

ARCTOS

ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

VOL. XLV

HELSINKI 2011

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]pa-ko-qe (KN Ch 5728): A NEW OX NAME FROM KNOSSOS?

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The Ch series of the linear B tablets from Knossos constitutes an interesting group of texts with oxen's names, all apparently written by the palace scribe "No. 110" (*KT*⁵ pp. 50–1). On some twenty records, listing the names of the pairs of working oxen, the animals are identified with descriptive names drawing on their physical characteristics, especially their colouring. In Ch 897, for example, the oxen allocated to the herdsman Ep^horos (gen. *e-po-ro-jo*) are styled as *to-ma-ko wo-no-qa-so-qa*, that is, "White-muzzled" (στόμαργος) and "Wine-dark, Ruddy" (οἶνοψ), unless the latter name means "with wine-dark croup" (*/Woinok^w-orsos/*).¹ The documents further show names such as *a₃-wo-ro*, "Speckled", i. e., of variegated colour (αἰόλος, Ch 896, 898, 1029, 5754, 5938); *ko-so-u-to*, "Tawny" (ξουθός, Ch 900); *ke-ra-no*, "Black" (κελαινός, Ch 896–7); *po-da-ko*, "White-footed" (πόδαργος, Ch 899, 1029), and *]a-ko-ro-we-i*, "of uniform colour" (ἄχροος, Ch 7100).² Even the name *a₃-zo-ro-(qa)* (Ch 1029, 1034), if (plausibly) taken to mean */aisk^hros/* (αἰσχρός),³ would have served to identify an ox

¹ Cf. Lejeune 1971: 384 ("à la croupe rougeâtre"); Killen 1992–93: 101–2 (possibly); *DMic*, s. v.; Chantraine 2009, s. v. ὄρος (Suppl.).

² This adjective also occurs at Pylos in connexion with oxen, though in a sacrificial context (PY Cn 418; cf. Palaima 1989: 104–6; Killen 1994: 79; Hajnal 1995: 147–8; Kohl 2007: 18–9). As for the form *]a-ko-ro-we-i*, Killen 1992–93: 104–5 may be right to suggest that it is a dative singular rather than a variant spelling of the dual in *-e*. Thus the names of the two oxen could have been recorded as follows: "[oxherd's name (a part of which may be preserved in the probably joining Ch 7937) + name of the first animal *me-ta* (or *ku-su*)] *a-ko-ro-we-i*". For *a-ko-ro-we* (with copulative *a-*), see Farci 2007: 22–5, with compelling and original arguments in favour of the meaning "of uniform colour" (e. g., the appearance of the two types, *Katerini* and *Sykia*, of the endangered indigenous *Steppe* breed, and the Hesychian gloss on ἀχροῖην· ὁμόχρῳιαν, καὶ συγχρωματισμόν).

³ Palmer 1979: 278; Hajnal – Risch, s. a.: 177.

by indicating some physical defect or deformity. In no case do both animals of a pair have the same name. Descriptive names such as these obviously served a function. It would have been in the interests of the palace to identify and mark the precious ploughing animals so that they could not be replaced by inferior ones. A fraudulent herdsman might indeed have tried to substitute a weaker ox for the one he had been assigned. The palace administration at Knossos evidently kept detailed records of the oxen (and other animals) in its possession, giving them individual names based on immediately recognizable physical features to prevent possible fraud.⁴

However, at least two of the names still remain mysterious, i. e., Ch 5724+6005+frr.:]qe wa-no-qe BOS^m ZE 1[, and Ch 5728:]pa-ko-qe BOS^m[. What the former name (*wa-no*) means I do not know, but for the latter a solution seems possible.⁵ Although, in principle, the sequence *-ako* could be understood in several ways (*-ᾶγος*, *-αγχος*, *-αιγος*, *-αλγος*, *-αλκος*, *-αρκος*, *-αρχος*),⁶ it is very likely that this ox name may be compared with *po-da-ko* (*Podargos*) and *to-ma-ko*⁷ (*Stomargos*), which are both known from the same Ch records at Knossos. Moreover, since not only the *-argos* names, but also almost all the other names of the series somehow seem to indicate the physical appearance of the animals, their colouring in particular, it is a reasonable guess that]pa-ko belongs to the

⁴ Thus plausibly argued by Killen 1992–93: 102–3, cf. Bartoněk 2003: 412–3; Landenius Enegren 2004: 14; McInerney 2010: 50. According to another view, the pairs of oxen listed on the records were sacrificial animals: Godart – Tzedakis 1993: 242–3. If so, one wonders how an ox called /*aisk^hros*/ could be sacrificed to gods. – For the administration and management of livestock breeding at Knossos, see now Greco 2010.

⁵ The reading]pa-ko-qe seems to be generally accepted (the photograph published in *CoMIK* III p. 122 makes it very likely that the fragmentary first sign, marked as uncertain by Bennett, *KT*² p. 14, is, in fact, *pa*). The alternative reading]*da*-ko-qe by Ventris, obviously influenced by *po-da-ko* (Ch 899, 1029), has been followed by Petruševski 1968: 680 and Lejeune 1971: 381 (but cf. p. 383: "mais lecture ...]*pako* également possible"). Whether the particle *-qe* was doubled remains unknown: Ruijgh 1967: 297. Cf. Morpurgo 1963, s. v.; *DMic* II 75.

⁶ Lejeune 1971: 385 n. 29.

⁷ The variant *tu-ma-ko* /*Stumargos*/ appears in the Knossos C series (KN C 973) together with the problematic *a₃-wa*, perhaps shorthand for *a₃-wo-ro*, "Speckled", rather than representing the name *Aias* (*pace* Mühlestein 1967: 43–52). *Tu-ma-ko* is unlikely to represent **θύμαρχος*, "valiant" (cf. Lejeune 1971: 386: "ne saurait être, *a priori*, écarté"), or **θύμαργος*, "lively-spirited" (thus Chantraine 1963: 15). Although referring to colouring, **θύμαργος*, "with white goiter", is not particularly attractive (Lejeune 1971: 386: "est à la rigueur admissible, mais ne séduit guère").

same category.⁸ If this is so, I would suggest that we are dealing with *re-]pa-ko-qe* BOS^m (Υ‡Φ⊕‡), i. e., λέπαργος, "with white coat". Significantly, this rare compound adjective is used of oxen and other animals in later poetry, just as *wono-qo-so* /*woinoq^us*/ is in Homer (βόε οἴνοπε *Il.* 13,703, etc.; but cf. above n. 1). It is no less important that most of the Mycenaean oxen's names of the Knossos Cn set have survived as poetic terms either in Homer or in post-Homeric poetry, and some are also found in prose sources. Although these adjectival names frequently assumed new meanings in reference to various animals, objects, or even abstractions, it is noteworthy that their original, Mycenaean-type usage seems to emerge after Homer, especially (though not exclusively) in the poetry of the Greek mainland as well as in prose writing.⁹

The rare adjective λέπαργος seems to fit this pattern fairly well. It occurs as the epithet of an ox in what may be a tragic fragment of unknown date, perhaps in dochmiac verse: λεπάργου βοός (*TrGF* II adesp. F *231). Even though the etymological explanations given by Hesychius and others are wrong,¹⁰ the reported meaning of λέπαργος, "with white coat (or flanks)", sounds quite apposite, as the first element (λεπ-) is evidently related to λέπος, "rind, husk, scale", λοπός, "peel, hide", λώπη, "mantle, coat", and similar derivatives that are all connected with the verb λέπω, "to peel, to bark".¹¹

Interestingly, although a poetic word, λέπαργος seems to have survived also as a denomination of quadrupeds almost in the Mycenaean fashion. In Theocr. 4,45, it appears as the proper name of a calf (*Whitey, Blanche*, sim.), together with that of a heifer, *Kymaitha* (45–6: σίτθ', ὁ Λέπαργος, / σίτθ', ἅ Κυμαίθα, ποτὶ

⁸ This was duly opined by Godart – Tzedakis 1993: 240, but they did not pursue the issue further: "il est probable que l'animal qui était dit]pa-ko en Ch 5728 avait une partie du corps (différente des pattes et du museau) de couleur blanche."

⁹ Recurrence of Mycenaean oxen's names in Greek literature: Hajnal – Risch, s. a.: 175–81. Mycenaean compound nouns (and names): Meissner – Tribulato 2002. Univerbation of Myc. oxen's names in *-argos* (and of other similar forms): Tribulato 2006: 166–7, pointing out that, in all probability, *po-da-ko* and *to-ma-ko* represent univerbated names rather than syntagms ([*stóm^(a) argós*], [*pód^(a) argós*]).

¹⁰ Hsch. λεπάργου βοός· τοῦ λαπάρας λευκάς ἔχοντος ἢ ὅλον τὸ δέρμα; similarly, Phot. *Lex.* λ 192: λέπαργοι· οἱ τὰς λαπάρας λευκάς ἔχοντες, and Eust. ad *Od.* I, p. 78, 5–6: ὁ λέπαργος βοῦς ἦτοι ὁ λαπάρας ἔχων λευκάς.

¹¹ Chantraine 2009, s. v. λέπω (note that λέπαργος, "à la peau blanche", is recorded under ἀργός; the word does not seem to figure in Frisk 1960–72 nor in Beekes 2010). For early occurrences, cf. κρομύοιο λοπός, onion peel (*Hom. Od.* 19,233); δίπτυχος λώπη, of a mantle (*Od.* 13,224).

τὸν λόφον. οὐκ ἔσρακούεις;),¹² and in Call. *Aet.* fr. 24,19, the isolated Λ₁έπ₁αργε may well be the name of one of King Theiodamas' oxen killed by Heracles, as suggested by a papyrus gloss ("in marg. superiore"): Λ[έ]παργε, ὄν(ομα) τ(οῦ) ταύρ(ου)· ἐὰν δὲ λεπαργέ, λευκὲ κ(α)τ(ὰ) τ(ὸ) τ(ὸ) λέπο[ς] ἀργὸν ἔχειν] (*sic*; Pfeiffer, vol. I p. 34 = fr. 26 Massimilla = fr. 25 Asper).¹³ Here one should note that the scholiast's remark on the alternative accentuation need not be taken to mean that the two explanations are mutually exclusive. In fact, it may well be that in these cases, Λέπαργος, besides being an individual name, also serves to describe the animals' colouring.¹⁴

A further instance of a quadruped styled as λέπαργος occurs in a passage of Nicander's *Theriaca* (incidentally, in exactly the middle of a sequence of nine acrostich lines giving the signature of ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΣ), where the term stands for an ass carrying the gift (of eternal youth) provided by Zeus to lazy humans.¹⁵ The ancient commentaries correctly refer to the animal's white coat, though, again, with popular explanations.¹⁶ However, considering that the pack animal of this myth was an ass (*teste* Ael. *NA* 6,51), and since asses are ash-grey rather than

¹² *Whitey* (Gow 1950), *Blanche* (Verity 2002, giving Κόμαιθα as *Fruity*); cf. J. M. Edmonds, *The Greek Bucolic Poets* (Loeb ed. 1912): "Hey up, Snowdrop! hey up, Goodbody! to the hill wi' ye! Art thou deaf?" – Schol.f (with wrong etymologies but with right substance): λέπαργος· ὁ λευκός, ἢ ὁ λευκοποίκιλος. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ λέπας ἔχειν ἀργόν, ὃ ἐστὶ λευκὸν ἔχειν τὸ δέρμα· ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ λευκός εἶναι κατὰ τὴν λαπάραν; Schol.g: λέπαργος· ὁ λευκός παρὰ τὸ ἔχειν λέπας ἀργόν, ἢ γουν δέρμα λευκόν, ἢ λευκός κατὰ τὴν λαπάραν.

¹³ Cf. Nisetich 2001: 77 (transl. "with gleaming coat"): "Has Theiodamas finished his rude dismissal of Heracles with an order to his favourite ox, 'Come along now, Shiny', or is this the narrator, addressing the ox Heracles picks out for dinner?"

¹⁴ Gow 1950: 87 (vol. II) was likely to be right in his comment on the name *Lepargos* in Theocr. 4,45: "though a name, is still conscious of its function as a descriptive adjective". Note also that some connection is possible between the Theocritean passage and the *Aetia* fragment (telling the story of Heracles and Theiodamas), cf. Barigazzi 1976: 237–8.

¹⁵ Nic. *Ther.* 349–50: Νωθεῖς γὰρ κάμνοντες ἀμορβεύοντο λεπάργω / δῶρα· ("for, being sluggards and growing weary, they entrusted the gift to an ass for carriage", transl. Gow – Scholfield, Cambridge 1953). In some translations, the ass (λέπαργος) is given the epithet of "slow" (e. g., J.-M. Jacques, Budé ed. 2002: "lent grison"; G. Spatafora, Roma 2007: "lento asino"), as if associating the term with λήθαργος (?), cf. Schol. *Nic.* 423b (next note).

¹⁶ Schol. *Nic.* 349b: λεπάργω τῷ ὄνῳ, παρὰ τὸ ἔχειν τὴν λαγόνα λευκὴν; in 423b, the scholiast notes in passing that λέπαργος comes from λέπος, but the context is otherwise fantastic: λάθαργος τὸ λευκὸν λέπισμα· ἀπὸ τοῦ 'λέπος' λέπαργος καὶ λέφαργος, ἦτοι τροπῇ τοῦ δασέως εἰς δασὺ καὶ τοῦ ε εἰς η, καὶ τοῦ η εἰς α; cf. further Etym. M. (on Nic. *Ther.* 349): Τῷ ὄνῳ. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν κοιλίαν λευκός.

lepargoi, it may be that here Nicander adopted a term typically used of oxen (and cattle). Perhaps this is indicative of λέπαργος having gradually become a common denomination for draft animals and beasts of burden alike.¹⁷ A proverb reported in Suda (α 2090) might also point in this direction: ἀνὰ σοὶ τάδε πάντα, λέπαργε, probably implying the loading of considerable burdens on a single person's shoulders. The metaphorical use of λέπαργος would be explained by the custom among farmers to make the stronger of a pair of draft oxen carry the yoke and other farming implements after the day's ploughing work was over.¹⁸ However, those using the proverb would hardly have considered the type of pack animal, whether it was an ox or an ass, a mule or a horse. As to the origin of the Suda phrase, one should note that since it is a (so-called) paroemiac, it may have been a self-contained saying, either born autonomously or quoted from the latter part of a dactylic verse (rather than from the end of an anapaestic period, because of the disturbing caesurae). The combination of ἀνά and the dative, rare on the whole, does not seem to occur in comedy, which, if from a play, would otherwise be a conceivable context for this sort of proverbial expression.

A notable passage in Sophocles' *Tereus* (*TrGF* IV **581 Radt)¹⁹ shows that λέπαργος could also be applied to a bird. In his version of the metamorphosis of Tereus into a crested hoopoe, the innovative poet introduced an older myth telling that Tereus had become a hawk. Thus, in the springtime, the Thracian hero first took the intermediary form of a "hawk with white feathers" (κίρκου λεπάργου) before definitively turning into a hoopoe in the summer: ὃς ἦρι μὲν φανέντι διαπαλεῖ πτερὸν / κίρκου λεπάργου· (lines 4–5).²⁰ Not surprisingly, the metamorphic scene with Tereus the Hoopoe, perhaps even depicted on stage, was later parodied by Aristophanes in his *Birds* (99–101 and *passim*).²¹

¹⁷ In Nicet. Mag. *Epist.* 22,7–8 (ninth century), λέπαργος clearly denotes ass: μὴ λίποι λεπάργων γένος φόρτος καὶ ρόπαλον. *Rhopalon* was already used to beat an ass in Homer.

¹⁸ Suda α 2090: ἀνὰ σοὶ τάδε πάντα, λέπαργε· ἐπὶ τῶν οὐδὲ μετὰ τὸν κάματον ἀνιεμένων, ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῶν βοῶν. ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ἀπολυθῶσι τοῦ ἔργου, εἰώθασιν οἱ γεωργοὶ τῷ δυνατωτέρῳ ἐπιτιθέναι τὸν ζυγὸν καὶ τὰ σκεύη. Cf. Eusth. ad *Od.* I, p. 403, 23: ταυτὸν ὄν τῷ, ἀνὰ τοῖς σοῖς ὄμοις ἢ ἀνὰ τῷ σῷ ὄμῳ.

¹⁹ The fragment is preserved in Aristotle (*HA* 633 a 17) who attributed it to Aeschylus (*TrGF*² Aesch. fr. 304 Nauck), but apparently there is no other evidence to support this claim: Dobrov 1993: 211 n. 51; Fitzpatrick 2001: 99–100 (esp. n. 58). Note, however, March 2003: 161 n. 55, who somewhat obscurely finds fr. 581 unworthy of Sophocles (and of Aeschylus) "in sense and style".

²⁰ "In the springtime he wields the wing of a white-feathered hawk" (from Sutton 1984: 129).

²¹ Dobrov 1993; cf. Clarke 2004: 107 n. 39 (stage presentation, perhaps by means of bird-

It was surely not exceptional for an adjective such as λέπαργος to be used of a bird. The epithet πύγαργος, "white-rump", while marking a species of antelopes in Herodotus (4,92) and in some later texts (Philo, LXX, Ael.), describes a ("white-tailed") eagle in Aristotle (*HA* 618 b 19; also 593 b 5, of a water-bird) and, possibly, already in Archilochus (fr. 313 West).²² It is equally significant that the rare poetic adjective ἀργήεις, "white, shining", not only appears as the epithet of a bull in Pindar (*Ol.* 13,69: ταῦρον ἀργάεντα, in sacrificial context), but also characterizes one of a pair of eagles of omen in a lyric passage of Aeschylus (*Ag.* 115: ὁ κελαινὸς ὃ τ' ἐξόπιν ἀργᾶς), where the expression (οἰωνός ...) ἐξόπιν ἀργᾶς is, in terms of content, perfectly equipollent to πύγαργος.²³ Although I am not competent to say how frequently oxen may be identified as *pugargoi*, such evidence makes one wonder whether *pugargos*, too, could have appeared on the Mycenaean records (**pu-ka-ko*), as did *stomargos* and *podargos*. It is noteworthy, in any case, that the name *wo-no-ko-so*, if interpreted as refer-

shaped masks). Arena 1982: 3–6, associating (by metathesis) λέπαργος with πελαργός, "stork", implausibly argues that Tereus would first have been transformed into a sort of "falco-cicogna". He also claims that λέπαργος became a synonym for Tereus, and that the Suda proverb (above n. 18) recalled the feathered bird-actor playing the role of Tereus in Sophocles (and in Aristophanes). Tereus and his bird costume in Aristophanes: Dunbar 1995: 166–7.

²² This fragment is probably somehow connected with Arch. fr. 178 (μή τευ μελαμπύγου τύχηις) showing the adjective μελάμπυγος, the opposite of πύγαργος, which according to later sources (e. g., Porph. ad Hom. *Il.* 24,315; Tzetz. in Lyc. *Alex.* 91) was used of an eagle species by Archilochus. But it may rather be that fr. 178 reflects the mythical episode of Heracles being called "Black-bottom" by the mischievous Cercopes because of his dark and hairy behind (Zenob. *Cent.* 5,10: δασύτης περὶ τὴν πυγὴν), unless the phrase originally referred to a prow eagle from which the epithet was transferred to Heracles; for various views, cf. van Dijk 1997: 140–1 (esp. nn. 24–5). In any case, μελάμπυγος is an eagle species in Arist. *HA* 618 b 19 (cf. Kajava 2010: 130), but it also proverbially marked manhood and courage (of the Herculean type), this usage perhaps going back to the very same Archil. fr. 178 or even earlier (cf. Irwin 1974: 139–44; Nesselrath 2007: 142 n. 51, and for a typical gloss, Suda μ 987: μή τινος ἀνδρείου καὶ ἰσχυροῦ τύχης). Analogously, πύγαργος (or λευκόπυγος [*PCG* II *Alex.* fr. 322 K–A, with comm. ed. Arnott 1996], λευκοπρωκτός [*PCG* IV *Call.* fr. 14 B K–A]) was used of cowards (Arch. fr. 313 West [perhaps]; *TrGF* IV *Soph.* fr. 1085 Radt; *TrGF* II *adesp.* F 655, 21 [perhaps; from an original satyr play or from a revision of an earlier work; fifth century to Hellenistic period]; Lyc. *Alex.* 91 [of Paris], and the scholiasts).

²³ In fact, πύγαργος (in the sense "coward", see n. 22) may have been what Aeschylus meant here, since the two eagles were identified by Calchas as the two sons of Atreus (line 122), Agamemnon and Menelaos, the former known for his strength (with κελαινός [ἐξόπιν] perhaps standing for μελάμπυγος), the latter for his being a faint-hearted warrior (i. e., πύγαργος), cf. Fraenkel 1982: 67–70 (*ad* 115); Irwin 1974: 142–4.

ring to the colouring of the animal's rump (φοινός^w-ορσος, see above n. 1), would provide a sort of parallel, unless this name specifically (and perhaps literally, cf. οὐρό) marked the ox's tail.²⁴ However this may be, a look at the reappearance of the Mycenaean oxen's names in Greek literature shows that their semantic field could extend considerably, to include not only various animals, but also people and their behaviour. This is well illustrated by what is known about the history of the Mycenaean *-argos* names (*po-da-ko*, *to-ma-ko*)²⁵ as well as by the later use of *a₃-wo-ro* (αἰόλος).

The adjectives ἀργής and ἀργός have two basic meanings, that is, "agile, quick" and "bright, glancing, shining, white", respectively. In Homer, both Hector and Menelaos had a horse called Podargos, "Swiftfoot", while the Harpy Podarge, a swiftly-moving wind demon, was the mother of the immortal horses of Achilles. Moreover, Homeric hounds are often "swift-footed" (πόδας ἀργοί, ἀργίποδες, or simply ἀργοί). However, considering that rapid motion and luminosity are frequently connected, being the two principal aspects of various visual phenomena,²⁶ one could argue that the name of Hector's horse not only suggested swiftness, but also the animal's shining feet.²⁷ Similarly, Odysseus' faithful dog was called Argos (parox.), the Nimble One, but this might also allude to a kind of flickering light caused by its nimble movements (at least when it was young). The name of Jason's ship, the Argo, probably suggests both speed and brightness. However, this kind of extension of meaning cannot have applied to the Mycenaean oxen's names marking the animals' colouring, although, in theory, outside the palace context, also *po-da-ko* and *to-ma-ko* could have referred to the glossy shine caused by the light moving on the oxen's wet feet and muzzles.

²⁴ Cf. ὀροπύγιον, indicating tail (or tailfeathers) of birds, and generally tail or rump of any (?) animal (Aristoph., Arist., and two fourth-century inventory lists, where the term refers to statues depicting birds: *IG II²* 1498, 27 [Acropolis]; *IG XII* 6, 261, 35 [ὀρσοπ-; Heraion of Samos]). Regarding the element ὀρσο-/ὀρο-, and the fact that an eagle could be μελάμπυγος (nn. 22–3), one should pay attention to Ahrens' ingenious conjecture for reading μελανόρσου, "black-tailed" (eagle), in place of the vulgar μέλανος τοῦ (scil. αἰετοῦ) in Hom. *Il.* 21,252. Aristotle inadequately proposed μελανόστου, "black-boned" (Schol. Hom. *Il.* 21,252 d1, d2 Erbse).

²⁵ Heubeck 1974: 41–3; Hajnal – Risch, s. a.: 178–80.

²⁶ D'Avino 1958: 99–134; Irwin 1974: 39, 214–5; Dürbeck 1977: 87–9; Ferrini 1978: 19–20; Benedetti 1980: 159; Briand 1993: 107, 116.

²⁷ In later poetry, ἀργίπους could clearly mean "white-footed", rams being thus characterized in Sophocles (*Ai.* 237; Schol. λευκόποδας).

The post-Homeric adjective *στόμαργος* was used in the meaning of "noisily-prating, loud-mouthed" (Aesch. *Sept.* 447, also Soph., Eur.), perhaps modelled upon the variant *γλώ]σσαργος* in Pind. fr. 140 b 13, and obviously drawing on the idea of "speaking loudly (< clearly) and quickly". Whether it was ever used in the sense of "white-muzzled" anywhere in Greek literature, poetry or prose is unknown (but surely it could have been).

The two meanings of *αἰόλος* are well comparable to those of *ἀργής* and *ἀργός*: 1) "quick / agile / nimble" (of animals in Hom.), and 2) "spotted, speckled" as well as "glittering, flashing" (of armour in Hom.).²⁸ Both uses are very ancient, the original meaning being perhaps that of "spotted" (or similar), while the meaning "quick, nimble" would have developed later (yet still before Homer). When used of insects (bees, flies), worms and snakes in Homer, *αἰόλος* may not underline their colouring or appearance, nor does it seem to refer to their velocity, but rather to their agitated and struggling movements. However, as in the case of the *-argos* terms, one wonders whether some of the Homeric epithets could be explained by quickness and flashing light acting contemporaneously. For example, the "glancing" element of epithets such as *αἰολοθώραξ* "with glancing breastplate" and *κορυθαἰόλος* "with glancing helmet" (especially à propos Hector) might be understood as being caused by the warriors' quick movements. Similarly, *αἰολόπῳλος*, "with quick-moving steeds" (Hom., etc.), is probably also associated with flashing light, just as the Homeric phrase *πόδας αἰόλος ἵππος*, describing a "quick-moving horse" in *Il.* 19,404, may properly refer to the visual effect caused by the quivering of the horse's hocks. Also, Myc. *a₃-wo-ro /Aiwo-los/*, sometimes implausibly associated with the animal's motion and vivacity,²⁹ might have referred to light moving back and forth on the animal's glossy and moiré coat, which thus to an observer appears to flash, as if making it "of variegated colour". Evidently, however, the real meaning on the Knossian palace records would have been "with speckled coat" (black-speckled, dark red-speckled, or similar).³⁰ In post-Homeric poetry, *αἰόλος* continued to be used for "speckled, spotted", but it also had the metaphorical meaning of "checquered" and "shifty",

²⁸ Cf. Kajava 2011.

²⁹ Gallavotti 1957: 7; Chantraine 1963: 13; Benedetti 1980: 159.

³⁰ Ilievski 1958: 338; Lejeune 1971: 384 ("le Moiré"); Chadwick 1976: 127 ("Dapple"); Risch 1992: 91 ("... d'après la couleur de leur pelage"); Killen 1992–93: 103 ("of variegated colour"); Godart – Tzedakis 1993: 239 ("moiré" or "Le Moiré"); Hajnal – Risch, s. a.: 175 ("gescheckt, gefleckt").

being thus almost equivalent to ποικίλος.³¹ The adjective was never applied to people, but the Lord of the Winds was called Aiolos (proparox.), properly, the Changeable, or the Rapid.³²

For curiosity's sake, I conclude by noting that some Byzantine scholars, starting from the ninth-century grammarian Theognostus, registered λέπαργος as a synonym for "snow", and Eustathius reported that this was because snow made the bare rock (λέπας) white.³³ The idea itself might go back to Theophr. *HP* 4,14,13, where λεπίδες (scil. χιόνος) stood for down-floating snowflakes: ὅταν αἰθρίας οὔσης αἰ λεπίδες καταφέρωνται.³⁴

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³¹ Cf. ποικίλος αιολόμητις (Prometheus) in Hes. *Theog.* 511, and ποικιλομήτης, epithet of Odysseus in Homer and of some gods in the *Hymns* (also ποικιλομήτιδες ἄται in Soph. *TrGF* IV fr. 592 Radt); Pind. *Nem.* 8,25 has αἰόλω ψεύδει, "insidious lie".

³² However, this name might originally go back to the tightly closed bag full of winds, which was made from the hide of a nine-year-old ox (Hom. *Od.* 10,19), cf. Hajnal – Risch, s. a.: 176: "aus dem Fell eines gescheckten Rindes hergestellte Schlauch", assuming a phrase such as *αἰόλο' ἄσκός ... βόειος, where the genitive *αἰόλοο would have been reinterpreted as the name of the bag's manufacturer.

³³ Theogn. *Can.* 27,23: λέπαργος ἢ χιών (similarly Ps.-Zonar. *Lex.* p. 1295, 25). Eusth. *ad Od.* I, p. 78, 6: λέπαργός φασιν ἢ χιών παρὰ τὸ λευκαίνειν τὸ λέπας.

³⁴ Λεπίδες (denoting scales, flakes, etc.) is Scaliger's obvious emendation for ῥεπίδες, suggested by *squamulae* in Theodorus Gaza's Latin translation from 1450–51 (printed ed. pr. Treviso 1483). The connection with Theophrastus was pointed out by Arena 1982: 6.

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