

H E R O N D A S

The Dates of the Poet's Life, his Works, his Locale
Together with Some Observations on Textual Criticism

By

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As we have no direct information even about the poet's true name, we are lacking the relevant evidence for establishing the dates spanning his life. This lack obliges us to turn to his works to see whether, at least indirectly, we can determine the period of his life and the dates of his compositions. In fact there are some indications given unsuspectingly by the writer himself, which can suggest a solution to the problem quite satisfactorily. To be precise:

- 1) In the first Mime (1.30) we read: θεῶν ἀδελφῶν τέλεινος, ὁ βασιλεὺς χρηστὸς. the words θεῶν ἀδελφῶν

convey clearly ptolemy II (Philadelphos) and Arsinoe his sister and consort at the same time, both of whom were worshipped after her death, deified as ἀδελφοί

θεοί "brother and sister gone". If so the Mime must have been written after 270 B.C., the year of her death⁽¹⁾. In addition the phrase ὁ βασιλεὺς χρηστὸς refers to ptolemy II, celebrated also by other poets of Alexandrian literature, above all by Tehocritos (see particularly Idyll 17 "Encomion to ptolemy"). On the other hand the Mime again must almost certainly have been written before ptolemy II's death, which occurred

(1) See G.H. Macurdy. Hell.

in 247 B.C., that is to say between 270 and 247 B.C. Some scholars however have maintained that the "good king" was Ptolemy Benefactor and that the date of the Mime's composition should be placed between 247 and 222 B.C.

- 2) In the fourth Mime (1.23) a series of statues in the sanctuary of Asclepius are attributed by the poet to Praxiteles' sons, Kefisodotos and Timarchos. These sculptors flourished at the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. They had already started their careers in 325 B.C., as it was then that they made the statue of the rhetor Lycourgos who died in 323 B.C. The reference to them makes one think that they were alive, when the Mime was written. It would not be an untenable hypothesis that the statues which are described in the Mime had been made before 270 B.C.
- 3) Also in the fourth Mime (11.73 ff.) there is a reference to Apelles, with the poet's intention of defending the famous painter against certain anonymous sycophants. The whole subject-matter allows us to think that Apelles was still alive, or, at least, that not many years had passed from his death, as people kept the sly denigration of the artist still fresh in their memories. If we consider the year 356 B.C. rough that of Apelles' birth and it could not be much later that according to Nairn's

argument (P.XIV) - the conclusion is that the Mime could well have been written just before 270 B.C.

4) Herondas in the composition of Mimes I and 4 undoubtedly imitated the famous Idyll 15 of Theocritus describing the visit of two Syracusan women to the feast of Adonis. The scene of the Idyll is set in about 272 B.C. and the date of its composition cannot be much later than that (A.S.F. Gow, Theocritus II, P.265). It follows then that Herondas' Mimes I and 4 were written probably about 270 B.C.

5) Finally an examination of the sculptured objects referred to in the fourth Mime permits us to determine the date of their production. The matter has been investigated by W. Gurlitt who concluded that the Mime was written most probably in the decade of 270 to 260 B.C. (1)

On the basis of the above evidence we can conclude that Herondas flourished in the period of 270 to 260 B.C., which means that he was born around 300 B.C. The view that Herondas lived in the years of Ptolemy Benefactor's reign is rather weak; he might still have been alive, but too old to be active in literary production. In any case he would be contemporary with or somewhat later than Theocritus and Gallimachos.

(1) See Arch. epigr. Mitt. Oest. 15 (1892), PP. 169-179.

THE HOME OF HERONDAS

Herondas was essentially an Alexandrian. But we do not know his home country, nor have we satisfactory sources to establish details of his identity. The information we possess is given indirectly by his own compositions.

First of all we are impressed and obliged to put in the centre of our research the undoubted fact that Kos is the setting of the second Mime. From l. 95 f. Battaros, the main character eulogizes Kos for her glorious past.

In the fourth Mime there is a description of the sanctuary of Asclepius; and Kos was the most important centre of the god's cult. The description is so faithful that it betrays the poet's familiarity with the place. A.D. Knox, (1) however, in his article "Herodes and Callimachos" states that "of Kos ('Herondas) had hardly a tourist's knowledge. He does not even seem to have known its calendar, nor the streets of its city, thus denying a close connection between the poet and Kos, and concludes that "(Herondas) seems at some time to have lived in a small Attic country house. Knox's argument is not firmly supported. We should take into consideration the fact that a poet not interested to insist obstinately on the details of calendars or the topography of a place in his verses; or, even if such a thing is needed,

(1) See *Philologus* 81 (1926), P. 247.

he purposely avoids mentioning his immediate environment as of course, he has other aims.

But, let us turn to the women visitors to the temple. The works described by them have been recognized for the most part by archaeologists, though there are some inconsistencies which can be explained. E.g. Herondas omits to mention by name the famous picture by Apelles of "Aphrodite Rising". Let us examine, however, some details: From l. 39 f. kynno asks her companion to come closer, as she would like to show her "something beautiful which the latter has not seen in her life. "In the meantime Kynno's reprimand against her girl-slave prolongs the conversation and suddenly the doors of the temple open, obliging the visitors to hasten towards the temple to fulfil their primary purpose. Thus kynno forgets what she has said before, and does not carry out her promise to show her friend "something beautiful....." The contemporary audience of the Mime would certainly know "this beautiful something" as they themselves could easily identify it. It would be reasonable to take Kynno's words as a hint to "Aphrodite Rising".

In the same Mime the poet refers to three places, i.e. Trikke, Kos, and Epidauros, all three being centres of the Asclepian cult. Though Trikke and Epidauros are mentioned quite simply. kos is accompanied by the adjective γλυκῆσαν "sweet", which gives a particular emphasis, underlying the

poet's preference for the island, as this adjective (γλυκός "sweet") fits something beloved, of one's own, and has been used since Homer as an adjective for the mother-land.

On the other hand there is an obvious similarity between the names we encounter in the Mimes and those we find in the inscriptions of Kos, and some analogous is observed in the "sacred names". The similarity is more impressive in the vocabulary referring to the religious life; a fact which makes us think that the poet borrowed such words on purpose from the sphere of religion, wanting probably to satirise in his own fashion.

Finally we see the same function of the derivative endings of the proper names, e.g. Βιαῖος (Herondas) - Ἐρωταῖος (inscriptions), Μητρύχην (Herondas) - Ἰακίχην (inscriptions) etc.

The Doric forms in the language of Herondas show an influence of a dialect foreign to the literary style the poet himself employed. The Doric elements we encounter are: the nominal forms γλάσσα (3,93), μικτός (6,59), the verbal forms ὄρη (4,27), ὄρηις (4,23), λωβῆται (12,3), ἦρα (4,21), the interjection μά (1,85), crasis of α+ε into η and καί+ε into χή. Even those few samples are indicative of an unconscious influence, which only the dialect of an area with which someone has a close relationship could exercise. Kos was a Doric colony, and consequently her dialect was Doric. However,

these words could be simply satirical arrows dressed-up in the characteristics of a "country" language.

Nevertheless because of the spread and prevalence of the Ionic dialect kos could not avoid acquiring some "ionisms" here and there in the inscriptions of the island. Herondas certainly practising a literary style created and developed in the hands of Ionians, and having the Ionic text as model (especially that of Hipponax), used the Ionic dialect. Which was the vehicle for this kind of poetry.

On the other hand there are certain atticisms in Herondas' text, some of which were changed into the corresponding Ionic forms by the corrector of the papyrus. The Attic elements- it is unknown whether these are due to the poet himself or to a later scribe - betray the influence exercised by the Attic tongue on a panhellenic scale during Hellenistic times.

The above data, both "realia" and linguistic constitute strong indications of the special relation between Herondas and the island of kos. If these data were not opposed to other drawn also from Herondas' Mimes the subject would not have difficulties and the conclusions would be rather more certain. Yet, there are references leading in other directions:

In Mime 5 (1.32) the poet uses the word $\zeta\eta\tau\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ according to the Etymologicum Magnum means "the prison of

the slaves, called μύλων by Chians and koans." Further the Lexicon mentions that we can find in Herondas the phrase ἄγε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ζήτειον. We must add here that the Lexicon gives Ἀχαιοῖς "Achaeans", which was corrected to Κώιοις "Koans" by Crusius.

On the other hand Chios is mentioned in Mime 6 (1.58) with reference to kerdon's native country, when the woman asks for the maker of the "baubon". In the same verse Erythrai is also mentioned as kerdon's probable home.

Other places also recorded in the Mimes of Herondas are: Brikindera (2,57), a port in Rhodes, Abdera (2,58) in Thrace, and phaselis (2,59) a city on the coast of Lycia. Still, 1.51 of Mime 3 contains a hint of the island of Delos. Furthermore in Mime 3 (1.45) the coin ἡμισθον is mentioned, which according to Hesychios (s.v.) it was used in kyzicos, a coastal city in propontis on the border of Asia Minor. In the calendar of the same city there was a month named Ταυρεῶν to which Herondas refers in Mime 7,86. There is also a reference to the city Artake (7,87) situated in the same district as kyzicos, and finally Attica seems to be the setting of the 8th Mime (Knox' opinion). Other places which are mentioned en passant are: Corinth (1,52), Pisa (1,53) on the occasion of games, Ephesos (4,72) in relation to the painter Apelles, Samos (2,73) with reference to a notorious incident,

Trikke (4,2) and Epidauros (4,2) as seats of the Asclepian cult, and finally Ake (2,16) and Tyros (2,18) from whence several commodities were exported, destinationed for kos.

These places serve a purpose in the plot of the Mime or add some element to the personality of the characters involved. For this reason they need not refer to Herondas' immediate environment and may be considered simply as geographical incidents in the service of literature. Indeed, some place-names are known because of their defects. They are used in the Mimes skillfully in the service of irony and satire.

We should however exempt from this category the special reference to Egypt ;made by Herondas in the first Mime, ll. 26-35. It is aeulogy of the land and its monarch; it is a description which reminds us of similar expressions by other writers for the same country. The writers in the third century B.C. searched for occasions to praise ptolemaic Egypt, probably for an ulterior motive, that they might gain a favour from a certain ptolemy; probably too in imitation of a certain original piece of literature, and probably finally by the necessity to earn a living.

The conclusion after what has been said, is that kos is the kernel of the works of Herondas, while, in parallel, Egypt plays a determining role in the life of the poet. The mention of Egypt by way of eulogy shows that Herondas had

close ties with the kingdom of the ptolemies. If we remember philitas, who, though born and raised in Kos, had a successful career in Alexandria, we should not be far from the truth to put Herondas into the same pattern; which means that Herondas lived for some time in Alexandria, from whence he acquired a great deal of the influence on his writings.

The first Mime has a title consisting of two nouns:

προκυκλις ἢ μαστροπός . The first is a compound of the preposition κρό and the verb κυκλέω meaning "move round searching" it is used here for the first time (Hapax), and is explained by Hesychios as equal of προμνήστριο "a woman who woos, courts for another, the matchmaker, and in the bad sense "pimp". The Italian word "ruffiana" is known internationally in this sense. Now, the verb προκυκλέω is found in a popular song known as χελιδονίζειν "singing of the s. wallow song", and preserved by Athenaios (VIII 360 B 6) παλάθαν σὺ προκύκλει "You do roll the ;fruit-cake. "The fact that the word προκυκλις was rare justifies the parallel use of the phrase ἢ μαστροπός as a synonym to explain further the first word. It could be considered as superfluous and deleted, as Kaibel has pointed out; yet, we find a similar use not only in Herondas, e.g. in the Mime-6, title: φιλιάζουσαι ἢ ἰδιάζουσαι . but also in Theocritos 26, title. Ἀῆναι ἢ Βάχχαι as well as in Menander, e.g. Σαμία ἢ Κηδεία Ἄρρηφόρος ἢ Αὐλητρὶς etc. (see more examples in the edition

of Menander by F.H. Sandbach, O.C.T. 1972 pp. 339-340, where are listed the titles of Menander's plays).

On the other hand μαστροπός is connected by etymology with the words μαλομαι, μαστήρ, μαστός and signifies "pimp, "a person who panders, with reference to both male and female. Hasychios gives the explanation:

ὁ τὰς γυναῖκας ἢ ἄνδρας προσκαλῶν καὶ μαυλίζων, ἢ προαγωγός,
 "who invites and panders either a woman or a man, the pandere," and in the Etymologicum Magnum (101,30) we read:
μαστροπός ... παρὰ τὸ μαλεσθαι τοὺς τρόπους τῶν πορνεουσῶν γυναικῶν,
 which means ;that"the word μαστροπός derives from μαλεσθαι
 search for women who prostitute themselves" and the Etymo-
logicum Gudianum adds: ὅπως ἐν ὑπομνήματι Σώφρονος Ἀνδρείων
 (scil. μίσμων) which means that Sophron had used that word as well.

In the second line of the Mime I we read the word ἀγοικίης after a correction of the copyist of the papyrus. It is beyond any doubt that the original scribe wrote ἀποικίης and the corrector, perhaps the scribe himself, or a second person acting as a "proff-reader," changed the reading by inserting the letters ΓΡ above the Π of the proto-
 (1)
 type. G. Giangrande in his article "interpretation of Herodas" supported the first hand of the papyrus asserting that Egypt

(1) See G.U.C.G. 15 (1873), PP. 8298.

was an ἀνοικία near the Greek on the mainland, and Melriche is waiting for a letter from her husband in Egypt, not for visiting peasants from an alleged farm. Nevertheless the palaeographical point of view should not escape our attention. It is clear that the letters ΠP written with one movement (P) resemble the Π (P) and conversely, when the Π is written hastily (P) could resemble two letters, i.e. P and P. I think that this could have happened: a copyist seeing the letters ΠP in a monogram took them as Π and wrote ΑΝΟΙΚΗΕ. The corrector of the papyrus rightly changed the false reading into ΑΠΟΙΚΗΕ.

At the end of l. 81 we have the reading ἀπόσι, proposed by Crusius and Edmonds, the latter asserting that he read ἀπόσι after a close study of the papyrus, he undertook in 1923 and 1924. I myself could not read more than.

ἀπόσι in 1979, when I visited the Library of the British Museum and inspected the papyrus (B.M. Pap. 135) for several days. Crusius' reading was accepted by Headlam, while Knox and Cunningham read ἀπόσι rendering the word to Gyllis' speech. For the word ἀπόσι Hesychios gives the explanation (s.v.) ἀπόσι (scil. ἀπόσι according to Crusius) "in a large drinkingcup", and thus the meaning is "give her a large cup to drink." But the subject is not confined to the size of the cup, because the quantity of wine offered by Melriche has been determined: it is three hectemora. One hectemora (or better hectemorion) equals 1/6

of the liquid measure, which in Herondas' times was named κοτύλη and was equivalent to 0,275 litre, i.e. 27 grams.

Κοτύλη was further divided into 6 κῦθοι (or ἔκτημόρια or ἔκτημόριον) and that gives a capacity of 4,5 grams to one κῦθος , or ἑκτῆμοροι or ἑκτῆμορος

So the wine offered to Gyllis was as much as 13 grams roughly, which is very little. On the basis of these calcu-

lations, quite different from those worked out by Nicholson (1)

I think that Crusius' reading ἄδρῶι is the least probable, because no one would pour out such a small drop of wine in a large cup. Nicholson seems to accept that the wine offered to Gyllis would be more, because a further two parts of water would be added to it. But the mixture of water with wine would have been made in the crater before the wine was offered and not in the drinkingcup.

Bucheler read ἄδρῶς translating the sentence "dabibere largiter," and in a similar way Meister renders the sentence into German "gieb ihr reichlich zu trinken.

"The reading has admittedly a parallel in Diphilos 5:

ἄδρότερον πιεῖν "drink more deeply" but this meaning by no means suits the context. We certainly say "drink it up" if the cup is full or when we want to finish drinking, otherwise it would be foolish to ask someone to drink deeply

(1) Academy 1891, P. 287; see also Nairn's Herondas, P. 13.

(largiter, reichlich) a mouthful of wine.

Blass read ἰδρῶν, the meaning of which was misunderstood by Nairn, writing "it seems to mean 'in a bumper,' lit. violently". "obviously Nairn gives the meaning of ἄδρως and not ἰδρῶς which means basically "sweat". The word ἰδρῶς also means exudation of trees, i.e. gum or resin (see LSJ s.v. 1 2). It comes then to my mind that we could have here ἰδρῶ or rather ἰδρῶτα (scil. οἴνον) with reference, for the first time in the Greek literature, of a resinated wine, so popular in Modern Greece. Cf Antiphon 52, 12 Βρομιάδος ἰδρῶτα πηγῆς, of wine.

And now let us note that Headlam once read καλῶς accrediting the word to Gyllis, who answers thus to the phrase δὸς κιεῖν. In other words Gyllis answering καλῶς "fine" agrees with the previous sentence, and it is, if she says "thanks". The reading was forgotten by Headlam himself but Cunningham appropriated it, as this arrangement forms the most satisfactory interpretation every given. (1)

Finally, the ἄδρως context could also be ascertained perfectly by the reading δὸς κιεῖν connected with "given her to drink without fear. "As is known, drinking was forbidden to women, and free women were excluded from symposia, the main occasion for drinking. It is also known

(1) See Academy 1891, P. 538.

that Aristophanes reidicules women who drink. In such a society and under these circumstances Gyllis. Would be afraid of accepting a glass of wine, but Metriche is generous to her: "drink, Gyllis, and do not be afraid of anything"

Let us now come to Mime 2 and examine the lines 5-10. The papyrus at this point is much damaged so that restoration attempted by scholars is uncertain, and admits of more than one interpretation. Line 5 has Lost about 5 letter at the beginning. The letters ΠΕΡΕΞΕΙ just after the gap suggest the reading ὅ]περέξει accepted as almost certain by most scholars. The restoration of the beginning requires much scholarship and imagination. Crusius writes

δίχη ὅ]περέξει in his first edition (1892) which changes into. ἄλλ' εἰ ὅ]περέξει in his fifth edition (1914) influenced in some way by Headlam who restored the passage into..... ἄλλ' εἰ]περ ἔξει. In the first case the verse must be connected with the negative οὐδ in verse 3, i, e....οὐδὲ δίχη ὅπερέξει (=περιγενήσεται) εἰ ... ἔχει, the meaning being "he will not win the case, even if has money at his disposal, if only he ruins battaros". In the second case the meaning of the verse is "but if he can ruin Battaros," and then the next verse comes as apodosis. But the verse then contains more difficulties, because the letters there are much erased and the gap is long. Milne's reading in verse 6 (as well as Knox) πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ

satisfies the sense there also wants much, "but takes more space than that available in the Papyrus. Similarly Edmonds reads ὄσην γε καὶ δ(ε)ῖ: reducing thus the length of the reading and remaining close to the sense which Milne's restoration gives. On the other hand Crusius and more Herzog went far away from the point, suggesting readings which lead in other directions of interpretation: ἢ ἐγὼ αὖθις Crusius (1): similarly κήρω οὖν Crusius (5):

φέρω δὲ πλοῖον Herzog.

Thereafter one can read with certainty the letter:

]ΩΛΥΚΟΝΤΑΡ[..] which have been arranged: τ]ώλυκόν γάρ [ἄν]

knox: ἀκώλυτον γάρ - ὄμειας Crusius: λυκον γάρ ἄξιον

Blass (and similarly Meister) followed by Nairn: πώλυκόν γάρ δεῖ

.....Headlam. Blass' restoration gives the verse the meaning "it is enough to make a wolf cry, "which further means, according to Nairn," to extort a display of feeling from the most unsympathetic. "Crusius's restoration leads to an interpretation freely translated as "no one could prevent me from making you cry. "knox' and Headlam's reading πώλυκόν

(= τὸ ἄλυκόν "salty") should be connected with κλαῦσαι

(or κλαῦσαι optative, if we accept the particle [ἄν])

and thus the sense which comes out is literally "he will cry with bitter tears. " we find a somewhat parallel usage

in Callimachos, fr. 313 ἄλυκόν δέ οἱ χύσει and Theocritus

23,34 ἄλυκον κλαῦσαι, both instances supporting Headlam's

restoration.

The next verse (7) also had difficulties in attempts to arrange it both in words and in sense. The letter which can be read after a gap of about five letters are]IHEOMAE-TOΣHIAΣ[.

This series of letters can be divided to form words in various ways. To be precise: the group of the letters IHE can be the ending of a noun in -λη (e.g. βλής, αἰχλή etc) or the end of one word and the beginning of another (e.g. -ι ἦς ?). Some scholars connect

these letters with the following two (OM) to form the end of a verb: -ιήσομαι e.g. γενήσομαι Crusius: ποιήσομαι

Terzaghi: ἰήσομαι Bell, to which could be added οἰήσομαι

"I could be thought as....", and then the remaining word is ἄστος "citizen",; but there is also the possibility of writing ὁ μαστός, a word which Herodas would play with for its double entendre: ὁ μαστός "Woman's breast," and

ὁ μὴ ἄστος "foreigner".

In Mime 3, verse 34, I have written Ἄγυιεύ. . The papyrus has AYIEY which was read by Kenyon as Aupsē perhaps justly as the shape of I in this particular spot is not sharply discriminated from that of P. J. U. Powell asks: "should we read Ἄ<γ>υιεύ?" In fact Powell discerned the correct reading, but he did not proceed to justify it. If we examine the letter P in this column of the papyrus, we observe that in all cases its vertical line is extended beneath the imaginary horizontal line forming the basis on which the letters sit. This does not occur with the letter read

as P in the word we are looking at. On the basis then of palaeographical criteria we can conclude that the letter is not P but I, or more correctly, a badly shaped I. The corrector of the papyrus added a ρ between A and Y and a little higher (i.e. $A^{\Gamma}YIEY$), which was taken, already by Kenyon as an attempt to correct the first hand (AYPEY according to Kenyon) into $\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\upsilon$,, as there is a clear resemblance between Y and Γ in hand-writing during the second century A.D. In other words the corrector of the papyrus changed the letter Y into Γ . The solution Kenyon succeeded to give in the ed.pr. of Herondas was accepted permanently in all the following editions.

Escaping the usual pattern A.E. Crawley suggested in a note² the reading $\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\upsilon$ "god of vacations" rather than $\alpha\rho\epsilon\nu$ of the ed.pr. obviously taking the papyrus reading as a result of transposition of letters. However he did not pay much attention to the fact that the word is unknown to Greek lexica, and still it attributes to Apollo a qualification entirely foreign to the god, known, on the contrary, as $\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\epsilon\nu\tau\eta\varsigma$, while at the same time Apollo and Athene Ergane were worshiped as $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota$ 'Εργάται¹ and Apollo with Zeus as $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\rho\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\iota$ ($\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$). Rightly then Crawley's suggestion has been abandoned.

(1) See C.R. 22 (1908), P.216.

(2) See Academy 1891, P. 314.

(3) See Paus. VIII 32, 4.

The word ἄγρεός, as an epithet for Apollo (and of other gods as well) is well attested in ancient sources. see e.g. Aeschylus, fr. 200 (A. Sidgwick) ἄγρεός δ' Ἀπόλλων ὀρθὸν εὐθύνοι βέλος "may Apollo, the hunter, direct his arrow straight," and Sophocles O.C. 1091 τὸν τὸν ἄγρευτᾶν Ἀπόλλω "Apollo the hunter; "thus ἄγρεός derives from ἄγρα "hunting." We could however connect the word ἄγρεός with ἄγρος "field" as other determinatives of Apollo suggest; e.g. Ἀπόλλων, ὡς ἄγροικος εἶ pHib. 6, 35 (=C. Austin, CGF 258) "Apollo dwelling in the fields. these reasons probably made A.D. Knox, The Greek Choliambic Poets (LCL), P. 254 complete the papyrus text of Pargent, 307 verso (b) 2, attributed to Phionix, with the phrase Ἀπόλλων Ἀγρεῦ ?? (sic).

To return to the point; a boy of the streets, as Kottalos was, ἀγνιδάικς, ἀλήτης, had reasons to refer to the guardian of the streets where games and carefreeness were the rule and not to the fields or hunting where were toil and work. And in such a guardian way, Apollo Agyieus looked after the streets and highways and protected those who found themselves as way-fares or travellers using the streets in any way. People used to found altars to Apollo Agyieus outside their houses or at crossroads, but more often gathered stones and formed a cairn without the elaboration which a proper altar would need. Similar altars were erected in honour of Hermes and Hecate.

The word ἀγυιεύς derives from the noun ἄγυια (more often in the plural ἄγυιαί) related to ἄγω as a quasi-participial form of this verb (see LSJ, s.v.). The word was not only used as an epithet for Apollo, but also signified the altar itself of the god. See Hesychios, s.v. ἀγυιεύς· ὁ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἐστὼς βωμὸς ἐν σχήματι κίονος, "agyieus is the altar erected in front of the doors in the shape of a column." Similar information is drawn from souda: ὁ ἱεὺς ὁ πρὸ τῶν ἀλείων θυρῶν κωνοειδῆς κίων, ἱερεὺς

'Ἀπόλλωνος, καὶ αὐτὸς θεὸς" agyieus is a conical column in front of the gates, sacred to Apollo, as well as the god himself." It is interesting to note at this point that the custom of erecting altars to gods has survived up to the present day, but they are not devoted to gods but to the local Saints.

We should finally add that both Meister and Crusius (the latter in his fifth edition) accepted Kenyon's reading

Ἀγρευ on the basis of the testimony that the word Ἐναυρος is qualified as a name of Apollo by Hesychios: Ἐναυρος· ὁ Ἀπόλλων. Ἐναύρω· πρῶτ' Κρήτες. The word Ἐναυρος can easily be related to the epithet Ἐώλιος (= Ἐωσφόρος) of Apollo; see Ap.R. Arg. B 686 Ἐώλιου Ἀπόλλωνος. Herzog is probably right in believing that such a formation is a linguistic impossibility, as words in -εύς denote a person dealing with some activity or some profession, and the word Ἀγρευς could not be assigned to this category.

In mime 4, V. 52; we again have some difficulties in fixing the meaning of the verse. This is due to the doubtful reading in the papyrus, which seems, rather probably, καρδιηβαλλου kenyon, to start with the ed.pr., reads καρδιη βαλοι nothing that "an a appears to follow the λ but is cancelled by a dot above it; and the ° appears to have been re-written. When I inspected the papyrus (in 1979) I formed the impression that the letter which follows λ is another λ and not α, above which there is a dot. The ° is cancelled by a faint vertical line, and a small circle resembling a tiny omikron is added above ° °. The last letter is most probably Y. Edmonds read (in 1923-24) καρδιηβαλλει "with a dot over the second λ, and over the E and O perhaps followed by traces of Y or the like; another O correctin βαλ to βολ would be no longer visible." ¹ On the basis of Edmond's observations, Headlam adopted the reading καρδιηβολει which was also accepted by Cunningham stating that the alternative form καρδιο-βολεισθαι (=λυπεισθαι) has been preserved by Hesychios (s.v.).

Paton had already written καρδιηβολου in a note of his which appeared in C.R. 5) (1891), P. 483, and similarly Meister read καρδιηβλει in his edition (1893) on the grounds of Hesychios 'information The scholars referred to above take the reading as one word, a parasyntheron, adopted by LSJ from Herondas.

(1) "Some notes on the Herodas Papyrus, "C.O.19 (1925), P. 133.

On the other hand Kenyon split the reading into two words, καρδίη βάλοι and this division was followed by Crusius, Hicks, Bucheler and others perhaps. Blass first made a sound correction: he read καρδίη βάλῃ¹ on the grounds of Aeschylus' phrase θυμῶι βάλε from Prometheus 706 putting rightly the verbal form in the aorist subjunctive, as we have here a prohibition: μή ... καρδίη βάλῃ, "don't take it to heart", i.e. "seriously."

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(1) See Gott. gel. Anz. 6 (1892), P. 233.