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Lesbian: ἀθρήματα (Hsch. A 1621)

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Abstract

The Lexicon of Hesychius is still of great importance as far as the exegesis of Classical texts is concerned, but the question of the degree to which it can be considered a reliable source of dialectological data, and especially whether the glosses attest the real state of the vernacular spoken in the different regions of Greece, remains difficult to answer. Nevertheless, the glosses are still one of the most important sources (after epigraphical sources) for our knowledge of dialectal lexical systems and occasionally provide unique attestations of dialect forms in Greek. The following article examines only one such example, namely the regional designation for the "wedding gifts", as attributed to the inhabitants of Lesbos, cf. Hsch. A 1621 ἀθρήματα· δῶρα πεμπόμενα παρὰ τῶν συγγενῶν ταῖς γαμουμέναις παρθένοις παρὰ Λεσβίοις. The article aims to cast some light on this hapax form and concerns itself with the question of a problematic relation to the Homeric form ἀθύρματα. The meaning of the form ἀθρήματα is specialized, it can apply to the sphere of everyday life, and there are also synonyms from other sources which indicate a meaning in the area of "wedding gifts". All of these facts could testify to the dialectal provenance of the Hesychean gloss.

Keywords

Ancient Greek dialects; lexicography; glosses

In the course of research on the various dialects of Ancient Greek, the lexical system has not been studied in the same way as has been done with phonology and morphology. The same seems to be true of syntax. This situation, however, should not necessarily be considered odd. The majority of forms attested both in inscriptions and in other dialect sources can be interpreted as "normal" Greek words, which differ from one other in their phonetic shape or (less frequently) their morphological features. It seems clear, however, that research into the Greek dialectal lexicon could contribute much to the question of the contacts between various dialects, as well as to their external history. The dialectal lexicon of Greek offers many interesting forms which may be used in Indo-European reconstruction, etymology, morphology, etc. Of course, dialect data, especially from glosses and ancient grammatical entries, should be treated with extreme caution,

especially due to their mostly problematic provenance.[1] Nevertheless, the glosses are still one of the most important sources for our knowledge of the dialectal lexical systems (after epigraphical sources, of course), and occasionally provide unique attestations of dialect forms in Greek.[2]

In the Lexicon of Hesychius from Alexandria, the form ἀθρήματα is attested under entry A 1621 with following explanation: ἀθρήματα· δῶρα πεμπόμενα w παρὰ τῶν συγγενῶν ταῖς γαμουμέναις w παρθένοις παρὰ Λεσβίοις (nom. pl.) "gifts sent by the relatives to the girls who are to get married (inhabitants of Lesbos)", with indication of its possible dialectal provenance. The form is also noted in other Lexica, cf. e.g. Etym. Gen. A 147: ἀθύρματα ἢ ἀθρήματα τινὰ ὄντα παρὰ τὸ ἀθρεῖν. θέαματα. Even if ascribed to the speakers of the East Aeolic dialect of the ancient island of Lesbos by Hesychius, the form is not attested in Lesbian inscriptions; it has however been commonly quoted as a *hapax legomenon* occurring in Sappho, Fr. 169A ἀθρήματα (V; Glossemata), without any context.

The first problem in explaining the form is philological, namely the existence of a plural form ἀθύρματα, occurring in two fragments of Sappho beside ἀθρήματα. The first fragment is Sappho 44, 9, and the second Sappho 63, 8: ἀθύρματα κα.[. In the first case the situation is complicated (Fr. 44). We find the well-known picture of Hector bringing Andromache home to Troy from Thebes:

> Ἔκτωρ καὶ συνέταιρ[ο]ι ἄγοισ' ἐλικώπιδα
> Θήβας ἐξ ἱέρας Πλακίας τ' ἀ.[..]νάω
> ἄβραν Ἀνδρομάχαν ἐνὶ ναῦσιν ἐπ' ἄλμυρον
> πόντον· πόλλα δ' [ἐλί]γματα χρύσια κἄμματα
> πορφύρ[α] καταύτ[..]να, ποίκιλ' ἀθύρματα,
> ἀργύρα τ' ἀνάρ[ι]θμα [ποτή]ρ[ια] κἀλέφαις.

Tzamali interprets this passage as "... bringen die zarte Andromache ..., und viele goldene Ketten und Gewänder, purpurne ... silberne Becher ohne Zahl, und Elfenbein"

1 The most extensive source of dialect data is the Lexicon of Hesychius of Alexandria, dated to the 5th/6th cent. A.D.; the oldest manuscript, however, stems from the 15th cent., Codex Marcianus Graecus 622. This Lexicon is based on earlier works, especially on the lexicon Παντοδαπή λέξεις by Diogenianus from Heraklea (quoted by Hesychius under the name Περιεργοπένητας), which has not been preserved; among others, the glosses by Aristarchus, Apion, Heliodorus, Kyrillus and the orthographic works by Herodianus were also used (cf. Latte 1953: pp. XLII–XLVII). The Lexicon of Hesychius is of great importance as far as the exegesis of Classical texts is concerned, but the question of how far it can be considered a reliable source of dialectological data, and especially whether the glosses attest the real state of the vernacular spoken in the different regions of Greece, remains difficult to answer.

2 The lexical material attested in the glosses in many cases does not fit the epigraphic evidence, as it is often quoted from literary works; its interpretation thus requires different methods from those used in interpreting inscriptions. The most important thing is first of all to examine the direct source of the gloss, and to place it in the tradition of the literary genre. Furthermore, the historical-comparative method and interdisciplinary analysis should be applied whenever possible (for proposed methodological approaches to the glosses and dialectal vocabulary, see García Ramón 1997: pp. 521–552, and above all García Ramón 2004: pp. 235–264. For Lesbian glosses and problems of Lesbian dialectal vocabulary in general, see Sowa 2006: pp. 233–258).

(Tzamali 1996: p. 230). Frisk translates the word as "bunte Schmucksachen" ("colorful jewelry") and derives it from a verb ἀθύρω "spielen, sich belustigen" (Hom.+) attested only in the present tense, with examples stemming mostly from poetry. ἄθυρμα would be then simply a "play", "Spiel, Unterhaltung", in the plural with the general meaning "jewelry", "Schmucksachen" (Frisk GEW I: p. 29).

It seems that already the ancient lexicographers connected the two forms ἀθρήματα and ἀθύρματα, although they seem to lack any direct or indirect etymological relationship (Rodríguez-Somolinos 1998: p. 118). In addition to the statement mentioned above from Etym. Gen. A 147, cf. also ἀθρίμματα quoted in Zonaras 61 with the same definition as ἀθρήματα: δῶρα πεμπόμενα τοῖς γεγαμημένοις.

The most obvious question is whether both forms may be interpreted as formations built from a single stem. It is impossible to explain ἀθύρματα as an error for expected ἀθρήματα from the paleographical point of view. Snell quotes the evidence for the form ἀθύρματα from Homer and observes that only in one place in o 415 (ἔνθα δὲ Φοίνικες ναυσικλυτοὶ ἦλυθον ἄνδρες || τρῶκται, μυρί' ἄγοντες ἀθύρματα νηΐ μελαίνῃ) does it really mean "jewelry, Schmuck", probably "the necklace from amber and gold, which the Phoenicians offer to the mother of Eumaios", cf. o 460 (χρύσεον ὅρμον ἔχων, μετὰ δ' ἠλέκτροισιν ἔερτο). In two other cases it seems to mean just "a children's toy" (Snell 1958: p. 284).[3] According to Snell, the occurrence in Sappho's text seems to be mistaken. The form generally denotes silver cups, golden armlets and ivory, but it can hardly apply to purple clothes, mentioned before. Snell assumes that Sappho might have originally used the form ἀθρήματα in her text, but she could well also have chosen the Homeric word ἀθύρματα from the poetic vocabulary. The context is almost the same: bringing many precious things by ship over the sea. He also admits as a possibility the influence of later copyists in the history of text transmission, for whom the correct ἀθρήματα sounded strange and obscure, so that they replaced it by the well-known Homeric ἀθύρματα (Snell 1958: p. 285).

From the formal point of view, ἀθρήματα seems to be the nom. pl. of an unattested stem *ἀθρήμα the abstract noun in -μα derived from the verb ἀθρέω, which has been considered a poetic formation, meaning "to gaze at, look earnestly, observe". Such a meaning is attested in Homer, cf. e.g. K 11f.: ... ἤτοι ὅτ' ἐς πεδίον τὸ Τρωϊκὸν ἀθρήσειε || θαύμαζεν πυρὰ πολλὰ τὰ καίετο Ἰλιόθι πρὸ; the verb is also used in archaic lyric (Pi., Bacch.) and in Attic tragedy (cf. the attestations in LfrgE).[4] The

3 Cf. O 363: ῥεῖα μάλ', ὡς ὅτε τις ψάμαθον πάϊς ἄγχι θαλάσσης || ὅς τ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ποιήσῃ ἀθύρματα νηπιέῃσιν; σ 323: τὴν Δολίος μὲν ἔτικτε, κόμισσε δὲ Πηνελόπεια || παῖδα δὲ ὡς ἀτίταλλε, δίδου δ' ἄρ' ἀθύρματα θυμῷ.

4 E.g. Pi. *Pyth*. 2, 70: ἄθρησον χάριν ἑπτακτύπου; Bacch. 5, 8: δεῦρ' <ἄγ'> ἄθρησον νόωι·; S. *Oed. Col*. 1032: ἆ δεῖ μ' ἀθρῆσαι, μηδὲ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν; Eur. *Bacc*. 1326: ἐς τοῦδ' ἀθρήσας θάνατον ἡγείσθω θεούς. The same meaning "to look at, to observe" is attested by Hesychius in his Lexicon, cf. A 1616–1624: *ἄθρει· βλέπε vg ὅρα P νόει vg ἴδε; *ἄθρει δή· νόει δή vg σκόπει <δή> (Greg. Naz. c. 2,1,32,14.37, 1301) n; *ἀθρεῖ· ὁρᾷ, βλέπει np; *ἀθρήσας· ἰδών (explaining the verse from Eur. *Bacch*. 1326, quoted above) vgnp; [ἄθρεκτοι· ἀτάρακτοι]; ἀθρήματα· δῶρα πεμπόμενα w παρὰ τῶν συγγενῶν ταῖς γαμουμέναις w παρθένοις παρὰ Λεσβίοις (Sapph. fr.); ἀθρῆσαι· ἀτενίσαι, ἰδεῖν (τ 478); ἀθρήσειεν· σκοπήσειεν (to the quotation from Hom. as already discussed above, K 11) n; *ἄθρησον· θεώρησον (Eur. Hec. 679) vgw. The same situation is to found by Suda A 751f.: Ἄθρει: ὅρα, βλέπε. καὶ Ἀθρείοντες, ἰδεῖν ἐπιθυμοῦντες.

etymology of ἀ-θρέω in the meaning "to look earnestly; betrachten, anschauen" is easy to explain as a zero grade < *$d^{h}er$- "halten" (cf. LIV²: p. 145 "befestigen, fixieren"); it seems however that in order to explain ἀθρήματα one has to assume the existence of an aorist stem ἄθρησα (Risch 1974: p. 317) < Proto-Greek *$sm̥$-$t^{h}re$:- (Frisk GEW I: p. 29). On the other hand, ἄθυρμα as a derivative of ἀθύρω "play, enjoy oneself" should then be referred to the PIE root *$d^{h}u̯er(H)$- "whirl, rush" (Beekes 2010: p. 30).[5]

The meaning of the glossed form ἀθρήματα as "wedding gifts" is easy to explain if one compares it to other Greek forms like θεώρητρα, ὀπτήρια and ἀνακαλυπτήρια, which could be considered exact synonyms (cf. Pollux 3, 36). Both θεώρητρα and ὀπτήρια derive from stems meaning "to see, watch", respectively θεώρεω and ὀπτεύω (cf. Ar. *Av.* 1061), the latter a denominative in -ευω to masc. ὀπτήρ "spy" (analogous to the -ευω denominatives based on masculine nouns in -ευς, Risch 1974: pp. 332f.; cf. also Gr. evidence for the root ὀπ- < *h_3ek^{u}- in the verbal forms ὄσσομαι < *h_3k^{u}- *i̯é-*, perf. ὄπωπα < *h_3e-h_3ok^{u}- "beobachte, nehme an, sehe" LIV²: pp. 297f.; cf. Hsch. O 1063 ὀπτήρια· τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἀνακαλυπτηρίοις διδόμενα δῶρα τῇ νύμφῃ, θεώρητρα, referring to the verse from Callim. *h.Dian.* 74). The third word, according to Harpocration 31, 13–32, 2 means "wedding gifts, made by the bridegroom to the bride, when she first unveiled herself".[6] It seems possible to interpret ἀθρήματα likewise as wedding gifts, whose name refers to the special moment during the wedding ceremony when the bride and groom were allowed to look at each other's faces for the first time (Snell 1958: p. 284), a special moment which may also have permitted their first exchange of speech (Foley 2001: p. 316).

In her analysis of the poetic vocabulary of Sappho and Alcaeus, Rodríguez-Somolinos pointed out the form ἀθρήματα, hapax, *pl. tant.*, but based on the Homeric ἀθρέω. She treats the form as an element of the properly Lesbian vocabulary connected with everyday life. According to her, the use of the neuter in -μα is significant, as she assumes that the switch from the original abstract meaning (cf. the function of the suffix in Risch 1974: pp. 49f.) to a concrete one took place when the plural ending was created, which should be understood as a mechanism "propio de la lengua popular" (Rodríguez-

Ἀθρεῖν: τὸ περισκοπεῖν καὶ μετ' ἐπιτάσεως ὁρᾶν. παραδειγμάτων δὲ πάντα μεστά; the meaning "to see" is to be found by Theocr., cf. 11, 24: φεύγεις δ' ὥσπερ ὄις πολιὸν λύκον ἀθρήσασα "you run as the sheep that saw a grey wolf".

5 The existence of such a verbal root in PIE is not at all assured: cf. *$d^{h}u̯er$-, noted in LIV²: pp. 159f. in a completely different meaning "hurt, damage" with Ved. *dhū́rvati* as an example of the present formation *$d^{h}u̯ér/d^{h}ur$-*u*-; whether Hitt. *duwarnizzi* should be also quoted here seems to be a problem. No direct connection to Slavic forms like *durъ "stupidity, madness" or adj. *durъ "shy, wild" and related formations, cf. Russ. *durít'* "be naughty, be obstinate", or adj. *durnój* "bad, evil, nasty, stupid"; the Lith. adverb *padùrmai* quoted by Frisk and repeated by Beekes seems to belong to the semantic field of the verb *dùrti* "to sting" (Fraenkel 1962: p. 113).

6 Ἀνακαλυπτήρια: δῶρα διδόμενα ταῖς νύμφαις παρά τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ φίλων, ὅταν τὸ πρῶτον ἀνακαλύπτωνται ὥστε ὁραθῆναι τοῖς ἀνδράσι. καλεῖται δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ἐπαύλια. ταῦτα δ' εἰσὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν θεώρετρα. Cf. also the similar definition in Suda A 1888: Ἀνακαλυπτήρια: δῶρα διδόμενα ταῖς νύμφαις παρά τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῶν οἰκείων φίλων, ὅταν τὸ πρῶτον ἀνακαλύπτωνται ἀνδράσιν ὁραθῆναι. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἐπαύλαια. For a brief discussion of various cultural aspects of ἀνακαλυπτήρια, see Armstrong & Ratchford (1985: p. 9).

Somolinos 1998: pp. 180, 183).[7] The fact that the meaning is specialized and concrete may indicate that the term was probably commonly used in the times of the Lesbian poets (*ibidem*, p. 226).

It seems plausible that ἀθρήματα could belong to the specific vernacular Lesbian vocabulary. The epigraphic attestations from the Lesbian-speaking area (Lesbos and the Aeolic cities of Asia Minor) yield more than 120 occurences of neuter stems in *-ma(t)-*, e.g. αναλωμα, διαγραμμα, τα εγκληματα, σωματα, το ψαφισμα, used as collectives or plurals (26 lexical units, cf. Hodot 1990: p. 105). The meaning of the form is specialized, it can apply to everyday life (family life), and there are also synonyms from the other sources which indicate a meaning in the area of "wedding gifts."

Appendix

In 1985 Heubeck proposed an interpretation of the form **te-re-te-we** from Mycenaean tablet PY An 607.4, which "records large group of women classified according to occupation or origin" (Ventris & Chadwick 1959: p. 166). Palmer interprets the obscure **te-re-te-we** (DM II, p. 340) as a place name (with a question mark), "similar in formation to **te-re-ne-we** (An 18.6); we should expect the allative form..." (Palmer 1963: pp. 128, 457). Heubeck, however, considers it a dat. sg. */tʰre:teu̯ei̯/* from */tʰre:tus/* (<**dʰreh*$_1$*-tus* / **dʰrh*$_1$*-tus*) related to Hsch. θ 738 θρήσκω· νοῶ r, which could then contain the same root as ἀθρήματα (*ᵒtʰre:-* < **dʰreh*$_1$*-*?; cf. the synonymous Hsch. gloss *ἄθρει δή· νόει δή vg σκόπει <δή> quoted above). The proposed meaning belongs to the sacral sphere of the Myc. vocabulary, namely "Betrachtung (und Durchführung) kultischer Vorstellungen und Tätigkeiten" (Heubeck 1985: pp. 81ff.). Hsch. E 3057 †ἐνθρεῖν· φυλάσσειν, quoted by Heubeck as the evidence for a root **dʰreh*$_1$*-*, does not have to contain a laryngeal if it is related to Ved. forms such as e.g. 2sg. mid. inj. *mā dhr̥thās* (AV 3,25, 1) "halte dich nicht fest!" < aor. **dʰér-/dʰr̥-* (cf. LIV^2: p. 145), Gr. inf. ἐνθρεῖν < */en-tʰr-e-sen/*. If the Myc. form is related to Sapphic ἀθρήματα and the other forms discussed above, we would be dealing with the same semantic development as in the case of Latin *seruare* (*obseruare*, etc.; cf. García-Hernandez 1998: pp. 169–178).

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7 Cf. the same situation with Alcaeus ἄχματα "carga de un barco", which belongs to the maritime vocabulary and is attested only in the plural (Rodríguez-Somolinos 1998: pp. 202, 226), cf. Alc. Fr. 208a (L–P), col2, 7: μόνον· τὰ δ' ἄχματ' ἐκπεπ[.].άχμενα.

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