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On a Geek Adverb of Place

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that practically both $\delta\varsigma$ and $\tau\iota\varsigma$ retain their classical sense undisturbed.

$\Pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ = *any* (in negative clauses).—One of the most admitted Hebraisms of the NT is that of which Mt 24²² οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθῃ πᾶσα σάρξ is a specimen (WM 214). It may be questioned, however, whether the 'Hebraism' here does not consist in a very slight extension of a vernacular usage under the encouragement of a similar idiom in Hebrew.

In the papyri we have a recurrent formula $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\upsilon$ or $\chi\omega\rho\iota\varsigma$ πάσης ὑπερθέσεως : BU 190 (1/) and OP 278 (1/) with $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\upsilon$, OP 267 (1/) and 269 (1/), with $\chi\omega\rho\iota\varsigma$, are early exx. In BU 267 (2/) *al.* there is the variant $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\upsilon$ τινός ἀμφισβητήσεως. (Cf. also TP 1 (2/B.C) μηδεμιᾶς κρατήσεως μηδὲ κυριείας τινός ἐγγαίου περιγενομένης αὐτῶι.) In LP *w* (2/3) οὐκ ἀντιτάσσεται μοι πᾶν πνεῦμα : but these ἀπό-κρυφα borrow from every tongue.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

ON A GREEK ADVERB OF PLACE.

THERE is a general agreement among scholars that εἰθύ, used as a preposition with the genitive, means *straight to* or *straight towards* some place, thing, or person. In this paper my object is to maintain that, though no doubt that was its original sense, it had lost it in the Attic Greek with which we are familiar. I think I can show that there are various passages in which it is very difficult to interpret it so, and that there is not a single one in which that sense is at all necessary.

After satisfying myself that it did not mean *straight to*, I was inclined for some time to think that it meant *right to*, *all the way to*, *as far as*, differing from μέχρι in that μέχρι is *not further than*, emphasising the limit, while εἰθύ would be *not short of*, emphasising the distance. But after further examination it seems to me probable that it means no more than εἰς and ἐπὶ, *to* and *towards*, that is, that the original meaning of *straight to* was weakened by use into a mere *to*.

In the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* the corresponding word is ἰθύς : for ι there fills the place of $\epsilon\upsilon$ and the Attic rule is unknown, by which the form in ν applies to space and the form in ς to time. It is used frequently as an adverb, with no case following it, ἰθύς βαίνειν, ἰθύς φέρειν, ἰθύς μαχέσασθαι, ἰθύς μεμαώς, ἰθύς φρονεῖν, and in all such uses the sense of *straight, straightforward* is clear. Once, and once only, we have perhaps ἰθύ for ἰθύς : Υ 99 τοῦ γ' ἰθὺ βέλος πέτερ', where τοῦ depends on βέλος and ἰθύ may be either really adverbial or an adjective used semi-adverbially as adjectives often are (ἦκω ταχύς). We also find ἰθύς used freely with a genitive ; α 119 βῆ δ' ἰθύς προθύροιο, ρ 325 βῆ δ' ἰθύς μεγάροιο, E 849 αὐτὰρ ὁ βῆ ρ' ἰθύς Διομήδεος, etc. In

such passages it is natural to suppose that ἰθύς retains the notion of straightness, nor am I at all concerned now to deny it, though it would probably be difficult to show that that sense is ever really needed.

In the *Hymn to Hermes* 342 εἰθὺ Πύλονδ' ἐλάων and 355 εἰς Πύλον εἰθύς ἐλῶντα probably bear the same sense, and in the one Hesiodic passage where the word occurs (*Shield* 97 ἰθύς ἔχειν θοὸν ἄρμα) it clearly means *keep right on, straightforward*. There is however no genitive in these passages.

I see then no reason against supposing that in epic Greek ἰθύς (εἰθύ) with a genitive retained, at any rate sometimes, what no one would deny to have been its original meaning. In Herodotus the case is different. The following are all the passages known to me, but we have no complete concordance to Herodotus and there may be others.

1. 207. 7 τὸντὸ γὰρ ἀντιθίσω ἐκείνῳ, ὅτι νικήσας τοὺς ἀντιουμένους ἐλάς ἰθὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Τομύριος. 4. 120. 2 (ἐβουλεύοντο) τοὺτους μὲν δὴ ὑπάγειν, ἣν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τράπηται ὁ Πέρσης, ἰθὺ Ταναΐδος ποταμοῦ... ὑποφεύγοντας. ἰδ. 4 ὑπάγειν σφέας ἰθὺ τῶν χωρέων τῶν ἀπειπαμένων τὴν σφετέρην συμμαχίην. 4. 136. 2 ἐδίωκον τοὺς Πέρσας ἰθὺ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ. 5. 64. 2 οἱ δὲ περιγενομένοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὡς εἶχον ἰθύς ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίας (Wesseling ἰθὺ ἐπὶ Θ., Herwerden ἰθὺ Θ.).

So in 2. 119. 3, where the MSS. of Herodotus give ἐπὶ Λιβύης, those of [Plutarch] *De Malign. Herod.* 857 B give ἰθὺ ἐπὶ Λιβύης and Herwerden suggests ἰθὺ Λιβύης.

6. 95. 2 The Persians, starting from Ionia for Greece, οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἡπειρον εἶχον τὰς νέας ἰθὺ τοῦ τε Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ τῆς Θρηίκης, ἀλλ' ἐκ Σάμου ὁρμύμενοι παρὰ τε Ἰκάριον καὶ διὰ νήσων τὸν πλόον. ἐποיעύντο.

7. 179 ὁ δὲ ναυτικός Ξέρξῃ στρατός...παρέβαλε νηυσὶ τῇσι ἄριστα πλεούσῃσι δέκα ἰθὺ Σκιάθου.
8. 38. 2 οἱ δὲ περιεόντες ἰθὺ Βουωτῶν ἔφενγον.
Cf. *Il.* 21. 540-542. 9. 69. 2 οἱ μὲν... ἐτράποντο διὰ τῆς ὑπωρέης καὶ τῶν κολωνῶν τὴν φέρονσαν ἄνω ἰθὺ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Δήμητρος.

Of these passages 6. 95. 2 deserves particular notice. Greece was the goal of the voyage. Herodotus might therefore very well have said that the Persians sailed straight for Greece (ἰθὺ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, according to the ordinary view of ἰθὺ) instead of going all the way round the coast by Thrace. Could he say that they did not go *straight* to the Hellespont and Thrace—which were really out of their direct route—but sailed through the islands? Must not ἰθὺ here be simply *to* or *all the way to*?

On the other hand in 4. 136. 2. the point is made that, as the natives knew the way and the Persians did not, the former got to the bridge first. There *might* therefore be some point here in *straight*.

The other passages as far as I can see are consistent with either meaning. There seems no necessity to give ἰθὺ the distincter meaning in any of them, and in 4. 120. 2 it is not much in place, but in one or two, e.g. 1. 207. 7, it may be thought to lend rather more colour and force. Perhaps therefore we may say that, though it need not surprise us if Herodotus' Ionic retained the old epic signification in ἰθὺ more than Attic did in εἰθύ, yet the fact is by no means certain and in 6. 95. 2 such a sense does not seem possible.

I will now put together the Attic passages, keeping to the end the two from tragedy, about both of which there may be a little doubt.—

A.—ARISTOPHANES.

1. *Eq.* 254

ὥσπερ Εὐκράτης ἔφενγεν εἰθὺ τῶν κυρηβίων.

2. *Nub.* 161

τὴν πνοὴν
βία βαδίζειν εἰθὺ τοῦροπνυγίου.

3. *Pax* 68

πὼς ἂν ποτ' ἀφικοίμην ἂν εἰθὺ τοῦ Διός;

4. *ib.* 77

ὅπως πετήσει μ' εἰθὺ τοῦ Διὸς λαβών.

5. *ib.* 819

ὥς χαλεπὸν ἐλθεῖν ἦν ἄρ' εἰθὺ τῶν θεῶν.

6. *ib.* 301

δεῦρο πᾶς χώρει προθύμως εἰθὺ τῆς σωτηρίας.

7. *Av.* 1421

μὴν εἰθὺ Πελλήνης πέτεσθαι διανοεῖ;

8. *Ecol.* 835

ἐπείγεσθ' εἰθὺ τῆς στρατηγίδος.

9. *Fragm.* 161 (Kock: Meineke 2. 1012)

ἦσαν εἰθὺ τοῦ Διονυσίου.

10. *Fragm.* 656 (M. 2. 1193)

A. ποῖ κῆχος; B. εἰθὺ Σικελίας.

Even if we knew what 1 referred to, it would probably not help us much as to εἰθύ. But 3, 4, and particularly 5 are very significant. There is no reason whatever why Trygaeus should lay stress on going straight to Zeus and the gods. The difficulty (5) was not in going there straight, as if it was much easier to manage by a roundabout flight, but in getting there at all. In these places, therefore, εἰθύ has no such meaning. Nor has it in 7, where the question is, do you want to go there? not, do you want to go there straight? which would be immaterial. The other passages do not need the notion of straightness, though it would fit one or two of them (6, 8) well enough.

B.—COMIC FRAGMENTS.

1. Pherecr. 110 (M. 2. 306)

εἰθὺς Λυκείου.

(So both M. and K. for εἰθύ.)

2. Eupolis 47 (M. 2. 441)

σκέλη δὲ καὶ κωλῆνες εἰθὺ τοῦρόφου.

(Conjectural and uncertain.)

3. Eupolis 183 (M. 2. 502)

ἀλλ' εἰθὺ πόλεως εἴμι· θῆσαι γάρ με δεῖ κ.τ.λ.

4. Eupolis 304 (M. 2. 550)

περιήλθον εἰς τὰ σκόροδα καὶ τὰ κρίμνα
καὶ τὸν λιβανωτὸν κεῖθὺ τῶν ἀρωμάτων.

5. Epicrates 10 (M. 3. 372)

εἰθὺ τοῦ καρχησίου
ἀνελκε τὴν γραῦν.

The perambulation in 4 of the market-stalls shows conclusively that εἰθύ here is only a synonym for εἰς. 'Went about to A B C and straight to D' would be nonsense. Whatever the exact meaning of 5, there seems no nautical point in the γραῖς going *straight* to the masthead. 1 is in Photius *Lex.* where the MSS. give εἰθύ; but, as he mentions that the word was made by Eratosthenes a ground of suspicion against the play (*Μεταλλῆς*) and couples it with the εἰθὺς of Eur. *Hipp.* 1197 (see

below), it would appear that he must really have found and given *εὐθύς* *Λυκείου*. It is noticeable that he explains it simply as meaning *εἰς Λύκειον*.

C.—THUCYDIDES.

8. 88. Alcibiades *εὐθὺ τῆς Φασήλιδος καὶ Καύνου ἄνω τὸν πλοῦν ἐποιεῖτο*. 8. 96. 3 *μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ δι' ἐγγυτάτου ἐθορύβει, εἰ οἱ πολέμιοι τολμήσουσι νενικηκότες εὐθύς σφῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἐρήμον ὄντα νεῶν πλεῖν* (Classen after Lobeck *εὐθύ*; and Stahl is certainly wrong in thinking *εὐθύ* could not be followed by a genitive of the person; cf. the above-quoted *Il.* 5. 849: Herod. 8. 38. 2; Ar. *Pax* 68 &c.: and Plato *Lysis* 203 B below).

Sailing *straight* for Phaselis and Caunus would be like sailing from London *straight* for Leith and Newcastle; i.e. the order is strange in any case, but particularly strange if stress be laid on the directness of the voyage. Cf. the order in Eur. *Hipp.* 1197 below.

In 96 it hardly seems satisfactory to govern *σφῶν* by *τὸν Πειραιᾶ* as Stahl would do. If *εὐθὺ σφῶν* be read, 'straight for them' would certainly make excellent sense, but there is no need for *εὐθύ* to be so emphatic: it need not be more than *ἐπὶ σφῶν* or *ὡς σφᾶς*. *Εὐθύς* however goes perfectly well with *νενικηκότες*, and there may be some other fault in the words, e.g. *σφῶν* for *σφίσιν*. (The genitive may be due to a mistake about the meaning of *εὐθύ(ς)*.) In Ar. *Eq.* 311, *ὅστις ἡμῶν τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐκκεκώφηκας βοῶν*, which Stahl might have cited as parallel, the dative *ἡμῶν* naturally suggests itself, especially as we have *ἡμῶν* in the line before.

D.—XENOPHON.¹

1. *Hell.* 1. 2. 11 *ἐπλεον ἐπὶ Λέσβου καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου*. (The new papyrus fragment has *εὐθύ*: all the *codices* *ἐπὶ*.) 2. *ib.* 1. 4. 11. *ἀνήχθη εὐθὺ Γυθείου*. 3. *Cyr.* 5. 2. 37. *ἄγε ἡμᾶς εὐθὺ τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος* (Cobet *εὐθὺ Βαβυλῶνος*).

3 is different from any phrase found elsewhere and perhaps not right. In any case

¹ In *Hell.* 1. 4. 8 *ἀνήχθη εὐθύς ἐπὶ Σάμου*: *Cyr.* 2. 4. 24 *πορεύσομαι . . . εὐθύς πρὸς τὰ βασίλεια*: *ib.* 7. 2. 1 *εὐθύς ἐπὶ Σάρδεων ἐφευγε* and 2 *εὐθύς ἐπὶ Σάρδεϊς ἦγε*: *Ages.* 1. 29 *εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὸν Σαρδιανὸν τόπον ἐχώρησε*: there is no reason for taking *εὐθύς* of place and not of time. I do not believe it is ever so used in Attic. In Thuc. 6. 96. 1: 7. 22. 3: 8. 90. 4 *εὐθύς* is no more really local than the English 'immediately above,' 'immediately in front.' In Thuc. 4. 118. 4 the sense is less clear.

it is not *εὐθύ* with a genitive. *τὴν εὐθύ* with or without *ἐπὶ* may be thought of as possible.

E.—PLATO.

1. *Lysis* 203 A *ἐπορεύμην ἐξ Ἀκαδημίας εὐθὺ Λυκείου* τὴν *ἔξω* *τείχους* ὑπ' αὐτὸ τὸ *τείχος* and again a few lines below *ἐξ Ἀκαδημίας*, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, *πορεύομαι εὐθὺ Λυκείου*. Δεῦρο δὲ, ἦ δ' ὅς, *εὐθὺ ἡμῶν*. 2. *Gorg.* 525 A Rhadamanthus dismisses a soul *εὐθὺ τῆς φρουρᾶς*, οἱ μέλλει *ἐλθούσα ἀνατλήναι τὰ προσήκοντα πάθη*. 3. *Theag.* 129 A *ἡνίκα ἀποθανούμενος ἦεν εὐθὺ τοῦ δαιμονίου* (δημοσίον Baiter, Schanz). 4. *Theag.* *ib.* D *οἴχεται . . . στρατη-σόμενος εὐθὺ Ἐφέσον καὶ Ἰωνίας*.

In 2 and 4 there is no reason why *εὐθύ* should be more than *ἐπὶ*. The three examples that come together in 1 are decidedly against its meaning any more. It is unlikely that any stress should be laid on Socrates making *straight* for the Lyceum, and *εὐθὺ ἡμῶν* points to the same sense, though it might be a jesting repetition of *straight*. The corruption of the text in 3 deprives it of any evidentiary value, but, if *εὐθὺ τοῦ δημοσίου* (or *δημίου*) is right ('to the executioner'), the notion of straightness would certainly be out of place. It is strange that Ruhnken (Timaeus *Εὐθὺ Λυκείου*) could accept the old fancy that *εὐθὺ τοῦ δαιμονίου* meant 'in spite of the divine voice,' a sense impossible for *εὐθύ* and consistent only with a misunderstanding of *ἀποθανούμενος ἦεν*. Yet Liddell and Scott follow him.

F.—ARISTOTLE.

No example of *εὐθύ* is given in Bonitz' *Index*, but see *Fragm.* 253. 2, where the exact words may not be Aristotle's. Aelian quotes him as saying that *πετόμενος ἐρωδιὸς τῆς θαλάττης εὐθὺ ὕδωρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ῥαγήσεσθαι αἰνίττεται*. I do not know any other example of *εὐθύ* following its case, and it ought to be regarded with suspicion.

As far as I know, *εὐθύ* is not found once in any orator, and the only other Attic passages which I have to adduce are

G.—SOPHOCLES.

O.T. 1242

ἔε' *εὐθὺ πρὸς τὰ νυμφικὰ*

λέχη.

H.—EUR. Hipp. 1197

εἰπόμεσθα δεσπότη

τὴν εὐθύς Ἀργούς κάπνιδυρίας ὁδόν.

In the *Hippolytus* *εὐθύς* is certified by Photius, who says expressly *καὶ Εὐριπίδης οὕκ*

ὁρθῶς τὴν εὐθύς κ.τ.λ., but, whatever his MSS. gave, no doubt Euripides really wrote what Hartung restored to him, τὴν εὐθύ τ' Ἄργους κάπιδανρίας ὁδόν, where τε occupies the position most usual for it when a preposition governs two words. Observe that, as in Thuc. 8. 88, the more distant point, Argos, is mentioned first, and that, whether we read εὐθύ or εὐθύς, there is no reason why the road's running *straight* for these places should be mentioned.

In the *Oedipus eūthý*, if right, as it probably is, (Nauck εὐθύς εἰς), can only mean *straight*. We may notice (1) that this is not a case of εὐθύ with a genitive: (2) that in poetry it is more natural for the old use to survive: (3) that possibly, as the passages in Xenophon also faintly suggest, there may have been a use of εὐθύ with a preposition (εὐθὺ πρὸς, εὐθὺ ἐπὶ) different in meaning from εὐθύ when itself serving as a preposition.

The upshot of this examination seems to be that, if we take the instances in Attic Greek, (25 in all), of εὐθύ with a genitive, there is not one in which the meaning of *straight* to or *straight towards* is in any way required, whereas there are a considerable number in which that meaning is in various degrees unsuitable. It does not seem to me impossible that it was occasionally used with something of its old sense, and I would not deny that some of the passages above collected may be cases in point. All I am concerned to maintain is that in Attic prose as a rule εὐθύ with a genitive had no such strong meaning, but was only another synonym along with εἰς, ὡς, ἐπὶ, and πρὸς.

In the lyric, elegiac, and iambic poets I have not been able to find it any more than in the Attic orators, but I should not like to say that it does not occur. The only example of εὐθύ in Theocritus is 26. 15 μαίνετο μὲν θ' αὐτα, μαίνοντο δ' ἄρ' εὐθὺ καὶ ἄλλαι. The poetical diction of Theocritus is notoriously not very correct, and he obviously uses it in the sense of εὐθύς, *forthwith*, as do Callimachus *Hymn. Apoll.* 103 and the writers of the *Anacreontea*. My observation of the word in later prose writers,¹ though as far as it goes it bears out my contention, has not been extensive and careful enough for use here, except in the case of Lucian, the most Attic of them all. In him I have noticed εὐθύ with a genitive in the following passages: *Nigrinus* 2: *Dial. D.* 20. 3 and 15: *Dial. Mort.* 27. 1: *Menipp.* 6: *Herm.* 23 and 46: *Herod.* 1: *Icarom.* 11: *Bis Acc.* 8 and 12: *Rhet. Praec.* 10: *Peregr.* 35: *Fugit.* 24: and I should say that none of them in any degree requires the notion of straightness, though naturally it would in several of them e.g. *Herm.* 46, not be unsuitable. It stands to reason that motion to a place very often is, and very often might be expressly called, motion *straight* to a place, but in such cases we do not therefore always call it so.

H. RICHARDS.

¹ *Axiochus* (date uncertain) 364 B ἐδόκει οὖν μοι ἀφεμένῃ τῆς εὐθὺς ὁδοῦ ἀπαντᾶν αὐτοῖς. εὐθύ here must be *straight*, but it is not a preposition. Perhaps <κατ'> εὐθύ.

ON SOME DERIVATIVES OF τέλος.

THE object of the present paper is to exhibit a number of passages where τέλε(ι)ος, τελείος (τελήεις), τελείως, τελε(ι)ώω, τελεσφόρος, παντελής, ἡμιτελής, should (I think) be connected with τέλος = 'authority,' and not, as is commonly done, with τέλος = 'accomplishment' or 'rite.'¹

¹ How τέλος, which appears primarily to have meant 'completion' or 'accomplishment,' came to acquire the signification 'authority,' it is not easy to say. Perhaps I may be permitted to hazard the suggestion that the meaning 'authority' arose from the referring of disputes among the people to the king or head-man, in whose hands would be said to lie the 'conclusion' or decision of the matter. From this the extension to the wider sense 'authority' would be natural, if not inevitable; and to describe the king himself or his representatives as τὸ τέλος,

τέλε(ι)ος. The transitive sense 'accomplishing,' which is frequently assigned to this word, is highly improbable and always

'the authorities,' would be a further easy step to which there are many parallels. The transference would be similar to that by which we use the title 'Great Seal' to denote the seal's custodian. Τέλος would thus describe the king from the point of view of his judicial functions, as ἀρχή describes him from the side of those in which he takes the initiative, as in administration and military command. The use of the word to mean 'tax' may have arisen from its employment to denote the court-fee demanded for the delivery of a judicial decision; but in fact any dues demanded by those ἐν τέλει might naturally be so-called, without a primary reference to court-fees. The history of the Engl. word 'fine' (=penalty) affords a curiously close parallel.