GRAECA.

(Continued.)

**ἄγρα.*

The two meanings of *ἄγρα* [(1) the chase, (2) game, booty taken in hunting] are also meanings of *θήρα*, and similarly *θηρεύειν* is parallel to *ἀγρεύειν* both in form and in meaning. These facts are of more importance for the etymology of *ἄγρα* than the accidental resemblance to *ἀγρεῖν* or to *ἀγείρειν*.

Ἀγρεύειν, like other verbs in *-εύειν*, is a denominative verb based on a noun in *-εύς*, viz. *Ἀγρεύς* (Fraenkel, *Griech. Denominativa*, p. 174). In examining the meaning of this *Ἀγρεύς* (*ἀγρεύς*) we must dismiss *ἀγρεύω* (which did not exist when *ἀγρεύς* was formed) from our minds. As an epithet of Aristaeus (Pind. *Pyth.* IX. 65 *ἄγχιστον ὀπάονα μῆλων Ἀγρέα καὶ Νόμιον, τοῖς δ' Ἀρισταῖον καλεῖν*) and of Apollo, Bacchus, Pan, etc., it may be a derivative of *ἀγρός*, and have meant originally 'god of the fields,' just as *Ἀρτεμις Ἀγρο-τέρα* was at first simply the 'goddess of the fields.' The regular opposition 'field' and 'house' (*ἐν οἴκοις ἢ 'ν ἀγροῖς* Soph. *O.T.* 112), which in some languages caused to go 'into the field' (Lith. *laukan*, Serb. *na polje*) to mean 'to go out (sc. of the house),' is reflected in the parallelism of suffix between *ἀγρ-εύς* and *οἰκ-εύς*, the man of the fields and the man of the house. As besides *οἰκεύς* we find *οἰκέτης* in the same sense, I conjecture that *Ἀπόλλων Ἀγρέτης* (*G.D.I.* 5666) is identical with *Ἀπόλλων Ἀγρεύς*. As we find *δαμέτας* (Carpathos, Buck, § 167) as well as *δημότης*, so the existence of *ἀγρό-της* 'countryman' does not preclude the existence of *ἀγρέ-της* as well.

Ἀγρεύω may originally have meant 'to be an *ἀγρεύς*, a man of the fields.' Subsequently this whole family of words suffered a change of meaning and came to be associated with hunting. Thus *ἀγρότης*, *ἀγροτέρα*, and *Ἀγρεύς*, which are clearly still felt as derivatives of *ἀγρός* in their earliest occurrences, may be observed undergoing this change in historical times.¹ The same is true of another derivative of *ἀγρός*, viz. *ἄγρ-ιος*, which is clearly associated with hunting in Hom. *E* 52: *βάλλειν ἄγρια πάντα τά τε τρέφει οὔρεσιν ὕλη* (cf. German *Wild* = venison). Originating in the phrase *ἄγρια θηρία*, *ἄγρια* became a synonym of *θηρία*, and the way was opened for analogical formations. According to the proportion *ἄγρια : ἀγρεύειν = θηρία : x* the verb *θηρεύειν* was formed. Then *θηρεύειν* came to be regarded as a derivative of *θήρα*, and the proportion *θηρεύειν : θήρα = ἀγρεύειν : x* resulted in the creation of *ἄγρα*.

Θήρ-α was perhaps originally a collective formation of the same type as *φράτρ-α* and meant simply 'animals.' After *θηρᾶσθαι* had been formed from it, the noun came to mean 'animals as the object of hunting' and then 'the hunt' itself.

Τιμωρός.

The older form *τιμᾶορος*, from which *τιμωρός* probably arose by contraction (see Buck, *Greek Diall.* p. 290), is often said to contain *-φορος* 'protector, watcher,' which

¹ On *ἀγρότης* v. E. Fraenkel, *Nomina Agentis* I. compares *Ἀπόλλων ἀγρευτής*, Soph. *O.C.* 1091. p. 57. With *Ἀγρεύς* Fraenkel, *Griech. Denom.* I.c.,

is connected with ἐπίουρος, ὄρονται 'they watch,' etc. But a τιμωρός does much more than 'protect' or 'watch over' the τιμή of another. What he does is forcibly expressed in at least three passages in Homer :

A 159: τιμὴν ἀρνύμενος Μενελάω σοί τε, κυνῶπα,
πρὸς Τρώων.

E 553: τιμὴν Ἀτρεΐδης, Ἀγαμέμνονι καὶ Μενελάω,
ἀρνυμένω.

Π 83 sqq.: πείθεο δ' ὥς τοι ἐγὼ μύθου τέλος ἐν φρεσὶ θείω,
ὥς ἂν μοι τιμὴν μεγάλην καὶ κῶδος ἄρῃαι
πρὸς πάντων Δαναῶν, ἀτὰρ οἱ περικαλλέα κούρην
ἄψ ἀπονάσσωσιν.

A τιμωρός in fact is one who τιμὴν τινι ἀρνύται. The sense of this phrase is correctly given in a scholium (v. Ebeling, *Lex. Hom.* s.v. ἀρνυμαι) on A 159: ἡ τιμὴ νῦν ἀντὶ τῆς τιμωρίας¹ κείται· καὶ τὸ ἀρνύμενος οὐκ ἔστι λαμβάνων ἀλλ' εἰσπραττόμενος παρὰ τῶν Τρώων. In reference to the same situation Herodotus (VII. 169) uses the phrase τὰ Μενελέω τιμωρήματα. As τιμὴν ἀρέσθαι is hardly different from δίκην ἀρέσθαι, it is worth noting that the words πατρὶ τιμωρὸς φόνου (Soph. *Electra* 14) are followed at a short interval by πατρὶ δίκας ἀροίμην τῶν φονευσάντων πάρα (l. 34).

Those who admit that ἀρνυμαι corresponds to Skr. *ṛnomi* (Boisacq, *Dict. Etym.* s.v.; Brugmann, *Grundriss*² II. 3, pp. 127, 326) will allow that a *nomen agentis* -oros from the same root is theoretically possible (ἀρνυμαι: -oros = τάμνω: -τομος). In τιμώρος then, as -oros has not lost any initial consonant, we have a compound with a hiatus between the two elements.

Locrian ἡρέσται.

The Locrian inscription IG. IX. 1. 334 (= Buck, *Grk. Diall.* No. 55) contains the following sentence: τοὺς ἐπιφοίκους ἐν Ναύπακτον τὰν δίκαν πρόδικον ἡρέσται πο(τ) τοὺς δικαστῆρας, ἡρέσται καὶ δόμεν ἐν Ὀπρέντι κατὰ Φέος αὐταμαρόν. What exactly is ἡρέσται? The first editor (I.N. Οἰκονομίδης, cf. Curtius, *Stud.* II. pp. 448 sqq.) showed that δίκαν . . . ἡρέσται καὶ δόμεν must have the same sense as δίκας λαβεῖν καὶ δοῦναι in Hdt. V. 83: Αἰγινῆται Ἐπιδανυρίων ἤκουον τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δίκας διαβαίνοντες ἐς Ἐπιδανρον ἐδίδουσαν τε καὶ ἐλάμβανον παρ' ἀλλήλων οἱ Αἰγινῆται (cf. δίκας δοῦναι καὶ δέξασθαι, Thuc. V. 59). It follows that ἡρέσται has the same meaning (in this phrase at least) as λαβεῖν and δέξασθαι. That meaning must be 'to receive, accept,' and δίκη (δίκαι) must mean 'compensation,' as it does in Hdt. IX. 24: εἰρώτων τίνα δίκην ἂν ἔλοιτο (what compensation he would choose), εἰ ἐθέλοιεν Ἀπολλωνιῇται δίκας ὑποστήναι δώσειν τῶν ἐποίησαν. In that case the compensation took the form of a house and two pieces of land.

There is a temptation to translate δίκαν . . . ἡρέσται πο(τ) τοὺς δικαστῆρας 'to bring a case before the judges.' This would be justifiable as a translation of the whole phrase (cf. 'to bring suit,' Buck), but it does not justify us in setting down ἡρέσται = 'bring,' any more than δοῦναι δίκην 'to submit to trial' justifies us in setting down δοῦναι = 'submit to.' In ἡρέσται δίκαν πρόδικον π.τ.δ. we have a formula in which ἡρέσται is an archaism surviving from the time when ἡρέσται δίκαν meant 'to accept compensation.' For the etymology of ἡρέσται this older period alone deserves consideration.

Οἰκονομίδης suggested that ἡρέσται = ἀρέσθαι. This involves admitting that ἀρέσθαι means 'to accept,' as in fact it does in Hom. α 390: καὶ κεν τοῦτ' ἐθέλοιμι Διός

¹ More exactly, it has the sense of ποιῆς, as also in the phrase τιμὴν ἀπονέμεν. On the question whether τιμή in this sense has a different

origin from τιμή 'honour' see Schulze, *Quaest. Ep.* 356; Wackernagel, *Glotta* 7. 239, note 1.

γε δίδοντας ἀρέσθαι. Similarly ἀρνυμαι means 'I receive' in Soph. *Trach.* 711: ὧν ἐγὼ μεθύστερον . . . τὴν μάθησιν ἀρνυμαι, and Eur. *Alc.* 55: μείζον ἀρνυμαι γέρας. The best parallel of all is Soph. *El.* 34: πατρὶ δίκας ἀροίμην τῶν φονευσάντων πάρα ' . . . (how) I might obtain (= λάβοιμι) compensation (vengeance) for my father from (on) his murderers.' Whatever difference of meaning there may be between δίκας ἀροίμην in this passage (which seems to have been quoted by Οἰκονομίδης) and δίκαν ἡρέσται in the phrase which lies behind the Locrian inscription, it cannot be large enough to justify us in ignoring the parallel.

Against the attempts of Curtius (*l.c.*) and of Solmsen (*KZ.* XXXII. 282) to show that ἡρέσται is a form of ἐλέσθαι (according to Solmsen ἐλέσθαι > ἡερέσθαι [by contamination with αἰρέω] > ἡερέσται by the West-Greek change of ερ to αρ) it is sufficient to emphasize once more the two facts which both of them felt to be awkward: (1) ἐλέσται occurs on a Locrian inscription, (2) ἐλέσθαι δίκην cannot be quoted in the required sense.

When Solmsen (*l.c.*) urged *h* as a reason for separating ἡερέσται from ἀρέσθαι, that was an oversight on his part. It has always been realized (cf. Curtius, *l.c.*, Buck, § 58d) that the Locrians were uncertain in the use of aspirates, as in Ἡοποντίων beside Ὀπόντιοι, ἡάγεν for ἄγειν, etc.

The truth (ἡερέσται = ἀρέσθαι) was admitted without argument by G. Meyer (*Griech. Gramm.*² p. 462), but seems, since Solmsen's article, to have been lost sight of. Not, however, by Hiller von Gärtringen (*Sylloge Inscr. Graec.* ed. 3, No. 47, note 19), as I observe while correcting the proof. He does not argue the matter, and in *SIG*³ 344, note 25, his grasp of the truth is less firm. *Ἀρνυμαι: ἀρέσθαι (ἡερέσται) has nothing to do either with αἶρω¹ or with αἰρέω. Outside of poetry ἀρέσθαι occurs in Hippocr. *de aere* 17 = 59, 23 Ilberg: ἡ δ' ἂν ἄνδρα ἐωντῇ ἀρηται (Wackernagel, *Glotta* 7, 221, note 1), and in *IG* XII. 9. 1273, 1274. iii. 1: ἀρ[έσ]θαι μισθόν.

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¹ In Crönert's revision of Passow the Locrian ἡερέσται is correctly rendered (col. 114, l. 45), but wrongly placed under αἶρω.