"ΟΡΘΡΟΣ

ROBERT W. WALLACE The Johns Hopkins University

The primary task of Plato's Nocturnal Council (νυκτερινὸς σύλλογος: Leges 909A, 968A, cf. 908A) was to study and suggest improvements for the laws of the Cretan City (951B–53, 960DE, 962B, cf. 632E, 769DE). For this purpose the council was to examine not only the laws of the city and of other cites, but all relevant $\mu\alpha\theta\eta\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ (951E–52A) including mathematics and harmonics, moral philosophy, dialectic, cosmology, and theology (962B–67E). Plato required that his council meet once each day, αn ὄρθρου μέχριπερ αn ήλιος αn άνασχη (951D). In 961B he explains that its meetings must be ὅρθριοι, since at that time everyone was free from both public and private business.

What is the period of time prescribed in Leges 951D for the meetings of Plato's council? According to the standard translations of that passage, the council met from "dawn" (or "daybreak") until "sunrise." Several scholars have rightly detected one difficulty in these translations, that the interval between dawn (or daybreak) and sunrise is too brief to allow a sufficient time for council meetings.³ Plato could scarcely have imagined that his council could perform its complex functions during so short a period. These scholars have proposed to resolve this difficulty, however, by extending the duration of council meetings past sunrise. Thus A. E. Taylor translates Plato's phrase "from dawn until after sunrise"; T. J. Saunders, "from dawn until the sun is well up in the sky"; and Morrow suggests that the councilors merely assembled between dawn and sunrise. The meetings took place later.⁴ Several objections must be raised against these hypotheses. First, the translations by Taylor and Saunders are not justified by Plato's Greek. Second, Morrow's suggestion seems to be ruled out by Plato's comment (in 961B) that the council must meet at ὄρθρος since people were then at leisure. Finally, if Plato's council met between dawn and sunrise (or any time thereafter), why should he have called that body "nocturnal?"5

² Thus, e.g., Bury (Loeb), des Places (Budé), Jowett, R. Pangles (The Laws of Plato [New York 1980]), ad loc.

⁴ Taylor, *Plato's Laws* (London 1934, repr. in Bollingen *Plato*, edd. Hamilton and Cairns, New York 1961) ad loc.; Saunders, *Plato's Laws*² (Penguin 1975) ad loc.; G. R. Morrow, *Plato's Cretan City* (Princeton 1960) 503 and p. 5

¹ English terminology equates these: "dawn" is "first light, daybreak, incipient gleam of something"; "daybreak" is "the first appearance of light in the morning, dawn" (OED s.vv.).

³ The interval between what is normally regarded as first light (when the sun is ca. 6 1/2 degrees below the horizon) and sunrise (which, as perceived, occurs ca. 4 minutes before the sun's actual rise, due to the refraction of the sun's rays) varies in accordance with the season of the year (it is more rapid in summer) and with latitude (it is more rapid toward the equator). The approximate duration of this interval ranges from 30 to 45 minutes.

loc.; G. R. Morrow, *Plato's Cretan City* (Princeton 1960) 503 and n. 5.

Thus R. B. Levinson: "This body, despite its alarming name—it should, indeed, have been called the Dawn Council..." (*In Defense of Plato* [Cambridge,

An examination of the contexts in which the word ὄρθρος and its related forms occur, suggests an opposite strategy for interpreting Leges 951D. In contrast to the translations which we have cited, and also to the modern lexical entries (to which we shall return), in every example of ὄρθρος in classical and Hellenistic Greek where its chronological reference is made clear, that term refers to a period of darkness (or the start of a period of darkness) preceding daybreak, when torches were needed in order to see, and when most people were asleep. This period of darkness—for which there is no word in English, French, German, or Italian—might be as long as several hours; ὄρθρος is regularly considered a part of νύξ. During the course of this period the darkness of the eastern horizon gradually modulates. The beginning of this modulation, however, did not mark the onset of $\mathring{o}\rho\theta\rho\sigma\varsigma$, and the translation "dim (or murky) twilight" is normally incorrect in the classical and Hellenistic periods. No text of this period supports a connection between the beginning of ὄρθρος and any natural phenomenon. In particular, in the Greek of this period ὄρθρος never means "dawn," $\dot{\eta}\dot{\omega}\zeta$ (= Attic $\ddot{\epsilon}\omega\zeta$). On the contrary, it is frequently contrasted with that term. 6 On the basis of Greek usage we may conclude that ὄρθρος was simply a stage in the night. Plato was therefore justified in calling his council "nocturnal": νύκτωρ δείν συνιέναι as he later remarks (962C).

In addition to Leges 951D, 961B with 962C, we may note the following

passages:

1) In Xen. *Hell*. 4.5.18, Agesilaos, encamped at Orchomenos, had his troops arise at ὄρθρος so that they marched by Mantineia in the dark (σκοταῖος). The king was anxious that his men not see the city. (Orchomenos is ca. 12 km. distant from Mantineia, as the crow flies.)⁷

2) In Thuc. 3.112.3–4, the general Demosthenes attacked the Ambraciots at ὅρθρος, while they were still in their beds. The Athenian soldiers could not be

seen, since it was still night (νυκτὸς ἔτι οὕσης).8

3) In Pl. Prt. 310A, Sokrates tells of a visit by Hippokrates "during this night just past (τῆς παρελθούσης νυκτὸς ταυτησί), while it was still ὅρθρος βαθύς" (cf. 313B ὅρθριος ἥκων). Hippokrates found Sokrates asleep; Sokrates regarded the visit as very early (τηνικάδε) and recognized his visitor only by voice; and Hippokrates could not see Sokrates' bed to sit down upon it. (For the sense of βαθύς, see below.)

4) In Ar. Av. 492–96, while describing the powers of different birds Euelpides remarks that once he was awakened νύκτωρ by a cock-crow. Thinking it was ὄρθρος he set off for Halimous, but was waylaid by a robber. This passage indicates that Euelpides could not distinguish ὅρθρος from νύξ,

hence that $\ddot{o}\rho\theta\rho\sigma\varsigma$ was a period of no light.

5) In Joseph. AJ 11.251, having stayed up to work, Artaxerxes inquired of his scribes "what was the hour of the night ($v\dot{v}\xi$)?" and was told that it was

Mass. 1953] 517); cf. E. R. Dodds, PCPS 186 (1960) 22 n. 3 = The Ancient Concept of Progress and Other Essays (Oxford 1973) 49 n. 3: Plato's Nocturnal Council "meets in fact at dawn, Laws 961b."

⁶ This has been pointed out by R. Renehan, *Greek Lexicographical Notes*, Hypomnemata 45 (1975) 153 s.v. (on which see below).

⁷ See also Hell. 2.1.22: Λύσανδρος δὲ τῆ ἐπιούση νυκτί, ἐπεὶ ὄρθρος ἦν,

έσήμηνεν...

⁸ Cf. Thuc. 2.3.4: before attacking the Plataians the Thebans waited until νύκτα καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ περίορθρον, when there was no φῶς but it was νύξ and σκότος (2.4.2) [NB: LSJ translates περίορθρον here as "dawn"]. According to Poll. 1.68 [quoted below], περίορθρον preceded ὄρθρος, but both preceded any light.

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already ὄρθρος. Accordingly, Artaxerxes too could not distinguish ὅρθρος from νύξ.

6) In HR [Epit.] 77.17, Cassius Dio describes the daily regimen of Septimius Severus. In times of peace the emperor regularly began his days νυκτὸς ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον, "at night, at ὄρθρος."9

In addition to these passages, ὄρθρος is defined by several ancient

lexicographers.¹⁰

7) According to the late second-century grammarian Phrynichos, 11

ὄρθρος ἐστίν ἡ ὥρα τῆς νυκτὸς καθ' ἣν (οἱ) ἀλεκτρυόνες ἄδουσιν. ἄρχεται δὲ ἐνάτης ὥρας καὶ τελευτῷ εἰς διαγελῶσαν ἡμέραν. τεκμήριον δέ· ὀρθρεύεσθαι γὰρ καλοῦσιν οἱ Αττικοὶ τὸ λύχνῳ προσκεῖσθαι πρὶν ἡμέραν γενέσθαι. ὄρθριος δ' ἐρεῖς ἄδει καὶ ὄρθριος ὁ ἀλέκτωρ ἦσεν.

"ὄρθρος is the hour of the night in which cocks crow. It begins in the ninth hour and ends with the glimmering day. The proof is this. For the Athenians call ὀρθρεύεσθαι the lying beside a lamp, before it becomes day. At ὄρθρος, you will say, the cock crows, and at ὄρθρος he crowed."

In spite of several obscurities, Phrynichos' conception of $\mathring{o}\rho\theta\rho\rho\varsigma$ is clear. According to the Roman system (used here), the night, between sunset and sunrise, was divided into twelve segments or "hours," which varied in length with the season. ¹² The ninth hour, when according to Phrynichos $\mathring{o}\rho\theta\rho\rho\varsigma$ began, was three "hours" before sunrise.

8) In 1.68 Pollux lists the different parts of the day: περίορθρον, ὄρθρος, ὑπολαμπούσης ἡμέρας, ὑποφαινούσης, ὑπὸ πρώτην ἕω, ἡλίου ἀνίσχοντος, περὶ ἡλίου ἐπιτολάς, πρωί. Pollux does not cite ὄρθρος as a part of νύξ. It seems nonetheless to have preceded any light.

Many sources mention the need for torches at ὄρθρος, as we see for example in Dion. Hal. AR 8.44.1 (περὶ τὸν ὅρθρον), Plut. Cat. Mi. 41.4, and Ar. Eccl. 20 (πρὸς ὅρθρον), cf. lines 1, 27, 50 (from line 83 it is clear that stars are still

visible; in 312 it is πρὸς $\xi\omega$).

As we have noted, it is also clear that at ὅρθρος most people were asleep. Aristophanes has a standard joke that meddlesome Athenians got up at ὅρθρος to make sure of getting a seat in court or the assembly. In Eccl. 462, for example, Blepyros complains at having to arrive at ὅρθρος, an early hour. Hesiod tells his brother not to sleep until ἡώς, but to get up at ὅρθρος and set off for work (Op. 574-77).¹³

 9 For this construction with ὑπό see LSJ s.v. C III 2, and for parallels e.g. Dion. Hal. AR 10.21.1.

10 See also schol. Pind. Isth. 4.60 (= III p. 231 Drachmann), equating ὅρθρος and ὀψία νύξ, and schol. Arat. Phaenn. 303 (p. 400 Maass), that Skorpios rises ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσχάτης νυκτός, ἤγουν ἐπὶ ὅρθρου, "for it rises around the eleventh and twelfth hours." It is unclear whether the scholiast dated the beginning of ὅρθρος to the eleventh hour (or later); he certainly considered it the last part of νύξ.

νύξ.

11 Phryn. Praep. soph. 93 Borries (Teubner 1911) = Bekker Anecd. Gr. i 54.

12 See Sontheimer RE 4A (1932) 2022 s.v. "Tageszeiten," citing in particular Censorinus 23.6.

¹³ See further e.g. Meleag. AG 5.172, 173; Plut. Ages. 32.7; Dion. Hal. AR 10.21.1-2.

As in the preceding example from Hesiod, $\delta\rho\theta\rho\sigma\varsigma$ is frequently contrasted with "dawn" (which in Greek could itself be distinguished from sunrise). ¹⁴ To the passages cited by Renehan (see above, note 6) we may add, for example, Dion. Hal. *AR* 12.2.2–3: the dictator Cincinnatus set out at $\delta\rho\theta\rho\sigma\varsigma$, and seized the Capitol at dawn ($\epsilon\omega\theta\epsilon\nu$).

Finally, during the Roman period the range of meanings of ὄρθρος was extended. This extension was noted by Phrynichos, who defined the term a second time, calling attention to the difference between early and contemporary usage:

δρθρος νῦν ἀκούω τῶν πολλῶν τιθέντων ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸ ἡλίου ἀνίσχοντος χρόνου· οἱ δὲ ἀρχαῖοι ὅρθρον καὶ ὀρθρεύεσθαι τὸ πρὸ ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας, ἐν ῷ ἔτι λύχνῳ δύναταί τις χρῆσθαι. ὅ τοῖνυν οἱ πολλοὶ ἀμαρτάνοντες λέγουσιν ὅρθρον, τοῦθ' οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἕω λέγουσιν. (Ecl. 240)15

"Now I hear many people using this term to refer to the period before sunrise. Earlier, people had used $\mathring{o}\rho\theta\rho\sigma\zeta$ and $\mathring{o}\rho\theta\rho\epsilon\mathring{v}\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ to refer to the period before the day began, in which one can still use a lamp. What many people mistakenly call $\mathring{o}\rho\theta\rho\sigma\zeta$, this earlier people call 'dawn.'"

Although ὅρθρος in its original sense continues to be common usage during the Roman period (see, e.g., Cass. Dio [Epit.] 77.17, Plut. Cat. Mi. 41.4, Joseph. AJ 11.251, referred to above), the distinction noted by Phrynichos can be found in extant texts. Thus in Joseph. AJ 1.28 ὅρθρος is called "the beginning of light" (ἀρχὴ τοῦ φωτός); Hesychios (s.v. ἕωθεν) equates ὅρθρος and ἕως; and in Plut. Pomp. 36.4, when Pompey arises at ὅρθρος and sees his house laden with gifts and servants bustling about, bringing him clothing and so forth, it is difficult to imagine that all of this was occurring in the dark. The earliest use of ὅρθρος in this sense—but in the adjectival form ὅρθριος—seems to be Philodem. AG 12.225 (1 saec. a.C.).

In the first of his two definitions, in the *Praeparatio sophistica*, Phrynichos states clearly that ὄρθρος could designate an extended period of time, "from the ninth hour until the glimmering day." This may help to clarify the meaning of the phrase ὄρθρος βαθύς, which we have noted in Pl. Prt. 310A (passage 3, above), and which is common elsewhere. In Pl. Crit. 43A, for example, Sokrates is asleep at ὄρθρος βαθύς and when awakened by Crito, twice comments on the early hour (43A, C). At the opening of Ar. Vesp., Xanthias is on night-watch (φυλακή νυκτερινή: line 2); by 216 it is ὄρθρος βαθύς; at 245 it is not yet ἡμέρα; at 246, 249, torches are still needed; the scene is still έν σκότω at 256 and 276; έως arrives at lines 366-67. In Melcag. AG 12.137, the cock, "ὄρθρος-crying," crows ἐννύχιος, at ὄρθρος βαθύς, when only a short part of night remains for love. In Philo In Flace. 167, at ὄρθρος βαθύς everyone is asleep. On the assumption that this phrase was comparative (and not simply descriptive of ὄρθρος at any hour), Gow thought it meant "late in ὄρθρος," presumably by analogy with phrases such as νὺξ βαθεῖα and ἔσπερα $\beta\alpha\theta\epsilon i\alpha$. The alternative, that $\beta\alpha\theta i\beta$ means "deep" in the sense "early," is

 ¹⁴ For the distinction between dawn (Attic ἕως) and sunrise see e.g. Hesychios s.v. ἕως, and Phrynichos *Ecl.* 240 (quoted below).
 15 ed. E. Fischer (Berlin 1974).

¹⁶ A. S. F. Gow, *Theocritus* ii (Cambridge 1965) 352 (on 18.14).

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standard, and is also supported by analogy with the phrases just quoted.¹⁷ The contexts in which ὄρθρος βαθύς occurs in fact confirm this second interpretation. For in each of these instances the speaker is emphasizing the very early hour. Does βαθύς imply a darker period of ὄρθρος, as opposed to a lighter one? It is clear, for example, from Aristophanes' Euclpides (see above, passage 4) and also from Pollux, that ὄρθρος can be a period of no light. To a modern early-morning observer, however, the eastern horizon of the night sky begins faintly but perceptibly to modulate in darkness as much as two hours before dawn. Therefore, if Phrynichos correctly states that ὄρθρος lasts for three "hours" ὄρθρος which precedes any light. This will contrast with the modulated darkness respect no text before the Roman period gives any indication that ὄρθρος was anything other than a period of darkness and night. In no instance before the Roman period can the translation "dim twilight" be accepted.

By contrast, it is apparent that ὄρθρος could also designate a specific time which must be the beginning of ὄρθρος. When Plato states that the Nocturnal Council should convene at ὄρθρος, he must have intended this in a more specific sense than simply "the pre-dawn hours of night." This applies also in the case of Hesiod, when he instructs his brother to get up at ὄρθρος, and also in Xen. any natural phenomenon? As we have seen, the lexicographical testimonia and also the example of Aristophanes' Euclides show that ὄρθρος did not commence with any visible sign of light. Euclpides' comments, however, raise the question of an association between ὄρθρος and cock-crow. In fact, ὄρθρος is frequently associated with the cock-crow, or the twittering of some other bird (or possibly frog). 18 In AG 7.202, the poet proclaims that the rooster will no longer awaken him at ὄρθρος. In Theokr. Id. 24.64, when the cocks crow for the third time, it is $\xi \sigma \chi \alpha \tau \sigma \zeta \delta \rho \theta \rho \sigma \zeta$. As the example from Aristophanes reveals, it is clear that cocks might crow while it was still dark, νύξ. This is confirmed at the opening of Ar. Nub., where Strepsiades complains "how endless the νύξ," he had long since heard the cock crow, and by other passages. 19 However, ὄρθρος itself cannot be equated with or defined as "cock-crow": in Ar. Eccl. 30–31 (cf. 20), the cock crows before $\mathring{o}\rho\theta\rho\sigma\varsigma$. Only once (AG 9.418) is the cock-crow expressly said to signal the beginning of $\delta\rho\theta\rho\sigma\varsigma$. Nonetheless, we may accept that normally cocks crowed during the period of ὄρθρος, and that crowing or twittering was associated with it. According to the lexicographers, ὄρθρος was merely a stage in the night, beginning three "hours" before daybreak. Nothing in any pre-Roman source suggests that this is incorrect.

The need for the term $\delta \rho \theta \rho \rho \sigma \rho \sigma$ is perhaps as easy to explain as the modern lack of a parallel for it. In a pre-industrial, largely rural society in which many

 17 See LSJ and Stephanus, s.v. $\beta\alpha\theta$ ύς; cf. also, e.g., J. and A. M. Adam, *Platonis Protagoras* (Cambridge 1905) 78 (on 310A): ὄρθρος "is the morning twilight, and βαθύς implies that it was more dark than light.

16] 165 [on Theokr. 7.139]).

19 See e.g. AG 5.3, 12.137, and Poll. 1.70 (cock-crow is listed as one stage of

νύξ).

¹⁸ For cocks see also Ar. Eccl. 740–41, AG 7.202, Polyb. 12.26.1; for swallows see Sapph. F135 Lobel-Page, Hes. Op. 568 (as emended), AG 5.237; for nightingales, see Ibyc. 303(b) Page, Eur. Phaeth. 69 Diggle, and Opp. Hal. 728; for herons see Theophr. F185 Wimmer; for small green frogs (?) see Arat. Phaenn. 948 (and on the identification of these creatures see Gow [above, note

people did hard physical labor and illumination (by lamp or torch) was costly and unpleasant, it was common to go to bed early. Consequently, people awoke early also. The idle might lie in bed until first light; ὄρθρος was also a convenient and pleasant time for sex (Ar. Ach. 256, Lvs. 966). The industrious got up and went to work, as Hesiod advises his brother.²⁰ Just so, in *Leges* 807E-808C Plato calls it shameful to spend the whole night in bed. State officials and the heads of households must arise νύκτωρ, when "much of the business of public and household life should be conducted" (808A). This passage Nocturnal Council.

In conclusion, we may look at some modern lexical entries.²¹ The majority of these are similar, defining ὄρθρος without differentiation as morning twilight (diluculum), the morning, dawn, the time before or at first light, or cockcrow.²² LSJ⁹, unchanged since the first edition (1843), is typical: "the time just before or about daybreak, dawn, cock-crow" (as we have seen, according to the OED "dawn" and "daybreak" are synonymous). Virtually none of these definitions is consistent with the usage of classical and Hellenistic Greek, or with common usage of the Roman period. At the beginning of this paper, in connection with Plato's Laws, we saw one instance of the confusion that has resulted. Until the Roman period, ὄρθρος is not a period of half-light, or dawn. Cock-crow may occur at various times before, at the start of, or during ὄρθρος; it cannot define that term.

These lexical entries have recently been supplemented both by Gow and by Renehan. After quoting the entry in LSJ, Renehan remarks: "Technically ὄρθρος is the period just before sunrise; it corresponds to the Latin diluculum and is to be distinguished from aurora" (see above, note 6). He cites several passages period Renehan's distinction between ὅρθρος and ἕως is entirely justified; he was right to correct LSJ on this point. His note is inherently confusing, however, in that technically, according to correct English usage, dawn is the

²⁰ Parallel terms for early rising may be found in other pre-industrial societies, for example the Talmudic hatzot and Spanish madrugada, from maturare. (I owe these examples to my students Ori Soltes and Florinda Ruiz.)

21 Regrettably the several etymological discussions of ὄρθρος are inconclusive and provide no help in this investigation. E. Lidén (GHA 5 [1899] 23-24, see also Benveniste Origines 19, and Frisk, Gr. etym. Wörterb. [Heidelberg 1970] s.v.) proposed to link ὄρθρος with ὀρθός, which may be connected to Sanskrit forms meaning "increase, strengthen" (\(\forall v ridh\)), and to old Slavic ranu which by association with the south Slavic root rod- Lidén believed to refer to the increasing light of day (IE *urodh-no [or -ro], with $dh>\Theta$ [see Benveniste Origines 202]). This derivation is doubted by Chantraine, who remarks "la vieille étymologie qui évoque lat. orior, ortus m. dit des astres, grec ὄρνυμαι, garde des chances" (Dict. étym. s.v.). Each of these etymologies, however, is based on assumptions about the meaning of $\delta\rho\theta\rho\sigma\varsigma$. They cannot in turn be used to discover that meaning. In any case, etymologies are an uncertain guide to semantics.

²² See e.g. Stephanus s.v., "primum diluculi punctum," when the cock crows (and cf. e.g. Ast, Lex. Plat.² [Berlin 1908] s.v.); Passow, Handwörterb. gr. Spr. (Leipzig 1852) s.v., "der Morgen, die Morgenzeit, die Frühe vor od. um Tages Anbruch" (and cf. e.g. Pape, Gr.-deut. Handwörterb.³ [Braunschweig 1914], Frisk. Gr. etym. Wörterb. [Heidelberg 1970] s.v.); Chantraine, Dict. étym. (Paris 1968) s.v., "l'aube, moment qui précède la naissance du jour" (and cf. Boisacq, Dict.

étym. [Paris 1923] s.v., and Benveniste, Origines 19).

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period just before sunrise. More important, I hope I have shown the objections to which (his revival of) the translation diluculum is subject. In a note on Theokr. 18.14 to which we have already referred (see above, note 16), Gow appears to have understood ὄρθρος in a quite different sense. After quoting the entry in Phrynichos' Praeparatio sophistica (see above, page 205), Gow remarked, "ὄρθρος, then, is a period of darkness between midnight and dawn, and $\beta \alpha \theta \dot{\nu} \varsigma$ (late) $\ddot{o} \rho \theta \rho \sigma \varsigma$ is mentioned elsewhere as a time when only the very earliest risers are abroad (Ar. Vesp. 216, Plat. Crit. 43A, Prot. 310A, Ev. Luc. 24.1)." Gow's discussion has the merit of emphasizing the darkness of ὄρθρος. However, his vague reference to midnight makes his meaning here uncertain (Ar. Vesp. 216 expressly states that ὄρθρος βαθύς was well after μέσαι νύκτες), and his interpretation of ὄρθρος βαθύς we have seen is incorrect. The most nearly accurate discussion of ὄρθρος may be found in an unnoticed passage of the nineteenth-century scholar, G. F. Unger.²³ Also uoting Phrynichos Praeparatio sopistica, Unger rejected the translation Morgendämmerung, he stated that ὄρθρος began ca. 2 1/2 hours before dawn ("if day and night are equal"), and he equated ὄρθρος with cock-crow. Except for his mention of cockcrow and his failure to distinguish between ὄρθρος as a period of time or else a specific moment, Unger's definition was correct at least for classical and Hellenistic Greek. We may offer the following: (1) the dark, pre-dawn hours of night; (2) a stage of the night several hours before dawn; (3) [aet. imp.] dawn, first light.²⁴

Philologus 43 (1884) 594-95; cf. J. Wackernagel, Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer (Göttingen 1916) 193: "der letzte Teil der Nacht" (but also "die Zeit des Hahnenschreis").

²⁴ Research on this topic was aided by the TLG database and Ibycus system at Duke University. I am indebted to Professor W. Willis and Dr. Louise Smith for their assistance at Duke. I would also like to thank my colleagues Diskin Clay, Lowell Edmunds, and Georg Luck for reading and commenting on this article. Finally, I have profited from both referee reports for this journal.