



ΤΡΕΦΕΙΝ ΓΑΛΑ (Odyssey 9.246)

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NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

ΤΡΕΦΕΙΝ ΓΑΛΑ (*ODYSSEY* 9.246)

The verb *τρέφω* is often used from the *Iliad* through Hellenistic times to describe “rearing” a human child or young animal, at which point it gradually loses ground to the compound *ἀνατρέφω*, still found in Modern Greek.¹ Much more rarely it denotes “thickening, congealing, or curdling” a liquid, as in the Cyclops episode of the *Odyssey* (9.246–47):

αὐτίκα δ' ἤμισυ μὲν θρέψας (v. l. πῆξας P⁶) λευκοῖο γάλακτος
πλεκτοῖς ἐν ταλάροισιν ἀμυσάμενος κατέθηκεν . . .

Immediately having curdled (v. l. having made stiff) half the white milk, [and] having gathered up [the curds], [Polyphemus] put them in woven baskets . . .

This sense recurs in Theocritus (25.106; cf. Ael. *NA* 16.32):

ἄλλος ἀμόλγιον εἶχ', ἄλλος τρέφε (v. l. στρέφε WTrM) πίονα τυρόν,
ἄλλος ἐσῆγεν ἔσω ταύρους δίχα θηλειῶν.

One [of Augeas' herdsmen] was holding a milk pail, another curdling (v. l. twisting) a fat cheese, another leading in the bulls apart from the cows.

Similarly the compound *περιτρέφω* figures in a simile for Paieon healing Ares' stomach-wound (*Il.* 5.902–3):

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ὁπὸς γάλα λευκὸν ἐπειγόμενος συνέπηξεν
ὕγρον ἐόν, μάλα δ' ὄκα περιτρέφεται (v. l. περιστρέφεται *vulg.*) κυκώοντι . . .

As when fig juice acting by itself congeals white milk when it is liquid, and very quickly it comes² (v. l. is spun round) for one who stirs it . . .

Nor is milk the only liquid whose thickening is so described. We also find, again in a simile (*Od.* 23.237):

νηγόμενοι, πολλὴ δὲ περὶ χροῖ τέτροφεν (v. l. δέδρομε<v> b)³ ἄλμη . . .

Swimmers, about whose skin much brine has encrusted (v. l. has run) . . .

and (*Od.* 14.476–79):

I am grateful to Mark Payne and two anonymous referees for *CP* for many helpful suggestions; all translations are my own.

1. *ἀνατρέφω* in Aesch. *Eum.* 523 is corrupt; see Sommerstein 1989, 176 ad loc.

2. For this sense of “come” in English, see *OED*², s.v. 15.

3. This variant shows great ingenuity on the copyist's part, for while *δέδρομε<v>* scarcely resembles *τέτροφεν*, the citation-forms *τρέχω* and *τρέφω* differ by just one letter.

... αὐτὰρ ὕπερθε χιὼν γένετ' ἤϊτε πάχνη,
 ψυχρή, καὶ σακέεσσι περιτρέφετο κρύσταλλος.

Yet from above the snow came cold as frost, and ice formed on the shields.

τρέφω, “thicken, etc.,” is the presumptive root of θρόμβος, “clot of blood” (Aesch. *Cho.* 533, *Eum.* 184), τάρφος, “thicket” (*Il.* 5.555, etc.), ταρφύς, “thick, close” (*Il.* 11.387, etc.), τραφερός (of land), “dry” (*Il.* 14.308, etc.), τροφαλῖς, “fresh cheese” (Ar. *Vesp.* 838; Eup. *PCG* frag. 299; and—in the diminutive—Alexis *PCG* frag. 182.12),⁴ and τρόφις, “huge, swollen” (*Il.* 11.307). Arie Hoekstra in his note on *Od.* 13.410, in which Athena says that acorns and water τρέφει the fat on pigs, remarks, “this meaning [viz. ‘causes to grow thick’] is clearly very old”;⁵ and in his note on 23.237, W. B. Stanford calls it “the rare but perhaps basic sense,”⁶ and as much is implied by the order of definitions in Liddell-Scott-Jones and the Homeric lexica.⁷ Indo-Europeanists likewise regard the parent root of τρέφω, **dʰrebʰ-* as having the basic meaning of “thicken,” with “rear” as a derived sense⁸ (while τυρός, “cheese,” in turn, may come from PIE **teuǵ₂-*, “swell, become strong”).⁹ Yet how does a word for “thicken, etc.” come to mean “rear”?

This so troubled ancient copyists that in all but one passage quoted above at least one manuscript substitutes a *lectio simplicior* for the appropriate form of (περι-)τρέφω, even at the risk of producing nonsense (e.g., ἄλλος στρέφε . . . τυρόν in Theoc. 25.106). Yet Émile Benveniste, cited with approval by Pierre Chantraine, sees no problem:¹⁰

Il est fort possible en effet que les deux sens n'en fassent qu'un, mais comment se rejoignent-ils? . . . En réalité, la traduction de *tréphō* par “nourrir,” dans l'emploi qui est en effet le plus usuel, ne convient pas à tous les exemples et n'est elle-même qu'une acception d'un sens plus large et plus précis à la fois. Pour rendre compte de l'ensemble des liaisons sémantiques de *tréphō*, on doit le définir: “favoriser (par des soins appropriés) le développement de ce qui est soumis à croissance.” . . . L'expression grecque est *tréphēin gála* (*Od.*, IX, 246), qui doit maintenant s'interpréter à la lettre comme “favoriser la croissance naturelle du lait, le laisser atteindre l'état où il tend,” ou, prosaïquement, “le laisser cailler.” . . . Il n'y a donc plus de problème du classement des deux sens de *tréphō*, puisqu'il n'y a qu'un sens, partout le même. On peut conclure que *tréphō* “cailler” n'existe pas; il existe un emploi de *tréphō gála*, qui crée une association pour nous insolite, mais explicable dans les contextes grecs.

This is logical, even if Benveniste is cagey in using *croissance*,¹¹ from the top-drawer verb *croître*, which means at once *grandir*, “to grow in size” and *se développer*, “to

4. Cf. MacDowell 1971, 243; and Dalby 2003, 81.

5. Heubeck and Hoekstra 1989, 2.190. Yet LSJ (p. 1814) plausibly cite *Od.* 13.410 s.v. τρέφω under the different meaning II 4, “let grow, cherish, foster,” in which sense the word is used not only for animate beings, but also for anatomical parts, especially hair.

6. Stanford 1958–62, 2: 402.

7. LSJ p. 1814; Ebeling 1885, 2: 343; Autenrieth 1891, 272; and Cunliffe 1924, 389, s.v.; cf. Felson 2002, 35 n. 1.

8. T. Zehnder in Rix 2001, 153–54. Possible derivations of **dʰrebʰ-* in addition to τρέφω may include Lithuanian *drebti*, “throw, hurl, chuck, spatter” and *dribti*, “fall, drop”; Vedic *drapsá-*, masc. “drop,” and Germanic **drōb(i)a-*, “cloudy,” whence German *trübe*, “cloudy, dull, dim” and Anglo-Saxon and obsolete English *drof*, “turbid, disturbed, troubled: physically or mentally.”

9. Meier-Brügger 2004.

10. Benveniste 1966–74, 1: 292–93; Chantraine 1999, 1133, s.v.

11. M. E. Meek (in Benveniste 1971, 252) translates this key phrase, “to encourage (by appropriate measures) the development of that which is subject to *growth*” (italics added).

grow in importance.”¹² Yet, it is a feature of Greek vocabulary that it is usually more specific than English, not less. What about *les contextes grecs* lets this language of nice distinctions blithely apply a single word to both liquids solidifying and children growing up?

Not coincidence. Even without rennet (τάμσος), like the fig juice in the Iliadic simile quoted above or an animal’s stomach acid (πυετία), milk will mother and form on its surface a skin that Greeks called γραῦς (lit. “old woman”). Though not attested until Aristophanes (*Plut.* 1206),¹³ this usage, describing the sort of domestic detail that epics ignore, may be much older. A Scholiast (4b) to Aristophanes’ line attributes the two meanings of γραῦς to the underlying sense of whiteness (plausibly enough—after all the mythical Graiae’s gray hair explains their name, Hes. *Theog.* 271). Yet since γραῦς, like τρέφω, equates solidifying liquids and human aging, it is tempting to see a connection.

One lurks, I think, in the very passage with which we began. Some twenty-five lines before those cited at the outset we hear that Polyphemus’ sheep (*Od.* 9.220–22):

... διακεκριμένα δὲ ἕκασται
ἔρχατο, χωρὶς μὲν πρόγονοι, χωρὶς δὲ μέτασσαι,
χωρὶς δ’ αὖθ’ ἔρσαι.

... having been separated, were penned up: apart were the early-born, then apart those born later, and apart in turn the freshlings.

This passage has aroused controversy, first because it is unclear what differentiates the three categories, and second since the final group’s name seems a variant of Homer’s word ἔρση, “dew” (pl. “rain drops”). P. Giles, Manu Leumann, and Robert Beekes have argued from Latin *verres*, “boar pig” and Lithuanian *veršis*, “calf” that *φέρση originally meant “young animal” and was then confused with the word for “dew” (< *h₂ “ers-”, cf. Skt. *varshám*, “rain”).¹⁴ On the other hand, the two girl-acolytes who reenacted the deeds of Cecrops’ daughters (including Herse and Pandrosus!) in what Walter Burkert has convincingly shown to be a *rite de passage*, were called ἀρρηφόροι, a word formed from ἔρση.¹⁵ Be that as it may, dew has often been linked with young animals.¹⁶ We find, for instance, (Aesch. *Ag.* 140–41; cf. Callim. *Hecale Suppl. Hell.* frag. 288.19 = frag. 260.19 Pfeiffer = frag. 70.4 Hollis; Nonnus *Dion.* 3.389):¹⁷

12. For this take on *croissance*, see Dubois 1975, 449.

13. See also Arist. *Gen. an.* 2.6.734b9, [*Pr.*] 10.27.893b33; Nic. *Alex.* 91; and Hsch. 1.445 Schmidt, s.v. γραῦς. The word is not confined to milk; cf. LSJ Rev. *Suppl.*, s.v. Schol. Ar. (*Plut.* 1206b) defines it as ὁ ἀφρός ὁ ἀνώτατος τῶν χυτῶν, “the foam on the surface of pots.” Hence comes the verb γράϊζω (Ar. *PCG* frag. 461), defined as ὅταν τὸ συναγόμενον ἐν ταῖς χύτραις καὶ ἐπαφρίζον ἐκχέωσιν, “whenever people pour away what has collected and foams up in pots.”

14. Giles 1889; Leumann 1950, 258 n. 11; and Beekes 1969, 64.

15. Burkert 2001, 49, with n. 31; see also Wodtko, Irslinger, and Schneider 2008, 356–57, s.v. *h₂yers- “rain,” with bibliog.

16. Statius (*Theb.* 5.590) calls the blood of the dying baby Opheltes *sanguineae rores*, “bloody dew-drops.” Could this echo the same idea?

17. On the Aeschylus passage, see *Etym. Magn.* 377.39: καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονι τοὺς σκύμνους τῶν λεόντων δρόσους κέκληκε. In Callimachus’ line, τῆς μὲν ἔσω δηναίωγαφῃ δρ[ό]σον Ἥφαιστοιο, “[Athena] left(?) the dew/child of Hephaestus [i.e., Ericthonius] in the [chest] for a long time,” δρ[ό]σον is Gomperz’s supplement (1893, 10), which Hollis (2009, 233) rejects on the ground of both traces and sense. In Nonnus’ description of a lioness feeding her cubs, γαλαξαίησιν ἔέρσαις may be either in apposition to σκύμνος ἀμφοτέροις in the next line, or a periphrasis for γάλακτι (instrumental dative).

τόσον περ εὐφρων ἅ καλὰ
δρόσοις ἀέπτοις (VFT^rM^Σ, ἀέλπτοις, M) μαλερῶν λεόντων . . .

So kindly is the beautiful one [= Artemis] to the helpless “dews” of ravening lions . . .¹⁸

and also (Soph. frag. 793 Radt; cf. Ar. Byz. ap. Eust. 1625.48; Ael. NA 7.47):

ψακαλοῦχοι
μητέρες αἶγες τ’ ἐπιμαστίδιον
γόνον ὀρταλίχων ἀναφαίνουσιν.

Would that the mother goats with their “droplets” and newborns at the teat might appear!
(where ψακαλοῦχος < dim. of ψακάς, “drop of rain” + ἔχω, “to have”).

Finally, Hesychius (4.68 Schmidt) defines σταγόνες both by its usual sense of “drops,” and also as “daughters.”¹⁹ (A special case is that of bears, whose cubs were thought born *ineffigati informesque*, “formless and shapeless” and molded by their mother’s licking, Suet. *Poet.* [Vergil] 22; Gell. NA 17.10.3.)²⁰

Rearing-as-thickening, curds-as-“an old woman,” and newborns-as-dew converge in the general Greek notion that one gradually dries out over one’s lifetime. When Athena disguises Odysseus as an old tramp (*Od.* 13.430–32),²¹ she:

κάρψε μὲν οἱ χροῖα καλὸν ἐνὶ γναμτοῖσι μέλεσσι,
ξανθὰς δ’ ἐκ κεφαλῆς ὄλεσε τρίχας, ἀμφὶ δὲ δέρμα
πάντεσσιν μελέεσσι παλαιοῦ θῆκε γέροντος . . .

withered his fair skin on bent limbs, and took from his head the blond hair, and about him in all his limbs put the body of an old man . . .

We see this again in Archilochus’ words to a woman, perhaps Neoboule (frag. 188 West² = frag. 235 Lasserre-Bonnard):

οὐκέ[θ]’ ὁμῶς θάλλεις ἀπαλὸν χροῖα· κάρφετα[ι γὰρ ἤδη
ὄγμοι]ς, κακοῦ δὲ γήραος καθαιρεῖ
ᾠσά σ[.]. . .

No longer, however, does your soft skin flourish, for it is already faded with wrinkles, and the <destiny> of evil old age overtakes <you>. . .²²

Again, two fragments from Sophron’s mimes read (*PCG* frags. 54–55):

τὸ γὰρ ἀπεχθόμενον γῆρας ἀμὲ μαραῖνον ταριχεύει.
· · · · ·
τί μὰν ξύσιλος; :: τί γάρ; σύφαρ ἀντ’ ἀνδρός.

18. The meaning of ἄεπτος (< ἔπομαι, “not able to follow, and so helpless,” or = ἄπατος, “not to be touched, and so terrifying”) is uncertain. The variant reading of M means nothing in this context; see Bollack 1981, 1.165–67.

19. See Boedeker 1984, esp. 21–22.

20. I owe this reference to Rachael Cullick, who also notes that the planet Venus promotes reproduction in all animals *genitali rore conspergens*, “by scattering genital dew” (Plin. *HN* 2.6.38).

21. Cf. Onians 1954, 214–15, 219–21, 255–56.

22. We need not judge Snell’s emendation (1966, 70–71 = 1944, 283–84) ὄγμοις (after Horace’s adaptation [*Ep.* 8.3–4] *et rugis vetus / frontem senectus exaret*, “and let old age plough your forehead with wrinkles!”) for Heph. 6.3, ὄγμος. With the MS reading, we must translate, “your furrow is withered.” (“Furrow” = either “wrinkles” [so S. R. Slings in Bremer 1987, 64–65], or “vagina” [so Gerber and Brown 1993; Brown 1995].)

For hated old age, wasting us away, is embalming us. . . . —What is this bald one?
—What do you mean? He’s a piece of wrinkled skin in place of a man!

In old age one becomes *σαπρός*, perhaps “withered” rather than “rotten” (Ar. *Eccl.* 884).²³ Death seals the deal, and one is wholly desiccated (*αῖος*, “Orpheus” DK 1B17.8; cf. Ar. *Ran.* 194; Hsch. 2.122 Schmidt: ἐξευασμένον· τεθνεώτος, . . . γενομένου, “dried up: having died . . . having ceased to be”), and so thirsty.²⁴ Indeed our word “skeleton” comes from Greek σκέλλομαι, “to be dried up, parched.”²⁵

A crucial point in this process is ἥβης μέτρον ἰκέσθαι, “reaching maturity” (cf. *Od.* 11.317), which later poets call the ὥρα (cf. Mimnermus frag. 2.1 West²). At this brief moment when, no more a youth (κόρη, κοῦρος), one has been fully reared, one shears (ἀπο]κείρειν) one’s hair, and offers it usually—but not always (cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 1423–30)—to the river of one’s hometown (*Il.* 23.141, Aesch. *Cho.* 6)²⁶ as σύμβολον τοῦ ἐξ ὕδατος εἶναι πάντων τὴν αὔξησιν, “a token that the increase of all things comes from water” (Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.145 = 2.119 Drachmann). One can even be said, in an almost punning inversion, to have *reared* (τρέφε) one’s hair for the purpose (*Il.* 23.141–42). In this way, the link between liquidity and coming of age that we find in Greek folklore and vocabulary is enacted, and so acknowledged, at the level of ritual.

This picture is confirmed by two bits of lore about, of all things, cicadas. Consider these lines (Hes. [*Sc.*] 393–95):²⁷

ἦμος δὲ χλοερῷ κυανόπτερος ἠχέτα τέττιξ
δῶφ ἐφεζόμενος θέρος ἀνθρώποισιν ἀείδειν
ἄρχεται, ὃ τε πόσις καὶ βρῶσις θῆλος ἐέρση. . . .

While sitting on the green branch the dark- (or iridescent-)winged, chirping cicada, whose drink and tender food [is] dew, begins to sing to men in summer. . . .²⁸

From our point of view, the cicadas’ odd alleged diet finds its significance in another idea, known to epic bards—archaeology suggests—though expressed in no surviving text before Callimachus (*Aet.* frag. 1.29–35 Pfeiffer):²⁹

. . . ἐνὶ τοῖς γὰρ ἀείδομεν οἱ λιγὺν ἦχον
τέττιγος, θ]όρυβον δ’ οὐκ ἐφίλησαν ὄνων.
θ]ηρὶ μὲν ο]ὐατόεντι πανεῖκελον ὀγκήσαιτο
ἄλλος, ἐγ]ὼ δ’ εἶην οὐλ[α]χός, ὁ πτερόεις,
ἅ πάντ]ως, ἵνα γῆρας ἵνα δρόσον ἦν μὲν ἀεῖδω
πρώκιο]ν ἐκ δίης ἡέρος εἶδαρ ἔδων,
αὐθι τ]ῷ δ’ ἐκ]δύοιμ[ι]. . . .

23. Cf. Ussher 1973, 197 ad loc.

24. Griffith 2008, 99 n. 26, with bibliog.

25. Onions 1966, 831.

26. West, 1966, 263–64 ad 347.

27. Wolf questions their authenticity; see Solmsen’s apparatus (1970, 104); cf. Borthwick 1966; Davies and Kathirithamby 1986, 113–33; and Beavis 1988, 91–103.

28. Cf. Theoc. 4.16; Callim. frag. 1.34 Pfeiffer; Eubulus *PCG* frag. 9.5 = 10.5 Hunter, with Borthwick 1966, 107–12; Arist. *Hist. an.* 532b13, 556b16, 682a25; Verg. *Ecl.* 5.76–77.

29. Gold cicadas in Mycenaean shaft graves (Schliemann 1878, 201) and a modeled relief on the central boss of a phiale by Sotades from a mid-fifth-century Athenian tomb (Hoffmann 1997, 113–18) may have symbolized agelessness and immortality. The earliest literary reference, though, compares them rather to the voices of very old men, the Trojan *δημογέροντες* (*Il.* 3.150–52, cf. Schol. *Il.* 11.1; Lucian *Bacchus* 7; Artem. 3.49; and Faulkner 2008, 276 ad 237, with bibliog.); and in Pl. *Phdr.* 258e–259d, cicadas were once men so given to song that they starved to death (cf. Carson 1986, 138–40).

For we would sing among those who used to make the shrill sound of the cicada, and did not love the racket of mules. For totally like the long-eared beast let some other bray, but would I were the little, winged one—yes indeed—so that (as I sing, eating from pure air my dewy food) I might forthwith cast off old age/my nymphal skin! . . .³⁰

A clearer, though much later, expression of the same thought is in *Anacreontea* 34:

Μακαρίζομέν σε, τέττιξ,
 ὅτε δενδρέων ἐπ' ἄκρων
 ὀλίγην δρόσον πεπωκώς
 βασιλεὺς ὅπως αἰεῖδεις.

 τὸ δὲ γῆρας οὐ σε τείρει.
 σοφέ, γηγενής, φίλυμνε,³¹
 ἀπαθής, ἀναιμόσαρκε·
 σχεδὸν εἴ θεοῖς ὅμοιος.

We pronounce you blessed, cicada, when upon the treetops, having drunk a little dew, you sing like a king. . . .³² Old age does not oppress you, wise, earth-born, lover of song, unmoved, with bloodless flesh, you are nearly like the gods!

In other words, while all other animals move inexorably from Ur-liquidity to dusty death, thanks to its diet the cicada remains always, even in the scorching days of summer when it sings (Hes. *Op.* 582–88; Alc. frag. 347 Lobel-Page, Voigt), the “dew” it was at birth.

Two final points: first, liquids have no form beyond that of their containers, hence the “protean” nature of water gods (*Od.* 4.417–18; Pind. *Nem.* 4.62–65; Soph. *Trach.* 10; etc.). It follows that both cheese making and child rearing involve imposition of form. The cheese maker achieves this with his *τάλαρος* (*Od.* 9.247; Ar. *Ran.* 560; Theoc. 5.86, 8.70 = Lat. *forma*, *formella* > It. *formaggio*, Fr. *fromage*).³³ Education and rearing likewise affect children by shaping them (πλάσσω, ῥυθμίζω, Pl. *Phdr.* 253b, *Resp.* 377c; Xen. *Cyr.* 8.8.20; Plut. *Mor.* 3e).

Second, Greeks had little use for milk, which neither keeps nor carries.³⁴ It was the drink of marginals: Tartars, Scythians, Massagetae, horse milkers, fish eaters, bedouin or hillbillies (*Il.* 13.5–6; Hes. frag. 150.15, 151 Merkelbach-West; Hdt. 1.216, 3.23, 4.186; Eur. *El.* 169; Callim. *Hymn.* 3.252; Strabo 7.3.2), as well, of course, as the monstrous Cyclops himself. Cheese, by contrast, was worth enough for Classical Athenians at least to import regularly from Sicily (Ar. *Vesp.* 838; Hermippus *PCG* 63.9; Antiphanes *PCG* 236; Philemon *PCG* 76).³⁵ For their part, children are weak physically (Aesch. *Ag.* 75) and mentally (Soph. *OT* 1511–12), and are prone to vain pursuits (*Il.* 15.362–64; Aesch. *Ag.* 394–95) best outgrown (*Od.* 1.296–97, 2.313,

30. γῆρας means both; for the second (far rarer) sense, cf. Arist. *Hist. an.* 549b26. For cicadas shedding their “tunics,” see Lucr. 4.58.

31. φίλυμνε is Stephanus’ conjecture for the MSS’ φίλυπνε.

32. Kings do not often sing, but survey, as from a treetop, their whole domain. Yet Hesiod (*Theog.* 81–84) attributes their eloquence (τοῦ δ’ ἔπε’ ἐκ στόματος ῥεῖ μέλιχα) to the Muses’ having poured γλυκερὴ . . . ἑέρση, “sweet dew [i.e., honey]” on their tongues; see Hopkinson 1994, 78.

33. On cheese in Greek culture, see Auberger 2000.

34. Though see Wilkins and Hill 2006, 161–63.

35. Aelian (*NA* 16.32) says that a talent of Cythnian cheese from Ceos sold for ninety drachmas.

18.229 = 20.310; cf. 1 Corinthians 13:11), which is why gods and heroes in myth mature so quickly.³⁶

Not only, therefore, does the act of τρέφειν turn inanimate objects literally, and living beings metaphorically, from liquid to solid, but it shapes and improves both. This is the context in which the phrase τρέφειν γάλα, odd though it sounds, makes perfect sense.

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36. Children are weak: Golden 1990, 4–8; gods and heroes mature quickly: e.g., Hes. *Theog.* 492, with West 1966, 302; *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 241; *Hymn Hom. Merc.* 17–18; Alc. apud Plut. *Mor.* 7.20.4; Pind. *Ol.* 7.35–38, *Nem.* 1.43–45; Callim. *Hymn.* 1.55; Hor. *Carm.* 1.10.

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AEGINA AND MEGARA (IG IV.2² 750)

A decree found on Aegina in the eighteenth century honors a citizen, Diodorus, for his services as *agoranomos*;¹ the date is "year 64" of the province, the 80s B.C.E. The grain-purchase fund was exhausted by war requisitions, pirates had entered and overrun the territory, there was famine, but he saw to it that grain was sufficient:

ἀπὸ συνέδρων καὶ τοῦ δάμου· ἐ[πεὶ ὑπὸ]
 τῶν πολιτῶν Διοδωρος Ἡρακλ[εῖδα]
 κατασταθεὶς ἀγορανόμος [τὸ τέ]- 4
 τартон [καὶ] ἐξηκοστὸν ἔτος τῷ ἐπ[ι]-
 μέλειαν [πε]ποίηται τὰς ἀρχαῖς ἀ[ξιως τὰς]
 ἐγχειρισ[θείσα]ς αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ [δάμου]
 πίστιος, [τοῦ μὲν] σιτωνικοῦ κατ[αναλίσκο]- 8
 μένου εἰς [στρατι]ωτικὰς οἰκονομ[ίας περὶ]
 [π]όλεμον, ἐτ[ι δὲ τῶν] πειρατῶν ἐπερ[χομένων]
 κα[ὶ] κατατρεχ[όντων] τὰν χώραν, ἅμ[α καὶ ἐν]-
 δείας οὖσας δ[ιὰ τὸ π]λειστοπολ[- - - -] 12
 [π]αρέχων ἱκανὸν σ[ῖτο]ν (κτλ.)

1. First copied by Fourmont; now, with improved readings and restorations, K. Hallof, *IG IV.2² 750* and pl. 15.