

Kessel schmilzt mit Fett/in Fett. So läßt sich sowohl *κνίσσην* als Akk. der Beziehung¹⁹⁾ als auch *κνίσση* als Dat. instr. oder Dativ der Begleitung²⁰⁾ verstehen. Eine Entscheidung zwischen den beiden Lesarten von der Syntax her läßt sich kaum fällen, die Überlieferung spricht jedoch eindeutig für *κνίσση*, während *κνίσσην* unter dem Verdacht steht, eine hellenistische Konjekture zu sein, entstanden aus dem falschen Verständnis von *μελδόμενος*²¹⁾.

Mehrfach zitierte Literatur

- H. L. Barth: Die Fragmente aus den Schriften des Grammatikers Kallistratos zu Homers Ilias und Odyssee (Edition mit Kommentar), Diss. Bonn 1984.
 P. Chantraine: Grammaire homerique, I³ Paris 1958, II² Paris 1963.
 Marchinus van der Valk: Researches on the Text and Scholia of the Iliad. 2 Bde., Leiden 1963/64.

Polydeukes and Deukalion

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Summary: F. Càssola has shown that the name Polydeukes derives from **dleuk-* 'sweet'. The variant 'Leukarion' and gloss 'Deukalidai: satyrs' suggest that 'Deukalion' is formed from the same root.

The name Deukalion is usually derived from the old root **δευκ-* 'care' seen in Hesychius' gloss *δεύκει · φροντίζει*, which is thought

¹⁹⁾ Vgl. Chantraine II 46 (Anwendung bes. bei Partizipien).

²⁰⁾ Vgl. Chantraine II 74 ff., mit zahlreichen Parallelen, z. B. ι 68 *ἐπῶρσ' ἄνεμον ... λαίλαπι θεσπεσίη*, B 148 *ἡμῦν ἀσταχύεσσι*.

²¹⁾ Die anderen antiken vv. II. lassen sich schnell abhandeln:

a) Daß *μελδόμενος* eine Konjekture ist, ergibt sich aus dem, was Krates (und die im folgenden Peisistratos und Hermogenes) zur Begründung anführen, s. Schol. Pap. XII, col. XVII 30 (angeblicher *μεταχαρακτηρισμός*), vgl. Barth 184 f.;

b) *κνίσση* (*μελδόμενος*) könnte nur als Akk. Plur. eines Subst. *τὸ κνίσος* aufgefaßt werden, das es aber sonst bei Homer nicht gibt (vgl. Barth 189) und dessen kontrahierte Form *κνίσση* anstelle *κνίσσα* hier fehl am Platze wäre (Barth 192);

c) *κνίσσης μελδομένης* wäre weit von der Überlieferung entfernt und ist vermutlich auch nur ein Schreibfehler in der Scholien-Überlieferung (s. Anm. 1).

also to be the formant of Polydeukes.¹⁾ But the etymology of Polydeukes has recently been reexamined by F. Càssola,²⁾ whose reassessment of it also has implications for the name Deukalion. Rejecting both this etymology and the derivation from **Πολυλευκής* (cf. *δευκές* · *λαμπρόν* in Hesychius), Càssola adduces decisive new evidence in favour of a connexion with **dl(e)uk-* ‘sweet’. This evidence is as follows.

The words for ‘sweet’ and ‘(sweet) must’, *γλυκύς* and *γλεῦκος*, have long been hypothesised to derive from a root **dl(e)uk-*, because of the existence of Latin *dulcis*. That the root originally began with a dental is now assured, for alongside the dialectal variant *δεῦκος* for *γλεῦκος*³⁾ we can now set Mycenaean *de-ṛe-u-ko* on Knossos tablet Uc 160. 4, which J. Chadwick has persuasively explained as *dleukos* (the ideogram for wine is adjacent).⁴⁾ There is also the Knossian month-name *de-u-ki-jo-jo* (gen.), apparently ‘month of the must’ (Fp 1.1);⁵⁾ if correctly understood, this suggests that the cluster *dl-* was already undergoing simplification to *d-* in Mycenaean. Now the derivation of Pollux from Polydeukes is usually considered to have come about via the stages **Poldoucēs* > *Pollucēs*. However, Càssola points out that this will not accommodate the form of Pollux’ name in the dedication *Castorei Podlouqueique quirois* from Lanuvium, which most probably dates from the mid-sixth century B.C.⁶⁾ He rightly argues that *Podlouquei* should not be assumed to be an error, and that if it is correct **Podloucēs* can only derive from **Poludleukēs*. Thus it seems very likely that *Polydeukēs* is indeed compounded from ‘much’ and ‘sweet’, and *-deukēs* supplies the missing compounds in *-γλευκής* that Chantraine predicted,⁷⁾ but of which the sole example, *ἀγλευκής*, can now be seen to be a replace-

¹⁾ So H. von Kamptz, *Die homerischen Personennamen*, Göttingen 1982, 255 f.; cf. P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris 1968–80, s.v. *ἀδευκής*.

²⁾ ‘Polydeukes – Pollux’, *Sodalitas. Scritti in Onore di A. Guarino* III, Naples 1984, 1019–29.

³⁾ Scholia to Apollonius Rhodius I 1037; scholia to Nicander, *Ther.* 625, where it is said to be Aetolian.

⁴⁾ *Minos* 9 (1968) 192–7. The evolution of *dl-* > *gl-* is paralleled in *γλήχων*, now identified in Mycenaean *da-ra-ko* i.e. *dlākhōn* (MY Ge 603.1, 605.6: cf. J. L. Melena, *Nestor* 4 (1974–7) 1015 f.

⁵⁾ M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, ed. 2, Cambridge 1973, 304 f.

⁶⁾ For full bibliography see Càssola, art. cit. 1025 f.

⁷⁾ *Op. cit.* s.v. *γλυκύς*.

ment of the obscure Homeric adjective *ἀδευκής*, which seems very likely to mean 'bitter' in the light of the new evidence.⁸⁾

Càssola does not discuss the implications of this new information about Polydeukes' name for that of Deukalion, but it is worth considering whether the latter may not also derive from the same root; for the presence of the formant **dleuk-* 'sweet' in one Greek name must increase the probability of its occurrence in another.

The name Deukalion is already borne by a soldier in the Pylos tablets (An 654.12); it was an ordinary name as least as early as it became a heroic one, and belongs to an undistinguished Trojan slain at *Iliad* Y 478, as well as to sons of Minos (first at N 451 f.) and of Prometheus, the earliest man and husband of Pyrrha, who was variously localised in Northern and central Greece.⁹⁾ Cognate personal names are *de-u-ki-jo* in Linear B at Mycenae (Au 102.7), which is to be read as *Deukios* or *Deukiōn*, and *Δεύροδν* (*IG* VII 2559); these are evidently *Kurznamen* from the same root.¹⁰⁾ An intermediate form **Deukalos* may be indicated by the patronymic Deukalides at *Iliad* M 117 etc., although this could exist purely for metrical reasons, since ***Deukalionides* will not fit into the hexameter: von Kamptz compares the patronymic Anthemides of Anthemion at Δ 488.¹¹⁾ But the extension in *-ίων* is paralleled in the attested names Harpalos and Harpalion, and E. Risch has suggested that Deukalion and Deukalides may in origin be alternative patronymics, like the Homeric names Boukolides and Boukolion or Iphitides and Iphition.¹²⁾

A connexion between the name Deukalion and the myths attached to it is no more obvious than in Polydeukes' case. But two pieces of evidence support the derivation of this name from the root **dleuk-*.

(i) There was a variant *Λευκαρίων*, probably used by Epicharmus.¹³⁾ The possibility that the lambda is merely a majuscule error for delta is excluded by the rho, which is easily explained from the presence of another liquid in the word: for in such cases there is nor-

⁸⁾ For other hypotheses see Chantraine, *op. cit.* s. v.

⁹⁾ See M. L. West, *Hesiod, Works and Days*, Oxford 1978, 166.

¹⁰⁾ For this category of names see now von Kamptz, *op. cit.* 13 ff.

¹¹⁾ *Op. cit.* 130.

¹²⁾ *Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache*, ed. 2, Berlin and New York 1974, 56 f.

¹³⁾ *Et. Magn.* 561. 54. *Λευκαρίων ὁ ἰὼν Πύρρα ἢ (Πύρραν c.j. Kaibel) Λευκαρίων, Δευκαλίων καθ' ὑπέρθεσιν Λευκαδίων, τροπῇ τοῦ Δ εἰς Ρ Λευκαρίων*, whence Kaibel restored it in Epicharmus fr. 117 (= *Et. Magn.* 589.42), *Πύρραν γὰ μᾶται Λευκαρίων (Δευκαλίωνα cod.)*.

mally either dissimilation, as in **ἀλγαλέος* > *ἀργαλέος*, or, alternatively, the existence of one *l* in the root leads to the choice of suffixes in *r* instead of *l* as in *εὐχολή* beside *ἐλπωρή*, or *γένεθλον* beside *ὄλεθρος*.¹⁴) Clearly this form is no scribal error. Wilamowitz¹⁵) suggested that it is merely a joke, Mr White marrying Miss Red (i.e. Pyrrha). I see no way to exclude this outright, in the absence of Epicharmus' full text; but would not ***Λευκαλίων* have made the witticism sufficiently clear?

(ii) Hesychius has an entry *Δευκαλίδαι· οἱ σάτυροι*. The satyrs are nowhere else Deukalion's sons. We now know that Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women* made them the great-great-grandsons of his wife Pyrrha and Zeus, but this relationship is surely too indirect for it to be evident that this gloss alludes to their descent from him, as is supposed by M.L. West.¹⁶) On the other hand, why satyrs should be called 'sons of sweetness' or 'of must' scarcely needs explanation; and since the form *δεῦκος* is so rare, a self-conscious pun on 'must' by a comedian seems improbable.

Sophoclean Clusters of Dual Personal Pronouns

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Sophocles does not frequently employ the dual personal pronoun in the "Theban" tragedies. His use of the dual in general throughout these three plays – in nouns, adjectives, and verbs – is well understood and discussed in previous scholarly work.¹) But his use of the dual is,

¹⁴) M. Lejeune, *Phonétique historique du Mycénien et du grec ancien*, Paris 1972, 151.

¹⁵) Ap. G. Kaibel, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* I, Berlin 1899, 112. See further K. Meuli, in P.-W. *RE* XII (1925) 2211 f., s. v. Leukaria and Leukarion.

¹⁶) *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women*. Oxford 1985, 59 n. 64. The relevant passage is fr. 9 a. 19 M.-W., with the comments of the first editors P.J. Parsons, P.J. Sijpesteijn and K.A. Worp in *Papyri, Greek and Egyptian, in Honour of Eric Gardner Turner*, London 1981, 14.

¹) E.g. Bernard M. Knox, *The Heroic Temper; Studies in Sophoclean Tragedy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1964) 79–80 with 179, who cites also *El.* 977–85. See also the important work on the dual feminine forms by Guy L. Cooper, "In