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On Plants of the Odyssey

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the mass, and insist that knowledge impairs enjoyment,

Good scholars who sit still in easy chairs And damn the world for standing up,

to adapt words from Aurora Leigh? We shall not sit and wonder that these avowed enemies of learning are among its professed exponents in a land where the dangerous spirit of independent thought has so long been confined in the strait-jacket of examinations. But we shall point out that truth is the most powerful solvent, and its pursuit the most potent motive, that the world has known; that studies decay the moment that they cease to grow; and that there is a doom awaiting the intellectual as surely as the moral Sybaris.

Day by day we are drifting further from antiquity. Harder and harder does it become to learn the lessons which it alone can teach us. And of the current fallacies there is none more mischievous than that which insinuates that we can dispense with the motive, the practice, and the fruits of research in any department of its study.

Most mischievous of all is it when it is dangled before a class which circumstances have already predisposed to receive it. The suggestion to the hard-worked and illpaid teachers of Classics in our schools, that their duties do not comprise the acquisition of fresh knowledge, and that they may subsist upon their original capital, however scanty it may be, is one of the most noxious errors that complaisance has ever presented to its victims. If these will reflect why their experience and capacities should become unmarketable at an age which in other walks of life is held to be most ripe for preferment, they will see that, when the old fires, unfed by fresh interests, have burned to extinction, when the mind's agility has been crushed by drudgery and its keen edge dulled by routine, what is left is not a teacher but a teaching machine, which perhaps has a claim to be tolerated but which can have no hopes of promotion.

It is then, we conceive, no part of the functions of Classical journals to provide diversion for an unamused and unamusing generation. But those who desire that both for themselves and others the Classics shall remain a thing alive will, it is trusted, find in the new departure a satisfaction of real wants perhaps insufficiently regarded in the past, and that the Classical Review, in one or both of its branches, will be found worthy of encouragement by the new friends whom it seeks to attract and the old ones whom it desires to retain.

Cras amet qui numquam amauit quique amauit cras amet.

J. P. POSTGATE.

ON PLANTS OF THE ODYSSEY.

Ι.—μῶλυ.

The attempt to identify the magic 'moly, which Hermes once to wise Ulysses gave,' has lately been responsible for two very elaborate and learned pieces of investigation. M. Bérard in Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée, ii. 288 ff. discusses the plant at length and ends by identifying it with the atriplex halimus, for which he finds strong support in one of his favourite Semitic roots. More lately M. Champault, Phéniciens et Grecs en Italie d'après l'Odyssée, pp. 504 ff. discusses it at still greater length and decides positively for the peganum harmala. That the Homeric description

ρίζη μὲν μέλαν ἔσκε, γάλακτι δ'εἴκελον ἄνθος (κ 304) is not of itself likely to carry one far on the road to deciding the question, most people will agree. The attempt to find a

third characteristic in the following line: χαλεπον δέ τ' ορύσσειν | ανδράσι γε θνητοίσι has been shown by M. Champault to be a false scent. His quotation from Josephus (Bell. Jud. vii. 6, 3) on the difficulty of procuring the magic baaras is on the right track. The difficulty of pulling the plant is purely imaginary: it is a magic plant and, according to the magicians, dangerous to procure unless for some one who understands the proper ceremonies. It is strange that neither scholar seems to be aware of the light that is thrown upon the passage by the Magical Papyri. It may seem hazardous to illustrate Homer by a literature composed in Egypt during the Christian era. But to any one who understands the fanatical persistence of magical ideas and practices such a parallel will carry considerable weight. We can illustrate the magic of the pre-Christian era

from the *Grimoire du Pape Honorius*, and find the same practices persisting unchanged for a thousand years.

Thus in the great Paris Magical Papyrus (ed. C. Wessely in Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, 1888) 1. 2967 we read παρ' Αίγυπτίοις άεὶ βοτάναι λαμβάνονται οὖτως ὁ ῥιζοτόμος καθαίρει πρότερον τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα, πρότερον νίτρῳ περιράvas καὶ τὴν βοτάνην θυμιάσας ἡητείνη ἐκ πίτυος είς γ περιενέγκας τὸν τόπον. εἶτα κῦφι θυμιάσας καὶ τὴν διὰ τοῦ γάλακτος σπονδὴν χεάμενος μετ' εὐχῶν ἀνασπῷ τὸ φυτόν, ἐξ ὀνόματος ἐπικαλούμένος τὸν δαίμονα ῷ ἡ βοτάνη ἃν ἱερῶται κτλ. Then follows the invocation of the plant (ἐπίκλησις) in which it is, among other epithets, addressed as ή καρδία του Έρμου; and again ai δε δυνάμεις σου εν τη καρδία τοῦ Έρμοῦ εἰσίν . . . συνοπλίσθητι ἐπ' εὐχῆ καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν δύναμιν ὡς ὁ Ἄρης καὶ ἡ ᾿Αθηνα ἐγώ εἰμι Ἑρμῆς. This last phrase will concern us later.

In the same Papyrus Il. 286 ff. we have a βοτανηάρσις· χρῶ πρὸ ἡλίου· λόγος λεγόμενος (i.e. 'the formula is as follows') αἴρω σε ἤτις βοτάνη χειρὶ πενταδακτύλῳ ἐγὼ ὁ δεῖνα καὶ ψέρω παρ' ἐμαυτὸν ἴνα μοι ἐνεργήσης εἰς τὴν τινάκρειαν· ὁρκίζω σε κατὰ τοῦ ἀμιάντου ὀνόματος τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐὰν παρακούσης, ἢ σε τεκοῦσα γαῖά τε οὐκέτι βρεχήσεται πώποτε ἐν βίῳ πάλιν, ἐὰν ἀπορηθῶ τῆσδε τῆς οἰκονομίας μου θαβαρ (here follow five 'words of power') τελέσατέ μοι τὴν τελείαν ἐπαοιδήν. Evidently the proper culling of these simples was a task demanding trained skill.

Now the moly was hard for mortal men to get, θεοί δέ τε πάντα δύνανται. It will be noted in the above formulae, that in the first the magician expressly identifies himself with the deity on whose authority he is acting. This is too common a practice with magicians to call for detailed illustration. One may compare the Egyptian magical texts in which the deceased identifies himself with Osiris. In the second he uses the language of divine authority and threatens the recalcitrant plant with divine vengeance. One cannot help comparing οὐ μηκέτι ἐκ σοῦ καρπὸς γένηται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἐξηράνθη παραχρημα ή συκή (Ευ. Matth. xxi. 19). In the case of the moly, Hermes himself plucked it up for Odysseus; but any magician who knew the proper way to proceed, and the words necessary to identify himself with Hermes, could have produced the same effect. Further the 'gods' call the plant 'Gods' must here be taken in the same extended sense. The magician in such cases used the same 'large language' as the gods. What language is meant?

In the Leyden Papyrus J 384 we find the following (xii. 17 ed. Dieterich, Leipzig 1888). Έρμηνεύματα έκ των ίερων μεθηρμηνευμένα, οίς έχρωντο οι ιεροί γραμματείς διά την των πολλων περιεργίαν τὰς βοτάνας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα οίς έχρωντο είς θεων είδωλα έπέγραψαν, όπως μή συλλαβούμενοι περιεργάζωνται μηδεν δια την έξακολούθησιν της άμαρτίας ήμεις δε τας λύσεις ήγαγομεν έκ των πολλων αντιγράφων καὶ κρυφίμων πάντων. There follows a list of plants and other 'medicine' with the names by which they were known in magic. The list has been drawn from two sources, to only one of which (those containing the names of gods) the opening description applies, e.g. yόνος $Ερμο\hat{v} = \tilde{a}v\eta\theta$ ον. But there are others in which no god is named, e.g. αίμα ὄφεως = άνδράχνη. We have the same thing in Pap. Leyden J 395 where ζμύρνα and κρίνινον μύρον are referred to by their magic names (xxv. 21 ed. Dieterich). That these names were often borrowed from foreign languages, e.q. Hebrew, we know from other passages. In Pap. J 395, we find (viii. 1) in a recipe τὸ καλούμενον βαλλαθὰ τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων: in the line before we have a substance called βιεβετνεησι, the derivation of which is un-To such a class of words μῶλυ known. evidently belongs and we must look for its derivation in either Phoenician or Egyptian. As to M. Bérard's derivation, I am not competent to express an opinion.

ΙΙ. -- λωτός.

The same two scholars have given considerable attention to the identification of the λωτός. M. Champault (op. cit. p. 400 n. [2]) decides for the date: M. Bérard more cautiously leaves the exact fruit an open question, but has no doubt that a treefruit is meant. He admits indeed (op. cit. ii. 102) that the Greek word λωτός as used in Od. iv. 603-4 denotes a different thinga kind of clover: and he even quotes Strabo xvii. 829 A who speaks of a tribe inhabiting the Mauretanian desert who σιτοίντο δέ λωτόν, πόαν τινα και ρίζαν αφ' ής ουδεν δεοιντο ποτοῦ. But then he regards the lotus of the Lotus-eaters to be a Semitic word. There are two definite statements made about the lotus; it is called an ανθινον είδαρ (Od. ix. 84) and it is called μελιηδής καρπός (ib. The first does not seem a very apt description of a tree-fruit, and the latter does not suit the taste of the jujube (according to M. Champault) nor of the date. If Strabo's $\pi \acute{o}a$ had the proper taste it would satisfy both requirements. Now Sulpicius Severus (Dialogi i. 4, 4) tells of a friend of his who being storm-bound on his way from Carthage to Alexandria put in at the extrema Cyrenorum ora: he was entertained by a hermit who had not much to offer him in the way of food but fasciculum herbae intulit, cuius nomen excidit, quae menthae

similis, exuberans foliis, saporem mellis praestabat. If this be Strabo's πόα, might it not be Homer's λωτός?

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ON DIODORUS: BOOKS XVI.-XVIII.

It is well known that Greek MSS, are sometimes corrupted by the substitution for the right word of another word suggested by the context, a mistake which we are all conscious of making from time to time in writing and in speaking. In this Review I have many times tried to explain a difficult passage by the hypothesis of such corruption; and I think it worth while now to publish the following notes on the fourth volume of the new Teubner Diodorus, without waiting to put into shape others which I have by me on the earlier volumes, because so many of them turn on the same point. In book 17 especially occur a remarkable number of passages, the text of which may be explained in this way, and which are not uninteresting in themselves.

- 16. 1. 1 γενέσθαι should be γίγνεσθαι. A 'gnomic' or 'frequentative' acrist infinitive has—in spite of Goodwin—no existence.
- ib. 6 έπὶ τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς ἱστορίας πορευσόμεθα, βραχέα τοῖς χρόνοις προσαναδραμόντες.

In this and some other passages (see the references to Polybius 1. 12. 8, etc. in Liddell and Scott) it seems clear that προαναδραμόντες should be written. In all of them the writer gives first a brief account of earlier events and then goes on with τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς ἱστορίας. πρός would be unmeaning.

- 16. 22. 3 Should καθ' ἐαντούς be καθ' ἐκάστους? The two words do get confused. But ἐαντούς may very well be right, though the other would be clearer.
- 16. 35. 4 πεζή βοηθήσαντος μετὰ πεζών δισμυρίων.
- $\pi\epsilon \xi \hat{y}$. Del. Reisk.; fort. scribendum δέως (Fischer). $\pi\epsilon \xi \hat{y}$ is obviously due to $\pi\epsilon \xi \hat{\omega} v$. I suggest $\sigma \pi o v \delta \hat{y}$ as the original.
- 16. 44. 1 την φιλίαν έφασαν την προς Πέρσας τηρείν, συμμαχίαν δε άποστέλλειν άντείπαν.

ἀντεῖπαν cannot be used thus with an infinitive in the sense of refused. It means

probably answered. It would be possible to read oùr ἀποστελεῖν ἀντεῖπαν, but I incline to think that oùr ἐθέλειν has been lost. This would help $\tau\eta\rho$ εῖν too.

16. 45. 1 τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐκατὸν ὡς συμβούλους.

Perhaps <εἰς > ἐκατόν. ΕΙC and ΕΚ are very like one another.

- 16. 59. 2 καὶ <ολίγον> τὸ τῶν μισθοφόρων ἔχοντα πληθος? Or some such word.
- 16. 92. 3 ὁ μὲν τεχνίτης κρίνας οἰκεῖον ὁποληφθήσεσθαι τὸ ποίημα τῆ διαβάσει τοῦ Φιλίππου καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐπιπλῆξαι βουλόμενος τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως, καίπερ οὖσαν μεγάλην καὶ περιβόητον, ὅπως μεταπέσοιτ' ἀν κ.τ.λ.

There seems no reason for Fischer's doubt of διαβάσει. It is a perfectly suitable word and occurs again 17. 16. 1 προύθηκε βουλήν περὶ τῆς εἰς τὴν 'Ασίαν διαβάσεως. On the other hand ἐπιπλῆξαι, which he does not question, can hardly be right. (1) It is not a suitable εὐδαιμονία, prosperity, power, etc. is not a fault to be rebuked. A man may be found fault with for pride, harshness, injustice, and so on, not for being very prosperous. (2) δπως κ.τ.λ. cannot follow properly on a verb of rebuking. If it is wrong, we may safely conclude that D. wrote ἐπιδείξαι, which goes perfectly with δπως μετα- $\pi \epsilon \sigma o \iota \tau' \tilde{a} \nu$, and in which δ is the λ ($\Delta \Lambda$) of ἐπιπλῆξαι. ἄν with the future optative is of course doubtful.

17. 7. 5 δρασθαι δε τον ήλιον έτι νυκτός ούσης άνατέλλοντα, τὰς ἀκτίνας οὐκ ἐν κυκλοτερεί σχήματι τετραμμένον, ἀλλὰ τὴν φλόγα κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους ἔχοντα διεσπαρμένην.

On τετραμμένον, which is clearly impossible, Fischer notes ita RX, μένοντα F; συνεστραμμένον vel συνέχοντα coni. Hertl. II. 2 p. 3, πέμποντα Dind.; fort. τετορνευμένον (cf. Plat. Tim. 33 в).

Remembering how easily I and I get confused, we may, I think, confidently