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LETRAS CLÁSSICAS – FFLCH/USP
Av. Prof. Luciano Gualberto, 403, 2º andar, sala 4
Cidade Universitária
05508-010 – São Paulo – SP – Brasil
Tel: (00-55-11) 3031-2330
Fax: (00-55-11) 3091-5035

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FFLCH/USP
Rua do Lago, 717 – Cidade Universitária
05508-900 – São Paulo – SP – Brasil
Telefax: 3091-4593 / 3091-2920
e-mail: editorahumanitas@edu.usp.br
<http://www.editorahumanitas.com.br>

Impresso no Brasil / Printed in Brazil
Setembro 2012

LETRAS CLÁSSICAS

Letras Clássicas • n. 11 • p. 1-232 • São Paulo • junho 2007

UNIVERSIDADE DE SÃO PAULO • FACULDADE DE FILOSOFIA, LETRAS E CIÊNCIAS HUMANAS

APHRODITE OF THE DAWN: INDO-EUROPEAN HERITAGE IN GREEK DIVINE EPITHETS AND THEONYMS¹

DANIEL KÖLLIGAN
University of Cologne (Germany)

ABSTRACT: §1. Aphrodite, originally an epithet of PIE **h₂éwsōs*, has taken over numerous features of the goddess of dawn. Like the Vedic Uṣas she is the 'daughter of the sky'. She is connected with the calm of the sea (γαλήνη) and a rescuer of seafarers, a function fulfilled by Uṣas' suitors in Vedic mythology. Her name may derive from **ab^hro-dih₂-to-* 'shining up from the mist/foam'. §2.1 The epithets of Aphrodite made up of or including colour terms (χρυσής, χρυσοστέφανος, etc.) may refer to her original character as personification of dawn. §2.2 Her connection with chariots as reflected e.g. in χρυσάνιος may derive from her association with the chariot of the sun. This could also be the case of χρυσόθρονος. §2.3 The use of λευκός in connection with Aphrodite may be compared to Ved. *rocamaṅga-*, said of Uṣas. §2.4 Her epithet Αργυρνίς corresponds to Ved. *aṛjuni-*. §2.5 Aphrodite ῥοδέη and ῥοδόχρους corresponds to ῥοδοδάκτυλος Eos. §3. The Vedic dawn-cows can be compared with the cows of Helios on Thrinakia. The epic epithets ἔλιξ and ἑλικοβλέφαρος may refer to the celestial movement. §4. The inscriptional Aphrodite Ὀρθροῦ could be dawn or the morning star as daughter of the morning twilight and may be identical to the Ὀρθρία of Alcman fr. 1 and a riddle of Theognis (ll. 861-4). The Ἐρίβοια attested next to Aphrodite Ὀρθροῦ can be understood as the one 'rich in dawn-cows'.

KEY WORDS: Aphrodite and the Vedic Uṣas; goddess of dawn and morning star; divine epithets and theonyms.

¹ This paper was written in the framework of a two-year project funded by the DAAD, "Divine Epithets in Ancient Greece (Laconia, Aiolis)" (2011-12), a collaboration of the Dept. of Linguistics of the University of Cologne and the Istituto di Filologia classica e Papirologia of the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore (Milan). I would like to thank Prof. Dr. J. L. García Ramón, Dr. A. Vegas, Dr. P. Schmitz (Cologne), Dr. N. Guilleux (Caen), Dr. A. Filoni (Milan) and Dr. J. M. Macedo (São Paulo) for their helpful critique and remarks.

1. Aphrodite, heiress to the PIE goddess of dawn

Since Dickmann Boedeker (1974) and Dunkel (1988) it has been a *communis opinio* that the Greek goddess Aphrodite has adopted features of the Proto-Indo-European (PIE) goddess of dawn, sharing in this inheritance with Eos < PIE **h₂eusós* and probably Helena, as well.² Numerous features of Aphrodite point in this direction, e.g. the designation as **diuós d^hugh₂tér* ‘daughter of the sky(-god)’ found in the Rig-Veda (RV) as *divó duhitá*, usually *Uṣās* ‘dawn’,³ which is reflected in Greek as θυγάτηρ Διός and which is not used of Dawn (Ἥως), who is the daughter of Hyperion (Hes. Th. 371-74, h. Hom. 31.6), but of other goddesses like Athene (Hes. Sc. 197), Artemis (Alkm. 27.1, 28), and the Muses (Il. 2.491, Od. 1.10, Hes. Th. 76), and also of Aphrodite (h. Aphr. 81 et passim).⁴ The epithet φιλομειδής ‘having a lovely smile’ – in Hesiod folk-etymologized as φιλομμηδής, since in Greek myth Aphrodite was born from Ouranos’ μήδεα ‘genitals’⁵ – is almost exclusively used of Aphrodite⁶ and recalls the frequent co-occurrence of Vedic *smi* ‘to smile’ and *Uṣās* in the RV,⁷ and like Aphrodite the Vedic goddess of

² The amount of Semitic inheritance in the make-up of Aphrodite’s character will not be dealt with here in detail. Qua goddess of sex she was naturally identified with the Semitic Astarte / Ištar, both having cult centres on Cyprus, both representing the morning and evening star (Eosphoros, Hesperos = *Venus*), both daughters of the sky (of Ouranos and Anu respectively), etc., cf. also Nagy (1996): 54. The nearly exclusive use of the epithet Οὐρανία of Aphrodite occurs in contexts of the *interpretatio Graeca* of near-eastern models, e.g. the Egyptian Hathor, cf. West (1997): 56, 291f. and Pirenne-Delforge (2005).

³ RV 10.70.6 *divó duhitārā* (du.) used of dawn and night (*uṣāsánaktā*), AV 19.47.5 *duhitar diváh* used of the night alone (*rātrī*).

⁴ Nagy (1996): 48f. points out the metrical complementarity of Eos and Aphrodite in Homeric formulaic diction: if verse-final Ἥως is immediately preceded by an epithet, it is usually ροδοδάκτυλος. Metrically θυγάτηρ Διός would fit just as well, hence he assumes that the latter was ousted by the former in this position. On the other hand, Aphrodite in verse-final position is preceded by Διός θυγάτηρ 9x.

⁵ Cf. for this and other poetic and popular interpretations of names in Greek epic Risch (1947 = *Kleine Schriften* 294-313). Heubeck (1965 = *Kleine Schriften* 265-67) assumed the opposite direction of change due to a “humanizing” tendency in Homer, but there is no reason why a form φιλομηδής matching perfectly a well-known myth should have been changed into a euphemistic φιλομειδής, which is obviously the *forma difficilior*. A change φιλομειδής → φιλομηδής was assumed by Strunk (1960), too.

⁶ Only Γλαυκονόμη in Hes. Th. 256 seems to be an exception. Note also the depiction of smiling Aphrodite in Sappho fr. 1.13f. σὺ δ’, ὦ μάκαιρα, / μειδιαί[σαισ] ἀθανάτων προσώπων “But you, blessed one, were smiling with your immortal face”.

⁷ Said once of her mythological father *Dyau* ‘sky’, as well, cf. RV 2.4.6 *dyaúr iva smáyamāno nábhobhīh* “like the sky smiling through the cloud”, cf. Macdonell 1897 (repr. 2002): 22.

dawn has a strong sexual aspect as represented in numerous passages, e.g.

RV 1.123.10

*kaniyeva tanīvā śāsādānām, ēṣi devi devām iyakṣamāṇam
saṁsmáyamānā yuvatīḥ purástād, āvir vākṣāmsi kṛnuṣe vibhātī*

Like a maiden, proud of her body, you, o goddess, approach the god desirous of you; smiling, a young woman, you unveil your breasts before him, shining up in the east,⁸

RV 1.92.6

*ātāriṣma tāmāsas pārām asyā, uṣā uchāntī vayūnā kṛṇoti
śriyē chāndo ná smayate vibhātī, suprátikā saumanasā yājīgaḥ*

We have reached the end of this darkness. Shining up *Uṣas* determines the time. Like a seductress she smiles beautifully when she is shining. Of beautiful appearance she has given rise to cheerfulness.

In

RV 10.172.1 *ā yāhi vānasā sahā*

come along with your desire

the hapax *vanas-* ‘desire’ is used in combination with *Uṣas*. This feature of dawn’s character has been inherited in Greek mythology by both Aphrodite and Eos, and it has been hypostasized into a new personality of her own, *Venus*, in the Roman world. In Greek mythology, both Eos and Aphrodite have manifold sexual relations with humans: as Eos abducts Orion (Od. 5.121), Tithonos (h. Aphr. 218), Kephalos (Eur. Hipp. 455) and Kleitos (Od. 15.250), Aphrodite abducts Phaethon (Hes. Theog. 990) and falls in love with Adonis (Athen. Deipn. 10.83.34) and Anchises (h. Aphr. 218-38). In the latter case, Aphrodite makes explicit reference to the abduction of Tithonos by Eos as a precedent (Nagy 1996: 49). In the myth of Phaethon the goddesses appear side by side, Eos as his mother, Aphrodite as the one who falls in love with him and abducts him to serve in her temple (cf. Hes. Th. 984-91). It is not unlikely that this version of the story is the result of a reshuffle of the protagonists

⁸ Cf. Geldner’s German translation: “Wie eine Maid, die stolz auf ihren Körper, gehst du, Göttin, zu dem dich begehrenden Gott. Lächelnd enthüllst du, die junge Frau, vor ihm die Brüste, wenn du im Osten erstrahlst.”

after Eos and Aphrodite had become two deities independent from each other. Their co-occurrence in the same myth, however, may point to an earlier state of affairs: in the RV Uṣas is both mother and consort or bride to the sun(-god) Sūrya,⁹ a situation matching the Greek state of affairs if we interpret Phaethon 'the shining one' as an instantiation of the sun.¹⁰

Another, though indirect, connection between Aphrodite and the lovely smile may be seen in the fact that she is connected with the *calm and shining* sea, the γαλήνη, in a number of passages, e.g. she is called γαληναίη in AP X.21 Κύπρι γαληναίη, and is responsible for the calm of the sea reported in the story of Dexicreon told by Plutarchus (*Aetia Romana et Graeca*, Stephanus 303C9) (Pirenne-Delforge, 1994: 433-37):

‘Τίς ἡ αἰτία, δι’ ἣν ἐν Σάμῳ τὴν Δεξικρέοντος Ἀφροδίτην καλοῦσι; πότερον ὅτι τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τρυφῆς καὶ ὕβρεως ἀκόλαστα ποιοῦσας Δεξικρέων ἀνὴρ ἀγύρτης καθαρμῶ χρησάμενος ἀπήλλαξεν ἢ ὅτι ναύκληρος ὢν ὁ Δεξικρέων ἐπλευσεν εἰς Κύπρον ἐπ’ ἐμπορίαν καὶ μέλλοντα γεμίζειν *** τὴν Ἀφροδίτην κελεύειν ὕδωρ ἐμβαλόμενον καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο πλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην· πεισθεὶς δὲ καὶ πολὺ ὕδωρ ἐνθήμενος ἐξέπλευσεν, εἶτα νηνεμίας καὶ γαλήνης ἐν τῷ πελάγει κατασχούσης, διψῶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐμπόροις καὶ ναυκλήροις ὕδωρ πιπράσκων ἀργύριον πολὺ συνήθροισεν, ἐκ δὲ τούτου κατασκευάσας τὴν θεὸν ἄφ’ ἑαυτοῦ προσηγόρευσεν;

Why is it that on Samos they call upon Aphrodite of Dexicreon? – Is this the reason that the women of Samos, by lasciviousness and bawdry falling into great debauchery, were reformed by Dexicreon, a charlatan, using some charms towards them? Or was it because Dexicreon, being the master of a ship, and sailing to Cyprus on a trading voyage, and being about to take in his lading, was commanded by Venus to iade with water and nothing else, and sail back with all possible speed? Being persuaded to do so, he took in much water and

⁹ E.g. RV 1.115.2 *sūryo devīm uśasam rōcamānām māryo nā yōśām abhy eī paścāt*. “Like a young man goes after a maiden, so Sūrya follows the shining goddess Uśas”, 7.78.3 *ājñanan sūryam* “she (sc. Dawn) has given birth to Sūrya.”

¹⁰ Cf. Nagy (1996): 49. The same may be true on the cosmological level: in Hes. Th. 378ff. Eos gives birth to the stars, among them the morning star (Eosphoros), which can be identified with Aphrodite, the morning and evening star (Venus). Thanks to A. Filoni for pointing this out to me.

set sail immediately; still winds and a *calm* detaining him, he sold his water to merchants and seamen distressed with thirst, whereby he gathered up much money; from which he erected a statue to Venus, and called it by his own name. If this story be true, it is manifest that the Goddess intended not only the enriching of one man, but the saving of many alive by one man (after Goodwin, *Plutarch, The Morals*, 1878).

Similarly, in a story attributed to Polycharmos of Naukratis (fr. 5 Müller, FHG IV, p. 480), quoted by Athenaios XV, 675f-76c, Aphrodite is responsible for the calm of the sea and the final rescue of the voyagers:

Κατὰ δὲ τὴν τρίτην πρὸς ταῖς εἴκοσιν Ὀλυμπιάδα ὁ Ἡρόστρατος, πολίτης ἡμέτερος, ἐμπορία χρώμενος καὶ χώραν πολλὴν περιπλέων, προσσχών ποτε καὶ Πάφῳ τῆς Κύπρου, ἀγαλμάτιον Ἀφροδίτης σπιθαμιαῖον, ἀρχαῖον τῆ τέχνῃ, ὠνησάμενος, ἦει φέρων εἰς τὴν Ναύκρατιν. Καὶ αὐτῷ πλησίον φερομένῳ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἐπεὶ χειμῶν αἰφνίδιον ἐπέπεσε καὶ συνιδεῖν οὐκ ἦν ὅπου γῆς ἦσαν, κατέφυγον ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀγαλμα, σώζειν αὐτοὺς αὐτὴν δεόμενοι. Ἡ δὲ θεὸς (προσφιλῆς γὰρ τοῖς Ναυκρατίταις ἦν) αἰφνίδιον ἐποίησε πάντα τὰ παρακεείμενα αὐτῇ μυρρίνας γλωρῶς πλήρη, ὁδομῆς τε ἡδίστης ἐπλήρωσε τὴν ναῦν ἤδη ἀπειρηκόσι τοῖς ἐμπλέουσι τὴν σωτηρίαν διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ναυτίαν. Γενομένου δὲ ἐμέτου πολλοῦ καὶ ἡλίου ἐκλάμψαντος, κατιδόντες τοὺς ὄρους ἦγον εἰς τὴν Ναύκρατιν.

In the 23th Olympiad, Herostratos, one of my co-citizens, a merchant who had already sailed to a number of countries, once came to Paphos on Cyprus and bought a little statue of Aphrodite, a span long, of old workmanship, and then went back on his way to Naukratis. When he approached Egypt, suddenly a storm broke out and they could no longer see where they were (heading); they all took refuge to this statue of Aphrodite, asking her to rescue them. The goddess, who had always loved the people of Naukratis, suddenly transformed everything around her into a green space of myrrhe and filled the whole ship with the sweetest scent, when everybody on board had already despaired of salvation because of the seasickness. After a lot of vomiting had occurred and the sun had begun to shine again, they finally beheld the coastline and reached Naukratis.

A connection between γαλήνη and the rescue of a seafarer is established also in *Od.* 5.390 where Ulysses is about to reach safe land. The goddess in question here, however, is not, as one might expect, Aphrodite, but her *alter ego*, Eos:

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τρίτον ἤμαρ εὐπλόκαμος τέλεσ' Ἡώς,
καὶ τότε ἔπειτ' ἄνεμος μὲν ἐπαύσατο ἠδὲ γαλήνη
ἔπλετο νηνεμῆ. ὁ δ' ἄρα σχεδὸν εἶσιδε γαῖαν
ὄξυ μάλ' ἀπροῖδών, μεγάλου ὑπὸ κύματος ἀρθεῖς.

But when fair-haired Dawn brought on the third day and then the wind stopped and there was a windless calm, he beheld a land nearby, looking forward keenly, when a great wave lifted him up.

The imagery of the calm sea and the smiling waters is taken up in the invocation and description of Venus in *Lucr.* 1.6-9

*te, dea, te fugiunt venti, te nubila caeli
advenitque tuum, tibi suavis daedala tellus
summittit flores, tibi rident aequora ponti
placatumque nitet diffuso lumine caelum.*

Before thee, Goddess, and thy coming on,
Flee stormy wind and massy cloud away,
For thee the daedal Earth bears scented flowers,
For thee waters of the unvexed deep
Smile, and the hollows of the serene sky
Glow with diffused radiance for thee. (Leonard/Dutton 1916)

Beside this, there is also a morphological connection between Aphrodite and the calm of the sea, since γαλήνη is derived from the same root as γέλως 'laughter, smile', γελάω 'to laugh', i.e. *ǵh₂s-neh₂ > *galasnā > *galānā, cf. also *Arm. calr* 'laughter'.¹¹ The connection is also valid outside Greek: in Vedic religion rescuing seafarers is part of the *Aśvins*' *sive* the *Nāsatyas*' ("Saviours") duties who are intimately related to the dawn-goddess *Uṣas* as her suitors and correspond to the Greek *Dioskouroi*.

¹¹ The connection between the two concepts can also be seen in the gloss of Hesychius γελεῖν· λάμπειν· ἀνθεῖν.

The etymological proposals to explain the name of Aphrodite itself have centered around these ideas, and the most promising candidates so far – if one does not want to abandon any attempt to find an Indo-European etymology¹² – seem to be those starting from a second element *dih₂-to- 'shining' from *deih₂- (: Gk. δέσται/-το). While Witzack (1993) assumes a first element *ab^hro- 'strong' as in Gothic *abrs* 'strong' (: *ischrōs*), Welsh *af* 'very', Janda (2005: 349-360) returns to Leo Meyer's view that the first element is nothing else but the well-known Greek word ἀφρός 'foam', just like Greek learned and popular etymology understood the form in antiquity¹³ – it was only the second element that was no longer connected with the relic-form δέσται – cf. Meyer (1901: 1.160f.): "shining in the foam" ("im Schaume glänzend"), Janda (2005: 360): "who (starts to) shine(s) in the foam" ("die im Schaum aufstrahlt").¹⁴ Just like Eos regularly rises from the sea, so Aphrodite is lead by Zephyros across the sea in *h. Aphr.* 1-6:

Αἰδοίην χρυσοστέφανον καλὴν Ἀφροδίτην
ἄσομαι, ἣ πάσης Κύπρου κρήδεμνα λέλογχεν
εἰναλίης, ὅθι μιν Ζεφύρου μένος ὑγρὸν ἀέντος
ἤνεικεν κατὰ κύμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης
ἀφρῶ ἔνι μαλακῶ· τὴν δὲ χρυσάμπυκες ὤραι
δέξαντ' ἀσπασίως, περὶ δ' ἄμβροτα εἶματα ἔσσαν

I will sing of that beautiful goddess who wears a crown of gold,
revered Aphrodite, who owns on all Cyprus surrounded by sea
Each circling head-dress of towers. There strong Zephyr's moist breath
through crashing waves conveyed her, amid the soft foam, to shore.
The Seasons whose fillets are golden gave her a welcome of joy.
(Crudden)

She is described as rising up from the sea in various poems in the *AP*, e.g.

¹² As do e.g. Frisk (1960 s.v.) and West (2000) who opts for a Semitic origin of the name, viz. a title of the goddess *Aštar*, *prāzīt 'she of the villages'. On inner-Greek interpretations of the name cf. Pironti (2005).

¹³ Cf. the epithets ἀφρογένεια (*Mosch.* 2.71), ἀφρογενής (*Orph. fr.* 183), Ἀφρῶ *Nic. Alex.* 406, etc.

¹⁴ A similar image is presented in *Il.* 1.359 where Thetis rises from the sea "like a cloud" or "like mist", καρπαλίμως δ' ἀνέδυστο πολίης ἀλός ἠὲ τ' ὀμίχλη "quickly she rose from the grey sea like a cloud". One may note that ἀφρός 'foam' is usually considered related to Skt. *abhrá-* 'cloud', cf. Mayrhofer (1992-2001): I. 94 (despite Frisk 1960 s.v.).

11.174.1f. Τὰν ἀναδυομένην ἀπὸ ματέρος ἄρτι θαλάσσης
Κύπριν ὄλην χρυσὴν ἐχθὲς ἔκλεψε Δίῳν

A Cyprus made of gold, rising from her mother, the sea, Dion has
stolen yesterday,

is ποντογενής 'sea-born' in the Orphic poems (h. 55.2)

Οὐρανία, πολύμνε, φιλομμειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη,
ποντογενής, γενέτειρα θεά, φιλοπάννυχε, σεμνή

Heavenly, much-sung, lovely smiling Aphrodite, sea-born, goddess of
procreation, friend of all-night festivals, revered one.

and θαλασσίγονος in Nonn. D. 13.458 (θαλασσιγόνου Παφίης) or simply
θαλασσαίη in AP 5.301.6 (θαλασσαίη ... Παφίη, et passim), εἰναλία 'being in the
sea' (AP 9.333.2, εἰναλίη Nonn. D. 42.456). She was depicted as rising from the
sea in a famous painting of Apelles entitled Ἀφροδίτη ἀναδυομένη, in AP 12.207
simply referred to as "the Ἀναδυομένη"¹⁵, which is similar to the epithet of *Uṣas*
bṛhatī 'the lofty one' (PIE **br̥ǵʰntih*₂, which survives in the name (and mythological
features) of St. Brigid in Old Irish) which probably originally meant 'the rising one'
as PIE **bʰerǵʰ-* is used in this sense of the moon and the stars in Hittite *park-*, e.g.

takku ^{MU}*wānuppaštaluš arḫa p̄ar-ki-ia-an-ta-ri*
if the w.-stars rise (and then converge)
(KUB 8.16:3-4+ KUB 8.24 rev. 4-5),

U₄.SAKAR-aš *p̄ar-ki-i-ia-at*
the moon crescent arose(?)
(KUB 57.66 iii 16) (cf. Güterbock/ Hoffner 1997 s.v.)

and of the sun and the moon in Tocharian (B) *pärk-*, e.g.

¹⁵ Str. 14.2.19 ἐν δὲ τῷ προαστείῳ τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἔστι, σφόδρα ἔνδοξον καὶ πολλῶν
ἀναθημάτων μεστόν, ἐν οἷς ἔστι καὶ ὁ Ἀπελλοῦ Ἀντίγονος. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀναδυομένη
Ἀφροδίτη, ἣ νῦν ἀνάκειται τῷ θεῷ Καίσαρι ἐν Ῥώμῃ, Plin. HN 35. 91 *Venerem ex-*
euntem e mari divus Augustus dicavit in delubro patris Caesaris, quae anadyomene vocatur,
versibus Graecis tantopere dum laudatur, aëvis victa, sed inlustrata.

kauc ka kaum [sai] p̄arkawo
high had the sun risen.

parka meñe wnołmetsa tāñ
the moon rose over thy creatures
(cf. Adams 1999 s.v., Janda 2010: 245).

Her connection with the sea is also evidenced by epithets like εὐπλοια 'securing safe
passage' (in Piraeus, cf. Paus. 1.1.3, Knidos, Olbia, Delos, etc.), πόντια καὶ ἐπιλιμένα
'protectress of the sea and harbour' in Hermione (Paus. 2.34.11)¹⁶, and θαλασσαίη.¹⁷

In Greek myth itself Aphrodite is literally the daughter of 'heaven', the god
Uranos. In his *Theogony* Hesiod describes how she was born when Kronos – pro-
bably derived from PIE **ker-* 'to cut', Gk. κείρω, **kr-ono-* (Janda 2010: 50f.) – cut
off Uranos' genitals and threw them into the sea, where from the foam (: ἀφρός)
Aphrodite was born.¹⁸ This myth might be related to the slaying of *Vjtra* (and *Vala*)
by *Indra* and the subsequent release of the light (Janda 2010: 60f., 243ff.) as in

RV 8.3.20
nir agnāyo rurucur nir u sūryo, niḥ soma indriyó rāsah
nir antárikṣād adhamo mahām áhiṃ, kṛṣé tād indra paúmsyam

The fires came to light and the sun and the soma, Indra's drink.
Away from the sky you blew the great dragon, this manly deed you
have done, o Indra,

and in

¹⁶ Ἀφροδίτης ναός ἐστίν ἐπίκλησιν Ποντίας καὶ Λιμενίας τῆς αὐτῆς, ἄγαλμα δὲ λευκοῦ
λίθου μεγέθει τε μέγα καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ θεᾶς ἄξιον.

¹⁷ Musaios, *Hero and Leander* l. 320 θαλασσαίην Ἀφροδίτην, Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 101-3, 6. 307-
9, 7. 226-32, 13. 60-2, 39. 263-66). Cf. Pirenne-Delforge (1994: 186f.).

¹⁸ Gk. οὐρανός is usually considered an old epithet of **djēus*, the PIE deified sky, for which
various etymological proposals have been put forward, either equating it with the Indic
Varuṇa-, PIE **meruno-/moruṃno-* from **mer-* 'to cover, enclose' (: Skt. *var-*, prs. *vṛhōti*
'enclose, fence in, hold back, cover'), cf. Dunkel (1988: 3), or connecting it with PIE
**h₂mers-* 'rain' as first proposed by Bopp (1861: 453 fn. 3), maybe used metaphorically
as 'to impregnate' (cf. Peters 1993) or, as per Janda (2004) and Janda (2010: 48-50), as
**morṣman-ó-* 'the one in the height', a derivative of **mersmen-* 'height' attested in Skt.
varṣman- 'height' said of the sky in RV 4.54.4 *varṣman divah* 'the height of the sky'.

RV 6.17.5

yēbhīh sūryam uśāsam mandasānō, 'vāsayō 'pa dr̥hāni dārdrat

inspired by them [sc. the soma drinks] you let shine the sun and the dawn, crushing the citadel.

It is in the light of this IE ancestry of Aphrodite that some of her epithets¹⁹ attested both in Greek literature and in inscriptions shall be investigated in what follows, namely the colour terms most frequently used in describing her appearance (2), the epithet ἐλικοβλέφαρος (3) and her connection with ὄρθρος 'morning twilight' and Ἐρίβοια (4).

2. The colours of love

2.1. Golden Aphrodite:

Among the commonest epithets applied to Aphrodite are derivatives of χρυσός 'gold' such as χρυσέη, χρυσεῖη in *Il.* 3.64 (: χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης), or πολύχρυσος which is used only of Aphrodite (*h. Aphr.* +9 ἔργα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης, *Hes. op.* 521, *th.* 980, *sc.* 8. 47, *fr.* 146 [Kinkel]).²⁰ She is χρυσόπεπλος 'wearing a golden garment' in

Anacr. fr. 73 κλυθὶ μοι γέροντος εὐέθειρα χρυσόπεπλε κοῦρα²¹
Listen to me, who am an old man, o maiden with beautiful hair,
wearing a golden garment,

she wears a 'golden wreath', χρυσοστέφανος, in

h. Aphr. 1 αἰδοῖην χρυσοστέφανον καλὴν Ἀφροδίτην
Reverend, beautiful Aphrodite, wearing a golden wreath,

Sapph. 33.1 χρυσοστέφαν' Ἀφρόδιτα
Aphrodite, wearing a golden wreath,

¹⁹ For an exhaustive list of literary epithets cf. Bruchmann (1893).

²⁰ In Homer πολύχρυσος is otherwise said only of cities (*Mycene Il.* 7.180, 146, *Od.* 3.304, *Troy Il.* 18.289, *Dolon Il.* 10.315).

²¹ Where κοῦρα is most likely to refer to Aphrodite, cf. *Il.* 20.105 Διὸς κούρης Ἀφροδίτης, *Orph. h.* 57.4 Παφίης κούρης.

an epithet said of Phoibe ('the bright one', *Hes. Th.* 136) and Hebe ('youth', *Pi. P.* 9.109), as well, two central characteristics of the PIE dawn.

Aphrodite's Indic sister Uśas has similar characteristics, she is of golden colour, *hiraṇyavarṇa-* (Dickmann Boedeker 1974: 22), and like Aphrodite she wears 'a shining garment',²² cf.

RV 7.77.2

*vīśvam pratīcī saprāthā úd asthād, rūśad vāśo bibhratī śukrām aśvait
hiraṇyavarṇā sudr̥ṣīkasamdr̥g, gāvām mātā netry āhnām aroci*

Turning to everyone she has risen in all her breadth, wearing a white shining garment she has begun to shine; golden-coloured, the mother of the cows is beautiful to behold, the leader of the days has begun to shine

RV 3.61.2

*ūśo devy āmartyā vi bhāhi, candrārathā sūnr̥tā irāyantī
ā tvā vahantu suyāmāso aśvā, hiraṇyavarṇām pr̥thupāśaso yé*

Divine, immortal Uśas, shine forth on your splendid chariot, bringing great gifts, may the horses with broad features drive you hither, you of golden colour.²³

2.2.

Both goddesses are naturally associated with the chariot of the sun-god. Plutarch reports that there was a cult of Ἀφροδίτη Ἄρμα at Delphi

Plut. Erot. 23, 769b τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Ἄρμα' καλοῦσιν
They call Aphrodite 'Arma',

in *Sapph. fr.* 1 she uses a chariot to descend to earth:

²² Cf. again *h. Aphr.* [6] l. 6 περὶ δ' ἄμβροτα εἶματα ἔσσαν (*v. supra*).

²³ The frequency of χρυσός and derivatives as epithets of Aphrodite has been remarked by Meyer (1901: i.161) as well: "Dass sie ursprünglich als 'leuchtend, glänzend' gedacht worden ist, geht am deutlichsten daraus hervor, dass sie oft geradezu als 'die goldene' ... bezeichnet ist."

7-9 ... πάτρος δὲ δόμον λίποισα / χρύσειον ἤλο[ε]ς / ἄρ]μ'
 ὑπασσε[ύξαισα]
 Leaving your father's house, you came, having yoked your golden
 chariot,

and is described as mounting the Graces' chariot in fr. 194 (from Himerius *Orat.* 9.4), Ἀφροδίτην ἐφ' ἄρμα Χαρίτων.

As seen in RV 3.61.2, Uṣas uses a 'shining chariot' to ascend into the sky and the chariot used by the Aśvins – her mythological suitors – is made of gold, including a golden seat, *hiraṇyavandhura*²⁴, and golden reins (*hiraṇyabhīśuḥ*), cf.

RV 8.5.28

rātham hiraṇyavandhuram, hiraṇyābhīśum aśvinā
ā hī sthātho divispṛśam
 . 29 *hiraṇyāyī vām rābhir, īśā ākṣo hiraṇyāgah*
ubhā cakrā hiraṇyāyā

Mount the chariot with the golden seat, with the golden reins, o Aśvins, that reaches up to the sky. [29] Golden is its back rest, golden is its axle and both wheels are made of gold.²⁵

The latter corresponds to Aphrodite's epithet χρυσάνιος in

S. OC 693 ἄ χρυσάνιος Ἀφροδίτα²⁶
 Aphrodite of the golden rein

Similar to her co-heiress Eos who 'has a golden throne' – χρυσόθρονος – (e.g. *Od.* 12.142, *h. Aphr.* 218), an epithet used also of Hera and Artemis, Aphrodite is described as ποικιλόθρονος in the famous first fragment of Sappho's poems,

fr. 1 ποικιλόθρο[ν] ἄθανάτ' Ἀφροδίτα
 immortal Aphrodite of the colourful throne

²⁴ Also said of Indra's and Vayu's chariot in RV 4.46.4 *rātham hiraṇyavandhuram*. In both cases it is described as *divispṛś-* 'reaching the sky'.

²⁵ Also RV 8.22.5 *ratho ... hiraṇyabhīśuḥ*.

²⁶ Also said of Ares, Artemis, and Demeter.

The much-disputed form has either been interpreted as referring to a θρόνος of Aphrodite, probably making reference to a cult-image of the goddess representing the goddess herself seated on a golden throne, or as referring to the Homeric *hapax* θρόνα attested in *Il.* 22.441, where it seems to indicate 'ornaments', cf.

Il. 22.441 δίπλακα πορφυρέην, ἐν δὲ θρόνα ποικίλ' ἔπασσε
 [she was weaving] a red folding robe and worked in elaborate ornaments,

while in later authors it is used in the meaning 'healing / magic herbs':

Theocr. 2.59 Θεστυλί, νῦν δὲ λαβοῖσα τὸ τὰ θρόνα ταῦθ' ὑπόμαξον
 τὰς τήνω φλιάς καθ' ὑπέρτερον, ἄς ἔτι και νύξ,

Thestylis, now take these herbs and smear them on his door, the part above the jambs, while it is still night,

Nic. *Theor.* 98-101 Εἶ γε μὲν ἐκ τριόδοιο μεμιγμένα κνώδαλα χύτρῳ
 ζωὰ νέον θορνύντα και ἐν θρόνα τοιάδε βάλλης,
 δήεις σύλομένησιν ἀλεξητήριον ἄταις

If however you can cast snakes coupled at crossroads, alive and just mating, into a pot, and the following medicaments besides, you have a preventive against deadly disasters (Gow 1953),

Lycophr. 673-5 ποίαν δὲ θηρόπλαστον οὐκ ἐσόψεται
 δράκαιναν, ἐγκυκῶσαν ἀλφίτῳ θρόνα
 και κῆρα κνωπόμορον;

And what she-dragon shall he not behold who moulds wild beasts, who blends with barley drugs and doom of monstrous forms? (Mooney 1979).

Scholia and glosses point into the same direction, cf. the scholion on Theocr. 2.59:

θρόνα: Θεσσαλοὶ μὲν τὰ πεποικιλμένα ζῶα, Κύπριοι δὲ τὰ ἀνθινὰ ἱμάτια,
 Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ τὰ φάρμακα, ὡς φησι Κλείταρχος

and Hesychius' gloss

θρόνα· ἄνθη. και τὰ ἐκ χρωμάτων ποικίλματα,

but none of them is necessarily independent from the passage in Homer. In Risch's view (Risch 1972) the adjective ποικιλόθρονος 'having a colourful throne' as used in Sappho is likely to be the older form that was re-analyzed as containing a second element θρόνα 'ornament, embroidery' before or when it was taken over into hexametric poetry. The equation with φάρμακα found in later poetry is likely to rely on a re-interpretation of the otherwise unknown θρόνα in *Il.* 22.441 due to the frequent co-occurrence of the verb πάσσω 'to embroider; to strew' with φάρμακα (cf. *Il.* 5.401=900 ὀδονήφατα φάρμακα πάσσων, *Il.* 11.515 ἤπια φάρμακα πάσσειν, etc.; cf. Risch 1972: 25).

If one subscribes to this view, one may assume that ποικιλόθρονος refers to a cult-image of the goddess seated on a throne in her sanctuary. But there may be yet a different possibility: in view of the Vedic description of Uṣas and the chariot with a golden seat one may assume that θρόνος could not only refer to a 'throne' in a temple, but also to a 'seat' more generally and also to the 'seat' of a chariot. A parallel for this assumption may be the use of δίφορος which can either refer to the box of the chariot in which both the combatant and the chariot-driver could stand, whence it was used metonymically for the chariot as a whole, or to a seat in general (Plath 1994: 194f.). ποικιλόθρονος, which in Risch's opinion (*loc. cit.*) was a traditional epithet already for Sappho, could thus be a semantic match for the Vedic *hiraṇya-vandhura-*. In addition, one may note that Uṣas' chariot is *supēśas-* 'beautifully adorned' (RV 1.49.2), where the element *-peś-* corresponds etymologically to the first member of ποικιλόθρονος (: PIE **peik-*, Ved. *pimśati* 'cuts, forms, adorns', toch. B *pinkem* 'they paint, write', etc.).

2.3.

While it is true, as we have seen, that derivatives based on χρυσός can of course be applied not only to Aphrodite, but to a number of gods and goddesses, the frequency with which they apply to Aphrodite on the one hand, and the exclusiveness of some of these epithets on the other hand (cf. πολύχρυσος) make it unlikely to assume that we are dealing here with a meaningless abundance of *epitheta ornantia*. This is all the more likely when apart from a semantic, there is also a formal match as in the case of Aphrodite λευκά in Anacreontea 55.5f. [Bergk] (λευκάν ... Κύπριν) where the same root (: PIE **leuk-*) is used of Aphrodite that frequently applies to the Vedic Uṣas, too (*rocamanā* 'shining', e.g. RV 1.115.2).

2.4.

An even closer match has been described recently by Janda (2005: 333f., 2006: 16-20) who drew attention to the epithet Ἀργυννίς which can be compared to *arjunī*, the feminine form of Skt. *arjuna-* 'silver-coloured, white', said of Uṣas in

RV 1.49.3

*vāyaś cit te patatrīṇo, dvipāc cātuspad arjuni
iśaḥ prāṅann ṛtūm̐ ānu, divo āntebhyas pāri*

The lively birds, all two-footed and four-footed beings have appeared according to your temporal order from all ends of the sky, o bright-shining Uṣas.

The Greek form is attested in the lexicon of Stephanus of Byzantium (~ 6 c. AD),

p. 114 [Ἄργυννιον] Ἄργυννος, υἱὸς Πεισιδίκης ... , ἐρώμενος Ἀγαμέμνονος, Βοιωτὸς, ὃς ἀνιὼν εἰς τὸν Κηφισὸν τελευτᾷ. ἀφ' οὗ Ἄργυννίδα τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἐτίμησε. λέγεται καὶ Ἄργουνίς. cf. Billerbeck (2008)²⁷

Argynnos, son of Peisidike ... lover of Agamemnon, a Boeotian, who died in the river Kephisos, whence he (Ag.) honoured Aphrodite Argynnis, also called Argunis,

and earlier in a testimonium on Phanocles in Clemens of Alexandria's *Protreptikos* (2/3 c. AD), cf.

Clemens Alex. *protrept.* 2.38 Φανοκλῆς δὲ ἐν Ἑρωσιν ἢ Καλοῖς ἱστορεῖ Ἀγαμέμνονα τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλέα Ἀργυννίδος νεῶν Ἀφροδίτης εἴσασθαι ἐπ' Ἀργύννω τῷ ἐρωμένῳ.

²⁷ Janda *loc. cit.* only quotes Steph. Byz., but, as the examples show, the form is attested already at an earlier date.

Phanokles in his "Erotes and Kaloi" tells the story of Agamemnon, king of the Greeks, how he built a temple for Aphrodite Argynnis in memory of his lover Argynnos.²⁸

In Athenaios we find

Athen. *Deipnosophistae* 13. 603d (2/3 c. AD) Ἀγαμέμνονά τε Ἀργύννου ἐρασθῆναι λόγος, ἰδόντα ἐπὶ τῷ Κηφισῷ νηχόμενον· ἐν ᾧ καὶ τελευτήσαντα αὐτόν (συνεχῶς γὰρ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ τούτῳ ἀπελούετο) θάψας εἴσατο καὶ ἱερὸν αὐτόθι Ἀφροδίτης Ἀργυννίδος.

Agamemnon, the story goes, fell in love with Argynnos when he saw him swimming in the river Kephisos; when he died there (for he frequently took a bath in that river), Agamemnon buried him and built a temple on the same spot for Aphrodite Argynnis.

As pointed out by Janda *loc. cit.*, it seems likely that the story of Argynnos has been spun out of the epithet when it was no longer understood in Greek itself.²⁹

To Argynnis one may add ἀργυρόπεζα 'with silver feet', said in Homer only of Thetis, used of Aphrodite in Pind. *P.* 9.16 (9) ἀργυρόπεζ' Ἀφροδίτα.

2.5.

Like ροδοδάκτυλος Ἥως 'rosy-fingered Eos' in Homer, Aphrodite is ροδέη in AP 9.586.4 (ροδέης Παφίης, said only of Paphia = Aphrodite) and ροδόχρους 'with rosy skin' in the Anacreontea 53.22 [Bergk] cf.

ροδοδάκτυλος μὲν Ἥως,
ροδοπήχες δὲ Νύμφαι,
ροδόχρους δὲ κάφροδίτα
παρὰ τῶν σοφῶν καλεῖται.

²⁸ This is the text as given by Powell (1925) who bases his corrections on the information given in Athenaios.

²⁹ One might suspect (A. Filoni *p.c.*) that in an earlier version of the story it was not Agamemnon, but Aphrodite herself who fell in love with Argynnos. This might explain why he was buried next to a temple of hers.

Eos is called rosy-fingered by the sages, the nymphs are called 'with rosy elbows' and Aphrodite 'with rosy skin'.

Finally, πορφυρέη 'bright-red, rosy' in Anacr. 2.3 [Bergk] (πορφυρή τ' Ἀφροδίτη) is said only of Aphrodite among the gods.

As we can see, these colour-terms find their correspondances both in Greek in that they are partially common to Eos and to Aphrodite and in Vedic where Uṣas is described with etymologically and/or semantically matching terms.

3. Cows on the move

It is well-known that one of the forms the PIE goddess of dawn could take at least in Vedic mythology is that of the cow. As we saw above in RV 7.77.2, she is the 'mother of the cows' and the one who 'leads / brings on the days', *gānām matā netry āhnām*, and in RV 7.79.1 she comes along with beautiful cows (*susamāḍḡbhir ukṣābhir*) who are also simply called *usrīyās* and *usrās* 'dawn-cows' ("vaches-aurorales" in Renou's terms).³⁰ In Greek, it is obvious that Helios' cows and sheep, numbering each seven times fifty, represent the single days of the (moon) year,³¹ cf.

Od. 12. 127ff.

Θρινακίην δ' ἐς νῆσον ἀφίξει· ἔνθα δὲ πολλὰ
βόσκοντ' Ἥελίοιο βόες καὶ ἴφια μῆλα.
ἐπτὰ βοῶν ἀγέλαι, τόσα δ' οἰῶν πῶσα καλά,
πεντήκοντα δ' ἕκαστα. γόνος δ' οὐ γίνεται αὐτῶν,
οὐδέ ποτε φθινύθουσι. θεαὶ δ' ἐπιποιμένες εἰσὶ,
νύμφαι εὐπλόκαμοι, Φαέθουσα τε Λαμπετὴ τε,
ἃς τέκεν Ἥελίῳ Ὑπερίονι δια Νέαιρα.
τὰς μὲν ἄρα θρέψασα τεκοῦσα τε πότνια μήτηρ
Θρινακίην ἐς νῆσον ἀπώκισε τηλόθι ναίειν,
μῆλα φυλασσέμεναι πατρώϊα καὶ ἔλικας βοῦς.

³⁰ E.g. RV 4.5.8, 7.81.2 (led by the Sun itself), cf. Watkins (2009: 225) and EVP 3.4-7, 33.

³¹ Cf. in this sense Ohlert (1912: 86). Also the cows in the Hymn to Hermes (192-4) are probably related to this, cf. Ohlert *loc. cit.* If they are not counted and equated with the days of the year, the sun-cows may also represent its rays, as in Vedic and Avestan tradition as well. In the *Odyssey* Hyperion threatens the gods that if he does not get a compensation for the slaying of his cows, he will have to reside in the underworld (Od. 12.382f.), deprived of his cows, i.e. his rays, cf. Campanile (1986). Cf. also Vegas Sansalvador (2010: 689).

Then you will reach the island of Thrinakia. There many cows and fat sheep of Helios graze, seven herds of cattle and as much fine flocks of sheep, fifty in each. They have no offspring nor do they ever perish. Goddesses are their shepherds, nymphs with beautiful hair, Phaethousa and Lampetié whom divine Neaira bore for Helios Hyperion, and their lady mother bore and raised them and sent them off to live far away on the island of Thrinakia to guard their father's sheep and winding cattle.

The riddle expressed in "they have no offspring nor do they ever perish" does not simply refer to divine immortality, but to the repetition of the celestial phenomena that constantly renew themselves, an idea probably also represented in the telling name of Νέαира from νεαρός 'youthful; new',³² like Ὑσας who is both 'old' and 'young' in RV 3.61.1 *purāṇī devī yuvatīh*, and asked to shine *navyasi* 'anew, again' in the same hymn v. 3.³³

The troublesome epithet ἔλιξ said of cows may in this light be understood as referring to that very same movement of dawn and sun, winding their way (εἰλέω, PIE **uel-*, arm. *gelowm*, lat. *volvo*) through the sky each day.³⁴ The same image, expressed by means of *vart* 'to turn' (: lat. *verto*) is attested also for the Vedic Ὑσας who is invoked to 'roll like a wheel' across the sky:

RV 3.61.3 *cakrām iva navyasy ā navṛtsva*

Turn hither anew like a wheel.³⁵

If this is the original meaning of ἔλικες βόες, one has to assume that subsequently the epithet was reinterpreted as either referring to the movement of cows in a literal sense, or to their having 'curved horns'. The various *interpretamenta* found for this form in Hesychius and the Homeric scholia point in this direction:³⁶

εἰλίποδας βοῦς· ἐπιθετικῶς τὰς βοῦς (Φ 448), διὰ τὸ ἐλίσσειν τοὺς πόδας κατὰ τὴν πορείαν γρ .. τὰς αὐτὰς καὶ εἰλίποδας ἔλικας διὰ τὸ οὕτως βαδίζειν λέγουσι (I 466)
ἔλικας· ἔλικοκεράτους S ἐπικαμπῆ τὰ κέρατα ἔχοντας (I 466)
ἔλικας βοῦς· ἦτοι ἀπὸ τῶν κεράτων, ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν ἐλικοειδεῖς.
ἔλικὸν γὰρ τὸ συνεστραμμένον (Φ 448),

Schol. in Od. ἔλικας δὲ ὡς ἐλικοειδῆ κέρατα ἔχοντας. P.Q. ἦτοι ἐλικοειδῆ κέρατα ἔχοντας

The frequent and formulaic co-occurrence of εἰλίπους 'rolling in their gait, moving their feet in a circular motion' and ἔλιξ (Hom. 6x εἰλίποδας ἔλικας βοῦς), makes it unlikely that the words are synonyms and the formula may have been the place where ἔλιξ was reinterpreted as a synonym of εἰλίπους. Since Helios' cows are both ὀρθόκραται 'having straight or upright horns' (Od. 12.348) and ἔλικες (Od. 12.136, 355) it seems equally unlikely that they have both (or some of them) curved and (some of them) straight horns. The only other solution is to view the use of this epithet as purely ornamental (Richter 1968), i.e. to assume that its original meaning was no longer understood already in Homeric times.³⁷

³² Cf. for the derivation Risch (1974: 138).

³³ The solution of the riddle was known in antiquity, cf. fr. 175 of Aristotle [Rose] Schol. Vindob. (A. P. p. 174) ad Od. μ, 128 et 129 βόσκοντ' ἡλείοιο βόες (128): ἀπόβλητον ἦν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἀρότην βοῦν κτείνειν. ἔπασχε γὰρ κακῶς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἢ θεῶν ὅστις τοῦτο πεποιήκεν. ὅπερ οἱ τοῦ Ὀδυσσεῶς φίλοι ποιήσαντες ἀπώλοντο. Ἀριστοτέλης φυσικῶς φησίν· λέγει γὰρ (5) τὰς τριακοσίους τοῦ χρόνου ἡμέρας πρὸς ταῖς λοιπαῖς. — ἐπτά βοῶν ἀγέλαι (129): Ἀριστοτέλης· φυσικῶς τὰς κατὰ σελήνην ἡμέρας αὐτὸν λέγειν φησὶ τν οὐσας. τὸν γὰρ πεντήκοντα ἀριθμὸν ἐπταπλασιάσας εἰς τὸν τριακοστὸν πεντηκοστὸν περιεστάναι εὐρήσεις. (10) Eustathius p. 1717: ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τὰς ἀγέλας ταύτας καὶ μάλιστα τὰς τῶν βοῶν φασὶ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην ἀλληγορεῖν εἰς τὰς κατὰ δωδεκάδα τῶν σεληνιακῶν μηνῶν ἡμέρας γινομένης πεντήκοντα πρὸς ταῖς τριακοσίαις, ὅσος καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς ταῖς ἐπτά ἀγέλαις ἐχούσαις ἀνὰ πεντήκοντα ζῶα. (15) διὸ οὕτε γόνον αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι Ὅμηρος λέγει οὕτε φθοράν· τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ ποσὸν αἰεὶ ταῖς τοιαύταις ἡμέραις μένει. Cf. also West (2008: 370-72).

³⁴ Cf. the sun as εἰλίσσων, E. Ph. 2 Ἥλιε, θααῖς ἵπποισιν εἰλίσσων φλόγα, Theodect. fr. 10 [Nauck] ὦ καλλιφεγγή λαμπάδ' εἰλίσσων φλογός / Ἥλιε, and οἱ ἀστέρες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ εἰλέονται Luc. Astr. 29; περὶ τὴν γῆν αἰεὶ εἰλεῖν ἰών, as etym. of ἡλιος (ἄελιος), Pl. Cra. 409a.

³⁵ The sky itself is of course also conceivable as a wheel, cf. h. Mart. 6 πυραυγέα κύκλον ἐλίσσων / αἰθέρος, Hdt. 1.131 τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντες, etc.

³⁶ For the status quaestionis cf. *Lfgre* ((Snell 1979) s.v. [O'Sullivan]) where the various proposals made so far are rightly rejected ('black', 'shining', 'with curved horns').

³⁷ This is evident also in the use of ἐλικτός in h. Merc. 192 (βοῦς) ... πάσας θηλείας, πάσας κεράεσσιν ἐλικτός, which was probably intended as an interpretation of the unclear ἔλιξ.

It is tempting to view another epithet of Aphrodite in the light of this explanation of ἔλιξ, viz. ἑλικοβλέφαρος,³⁸ which is usually understood as built after ἑλικώπες (Ἀχαῖοι, etc.) ‘having quickly moving, turning eyes’, whence βλέφαρον is taken to mean ‘eye’, not ‘eyelid’. Frisk (1960: s.v.) connects ἑλικοβλέφαρος with ἔλιξ ‘spiral’, and translates it as ‘with curved eyes’ (‘mit gewundenen, gebogenen Augen’). If, as in the case of ἔλιξ, the cosmological was the primary meaning, one could assume that from the ‘spiralling eye’ of dawn – either a description of the rays of dawn, or, more likely, the sun itself – the mundane sense was derived.³⁹ The concept of the sun as the ‘eye’ of the sky is of course well-known, present both in Greek, e.g. ἀμέρας βλέφαρον ‘the day’s eye’ (S. Ant. 104) and in Vedic, e.g. in RV 7.77.3 where Uṣas brings along ‘the gods’ eye’, *devāṅām cākṣuḥ*. A converse parallel for the development assumed here could be the case of Old Irish *súil* ‘eye’, where the metaphor has worked in the opposite direction and the word for ‘sun’ (PIE **seh₂mel-*) has taken on the meaning of ‘eye’ in general.

4. Morning glory

With the data reviewed so far, it may not come as a surprise to find an ‘Aphrodite of the Twilight’, Ἀφροδείταν Ὀρθρου, in an inscription from Mytilene (Lesbos)⁴⁰, which may be due either to her original functional equality with dawn or, more likely, to her later identification with the morning star (cf. fn. 1):

IG XII, 2 70

— — — τὰ ὑπὰ τᾶς βόλ[λας]
 [— — — τ]ᾶ εἶσω πόλει πρὸς τ[ᾶ .]
 — — — τὰν Ἐριβοῖαν τὰν [..]
 [— — — τᾶ]ς προαρσῖας το[.3]
 — — — σεν καὶ ἐθύρωσε[ν]
 — — — τῶ Ζοννύσω τῶ
 [— — — Ἀφ]ροδείταν Ὀρθρου
 [— — — κ]αὶ Μαιμακτῆρσι τα[.]

³⁸ Hes. Th. 16 ἑλικοβλέφαρόν τ’ Ἀφροδίτην, h. Aphr. 19 ἑλικοβλέφαρε, Pi. fr. 123.5 Ἀφροδίτας ... ἑλικογλεφάρου. In Pi. P. 4.172 said of Alcmene, Ἀλκμήνας θ’ ἑλικογλεφάρου.

³⁹ Cf. also Verdenius (1972: 231-32) who starts from ἐλίσσω ‘turn, roll, spiral’ → ‘with rolling eyes’ → ‘with flashing eyes’.

⁴⁰ Dated by Hodot (1990: 276) as 2nd or 3rd c. AD.

From Alkman's *Parthenion* (fr. 1)⁴¹ we know of an Ὀρθρία and an Ἀώτις, probably names of one and the same goddess of unclear identity:

Alc. fr. 1. 60ff.

ταὶ Πεληάδες γὰρ ἄμιν
 Ὀρθρία φᾶρος φεροῖσαις
 νύκτα δι’ ἀμβροσίαν ἄτε σήριον
 ἄστρον ἀνηρομέναι μάχονται
 For they, the Pleiades, rising through immortal night like the star
 Sirius fight with us while we offer a garment to Orthria,

Alc. fr. 1. 87ff.

... ἐγὼ[ν] δὲ τᾶι μὲν Ἀώτι μάλιστα
 ἀνδάνην ἐρῶ· πόνων γὰρ
 ἄμιν ἰάτωρ ἔγεντο
 But most of all I want to please Aotis, for she has been our healer
 of sorrows.

The scene seems to be set in a ceremony just before dawn in which the girls offering a garment to Orthria are in competition with the Pleiades about who is more beautiful. If Aphrodite is the ‘daughter of Ὀρθρος’ as in IG XII, 2 70, she might equally be called Ὀρθρία, like e.g. Κρόνιος from Κρόνος, and, derived from ἀώς ‘dawn’, Ἀώτις. Since ὀρθρος is the time just before daybreak,⁴² a designation of dawn as his daughter seems quite fitting.

According to Calame (1977: II.119ff.), though, Orthria is to be equated with Helena, who was revered as a goddess in Sparta (Hinge 2006: 290). If this interpretation is correct, one should note that Helena, as argued by Jamison (2001) and Janda (2005: 346-48), is one of the “descendants” of PIE **h₂elwōs* in Greek, probably the one who ‘chooses’ (: **melh₁-*)⁴³ her husband (: Skt. *svayamvara-*

⁴¹ For a basic overview over the issues of this fragment cf. still Schwenn (1937).

⁴² Etymologically probably ‘the time of the growing light’, **mord^h-o-*, skt. *vardh* ‘grow’, cf. Frisk (1960) s.v., separate from ὀρθός ‘upright’ < **HorH^hmo-*, skt. *urdhva-*, lat. *arduus*, cf. Vegas Sansalvador (2006).

⁴³ Beside the form with *spiritus asper*, there is a dedication to Φελῆναι in Laconian, cf. Laneres (2007). The form could thus go back to either **sm-* or **m-*, for *asper* from **m* cf. ἐκὼν ‘willing, voluntarily’ < **mek-* (: Skt. *us-*), cf. Schwyzler (1939: 226f.). The difference in anlaut in Φελῆναι and Ἐλένη has given rise to various interpretations, either assuming the existence of two different goddesses **selene₂* and **smelene₂*,

'choosing for oneself' which is done by *Sūryā* the 'sun-maiden', epitome of the bride, i.e. *Uṣas*), cf. Eur. *IA* 68-71

δίδωσ' ἑλέσθαι θυγατρὶ μνηστήρων ἕνα,
ὅποι πνοαὶ φέροιεν Ἀφροδίτης φίλαι.
ἢ δ' εἴλεθ', ὅς σφε μήποτ' ὄφελεν λαβεῖν,
Μενέλαον

(Her father Tyndareos) allowed his daughter to choose one of her suitors, wherever the lovely winds of Aphrodite might carry her. And she chose Menelaos – would she have never taken him!

ὄρθρία, used as an adjective, also occurs in Theognis' enigmatic lines

861-64 Οἱ με φίλοι προδιδούσι καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσι τι δοῦναι
ἀνδρῶν φαινομένων· ἀλλ' ἐγὼ αὐτομάτη
ἔσπερήν τ' ἔξειμι καὶ ὄρθρην αὐθις ἔσειμι,
ἦμος ἀλεκτρούων φθόγγος ἐγειρομένων

My friends forsake me and do not want to give anything, when men appear. But of my own accord I will go out in the evening and come back at dawn, when the cocks awaken and crow.

The numerous interpretations that have been given for this passage, summarized in Labarbe (1992), are unsatisfactory.⁴⁴ While West's account of it (1974: 160) seems reasonable in itself – a person in the position of a beggar, maybe the owner's wife or daughter who has to leave when his friends arrive for a symposion –, one might speculate that this passage is a mocking description of dawn and the sun, forsaken by her 'friends', i.e. the moon and the stars who disappear when dawn and men appear, both going about their daily business. The sun will "go out", leaving its chariot, i.e. set, and rise again "in the morning" (ὄρθρην) at first cockcrow.⁴⁵

(Skutsch 1987) that merged in Greek, or of two different epithets of PIE dawn that were confused in Greek (Jackson 2006).

⁴⁴ Cf. Gerber (1999: 299) who classifies Labarbe's identification of the speaker as an owl as "no less bizarre" than the previous attempts.

⁴⁵ A picture similar to the one in Ov. *Metam.* 2.111-115 *Dimque ea magnanimus Phaethon miratur opusque / perspicit, ecce vigil nitido patefecit ab ortu / purpureas Aurora fores et plena rosarum / atria: diffugiunt stellae, quarum agmina cogit / Lucifer et caeli*

It seems unlikely to be coincidental that next to the Ἀφ]ροδείταν Ὀρθρου we find Ἐριβοίαν in the same inscription. Taken by itself, the form seems to mean 'having a lot [ἐρι-] of cows'. In Greek literature, Ἐριβοία is the stepmother of the Aloades who held Ares captive (*Il.* 5.389f.) and the daughter of Alkathoos, wife of Telamon and mother of Aias in

Pi. *Isth.* 6.45 λίσσομαι παῖδα θρασὺν ἐξ Ἐριβοίας
S. *Aj.* 569 Τελαμῶνι δείξει μητρί τ', Ἐριβοία λέγω
Bacch. 13.102 εὐειδέος τ' Ἐριβοίας,

who is called Περιβοία in other passages (Xen. *Cyn.* 1.9.2 Περιβοίαν τὴν Ἀλκάθου, Plut. *Thes.* 29.1 Περιβοίαν τὴν Αἴαντος μητέρα), i.e. 'having cows at both sides', which in our interpretation would refer to dawn and dusk, or 'having many cows' with περι- in an elative sense (Kamptz 1982: 90).

A similar interpretation can be envisaged for ἐριβοία, if the first element is taken in its etymological sense 'at the top' or 'high', as argued by Willi (1999), cf. Luw. *šarri* 'above' and the Lycian preverb *hri* 'up', which go back to the locative of a PIE root-noun **sēr* 'top', cf. Hitt. *šarā* 'upward' and the Greek place name Πίον derived from a denominal adjective **sriyos* and probably elliptical from *ρίον ὄρος 'high mountain'. PIE **seri* 'at the top' would yield Gk. ἐρι- in a psilotic dialect such as that of the Homeric epics. The original meaning 'high' can still be seen in ἐρι-αύχην said of horses 'holding their necks high' ('having the neck in the height'),⁴⁶ and probably also in ἐρί(γ)δουπος 'having the thunder (δοῦπος) in the height', 'thundering in the height (of the sky)' (cf. ὑψιβρεμέτης) (Willi 1999: 95). Parallel to this, ἐριβοία could mean 'having cows in the height (of the sky)', which would be a fitting description of dawn, as we have seen.

Stripped of its cosmological context, the form of course means 'rich in cattle' (usually as a dowry). Both interpretations are present in Hesychius' gloss

ἐριβοία· νύξ καὶ μεγάλως τιμωμένη

statione novissimus exit. "While aspiring Phaethon admired the glittering chariot and its workmanship, the vigilant Aurora opened forth her purple portals from the ruddy east, disclosing halls replete with roses. All the stars took flight, while Lucifer, the last to quit his vigil, gathered that great host and disappeared from his celestial watch." (B. More). A weak point in all cosmological explanations of these lines is the meaning of δοῦναι. Could dawn be posing as a beggar here?

⁴⁶ Cf. ὑψιαύχην (Pl. *Phdr.* 253d) for the same idea.

and while the latter is clearly the result of understanding the compound as πολύβουζ 'rich in cattle',⁴⁷ it seems unlikely that the former is an invention by Hesychius himself, unless one assumes a folk-etymology connecting it with ἔρεβος. If not, and if ἐρίβοια does indeed refer to dawn, the *interpretamentum* νύξ would seem to make sense especially if one assumes the older meaning 'twilight' for νύξ as in

Il. 7.433 ἦμος δ' οὔτ' ἄρ πω ἠώς, ἔτι δ' ἀμφιλύκη νύξ

when it was not yet dawn, but the night was still between dark and light (after Murray-Wyatt)

and in the formulaic phrase νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ (Hom. 5x, *h. Merc.* 7) 'at the milk of the twilight', as pointed out recently by Watkins (2009): 'Ερίβοια the 'twilight' brings along her cows at dawn like the Vedic Uṣas.

So far we have tacitly assumed that the second element of ἐρίβοια is the word for 'cow', and this has indeed been the usual interpretation put forward in the literature, also in the case of Ἠερίβοια (Il. 5.389) which contains a different first element *ἠερί 'early' (cf. ἠέριος 'early, matutinal').⁴⁸ However, it has been questioned by Leukart (1994: 62 + fn. 47) who interprets -οια as a secondary feminine formation after cases like *εὔβουζ: Εὔβοια and Πόλυβουζ: Πολύβοια built to a masc. short form *Aερί-βος which he sees in *myc. a-e-ri-ḡo* and whose full form would be *a-e-ri-ḡo-ia* with a second element /-ḡ^ootas/ 'coming in the morning'. Against this, Hajnal (1992: 285-301) proposes to see a form of ἄρορ 'spear' in *myc. a-e-ri-* (if the preform were *ājeri one would expect a spelling *a-je-*), hence 'killing with the spear' (cf. Il. 21.21 ἄρορ θεινομένων 'killed by the spear'), which is therefore to be left out of the discussion. Leukart's rejection of 'cow' as second element is based on the semantic argument that the base form from which ἠερίβοια would have to be derived, the compound *ἀερίβουζ, would not make sense ("sinnstörend"). But, as we have seen, 'the cows of dawn' are a well established notion both in Vedic and in Greek literature and therefore a name 'having the cows in the morning' matches the Vedic Uṣas bringing along the cows at the beginning of the day.⁴⁹ The only

⁴⁷ Cf. also the gloss in Hesychius: ἐρι· πολὺ μέγα. ἰσχυρόν.

⁴⁸ E.g. Kamptz (1982: 90): "bei der die Rinder am Morgen sind = die die Rinder am Morgen auf die Weide treibt", Meister (1921: 38) equates the form semantically with Ἀλφεοσιβοια 'bringing lots of cows' in stealing cows or in athletic contests, as names depicting activities of the respective fathers (like Τηλέμαχος for Odysseus' son, etc.)

⁴⁹ The same interpretation would be valid if one assumed Peters' interpretation of ἠερί as derived from a locative *awseri 'in the morning' related to the Vedic r-stem us-r- 'mor-

further assumption one has to make is that an adjective *ἀερίβουζ, which was not specified for gender, was remarked as feminine as it referred to the female 'daughter of the sky'.⁵⁰

Thus, if the Ἐρίβοια in IG XII, 2 70 is to be taken as a divine name next to an "Aphrodite of the twilight", its most likely interpretation seems to be 'rich in (dawn) cows', which could subsequently be understood simply as 'rich in cattle (as dowry)'.⁵¹

Summary

The numerous epithets applied to a large extent or exclusively to Aphrodite having formal and / or semantic matches in the Vedic tradition reaffirm the well-established idea that the Greek Aphrodite is, beside Eos and Helena, one of the descendants of PIE *h₂eusōs. Based on this notion, a number of epithets (ὄρθροῦ, ἔλιξ, ἔλικοβλέφαρος) and divine names (Ερίβοια) connected with dawn and the sun which are difficult to understand *ex graeco ipso* may find an explanation.

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ning', loc. *usri* (: *h₂us-r-i), cf. Peters (1980: 32f.), cf. also Janda (2000: 213-15).

⁵⁰ N.B. compound adjectives with ἐρι- as first element are usually of only two endings (-ος m./f. : -ον n.), cf. ἐρίβρομος, -ον, P. P. 6.3 ἐριβρόμου χθονός.

⁵¹ That an epithet of dawn can be used as a PN of a mythological character can also be seen in Ἠριγόνη, the name of Icarus' daughter and of Aegisthus' and Clytaemnestra's daughter, corresponding to Eos' epithet ἠριγένεια (Hom.+) 'early-born', cf. Bechtel (1917: 195).

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KÖLLIGAN, D. *Afrodite da aurora: herança indoeuropéia nos epítetos divinos e teónimos gregos*.

RESUMO: § 1. Afrodite, originalmente um epíteto do PIE **h₂éusōs*, incorporou inúmeros aspectos da deusa da aurora. À maneira da Uṣas védica, é a "filha do céu", relacionada à calmaria do mar (γαλήνη) e à salvadora dos marinheiros, função exercida pelos pretendentes de Uṣas na mitologia védica. Seu nome pode derivar de **ab^hro-dih₂-to-* "brilhando a partir da névoa, ou espuma". § 2.1 Os

epítetos de Afrodite derivados de nome de cor, ou que o incluem (χρυσής, χρυσοστέφανος, etc.), talvez se refiram ao caráter original da deusa como personificação da aurora. § 2.2 Sua relação com carruagens, como se vê, p. ex., em χρυσάνιος, talvez derive da associação da deusa com a carruagem do sol, o que poderia também ser o caso de χρυσόθρονος. § 2.3 O uso de λευκός em conexão com Afrodite pode ser comparado com o véd. *rocamaṅga-*, que se diz de Uṣas. § 2.4 Seu epíteto Ἀργυρνίς corresponde ao véd. *arjunī-*. § 2.5 Afrodite ῥοδέη e ῥοδόχρους corresponde a Eos ῥοδοδάκτυλος. § 3. A figura védica das “vacas da aurora” pode ser comparada com a das vacas de Hélios em Trinácia. Os epítetos épicos ἔλιξ e ἔλικοβλέφαρος talvez se refiram ao movimento celeste. § 4. A Afrodite Ὀρθροῦ da inscrição pode ser a aurora ou a estrela da manhã, como filha da alvorada, e pode equiparar-se ao Ὀρθρία do frg. 1 de Álcman e a um enigma de Teógnis (vv. 861-4). O Ἐρίβοια atestado junto a Afrodite Ὀρθροῦ pode ser entendido como “rica em vacas da aurora”.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Afrodite e a Uṣas védica; deusa da aurora e estrela da manhã; epítetos divinos e teónimos.

IF IN DOUBT, LEAVE IT IN: SUBJECT ACCUSATIVES IN PLAUTUS AND TERENCE¹

WOLFGANG DAVID CIRILO DE MELO
Universiteit van Gent (Belgium)

ABSTRACT: The accusative-and-infinitive construction in Latin is a type of non-finite subordinate clause with the subject in the accusative case and the verb in the infinitive. Latin infinitives are marked not only for voice, but also for relative tense; the perfect infinitive expresses anteriority, the present infinitive simultaneity, and the future infinitive posteriority. The subject accusative can sometimes be omitted. Most scholars have assumed that this is a colloquialism. However, omission occurs equally frequently across literary genres, and is more common with future than with present infinitives; these facts make it unlikely that register plays a role. My article shows that omission is most frequent among future active and perfect passive infinitives, that is, those forms which contain a participle marked for gender and number. The reason is that here the participle allows us to retrieve an omitted subject accusative more easily.

KEY WORDS: accusative-and-infinitive construction; ellipsis; register; participles.

Most modern linguists declare themselves to be descriptive rather than prescriptive. Rules concerning split infinitives or the difference between *who* and *whom* are generally considered *passé*. These are issues for people writing letters to the more conservative newspapers, but surely we do not get agitated about them. Or do we?

Actually, I suspect that most of us do; maybe not in our first languages, where we would consider such attitudes pedantic, but almost certainly in the languages we learn later in life. In fact, the distinction between descriptive and prescriptive linguistics inevitably gets blurred here: a second-language learner will at first be

¹ This paper is an updated and slightly revised version of de Melo (2006).