

## XII.—Man's "Ephemeris" Nature According to Pindar and Others

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<sup>1</sup>*Ἐφήμερος*, in early Greek literature, does not mean "creature of one day, short-lived" but "subject to the (changing) day, variable," and the term implied that, along with the shifts and changes of a man's life, his outlook and character fluctuate; thus man is unsubstantial and a mere "shadow in a dream." Another line of thought stressed the benefits to be derived from voluntary adjustment to prevailing conditions and from versatile adaptation to each person with whom one has to deal. The concept of a mutable self emerged in the late epic period. — An appendix lists and exemplifies various connotations of the word *ἐφήμερος*. It is followed by an *index locorum*.

1. Pindar's eighth Pythian, of the year 446, contains a line which, in its compactness and power, is unlike anything else in his extant verse:

*Ἐπάμεροι· τί δέ τις; τί δ' οὐ τις; σκιᾶς ὄναρ ἄνθρωπος.*

"Day-creatures! What is any one, and what is any one not? Man is a shadow in a dream" (*P.* 8.95). The fine line is often quoted, but we may wonder whether we really understand it, and in particular, whether we appreciate the force of the key word, *ἐπάμεροι*.

2. The etymology of *ἐπάμερος* (or *ἐφήμερος*, *ἐφημέριος*)<sup>1</sup> is obvious, and yet it leaves considerable latitude of interpretation. "Day" may mean an individual day or every day; the force of *ἐπὶ* varies with the case which it governs, and even within each case; moreover, a compound of *ἐπὶ* and *ἡμέρα* can be resolved in two ways. It can be taken either as "that which is on day," or possibly as "that which has day upon it."<sup>2</sup> For these reasons, the word *ἐφήμερος* can convey, and did convey in various stages and spheres of Greek litera-

<sup>1</sup> There is no difference in meaning between the forms *ἐφήμερος* and *ἐφημέριος*.

<sup>2</sup> As indicated above, exocentric prepositional compounds in Greek are of two types (both of them dating back to the Indo-European period, cp. Jakob Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.* 2.1 §§ 110, 118 f.; Ed. Schwyzler, *Griech. Gramm.* 1.435 f.). An example for type A is *ἐνδημος* "that which is in the community," while type B is represented by *ἐμψυχος* "that which has life within (it)." Other examples are: *περισφύριον* "anklet" (A) as against (*αὐλή*) *περίστυλος* "with columns around (it)" (B); Homeric (*ἀσπίς*) *ἀμφιβρότη* "around the vulnerable body" (A) as against Homeric (*Ἰθάκη*) *ἀμφιάλος* "with sea around (it)" (B). The same compound could be used either way at will; in *Od.* 2.403 (*ἐραῖροι εἵατ'*) *ἐπήρετμοι* indicates that the crew is ready and "on" oars (A), while in *Od.* 4.559, etc., (*νῆες*) *ἐπήρετμοι* means "ships with oars on them" (B).

ture, a variety of notions, for instance, "living for one day" (an insect was called *ἐφήμερον*); or "of that particular day," as in "the business of the day"; or "recurring every day," as in "the daily routine of military training"; or "day-to-day," as in "day-to-day subsistence."<sup>3</sup> Which one of these senses, if any, is intended in the passage from the eighth Pythian?

3. When we hear Pindar call mortal men "day-creatures," we are very naturally reminded of the 90th Psalm (4-6): "For a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night. . . . They are like grass which groweth up. In the morning it flourisheth, and groweth up; in the evening it is cut down, and withereth." The explanations of the Pindaric ode which I have seen all take the crucial word in the light of that parallel and of the English word "ephemeral," so that the poet would describe man as "lasting, as it were, for but one day," "short-lived." Yet the context lends no support to this rendering, and it can be demonstrated, I believe, that Pindar's *ἐπάμεροι* has nothing whatever to do with the brevity of human life.<sup>4</sup> The notion of day is not meant to suggest duration; rather, "day" is looked upon as the frame of some special occurrence or as the symbol of some prevailing condition. The usage is well known from many Homeric phrases, as, for instance, *ἡματι τῷ ὅτε*, meaning "on that occasion when";<sup>5</sup> *νόστιμον ἡμαρ* (with *ἀφείλετο*, *ᾤλετο*, *sim.* *Od.* 1.9, 168, 354, etc.) stands for "safe return" to hearth and home; and in *ἐλεύθερον ἡμαρ ἀπούρας* (*Il.* 6.455, 16.831, 20.193) the word "day" substitutes, in fact, for "status."<sup>6</sup> Thus, the one element in the compound, "day," refers to our status or condition on any one day, and to the wide range of contingencies that some day

<sup>3</sup> For the evidence see the Appendix. Some of the senses in which the word was used are clearly distinct, while others converge and were blended by the ancient writers themselves (see the introductory remarks to the Appendix, below). From this a confusion resulted which the present article tries to clear up.

<sup>4</sup> All occurrences of the word known to me from earlier texts were examined in their immediate and broader context, and it was found that (1) the idea of life's brevity was often out of place (see esp. note 13, below); (2) the word was consistently used in a characteristic context, indicating a definite meaning different from "short-lived"; and (3) passages containing the word were closely paralleled by others that express the same meaning in different language.

<sup>5</sup> *Il.* 3.189, 5.210, etc. In the first mentioned passage it is especially evident that reference is made not to a particular day but rather to a certain contingency.

<sup>6</sup> Cp. also *δούλιον ἡμαρ* (*Il.* 6.463; *Od.* 14.340, 17.323), *νηλεές ἡ.*, etc. For the significance of the "day" in Homer, see "Die Zeitauffassung in der archaischen griech. Liter.," Beilageheft zur *Ztschr. f. Ästhetik und allgem. Kunstwiss.*, 25 (1931) 101 ff., 113 ff., where also *ἐφήμερος* is briefly touched upon.

may bring to pass. And the other element, *ἐπὶ*, indicates that "day" is "upon" us. Just as, for instance, *ἐπιφθονος* is "exposed and subject to envy," so *ἐφήμερος* is "exposed and subject to every actuality as it arises,"<sup>7</sup> and the term implies that man is moulded and remoulded by changing events and circumstances. For, according to this remarkable view, it is not merely our external condition that is liable to abrupt vicissitudes: we are *ἐφήμεροι* ourselves; our thoughts and feelings, our attitude and behavior, our ways and actions — in short, our entire personality is shifting and at the mercy of the day.<sup>8</sup> We shall presently read definite statements to this effect. But first let us go back to the significant Pindaric line, as it stands in its setting.

4. Pindar's latest verse shows no softening of the poet's spirit; it rather becomes more violent and tragic. The eighth Pythian celebrates the victory of a boy wrestler, and, in order to heighten the glory of the day, the writer depicts in merciless words the shame and dejection of four defeated opponents. Then he goes on to say: "But he who has won a fresh prize, soars in splendid exuberance, driven by hope and borne on the wings of prowess; his mind is set on thoughts beyond wealth. In but little time the joy of mortals grows; even so it falls to the ground, shaken by a turn of the mind."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> See below, note 17, and cp. further such coinings as *ἐπιθώσιος* (VII/VI cent.) "liable to a fine"; *ἐπίδικος* "subject to judicial decision"; *ἐπιτελής* "subject to taxation"; *ἐπικηρος*; *ἐπίσαλος ὄρμος*; *ἐπίνσοος* "an easy prey to disease"; and *ἐπιλορκος* "perjured" (of the swearer) or "sworn falsely" (of the oath), because an oath is, by definition, a conditional self-curse, and when the oath is false, the curse is "on" (the swearer) and he is "subject to" the penalty (see K. Latte, *RE* s. v. "Meineid," 346). All these are type B compounds (see note 2). In posthomeric times, however, an alternative way opened up for taking *ἐφήμερος* as a type A compound and yet arriving at the same meaning, "day-determined." As soon as the use of *ἐπὶ c. dat.* in the sense "in the power of" was developed, *ἐφήμερος* could be taken as "in the power of the day."

<sup>8</sup> Aristophanes, *Eq.* 518, uses *ἐπέτειος*, after the analogy of *ἐφήμερος*, in the sense of "fickle": *ἐπέτειοι τὴν φύσιν ὄντες*, i.e. at the Dionysia of one year the public feels quite differently about a poet from what they thought of him in preceding years.

<sup>9</sup> Lines 88 ff.: 'Ο δὲ καλὸν τι νέον λαχὼν ἀβρότατος ἐπὶ μεγάλας ἐξ ἐλπίδος πέτεται ὑποπτέρους ἀνορέαις, ἔχων κρέσσονα πλούτου μέριμναν' ἐν δ' ὀλίγῳ βροτῶν τὸ τεργνὸν αὔξεται· οὕτω δὲ καὶ πίτνει χαμαί, ἀποτρόπῳ γνῶμα σεσσεισμένον. — 'Αβρότας μεγάλα suggests an extravagance of well-being (cp. *μελιχὸς αἰὼν*, 97); the winner feels like an oriental king. 'Επὶ is not temporal but quasi-local: as a bird floats on air, so he in his high flight floats, as it were, on his happy condition. 'Ελπίς is overconfidence and wishful thinking (cp. *Nem.* 11.46). 'Αποτρόπῳ γνῶμα (probably) means not, as Boeckh and Gildersleeve took it, "infesto decreto (deorum)," but rather "through a reversal of his disposition," i.e. a turn from confidence to despondency (cp. *Nem.* 11.30–32); for the phrasing cp. fg. 214 Schroeder: *ἐλπίς, ἃ μάλιστα θανάτων πολύστροφον γνῶμαν κυβερνᾷ*. Similar, though not identical, explanations were offered by the scholium 131c, which paraphrases: *ἀγροὶ τινι γνῶμῃ καὶ πείρῃ*, i.e. "in consequence of an unpleasant experience," and by Hartung and Schroeder.

And again we read: "But when god-given light comes, then a bright gleam and a gentle life are upon men."<sup>10</sup> The human spirit, then, shifts abruptly from one extreme to the other, with confidence and despondency alternating; and such emotional vagaries are induced by our good or bad luck. It is in between these two observations that our line is found: "Day-creatures! What is any one, and what is any one not?" We are everything in succession, great and small, proud and humble; and as there is nothing we are not, we are not anything really. "Man is a shadow in a dream."<sup>11</sup> A thing which changes as man does, can therefore not be substantial. The conclusion is plausible enough; and its logic was pursued to the limit by Pindar's contemporary, Parmenides. Parmenides undertook to demonstrate that man and his world, because everything in it seems to come and go and change in the course of time, are nothing but unsubstantial phantoms.

5. There is ample evidence to prove that *ἐφήμερος* was used as an equivalent to "unstable." Typical instances are: "*ἐφήμερος* rather than stable"; "*ἐφήμερος* rather than secure"; and in parallel passages from Cicero and Epicurus, the phrase "in potestate fortunae" corresponds to *ἐφήμερος*.<sup>12</sup> "Precarious" is another possible rendering for the term; for the idea is not that our condition is shifting constantly, but rather that there is no certainty of permanence. The greater the number of our years, the more are we likely to see the day of a complete reversal.<sup>13</sup> With the last reflec-

<sup>10</sup> Lines 96 f.: 'Ἄλλ' ὅταν αἴγλα διόσδοτος ἔλθῃ, λαμπρὸν φέγγος ἔπεστιν ἀνδρῶν καὶ μείλιχος αἰὼν. Construe αἰὼν with ἔπεστιν: the "day upon" the *ἐπάμεροι* is then a kindly one. For the phrasing cp. *Isthm.* 8.14: δόλιος γὰρ αἰὼν ἐπ' ἀνδράσι κρέμαται, ἐλίσσων βίον πόρον; *Ol.* 2.10: αἰὼν δ' ἔφεπε μόρσιμος, πλοῦτόν τε καὶ χάριν ἄγων γησσίας ἐπ' ἀρεταῖς. For αἰὼν in connection with the changing day, cp. *Isthm.* 3.18: αἰὼν δὲ κυλινδομέναις ἀμέραις ἄλλ' ἄλλοτ' ἐξάλλαξεν.

<sup>11</sup> Cp. Aesch. *Prom.* 547-549: ἐφαμέριων . . . ἰσόνειρον; fg. 399 (see below, note 17): ἐφήμερα φρονεῖ . . . κάπνου σκιά; Aristoph. *Aves* 686 f.: σκυιοῖδεα φῶλ' ἀμενηνά . . . ἐφημέριοι . . . εἰκελδόνειροι.

<sup>12</sup> Epicurus, fg. 489: 'Εφήμερον πᾶν τὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἀγαθὸν ἐστι καὶ κακόν, σοφία δὲ οὐδαμῶς τύχῃ κοινωνεῖ. Cic. *Tusc.* 5.26.73: (Even Epicurus rises occasionally to true philosophical stature, so as to) fortunam contemnere, cum (=although) sit omne et bonum eius et malum (=pleasure and pain) in potestate fortunae. — For other examples, see the Appendix, group 1.

<sup>13</sup> Man, then, is *ἐφήμερος* not because his life is too short but because it is too long to retain any quality of consistency. Cp. Eurip. *Or.* 976: ἰὼ ἰὼ, πανδάκρυν' ἐφαμέρων ἔθνη πολὺπικνα: λείσσειθ' ὡς παρ' ἐλπίδας μοῖρα βαίνει (uncertainty and frustration), ἔτερα δ' ἔτερος ἀμείβεται (change) πῆματ' ἐν χρόνῳ μακρῷ (!), βροτῶν δ' ὁ πᾶς ἀστάθμητος αἰὼν (instability). In the story quoted from Aristotle (fg. 44) by Ps.-Plutarch (*Mor.* 115D), Silenus suggests to Midas an early death as a remedy (!) for τὸ ἐφήμερον: Δαίμονος

tion, we are on very familiar ground; the Herodotean Solon discourses at length on the too many days in a man's life, and draws the conclusion that "Man is all accident" (Hdt. 1.32).

6. Applied to man in general, the term *ἐφήμερος* reflects the thesis that inconstancy is inherent in human nature. It is in the *Odyssey* that we find that doctrine enunciated in plain and full language. In the eighteenth book, when Odysseus sees himself reduced to a beggar's status in his own palace, he remarks to one of the suitors that lord it there: "Once I too was prosperous among men, and at that time I felt confident and acted recklessly. But now I know better. Of all creatures that breathe and creep on earth, man is the most miserable.<sup>14</sup> While we are young and strong, and while the gods grant us *aretê*, we refuse to believe that misfortune may ever hit us. And yet, when the gods make reality dark and painful for us, we bear our lot in a temper of submissive endurance.

For such is the mind (*νόος*) of men on earth,

As is the day that the father of men and gods sends upon them" (*Od.* 18.130-40). That is, a lion is always a lion, and a sheep remains a sheep; but man is lion and sheep in turn, according to Zeus' day<sup>15</sup> that is upon him.<sup>16</sup>

7. The doctrine of man's personal variability, once it had emerged in the latter days of the epic period, was immediately adopted by the rising lyric age of Greece. (I am using the term "lyric" in its modern connotation.) The first representative of the new era, Archilochus of Paros, echoed the saying of the Homeric Odysseus. In his iambics he wrote (fg. 68 Diehl):

ἐπιπόνου καὶ τύχης χαλεπῆς ἐφήμερον σπέρμα, "it were best for you not to be born, and second best to die young." Cp. also Eurip. *Heraclidae* 865 f. in its context: One day (851) was sufficient to humiliate a man who had been lording it for almost a lifetime; and the moral is: Τὸν εὐτυχεῖν δοκοῦντα μὴ ζηλοῦν πρὶν ἂν θανόντ' ἴδῃ τις· ὥς ἐφήμεροι τύχαι.

<sup>14</sup> The precise meaning of *ἀκιδνός* is not known.

<sup>15</sup> The idea that Zeus is the source of actuality is expressed in the epithet *τέλειος*. Zeus could even be thought of as identical with actuality, for this is what Sophocles declares in the last line of the *Trachiniae*: *κοῦδὲν τούτων (scil. τῶν θανάτων καὶ παθημάτων) ὅτι μὴ Ζεὺς*. The concept, in turn, of a father-god who "sends upon us," or is, the "day," may help explain his very name *Ζεὺς πατήρ*, Diespiter or Juppiter, *dyauih pitā*, i.e. "Father Day" or "Father Sky." This god makes, or represents, the physical day and weather as well as the day and weather for man in a broader sense. For the combination in one word and notion of the ideas Heaven, Sky, God, Weather, and Day, cp. also the Chinese *t'ien*.

<sup>16</sup> One such degrading transformation is mentioned in the preceding book of the *Odyssey* (17.322 f.): Zeus takes away from man half his *aretê* (in this case, his active interest in whatever may be his business) as soon as the "slavish day" overcomes him.

Τοῖος ἀνθρώποισι θυμός, Γλαῦκε Λεπτίνῃω πάι,  
γίγνεται θνητοῖς' ὁκοῖν Ζεὺς ἐφ' ἡμέρην ἄγῃ,  
καὶ φρονεῦσι τοῖ' ὁκοίοις' ἐγκυρέωσιν ἔργμασιν.<sup>17</sup>

"The spirit in mortal men becomes such as is the day that Zeus sends upon them, and they have such thoughts as are the facts on which they chance." This view helped to bring lyric poetry to the fore. It seemed more important now for the writers to reflect in their verse the changing day than to erect a monument to bygone times. Archilochus' poetry and thought were primarily concerned with the fleeting Now, Here, and I; and throughout the archaic period, down to Pindar,<sup>18</sup> the idea of the passive and pliable self was a major element in the general feeling of human helplessness (*ἀμηχανία*) of which we hear so much in the literature of the time.<sup>19</sup>

8. The concept of man's *ἐφήμερος* nature has a number of ramifications. With our outlook determined by the day, our field of vision is limited; we dwell in ignorance of reality at large and fall

<sup>17</sup> The phrasing, ἐφ' ἡμέρην *scil.* ἄγῃ = ἐπ' ἡμᾶρ ἄγῃσι in Homer, illustrates the way in which the word *ἐφήμερος* was originally fashioned (see above, ¶3 with note 7).

It will be noted that Homer and Archilochus take the inconstancy of external conditions for granted; the point they make is that our character changes just as they do. The notion of a character, however, was not yet clearly established; the words used are, in Homer, *νός*, and in Archilochus, *θυμός* and *φρονεῖν*. Both *νός* and *θυμός* can mean "spirit, disposition, attitude"; and *φρονεῖν* has an emotional as well as intellectual connotation, as is shown by phrases like *φίλα φρονεῖν* and *μέγα φρ.* Archilochus may have here in mind primarily *μέγα φρονεῖν* and its opposite.

For the use of *φρονεῖν* in connection with *ἐφήμερος*, cp. *ἐφήμερία φρονέοντες* in *Od.* 21.85 (see ¶ 8); Aesch. *fg.* 399: *τὸ γὰρ βρότειον σπέρμ' ἐφήμερα φρονεῖ, καὶ πιστὸν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἢ κάπνον σκιά;* and Pindar *fg.* 182: *φροντὶς ἑπαμερίων* (see ¶ 8).

For the use of *θυμός*, cp. *θυμὸν ἐφήμεριον* in Theognis 966 (see ¶ 11); in Theocritus 30.31, the *θυμός* is compared with a *φύλλον ἐφήμεριον* which is picked up and carried away in any direction by a slight breeze of Eros. For the comparison with a leaf, in turn, cp. Aristoph. *Aves* 685-87 (see note 11): *φύλλον γενεᾷ προσόμοιοι . . . ἐφήμεροι*, Plutarch 1090b (see App. group 1): *ἐφήμερα καλεῖν φύλλοις τε εἰκάσειν*, and the other parallels quoted in the Appendix, introductory remarks.

<sup>18</sup> The concept of man's variable personality is hardly compatible with one of Pindar's most cherished tenets, the maxim that a person's inherited and congenital character is invariable (cp., e.g., the end of *Ol.* 11). The poet seems to have reconciled the two views by assuming that the will of the gods, or human limitations in general, often prevent the innate and hereditary qualities from taking effect; an idea which seems already to underlie a passage from the *Iliad*, 20.241-43. In this light, the essential weakness of human nature could be strikingly demonstrated (as in *Nem.* 6.1-24, *Nem.* 11.37-46) by pointing out how, in one and the same family, athletic prowess is much in evidence in certain generations and apparently absent in the intervening generations.

<sup>19</sup> For *ἀμηχανία* and an enforced change of character, cp. Theognis 373-92. For a penetrating discussion of the lyric *ἀμηχανία* and emotionality, see Bruno Snell, *Die Entdeckung des Geistes* (Hamburg, 1946) 68-80, 96.

an easy prey to illusions. Homer's Odysseus had already indicated as much; and Semonides of Amorgos sets forth that, while Zeus holds in his hands all reality (τέλος) and dispenses it at will, man has no insight (νόος); he lives ἐφήμερος like the beasts on the field (?), with no knowledge of the issues that God will ordain for his divers actions; wishful thinking (ἐλπίς) nurses vain ambitions in him.<sup>20</sup> Pindar, in the opening stanza of the sixth Nemean, connects human instability with our ignorance of the ἐφαμέριος mark to which our destiny may take us sooner or later.<sup>21</sup> In a Pindaric fragment (182 Schroeder) we read: "Alas, how the minds of ἐπαμέριοι are deceived, for they know not . . ."; and in another (157) Silenus says to Olympus: "You poor ἐφάμερος, you talk like a child (νήπια) in your boastfulness."<sup>22</sup> The ἐφήμερος, with his mind on the thing at hand, is impulsive and uninhibited; he is childish and primitive (νήπιος) in that he lacks self-control. The faithful herdsmen in the Odyssey weep at the sight of their master's bow, which shall now be used to select a new husband for Penelope; and for this they are upbraided by one of the suitors as "Primitive boors, with ἐφήμερία

<sup>20</sup> Semon. Amorg. fg. 1. 1 ff.:

ὦ παῖ, τέλος μὲν Ζεὺς ἔχει βαρίκτυπος  
πάντων δσ' ἔστι καὶ τῶθσ' ὅκη θέλει·  
νόος δ' οὐκ ἐπ' ἀνθρώποισιν, ἀλλ' ἐφήμεροι  
ἂ δὴ (?) βοτὰ ζῶμεν (?), οὐδὲν εἰδότες  
ὅκως ἕκαστον ἐκτελευτήσῃ θεός.  
ἐλπίς δὲ πάντας κάμπειβείη τρέφει  
ἄπρηκτον ὀρμαίνοντας.

<sup>21</sup> With the ἐφαμερία στάθμα Pindar means, not death in particular but any condition in general to which we may see ourselves reduced. This is clearly shown by a passage from Euripides' *Ion*, 1512 ff.: ὦ μεταβαλοῦσα μυρίους ἤδη βροτῶν καὶ δυστυχῆσαι καὶθις αὖ πράξαι καλῶς τύχη, παρ' οἷαν ἤλθομεν στάθμην βίου, μητέρα φονεύσαι καὶ παθεῖν ἀνάξια. The main idea, then, of *Nem.* 6.3-6 is that, by contrast to unshakable heaven, man's condition is variously determined by the day (ἐφαμερία); hence he is unable to count on the future and, for all his noble ambition, he is a nullity (οὐδέν). The same ideas recur in *Nem.* 11.37-47 (see also note 18) and *Ol.* 12.3-12. (These two passages, in turn, have an unusually close parallel in "Hermolochus," Stobaeus 4.36.66 = 4.2, p. 845 Hense: Ἀτέκμαρτος ὁ πᾶς βίος οὐδὲν ἔχων πιστὸν πλανᾶται συντυχλαῖς· ἐλπίς δὲ φρένας παραθαρσύνει· τὸ δὲ μέλλον ἀκριβῶς οἶδεν οὐδεὶς θνατὸς ὅπη φέρεται· θεὸς δὲ πάντας ἐν κινδύνους θνατοὺς κυβερνᾷ· ἀντιπνέει δὲ πολλὰς εὐτυχλαῖς δεινὴ τις αὔρα.)

For the expression in *Nem.* 6.6, "where the days or nights may take us," cp. Theognis 159 f. (see next note) and Hes. *Op.* 101-103 (contributed by the referee): the uncontrollable forces strike "at any time." For the phrasing, ἐφαμερίαν οὐδὲ μετὰ νύκτας, cp. Plato *Tim.* 71A.6: νυκτὸς τε καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν and *Soph.* 220D: νυκτερινόν . . . μέσημερινόν.

<sup>22</sup> For the thought, cp. Theognis 159 f.: Μήποτε, Κύνρ', ἀγορᾶσθαι ἔπος μέγα, οἶδε γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων ὃ τι νῦν χῆμῆρῃ ἀνδρὶ τελεῖ.

ideas (Νήπιοι ἀγροῖωται, ἐφημέρια φρονέοντες, *Od.* 21.85),<sup>23</sup> yielding to their emotion<sup>24</sup> and making things still harder for Penelope. Thus the word ἐφημέριος can imply lack of restraint. Theognis (485 f.) uses the “low-class, ἐφημέριος laborer” as a horrible example of a man who overdrinks at a banquet because, once he has a chance to load himself up, he is unable to resist the temptation.<sup>25</sup>

9. The early philosophers had much to say about the influence that accidental circumstances exercise on the mind of man; but our evidence is deplorably incomplete.<sup>26</sup> Parmenides elaborated a theory according to which the insight (νόος) with which we are blessed varies with the variable<sup>27</sup> constitution of the “limbs” (*Vorsokr.* 28, B.16); and Empedocles maintained that our apprehension is feeble because our “intellectual powers are blunted by trivial impressions,” and our horizon is narrow because “each one believes only in his own experiences” (*Vorsokr.* 31, B.2.2–4).<sup>28</sup>

10. So far, the ἐφήμερος reaction was considered a fundamental weakness of man’s nature; but it can also be turned into a source of strength. Adjustment makes the vicissitudes of life easier to bear.

<sup>23</sup> For the phrase ἐφημέρια φρονεῖν see note 17. Democritus (*Vorsokr.* 68, B.158) spoke of men in general as νέα ἐφ’ ἡμέρῃ φρονέοντες. This suggests a different analysis for the word ἐφήμερος, with a similar result in meaning (see Appendix, introductory remarks).

<sup>24</sup> If, in a given context, ἐφημέριος can easily assume the meaning “emotional, tearful,” then οὐκ ἐφημέριος can evidently be used to indicate that a person is immune from emotional reactions, so as to shed no tears. This reasoning opens the way to a new explanation of *Od.* 4.223: “Helen put into their wine φάρμακον . . . νηπενθές τ’ ἄχολόν τε, κακῶν ἐπὶ ληθον ἀπάντων· ὃς τὸ καταβρόχθειν, . . . οὐ κεν ἐφημέριός γε βάλοι κατὰ δάκρυ παρειῶν (not even if both his parents were lying dead, or his brother or child were slain before his eyes).” The traditional rendering of the word, however, “for the duration of the day,” seems simpler.

<sup>25</sup> Theognis 485 f.: μὴ σε βιάσθω γαστήρ ὥστε κακὸν λάτριν ἐφημέριον. The traditional explanation, “a laborer hired for the day,” does not fit the context.

<sup>26</sup> One reason for the inadequacy of the doxographic tradition on this subject is Aristotle’s oversimplifying assumption that the ancients identified thought and sensual perception; he even read this identification into the lines we quoted from the 18th book of the *Odyssey*. See Harold Cherniss, *Aristotle’s Criticism of Presocratic Philosophy* (Baltimore, 1935) 313 with note 86; cp. also Theophr. *De sens.* 3: τὸ γὰρ αἰσθάνεσθαι καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν ὡς ταὐτὸ λέγει (*scil.* Parmenides).

<sup>27</sup> The word used for “variable” is πολύπλαγκτος. For the connection between τὸ πολύπλαγκτον and mental mutability see below, ¶ 13.

<sup>28</sup> Heraclitus, on the other hand, objected to the lines which we quoted from Archilochus. For him it was not true that the thoughts of people at large conform to their experiences (*Vorsokr.* 22, B.17), because he felt that they fail to understand the language of reality (cp. B.1; 107 etc.). And Protagoras, in fact, reversed the doctrine. While, according to Archilochus, we see things just as they happen to be for us, Protagoras (80, A.13–18, B.1) maintained that things are just as we happen to see them.



"Small in smallness, great in greatness shall I be," says Pindar (*P.* 3.107 ff.), "and in my mind I shall comply with the prevailing daemon, serving him to the best of my skill." In another ode (*Isthm.* 7.40 ff.) he declares: "Pursuing the ἐφάμερος happiness, I shall enter serenely on old age and on whatever is fated for my life."

11. One step further, and voluntary adaptation to circumstances as they arise may be used for dishonest purposes, and a man may manage his own personality so as better to exploit others. An elegy of the Theognis collection (963 ff.) sounds a warning against the "counterfeit, deceitful manner" of the many people that "put on an ἐφημέριος spirit."<sup>29</sup> Here ἐφημέριος assumes the meaning "time-serving." Another elegy from the same book blandly recommends assimilating one's own manner to that of the friend with whom one is dealing at the moment. Like the cuttlefish that changes its color so as to match the rock to which it clings, so one ought to accommodate one's own mood to that of the partner (213–18).<sup>30</sup> The conceit, including the comparison,<sup>31</sup> was borrowed

<sup>29</sup> In Theognis 655 f. we read: Σύν τοι, Κύρνε, παθόντι κακῶς ἀνιώμεθα πάντες· ἀλλὰ τοι ἀλλότριον κῆδος ἐφημέριον. This seems to mean: "We all grieve with a man who has just suffered an affliction; but care for the other fellow's sake is no more than casual." (The double τοι is probably the particle; about 10% of all connected passages in Theognis begin with τοι, according to Josef Kroll, *Theognisstudien*, *Philologus* Suppl. 29.1 [1936] 95, note 258.) If this is correct, ἐφημέριος again refers to an immediate emotional reaction of a transitory nature. See my addendum, page 145.

<sup>30</sup> The passage 213–18 recurs in 1071–74. The repetition omits the cuttlefish couplet and therefore replaces χροά γίνου (217) by πέλεν ὀργήν (1073). The pert line 1074 gives probably the original version, which was then bowdlerized into the flabby line 218. The best available text can only be arrived at by an eclectic utilization of the various traditions, direct and indirect:

Κύρνε, φίλους κατὰ πάντας ἐπίστρεφε ποικίλον ἦθος,  
 συμμίσγων ὀργήν οἷος ἑκαστος ἔφν.  
 πολυπόδος νόον ἴσχε πολυπλόκου (?), δς ποτὶ πέτρῃ,  
 τῇ περ ὀμιλήσῃ, τοῖος ἰδεῖν ἐφάνη.  
 νῦν μὲν τῷδ' (?) ἐφέπου, τοτὲ δ' ἄλλοιός χροά γίνου.  
 κρείσσόν τοι σοφίῃ καὶ μεγάλῃς ἀρετῇς.

<sup>31</sup> Plutarch, describing Alcibiades as a past master in this mimicry, compares him to a chameleon (*Alc.* 23.4): Ἦν γὰρ ὡς φασὶ μία δεινότης αὐτῇ τῶν πολλῶν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ μηχανὴ θήρας ἀνθρώπων, συνεξομοιοῦσθαι καὶ συνομοπαθεῖν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ ταῖς διαίταις, ὥστερας τρεπομένῃ τροπᾷ τοῦ χαμαιλέοντος. The comparison with a chameleon is used by Aristotle for the other aspect of variability, the passive transformation of an individual who is thought to be blessed and wretched in turn (*Eth. Nic.* 1.1100b.6): δῆλον γὰρ ὡς, εἰ συνακολουθοῖμεν ταῖς τύχαις, τὸν αὐτὸν εὐδαίμονα καὶ πάλιν ἄθλιον ἐροῦμεν πολλάκις, χαμαιλέοντά τινα τὸν εὐδαίμονα ἀποφαίνοντες καὶ σαθρῶς ἰδρυσμένον.

from a minor epic poem, in which a traveler was advised to be a different man in different countries.<sup>32</sup> Both lines of thought, then, the idea of ἐφήμερος mutability as a bane and the notion of clever flexibility as a boon, originated in the late epic period.

12. To conclude our short discussion, let us review in historical sequence how the concept which we have been studying came to emerge and prevail.

13. The earlier epic poetry, as represented by the *Iliad*, was based on the idea of stability. Just as the past with which it dealt was set and fixed for evermore, unchangeable, even so its characters were, first of all, stable entities. Agamemnon was and remained proud Agamemnon; Achilles was, and stubbornly remained, proud Achilles; and so the two quarreled and clashed and sulked. Later generations saw their ideal of human greatness in a different light. As legend puts it, not obstinate and stolid Ajax but versatile and worldly-wise Odysseus fell heir to Achilles' armor and prestige. The maxim that underlies this story is well formulated in a line from the Theognis book (1074) to the effect that "Wit overmatches a pound of worth" (κρείσσόν τοι σοφίη καὶ μεγάλης ἀρετῆς). The line is from the passage just mentioned, the passage likening the adaptable man to a cuttlefish or, to quote the exact wording, to a πολύπους πολύπλοκος. In another couplet from the same collection, an adaptable boy is likened to a πολύπλαγκτος bird.<sup>33</sup> In similar language, the proemium of the *Odyssey* celebrates its hero as the πολύτροπος δς

<sup>32</sup> The epic lines, from the admonitions given to Amphilochoi by his father Amphiaraios, advise the traveler to adjust himself to the local ways (Powell, *Anal. Alex.* 246, no. 2):

Πολύποδός μοι τέκνον ἔχων νόον, 'Αμφίλοχ' ἦρως,  
τοῖσιν ἐφαρμόζειν τῶν κεν κατὰ δῆμον ἵκηαι,  
ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλοις τελέθειν καὶ χῶρῃ ἔπεσθαι.

Pindar, who wrote for many communities himself, and was occasionally so courteous to one as to incur the wrath of another, renders the maxim in this form (fg. 43 Schr.): ὦ τέκνον, ποντίου θηρὸς πετραίου χρωτὶ μάλιστα νόον προσφέρων πάσαις πολίεσιν ὁμίλει, τῷ παρῶντι δ' ἐπαινήσαις ἑκὼν ἄλλοι' ἄλλοῖα φρόνει. The Theognis passage goes much further in that it recommends this sort of mimicry for the intercourse with friends in general. Cp. also Soph. fg. 307 (Pearson); Ion fg. 36 (Nauck p. 739); Eupolis fg. 101 (Kock 1.284).

<sup>33</sup> Theognis 1257: ὦ παῖ, †κινδύνοισι (κιλλούροισι Herwerden) πολυπλάγκτοισιν ὁμοῖος ὀργήν, ἄλλοτε τοῖς' ἄλλοτε τοῖσι φιλεῖ (?). The couplet is too corrupt for a full interpretation, but it seems certain that the boy transfers his loyalty from one group to the other and makes himself popular with each clique in turn by a change in his disposition. The plural τοῖσι precludes a reference to love affairs.

μάλα πολλά πλάγχθη<sup>34</sup> and who had thus a chance to know πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων νόον;<sup>35</sup> with his agile mind, the great traveler made good use of his wide experience, for he managed to survive all sorts of perils and would even have brought his men safely home, had it not been for their own foolishness. This is in direct contrast to Achilles, who chose death in battle, and whom the opening lines of the *Iliad* extol as sacrificing to his unyielding pride the lives of many comrades.

14. Within the *Odyssey*, in a scene in which clever Odysseus plays to perfection the part of a beggar, swallowing his pride and obliterating his real character as a stratagem for reestablishment of his real character — in that scene Odysseus reveals the somber aspect of adaptability and avers that man's self is fickle and subservient to the day. The somber aspect was to haunt and harass the Greeks of the following era. Man felt helplessly adrift.

15. The classical age gave man again a firmer stand on this his earth, but tragedy did not forget the significance of the Day. In the prologue of Sophocles' *Ajax*, Athena declares: "Day lays low and raises up again all things human" (131), in confirmation of a remark just made by Odysseus: "All men alive are nothing but images and flimsy shadows" (125 f.). These two comments, combined, amount to a restatement of what we have found in Pindar's ἐπάμεροι line. As the plot of Sophocles' play develops, we learn that Ajax is safe if he can be kept within his tent for this one day; if not, he is doomed (753–57). A number of tragedies confine the time of action to a single revolution of the sun and make a point of the narrow temporal compass; not so much for technical reasons, I believe, but rather to teach the lesson of man's ἐφήμερος nature.<sup>36</sup> A mortal is, body and soul, at the mercy of any one day.

<sup>34</sup> I am indebted to Maurice Cunningham for calling my attention to the coincident wording in Theognis 1257 (πολυπλάγκτοισιν) and *Od.* 1.1 f. (πολλὰ πλάγχθη).

<sup>35</sup> In *Od.* 5.432 ff. Odysseus himself is likened to a cuttlefish, but only in respect to the tenacity with which he clings to a rock in the surf.

<sup>36</sup> It is well known that Aristotle went too far when he asserted (*Poet.* 1449b.13) that tragedy μάλιστα πειράται ὑπὸ μίαν περίοδον ἡλίου εἶναι, ἢ μικρὸν ἐξαλλάττειν. "As for unity of time, it would more closely correspond to the facts to say that time does not exist unless it is mentioned" (H. D. F. Kitto, *Greek Tragedy* [London, 1939] 169, note 1). The more, then, can we be sure that, when the time element is stressed (e.g. in *Oed. Tyr.* 438: "This day will give you both birth and destruction"), there is a meaning behind it.

## APPENDIX

This is a lexicographical study of the word *ἐφήμερος* in its various connotations, supplementing the article which deals with one significant meaning in the earlier language. The list is by no means intended to be complete, but every occurrence mentioned (except Vett. Val. 62.17) was examined in its full context.

'*Εφήμερος* can be analyzed in several ways (see above, ¶ 2 and note 2), but in certain cases the result is very similar (see notes 3, 7, 23), so that some passages can equally well be assigned to more than one group (see the remark at the end of group 1, below). The following arrangement should therefore be taken with a grain of salt.

The comparison with a leaf (see note 17) illustrates the complex of related but not identical ideas on the nature of man that could be read into the one word *ἐφήμερος* in later times:

- (1) "subject to the day, changeable," group 1 (man's soul is like a loose leaf whirled hither and thither by the whims of the breeze);
- (2) "lasting for one day only," group 3 (man's life span is short like that of a leaf that sprouts in spring and dies by fall time, cp. Mimnermus fg. 2 and Plut. 1090B, see below, group 1 [sic]);
- (3) "daily, renewed with every new day," groups 2 and 4 (the generations of men succeed one another like the yearly foliage of trees, cp. *Iliad* 6.146-49).

When, on the other hand, the word is specifically applied to man's views and feelings, these three ways of analyzing it all lead to the same result, "mutable, temporary, inconstant." It will further be noted that in group 2, below, usages are derived both from *ἐφ' ἡμέρα* and from *ἐφ' ἡμέραν*. The variety and the overlapping of notions are indeed confusing; and it is not surprising that the meaning which the article tries to establish has been overlooked.

(1) '*Εφήμεροι* = mortal men (unspecified). A. *Pr.* 83, 255, 945; Neophron fg. 3.4 (p. 731 Nauck); Emp. *Vorsokr.* 31, v.3.4; 131.1; Ar. *Nu.* 223; ps.-Arist. *Mu.* 393A.5; Ti. *Locr.* 99D (4, p. 414 Hermann): *θνατά τε καὶ ἐφάμερα ζῶα* (perhaps because they are subject to changes, cp. *τῇ φύσει τῇ ἀλλοιωτικῇ παραδούς*, and *ἔξω μῖαs τῆs ταυτῶ δυνάμειs*); Pl. *R.* 10.617D: *ψυχαὶ ἐφήμεροι* (the souls are addressed after separation from their bodies), *ἀρχὴ ἄλλης περιόδου θνητοῦ γένους θανατηφόρου*; Pl. *Lg.* 11.923A: *ὦ φίλοι . . . καὶ ἀτεχνῶs ἐφήμεροι* (i.e. short-sighted and narrow, see context).

"Unstable, insecure, precarious" *sim.* Plu. 1090B: *τὸ γὰρ ἐφήμερα καλεῖν* (= the way poets are used to speak of *ἐφήμερα*, etc.) *καὶ ἀβεβαία καὶ ἀστάθμητα* (*ἀστ.* recurs in Eur. *Or.* 981, see note 13), *φύλλοις τε* (see note 17) *γιννομένοις ἔτους ὥρα καὶ φθίνουσιν εἰκάζειν τὸν βίον . . .*; Plu. 1104F: *καταφρονούντες ἑαυτῶν ὡs ἐφημέρων καὶ ἀβεβαίων καὶ πρὸs οὐδὲν ἀξιόλογον γεγονότων*; Plu. 821F: *ἐφήμερόν τινα καὶ ἀβεβαίον δόξαν* (= popularity); Plu. *Caes.* 5.8: *ἐφήμερον καὶ βραχεῖαν δόξαν* (= popularity); Plu. 20A: *ἐφήμερον καὶ ἀψίκoron καὶ ἀβεβαίον χάριν*; Plu. 41E: *ἡδὺ μὲν, ἐφήμερον δὲ καὶ ἄκαρπον ἔργον*; E. *Ph.* 558 (del. versus Valkenaer): *ὁ δ' ὀλβος οὐ*

βέβαιος ἀλλ' ἐφήμερος; E. *Heracl.* 866: ἐφήμεροι τύχαι (see note 13); Diph. *Eun.* 45: ἀπροσδόκητον οὐδὲν ἀνθρώποις πάθος· ἐφημέρους γὰρ τὰς τύχας κεκτήμεθα; Th. 2.53.2: ἐφήμερα τὰ τε σώματα καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὁμοίως ἡγούμενοι because of the ἀγχίστροφος μεταβολή during the plague; Pl. *Er.* 7.356A: τιμὴν αὐτῷ καὶ γένει ἀείζων ἀντὶ τυραννίδος ἐφημέρου καὶ ἀδίκου κτώμενος. (Τυραννὶς) ἐφήμερος probably means here "precarious" (by contrast to ἀείζωος "indestructible"), cp. E. fg. 420: ὄρῳς τυράννους διὰ μακρῶν ἡύξημένους (their power thrived for a *long* time) ὡς μικρὰ τὰ σφάλλοντα, καὶ μὴ ἡμέρα τὰ μὲν καθεῖλεν ὑψόθεν, τὰ δ' ἥρ' ἄνω. On the other hand, the rendering "short-lived" (it has its day and then perishes) would also make a good contrast to ἀείζωος. The notions "unstable, precarious" (group 1) and "fugitive, transitory" (group 3) are too close for neat separation; and it seems that ἐφήμερος = "subject to such changes as any day may bring about" was often fused in later times with ἐφήμερος = "lasting for a day only, ephemeral."

(2) "Everyday" (cp. *Heracl. Vorsokr.* 22, B.6: ὁ ἥλιος νέος ἐφ' ἡμέρῃ ἐστίν, and ἐπέτειος "recurring every year"). Ascl. *Tact.* 1.4: πρὸς τὴν ἐφήμερον γυμνασίαν τε καὶ ἄσκησιν . . . καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἀγῶνας ("for routine training as well as for actual combat"); Plu. *Per.* 16.5: οὐχ ἡδὺς ἦν (*scil.* Pericles) ἐνηλικίους παισὶν οὐδὲ γυναιξὶ δαψιλῆς χορηγός, ἀλλ' ἐμέμφοντο τὴν ἐφήμερον ("everyday, humdrum") ταύτην καὶ συνηγμένην εἰς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον δαπάνην, not at all as one would expect from a very wealthy man, but with every expense and quantity counted and measured.

"A matter of daily necessity" = εἰς πᾶσαν ἡμέραν (cp. Hdt. 1.32.5: ὁ ἐπ' ἡμέρῃν ἔχων, opp. ὁ μέγα πλούσιος), with reference to the food needed to keep body and soul together from each day to the next. Arist. *Pol.* 1.1252B.16: Ἡ μὲν οὖν εἰς πᾶσαν ἡμέραν συνεστηκυῖα κοινωνία κατὰ φύσιν οἴκος ἐστίν, οὗς Χαρώνδας μὲν καλεῖ ὁμοσιτῖους, Ἐπιμενίδης δὲ ὁ Κρήσις ὁμοκάπους (both = "messmates"). ἡ δ' ἐκ πλείονων οἰκιῶν κοινωνία, πρώτη χρήσεως ἔνεκεν μὴ ἐφημέρου, κώμη.

Hence ἐφήμερος τροφή "day-to-day sustenance," Stob. 1.1.13 (1, p. 27 Wachsmuth): Ζεὺς ἔσθ' ὁ πέμπων τὴν ἐφήμερον τροφήν; D. H. 8.41.5: ἀπῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας . . . μόνος, ἄδουλος, ἄπορος, οὐδὲ τὴν ἐφήμερον ὁ δύστηνος ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ χρημάτων τροφήν ἐπαγόμενος; *Er. Jac.* 2.15: γυμνοὶ ὑπάρχουσιν καὶ λειπόμενοι τῆς ἐφημέρου τροφῆς; Vett. Val. 62.17: ἐνδεεῖς τῆς ἐφημέρου τροφῆς; Aristid. 28.139 Keil (2, p. 537 Dind.): τῆς ἐφημέρου τροφῆς ἀπορῶν (a beggar); D. S. 3.32.3: (of primitive nomads) their herds rather than their parents provide for them τὰς ἐφημέρους τροφὰς αἰεὶ; Plu. 938B: τὴν Σελήνην . . . τρέφειν τοὺς ἀνδρας ἀμβροσίαν ἀνείσαν ἐφημέριον.

Ἐφήμερος *bios sim.* "from hand to mouth." Fg. Trag. Adesp. 284: ἄπολις, ἄοικος, πατρίδος ἐστερημένος, πτωχός, πλανητής, βίον ἔχων ἐφήμερον (var. II.: τὸν ἐφήμερον et τοῦφήμερον); Menander fg. 382 Kock: στρατεία δ' οὐ φέρει περιουσίαν οὐδεμί', ἐφήμερον δὲ καὶ προπετὴ βίον; Ph. 5, p. 290.4 Cohn: A laborer should be paid without delay, ὅτι καὶ . . . ἐφημερόβιος ὢν ὁ χειροτέχνης ἢ ἀχθοφόρος . . . ἐπὶ τῷ μισθῷ τίθεται τὴν ἐλπίδα (cp. also *A.P.* 7.634, Antiphrilos Byz.: ὄφρα λάβοι μισθὸν ἐφημέριον); Plu. *Galba* 16.2. (1060A): Οἱ περὶ σκηνὴν καὶ παλαίστραν were reluctant to refund

90% of the bounties which they had received from Nero, ἀνηλώκεσαν γὰρ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν λαβόντων, ἐφήμεροι καὶ σατυρικοὶ τοῖς βίοις ἄνθρωποι. — Meaning uncertain in Ptol. *Tetr.* 3.13 (p. 160): . . . παραλογιστάς, ἐφημεροβίους, ἐντρεχεῖς, etc.

(3) "Lasting for one day" (cp. ἐπέτειος of "annual" plants in Arist.). Arist. *HA* 5.552b.23: (an insect) ἅμα δυομένου (ἡλίου) ἀποθνήσκει, βιώσαν ἡμέραν μίαν· διὸ καὶ καλεῖται ἐφήμερον; cp. also *HA* 1.490a.34; *PA* 682a.26. Hp. *Arh.* 4.55: Οἱ ἐπὶ βουβῶσι πυρετοὶ πάντες κακοί, πλὴν τῶν ἐφημερίων.

Hence: "transitory, fugitive" (see also the remark at the end of group 1). Arist. *EN* 1096b.5: ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τῷ αἰδίῳ εἶναι (*scil.* the Platonic idea) μᾶλλον ἀγαθὸν ἔσται, εἴπερ μὴδὲ λευκότερον τὸ πολυχρόνιον τοῦ ἐφήμερον; *Met.* 347b.21: ἐφήμερος ("of short duration") γὰρ ἡ σύστασις (the formation of dew) καὶ ὁ τόπος μικρός (opp. ὁ τε τόπος πολλὸς καὶ ὁ χρόνος for the formation of rain); *Ph.* 3, p. 9.9 (Wendland-Cohn): ὀλιγοχρόνιον (opp. πολυχρόνιον) καὶ ἐφήμερον (opp. πολυήμερον) καὶ ὠκύμορον (opp. ἀκήρατον καὶ ἀθάνατον) ἀγαθόν; 2.88.18: τοῖς ἐφημέροις καὶ νόθοις (ἀγαθοῖς, opp. τὰ γνήσια καὶ ἀφθάρτα ἀγαθὰ); 4.88.9: τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅσα περὶ τὸ σῶμα οὐκ ἐνύπνια; (see note 11) οὐ κάλλος μὲν ἐφήμερον, πρὶν ἀνθῆσαι μαραινόμενον; ὑγίεια δ' ἀβέβαιον . . . ; 5.329.9: ἀνθρώπων . . . , ζῶα ἐπίκτηρα καὶ φθαρτά, καὶ αἱ τούτων ἀβέβαιοι καὶ ἐφήμεροι τὰ πολλὰ εὐπραγία; 2.27.5: ἐφήμερον καὶ κατεφυσσμένην εὐκαιρίαν (opp. λόγος θεῖος); 3.83.17: ἵνα μὴ ἐφήμερα ἀλλ' ἀθάνατα καὶ μακραῖωνα γένηται τὰ θεῖα βλαστήματα; 1.54.22: ἐφήμερον καὶ θνητόν (opp. μακραῖωνα βίον); 2.197.20: τὸ παράνομον ἐφήμερόν τε καὶ εὐδιάλυτον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ (opp. νόμιμον αἰώνιον, νόμος οὐ φθαρτός).

"Of that particular day." Luc. *Pseudol.* 17 (175): οὐκ ἀγαθὰς μαντευόμενος τὰς ἐφημέρους ἐκείνας πράξεις ἔσσεσθαι αὐτῷ.

"(A poison) killing within the day." Thphr. *HP* 9.16.6: ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐφήμερου φάρμακον (= antidote) εὐρῆσθαι· ἕτερον γὰρ τι ριζίον εἶναι, ὃ ἐφήμερον ἀπαλλάττει (. . . Some poisons can be skilfully prepared so as to kill after 2, 3, 6, 12, or 24 months); Plu. *Them.* 31.6: φάρμακον ἐφήμερον προσενεγκάμενος . . . κατέστρεψε; Nic. *Alex.* 250: ἐφήμερον.

(4) Antipho Soph., *Vorsokr.* 87, v.50: τὸ ζῆν ἔοικε φρουρᾷ ἐφημέρῳ, τὸ τε μῆκος τοῦ βίου ἡμέρᾳ μῖα, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἢ ἀναβλέψαντες πρὸς τὸ φῶς παρεγγυῶμεν τοῖς ἐπιγυγνομένοις ἑτέροις. If ἐφήμερος = "short-lived" had been commonplace in Antiphon's time, he would hardly have bothered to add ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν in order to apologize for the paradox that the entire life span is "like a single day." — The conceit combines two elements: (1) Life = looking up to the light of day, death = night; (2) Life can be compared to guard duty. The elements do not fit too well together, because the tour of guard duty for each group lasted obviously for one day and night; otherwise the continuity (of soldiers on watch, and of generations at their posts) would be lost. Cp. Plato, *Leg.* 6.758a–b, 779a, for day-and-night watches.

(5) Uncertain meaning. Bacch. 3.73: ]γος ἐφάμερον α[ ; 3.75: πτερό]-εσσα δ' ἐλπὶς ὑπ[υ-υ-υ. ἐφάμ?]ερίων; fg. Trag. adesp. 95: πᾶσιν δὲ θνητοῖς βούλομαι παραινέσαι τοιφήμερον (τοῦφ' ἡμέραν Casaubonus) ζῆν ἡδῶς· ὁ γὰρ θανὼν τὸ μὴδὲν ἐστί καὶ σκιά κατὰ χθονός· μικροῦ δὲ βιότου ζῶντ' ἐπαυρέσθαι χρεὼν ("from day to day"?).

## INDEX

This index supplies references to passages discussed in the body of the article, not including the Appendix. Passages containing the word *ἐφήμερος* (or a variant) are marked with an asterisk.

- Aeschylus, *Prom.* \*547-9: note 11  
     fg. \*399: notes 11, 17  
 Archilochus, fg. 68 Diehl: ¶ 7  
 Aristoph., *Av.* \*685-7: notes 11, 17  
     *Eq.* 518: note 8  
 Aristot., *Eth. Nic.* 1100b.6: note 31  
     fg. \*44: note 13  
 Democritus, B.158: note 23  
 Empedocles, B.2: ¶ 9  
 Epic fg., Powell, *Anal. Alex.* 246, no. 2:  
     note 32  
 Epicurus, fg. \*489 Usener: note 12  
 Eurip., *Heracleidae* \*865 f.: note 13  
     *Or.* \*976-81: note 13  
 Heraclitus, B.17: note 28  
 Herodotus, 1.32: ¶ 5  
 Hesiod, *Opp.* 101-3: note 21  
 Homer, *Il.* 20.241-3: note 18  
     *Od.* 1.1-9: ¶ 13  
     \*4.223: note 24  
     5.432 ff.: note 35  
     17.322 f.: note 16  
     18.130-40: ¶ 6, 14  
     and note 26  
     \*21.85: ¶ 8 and note 17  
 Parmenides, B.16: ¶ 9  
 Pindar, *Isthm.* \*7.40 ff.: ¶ 10  
     *Nem.* \*6.1-24: ¶ 8 and note 18  
     11.37-47: notes 18, 21  
     *Ol.* 12.3-12: note 21  
     *P.* 3.107 ff.: ¶ 10  
     \*8.88-97: ¶ 1-4  
     fg. 43 Schroeder: note 32  
     \*157: ¶ 8  
     \*182: ¶ 8 and note 17  
 Plut., *Alcib.* 23.4: note 31  
     *Mor.* \*115D: note 13  
     \*1090B: note 17  
 Protagoras, 80, A.13-18, B.1: note 28  
 Semon. *Amorg.*, fg. 1: ¶ 8  
 Sophocles, *Ajax* 125-31: ¶ 15  
     *Trach.* 1278: note 15  
 Stob. 4.36.66, "Hermolochus": note 21  
 Theocr. \*30.31 f.: note 17  
 Theognis, 159 f.: notes 21 f.  
     213-18: ¶ 11, 13 and note 30  
     373-92: note 19  
     \*485 f.: ¶ 8  
     \*655 f.: note 29  
     \*963-70: ¶ 11 and note 17  
     1071-4: ¶ 13 and note 30  
     1257 f.: ¶ 13 and note 33.

*Addendum*—My tentative explanation, in note 29, page 139 above, of Theognis 655 f. is confirmed by the close parallel, even to the vocabulary (*ἀνίασι, πάντα, κᾶδος ἀλλότρινον*) of Pindar, *Nem.* 1.53 f.: (Many men rushed to the boys' assistance, but the father "was struck with keen anxiety; for it happens with all people alike that their own anxiety weighs down on them,) while the heart immediately throws off concern for someone else's woe." *Εὐθὺς ἀπήμων κραδία* means that "the feeling is only a passing impression" (J. B. Bury), exactly as *ἐφημέριον* in Theognis was explained above as referring to a transitory reaction.—The couplet (Theognis 655 f.) was no doubt originally meant to follow upon 645 f. (cp. *κηδεμόνας—ἀλλότρινον κῆδος*).