190. *ὑδροκόμος*. A unique form. Cf. *ὑδροκωμήτης*[3]), Synesius, *Ep.* 121, also *ὑδροδόκος*, Nonnus, *Paraphr. Jo.* 2.7 (*PG* 43.761A).

217. *κατασπορεύς*. BC found no parallel for the sense of sower rather than the technical meaning of inspector of crops which this noun elsewhere has. One is provided by pseudo-Athenagoras, *De Semente* 3 (*PG* 28.148A).

306. *δακτυλόδεικτος*. BC's doubts about the legitimacy of the active sense here required might be alleviated by two cognates unknown to *LSJ*: *δακτυλοδείκτης*[4]), of John the Baptist as the indicator of Christ, Chrysippus, *Enc. in Jo. Bapt.* 3 (ed. Sigalas, p. 33, 5); *δακτυλοδειξία*, an indication made by the finger, Cyril, *Jo.* 2.5.

340. *ἀννονάλια*. Cf. *ἀνναλιος*, Justinian, *Cod.* 1. 3. 45. 13.

Etymologies and Double Meanings in Euripides' *Bacchae*

By Charles Segal, Providence

Prominent among Euripides' many-faceted interests in the intellectual life of his time is his use of the Sophistic theories of language associated with Protagoras, Democritus, and Prodicus[1]). Recently Van Looy has provided a valuable survey of the *figura etymologica* in Euripidean drama and called attention to a wide variety of etymological plays throughout the tragedies[2]). He gives the *Bacchae* a deservedly important place in his study, pointing out the etymological plays on the names and patronymics of Pentheus

[3]) A variant reading for *ὑδρομίκτης*, on which see Z. Borkowski, '*Υδρομίκτης*', *ZPE* 21 (1976), 75–6.

[4]) Arguably the right reading here: BC report the suffix as doubtful.

[1]) For Sophistic theories of language see Felix Heinimann, *Nomos und Physis* (Basel 1945) 156–62; W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy* 3 (Cambridge 1969) 204ff., who notes (p. 207, note 2) Euripides' etymological linking of Aphrodite and *ἀφροσύνη* in *Tro.* 989f.; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Euripides, Herakles* (Berlin 1907, repr. Darmstadt 1959) ad 56. See also J. H. Quincey, "Etymologica", *RhM* 106 (1963) 142–48 on Aeschylus and Pindar; Ch. Segal, "Protagoras' *Orthoepeia* in Aristophanes' Battle of the Prologues", *RhM* 113 (1970) 158–62.

[2]) Herman Van Looy, "*παρετυμολογεῖ ὁ Εὐριπίδης*", *Zetesis* (Festschrift E. De Strijcker) (Antwerp and Utrecht 1973) 345–66, with the further literature cited on p. 345, note 3.

and Dionysus (1, 292, 298, 367, 508, 562, etc.), the verbal associations of *mania* and *mantikē* (298f.), the *figura etymologica* in 955 and 1260. Even after so thorough a survey, however, a few instances still call for comment, and it is the purpose of this paper to discuss several rather neglected passages where the *Bacchae* exploits etymological affinities between words and similar devices to deepen the implications of the tragic action.

1.443–448:

ἃς δ' αὖ σὺ βάκχας εἶρξας, ἃς συνήρπασας
κἄδησας ἐν δεσμοῖσι πανδήμου στέγης,
φρουδαί γ' ἐκεῖναι λελυμέναι πρὸς ὀργάδας
σκιρτῶσι Βρόμιον ἀνακαλούμεναι θεόν·
αὐτόματα δ' αὐταῖς δεσμὰ διελύθη ποδῶν
κλῆδές τ' ἀνῆκαν θύρετρ' ἄνευ θνητῆς χερός.

Constraint and release are here the terms of the conflict between Pentheus and Dionysus, the "uptight", repressed ruler and the god who "releases" the power of the emotions. We may recall the cult of Dionysus Lysios at Thebes and elsewhere. Pentheus' implicit definition of his city in terms of enclosure, "binding" (*δεῖν*, *δεσμοί*), and imprisonment is stressed by 444: *κἄδησας ἐν δεσμοῖσι πανδήμου στέγης*. The paronomastic association of *δήσας*, "bind", and *δῆμος*, "city", is a comment on the kind of the civic order that Pentheus defends. The "loosing" of the Maenads to the glades in the next line (*λελυμέναι πρὸς ὀργάδας*) points up the clash between the two antagonists and also implies the futility of Pentheus' "constraints" or *δεσμοί*. Likewise in 447 the imminent failure of these *δεσμοί* is hinted at in the alliterative sound-play, *αὐτόματα δ' αὐταῖς δεσμὰ διελύθη ποδῶν*. The sharp juxtaposition of "binding" and "loosing" in *δεσμὰ διελύθη* produces the same effect.

Pentheus' "keys", *κλῆδες*, the messenger says in 448, cannot enclose these prisoners. The impotence of the king's keys here anticipates the impotence of his more massive enclosure later: in response to Dionysus' manifest power to evade *δεσμοί* (643, 648) he would "lock up" (*κλήειν*) the city with fortified towers (653): *κλήειν κελεύω πάντα πύργον ἐν κύκλῳ*. Here alliteration and the careful enframing of the sound-pattern, *klē- kel . . . p-p . . . k-kl*, verbally imitates the act of enclosure[3]).

[3]) For enclosure and walls in the *Bacchae* see W. C. Scott, "Two Suns Over Thebes: Imagery and Stage Effects in the *Bacchae*", *TAPA* 105 (1975) 340ff.

In 653, as in the association of *δήσας* and *δῆμος* in 443, Pentheus in effect defines his city as a place of enclosure. The ensuing stichomythy makes this definition quite explicit, for here Pentheus describes his "authority" (*κῦρος*) as the power to "bind" (505–506):

— *ἐγὼ δὲ δεῖν γε, κυρώτερος σέθεν.*
— *οὐκ σἶσθ' ὅ τι ζῇς, οὐδ' ὃ δρᾷς, οὐδ' ὅστις εἶ.*

Pentheus' failure to "enclose" or "constrain" the god and his worshipers, his inability to lock them into the dark prisons of the palace or outside of the walls of the city, parallels his failure to lock the god outside of himself. The god breaks down the ego-defenses of Pentheus' personality just as he breaks down the defenses of palace and city. In both the soul of the king and the palace of the king he causes wide cracks to appear (585–593, 633). As in the *Heracles* the fragmentation of a previous heroic identity goes hand in hand with the destruction of the visible, public place which houses that identity[4]). Here the irresistible god of all that Pentheus opposes—wine, madness, religious ecstasy—slips through or over the useless gates or walls (654) to the vulnerable center.

2.780–785:

στεῖχ' ἐπ' Ἠλέκτρας ἰὼν
πύλας· κέλευε πάντας ἀσπιδηφόρους
ἵππων τ' ἀπαντᾶν ταχυπόδων ἐπεμβάτας
πέλτας θ' ὅσοι πάλλουσι καὶ τόξων χερὶ
ψάλλουσι νευράς, ὡς ἐπιστρατεύσομεν
βάκχαισιν.

Near the peripety, as Dionysus' "invasion" is at hand, Pentheus again has recourse to gates and enclosures (cf. 780f. and 653f.). His language of martial exhortation, so different from Dionysiac softness, emotionality, and appeal to women, again stretches to the furthest point the contrasts between the two young men on stage. After this extreme tension Pentheus' collapse follows almost at once.

Pentheus' last resistance takes the form of the vehement martial bombast of 781–785. It is emphasized by the play of *πέλτας . . . πάλλουσι*, where it is possible that Euripides is also suggesting an

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[4]) See J. Wohlberg, "The Palace-Hero Equation in Euripides", *A Ant Hung* 16 (1968) 149–55.

etymological connection between the two words[5]). The additional rhyming effect of *πάλλουσι ... ψάλλουσι* further emphasizes the sounds of war, the inappropriate and ineffectual response to the advent of Dionysus.

The verb *πάλλειν* is in fact a word of Maenadic activity. It describes the god rousing his worshipers to the ecstasy of his rites (148–150):

> *πλανάτας ἐρεθίζων*
> *ἰαχαῖς τ' ἀναπάλλων,*
> *τρυφερόν τε πλόκαμον εἰς αἰθέρα ῥίπτων.*

The verb recurs later for another Maenadic rite, now described in the past, in which the god roused up his worshipers for their victorious attack on their prey (1189–91):

> *ὁ Βάκχιος κυναγέτας*
> *σοφὸς σοφῶς ἀνέπηλ' ἐπὶ θῆρα*
> *τόνδε μαινάδας.*

Earlier, too, when Teiresias is trying to explain to Pentheus the character and the power of the Maenads, he uses that same verb. After pointing out that Dionysiac panic fear can set armed troops to flight—an observation soon to be substantiated by the events on Cithaeron, 723–764—, Teiresias describes the Maenads leaping and brandishing their "bacchic branch" on the mountain (306–309):

> *ἔτ' αὐτὸν ὄψῃ κἀπὶ Δελφίσιν πέτραις*
> *πηδῶντα σὺν πεύκαισι δικόρυφον πλάκα,*
> *πάλλοντα καὶ σείοντα βακχεῖον κλάδον,*
> *μέγαν τ' ἀν' Ἑλλάδα.*

Pentheus, in fact, recalls these lines in the verbal echo between his statement in 779, *ψόγος ἐς Ἕλληνας μέγας*, and Teiresias' description of Dionysus as *μέγαν ἀν' Ἑλλάδα* in 309. Dionysus' "greatness in Hellas" is purchased at the cost of Pentheus' enduring "a great insult to the Hellenes". The "bacchic branch" brandished on the mountains in 308 will answer those vehemently brandished arms that Pentheus calls upon in 783f. A branch (*κλάδος*), obeying the

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[5]) *πέλτη* is in fact probably of Celtic origin, its root related to Lat. *pellis*: see P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris 1968ff.) and H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg 1960–70) s.v.

mysterious power of the god, will be the instrument of the king's death on the mountain (cf. 1064–1074, 1103).

Similarly Pentheus' confident description of his cavalry in 783, "riders on swift-footed horses", has an ironical echo at the end when Pentheus meets his death as "a beast" that "rides" or "climbs", *ἀμβάτης* (1107; cf. 1061), a death that totally reverses the martial values that he so vehemently professes in his last moments of sanity.

3.785–790:

Πε. *οὐ γὰρ ἀλλ' ὑπερβάλλει τάδε,*
εἰ πρὸς γυναικῶν πεισόμεσθ' ἃ πάσχομεν.
Δι. *πείθῃ μὲν οὐδέν, τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων κλύων,*
Πενθεῦ· κακῶς δὲ πρὸς σέθεν πάσχων ὅμως
οὔ φημι χρῆναί σ' ὅπλ' ἐπαίρεσθαι θεῷ,
ἀλλ' ἡσυχάζειν.

Pentheus' phrase in 786, *πεισόμεσθ' ἃ πάσχομεν*, continues the contrast of *πάσχειν* and *δρᾶν* and the play on *πάθος*, *πένθος*, *Πενθεύς* that run throughout[6]). The verbal plays suggest the gradually emerging truth concealed in Pentheus' name: this outwardly powerful ruler will change places with his prisoner and, in another way, with the god as a "sufferer" of "grief". In 492 Pentheus was the "doer", the Stranger the "sufferer": *εἶφ' ὅ τι παθεῖν δεῖ· τί με τὸ δεινὸν ἐργάσῃ*. The Stranger begins to invert that relation after the Palace Miracle. Essentially defeated in his first direct physical (and implicitly erotic, 620) struggle with the god, Pentheus is the one to declare, "I have suffered terrible things" and is forced to acknowledge the ineffectiveness of those "bonds" in which he had put so much trust (642–643):

πέπονθα δεινά· διαπέφευγέ μ' ὁ ξένος,
ὃς ἄρτι δεσμοῖς ἦν κατηναγκασμένος.

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[6]) On *πάθος* / *πένθος* see Chantraine and Frisk (preceding note) s.v. *πάσχω*; also G. Nagy, *Comparative Studies in Greek and Indic Meter* (Cambridge, Mass. 1974) p. 259 with note 27. In the case of Pentheus the name may have been altered to match (or make clearer) his fate, as a fairly early tradition gives the form "Tentheus": Hecataeus, *FGrHist* 1F31 and see Chaeremon, *TrGF* 71F4; Van Looy (above, note 2) 359. Etymologically, of course, "Tentheus" is still "Pentheus" but reflects a different treatment of the labio-velar (**q*ʷenth-* > *tenth-*): see Frisk, s.v. *πάσχω*, ad fin.

When Pentheus' defeat by the god is imminent, the earlier division between "doer" and "sufferer" becomes ever more problematical. In 800–801 Pentheus acknowledges his perplexity before the Stranger, *ὃς οὔτε πάσχων οὔτε δρῶν σιγήσεται* (801). Two lines later the Stranger makes a deliberately vague and tantalizing promise "to set things in good order (*εὖ καταστῆσαι τάδε*), whereupon Pentheus asks, *τί δρῶντα*; (803), implicitly acknowledging the Stranger as the one who makes him "act" (*δρᾶν*).

The etymological play on Pentheus as *penthos* is deepened in 785–790 by the close association with *πείθειν* in the Stranger's reply, *πείθῃ ... Πενθεῦ ... κακῶς πάσχων* (787–788). The verb *πεισόμεσθα* in 786 may also contain a hint of this wordplay, as it can mean both "we shall suffer" and "we shall obey", as if from either *πάσχω* or *πείθω*. Pentheus' "not obeying" (787) is not only a sign of the stiffness of spirit that leads to his *πάθος/πένθος*, but also the measure of his tragic reversal as he dies unable to "persuade" his mother (*οὐδ' ἔπειθέ νιν*, 1124), who is now fully under the spell of the Dionysiac frenzy.

Pentheus' abrupt reversal from agent to victim, *δρῶν* to *πάσχων*, at this peripety is encapsulated in his last words of the scene (845–846):

> *στείχοιμ' ἄν· ἢ γὰρ ὅπλ' ἔχων πορεύσομαι*
> *ἢ τοῖσι σοῖσι πείσομαι βουλεύμασιν.*

Given the play on *πεισόμεσθα* in 786f., line 846 may contain both the meaning, "I shall *obey* your counsels" and "I shall *suffer* through your counsels". Pentheus is in fact recalling lines 785–790 (cited above), with their play on *πείθειν* and *πάσχειν*. In particular he is here echoing the Stranger's words of 787–789, *πείθῃ μὲν οὐδέν, ... οὗ φημι χρῆναί σ' ὅπλ' ἐπαίρεσθαι θεῷ*. Now, however, as the god's madness begins to work in him, the mutually exclusive alternatives, "obeying" the god or bearing "arms" against him, become compatible and coordinate possibilities. Pentheus' martial defiance of the god in the command, *στεῖχε*, in 780 changes to the mysterious and ambiguous compliance in the first-person potential optative of the same verb in the *στείχοιμ' ἄν* of 845. Line 845 also echoes Dionysus' lines near the end of his first interview with Pentheus (515f.): *στείχοιμ' ἄν· δ τι γὰρ μὴ χρεών, οὔτοι χρεὼν παθεῖν*. The first stage of Dionysus' victory is to reject the *πάθος* that Pentheus would inflict on him; the second stage is to become him-

self the one who "acts", *δρᾶν*. This breakdown of Pentheus' earlier dichotomous logic is both the means and the sign of the victory of Dionysus, the god in whom opposites coalesce. The disguised god marks this change explicitly in 855–856, the speech of exultation with which he closes the scene:

> *γυναικόμορφον ἀγόμενον δι' ἄστεως*
> *ἐκ τῶν ἀπειλῶν τῶν πρίν, αἷσι δεινὸς ἦν.*

The *δεινότης* in Pentheus' threats (856) is now negated by the superlative *δεινότης* of the god himself (*δεινότατος*, 861).

As Van Looy observes, Dionysus' victory comes virtually through his gaining magical power over Pentheus' name[7]). That victorious name-magic has a complement in his effectively timed reassertion of the etymology of his own name, "Dionysus" as "son of Zeus", *τὸν Διὸς / Διόννσον* (860), rounding off the self-address of the disguised god in 849, *Διόνυσε, νῦν σὸν ἔργον· οὐ γὰρ εἶ πρόσω.*

Through the name-magic which the god uses in the etymological plays of the entire previous scene, "words" begin to take on the power of "deeds". Pentheus, not "obeying" (*πείθειν*) the god's "words" (*τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων κλύων*, 787), suffers his *πένθος / πάθος* through the god's "deeds": *Διόνυσε, νῦν σὸν ἔργον* (849). It is, finally, through *ἔργα*, not *λόγοι*, that Dionysus makes good the grim truth of his etymology of 508. In contrast to the rationalizing prophet's remote and fanciful etymological explanations of Dionysus' origins (286–297), the god himself makes his etymology of his antagonist's name present and visible in the "weight" of Pentheus carried on stage at the end, "a heavy weight of grief" (*φέροντες ἄθλιον βάρος / Πενθέως*, 1216f.), a "grief unmeasurable, scarcely to be looked upon" (*πένθος οὐ μετρητὸν οὐδ' οἷόν τ' ἰδεῖν*, 1244).

4.968–970:

Δι. φερόμενος ἥξεις . . .	*Πε. ἁβρότητ' ἐμὴν λέγεις.*
Δι. ἐν χερσὶ μητρός.	*Πε. καὶ τρυφᾶν μ' ἀναγκάσεις.*
Δι. τρυφάς γε τοιάσδε.	*Πε. ἀξίων μὲν ἅπτομαι.*

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[7]) On the name-magic see Van Looy (above, note 2) p. 346 with note 6; A. J. Podlecki, "Individual and Group in Euripides' *Bacchae*", *AC* 43 (1974) 157. See also Calvin S. Brown, "Odysseus and Polyphemus: The Name and the Curse", *Comp. Lit.* 18 (1966) 193–202, especially 196; Norman Austin, "Name Magic in the *Odyssey*", *CSCA* 5 (1972) 1–19, esp. 3f.

In a recent article Laurence Kepple has pointed out the subtle *figura etymologica*, as τρυφή, "luxury", is from the same root as the verb θρύπτειν, "break"[8]). The paradoxical "compulsion to be soft", τρυφᾶν μ' ἀναγκάσεις, conceals the harder form of the god's "compulsion" which will "break" Pentheus in a literal rather than a metaphorical way (cf. ῥηγνῦσα σάρκας, 1130). Under Dionysus' ambiguous power (861) Pentheus will become dis-solute in more than one sense.

These double meanings are reinforced by a similar *double entendre* in ἐν χερσὶ μητρός, 969. A few lines later Dionysus addresses the absent mother (973): ἔκτειν', Ἀγαύη, χεῖρας ... Do we hear in ἔκτεινε, "stretch forth", also an echo of κτεῖνε, "kill", which is what her hands will do (cf. κτάνοι, 1116; παῖδα σὸν κατακτάνῃς, 1121; τίς ἔκτανέν νιν;—πῶς ἐμὰς ἦλθεν χέρας; 1286? The detail of "being carried" in those "hands" in 969f., φερόμενος ... ἐν χερσὶ μητρός, is echoed in a deliberate *Fernverbindung* as Agave awakens from her madness and recognizes what she has done (1280): τί φέρομαι τόδ' ἐν χεροῖν.

5.918–924:

Πε. καὶ μὴν ὁρᾶν μοι δύο μὲν ἡλίους δοκῶ,
διττὰς δὲ Θήβας καὶ πόλισμ' ἑπτάστομον·
καὶ ταῦρος ἡμῖν πρόσθεν ἡγεῖσθαι δοκεῖς
καί σῷ κέρατα κρατὶ προσπεφυκέναι.
ἀλλ' ἦ ποτ' ἦσθα θήρ; τεταῦρωσαι γὰρ οὖν.
Δι. ὁ θεὸς ὁμαρτεῖ, πρόσθεν ὢν οὐκ εὐμενής,
ἔνσπονδος ἡμῖν· νῦν δ' ὁρᾷς ἃ χρή σ' ὁρᾶν.

In this famous scene of Pentheus' double vision of Dionysus as both beast and god there may be yet another play on double meanings of words. The verb τεταύρωσαι is generally taken to mean, "you have become a bull". The verb occurs only here in the *Bacchae*, and it seems to have the meaning, "become a bull", only here in classical Greek literature[9]). It occurs in two other passages of Greek tragedy. In Euripides' *Medea* 92, it clearly means "cast

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[8]) L. J. Kepple, "The Broken Victim: Euripides *Bacchae* 969–970", *HSCP* 80 (1976) 107–109.

[9]) Hesychius s.v. also gives an active form in the sense, "make a bull": ταύρωσον· ταῦρον ποίησον; but date and context are unknown.

bull-like glances at", "look savagely like a bull", and describes Medea's ill-boding looks at her children (*Med.* 91–93):

> *καὶ μὴ πέλαζε μητρὶ δυσθυμουμένῃ·*
> *ἤδη γὰρ εἶδον ὄμμα νιν ταυρουμένην*
> *τοῖσδ', ὥς τι δρασείουσαν.*[10])

In Aeschylus' *Choephoroe* (275) Orestes uses the verb to describe the terrible punishments which will afflict him if he fails to obey Apollo's command to avenge his father:

> *ἀποχρημάτοισι ζημίαις ταυρούμενον.*

Treated with this "bull-like savagery" he will be an outlaw among men (cf. *Cho.* 290–296). Given these parallels, there seems no reason why *τεταύρωσαι*, understood as middle voice, could not also mean "treat with bull-like savagery", in addition to the generally accepted "become a bull", at 922. At one level, then, Pentheus is saying, "You appear as a bull". Simultaneously his verse means, "You have been treating me with the savagery of a bull". These two meanings in fact recur in the ensuing action. The tauriform epiphany of 1017, where the chorus calls on the god to appear as a bull (*φάνηθι ταῦρος*), implicitly validates the meaning "become a bull" in 922. Later the chorus describes how the king, at his death, "had a bull as leader of his doom" (*ταῦρον προηγητῆρα συμφορᾶς ἔχων*, 1159), where both taurine appearance and taurine savage treatment may be implied.

6. 1051–1053:

> *ἦν δ' ἄγκος ἀμφίκρημνον, ὕδασι διάβροχον,*
> *πεύκαισι συσκιάζον, ἔνθα μαινάδες*
> *καθῆντ' ἔχουσαι χεῖρας ἐν τερπνοῖς πόνοις.*

The messenger, describing the circumstances of Pentheus' death, uses the adjective *διάβροχος* of the sheltered forest where Pentheus has found the Maenads. The word suggests a well-watered pleasance, like that of the Maenad-fawn's escape from the hunter in the third stasimon (866–876). This *locus amoenus*, however, will hold death and destruction, not the mystical lushness of the early odes or of the Golden-Age landscape of the as yet unattacked Theban Maenads

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[10]) See also Eur., *Med.* 187f.: *καίτοι τοκάδος δέργμα λεαίνης / ἀποταυροῦται δμωσίν* . . .

on Cithaeron (695–711)[11]). But now, after Pentheus' aggressive reaction, the well-watered valley takes on just the opposite meaning: it becomes a place of his entrapment and death. Earlier he had threatened Dionysus and the Maenads with *βρόχοι*, "nooses" or, in a wider sense, enchainment (545, 619). The god retaliated with "the noose of death" through the cry of his worshipers in the preceding ode (1021–1023):

περίβαλε βρόχον
θανάσιμον ὑπ' ἀγέλαν πεσόν-
τι τὰν μαινάδων.

The prepositions of lines 1051f. also stress the theme of enclosure: *ἀμφι-*, *δια-*, *συν-*. Given the importance of the theme of constriction and the recent occurrence of *βρόχος* in 1021, it may not be fanciful to hear an echo of that word in the compound adjective, *διάβροχος*, in 1051.

Two further points support this view. First *διάβροχος*, "with water flowing through", may in fact be etymologically related to *βρόχος*, "noose", if the verb *βρέχειν*, "to wet", has as its root meaning "smother"[12]). The enclosing landscape of the glade is, both etymologically and thematically, equivalent to the constriction that Pentheus would impose on the Maenads.

Second, the glade is called *ἄγκος*, and the root of this word, *ank-*, also conveys the notion of stifling enclosure or strangulation[13]). Pentheus had used a derivative of this root, *ank-*, in his first tirade against the invasion of the god (246f.):

ταῦτ' οὐχὶ δεινῆς ἀγχόνης ἔστ' ἄξια,
ὕβρεις ὑβρίζειν, ὅστις ἔστιν ὁ ξένος.

In their Golden-Age fusion with wild nature on Cithaeron, the Maenads give this root a very different sense as they nurse the young of wild creatures in the "embrace" or "enclosure" of their

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[11]) W. Elliger, *Die Darstellung der Landschaft in der griechischen Dichtung* (Berlin 1975) 254 fails to take account of the ominous overtones that transform a potential *locus amoenus* into a place of bloody violence. For the physical details of the setting see E. R. Dodds, *Euripides, Bacchae*[2] (Oxford 1960) ad 1051f.

[12]) E.g. Pindar, *Ol.* 6.55, 7.34, 10.98f. See H. Fränkel, *Glotta* 14 (1925) 1f.; T. G. Rosenmeyer, "On Snow and Stones", *CSCA* 11 (1978) 217. Chantraine and Frisk (above, note 5) s.v. *βρέχω* express doubts.

[13]) See Chantraine and Frisk (above, note 5) s.v. *ἀγκ-*.

arms: *ἀγκάλαισι . . . ἔχουσαι*, 699f. At the end, however, when this Dionysiac fusion with the wild shows its other side, the root *ank-* recurs with a different sense, first in Agave's boast that she did not need *ἀγκυλητοῖς Θεσσαλῶν στοχάσμασιν* to kill her "beast of prey" (1205), and then when Cadmus asks her, *τίνος πρόσωπον δῆτ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις ἔχεις*; (1277). Cadmus' phrase for the grim object carried in the *ἀγκάλαι* of a mother's arms is a deliberate echo of the happy cradling of adopted "children" in the maternal *ἀγκάλαι* of 699f. The echo emphasizes the sudden shift of the Dionysiac energies from nurture to death. Pentheus is indeed "carried in the hands of a mother" (968–970 and 1280), and the further echo between 699f. and 1277 reveals the prophetic and the etymological truth underlying both the *τρυφή* and the *ἀνάγκη* of his last moments on the stage (968–970).

The disturbing *ἀνάγκη* of 969, *τρυφᾶν μ' ἀναγκάσεις*, also echoes the root *ank-* to intimate the god's harsher side. Whether or not *ἀνάγκη* is actually derived from the root *ank-*[14]), poets from Homer through the fifth century connect it with notions of constriction or confinement and explicitly with confinement by *δεσμοί*[15]). Within the *Bacchae* itself Euripides seems to associate Pentheus' confining bonds (*βρόχοι*) with the *ἀνάγκη* with which he would imprison Dionysus' followers (547–552):

> *τὸν ἐμὸν δ' ἐντὸς ἔχει δώ-*
> *ματος ἤδη θιασώταν*
> *σκοτίαις κρυπτὸν ἐν εἱρκταῖς.*
> *ἐσορᾷς τάδ', ὦ Διὸς παῖ*
> *Διόνυσε, σοὺς προφήτας*
> *ἐν ἁμίλλαισιν ἀνάγκας.*

When the Stranger escapes those bonds, Pentheus acknowledges the failure of his power of *ἀνάγκη* (642f.):

> *πέπονθα δεινά· διαπέφευγέ μ' ὁ ξένος,*
> *ὃς ἄρτι δεσμοῖς ἦν κατηναγκασμένος*[16]).

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[14]) Chantraine (above, note 5) s.v. *ἀνάγκη*, gives hesitant approval to this etymology.

[15]) E.g. *Od.* 9.98f.; Hes., *Theog.* 614–16; Pindar, *Pyth.* 4.234; Soph., *Trach.* 831f. See in general Heinz Schreckenberg, *Ananke. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Wortgebrauchs*, Zetemata 36 (Munich 1964) 2–11, 40–42. He concludes (p. 175), "daß Ananke im Grunde eine allophone Bezeichnung des griechischen Desmos ist".

[16]) On *Ba.* 547–52 and 642f. see Schreckenberg (preceding note) 42.

In 969f. the god turns against his antagonist the *ἀνάγκη* which Pentheus tried to exert against him and his worshipers.

In the *τρυφαί* of 970 we hear an echo not only of the "breaking" (*θρύπτειν*) that awaits Pentheus (cf. 1130), but probably also of the near homophone *τροφή*, as in *Ion* 1375–1377[17]). If so, the shift from nourishing to murderous motherhood marked by the repetition between the *ἀγκάλαι* of 699f. and 1277 is already prepared for in advance. The "softness" (*ἁβρότης* 968) of the Maenad's ambiguously maternal embrace (*ἀγκάλη*) proves to be the suffocating hardness of the god's *ἀνάγκη* (969).

7. Line 1277, cited above, contains another play on the double meanings of words. The *πρόσωπον* that Agave holds in her arms is the "face", "countenance", "head" of Pentheus. But *πρόσωπον* by this time can almost certainly mean "mask" as well as "face", even though the former meaning seems not to be unambiguously attested before the fourth century[18]). If the meaning "mask" is also present here, Euripides, with characteristic *δεξιότης*, is calling attention to the power of theatrical illusion inherent in the art of drama. That power too belongs to the god celebrated in the *Bacchae*. This is a play much concerned with disguises, changes of "shape" (*μορφή*, 4, 453, 855, 917), costume (821ff., 925ff.), roles, and personality. After being taken through a radical change of personality and costume by the god and made to put on "women-miming garb" (*γυναικομίμῳ στολᾷ*, 980), Pentheus finally emerges as an empty "mask", carried by the actor who played his role in the earlier part of the play[19]).

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[17]) Eur., *Ion* 1375–77:

> *χρόνον γὰρ ὃν με χρῆν ἐν ἀγκάλαις*
> *μητρὸς τρυφῆσαι καί τι τερφθῆναι βίου,*
> *ἀπεστερήθην· φιλτάτης μητρὸς τροφῆς.*

See Kepple (above, note 8) 109.

[18]) For the possible sense of "mask" in *πρόσωπον* see Aesch. *Eum.* 990; Eur. *Cycl.* 227, *Or.* 224; Aristoph. *Ach.* 990, *Pax* 524, *Ran.* 912. See also Helene Foley, "The Masque of Dionysus", *TAPA* 110 (1980) 131.

[19]) Note Dionysus' direct address to the absent Agave in 973 as Pentheus leaves the stage. It is almost as if Dionysus is preparing the actor who has played Pentheus for his new role as Agave. For further implications of masking and disguising see my forthcoming book, *Dionysiac Poetics and Euripides' Bacchae* (Princeton 1982), chap. 7. For possible reflections of the language of initiation into the Dionysiac Mysteries see now R. Seaford, "Dionysiac Drama and the Dionysiac Mysteries", *CQ*, n.s. 31 (1981) 252–75, especially 253f.

The *Bacchae*, among other things, is a play about the god in whose sphere illusion and reality cross and the line between them becomes blurred. The etymological and verbal plays studied here show how this doubleness and duplicity to which Dionysus opens ordinary experience infiltrate the language as well as the city of Thebes. The god forces upon language itself, as upon the mortals who resist him, a difficult, potentially fatal vacillation between a familiar world of unitary meanings and another world where reality is doubled by the co-presence of beast and god.

Notes on the Vocabulary of Post-classical Tragedy

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In writing a monograph on fourth-century tragedy and particularly in examining the contribution of the papyri to post-classical tragedy[1]) I noted that some words and new formations on already known words were not included in the last edition of *LSJ* and its *Supplement* (Oxford 1968). The main purpose of the present short paper is to fill this gap with regard to additions that should be made to *LSJ* and also to some errors of the dictionary in dealing with the vocabulary of fourth-century tragedy[2]). More specifically, my main concern has been to note: words that are omitted in *LSJ*[9] and its *Supplement*; new formations on known words (grammatical ones and particularly compounds), not found in the above dictionaries; noteworthy instances from fourth-century tragedy which should be added to the examples cited in *LSJ* either because they provide different meanings or because they are unique instances in poetry.

In this paper there are included: a) the formations unlisted in the index of the recent edition (Göttingen 1981) of the *Fragmenta Adespota* by R. Kannicht and B. Snell (nos 2, 3, 6 and 9 below); b) those cited in the index of *verba tragica* of this book, but without

[1]) G. Xanthakis-Karamanos, *Studies in Fourth-Century Tragedy*, Academy of Athens 1980.

[2]) It is worth noting that the same omissions are found as a rule also in the other standard Greek dictionaries: cf., for instance, H. Stephanus, ed. by C. B. Hase *et al.*, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*; H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*; P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire Etymologique de la Langue Greque*; F. Preisigke - E. Kießling, *Wörterbuch der gr. Papyrusurkunden*.