/+2
Agathemerus	1	Geog.	-1?
Anaxagoras	2	Phil.	-6/-5
Apion	4	Gramm.	+1
Apollodorus	6	Gramm.	-2
Apollodorus Myth.	2	Myth.	+1/+2
Apollonius Soph.	19	Phil.	+1/+2
Archelaus	1	Phil.	-5
Archilochus	1	Lyr.	-7
<Aristaeus>	1	Phil? (Pyth.)	-3/-2?
Aristotle	4	Phil.	-4
[Aristotle]	11	Phil.	+1
Aristarchus	2	Trag.	-5
Aristeae	2		-3/+1
Aristophanes	3	Comic	-5/-4
Aristophanes Gramm.	1	Phil.	-3/-2
Arius Didym.	1	Dox.	-1
Callimachus	4	Phil.	-4/-3
Callisthenes	1	Hist.	-4
Chrysippus	17	Phil.	-3
Cicero	1	Phil.	-1
Cincius	1	Phil.	-3
Cleanthes	8	Phil.	-4/-3
Clemens Rom.	7	Theol.	+1
Cornificius	2	Phil.	-1
Crates Mallos	1	Phil.	-2
Democritus Phil.	1	Phil.	-5/-4
Demosthenes	1	Orat.	-4
Didymus Gramm.	3	Gramm.	-1
Diodorus Siculus	14	Hist.	-1
Diogenes Bab.	1	Phil.	-2
Dionysius Scytobrachion	1	Gramm.	-2
'Egyptians'	1		
Euripides	5	Trag.	-5

	Etymologies		Date
Empedocles Poet. Phil.	2	Phil.	-5
Hecataeus	1	Hist.	-4/-3
Heracleon of Tilotis	1	Phil.	-1
Heraclitus QH (C+1)	20	Phil.	+1
Hesiod	4	Epic	-8/-7?
Homer	2	Epic	-8
Ister Hist.	1	Hist.	-3
Josephus	1	Phil.	+1
Lycymnius	1	Lyric	-5
Melanippides	1	Lyric	-5
Mnaseas Perieg.	1	Phil.	-3
Nessus	1	Phil.	-5
Ocellus	1	Phil.	-5
Oenopides	1	Phil.	-5
Orac. Sib.	2	Phil.	-2/+4
Pherecydes	2	Phil.	-6
Pherecydes Hist.	1	Hist.	-5
Philo	10	Phil.	-1/+1
Philostephanus	1	Hist.	-3
Philoxenus	13	Gramm.	-1
Pindar	1	Lyr.	-6/-5
Plato	46	Phil.	-5/-4
Plutarch	20	Phil.	+1/+2
Posidonius	3	Phil.	-2/-1
Pythagoras	2	Phil.	-6/-5
Sophocles	2	Trag.	-5
Speusippus Phil.	1	Phil.	-4
Stesimbrotus	1	Hist.	-5
'Stoics'	14	Phil.	-3/+1
Strabo	4	Geog.	-1/+1
Timotheus Trag.	1	Trag.	-4
Tryphon I	4	Gramm.	-1
Tyrannion Gramm.	2	Gramm.	-1
Xenophanes Poet. Phil.	1	Phil.	-6/-5
Zeno Citium	5	Phil.	-4/-3
Zeno Hist.	1	Hist.	-2
Zenodorus Gramm.	1	Gramm.	-2/-1?

Total number of etymologies: 311, of which 49 are from known **Stoics**.



**Appendix 2: Text Parallels** For all tables, an accretion in the Cornutus text is marked with ■.

**Table 1: Cornutus (Section A) and Hesiod *Theog.*: Genealogy and epithets** (Shaded: No agreement with Hesiod)

Lang	Cornutus (Section A)	Theog.	Hesiod <i>Theog.</i> or other	
3.15	... Γυνή δὲ καὶ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ παραδέδοται ἡ Ἥρα			Succession myth
3.16	... ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ Ῥέαν τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν ἐμύθευσαν εἶναι,	453	Ῥεῖη δὲ δμηθεῖσα Κρόνῳ τέκε φαίδιμα τέκνα, Ἴστίην Διμήτρα καὶ Ἥρην χρυσοπέδιλον, Ἰφθιμόν τ' Αἰδην, δὲ ὑπὸ χθονὶ δώματα ναίει νηλεὲς ἦτορ ἔχων, καὶ ἐρίκτυπον Ἐννοσίγαιον, Ζῆνάν τε μητιόεντα, θεῶν πατέρ' ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν, e.g. Aristoph. <i>Ranae</i> 432, Plato <i>Grg.</i> 523a4	
4.1	... πατέρα δὲ τὸν Κρόνον			
4.7	... καὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ἔφασαν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας υἱὸν εἶναι.			
4.16	... Ἀδελφὸς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ Ἄιδης εἶναι λέγεται.			
5.7	... καὶ Πλούτων δὲ ἐκλήθη			
6.20	... ὁ Κρόνος λέγεται καταλίνειν τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ῥέας αὐτῷ γινόμενα τέκνα	459	καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατέπινε μέγας Κρόνος, ὡς τις ἕκαστος	
7.6	... εἶτα τὴν Ῥέαν φασὶν γεννωμένον αὐτῇ τοῦ Διὸς λίθον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ προσενεγκεῖν ἐσπαργανωμένον τῷ Κρόνῳ,	485	τῷ δὲ σπαργανίσασα μέγαν λίθον ἐγγυάλιξεν	
7.17	... Τελευταῖον δὲ ὁ μὲν Κρόνος ἱστορεῖται συνεχῶς κατιόντα ἐπὶ τῷ μίγνυσθαι τῇ Γῇ τὸν Οὐρανὸν ἐκτεμεῖν καὶ παῦσαι τῆς ὕβρεως, ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς ἐκβαλὼν αὐτὸν τῆς βασιλείας καταταρταρῶσαι.	176	ἦλθε .. μέγας Οὐρανός, ἀμφὶ δὲ Γαίῃ ἰμείρων φιλότιτος ἐπέσχετο,.. ὁ ... πάϊς ... φίλου δ' ἀπὸ μήδεα πατρὸς ἐσσυμένως ἤμησε ...(729) ἔνθα θεοὶ Τιτῆνες ... κεκρύφεται βουλήσι Διὸς	
8.6	[πάνυ δ' εἰκότως καὶ ἀγκυλομήτην καλοῦσι τὸν Κρόνον, ἀγκύλων ὄντων καὶ δυσπαρακολουθήτων ἃ μητιάσεται τοσοῦτους ἀριθμοὺς ἐξελίττων.]	18	Λητώ τ' Ἰαπετόν τε ἰδὲ Κρόνον ἀγκυλομήτην	
8.10	[Κατ' ἄλλον δὲ λόγον τὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἔφασαν ἀρχέγονον εἶναι πάντων—οὐ γὰρ μία μυθολογία περὶ τοῦτον ἐγένετο τὸν τόπον—, τοῦτου δ' εἶναι γυναῖκα Τηθύν.		<i>Il.</i> 14.200: Ὠκεανὸν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν.	
9.1	... ὁ ΖΕΥΣ πατὴρ λέγεται θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων εἶναι διὰ τὸ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου φύσιν αἰτίαν γεγονέναι τῆς τούτων ὑποστάσεως, ὡς οἱ πατέρες γεννῶσι τὰ τέκνα.	47 etc.	δεύτερον αὐτε Ζῆνα θεῶν πατέρ' ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν	Zeus and children
9.4	... νεφεληγερέτην δ' αὐτὸν	558	τὸν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς:	
9.4	... καὶ ἐρίγδουπον καλοῦσι	41	Ζηνὸς ἐρίγδουποιο θεῶν ὅπι λειριόεσση	
9.10	... αἰγίοχος ἐκλήθη, ... ὑέτιος καὶ ἐπικάρπιος καὶ καταιβάτης καὶ ἀστραπαῖος ... καὶ σωτήρα καὶ ἔρκειον καὶ πολιέα καὶ πατρῶον καὶ ὁμόγνιον καὶ ξένιον καὶ κτήσιον καὶ βουλαῖον καὶ τροπαιοῦχον καὶ ἔλευθέριον	11	Δία τ' αἰγίοχον ...(first epithet from Hesiod, all others from elsewhere)	
9.20	... οὕτω δ' ἐβῆθη καὶ τῆς Δίκης πατὴρ εἶναι	907	Εὐνομίην τε Δίκην τε καὶ Εἰρήνην τεθαλυῖαν, τρεῖς δὲ οἱ Εὐρυνόμη Χάριτας τέκε καλλιπαρήους,	
10.4	... καὶ τῶν Ὠρῶν,	901	δεύτερον ἠγάγετο λιπαρὴν Θέμιν, ἣ τέκεν Ὠρας,	
10.20	... λέγεται δ' ὑπὸ τινων καὶ ἀλάστωρ καὶ παλαμναῖος			
11.3	... Κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον καὶ αἱ λεγόμεναι Ἐριννύες γεγονάσιν, ἐρευνήτρια τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων οὐσαι,	184	πάσας δέξαστο Γαῖα· περιπλομένων δ' ἐνιαυτῶν γείνατ' Ἐρινύς τε κρατερὰς μεγάλους τε Γίγαντας,	
11.5	Μέγαιρα καὶ Τισιφόνη καὶ Ἀληκτώ		<i>V. Aen.</i> 7.324, 6.571, 12.846; [Apollodorus] <i>bib.</i> 1.3	
11.18	... Ἀκολούθως δὲ τούτοις λέγεται καὶ ὅτι πάντ' ἐφορᾷ Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει.		<i>WD</i> 267: πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντα νοήσας <i>Il.</i> 3.276-7: Ζεὺ πάτερ ... Ἡέλιός θ', ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις	
12.2	... προσαγορεύουσι δὲ καὶ μείλιχον τὸν Δία,			

Lang	Cornutus (Section A)	Theog.	Hesiod Theog. or other	
12.4	... διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ Ἰκεσίου Διὸς εἰσι βωμοὶ			
12.5	... καὶ τὰς Λιτάς ὁ ποιητὴς ἔφη τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι θυγατέρας, <u>χωλάς</u> μὲν οὐσας διὰ τὸ ..., <u>βυσάς</u> δὲ ἐπὶ ..., <u>παραβλώπας</u> δὲ τῷ ...		// 9.502-503: καὶ γὰρ τε λιταὶ εἰσι Διὸς κοῦραι μεγάλοι / <u>χωλαί</u> τε <u>βυσάι</u> τε <u>παραβλώπαι</u> τ' ὀφθαλμῶ	
12.11	... Ὁ Ζεὺς δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Μοῖρα	217	καὶ Μοίρας καὶ Κῆρας ἐγείνατο νηλεοπίουνας,	Zeus = Fate
13.3	... κατ' ἄλλον δὲ τρόπον τρεῖς Μοῖραι παρεισάγονται κατὰ τὸ τρισσὸν τῶν χρόνων·	904	Μοίρας θ', ἧς πλείστην τιμὴν πόρε μητιετα Ζεὺς, Κλωθῶ τε Λάχεσιν τε καὶ Ἄτροπον, αἶ τε διδοῦσι	
13.12	... αὕτη δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ Ἀδράστεια,			
13.17	... Νέμεσις δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς νεμήσεως προσηγόρευται	223	τίκτε δὲ καὶ Νέμεσιν πῆμα θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσι / Νύξ ὀλοή·	
13.18	... Τύχη δὲ	360	Τύχη ... αὐταὶ ἄρ' Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Τηθύος ἐξεγένοντο / ... κοῦραι·	
13.20	... Ὅπις δὲ			
14.3	... Λέγεται δ' ἐκ Μνημοσύνης γεννῆσαι τὰς Μοῦσας ὁ Ζεὺς,	25	Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο·	Muses
14.10	... ἑννέα δ' εἰσὶ	76	ἑννέα θυγατέρες μεγάλου Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖαι, Κλειῶ τ' Εὐτέρπη τε Θάλεια τε Μελπομένη τε Τερψιχόρη τ' Ἐρατώ τε Πολύμνια τ' Οὐρανίη τε Καλλιόπη θ'· ἡ δὲ προφερεστάτη ἐστὶν ἄπασεων.	
15.1	λέγονται δὲ παρά τισι καὶ δύο μόναι εἶναι, παρ' οἷς δὲ τρεῖς, παρ' οἷς δὲ τέτταρες, παρ' οἷς δὲ ἑπτὰ·			
17.6	... Καλλιόπη δὲ ... φησι· βασιλευσιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὄπηδεῖν.	81	Καλλιόπη ... ἡ γὰρ καὶ βασιλευσιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὄπηδεῖ.	
17.13	συγχορεύει δ' αὐταῖς ὁ Ἀπόλλων διὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς μουσικῆς· παραδέδοται γὰρ καὶ οὗτος κιθαριστῆς	94	ἐκ γὰρ τοῖ Μουσέων καὶ ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος ἄνδρες ἀοιδοὶ ἔασιν ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ κιθαρισταί,	
17.20	τούτου δ' ἔνεκεν καὶ ἐπὶ ἑννέα νύκτας λέγεται συγγεγόμενος τῇ Μνημοσύνῃ ὁ Ζεὺς γεννῆσαι αὐτάς·	56	ἑννέα γὰρ οἱ νύκτας ἐμίσητο μητιετα Ζεὺς	
18.7	[τινὲς δ' Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Γῆς ἔφασαν αὐτάς φῦναι ὡς ἀρχαιότατον ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν περὶ τούτων λόγον δέοντος].		Pausanias 9.29.4.5: Μῆνερμος ... φησὶν ... θυγατέρας Οὐρανοῦ τὰς ἀρχαιότατας Μοῦσας, τούτων δὲ ἄλλας νεωτέρας εἶναι Διὸς παῖδας. Schol. Pind. N3.16b: ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος Οὐρανοῦ θυγατέρα τὴν Μοῦσαν δέδεται, καθάπερ Μῆνερμος (fr. 13) καὶ Ἀλκιμᾶν (fr. 119) ἰστοροῦσιν ... βέλτιον δὲ φησὶν ὁ Δίδυμος ... κρέων γὰρ οὐρανοῦ ὁ Ζεὺς, Διὸς δὲ Μοῦσαι. cf. Apth. 9. ἐπι 26; Euseb. PE 2.2.21	
18.14	... Ἐπιβάλλοντος δ' ἡμῖν, ὡς εἴρηται, καὶ εὐεργετικοῖς εἶναι, παραδεδώκασιν οἱ πλείστοι Διὸς θυγατέρας τὰς Χάριτας	907		Graces
19.1	... οἱ μὲν ἐξ Εὐρυδόμης αὐτῷ γεγονυίας			
19.3	... οἱ δ' ἐξ Εὐρυνομῆς,	907	τρεις δὲ οἱ Εὐρυνόμη Χάριτας τέκε καλλιπαρήους,	
19.6	... τινὲς δ' ἐξ Εὐρυμεδούσης ... τὴν δ' Ἦραν ἄλλοι διδῶσιν αὐταῖς μητέρα			
20.5	... [... ἡ μὲν Ἀγλαΐα προσηγόρευται, ἡ δὲ Θάλεια, ἡ δὲ Εὐφροσύνη, διὰ τοῦτο ἐνίων καὶ Εὐάνθην φησάντων μητέρα αὐτῶν εἶναι, τινῶν δ' Αἴγλην.	909	Ἀγλαΐην τε καὶ Εὐφροσύνην Θαλίην τ' ἔρατεινήν·	
20.12	... συνοικεῖν δ' Ὀμηρος ἔφη μίαν τῶν Χαρίτων τῷ Ἠφαίστῳ...		// 18.382f.	



Lang	Cornutus (Section A)	Theog.	Hesiod Theog. or other
20.15	... Ἡγεμόνα δὲ παραδιδόασιν αὐτῶν τὸν Ἑρμῆν		Plut. <i>recta ratione audiendi</i> 44E5 (re. scholarly lecture) ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τοῖς Χάρισιν οἱ παλαιοὶ συγκαθίδρυσαν, ὡς μάλιστα τοῦ λόγου τὸ κεχαρισμένον καὶ προσφιλέσ ἀπαιτουόντος.
20.23	... ἀλλ' ἐνθένδε πρῶτον μὲν διάκτορος κέκληται ἦτοι ἀπὸ τοῦ διάτορος εἶναι καὶ τρανὸς		<i>Od.</i> 8.335: Ἑρμεία Διὸς υἱέ, διάκτορε, δῶτορ εἰσῶν. HH 4( <i>Merc.</i> ) 514: Δεῖδία Μαιάδος υἱέ διάκτορε ποικιλομήτα
21.4	... εἶτα ἐριούνιος ἐπονομάζεται		<i>Il.</i> 20.72: Λητοῖ δ' ἀντίστη σῶκος ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς.
21.6	... καὶ σῶκος		
21.8	καὶ τὸ ἀκάκητα δὲ αὐτὸν λέγεσθαι τοιοῦτου τινὸς σημειὸν ἐστίν· (Prometheus)	614	<i>Il.</i> 16.185: Ἑρμείας ἀκάκητα, πόρεν δὲ οἱ ἀγλαῶν υἱὸν οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἰαπετιονίδης ἀκάκητα Προμηθεὺς
21.11	... ἀργειφόντης δὲ ἐστίν οἷον ἀργεφάντης ἀπὸ τοῦ λευκῶς πάντα φαίνειν καὶ σαφηνίζειν—τὸ γὰρ λευκὸν ἀργὸν ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοί—		<i>Il.</i> 2.103: αὐτὰρ ἄρα Ζεὺς δῶκε διακτόρῳ ἀργειφόντῃ Ἑρμείας δὲ ἀναξὶ δῶκεν Πέλοπι πληξίππῳ.
21.15	... χρυσόρραπις δέ,		<i>Od.</i> 10.277: ἐνθα μοι Ἑρμείας χρυσόρραπις ἀντεβόλησεν
21.18	... καὶ κήρυξ θεῶν καὶ διαγγέλλειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις	939	κήρυκ' ἀθανάτων, ἱερὸν λέχος εἰσαναβάσα.
21.18	... ἄγγελος δέ		<i>WD</i> 84: λυτὸν Ἀργειφόντην / δῶρον ἄγοντα, θεῶν ταχὺν ἄγγελον.
22.3	... καὶ γὰρ τὴν Ἴριν ποδήνεμον διὰ τοῦτο		<i>Il.</i> 2.786: Τρωσὶν δ' ἄγγελος ἦλθε ποδήνεμος ὠκέα Ἴρις
	... καὶ ἀελλόποδα καλοῦσιν ἄγγελον, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος παρεισάγοντες,		<i>Il.</i> 8.409: Ὡς ἔφατ', ὄρτο δὲ Ἴρις ἀελλόπος ἀγγελέουσα,
22.7	... ψυχοπομπὸν δὲ τὸν Ἑρμῆν ἐμύθευσαν εἶναι συμβάλλοντες, ὅπερ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ ἐστίν, τὸ ψυχαγωγεῖν·		Hecataeus ( <i>Dio. Sic. bib. hist.</i> 1.96.6): τὸν μὲν γὰρ ψυχοπομπὸν Ἑρμῆν
22.7	... διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν καὶ ῥάβδον αὐτῷ ἐχειρίζουσι, / τῆ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει, τὰ τῆς διανοίας δηλονότι, / ὧν ἐθέλη, τοὺς δ' αὐτε καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρει·		<i>Il.</i> 24.343f: τῆ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει, τὰ τῆς διανοίας δηλονότι, ὧν ἐθέλη, τοὺς δ' αὐτε καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρει·
22.15	... ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη καὶ τοὺς ὄνειρους ἐπιπέμπειν ἔδοξε καὶ μάντις εἶναι, τρέπων ὡς βούλεται τὰς φαντασίας: 'θεῶν δ' ἄγγελοι καὶ οἱ ὄνειροι.'		<i>Il.</i> 2.26: Διὸς δὲ τοι ἄγγελός εἰμι, <i>Orph. Hymn</i> 86: Acusilaus fr. 9
23.6	... ἐκ δὲ Μαΐας ἔφασαν γεγενῆσθαι Διὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν	938	Ζηνὶ δ' ἄρ' Ἀτλαντὶς Μαίη τέκε κούδιμον Ἑρμῆν,
23.22	... ἴδρυται δὲ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ ἐνόδιος λέγεται καὶ ἡγεμόνιος ὡς αὐτῷ δεόντος πρὸς πᾶσαν πράξιν ἡγεμόνι χρῆσθαι καὶ αὐτοῦ ὄντος τοῦ ἐν ταῖς βουλαῖς εἰς τὴν δέουσαν ἡμᾶς ὁδὸν ἀνάγοντος, τάχα δὲ καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐρημίας πρὸς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν δεῖ.		Schol. Plat. 914b5 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν ἐνόδιον καὶ ἡγεμόνιον λέγουσιν, ὡς δεόν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς πράξεις ἡγεμόνι χρῆσθαι, καὶ τοῦτον δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁδῶν διὰ τοῦτο ἀνεστήλουν.
24.5	... διὰ δὲ τὸ κοινὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι ... κοινὸν εἶναι τὸν Ἑρμῆν		Aristotle <i>Rh.</i> 1401a.22: μόνος γὰρ καλεῖται κοινὸς Ἑρμῆς
25.2	... λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἀγοραῖος [πρῶτος] εἰκότως· ἐπίσκοπος γὰρ τῶν ἀγορευόντων ἐστίν· ἤδη δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς διατείνει καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀγοράζοντάς τι ἢ πιπράσκοντάς, ὡς πάντα μετὰ λόγου ποιεῖν δεόντος· ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τῶν ἐμποριῶν ἐπιστάτης ἔδοξεν εἶναι καὶ ἐμπολαῖος καὶ κερδῶος ἐπωνομάσθη, ὡσὰν μόνος τῶν ἀληθινῶν κερδῶν αἴτιος ὦν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.		cf. Scholia in Aristophanem; Scholia in Plutum verse 1153.3: λέγεται δὲ ὁ Ἑρμῆς, στροφαῖος, ἐμπολαῖος, κερδῶος, δόλιος, ἡγεμόνιος, ἐναγώνιος, διάκονος, cf. Aesop fable 90 ver.3: ἄγγελός ἐστι θεῶν καὶ κερδῶος μετὰ λόγου
25.18	... νόμιος δὲ λέγεται		
25.22	ἂν τις οἰκειῶς ἐπέιποι: "δαιμόνιε, φθίσει σε τὸ σὸν μένος."		<i>Il.</i> 6.407 δαιμόνιε, φθίσει σε τὸ σὸν μένος,

Table 2: Cornutus (Section C) and Hesiod *Theog.*

	Hesiod in sequence		Cornutus in sequence, without gaps
116	ἦτοι μὲν πρότιστα Χάος γένετ'· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα	28.2	κάλιν τοίνυν πρῶτον μὲν ἐμύθευσαν τὸ Χάος γενέσθαι, καθάπερ ὁ Ἡσίοδος ἱστορεῖ,
117	Γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ	28.4	μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ τὴν Γῆν
118	[ἀθανάτων οἱ ἔχουσι κάρη νιφόντος Ὀλύμπου.]		
119	Τάρταρά τ' ἠερβέντα μυχῶ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης,	28.5	καὶ τὸν Τάρταρον
120	ἠδ' Ἔρος, δς κάλλιστος ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι,		καὶ τὸν Ἔρωτα
121	λυσιμελής, πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων		
122	δάμναται ἐν στήθεσσι νόον καὶ ἐπίφρονα βουλήν.		
123	ἐκ Χάους δ' Ἔρεβός τε μέλαινα τε Νύξ ἐγένοντο·		ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Χάους τὸ Ἔρεβος καὶ τὴν Νύκτα φῦναι,
124	Νυκτὸς δ' αὐτ' Αἰθήρ τε καὶ Ἡμέρη ἐξεγένοντο,	28.6	ἐκ δὲ τῆς Νυκτὸς τὸν Αἰθέρα καὶ τὴν Ἡμέραν.
		28.7	— <i>excursus into Stoic physics</i> —
125	οὖς τέκε κυσαμένη Ἐρέβει φιλότῃ μιγεῖσα.	29.3	Ἔρεβος ἐκ τοῦ Χάους ἐγένετο, ὁ ποιῶν ἐρέφεσθαι καὶ περιλαμβάνεσθαι τι ὑφ' ἐτέρου λόγος,
126	Γαῖα δέ τοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐγένετο ἴσον ἑαυτῇ	29.5	καθὸ καὶ τοῦτου τυχοῦσα ἡ Γῆ παραχρήμα ὁμοιοσχημον αὐτῇ
127	Οὐρανὸν ἀστερόενθ', ἵνα μιν περὶ πάντα καλύπτει,	29.6	τὸν Οὐρανὸν ἐγέννησεν, ἵνα μιν περὶ πάντα καλύπτει,
128	ᾧφρ' εἴη μακάρεσσι θεοῖς ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ,	29.8	ᾧφρ' εἴη μακάρεσσι θεοῖς ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ, τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτῷ θεοῖσιν ἀστροῖς μακραιώσιν οὖσιν ἀσφαλὲς οἰκητήριον.
		29.10	— <i>excursus into Stoic physics</i> —
129	γείνατο δ' οὖρεα μακρὰ, θεῶν χαρίεντας ἐναύλους	29.16	ἡ δὲ Γῆ τὰ ὄρη
130	Νυμφέων, αἱ ναίουσιν ἀν' οὖρεα βησσήεντα,		
131	ἠδὲ καὶ ἀτρύγετον πέλαγος τέκεν οἰδματι θυῖον,	29.17	καὶ τὸ πέλαγος ἐξῆς λέγεται γεννήσασαι
132	Πόντον, ἄτερ φιλότῃτος ἐπιμέρου· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα		'ἄτερ φιλότῃτος ἐπιμέρου'
			— <i>Physical explanation of mountains and oceans</i> —
133	Οὐρανῷ εὐνηθεῖσα τέκ' Ὠκεανὸν βαθυδίην	29.18	<i>Titans</i> : [Accretion: entities from Empedocles (see 1.7.2.4)] ... Ἰαπετός ( <i>definition</i> )
134	Κοῖόν τε Κρεῖόν θ' Ὑπερίονα τ' Ἰαπετόν τε	30.11	Κοῖος δέ, ( <i>definition</i> ) ... Κρεῖος δέ, ( <i>definition</i> ) ... Ὑπερίων δέ, ( <i>definition</i> )
135	Θεῖαν τε Ῥεῖαν τε Θέμιν τε Μνημοσύνην τε	30.18	Ὠκεανὸς δέ, ( <i>definition</i> ) ... Τηθύς δέ, ( <i>definition</i> ) ... Θεῖα δέ ( <i>definition</i> ) ... Ῥέα δέ ( <i>definition</i> )
136	Φοῖβην τε χρυσοστέφανον Τηθύν τ' ἔρατεινήν.	31.4	Φοῖβη δέ ( <i>definition</i> ) ... Μνημοσύνη δέ ( <i>definition</i> ) ... Θέμις δέ ( <i>definition</i> )
137	τούς δὲ μέθ' ὀπλότατος γένετο Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης,	31.8	Κρόνος ( <i>definition</i> ) ... ἐστὶν ὁ προειρημένος πάντων τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων λόγος,
138	δεινότατος παίδων, θαλερὸν δ' ἤχθηρε τοκῆα		... δεινότατος ὦν τῶν παίδων
		31.12	ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν Ἡσιόδου <γενεαλογίας> τελειότερα ποτ' ἂν ἐξηγήσις σοι γένοιτο, ...

**Table 3: Cornutus and Heraclitus QH on Apollo** (epithets are shaded, accretions are indicated with ■)

Cornutus	Heraclitus QH (re-ordered)
65 1 'Απόλλων ὁ ἡλίος ἐστίν ... διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τοξότας αὐτοῦς ἀμφοτέρουσ παρήγαγον, τὴν ὥσανεὶ ἄφεσιν πόρρω τῶν ἀκτίνων αἰνιττόμενοι.	6 6 ὁ αὐτὸς 'Απόλλων ἡλίω ... Ἡκρίβωται δ' ἡ περὶ τούτων ἀπόδειξις καὶ 'Απολλοδώρω
65 4 ὁ μὲν ἑκατος ... καὶ ἑκατηβόλους	7 8 ἑκάεργος, ὁ τὰ ἑκαθεν ἐργαζόμενος
65 8  ἔνιοι δὲ τὸν Ἑκατον ... ἐκάς αὐτοῦς εἶναι ... δοκοῦσι γὰρ καὶ φθεῖρην ἔσθ' ὅτε τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τῶν λοιμικῶν καταστάσεων αἴτιοι γίνεσθαι· διὸ καὶ τοὺς ὄξεισ θανάτους αὐτοῖς ἀντίθεσαν οἱ πάλαι, καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς ὡς ἐμφανέσ τι ἐν τῷ λοιμῷ παρειαίγει τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα λέγοντα ὅτι ζητητέοσ μάντις,  ὅσ κ' εἴποι ὅτι τόσσοσ ἐχώσατο Φοῖβοσ 'Απόλλων (Il.1.64)	8 1 αἱ λοιμικαὶ νόσοι τὴν μεγίστην ἔχουσι τῆσ φθορᾶσ πρόφασιν τὸν ἡλίον. Ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ἡ θέρειοσ αὐτοῦ μαλακὴ καὶ πραεῖα δι' εὐκράτου τῆσ ἀλέασ ἡσυχῆ διαθάληται, σωτήριον ἀνθρώποισ ἐπιμειδιᾶ φέγγοσ, ἀύχηρὰ δὲ καὶ διάπυροσ ἐκκαεῖσα νοσηροῦσ ἀπὸ γῆσ ἀτμοῦσ ἀφέλκεται, κάμνοντα δὲ τὰ σώματα καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀθήτη τοῦ περιέχοντοσ τροπὴν νοσοῦντα λοιμικοῖσ πάθεσιν ἀναλοῦνται. Τῶν δ' ὄξεωσ συμφορῶν αἴτιον Ὅμηροσ ὑπεστήσατο τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, διαρρήδην τοῖσ αἰφνιδίοισ θανάτοισ ἐπιγράφων τὸν θεόν· φησὶ γὰρ·  'Ελθῶν ἀργυρότοξοσ 'Απόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξὺν οἷσ ἀγανοῖσι βέλεσσιν ἐποικόμενοσ κατέπεφεν. (Od.15.410)
65 20 τὸν δ' 'Απόλλωνα ὡσ ἀπολύονθ' ἡμᾶσ τῶν νόσοσ, ἡ ἀπελαύνοντα ἀφ' ἡμῶν αὐτάσ... ἡ ... ἡ ... ἡ (4-5 alternative etymologies)	
65 21 καὶ παιήων ἐκλήθη καὶ ἱατρός ἔδοξεν εἶναι	
66 18 Φοῖβοσ μὲν λέγεται διὰ τὸ καθαρὸσ εἶναι καὶ λαμπρόσ ... Δῆλιον δὲ αὐτὸν ὠνόμασαν ... καὶ Φαναῖον	7 5 Φοῖβον αὐτὸν εἴωθε συνεχῶσ ὀνομάζειν, οὐ μὰ Δία οὐκ ἀπὸ Φοίβησ, ἦν Λητοῦσ φασὶν εἶναι μητέρα ... Φοῖβον οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκτίνων λαμπρὸν αὐτὸν ὀνομάζει, τὸ μόνον ἡλίω προσὸν ἐξ ἴσου κοινώσασ 'Απόλλωνι
67 7 Πύθιον ... λοξίας ... μουσικόσ δὲ καὶ κιθαριστήσ	
68 3 Μουσηγέτησ ... ἐκηβόλου (Hes. Th. 94f misquoted)	
68 8 ἱερόσ αὐτοῦ ὁ κύκνοσ ... ὁ δὲ κόραξ ἀλλότριοσ	
68 11 ἡ δὲ δάφνη στέμμα αὐτοῦ ἐστίν	
69 1 νόμιον ... λυκίον ... λυκοκτόνον	7 10 Λυκηγενέτην .. οὐχ ὡσ ἐν Λυκία γεγενημένον ... ἀλλ' οἶμαι ... λυκηγενῆ, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν αἴθριον ὥραν λυκαυγοῦσ αὐτόσ ἐστίν αἴτιοσ· ἡ ὅτι τὸν λυκάβαντα γεννᾶ, τουτέστι τὸν ἐνιαυτόν
69 9 ἀγυιεύσ ... λεσχηνόριον ... παιᾶνα	
	7 12 χρυσάορον



**Table 4a: Comparison of listed epithets of Zeus: Cornutus and [Aristotle] *Mu.* 401a**

Epithets are in the sequence given by Cornutus. Cornutus gives 22 epithets (+ 4 implicit, light shading); [Arist.] begins his list with 26 epithets in a sequence re-arranged here where there is agreement with Cornutus.

Agreement is shaded. A maximum of 18 epithets from Cornutus are found in [Arist.]; 8 are not. 11 epithets listed here from [Arist.] are not found in Cornutus. Note the complete lack of any connection between the order in which the two sets of epithets are given. [Arist.] continues with 11 further Orphic identities and epithets of Zeus (401a28-b7), none of which are found in Cornutus.

Lang	Cornutus	[Arist.] sequence	[Arist.] <i>Mu.</i> 401b
9.1	πατήρ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων		
9.3	νεφεληγερέτην δ' αὐτὸν		
9.3	καὶ ἐρίγδουπον καλοῦσι		
9.5	κεραυνὸν αὐτῷ καὶ ... ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς τὰ νέφη καὶ τὰς βροντὰς συνίστασθαι ... καὶ τὰς καταιγίδας κατασκήπτειν, τῷ τὸν οὐρανὸν λελογχότι θεῷ...	6 3 25	κεραύνιος βρονταῖος οὐράνιος
9.11	αἰγίοχος		
9.11	ὑέτιος ...	7	ὑέτιος ...
9.11	ἐπικάρπιος	8	ἐπικάρπιος
9.13	καταιβάτης		
9.13	ἀστραπαῖος	2	ἀστραπαῖος
9.13	ἄλλως πολλαχῶς κατὰ διαφόρους ἐπινοίας ... ἀπεριλήπτων ὄσων ὀνομασιῶν αὐτοῦ τοιούτων οὐσῶν	1	πολυνῶνμος
9.14	σωτήρα	23	σωτήρ
9.14	ἔρκειον	11	ἔρκειος
9.15	πολιέα	9	πολιεύς

Lang	Cornutus	[Arist.] sequence	[Arist.] <i>Mu.</i> 401b
9.15	πατρώον	13	πατρώος
9.15	ὁμόγγιον	12	ὁμόγγιος
9.15	ξένιον	16	ξένιος
9.16	κτήσιον		
9.16	βουλαῖον		
9.16	τροπαιοῦχον	18	τροπαιοῦχος
9.16	ἐλευθέριον	24	ἐλευθέριος
10.20	ἀλάστωρ		
10.20	παλαμναῖος	20	παλαμναῖος
12.2	μελίχιος	22	μελίχιος
12.4	ἰκέσιος	21	ἰκέσιος
		26	χθόνιος
		5	αιθέριος
		10	γενέθλιος
		14	ἐταιρεῖος
		15	φίλιος
		17	στράτιος
		19	καθάρσιος

**Table 4b: Comparison of listed epithets of Zeus:** The numbers in the cells indicate the order or sequence given in the list. [0] = in text near list.

1: Cornutus; 2: [Aristotle] *Mu.* 401a; 3: Epictetus *Diss. Arr.* 1.19.11.1; 4: Maximus Soph. *Lec.* 41.2.c2; 5: Aristides 8.12; 6: Pollux *Onom.* 1.23; 7: Dio Chrys. *or.* 1.39.1  
Pollux gives 43 epithets [bracketed here] for gods generally (saying most are valid for Zeus), before 4 epithets specific to Zeus. Shaded are Homer and/or Hesiod.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
πατήρ (θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων)	1		3		14		1
νεφεληγερέτην	2					47	
ἐρίγδουπον	3					[24]	
κεραυνόν (κεραύνιος)	4	6					
βροντάς (βρονταῖος)	5	3					
οὐρανόν (οὐράνιος)	6	25				[1]	
αἰγίοχος	7				19		
ὔετιος	8	7	1	5	18	44	
ἐπικάρπιος	9	8	2	6		[26]	11
καταιβάτης	10				17	45	
ἀστραπαῖος	11	2				[22]	
ἀπεριλήπτων ὀνομασιῶν (πολυώνυμος)	12	1					
σωτήρα	13	23			11	[36]	
ἔρκειον	14	11					
πολιέα	15	9			16		3
πατῶρον	16	13		7		[17]	
ὀμόγνιον	17	12					6
ξένιον	18	16				[18]	9
κτήσιον	19						10
βουλαῖον	20						
τροπαιοῦχον	21	18			10	[28]	
ἐλευθέριον	22	24			12		
ἀλάστωρ	23						
παλαμναῖος	24	20				[38]	
μειλίχ(ι)ος	25	22			13		
ἰκέσιος	26	21				[29]	7
αἰθριος		4					
αἰθέριος		5					

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
γενέθλιος		10		4		[40]	
ἐταιρεῖος		14				[20]	5
φίλιος		15				[19]	4
στράτιος		17				[27]	
καθάρσιος		19					
χθόνιος		26				[12]	
ποταμῶν χορηγόν				1			
καρπῶν τροφέα				2			
ζῳων γεννητήν				3			
φυτάλμιον				8		[42]	
εὐεργέτης					1		
ἔφορος					2		
προστάτης					3		
πρῦτανις					4		
ἡγεμῶν		[0]			5		
ταμίας					6		
δοτήρ					7		
ποιητής					8		
ἐκκλησίαις καὶ δίκαις νίκην διδούς ἀγοραῖος					9	[23]	
βασιλεύς	[0]				15		2
κορυφαῖος		[0]			20		
ἀπάντων ἀρχάς					21		
πέρατα, μέτρα, κλήρους ἔχων					22		
τὸν ἀπάντων κρατοῦντα ἀρχηγέτην					23		
τέλειον μόνον αὐτὸν ὄντα τῶν πάντων					24		
φράτριος						46	
Φύξιος						[35]	8

Appendix 2 (Text Parallels)

**Table 4c: Comparison of attributes and epithets of Zeus: Cornutus and [Aristotle] *Mu.* 401a - 401b**

❶ Word found in Cleathes fr. 1 (hymn to Zeus)    ❷ Word found also in Cleathes fr. 2 (Epictetus *diss. arr.* 4.4.34)

	Cornutus text in order	[Aristotle] sorted to match Cornutus	Agreement
3 2	Ζεύς, πρώτως καὶ διὰ παντὸς ζῶσα καὶ αἰτία οὖσα τοῖς ζῶσι τοῦ ζῆν· διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ βασιλεύειν ὁ Ζεὺς λέγεται τῶν ὄλων, ὡς ἂν καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ ἡ φύσις ἡμῶν βασιλεύειν ῥηθείη. Δία δὲ αὐτὸν καλοῦμεν ὅτι δι' αὐτὸν γίνεται καὶ σώζεται πάντα.	Καλοῦμεν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ Ζῆνα καὶ Δία, παραλλήλως χρώμενοι τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ὡς κἄν εἰ λέγοιμεν δι' ὄν ζῶμεν. ... ἅτε πάντων αὐτὸς αἴτιος ὢν ... διήκων ἐξ αἰῶνος ἀτέρμονος εἰς ἕτερον αἰῶνα·	approx. etym. match
3 10	παρὰ δέ τισι καὶ Δεὺς λέγεται, τάχα ἀπὸ τοῦ δεύειν τὴν γῆν ἢ μεταδιδόναι τοῖς ζῶσι ζωτικῆς ἰκμάδος		2 etymologies unmatched
3 13	οἰκεῖν δὲ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ λέγεται	οὐράνιος	approx. match
3 14	καὶ γὰρ αἱ ἡμέτεραι ψυχαὶ πῦρ εἰσιν.		unmatched
4 1	πατέρα δὲ τὸν Κρόνον	Κρόνου δὲ παῖς καὶ χρόνου λέγεται	match
9 1	πατὴρ λέγεται θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων εἶναι		unmatched
9 3	νεφεληγερέτην δ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἐρίγδουπον καλοῦσι		unmatched
9 5	κεραυνὸν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν αἰγίδα ἀνατιθέασι ... καὶ τοὺς κεραυνοὺς ἐκεῖθεν καὶ τὰς καταγίδας κατασκήπτειν, [ἄλλως] τῷ τὸν οὐρανὸν λελογχότι θεῷ	αἶθριος καὶ ❶αἰθέριος κεραύνιος ... ἀπὸ τῶν κεραυνῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων καλεῖται	approx. match
		γενέθλιος; ἐταιρεῖος; φίλιος; στρατίος; καθάρσιος; ἰκέσιος; μελίχιος; χθόνιος	7 x unmatched
		(Διὸ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς οὐ κακῶς λέγεται)	11 x unmatched
9 11	αἰγίοχος		2 x unmatched
9 11	ὑέτιος ... ἐπικάρπιος	ὑέτιος ἀπὸ τῶν ὑετῶν ... ἐπικάρπιος ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν	2 x match
9 13	καταιβάτης		unmatched
9 13	ἀστραπαῖος	ἀστραπαῖος τε καὶ βρονταῖος	match
9 13	ἄλλως πολλαχῶς κατὰ διαφοροὺς ἐπινοίας. ... ἀπεριλήπτων ὄσων ὀνομασιῶν αὐτοῦ τοιούτων οὐσῶν	Εἷς δὲ ὢν ❶πολυώνυμος ἐστὶ, κατονομαζόμενος τοῖς πάθεσι πᾶσιν ἅπερ αὐτὸς νεοχμοῖ	match
9 14	σωτήρα	σωτήρ	match
9 14	ἔρκειον	ἔρκειος	match
9 15	πολιέα	πολιεὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων	match
9 15	πατρῶον	πατρῶος ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς ταῦτα κοινωνίας	match
9 15	ὁμόγιον	ὁμόγιος	match
9 15	ξένιον	ξένιος	match



	Cornutus text in order	[Aristotle] sorted to match Cornutus	Agreement
9 16	κτήσιον, βουλαῖον		2 x unmatched
9 16	τροπαιοῦχον	τροπαιοῦχος	match
9 16	ἐλευθέριον	ἐλευθέριος ἐτύμως	match
9 20	τῆς Δίκης πατήρ εἶναι		unmatched
10 3	Χαρίτων (πατήρ)– ἐντεῦθεν τε γάρ εἰσιν αἱ τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι ἀρχαί–		unmatched
10 4	Ἵρῶν (πατήρ) .. ὀνομασμένων ἀπὸ τῆς φυλακῆς		unmatched
10 21	ἀλάστωρ		unmatched
10 21	παλαμναῖος τῷ τοῦ ἀλάστορα καὶ παλαμναίους κολάζειν	παλαμναῖος	match
11 1	τοῦ τοιαῦτα ἀμαρτάνειν, ἐφ' οἷς ἔστιν ἀλαστήσαι καὶ στενάξαι, τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ταῖς παλάμαις μιάσματα ἀνέκθντα ἀποτελεῖν		unmatched
		⊕Πεπρωμένην δὲ διὰ τὸ πεπερατώσθαι πάντα	unmatched
12 11	ἡ Μοῖρα διὰ τὸ μὴ ὀρωμένη διανέμησις εἶναι τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων ἐκάστω	(Ζεὺς =) Μοῖραν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ μεμερίσθαι	identity match
12 14	Αἶσα δὲ ἔστιν ἡ αἴστος καὶ ἄγνωστος αἰτία τῶν γινομένων –ἢ, ὡς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, ἡ αἰεὶ οὔσα.	Αἶσαν δὲ αἰεὶ οὔσαν	etymology match
12 17	Εἰμαρμένη δὲ ἔστι καθ' ἣν μέμαρπται καὶ συνείληπται πάντα	Εἰμαρμένην δὲ διὰ τὸ εἶρειν τε καὶ χωρεῖν ἀκωλύτως	no etymology match
13 1	Ἄνάγκη δὲ ἔστιν ἣν ἀξαι καὶ ἥς περιγενέσθαι οὐκ ἔστιν ἢ ἐφ' ἣν πᾶν ὃ ἂν γένηται τὴν ἀναγωγὴν λαμβάνει	οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἄνάγκην οὐκ ἄλλο τι λέγεσθαι πλὴν τοῦτον, οἶονεὶ ἀνίκητον αἰτίαν ὄντα	no etymology match
13 3	κατ' ἄλλον δὲ τρόπον τρεῖς Μοῖραι παρεισάγονται κατὰ τὸ τρισσὸν τῶν χρόνων	τρεῖς μὲν γὰρ αἱ Μοῖραι, κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους μεμερισμένα...	match
13 5	Κλωθῶ μὲν ὀνόμασται μία αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ κλώσει ἐρίων εοικέναι τὰ γινόμενα ἄλλων ἄλλοις ἐπιπιπτόντων, καθὼ καὶ νήθουσαν αὐτὴν πρεσβυτάτην διατυποῦσι	κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἐνεστῶς Κλωθῶ, συμπεραίνουσά τε καὶ κλώθουσα ἐκάστω τὰ οἰκεῖα. Περαινέται δὲ καὶ ὁ μῦθος οὐκ ἀτάκτως	match
13 8	Λάχεσις δ' ἄλλη ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆ κατὰ τοὺς κλήρους λήξει τὰ ἀποδιδόμενα ἐκάστω προσεοικέναι	κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέλλον Λάχεσις–[εἰς] πάντα γὰρ ἡ κατὰ φύσιν μένει λήξις–	match
13 9	Ἄτροπος δὲ ἡ τρίτη διὰ τὸ ἀτρέπτως ἔχειν τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν διατεταγμένα ἢ δ' αὐτὴ δύναμις οἰκειῶς ἂν δόξαι τῶν τριῶν προσηγοριῶν τυγχάνειν	Ἄτροπος, ἐπεὶ τὰ παρελθόντα πάντα ἄτρεπτά ἐστι,	match
13 12	Ἄδράστεια, ἥτοι παρὰ τὸ ἀνέκφευκτος καὶ ἀναπόδραστος εἶναι ... ἢ παρὰ τὸ αἰεὶ δρᾶν τὰ καθ' αὐτὴν, ὡσὺν ἀειδράστεια οὔσα, ἢ ... πολυδράστεια γάρ	Ἄδράστειαν δὲ ἀναπόδραστον αἰτίαν οὔσαν κατὰ φύσιν	match
13 17	Νέμεσις ἀπὸ τῆς νεμήσεως προσηγόρευται	Νέμεσιν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκάστω διανεμήσεως	match

Appendix 2 (Text Parallels)

**Table 5: Cornutus and Heraclitus QH on Hermes:** Areas of agreement are shaded; information not shared is underlined; ❶ and ❷ point to similarities

Cornutus	Heraclitus QH (re-arranged order for parallels with Cornutus)
20 15 Ἡγεμόνα δὲ παραδιδόασιν αὐτῶν τὸν Ἑρμῆν	
20 18 τυγχάνει δὲ ὁ Ἑρμῆς ὁ λόγος ὧν	72 4 Ἑρμῆς ... ὁ ἔμφρων λόγος
20 21 ὠνόμασται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔρειν μῆσασθαι .. ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔρυμα ἡμῶν εἶναι	72 5 παντὸς τοῦ νοουμένου κατὰ ψυχὴν ἐρμηνέα τινὰ ὄντα
20 23 διάκτορος κέκληται ἦτοι ἀπὸ τοῦ διάτορος εἶναι	
21 2 καθὼ καὶ τὰς γλώττας αὐτῷ καθιερούσιν	72 19 Γλῶττα δ' αὐτῷ θυσία, τὸ μόνον λόγου μέρος, καὶ τελευταίῳ κατὰ κοίτην ἰόντες Ἑρμῆ σπένδουσιν, ἐπειδὴ πάσης φωνῆς ἐστὶν ὄρος ὕπνος
21 4 εἶτα ἐριούνιος ἐπονομάζεται ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγαλωφελῆς τις εἶναι καὶ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἰσχύειν τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτῷ... καὶ σώκος ... καὶ τὸ ἀκάκητα	72 12 Ἐριούνιον καὶ σώκον, ἔτι δ' ἀκάκητα λόγων ἐμφρόνων ... ἐκτός τε γὰρ κακίας ὁ λογισμὸς ὤκισται, σώζει δὲ πάντα τὸν χρώμενον αὐτῷ καὶ μέγα ὠφέλησεν
21 11 ἀργειφόντης δὲ ἐστὶν ... ἀπὸ τοῦ λευκῶς πάντα φαίνειν ... σαφηνίζειν ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν φωνὴν ταχυτήτος ❶—καὶ γὰρ τὸ ταχὺ ἀργὸν λέγεται—	72 10 «Ἀργειφόντην» οὐ ... τοὺς Ἡσιοδεῖους μύθους ἐπιστάμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ μία παντὸς λόγου φύσις ἐκφαίνει ἐναργῶς τὸ νοούμενον, διὰ τοῦτο εἶπεν αὐτὸν ἀργειφόντην
21 15 χρυσόρραπις	73 3 Ἑρμείας χρυσόρραπις ἀντεβόλησεν αὐτῷ. Τὸ μὲν γε χρυσοῦν ἀντὶ τοῦ καλοῦ ... τὸ δὲ ῥάπτειν μεταφορικῶς ἀντὶ τοῦ συντιθέναι τε καὶ διανοεῖσθαι
21 18 κῆρυξ θεῶν ... κῆρυξ μὲν ... ἄγγελος δέ, ἐπεὶ τὸ βούλημα τῶν θεῶν γινώσκομεν ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεδομένων ἡμῖν κατὰ τὸν λόγον ἐννοιῶν	72 14 ... διπλοῦς ὁ λόγος. Τούτων δ' οἱ φιλόσοφοι τὸν μὲν ἐνδιάθετον καλοῦσι, τὸν δὲ προφορικόν ❷. Ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἔνδον λογισμῶν ἐστὶ διάγγελος, δ δ' ὑπὸ τοῖς στέρνοις καθεῖρκεται
22 3 πέδιλα δὲ φέρει περωτὰ	72 7 Καὶ μὴν περοῖς ἀνέστειψαν αὐτὸν, αἰνιτιτόμενοι τὸ παντὸς λόγου τάχος ❶
22 7 ψυχοπομπὸν δὲ τὸν Ἑρμῆν ἐμύθευσαν ... διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν καὶ ῥάβδον αὐτῷ	
22 15 τοὺς ὀνειρούς ἐπιπέμπειν ἔδοξε καὶ μάντις εἶναι	
22 18 περὶ τὴν ῥάβδον ... καὶ εἰρηνοποιὸν δοκεῖ τὸ κηρύκειον εἶναι.	72 8 Εἰρήνη τε χαίρει· πόλεμοι γὰρ οὐχ ἦκιστα λόγων ἐνδεεῖς
23 6 ἐκ δὲ Μαΐας ἔφασαν γεγενῆσθαι Διὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν ὑποδηλοῦντες	
23 11 πλάττεται δὲ ἄχειρ καὶ ἄπους καὶ τετράγωνος τῷ σχήματι ὁ Ἑρμῆς, τετράγωνος μὲν τῷ [τῷ] ἐδραῖόν τι καὶ ἀσφαλὲς ἔχειν ὥστε καὶ τὰς πτώσεις αὐτοῦ βάσεις εἶναι, ἄχειρ δὲ καὶ ἄπους...	72 6 Τετράγωνόν τε ζωγράφων καὶ λιθοξόων χεῖρες αὐτὸν ἐλείψαν, ὅτι πᾶς ὀρθὸς λόγος ἐδραῖαν ἔχει τὴν βαοῦν οὐκ ὀλισθηρῶς ἐφ' ἐκάτερα κυλινδούμενος
23 22 ἴδρυται δὲ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ ἐνόδιος λέγεται καὶ ἠγεμόνιος	
24 5 κοινὸν τὸν Ἑρμῆν ... καὶ τὸ εὐρημένον ... τῶν εὐρημάτων ἐρμαίων λεγομένων.	
24 11 προσσωρεύουσι δὲ τοὺς λίθους τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς ἐκάστου τῶν παριόντων ἕνα τινὰ αὐτοῖς προστιθέντος ... πρὸς σύμβολον τοῦ ἐκ μικρῶν μερῶν συνεστάναι τὸν προφορικόν ❷ λόγον	72 18 Ὅμηρος τὸν μὲν ἐνδιάθετον εἶπε χθόνιον, ἀφανὴς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τῆς διανοίας βυθοῖς ἀπεσκότῳται, τὸν δὲ προφορικόν ❷ (λόγον) ... ἐν οὐρανῷ κατῴκισεν
25 2 ἀγοραῖος εἰκότας ... ἐπίσκοπος τῶν ἀγορευόντων ... τῶν ἐμποριῶν ἐπιστάτης καὶ ἐμπολαῖος καὶ κερδῶος ἐπονομάσθη ... τῆς λύρας εὐρετής ... Δολίου Ἑρμοῦ βωμὸν ἰδρύσαντο ... νόμιος ... σέβονται δ' αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς παλαιστραῖς	

**Table 6: Interpretations of Homeric myth - comparison between Cornutus, Heraclitus and [Plutarch]**

	Cornutus	Heraclitus <i>QH</i>	[Plutarch] 54B <i>Life of Homer</i>
<u>1. Suspension of Hera</u> ( <i>Il.15.18</i> )	(26.10)  <u>quotation:</u> <i>Il.15.18-19</i>  <u>interpretation:</u> Hera=air, anvils= earth, sea	(40)  <u>quotation:</u> <i>Il.15.18-21</i> - ref to golden chain  <u>interpretation:</u> Hera=air, anvils= earth, sea	(97)  <u>reference:</u> <i>Il.15.18-19.</i>  <u>interpretation:</u> anvils= earth, sea
<u>2. Plot against Zeus</u> ( <i>Il.1.399</i> )	(27.2) <u>quotation:</u> <i>Il.1.399-400</i> <u>interpretation:</u> elements try to thwart stability everything would become too watery or airy  Θέτις restores order Βριάρεως helps	(25) <u>reference:</u> <i>Il.1.399-400</i> <u>interpretation</u> : (οἱ δοκιμώτατοι φιλόσοφοι) elements try to thwart stability everything would become too fiery, or too watery. Zeus the most powerful force. Hera= air, Poseidon=water, Athena=earth.  Θέτις restores order Βριάρεως helps	(absent)
<u>3. Ares and Aphrodite</u> ( <i>Od.8.267</i> )	(34.12)  <u>reference:</u> <i>Od.8.267f</i>  <u>interpretation:</u> bronze and iron subdued by fire  Harmony from opposites: τὴν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἁρμονίαν❶	(69)  <u>quotation:</u> <i>Od.8.267-268</i>  <u>interpretation:</u> Harmony from opposites: Ὅθεν εὐλόγως ἐξ ἀμφοῖν Ἄρμονία❶ γεγένηται τοῦ παντὸς ἀσαλεύτως καὶ κατ' ἐμμέλειαν ἁρμοσθέντος.  bronze and iron subdued by fire	(101-102)  <u>reference:</u> <i>Od.8.267f</i>  <u>interpretation:</u> Harmony from opposites: ὅτι ἐκ τῆς Ἄρεος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης συνουσίας Ἄρμονία συνέστηκεν, ἐξ ἐναντίων, βαρέων τε καὶ ὀξέων

❶ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν Ἄρμονία unattested elsewhere.



**Table 7: Cornutus and Cicero *ND* on the nature of the divine (Cicero *ND*: sequential (Balbus, Stoic spokesman); Cornutus: re-ordered)**

Cic.	Comparison: Areas of agreement shaded		Cornutus
2 63	Stoics Zeno, Cleanthes & Chrysippus explained theory which poets embellished, producing superstition	Hesiod: if something is added to the genealogies passed on by people who use them simply as fiction; ... transmitted ancient truth, adding his own myth	27 19
2 63	Agreement: Ouranos - Kronos - Zeus succession		7 17
2 64	Saturn: maintains the course and revolution of seasons. Etym. from χρόνος	Kronos: Order at beginning of universe. Preferred etym. from κρᾶννειν to accomplish	4 1
2 64	Similar: Interpretation of swallowing children		6 20
2 64	Identical: Zeus 'father of gods and men'		9 1
2 66	Agreement: Hera = Air, is wife and sister of Zeus		3 15
2 66	3 kingdoms: Neptune identified with sea	No reference to 3 kingdoms. Poseidon: causing force of water within and around the earth	4 7
2 66	3 kingdoms: Pluto identified with earth	Hades: the air which is densest and nearest to earth	4 16
2 66	Agreement: Rape of Persephone = seed disappearing		54 12
2 66	Cornutus: Mother seeking daughter a later fabrication		54 14
2 67	Agreement: identification with earth and etymology of Demeter		52 4
2 67	Hestia not equated with Demeter	Hestia = Demeter	52 6
2 68	General agreement: Apollo = Sun, Artemis = moon, etc. Moon invoked at childbirth		65 1
2 70	this imaginary pantheon has been evolved from true philosophy of nature. The perversion a source of false beliefs and superstitions	The ancients were wise. They were prone to philosophizing by using symbols and riddles	75 19
2 71	we shall be able to understand the nature of the divinities .. our duty to worship these gods under the names which custom has bestowed upon them.	you will accept both the tradition of the fathers and the complete explanation.	76 9
2 71	But the best, purest, holiest and most pious way of worshipping the gods is ever to venerate them with purity, sincerity and innocence both of thought and of speech. Religion distinguished from superstition by ancestors.	Thus young men may be introduced to piety only, and not superstition, and taught to pray, to worship in the appropriate manner, and behave with appropriate moderation	76 12

**Table 8: Cornutus' exposition of Rhea and Lucretius, Great Mother of the Gods**

(Lucretius: A goddess who is both Mother of the Gods and Earth Goddess. References to her in her capacity as an Earth Goddess are shaded)

	Lucretius Book 2: Great Mother of the Gods	Theme	Cornutus: Rhea (not in order)
595	tum porro nitidas fruges arbustaque laeta	crops, orchards	
596	gentibus humanis habet unde extollere possit,	pastures	
597	unde etiam fluvios frondes et pabula laeta	streams, lush meadows	
598	montivago generi possit praebere ferarum.	wild animals, mountains	ὄρειαν αὐτὴν προσηγόρευσαν
599	et nostri genetrix haec dicta est corporis una.	Progenitor of human race	
600	Hanc veteres Graium docti cecinere poetae	Greeks sang hymns,	
601	sedibus in curru biugos agitare leones,	portrayed her in chariot driving a team of lions	τοὺς λέοντας, ἠνιοχουμένους ὑπ' αὐτῆς παρεισήγαγον
...	...	...	
606	muralique caput summum cinxere corona,	turreted crown	πυργωτὸν δὲ περικεῖται στέφανον
607	eximiis munita locis quia sustinet urbes.	select locations on Earth	διὰ τὸ καταρχὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρῶν τίθεσθαι τὰς πόλεις ὀχυρότητος ἕνεκεν
608	quo nunc insigni per magnas praedita terras	Earth bears their weight	
609	horrifice fertur divinae matris imago.	image in procession	καὶ λαμπαδηφορίαις χαίρουσαν
610	hanc variae gentes antiquo more sacrorum	adorned image	καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς τύπους περὶ τὸ στήθος αὐτῆς περιτιθέασιν
611	Idaeam vocitant matrem...	Mother of Mount Ida,	■ [πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Ἰδὴν ἐπωνόμασαν]
611	...Phrygiasque catervas	Phrygian attendants	Φρυγία δ' ἰδίως εἴρηται διὰ τὸ θρησκεύεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς Φρυξίν ἐξόχως,
612	dant comites, quia primum ex illis finibus edunt	Corn first appeared in Phrygia	
613	per terrarum orbis fruges coepisse creari.		
614	Gallos attribuunt, quia, numen qui violarint	Galli, eunuchs	παρ' οἷς καὶ ἡ τῶν γάλλων ἐπεπόλασε
...	...	...	
618	tympana tenta tonant palmis et cymbala circum / concava, raucisonoque minantur cornua cantu,	drums, cymbals, horns	ταύτην παρεισήγαγον τυμπάνοις καὶ κυμβάλοις καὶ κεραυλίαις
...	...	...	
626	aere atque argento sternunt iter omne viarum	copper, silver	
627	largifica stipe ditantes ninguntque rosarum	roses	
...	...	...	
633	Dictaeos referunt Curetas, qui Iovis illum	Curetes	
634	vagitum in Creta quondam occultasse feruntur,	Crete, infant Zeus	
...	...	...	
638	ne Saturnus eum malis mandaret adeptus		Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὁ Κρόνος λέγεται καταπίνειν τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ῥέας αὐτῷ γινόμενα τέκνα

**Table 9: Cornutus and Scholia in Plato. Accretions identified with shading**

	Cornutus	Scholia
1	<p>13.5 και Κλωθώ μὲν ὠνόμασται μία αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ... Λάχεσις δ' ἄλλη ἀπὸ τοῦ ... Ἄτροπος δὲ ἡ τρίτη διὰ τὸ...</p> <p>13.12 αὕτη δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ Ἀδράστεια, ἥτοι παρὰ τὸ ἀνέκφευκτος καὶ ἀναπόδραστος εἶναι ὠνομασμένη</p> <p>13.14 ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἀεὶ δρᾶν τὰ καθ' αὐτήν, ὡσὰν ἀειδράστεια οὔσα,</p> <p>13.15 ἢ τοῦ στερητικοῦ μορίου πλήθος νῦν ἀποδηλοῦντος ὡς ἐν τῇ 'ἄξύλω ὕλη' πολυδράστεια γὰρ ἐστὶ.</p> <p>13.17 Νέμεσις δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς νεμήσεως προσηγόρευται— διαιρεῖ γὰρ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐκάστω—,</p>	<p>R 451a2 τρεῖς Μοῖρας εἶναι θυγατέρας Ἀνάγκης φασίν, Κλωθῶ, Λάχεσιν, Ἄτροπον,</p> <p>R 451a3 ἦν καὶ Ἀδράστειαν καλοῦσιν, ὅτι περ οὐκ ἂν τις αὐτὴν ἀποδράσειεν,</p> <p>R 451a4 ἢ ὅτι ἀειδράστειά τις οἶόν ἐστιν, ὡς ἀεὶ δρῶσα τὰ καθ' αὐτήν,</p> <p>R 451a5 ἢ ὡς πολυδράστεια· πολλὰ γὰρ δρᾷ· τοῦ ἄλφα πλήθους (I. πλήθος) δηλοῦντος ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀξύλου ὕλης.</p> <p>R 451a6 ἡ δὲ αὕτη καὶ Νέμεσις λέγεται ἀπὸ τῆς νεμήσεως, ὡς διαιροῦσα καὶ νέμουσα τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐκάστω.</p>
2	<p>23.22 ἰδρυται δὲ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς</p> <p>καὶ ἐνόδιος λέγεται καὶ ἡγεμόνιος ὡς αὐτῷ δεόντος πρὸς πᾶσαν πράξιν ἡγεμόνι χρῆσθαι.</p>	<p>Smp. 217a τὸ ἀπροσδόκητον κέρδος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς τιθεμένων ἀπαρχῶν, ὅς οἱ ὁδοιπόροι κατεσθίουσιν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἔθος ἰδρῦσθαι τὸν Ἑρμῆν, παρ' ὃ καὶ ἐνόδιος λέγεται.</p> <p>Lg 914b ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν ἐνόδιον καὶ ἡγεμόνιον λέγουσιν, ὡς δεόν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς πράξεις ἡγεμόνι χρῆσθαι. καὶ τοῦτον δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁδῶν διὰ τοῦτο ἀνεστήλουν.</p>
3	<p>46.6 [ἀκύρους δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἐμποίνιμους τοὺς ἀφροδίσιους ὄρκους ἔφασαν εἶναι, ...]</p>	<p>Smp. 183b2 παροιμία Ἀφροδίσιος ὄρκος οὐκ ἐμποίνιμος, ἐπὶ τῶν δι' ἔρωτα</p>
4	<p>59.19 καθὸ δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ 'οἶνος καὶ ἀλήθεια' εἰρήσθαι</p>	<p>Smp. 217e1 παροιμία οἶνος καὶ ἀλήθεια, ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν μέθῃ τὴν ἀλήθειαν λεγόντων. ἔστι δὲ ἄσματος Ἀλκαίου ἀρχὴ οἶνος, ᾧ φίλε παῖ, καὶ ἀλήθεια.</p>
5	<p>75.13 [ἐντεῦθεν ὑπονοητέον καὶ τοὺς ἀλίβαντας μεμυθεῦσθαι ἐν Ἄιδου εἰσὶ διὰ τὴν τῆς λιβάδος ἀμεθεξίαν τῶν νεκρῶν].</p>	<p>R 387c2 ἀλίβαντας δὲ τόπους ἐν Ἄιδου εἶναι μυθεύονται, διὰ τὴν τῆς λιβάδος ἀμεθεξίαν τῶν νεκρῶν.</p>



**Table 10: Cornutus and Seneca: Graces.** Accretions in Cornutus are indicated with ■.

Seneca <i>ben.</i> (in sequential order) (=Chrysippus ffr. 1082,1083)		Cornutus (re-ordered)	
1.3.1.	Some would have it appear that there is one for bestowing a benefit, another for receiving it, and a third for returning it;	19.22.	Another explanation for three was that one Grace is that of the man who renders beneficial service; another that of the person receiving the service; and the third is that of the person who, when the opportunity arises, performs a service in return.
	others would hold that there are three classes of benefactors - those who earn benefits, those who return them, those who receive and return them at the same time.	19.17.	Some people say there are two of them, some three. Two, because it is necessary for someone to initiate generosity, and another to respond; three, because it is good that the one that has to respond is in a position to give freely,
1.3.4.	... what profit is there in such knowledge?		
	Why do the sisters dance hand in hand in a ring? For the reason that a benefit passing in its course from hand to hand returns nevertheless to the giver; the beauty of the whole is destroyed if the course is anywhere broken, and it has most beauty if it is continuous and maintains an uninterrupted succession.	19.21.	so that the process may continue without interruption; their circular dance signifies something like this.
	In the dance, nevertheless, an older sister has special honour, as do those who earn benefits.		
1.3.5.	Their faces are cheerful, as are ordinarily the faces of those who bestow or receive benefits.	■ 20.5.	[Because it is necessary that good deeds be done cheerfully, and because the Graces make those performing good deeds cheerful, ]
	They are young because the memory of benefits ought not to grow old.		
	They are maidens because benefits are pure and undefiled and holy in the eyes of all;		
	and it is fitting that there should be nothing to bind or restrict them, and so the maidens wear flowing robes, and these, too, are transparent because benefits desire to be seen.	19.9.	Their being portrayed as naked has another significance: that even those who have no possessions are able to provide some beneficial service, [i.e. to be very generous,] and it is not necessary to have an abundance in order to be a benefactor ... Some think that their nakedness represents the necessity of being easy and unencumbered when being generous.
		■ 20.7.	[first of all the Graces share the same name, derived from 'joy']
1.3.6.	There may be someone who follows the Greeks so slavishly as to say that considerations of this sort are necessary; but surely no one will believe also the names which Hesiod assigned to the Graces having any bearing on the subject. He called the eldest Aglaia, the next youngest Euphrosyne, the third Thalia. Each one twists the significance of these names to suit himself, and tries to make them fit some theory although Hesiod simply bestowed on the maidens the name that suited his fancy.	■ 20.9.	[In addition, they all have their own names: Radiance (Agalia), Flowering (Thaleia) and Merriment (Euphrosyne). For this reason, some claimed that Well-Flowering (Euanthe) was their mother, some said it was Brightness (Aigle). ]

Seneca <i>ben.</i> (in sequential order) (=Chrysippus ffr. 1082,1083)		Cornutus (re-ordered)	
1.3.7.	And so Homer changed the name of one of them, calling her Pasithea, ... I could find another poet in whose writings they are girdled and appear in robes of thick texture or of Phrygian wool.		
	And the reason that Mercury stands with them is, not that argument or eloquence commends benefits, but simply that the painter chose to picture them so.	20.15.	According to tradition, Hermes is their master, signifying that favours must be bestowed prudently, not at random but on those who deserve it. For a person who has been shown ingratitude becomes more reluctant to show kindness.
1.3.8.	Chrysippus ...fills the whole of his book with these puerilities, insomuch that he has very little to say about the duty itself of giving, receiving, and returning a benefit; and his fictions are not grafted upon his teachings, but his teachings upon his fictions.		
1.3.9.	For, not to mention what Hecaton copies from him, Chrysippus says that the Graces are daughters of Jupiter and Eurynome,	18.14.	As already stated, the Graces happen to be beneficent to us, and most writers have represented them as daughters of Zeus.
	also that, while they are younger than the Hours, they are somewhat more beautiful, and therefore have been assigned as companions to Venus.	20.8.	[they are said not only to be beautiful in form, but also to bestow beauty and persuasiveness.]
	In his opinion, too, the name of their mother has some significance, for he says that she was called Eurynome because the distribution of benefits is the mark of an extensive fortune; just as if a mother usually received her name after her daughters, or as if the names that poets bestow were genuine.	19.3.	Others say they were born to Eurynome, indicating that those who have inherited large fortunes are somehow more generous, or ought to be.
1.3.10.	As a nomenclator lets audacity supply the place of memory, and every time he is unable to call anyone by his true name, he invents one, so poets do not think that it is of any importance to speak the truth, but, either forced by necessity or beguiled by beauty, they impose upon each person the name that works neatly into the verse. Nor is it counted against them if they introduce a new name into the list; for the next poet orders the maidens to take the name he devises. And to prove to you that this is so, observe that Thalis, with whom we are especially concerned, appears in Hesiod as Charis, in Homer as a Muse.	19.1.	Some say that they were born to Eurydome because the desire to give gifts is especially characteristic of wide, that is expansive, houses. Some say they were born to Eurymedouse, this name pointing in the same direction, for men are masters of what is their own. But others identify Hera as their mother, so that they may be the highest-born of the Gods, as they are in respect of their deeds.
		...(20.12)	... [Homer claimed that one of the Graces lived with Hephaistos, because the works of the artisans are a source of delight.]



Appendix 3: Summary of instances of ἀλληγορία in C-1.

<p>~ 100 BC: Demetrius Rhet. <i>de eleucutione</i> 100f. (12 instances)</p>	<p>νῦν δὲ ὡσπερ συγκαλύμματι τοῦ λόγου τῇ ἀλληγορία κέχρηται· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ὑπονοούμενον φοβερώτερον, καὶ ἄλλος εἰκάζει ἄλλο τι· ὁ δὲ σαφὲς καὶ φανερόν, καταφρονεῖσθαι εἰκός, ὡσπερ τοὺς ἀποδεδυμένους. Διὸ καὶ τὰ μυστήρια ἐν ἀλληγορίαις λέγεται πρὸς ἐκπληξιν καὶ φρίκην, ὡσπερ· ἐν σκότῳ καὶ νυκτὶ. ἔοικεν δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀλληγορία τῷ σκότῳ καὶ τῇ νυκτὶ. Φυλάττεσθαι μέντοι κάπλι ταύτης τὸ συνεχές, ὡς μὴ αἰνιγμα ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν γένηται ...</p>	<p>... what is implied always strikes more terror, since its meaning is open to different interpretations, whereas what is clear and plain is apt to be despised, like naked men. This is why the mysteries are revealed in allegories, to inspire the shuddering and awe associated with darkness and night. A succession of allegories is to be avoided, in case it becomes a riddle ...</p>
<p>~ 100 BC: Demetrius Rhet. <i>epist.</i> 15</p>	<p>Ἄλληγορικός, ὅταν πρὸς ὃν γράφομεν αὐτὸν βουλώμεθα μόνον εἰδέναι καὶ δι' ἑτέρου πράγματος &lt;ἕτερον&gt; σημαίνωμεν.</p>	<p>one of 21 rhetorical tropes</p>
<p>~ 90 BC: Tryphon I (191.12)<sup>1</sup></p>	<p>τρόποι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ γενικωτάτην ἐμφαίνοντες στάσιν τέσσαρες καὶ δέκα... ἀλληγορία, αἰνιγμα,...</p>	<p>one of 14 rhetorical tropes</p>
<p>~ 70 - 30 BC: Cicero <i>Orator</i> 94</p>	<p>iam cum fluxerunt continuas plures translationes, alia plane fit oratio; itaque genus hoc Graeci appellant ἀλληγορίαν.</p>	<p>a continuous stream of metaphors</p>
<p>~ 70 - 30 BC: Philodemus <i>Rhetoric</i> i.181.18(col. 22-3)</p>	<p>Ἴδωμεν δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν ἀλληγορι- (ῶν.. (col. 23)..Διαίρῳνται [δ'] αὐτῆ[ν] εἰς εἶδη τρι' α&lt;ι&gt;νιγμα, παροιμίαν, εἰρωνείαν, παραλείποντες μὲν...</p>	<p>allegory can take three forms: αἰνιγμα, παροιμίαν, εἰρωνείαν ... enigma, proverb, sarcasm...</p>
<p>~ 30 BC: Strabo I.2.7</p>	<p>Ὅμηρος ... ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἐπιστήμην ἀλληγορῶν...</p>	<p>when Homer composes myths.. he does not deal wholly in marvels, but for our instruction uses allegory, or revises myth..</p>
<p>~ 30 BC: D. Hali. 2.20.1.1</p>	<p>Καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ με ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μύθων εἰσὶ τινες ἀνθρώποις χρήσιμοι, οἱ μὲν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἔργα δι' ἀλληγορίας, οἱ δὲ παραμυθίας ἕνεκα συγκείμενοι τῶν ἀνθρωπείων συμφορῶν...</p>	<p>Let no one imagine that I am not aware that some of the Greek myths are useful to mankind, part of them explaining the works of nature by allegories, others being designed as a consolation for human misfortunes ...</p>
<p>~ 1<sup>st</sup> century BC [Longinus] <i>On the sublime</i> 9.7</p>	<p>ἀλλὰ ταῦτα φοβερά μὲν, πλὴν ἄλλως, εἰ μὴ κατ' ἀλληγορίαν λαμβάνοιτο, παντάπασιν ἄθεα καὶ οὐ σφῶζοντα τὸ πρέπον.</p>	<p>Terrible as these passages [of Homer] are, they are utterly irreligious and breach the canons of propriety unless taken allegorically.</p>
<p>(Heraclitus Paradox. <i>De incred.</i> 39)<sup>2</sup></p>	<p>Περὶ τῶν Ἥλιου βοῶν ... εὐρον ἡλληγορημένον ἐν Ἰλιάδι...</p>	

<sup>1</sup> Tryphon provides the first definitions of Ἄλληγορία and Αἰνιγμα, albeit in the context of rhetorical devices: Ἄλληγορία ἐστὶ λόγος ἕτερον μὲν τι κυρίως δηλῶν, ἕτερου δὲ ἔννοιαν καριστάνων καθ' ὁμοίωσιν ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον, οἷον: ἥς τε πλεῖστην μὲν καλάμην χθονὶ χαλκὸς ἔχευεν'

Αἰνιγμὰ ἐστὶ φράσις ἐπιτετηδευμένη κακοσχόλως εἰς ἀσάφειαν ἀποκρύπτουσα τὸ νοούμενον, ἢ ἀδύνατόν τι καὶ ἀμήχανον καριστάνουσα· διαφέρει δὲ ἀλληγορίας, ὅτι ἡ μὲν ἀμαυροῦται ἢ λέξει ἢ διανοίᾳ, τὸ δὲ καθ' ἑκάτερον, οἷον Ἦσσαν ἀλγῆσας παῖδα τὸν ἐκ Θέτιδος ἀνέθρεψε· ἦσσαν γὰρ ὁ χεῖρων, ἀλγῆσας πονήσας· ἐστὶ δὲ ὅτι Χεῖρων ὁ Κένταυρος ἐξέθρεψε τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖα·

<sup>2</sup> The presence of ἀλληγορέω would suggest a late date, rather than an early use.

Appendix 4, Table 1. Text structure: Cornutus

A horizontal line indicates a topic with no logical connection with the previous topic. (Shading merely separates sections)

Lang	Osann	Subject	Sub-topic	connection with previous	
1.1	1	heaven			Introduction, major Olympians
2.4		cosmos		cosmos includes heaven	
2.10		substance		element of cosmos	
2.12		aether		part of cosmos	
2.14		stars		stars part of aether	
2.16		gods		stars were first gods	
3.3	2	Zeus		Zeus rules	
3.15	3	Hera		Wife and Sister of Zeus	
4.1		Kronos		father of Zeus	
4.7	4	Poseidon		son of Kronos	
4.16	5	Hades		brother of Poseidon	
5.9	6	Rhea		mother of H, Z, P.	
6.11			Atargatis	identity	
6.20		Kronos-Rhea	<b>A</b>	birth of Zeus	
7.17	7	Kronos			
8.3		Zeus			ascendancy over K.
8.6	8	[Kronos]		none	
8.10		[Ocean, Tethys]		none	
9.1	9	Zeus		none	Zeus + children
9.20			Dike	offspring of Zeus	
10.4			Graces	offspring of Zeus	
11.3	10		Horae	offspring of Zeus	
12.5	12		Erinnyes	= Zeus as avenger	
12.11	13		Prayers	offspring of Zeus	
12.13			Moirai	= Zeus	
13.3			A, H, K		
13.12			K, L, A		
14.3	14	Muses	Adrasteia	offspring of Zeus	
18.14	15	Graces		offspring of Zeus	
20.15	16	Hermes		master of Graces	
26.7	17	Method		none	Homer
26.16		Interpret. of Homer myth	hanging of Hera	<b>B</b>	
27.2			Theis saes Z. 4		
27.19		Ancient myth		none	Hesiod
28.2		Chaos			
28.18			Earth, Eros, Tartarus	Theogony - first 4 elements After Chaos	
29.3		Eros		arose from Chaos	
29.10		Erebos			
29.12		Earth			
29.10			Night	daughter of Chaos	
30.1		Titans		Sequential to primeval elements	
30.8			Iapetus		
30.11			Koios		
30.14			Krios		
30.17			Hyperion		
30.18			Oceanus		
31.2			Tethys		
31.3			Theia		
31.3			Rhea		
31.4			Phoebe		
31.6			Mnemosyne		
31.7			Themis		
31.8			Kronos		
31.12		Method		criticism of Hesiod	

31.19	18	Prometheus		none	Pronoi + Children of Zeus
32.21		Epimetheus		younger brother of P.	
33.8	19	Athena and Hephaistos		Prometheus inventor of skills but also attributed to A. and H.	
33.12		Hephaistos			
34.6			Aphrodite	wife	
35.6	20	Athena			first men on Earth
39.15				descendants were made fellow-citizens by A. 'Guardian of the City' warfare, like Athena	
40.5	21	Ares / Enyo			water fertility
41.18	22	Poseidon		none	
44.22	24	Aphrodite		origin in sea	
47.1	25	Eros		same nature as Aphrodite, some: her son	
48.9	26	Atlas		Eros = universe = Atlas	
49.4	27	Pan	<b>D</b>	Pan is the cosmos	
50.15		Priapus		same	
51.11		Good Daimon		the cosmos, laden with fruits	
52.4	28	Demeter and Hestia,		fertility	
52.6		Hestia			
52.9		Demeter			
52.14		Hestia			
53.18		Demeter			
54.12			Hades	steals daughter of D.	
54.15			Osiris and Isis	same story	
54.21			Adonis		
55.13			Green D.		
57.6	29	Horae	Eunomia	D. 'ordinance-giver' from land distribution agreements, as Zeus & Themis begat Seasons	
57.8			Dike		
57.10			Eirene		
57.16	30	Dionysus		also seemed to be Eirene	
62.23	31	Herakles		none	
65.1	32	Apollo, Artemis		none	
65.4			Hekatos, Hekate		
65.18		Artemis			
65.20		Apollo			
70.2	33		Asclepius	son of Apollo, healing	
71.5	34	Artemis			
72.7		Hekate		= Artemis = Moon	
73.7		Eileithyia		= moon	
74.5	35	Hades		none	
75.19		Conclusion			

**E**

**Appendix 4, Table 2. Text structure: Hesiod *Theog.***

A horizontal line indicates a topic with no logical connection with the previous topic.  
The shaded area is possibly not genuine *Theogony* (see West (1969) 401-405).

	Subject	Sub-topic	connection with previous
1	invocation to Muse		
36	Zeus		father
53	Mnemosyne Muses	Earth and heaven  Apollo	ancestors of Zeus and Olympians consort of Zeus daughters of M. and Z.
116	Chaos		invocation: start from the beginning
	Erebus Night Aether Day Heaven Hills Pontus Titans	Earth, Eros, Tartarus	offspring of Chaos offspring of Chaos union Night - Erebus
133			offspring of Earth
134		Oceanus Koios Krios Hyperion Iapetus	offspring of Earth offspring of Earth offspring of Earth union Earth - Heaven
135		Theia Rhea Themis Mnemosyne	
136		Phoebe Tethys Kronos	
137			
139	Cyclopes etc.		union Earth - Heaven
154			Succession myth (1)
195	Aphrodite		castration of Heaven
211	offspring: Night		none
		Moros Ker Death Sleep Dreams Blame Woe Hesperides Moirae Klotho Lachesis Atropos Nemesis Deceit Friendship Old Age Strife etc	

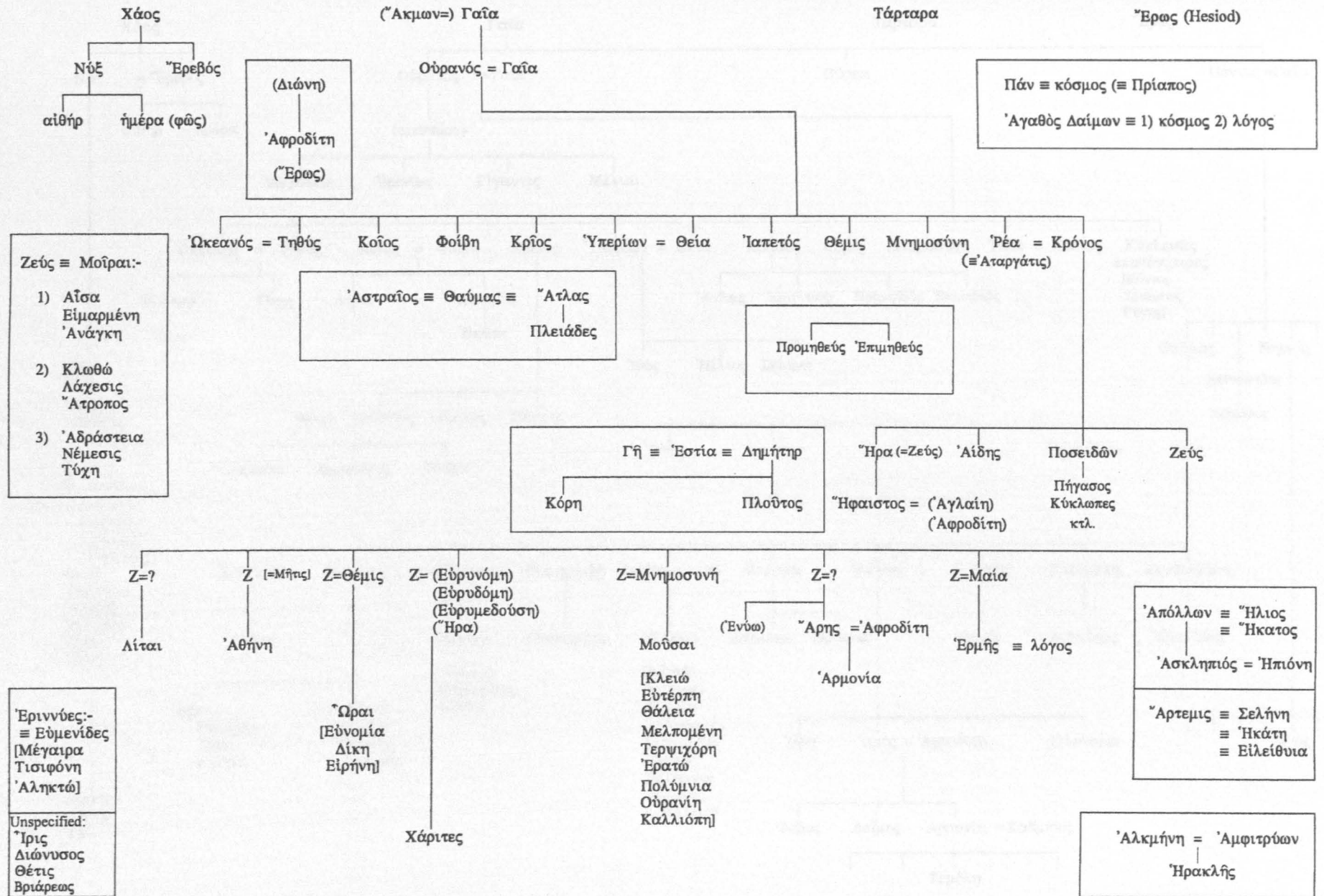
233	offspring: Pontus		none
337	offspring: Tethys - Ocean		none
371	offspring: Theia - Hyperion		none
404	offspring: Phoebe - Koios		none
411		Hekate	
453	offspring: Rhea - Kronos		none
		Hestia Demeter Hera Hades Poseidon Zeus	
459			Succession myth (2): Deceit of Kronos Birth of Zeus
507	offspring: Iapetus - Klymene		none
		Atlas Menoetius Prometheus Epimetheus	
617			Succession myth (3): Titanomachy Tartarus and inhabitants
732			Typhoeus; accession of Zeus
820			
886	Supremacy of Zeus		none
	offspring:		daughter of Z. - Metis
		Athena Horae Eunomia Dike Eirene Moirae Klotho Lachesis Atropos Graces Persephone Muses Apollo Artemis Hebe Ares Eileithuia Hephaistos Athena Hermes	son of Hera (not Zeus)
		minor descendants	
950		Herakles	

Appendix 5: Identities or definitions of deities given by Cornutus (Accretions)

	Lang	
Adonis	54.20	fruits of Demeter
Aether	2.12	the uppermost part of the world
Agathos Daimon	51.11	= 1) The Cosmos, or 2) Reason which governs the Cosmos
Akmon	2.6	(some say) father of Heaven
Aphrodite	45.3	force which brings male and female together
Apollo	65.1	= Sun = Hekatos
Artemis		= Moon = Hekate
Ares	40.19	God concerned with warfare, but more disordered than Athena.
Asclepius	70.2	said to be son of Apollo, one who seems to have taught men medicine
Atargatis	6.11	= Rhea
Athena	33.8	intelligence and readiness of wit
	35.6	intelligence of Zeus and identical to his providence (Pronoia)
	39.5	intelligence itself, and the sum total of all virtues
Atlas	48.9	whole Cosmos = Astraios = Thaumias producing those things which come into being in accordance with the rational principles
Atlas pillars	48.12	The forces of the elements by which some things tend to move upwards, and others downwards. Heaven and Earth are held apart by these forces.
Chaos	28.7	1) the moist element which came into being before the organization of the universe
	28.9	2) or it may be fire
Demeter	52.4	= Earth
Dionysus	57.21	= Peace (in some respect)
Eileithyia	73.7	= Moon
Enyo	40.15	implants strength in people who fight
Epimetheus	32.21	Afterthought
Erebos	29.3	The principle which causes one thing to be covered and surrounded by something else
Eros	28.18	The impulse for procreation
	47.1	Some people even think that the whole of the universe is Love
Hades	4.17	the air densest and nearest to earth
	74.5	the air which receives souls
Heaven	1.1	the upper boundary of everything
	29.10	entire rarefied substance around earth
Hephaistos	33.12	fire in use and mixed with air (cf. Zeus, transparent and pure fire)
Hera	3.15	= Air
Herakles	62.23	= universal <i>logos</i> in aspect of making it strong
Hermes	20.18	= Reason
Hestia	52.6	= Earth
Hyperion	30.17	that by which some things rise above others
Iapetos	30.8	rational process by which creatures capable of producing sounds are created
Koios	30.11	in respect of which entities have qualities
Krios	30.14	that by which some things lead and rule over affairs, while others are ruled over.
Kronos	7.21	the order at the beginning of the universe
	31.8	principle of all completed tasks, being the cleverest of the children
Mnemosyne	31.6	the faculty of recollecting things that have happened
Okeanos	18.10	[the original source of life] (see Sec. 1.7.2.1.)
	8.13]	[the <i>logos</i> , which swims swiftly and changes things sequentially]
	30.18	that by which some things are accomplished in haste
Pan	49.4	= Cosmos
Kore	52.18	= <i>surfeit</i> (see Sec. 1.7.2.2. for Persephone)
Phoebe	31.4	that because of which some things are pure and bright
Poseidon	4.10	the causing force of water within and around the earth
	41.18	the orderly force to do with water
Priapos	50.15	(= Cosmos), that by which all things enter into light
Prometheus	31.12	foresight of the universal soul (Pronoia)
Rhea	5.9	embodiment of flux
	6.3	founder of the universe
	31.3	state of flux
Seasons	57.6	protectors of all good things
Substance (οὐσία)	2.10	a fiery nature
Tethys	8.14]	[the permanence of qualities] (Sec. 1.7.2.1.)
	31.2	that by which a situation stays unchanged for a long time
Theia	31.3	source of light
Themis	31.7	that of making a mutual compact and keeping it
Titans	30.1	undefined (see Section 1.7.2.4.)
Zeus	3.3	The soul of the world
	3.16	= Fire
	7.6	Ruler the world
	7.10	Controlling faculty of universe at birth
	8.3	The nature of the world
	9.14	Overseer of the whole of the universe
	11.21	The power which <i>pervades</i> all (or <i>controls</i> all, see commentary, 11.21)
	12.11	=Fate
	27.77	Orderly arrangement of universe
	33.12	The aether, the transparent and pure fire



Appendix 6: Genealogical table according to Cornutus. (= indicates sexual union; ≡ indicates identity)





Appendix 8: Comparison of etymologies Plato *Cratylus* - Cornutus: **correspondence**

Entity	Plato		Cornutus
Ζεύς (Δία)	<sup>396</sup> δι' ὄν ζήν	3.5	δι' αὐτὸν γίνεται καὶ σώζεται πάντα τάχα ἀπὸ τοῦ δεύειν
Κρόνος	κόρον, καθαρὸν ... ἀκήρατον τοῦ νοῦ	4.1	χρόνου διάκρισιν κραίνειν
οὐρανός	ὀρώσα τὰ ἄνω	1.1	ὀράσθαι + ἄνω
			οὔρος + ἄνω ᾠρεῖν
θεός	<sup>397</sup> τοῦ θεῖν	2.16	ἀπὸ τῆς θεύσεως τάχα ..θετήρες
δαίμων	<sup>398</sup> δαήμονες	51.11	διαμερίζει
ἦρωσ	παρὰ τὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος ἔρωτῶν		
ἄνθρωπος	<sup>399</sup> ἀναθρώων ἄ ὄπωπε		
ψυχή	φύσιν ὀχει καὶ ἔχει φυσέχην		
σῶμα	<sup>400</sup> σήμα		
Ἑστία	<sup>401</sup> οὐσία ἔσσια ὠσία		διὰ τὸ ἐστάναι
Ῥέα	ῤευμάτων <i>Flux</i> (cf. Heraclitus)	3.18	Flow of material giving Fire (Zeus), Air (Hera)
Τηθύς	<sup>402</sup> διαττώμενον καὶ τὸ ἠθοῦμενον		
Ποσειδῶν	<sup>403</sup> ποσίδεσμον πολλά εἰδότης	4.11	
	ὁ σείων		πεδοσεῖων ἀπὸ τῆς πόσεως ἰδίει ἢ φύσις
Πλούτων	'wealth from the earth'	5.7	'nothing which ... ultimately... does not become his property'
Ἄιδης	<sup>404</sup> εἰδέναι	74.5	ἀνδάνων ἡμῖν
	NOT from αἰδῆς	5.2	ἀόρατος
Δημήτηρ	διδούσα ὡς μήτηρ		γῆν μητέρα οὔσαν [Δηῶ μητέρα] <b>Accretion</b>
Ἥρα	ἔρατή τὸν ἀέρα	3.16	ὁ ἀήρ
Φερέπαφα	φέρω, ἐπαφάω : ἐπαφήν τοῦ φερομένου	55.4	[φέρω + πόνοσ] <b>Accretion</b>
Ἀπόλλων	<sup>405</sup> ἀπολ(ο)ύω <i>release, cleanse</i> (healer) ἀπλοῦν <i>simplicity</i> (soothsayer) ἀει βάλλω <i>ever hurling</i> (archer) α - πόλον <i>accompanying</i> (musician) (ἀπόλλυμι <i>destructive - explicit denial</i> )	65.20	ἀπολύω <i>releases from disease</i> (healer) ἀπελαύνω <i>drives away disease</i> (healer) ἀπόλλυμι <i>destroys by evap. water (=sun)</i> ἀπλόω <i>simplifies, = dissolves (=sun)</i>

Entity	Plato		Cornutus
Μούσαι	<sup>406</sup> από τοῦ μῶσθαι	14.8	ἀπό τῆς μῶσεως
Λητώ	κατὰ τὸ ἐβελήμονα εἶναι Λητώ καὶ λείων		
Ἄρτεμις	τὸ ἀρτεμιές φαίνεται τὸν ἄροτον μισησάσης ἀρετῆς Ἴστορα τὴν θεόν	65.18	ἀπό τοῦ ἀρτεμεις ποιεῖν
Διόνυσος	ὁ διδοῦς τὸν οἶνον Διδοίνυσος ἐν παιδιᾷ καλούμενος	57.21	διαίειν <i>to moisten, weep</i> διάλυσος <i>releaser</i> Δία + νύσσωα (διόνυξος) <i>to prick Zeus</i> Δία + Νύσα <i>Nysa mountain</i>
Ἄφροδίτη	διὰ τὴν <ἐκ> τοῦ ἀφροῦ γένεσιν	45.3	τάχα διὰ τὸ ἀφρώδη τὰ σπέρματα τῶν ζώων ἄφρονας (ὡς Εὐριπίδης)
Παλλάς	πάλλειν ( <i>to brandish a weapon</i> )		πάλλειν ( <i>to be agile, as youth</i> )
Ἄθηνᾶ	<sup>407</sup> ἄ θεονόα (θεοῦ νόησιν) Θεονόην (τὰ θεῖα νοούσης) ἐν τῷ ἦθει νόησιν ὡς οὔσαν τὴν θεὸν ταύτην Ἥθονόην	36.1	ἄθρειν πάντα θήλειαν οὔσαν αἰθεροναία [θένεσθαι .. τὴν ἀρετὴν·] <i>Accretion</i>
Ἥφαιστος	φάεος Ἴστορα <i>knowing about light</i>	33.15	ἀπό τοῦ ἦφθαι
Ἄρης	κατὰ τὸ ἄρρεν ἄρρατον	40.20	ἀρή, <i>bane, ruin</i> αἰρέω, <i>to seize, destroy</i> ἀρμόζω, ἄρσαι <i>to fit well</i>
Ἑρμῆς	<sup>408</sup> ἐρμηνέα εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἄγγελον εἶρειν ἐμησατο (Εἰρέμης)	20.21	ἐρεῖν μήσασθαι ἀπό τοῦ ἐρυμα ἡμῶν <i>our defence</i>
[Ἴρις]	εἶρειν		
Πᾶν αἰπόλος	ἀεὶ πολῶν	49.4	τὸ πᾶν
ἄστρα	ἀστραπή ὅτι τὰ ὄπα ἀναστρέφει	2.14	ἄστατα
Ὠραι	<sup>410</sup> ὀρίζειν <i>to separate, divide</i>	57.7	ὠρεῦειν <i>to guard, protect</i>
αἰθήρ	ἀεὶ θεῖ	2.10	ἀεὶ θεῖ ἀπό τοῦ αἰθεσθαι



## Appendix 9: Summary of some grammatical constructions.

## 1. Etymologies (with and without accretions)

Signal	Example	Tally	
		with	without
	<b>Accretions:</b>		
ἀπό	ἀπό τοῦ ὁρᾶσθαι ἄνω (2.3)	85	74
'transparent'	ἡ Ἥρα, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὁ ἀήρ (3.15)	47	38
διά	*Ἀτροπος δὲ ἡ τρίτη διὰ τὸ ἀτρέπτως ἔχειν (13.9)	31	28
participle	Εἰλείθουα, ἀπαύστως εἰλουμένη καὶ θέουσα (73.7)	27	22
ὡσάν / ὡσανεὶ	δ' Ἀρυτῶνη μὲν ὡσανεὶ οὐ τρυομένη (37.9)	5	4
παρά	*Ἀδράστεια, παρὰ τὸ ἀνέκφευκτος ... ὠνομασμένη (13.12)	5	3
ὡς + participle	*Ἀπόλλωνα ὡς ἀπολύονθ' ἡμᾶς (65.20)	4	3
ἐπεὶ / ἐπειδή	τάχα δὲ ἐπεὶ καὶ χόρους ἴστασαν οἱ παλαιοὶ (16.13)	3	3
οἶον / οἶονεὶ	καὶ τὰ ἄστρα γὰρ οἶονεὶ ἄστατα (2.14)	3	3
κατά	κατὰ τὴν παραδειχθησομένην αὐτοῦ ἰδιότητα (4.14)	3	3
ἐκ	κατ' ἀντίφρασιν ἐκ τῆς χαρᾶς ὠνομάσθη (74.19)	1	1
others, various	*Ἦκεανὸς δέ, καθ' ὃν ἀνύεται ἐν τάχει (30.18)	22	18
	<b>Total</b>	<b>236</b>	<b>200</b>

## 2. Technical grammatical terms in etymologies (included in various categories in table 1)

expression	Lang ref.	Tally
κατ' ἀντίφρασιν	5.4; 69.17; 74.19	3
κατ' εὐφημισμὸν	40.18; 65.18	2
κατ' ἐναντίωσιν	41.1	1
κατ' ἔλλειψιν	45.20	1
κατὰ μίμησιν	53.8 (cf. 47.21, 48.1)	1
	<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>

## 3. Causal Clauses (All causal clauses, including some explanatory etymologies, with accretions)

Construction	Tally
διά + articular infinitive	70
διά + accusative noun or pronoun	58
ἐπεὶ / ἐπειδή	47
γάρ	37
participle only	32
τῷ + infinitive	25
ὡς + participle	15
ὅτι	10
ἀπό τοῦ + articular infinitive	2
διά (τὴν) + articular infinitive	2
τούτου δὲ ἔνεκεν	2
παρὰ τό + articular infinitive	2
κατά + articular infinitive	1
ἐκ τούτου	1
ἐπί + dative	1
ἕμα δέ + infinitive	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>306</b>

(Note the 272 instances of *because* in the English translation, including 43 in accretions)

Appendix 10, Table 1: Summary of concepts, with and without logical explanation.

Lang	Name / Concept / Icon.	Lang	Name / Concept / Icon.	Lang	Name / Concept / Icon.	Lang	Name / Concept / Icon.
1 1	heaven	10 18	olive	21 11	Argeiphontes	31 12	Method
2 4	cosmos	10 20	Avenger of blood	21 15	Carrier of Golden Wand	31 19	Prometheus providence
2 6	Akmon	11 3	Erinyes	21 18	Herald of Gods Messenger	32 8	stole fire
2 10	substance	11 5	Megaira	22 3	sandals wind-footed breeze-footed	32 11	fennel stalk
2 12	aether	11 7	Tisiphone	22 7	Conductor of Souls staff	32 15	eagle eats liver
2 14	stars	11 8	Alekto	22 15	sender of dreams	32 21	Epimetheus
2 16	gods	11 9	Revered Benevolent	22 18	serpents	33 2	Women are stupid
3 1	founders	11 12	snaky-curved	23 6	Maia	33 6	skills
3 3	Zeus	12 2	Gentle	23 16	Hermes	33 8	Athena
3 8	Dia	12 4	Patron of Suppliants	23 22	Wayside Guiding	33 12	Hephaistos
3 10	Deus	12 5	Prayers lame wrinkled squinting	24 11	stones	33 12	born from Z. and H.
3 13	soul	12 11	Fate	25 2	God of Market Place God of Profit God of Barter	33 18	lame
3 15	Hera	12 14	Doom	25 9	lyre	34 3	hurled from heaven
3 16	Rhea	12 17	Destiny	25 11	Guileful	34 6	Aphrodite
4 1	Kronos	13 1	Necessity	25 18	God of Law pasture	34 12	adultery Harmony
4 3	elements	13 3	Fates	25 22	wrestling grounds	34 20	midwife
4 7	Poseidon	13 5	Klotho	26 7	Myth	35 6	Athena pronoia
4 14	earth-shaker	13 8	Lachesis	27 11	Thetis Briareos	35 9	born from the head of Zeus
4 16	Hades	13 9	Atropos	28 2	Chaos Earth Tartarus Love	35 19	Metis Counsellor
5 7	Pluto	13 12	Adrasteia	28 10	world cycle	36 7	virginity
5 9	Rhea	13 17	Nemesis	28 18	Eros	36 10	full armour
5 15	Ida	13 18	Fortune	29 3	Erebos	36 13	manly spirit grim-eyed
5 19	lions	13 20	Opis	29 10	Heaven	36 20	aegis
6 3	turreted crown	14 3	Muses	29 12	Night	37 1	Gorgon
6 7	poppy-head	15 19	Kleio	29 16	mountains deep	37 5	Snakes and owls
6 11	Atargatis pigeons and fish	16 2	Euterpe	30 1	Titans	37 9	Atrytone
6 14	The Phrygian	16 3	Thaleia	30 2	variations in entities	37 11	Tritogeneia
6 20	Swallowing	16 6	Melpomene	30 3	Growth Decay Repose Awakening Motion Immobility Supremacy Defiled Silence Propiestic many others	37 17	people-rouser
7 17	Kronos Tartarus	16 10	Terpsichore	30 8	Iapetos	37 19	Defender of the City Patroness of the City Patron of the City
8 3	Zeus	16 15	Erato	30 11	Koios	38 2	Pallas
8 6	[Kronos]	16 20	Polhymnia	30 14	Krios	38 5	Temples
8 10	[Ocean]	17 4	Ourania	30 17	Hyperion	38 10	Protectress Driver of spoil
8 13	[Ocean]	17 6	Kalliope	30 18	Ocean	38 12	Victory
8 14	[Tethys]	17 13	Apollo	31 2	Tythus	38 14	cattle in herds
9 1	Zeus	17 20	Mnemosyne	31 3	Theia	38 16	flute wool-spinning
9 4	cloud-gatherer thunderer	18 9	palm leaves Phoenicians	31 4	Rhea	38 20	olive
9 10	aegis-bearer rainy fruit-producing descender lightning-striker	18 14	Graces	31 6	Pheobe	39 3	martial
9 14	Saviour Defender Guardian of city Ancestral Of the same race Patron of guests Founder Counsellor Trophy-holding Deliverer	19 1	Eurydome	31 7	Themis	39 6	Horse-Rider Horse-Tamer Spear-Thrower trophies olive-wood Victory
9 20	Justice	19 3	Eurynome	31 8	Kronos	39 12	Giant-Killer
10 4	Seasons	19 6	Eurymedouse			39 15	first men on Earth
10 10	sceptre missile	19 8	Hera			39 18	Guardian of the City
10 15	Victory	19 9	naked			40 5	Ares / Enyo
10 16	eagle	19 17	circular dance			40 15	Enyo
		20 15	Hermes			41 5	Harmony
		20 18	Reason				
		20 23	guide				
		21 2	tongues				
		21 4	Luck-bringer				
		21 6	Stalwart				
		21 8	Guileless				

Lang	Name / Concept / Icon.	Lang	Name / Concept / Icon.	Lang	Name / Concept / Icon.	Lang	Name / Concept / Icon.
41 6	Blood-stained Man's-bane God of the loud war-cry Loud-shouting sacrifice dogs	48 17	Pleiades	59 2	Bromios Bacchos Iacchos Euios Babaktes Iobacchos	68 8	swan
41 15	vulture	48 19	Astaios Thaumas	59 6	Satyrs	68 11	laurel
41 18	Poseidon	49 4	Pan	59 8	Skirtoi	69 1	tripod Pasturer Wolf-like Wolf-killer
41 21	phytalios	49 9	lecherous	59 9	Silenoi	69 9	Agauieus
42 1	Land-Shaker Earth-Shaker Land-Mover Shaker of Earth earthquakes	49 11	remote	59 12	woman-like	69 14	Guardian of the meetings in the lounging-places
42 8	Rumbler resounding loud-wailing loud-roaring bulls	49 14	nymphs skittishness	59 15	flowery clothing	69 17	Paeon
42 11	Wearer of the deep-blue chiton	49 18	fawn-skin	59 21	tambourines	70 2	Asclepius
42 16	rivers sculptured with horns	50 1	pipes	60 1	thyrsos	70 7	snake
42 21	Earth-Holder Foundation-Holder Poseidon the Securer	50 4	pine wreath panic	60 4	frenzied Mαινades	70 12	staff
43 2	trident	50 11	patron of young animals	60 9	represented both as young and old	70 17	Chiron
43 8	Triton Amphitrite	50 15	Priapus	60 12	Satyrs & Nymphs	71 2	Epione
43 14	Broad-Chested	50 18	size of genitalia	60 16	leopards	71 5	Artemis light-bearing Dictynna
43 18	wide-ruling of far-reaching power Hippios patron of horses	50 22	guardian of gardens grapes	60 20	sacrifice male goats	71 11	huntress with dogs beast-killer deer-killer mountain wanderer
44 3	Leader of the Nymphs Guardian of the Springs	51 6	sickle	61 4	cane	71 19	dogs sacred to her
44 7	nymphs	51 11	Good Daimon	61 9	Bacchai	72 13	trioditis
44 9	Pegasos	51 15	defender of household goods	61 11	Dithyrambos	72 15	nightly night-wandering chthonic
44 11	Cyclops Laistrygonians Aloeidai	51 17	Amaltheia's horn	61 16	destructive	73 5	red mullet Wayside Roadside
44 16	Nereus	52 4	Demeter	61 19	thriambos	73 7	Eileithyia
44 17	The Old Man of the Sea	52 6	Hestia	61 22	maggie	73 9	gentle girdle-looser Eleutho
44 19	Leukothea	52 14	virgin Kore	62 2	ivy garland	73 12	Many Eileithyiai
44 22	Aphrodite (origin in sea)	53 1	eternal fire	62 7	Theatrical performances	73 18	Artemis virgin
45 2	Dione	53 2	life-giving	62 10	tom apart by the Titans	74 5	Hades
45 3	Aphrodite	53 5	round shape chthon	62 16	Lycurgos' plot	74 9	Renowned
45 12	Graces Persuasion Hermes	53 12	first and last sacrifices	62 23	Herakles	74 10	prudent
45 15	Kytheria	53 16	White garlands	63 12	lion's skin	74 14	all-receiving very hospitable wide-ruling
45 19	Cyprus	53 18	seeds	63 19	club	74 16	gate-closer
45 20	Paphos	53 20	Triptolemus	64 3	Hebe	74 18	Charon
46 2	girdle	54 1	handling of barley	64 8	Omphale	74 21	Acheron
46 2	Heaven-Dweller Belonging to all the people Of the sea	54 8	Eleusis: barley discovered	64 15	twelve labours	74 23	Kokytos Pyriphlegethon
46 6	lovers-oaths	54 9	Eleusinian	65 1	Apollo Artemis sun moon Hekatos Hekate	75 3	The birdless lake
46 9	dove	54 12	Hades carried off daughter of Demeter	65 8	sudden deaths	75 8	maidenhair fern
46 13	pig myrtle Lime tree	54 15	Adonis, Osiris, Isis	65 18	Artemis	75 15	narcissus
46 17	boxwood	54 21	wild boar	65 20	Apollo		
47 1	Eros	55 4	Persephone	65 21	healer		
47 16	the hunt	55 7	first fruits	66 9	brother and sister		
47 19	Yearning	55 13	Green Demeter Wealth	66 12	Apollo male Artemis female		
48 1	Passion	56 6	Pregnant sows	66 15	Apollo is youth		
48 5	whole universe is Love	56 8	poppy	66 18	Phoebus golden-haired unshorn youth Delian Light-bringing Apollo Anaphaios		
48 9	Atlas tall pillars	56 13	originator of laws and rules	67 7	Pythian		
		56 19	Ordinance-giver	67 11	navel of the Earth		
		56 22	Mysteries Mysian	67 17	musician		
		57 6	Seasons	68 3	Leader of the Muses overseer		
		57 8	Eunomia				
		57 10	Dike				
		57 11	Eirene				
		57 13	War				
		57 16	Dionysus Eirene				
		58 4	Mt. Nysion				
		58 6	born through fire				

Total number of  
entities, epithets  
and iconography ca. 456  
with rational  
explanation

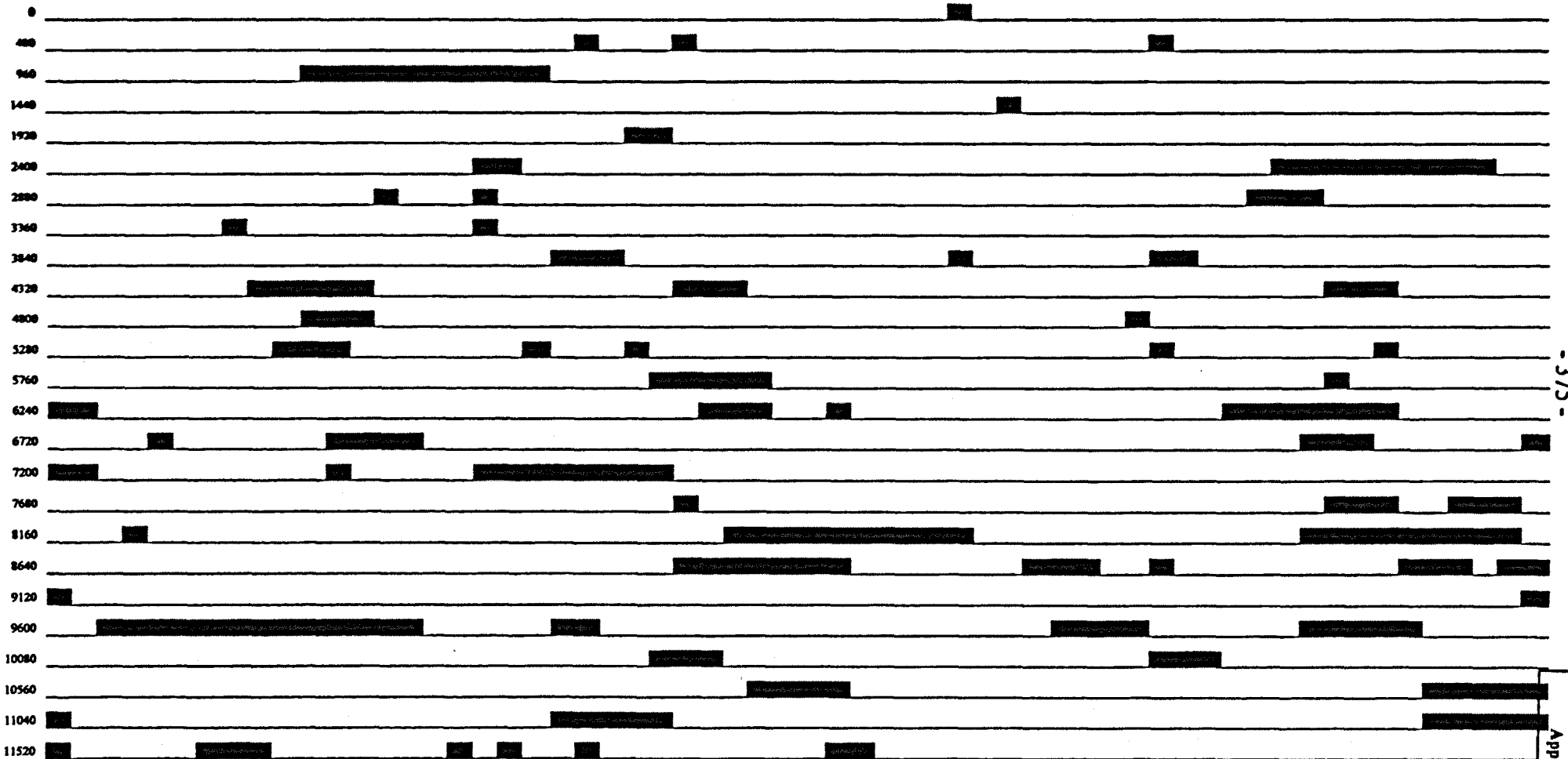
Total with no  
rational  
explanation 18

## Appendix 10, Table 2: Text elements

Breaking the text down into 1134 elements (as given by Lang, with accretions) and sorting according to type, we arrive at the following summary. Within each of the two divisions of information given and explanation, the categories are not meant to be rigorous, there inevitably being some overlap. Ultimately, the important point is that there are *ca.* 474 elements of information, and *ca.* 649 elements of rational explanation for them, with virtually no text which is outside these two divisions. The removal of accretions does not significantly affect this overall picture. As shown in Table 1 above, of the 474 elements, only 18 have no logical explanation.

	Section (see appendix 4)					Total
	A	B	C	D	E	
<b>1. Elements of information given (with examples)</b>						
Definitions (Ὁ Ζεὺς δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Μοῖρα)	34	0	17	43	0	94
Statements (καὶ γὰρ αἱ ἡμέτεροι ψυχὰι πῦρ εἰσιν)	8	1	4	13	3	29
Myth (κλέψαι φασὶν αὐτὸν τὸ πῦρ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις)	5	1	2	22	0	30
Iconography (τῷ κίττῳ δὲ στέφεται)	28	0	0	54	0	82
Religious practices (τὸν δὲ τράγον αὐτῷ θύουσι)	9	0	0	35	0	44
Attributes of god (ἐν Ἄιδου δὲ οἰκεῖν λέγονται)	14	0	1	34	0	49
Epithets (λέγεται δ' Ἀτρυτώνη)	44	0	1	101	0	146
Total number of elements of information provided:	142	2	25	302	3	474
<b>2. Elements of explanation provided (with examples)</b>						
Etymologies (καλοῦνται Μοῦσαι ἀπὸ τῆς μῶσεως)	86	3	13	134	0	236
Genealogies (τὸ δὲ Ἑρεβος ἐκ τοῦ Χάους ἐγένετο)	19	0	6	22	0	47
Explanations (διὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς μουσικῆς)	79	0	7	166	0	252
Added explanations (ἀπὸ γὰρ πεπληγμένος ἡ φωνή)	25	0	7	49	0	81
Proofs (ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρων)	1	1	0	0	0	2
Interpretations (e.g. 35.10 etc.)	4	2	1	24	0	31
Total number of elements of rational explanation:	214	6	34	395	0	649
Transition text (νῦν δὲ παραμυθητέον τοῦτο)	0	0	1	6	0	7
Defective (καὶ αὐτοῦ δέοντος)	1	0	0	3	0	4
Total number of elements:						1134

Appendix 11: Positions of accretions. The text is represented as a line of length 12036 words, accretive material is indicated with █.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Algra, K. (1999) (ed.), *Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy* (Cambridge).
- Arnim, von J. (1905-1924), *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta* (Leipzig).
- Atherton, C. (1993), *The Stoics on Ambiguity* (Cambridge).
- Ayres, L. (1995) (ed.), *The Passionate Intellect* (New Brunswick).
- Barney, R. (2001), *Names and Nature in Plato's Cratylus* (London).
- Barwick, K. (1957), 'Probleme der Stoischen Sprachlehre und Rhetorik', *Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, vol.49.3. (Berlin).
- Basham, A.L. (1975) (ed.), *A Cultural History of India* (Oxford).
- Baxter, T.M.S. (1992), *The Cratylus* (Leiden).
- Blank, D. (1998), *Sextus Empiricus: Translation and commentary* (Oxford).
- Blank, D. and Atherton, C. (2003), 'The Stoic Contribution to Traditional Grammar' in Inwood, B., 310-327.
- Bonner, S.F. (1977), *Education in Ancient Rome* (London).
- Boys-Stones, G. (2001), *Post-Hellenistic Philosophy* (Oxford).
- Boys-Stones, G. (2003a) (ed.), *Metaphor, Allegory, and the Classical Tradition* (Oxford).
- Boys-Stones, G. (2003b), 'The Stoics' Two Types of Allegory' in Boys-Stones, G. (2003a), 189-216.
- Brennan, T. (2003), 'Stoic Moral Psychology' in Inwood, B., 257-294.
- Budge, E.A. (1972), *From Fetish to God* (Aarhus).
- Buffière, F. (1962), *Héraclite, Allégories d'Homère* (Paris).
- Burkert, W. (1987), *Greek Religion* (Oxford).
- Carcopino, J. (1946), *Daily Life in Ancient Rome* (London).
- Carpenter, T. (1997), *Dionysian Imagery in Fifth-Century Athens* (Oxford).
- Chantraine, P. (1977), *Dictionnaire Etymologique de la Langue Grecque* (Louvain).
- Chilton, C. (1971), *Diogenes of Oenoanda, The Fragments* (Oxford).
- Clark, D. (1957), *Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education* (New York).
- Clarke, K. (1999), *Between Geography and History* (Oxford).
- Clarke, M. (1999), *Flesh and Spirit in the Songs of Homer* (Oxford).

- Clarke, M.L. (1971), *Higher education in the ancient world* (London).
- Collard, C. (1975), *Euripides Supplices Vol II Commentary* (Groningen).
- Cook, A.B. (1914), *Zeus* (Cambridge).
- Culver, R. and Ianna, P. (1984), *The Gemini Syndrome* (New York).
- Dahlmann, H. (1932), *Varro und die Hellenistische Sprachtheorie* (Berlin).
- Dawson, D. (1992), *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision in Ancient Alexandria* (Berkeley).
- de Lacy, P. (1948), 'Stoic views of Poetry', *AJP* 69: 241-274.
- Derbolav, J. (1972), *Platons Sprachphilosophie im Kratylos und in den Späteren Schriften* (Darmstadt).
- Edelstein L. and Kidd, I.G. (1989), *Posidonius Vol. 1, The Fragments* (Cambridge).
- Edelstein, L. (1967), *The Idea of Progress in Classical Antiquity* (Baltimore).
- Erskine, A. (2003) (ed.), *A Companion to the Hellenistic World* (Oxford).
- Everson, S. (1994a) (ed.), *Language* (Cambridge).
- Everson, S. (1994b), 'Epicurus on mind and language' in Everson, S. (1994a), 74-108.
- Fagles, R. (1997), *Homer The Iliad* (New York)
- Flood, G. (1996), *Hinduism, an introduction* (Cambridge).
- Frankfort, H. et al. (1946), *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* (Chicago).
- Frede, D. (2003), 'Stoic Determinism' in Inwood, B., 179-205.
- Frisk, H. (1960), *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg).
- Furley, D. (1999), 'Cosmology' in Algra, K., 412-451.
- Gale, M. (1994), *Myth and Poetry in Lucretius* (Cambridge).
- Gatz, B. (1967), *Weltalter, goldene Zeit und sinnverwandte Vorstellungen* (Hildesheim).
- Gilbert, O. (1907), *Die Meteorologischen Theorien des Griechischen Altertums* (Leipzig).
- Gill, C. (2003), 'The School in the Roman Imperial Period' in Inwood, B., 33-58.
- Goodman, M. (1997), *The Roman World 44BC - AD180* (London).
- Graves, R. (1955), *The Greek Myths* (Harmondsworth).
- Griffin, M. (2001), *Nero. The End of a Dynasty* (London).
- Hahn, D.E. (1977), *The Origins of Stoic Cosmology* (Columbus, Ohio).



- Hankinson, R. (1994), 'Usage and abusage: Galen on language' in Everson, S. (1994a), 166-187.
- Hard, R. (2004), *The Routledge Handbook of Greek Mythology* (London).
- Harvey, R. (1981), 'A Commentary on Persius', *Mnemosyne* Suppl. 64 (Leiden).
- Hays, R. (1983), *Lucius Annaeus Cornutus' Epidrome*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Texas, Austin.
- Heath, M. (1987), *The Poetics of Greek Tragedy* (London).
- Heath, M. (2002), *Interpreting Classical Texts* (London)
- Henrichs, A. (1974), 'Die kritik der Stoischen Theologie in PHerc. 1428', *Cronache Ercolanesi* 4: 12-26.
- Hillgruber, M. (1989), 'Dion Chrysostomos 36 (53), 4-5 und die Homerauslegung Zenons', *Mus. Helv.* 46 (1989), 15-24.
- Hornblower, S. and Spawforth, A. (2003), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford).
- Hurwit, J. (1999), *The Athenian Acropolis* (Cambridge).
- Ierodiakonou, K. (1999), *Topics in Stoic Philosophy* (Oxford).
- Innes, D. (2003), 'Metaphor, Simile, and Allegory as Ornaments of Style' in Boys-Stones, G. (2003a), 7-27.
- Inwood, B. (2003) (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Stoics* (Cambridge).
- Irwin, T. (2003), 'Stoic Naturalism and Its Critics' in Inwood, B., 345-364.
- Jahn, O. (1843), *Auli Persii Flacii satirarum liber cum scholiis antiquis* (Leipzig).
- Janka, M. and Schäfer C. (2002) (eds.), *Platon als Mythologe* (Darmstadt).
- Jones, A. (2003), 'The Stoics and the Astronomical Sciences' in Inwood, B., 328-344.
- Kearns, E. (1989), *The Heroes of Attica* (London).
- Kidd, I.G. (1988), *Posidonius Vol. 2, The Commentary* (Cambridge).
- Kidd, I.G. (1999), *Posidonius Vol. 3, The translation of the fragments* (Cambridge).
- Kirk, G. (1970), *Myth* (Cambridge).
- Kirk, G. (1990), *The Nature of Greek Myths* (Harmondsworth).
- Kirk, G., Raven, J. and Schofield, M. (1983), *The Presocratic Philosophers* (Cambridge).
- Kirwan, C. (1994), 'Augustine on the nature of Speech' in Everson, S. (1994a), 188-211.
- Kneale, W. and Kneale, M. (1984), *The Development of Logic* (Oxford).

- Krafft, P. (1975), *Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung von Cornutus' Theologia Graeca* (Heidelberg).
- Laks, A. and Most, G. (1997), *Studies on the Derveni Papyrus* (Oxford).
- Lamberton, R. (1983), *Porphyry: On the Cave of the Nymphs* (New York).
- Lamberton, R. (1986), *Homer the Theologian* (Berkeley).
- Lamberton, R. and Keaney, J. (1992), *Homer's Ancient Readers* (Princeton).
- Lattimore, R. (1961), *The Iliad of Homer* (Chicago).
- Lausberg, H. (1998), *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric* (Leiden).
- Levin, S.B. (2001), *The Ancient Quarrel Between Philosophy and Poetry Revisited* (Oxford).
- Lloyd, A.B. (1997) (ed.), *What is a God?* (London).
- Lloyd, A.C. (1971), 'Grammar and Metaphysics in the Stoa' in Long, A. (1971a), 58-74.
- Long, A. (1971a) (ed.), *Problems in Stoicism* (London).
- Long, A. (1971b), 'Language and thought in Stoicism' in Long, A. (1971a), 75-113.
- Long, A. (1974), *Hellenistic Philosophy* (London).
- Long, A. (1992), 'Stoic Readings of Homer' in Lamberton, R. and Keaney, J., 41-66.
- Long, A. (2003), 'Stoicism in the Philosophical Tradition' in Inwood, B., 365-392.
- Long, A. and Sedley, D. (1987), *The Hellenistic Philosophers* (Cambridge).
- Lovejoy, A. and Boas, G. (1965), *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* (New York).
- Lynch, J. (1992), *The Medieval Church* (London).
- Majno, G. (1975), *The Healing Hand* (Cambridge, Mass.).
- Maltby, R. (1991), *A Lexicon of Ancient Latin Etymologies* (Leeds).
- Mansfeld, J. (1999), 'Theology' in Algra, K., 452-478.
- Mikalson, J.D. (1991), *Honor Thy Gods* (Chapel Hill).
- Mohr, R. (1985), *The Platonic Cosmology* (Leiden).
- Monro, D. (2000), *Homeric Grammar* (London).
- Morgan, T. (1998), *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge).
- Most, G. (1987), 'Alcman's "Cosmogonic" Fragment', *CQ* 37: 1-19.
- Most, G. (1989), 'Cornutus and Stoic Allegoresis: A Preliminary Report', *ANRW* ii. 36.3: 2014-65.

- Most, G. (2002), 'Platons exoterische Mythen' in Janka, M. and Schäfer C., 7-19.
- Nilsson, M.P. (1967), *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (Munich).
- Nock, A.D. (1931), 'Kornutus', *R.E. Suppl. V*: 995-1006.
- Obbink, D. (2003), 'Allegory and Exegesis in the Derveni Papyrus' in Boys-Stones, G. (2003a), 177-188.
- O'Hara, J. (1996), *True Names* (Michigan).
- Parker, R. (1996), *Athenian Religion* (Oxford).
- Pease, A.S. (1958), *Cicero De Natura Deorum Commentary* (Cambridge, Mass.).
- Peraki-Kyriakidou, H. (2002), 'Aspects of Ancient Etymologizing', *CQ* 52: 478-493.
- Pfaffel, W. (1981), *Quartus gradus etymologiae: Untersuchung zur Etymologie in Varros 'De lingua Latina'* (Königstein).
- Pfeiffer, R. (1968), *History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford).
- Pomeroy, S. (1975), *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves* (New York).
- Potter, D. (2003), 'Hellenistic Religion' in Erskine, A., 407-430.
- Powell, B. (2002), *Writing and the Origins of Greek Literature* (Cambridge).
- Price, S. and Kearns, E. (2003) (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of classical myth and religion* (Oxford).
- Radt, W. (1999), *Pergamon* (Darmstadt).
- Ramelli, I. (2003), *Anneo Cornuto Compendio di Teologia Greca* (Milan).
- Rhodes, P. (1993), *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford).
- Richardson, N. (1980), 'Literary criticism in the exegetical scholia to the *Iliad*', *CQ* 30: 265-287.
- Richardson, N. (1992), 'Aristotle's Reading of Homer' in Lamberton, R. and Keaney, J., 21-40.
- Rieu, E. (1982), *Homer, The Iliad* (Harmondsworth)
- Rihll, T. (1999), *Greek Science* (Oxford).
- Rist, J.M. (1969), *Stoic Philosophy* (Cambridge).
- Robinson, D.B. (1995), 'Kronos in Plato's *Cratylus*' in Ayres, L., 57-82.
- Rollinson, P. (1981), *Classical Theories of Allegory and Christian Culture* (Pittsburgh).
- Rudich, V. (1997), *Dissidence and Literature under Nero* (London).
- Russel, D. (1981), *Criticism in Antiquity* (London).

- Sandbach, F. (1971), 'Ennoia and Prolepsis in the Stoic Theory of Knowledge' in Long, A. (1971a), 22-37.
- Sandbach, F. (1975), *The Stoics* (London).
- Sandys, J. (1903), *A History of Classical Scholarship* (Cambridge).
- Schenkeveld, D. (1976), 'Strabo on Homer', *Mnemosyne* 29: 52-64.
- Schmekel, A. (1892), *Philosophie der mittleren Stoa* (Berlin).
- Schmidt, B. (1912), *Cornuti Theologia Graecae Compendio* (Halle).
- Schofield, M. (2003), 'Stoic Ethics' in Inwood, B., 233-256.
- Scullard, H. (2003), *From the Gracchi to Nero* (London).
- Sedley, D. (1998), 'The Etymologies in Plato's *Cratylus*', *JHS* 118: 140-154.
- Sedley, D. (1999), 'Hellenistic physics and metaphysics' in Algra, K., 355-411.
- Sedley, D. (2004), *Plato's Cratylus* (Cambridge).
- Shelton, J. (1988), *As The Romans Did* (Oxford).
- Smyth, H. (1984), *Greek Grammar* (Cambridge, Mass.).
- Spivey, N. (1997), *Greek Art* (London).
- Stambaugh, J. (1988), *The Ancient Roman City* (Baltimore).
- Steinmetz, P. (1986), 'Allegorische Deutung und allegorische Dichtung in der alten Stoa', *Rh. Mus.* 129 (1986): 18-30.
- Sullivan, J. (2002), *An Historical Commentary on Lykourgos Against Leokrates*, unpublished PhD thesis, Leeds University.
- Sullivan, J.P. (1985), *Literature and Politics in the Age of Nero* (New York).
- Tate, J. (1928), 'Horace and the Moral Function of Poetry', *CQ* 22: 65-68.
- Tate, J. (1929), 'Cornutus and the Poets', *CQ* 23: 41-45.
- Tate, J. (1930), 'Plato and Allegorical Interpretation', *CQ* 24: 1-10.
- Tate, J. (1935), 'On the History of Allegorism', *CQ* 28: 105-114.
- Tate, J. (1953), 'Antisthenes was not an Allegorist', *Eranos* 51: 14-22.
- Thomas, I. (1998), *Greek Mathematics* (Cambridge, Mass.).
- Thompson, C. (1973), *Stoic Allegory of Homer*, unpublished PhD thesis, Yale University.
- Tsitsibakou-Vasalos, E. (1997), 'Gradations of science. Modern Etymology versus ancient', *Glotta* 74 (1997-99): 117-132.

van der Horst, P. (1984), *Chaeremon: Egyptian Priest and Stoic Philosopher* (Leiden).

Vernant, J-P. (1992), *Mortals and Immortals* (Princeton).

Webster, T.B.L. (1958), *From Mycenae to Homer* (London).

Wehrli, F. (1928), *Zur Geschichte der allegorischen Deutung Homers im Altertum* (Leipzig).

West, M.L. (1966), *Hesiod, Theogony* (Oxford).

West, M.L. (1978), *Hesiod, Works and Days* (Oxford).

White, M. (2003), 'Stoic Natural Philosophy' in Inwood, B., 124-152.

Whitman, J. (1987), *Allegory. The Dynamics of Ancient and Medieval Technique* (Oxford).