

individual may be reinfected at any time, as Alexander apparently was in the Tigris–Euphrates delta.

Obviously, without scientific blood tests and clinically accurate descriptions of his symptoms, secure diagnoses of Alexander's illnesses in Babylon and Cilicia are not possible. Nevertheless, the specific symptoms of these two illnesses recorded by our sources are consistent with malaria infections, probably pernicious manifestations of the *Plasmodium falciparum* variety, and not with poisoning. When the king's symptoms are combined with the known environmental conditions of Cilicia and Babylonia in the summer—the time of year when malaria was epidemic in those regions—the hypothesis that he suffered such attacks is strengthened. I hope that this paper may stimulate further discussion about Alexander's medical problems; and, if such discussion results in an improved theory, one of my objectives in offering this analysis will have been fulfilled.

DONALD ENGELS
Brandeis University

ATLAS, AIETES, AND MINOS ΟΛΟΦΡΩΝ: AN EPIC EPITHET IN THE *ODYSSEY*

The word *ολοφρων*, used in the *Iliad* always of savage animals (the snake which bit Philoctetes [2. 723], a lion attacking cattle [15. 630], a furious wild boar [17. 21]), is applied in the *Odyssey* only to people, namely Atlas (1. 52), Aietes (10. 137), and Minos (11. 322), none of whom displays any evil or cruel characteristics in Homer.¹ Hence, even in antiquity, attempts were made to find another explanation for the word in the *Odyssey*, e.g., Schol. H *Od.* 1. 52: *δολοφρονος· Κλεάνθης δασύνει· τοῦ περὶ τῶν ὄλων φρονούντος ἴδιον οὕτως εἰρησθαι. ἄμεινον δὲ ψιλοῦντας ἀκούειν, τοῦ τὰ ὀλέθρια καὶ δεινὰ φρονήσαντος.*²

Thus two possible meanings are suggested for *ολοφρων*: (a) that it was synonymous with *ὀλέθριος*; and (b) that it was derived from *ὄλος* and *φρονεῖν*.³ Most modern lexica favor the first interpretation,⁴ but some lexica and commentators have suggested that the epithet must have a meaning in the *Odyssey* different from its meaning in the *Iliad*.⁵ However, other scholars have accepted the meaning "malign, malignant" in both Homeric works.⁶ I suggest that they are correct, since there are several reasons for thinking that *ολοφρων* has a negative sense also in the *Odyssey*.

1. Cf. W. B. Stanford (ed.), *The "Odyssey" of Homer*² (London, 1959), 1:213.

2. Cf. Schol. Y *Od.* 1. 52; Apoll. *Lex. Hom.* 120. 16. On Atlas, Schol. H P Q V; Eust. pp. 1389. 55, 1390. 15; Cornutus *Nat. d.* 26. On Aietes, Schol. Q V T *Od.* 10. 137; Eust. p. 1651. 34. On Minos, Schol. Q T *Od.* 11. 322.

3. A Stoic derivation; cf. Schol. H *Od.* 1. 52; Eust. p. 1389. 55; E. Tièche, "Atlas als Personifikation der Weltachse," *MH* 2 (1945): 69–70.

4. E.g., H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1960), p. 389; E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Heidelberg–Paris, 1916), p. 698; J. B. Hofmann, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Griechischen*, vol. 2 (Munich, 1950), p. 230.

5. LSJ⁹ "meaning mischief, baleful" *II.*; "crafty, sagacious" *Od.* For "sagacious," see M. C. J. Putnam, "Mercuri, Facunde Nepos Atlantis," *CP* 69 (1974): 215 ff. Cf. W. W. Merry and J. Riddell (eds.), *Odyssey 1–12*² (Oxford, 1886), p. 7; Stanford's edition of the *Odyssey*, 1:213; M. Parry in *The Making of Homeric Verse*, ed. by Adam Parry (Oxford, 1971), pp. 88, 215.

6. E.g., R. J. Cunliffe, *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect* (London, 1924; repr. Norman, Okla., 1963), 29; A. MacC. Armstrong, "Atlas the Malignant," *CR* 63 (1949): 50.

(1) In *Iliad* 1. 342 Achilles says of Agamemnon *δλοῖσσι φρεσὶ θύει*, "he rages with malignant mind" and in *Iliad* 16. 701 the phrase *τῷ δλοῶ φρονέων* is used of Apollo in his opposition to Patroclus. The contexts in which these cognate phrases are used indicate that *δλοόφρων* should be understood as "malignant."⁷ (2) In Apollonius Rhodius 4. 828–29, we read: *Σκύλλης Λύσονίης δλοόφρονος, ἦν τέκε Φόρκυ / νυκτιπόλος Ἑκάτη, τὴν τε κλείουσι Κράταιν*. There can be no doubt that the epithet here must mean "malignant, destructive," and Apollonius may be using the passage to show how he understood the Homeric epithet. His description of Scylla is of course derived from Homer, e.g., *Odyssey* 12. 124–25 *Κράταιν / μητέρα τῆς Σκύλλης, ἥ μιν τέκε πῆμα βροτοῖσιν*.⁸ (3) An epigram of Mnasalces of Sicyon begins: *Αἰαὶ Παρθενίας δλοόφρονος, ἃ σ' ἀπὸ φαιδρὰν / ἔκλασεν ἀλικίαν, ἱμερδέσσα Κλειοῖ*.⁹ The writer complains of Artemis Parthenia, who has snatched the young Cleo away. The description of Artemis, the bringer of sudden death, as *δλοόφρονος*, is a clear indication that Mnasalces understood the word in the "malignant" sense.

Having established that "malignant" is likely to be the proper Odyssean meaning of the epithet, we should now consider its application to the three characters, all of whom are mentioned because of a relationship to someone else. Atlas is the father of Calypso (*Ἄτλαντος θυγάτηρ δλοόφρονος*, *Od.* 1. 52); Aietes the brother of Circe (*αὐτοκασιγνήτην δλοόφρονος Αἰήταο*, *Od.* 10. 137); and Minos the father of Ariadne (*κούρην Μίνωος δλοόφρονος*, *Od.* 11. 322).¹⁰

The epithet occurs in exactly the same place in each hexameter, filling the metrical gap between the masculine (penthemimeral) caesura and the bucolic diaeresis.¹¹ This position is the most common one for words of this metrical type in Homer, and the poet may have chosen the word for metrical convenience.¹² Yet, in combination with *Μίνωος*, the word actually creates the metrical irregularity of *brevis in longo*.¹³ If *δλοόφρων* was an epithet traditionally attached to Minos, the poet may have felt obliged to use it, in spite of the metrical difficulty. I suggest that in all three instances we should look for a traditional epic origin for the epithet.

In the cases of Aietes and Minos, it seems obvious that both rulers could be described as being *δλοόφρων*, "of destructive intent," toward the heroes Jason (cf. Schol. T *Od.* 10. 137) and Theseus (cf. Schol. V *Od.* 11. 322) respectively. The description of Aietes as *δλοόφρων* in fact suits the Homeric context in that it foreshadows the sinister events at Circe's palace. By describing Circe as "sister of Aietes of destructive mind," and also by conjuring up the shadow of Medea, the poet warns his audience of Circe's magical abilities.¹⁴

7. Cf. Eust. p. 738. 43 on *Il.* 9. 109.

8. For Scylla's destructive character, cf. *Od.* 12. 87, 118–19, 223, 231.

9. *Anth. Pal.* 7. 491. For the text I print and the interpretation, see W. Seelbach (ed.), *Die Epigramme des Mnasalkes von Sikyon und des Theodoridas von Syrakus* (Wiesbaden, 1964), pp. 60–61.

10. One tradition did make Aietes the father of Circe (Schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 200a, b; 240 = Dionys. Scytob., *FGrHist* 32 F 1a, b).

11. The word is in this same metrical position twice in its three occurrences in the *Iliad* (15. 630, 17. 21).

12. See E. O'Neill Jr., "The Localization of Metrical Word Types in the Greek Hexameter," *YCLS* 8 (1942): 145, table 8.

13. See Parry, *The Making of Homeric Verse*, pp. 71 and 215.

14. See Stanford, *The Ulysses Theme*² (Oxford, 1968), p. 46; cf. C. Segal, "Circean Temptations: Homer, Vergil, Ovid," *TAPA* 99 (1968): 420 and 438, n. 31.

Homeric acquaintance with the saga of the Argonauts can be detected in several other passages, notably *Odyssey* 12. 69 ff., where the word *πασιμέλουσα* surely suggests that the story of the *Argo* was well known to the Homeric poet.¹⁵ Some very early epics, which may represent the tradition Homer inherited, did deal with the myth of the Argonauts, including the *Corinthiaca* of Eumelus and the *Naupactia*.¹⁶ But, while both poems mention Aietes (Eumelus frag. 2 Kinkel; *Naupactia* frags. 7 and 8 Kinkel), none of the extant fragments names Circe. The poet of the *Odyssey* is trying to develop a character hitherto relatively unknown, and he therefore establishes a relationship with a presumably well-known figure, Aietes, with the striking three-word line *αὐτοκασίγνητην ὀλοόφρονος Αἰήταο* (10. 137).¹⁷ This type of line is the Homeric equivalent of the modern "full name,"¹⁸ and Circe's relationship to Aietes immediately gives credibility to her character. Aietes is obviously famous, needing no more introduction than *ὀλοόφρονος Αἰήταο*; compare *Ἀργῷ πασιμέλουσα, παρ' Αἰήταο πλέουσα* (*Od.* 12. 70). Moreover, Circe is a witch, and Aietes is the father of Medea, who also possesses magical powers. Hence it is fitting that Circe be related to this family.¹⁹ The relationship is emphasized by applying to both Circe and her island the epithet *Αἰαίη*, from *Αἶα*, the name of Aietes' city (*Od.* 10. 135; 12. 3, 268, 273).

In summary, it seems clear that Aietes is a well-known epic character whom Homer employs to develop the figure of Circe, and that the character of Aietes depicted in early tradition merits the epithet *ὀλοόφρων*. The *Naupactia* (frags. 7 and 8 Kinkel) told of Aietes' evil intent toward the Argonauts: he invited them to a banquet, planning to burn their ship and kill them when they fell asleep. The timely intervention of Aphrodite saved them.

To turn next to Minos, the mention of Ariadne suggests that the legend of Theseus is the most likely context in which to call Minos *ὀλοόφρων*. The absence of the epithet in *Odyssey* 11. 568, where Minos is merely *Διὸς ἀγλαὸν νιόν*, may indicate that *ὀλοόφρων* does refer specifically to the Minos-Ariadne-Theseus story. Hesiodic fragments suggest that a detailed story of Theseus' Cretan adventures developed early.²⁰ One fragment (146 Merkelbach-West) mentions Minos' son, Eurygyes, whose death at Athens caused the imposition of an annual tribute of seven youths and seven girls: *Εὐρυγύη δ' ἔτι κοῦροι Ἀθηναίων < * * * Ἀθηναίων > ἱεράων* (West's restoration). Another fragment (145 M.-W.) even mentions the Minotaur, though that monster need not be part of a story which made Minos *ὀλοόφρων*. The reference to

15. For other Argonautic material, cf. *Od.* 11. 254-59: Pelias, Aeson, Iolcus. *Od.* 10. 107-8: a spring Artacie (cf. Ap. Rhod. 1. 957). *Od.* 1. 259 (with schol.; cf. Paus. 2. 3. 9): Ilus, grandson of Medea. *Il.* 7. 467 ff.: Euneus, Jason's son by Hypsipyle; cf. *Il.* 21. 40-41, 23. 746-77.

16. See G. L. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry from Eumelos to Panyassis* (London, 1969), chap. 5.

17. Cf. *Il.* 2. 706 and 11. 427, the only other such lines in Homer (in *Il.* 15. 678 *δυναίκαίκοσιπηνυν* need not be a single word). On this type of line, cf. S. E. Bassett, "ΟΑΙΓΟΜΕΠΙΑ and ΠΟΑΤ-ΜΕΠΙΑ," *CP* 12 (1917): 100, who lists eleven other examples, to which may be added Hes. frag. 278. 4 Rzach (= Loeb Hes., p. 282, frag. 10, but not in M.-W.), *Od.* 12. 133a (in some MSS; see T. W. Allen's OCT), and Callim. frag. 21. 4 Pfeiffer. Of the seventeen three-word lines, eight begin with *αὐτοκασίγνητος*, etc. and two with *πατροκασίγνητος*. Of the former, six are completed by a genitival noun (name)-epithet formula.

18. Cf. Bassett, "Versus Tetracolos," *CP* 14 (1919): 225-26.

19. Cf. Strabo 1. 2. 10.

20. But the Homeric references to the Theseus legend may come from Attic mythology: Stanford's edition of the *Odyssey*, 1:393; D. L. Page, *The Homeric Odyssey* (Oxford, 1955), p. 50, n. 28. Cf. Hereas, *FGrHist* 486 F 1.

Minos *δλοόφρων* appears to be much more incidental than the references to Aietes and Atlas—presumably because Ariadne is herself mentioned only incidentally in the *Odyssey*, unlike Circe and Calypso, both of whom play important parts in the plot.

The epithet is not so obviously suitable for Atlas as it is for Aietes and Minos. However Schol. H *Od.* 1. 52 says that he was so described *ἐπεὶ πολέμιος τοῖς θεοῖς*, while Eustathius (p. 1390. 15) explains that he was one of the Titans who revolted against Zeus.²¹ Hesiod (*Theog.* 517–20) mentions Atlas' task of supporting the sky as a lot (*μοῖρα*) put upon him by Zeus. He also describes Atlas as *κρατερόφρων* (509), a word perhaps suggestive of *δλοόφρων*.²² Appropriately it is "under strong compulsion," *κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης*, that Atlas stands holding up the sky *πεύρασιν ἐν γαίης*. Why was this lot imposed upon him?

Atlas is a Titan, the son of Iapetus, and perhaps, since he is the first mentioned, the eldest son. The children of Iapetus come at the end of the catalog of Titan families in *Theogony* 337–511, and the ensuing digression on them (512–616) is the longest of the mythological digressions on these families.²³ Immediately after the Titan catalog, the poet goes on to describe the battle between the Titans and the sons of Kronos (716–719), then the casting of the Titans into Tartarus and their condition there (720–35). Then in 746, we again meet Atlas, still in the Underworld, holding up the heaven. Though the details are unclear, Atlas, even in early epic, seems to be associated with the Titanomachy; and his unusual punishment may indicate only that his conduct was in some way different from or worse than that of his fellows. This suggestion is supported by Pindar's statement that, while Damophilus like a second Atlas still wrestles with the sky, far from his native country and possessions, Zeus freed the Titans (*Pyth.* 4. 289 ff.). By equating Damophilus with Atlas, the poet must imply that Atlas is not yet free. The metaphor would lose much of its force if we were to understand that Atlas benefited from the amnesty extended to the Titans.²⁴ Pindar can hardly have invented the amnesty, since to do so would invalidate his argument. His probable source is Hesiodic;²⁵ for some lines in a fragmentary papyrus, not given in the other manuscripts of the *Works and Days*, refer to the liberation of Kronos, and presumably of the other Titans.²⁶

What Atlas actually did may have been told in the lost epic, the *Titanomachia*, although not in the extant fragments. In Philodemus *Περὶ εὐσεβείας* 92. 29–31 (p. 43 Gomperz), we read that the *Titanomachia* mentioned the guardian of the golden apples of the Hesperides: *ὁ δὲ τὴν Τι[τα]νομαχίαν [τὰ] μὲν μῆλα φυλάττειν*. . . If the *Titanomachia* had cause to mention the apples, it probably also mentioned Atlas, the only Titan who had any connections with the Hesperides. The guardian of

21. But cf. M. L. West (ed.), *Hesiod: "Theogony"* (Oxford, 1966), p. 308; Armstrong, "Atlas the Malignant," p. 50.

22. Hesiod also uses it of Echidna (*Theog.* 297) and her progeny (308). In Hom. *Il.* 14. 324 (Hercules), *Od.* 4. 333 (Odysseus), *Od.* 11. 299 (the Dioscuri), the word seems conventional and colorless. West's edition of *Theog.*, p. 310, says that Atlas seems to be made to support the sky merely because he is *κρατερό-* or *δλοό-φρων*.

23. See West's edition of *Theog.*, p. 39.

24. For Atlas' exclusion from the amnesty, cf. Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 318a.

25. See C. M. Bowra, *Pindar* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 82–83; L. R. Farnell (ed. and trans.), *The Works of Pindar* (London, 1930–32; repr. Amsterdam, 1965), 2:167.

26. WD 173a–c in the OCT edition of F. Solmsen (Oxford, 1970).

the apples in the poem may well have been the serpent mentioned by Hesiod at *Theogony* 334–35: *δεινὸν ὄφιν, ὃς ἐρεμνῆς κείθεσι γαίης / πείρασιν ἐν μεγάλῳι παγχρύσεια μῆλα φυλάσσει*.²⁷ Atlas too is located by Hesiod *πείρασιν ἐν γαίης* (518). Hence, although direct literary evidence for Atlas as a leader of the Titans is late, it does seem possible that he appeared in the *Titanomachia*. Moreover, Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 2. 17 has preserved some anonymous hexameters about Atlas' seven daughters, the Pleiades.²⁸ A. Severyns has suggested that these lines come from the *Titanomachia*, but they could also belong to the Hesiodic corpus, perhaps to the *Astronomy*.²⁹

Exactly what Atlas did in the *Titanomachia* to earn the epithet *δλοόφρων* cannot, of course, be determined. But the imagery of the battle of the Titans strongly reminds H. J. Rose of earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, and he goes on to mention the volcanic island of Thera.³⁰ If Atlas can be seen as the personification of the deadly Thera volcano, the epithet *δλοόφρων*, "malignant," may be an epic recollection of the massive destruction caused by him.³¹ His disappearance from the central Aegean and his relocation as sky-supporter in the far west, *πείρασιν ἐν γαίης* (through identification, in the period of western exploration, with the Atlas Mountains), could readily be explained as punishment imposed by Zeus.

Thus we need not seek a meaning for the epithet *δλοόφρων* in the *Odyssey* different from the meaning it has in the *Iliad*. "Malignant" clearly suits aspects of Aietes, Minos, and Atlas which were displayed in other early epic poems, in which *δλοόφρων* may have had a specific application to the three characters.³²

27. See Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry*, p. 27.

28. Hesiod frags. 169, 170 M.–W.

29. Severyns, *Le Cycle épique dans l'école d'Aristarque* (Paris–Liège, 1928), pp. 171–73; cf. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry*, p. 26, n. 1. Frag. 169 M.–W., apparatus; cf. frag. 288–90 M.–W.

30. Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology*⁶ (London, 1958), p. 45.

31. Armstrong ("Atlas the Malignant," p. 50), with much less probability, identifies Homeric Atlas with the peak of Tenerife.

32. I am grateful to my colleague Dr. J. M. Bell and to the referees of *CP* for their helpful comments on early drafts of this paper.

V. J. MATTHEWS
University of Guelph

CICERO DE ORATORE 2. 100

. . . hoc ei primum praecipiemus, quascumque causas erit tractaturus, ut eas diligenter penitusque cognoscat. hoc in ludo non praecipitur; faciles enim causae ad pueros deferuntur. lex peregrinum vetat in murum escendere; escendit; hostis repulit: accusatur. nihil est negotii eius modi causam cognoscere: recte igitur nihil de causa discenda praecipiunt [haec est enim in ludo causarum formula fere]. at vero in foro tabulae, testimonia, pacta, conventa, stipulationes, cognationes, adfinitates, decreta, responsa, vita denique eorum, qui in causa versantur tota cognoscenda est . . . [Cic. *De or.* 2. 99–100]

Kazimierz Kumaniecki, the most recent editor,¹ rightly follows J. Bake in regarding the words "haec . . . fere" as interpolated. Probably "recte . . . praecipunt" should likewise be placed in square brackets. The subject is unspecified and not

1. *M. Tulli Ciceronis Scripta quae manserunt omnia*, fasc. 3: *De oratore* (Leipzig, 1969).