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AESCHYLUS FR. 486 RADT, TRAGIC HOMERISMS,
AND ANCIENT SCHOLARSHIP ON SOPHOCLES

In his edition of Aeschylus' fragments, Stefan Radt includes the following single word among the *dubia* (A. fr. 486): μενοινᾶ (= ὀρέγεται).

The source is Schol. M *Od.* 13.381 Ludwich:

μενοινᾶ: φροντίζει, μεριμνᾶ, προθυμεῖται, καὶ παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ ὀρέγεται.

No evidence of μενοινάω is found in Aeschylus' extant and fragmentary works. As far as can be ascertained from the available editions of the scholia to *Odyssey*¹, the scholium survives in this form only in ms. M = Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. 613, a very important thirteen-century codex of the *Odyssey*². The gloss is written in the interlinear space (f. 163v) by hand M^a, but is absent from V^o (= Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. V.1.51), with which M has close affinities³. Most interlinear glosses in M overlap with the D-scholia to the *Iliad*⁴, but a lot of material due to hand M^a appears to originate from later works, such as Orion's lexicon and the *Etymologicum Genuinum*⁵. There is thus no way to know in advance whether this particular scholium preserves ancient scholarly material of any significance, but this is not unlikely *a priori*.

The verb μενοινάω is firmly attested in the Homeric poems (*Iliad* 9x, *Odyssey* 15x). It is also conspicuously represented in the D-scholia (ed. van Thiel 2014), some of which overlap with λέξεις Ὀμηρικαί (ed. van Thiel 2002), and in the V-scholia to the *Odyssey* (books 1-8: ed. Pontani 2007-2020; books 9-24: ed. Ernst 2004):

- (1) Schol. *Il.* 10.101 μενοινήσωσιν: προθυμηθῶσιν ZYQX (προθυμήσωσι A^u) = λέξεις Ὀμηρικαί, μ 118;
- (2) Schol. *Il.* 13.214 μενοίνα: ἐνεθυμεῖτο ZQX | μενοινᾶ: ἐνθυμεῖται Y;
- (3) P.Ryl. 536 recto, i.10 on *Il.* 13.214 μενοίνα: προθυ⁶;
- (4) Schol. *Il.* 14.221 μέμονας (μενοινᾶς Hom.): προθυμηῖ (προθυμεῖ Z), σπεύδεις. YX;
- (5) Schol. *Il.* 14.264 μενοινᾶς: προθυμηῖ, σπουδάσεις (προθυμεῖς σπουδάσει Z) YQX;
- (6) Schol. *Il.* 15.82 μενοινήσει (μενοινήσειε Hom.): ἐνθυμηθῆ ἢ διανοηθῆ ZYQX; (= λέξεις Ὀμηρικαί, μ 137);
- (7) Schol. *Il.* 15.293 μενοινῶν: προθυμούμενος ZYQX;
- (8) Schol. *Il.* 19.164 μενοινᾶ: προθυμεῖται ZYQX (= λέξεις Ὀμηρικαί, μ 144).
- (9) Schol. *Od.* 2.34d <φρεσὶν ἦσι> μενοινᾶ: κατὰ διάνοιαν GHM^aNPV^s ἐνθυμεῖται. CGHNPV^s

¹ Dindorf 1855, Ludwich 1871, 1888-90. I found no reference to the scholium in Pontani's ongoing edition, nor in Pontani 2005.

² On ms. M, see Ludwich 1871, 1-4 and esp. Pontani 2005, 242-265 (with full references).

³ Pontani 2005, 253-255.

⁴ Pontani 2005, 256: this suggests a common derivation from an exemplar equipped with *scholia minora* or λέξεις Ὀμηρικαί.

⁵ Pontani 2005, 257.

⁶ 3rd cent. CE: see Montanari 1993 = 1995, 137-146.

- (10) Schol. *Od.* 2.34e μενοιῶ] μεριμνᾷ H / λογίζεται HM¹P / προθυμεῖ Y / ἐπιθυμεῖ E² / δια-
νοεῖται I;
 (11) Schol. *Od.* 2.36e μενοίνησε: προεθυμήθη CHM^aVY;
 (12) Schol. *Od.* 2.36f μενοίνησε] ἐλόγισεν P / ὄρμησε E²I;
 (13) Schol. *Od.* 2.92d μενοιῶ] διανοεῖται M^a / προθυμεῖ IY / ἐπιθυμεῖ t / σκοπεῖ φροντίζει cz;
 (14) Schol. *Od.* 2.248b μενοινήσει': προθυμηθῆ HM^aPV;
 (15) Schol. *Od.* 2.275h μενοιῶς] προθυμῆ IM^aY;
 (16) Schol. *Od.* 2.285d μενοιῶς] διανοῆ M^a;
 (17) Schol. *Od.* 4.480b μενοιῶς] διὰ φροντίδος ἔχεις M^a / προθυμῆ Y;
 (18) Schol. *Od.* 11.532 μενοίνα: ἐλογίζετο ZM¹.

In none of these scholia ὀρέγομαι is an *interpretamentum* of μενοιῶω. Moreover, the scholia featuring third-person μενοιῶ (nos. 8, 9, 10, 13) or the paleographically comparable second-person μενοιῶς (nos. 4-5, 15-17) do not exhibit lists of *interpretamenta* fully or partially coincidental with the one attested in Schol. M *Od.* 13.381 Ludwich. In particular, φροντίζω (Schol. *Od.* 2.92d, no. 13) and μεριμνῶ (Schol. *Od.* 2.34e, no. 10) are attested only once and in different scholia⁷; the commoner προθυμέομαι is attested mostly in isolation⁸, although it is the only *interpretamentum* that consistently found the way into lexicographic tradition⁹. Such evidence supports the view that the connection between μενοιῶω and ὀρέγομαι could have been made *outside* Homeric scholarship.

The gloss μενοιῶω = ὀρέγομαι is instead found in Hesychius μ 855 Cunningham: μενοιῶ: φροντίζει, μεριμνᾷ, προθυμεῖται, ὀρέγεται.

The verb form of the *glossandum* and the *interpretamenta* are identical to those found in Schol. M *Od.* 13.381 Ludwich¹⁰, but Hesychius does not cite Aeschylus for μενοιῶ = ὀρέγεται. The two last editors of Hesychius, Latte and Cunningham, generically write “*Od.* 2.92...” as the source of this entry: if this was the case, surely the gloss could not derive from Schol. *Od.* 2.92d. The fact that φροντίζει, μεριμνᾷ and προθυμεῖται are attested in the Homeric scholia, whereas ὀρέγεται is not, invites the conclusion that the source of Schol. M *Od.* 13.381 and Hesychius’ entry could at least partly diverge.

The easiest conclusion would be that Hesychius and the scholium drew from a univocal source which mentioned Aeschylus’ use of μενοιῶω meaning ὀρέγομαι. Aeschylus’ name could have dropped out for whatever reason from Hesychius’ entry, but was preserved in the scholium. There is no

⁷ Though see Apollonius’ text cited at n. 9.

⁸ See nos. 8 and 10 προθυμεῖται, no. 13 προθυμεῖ, nos. 4, 5, 15, 17 and possibly 3 προθυμῆ, other verb forms at nos. 1, 7, 11, 14.

⁹ See Apoll. Soph. 111.15-16 Bekker μενοιῶω προθυμοῦμαι. τὸ δὲ “ἐνθ’ εἶη ἔνθα, μενοινήσειέ τε πολλά” ἀντι τοῦ μεριμνήση, *EGud* μ 387.45-6 Sturz *EM* 595.45 Gaisford, Ps.-Zon. μ 1353.7-12 Tittmann. Cf. also Eust. in *Od.* 1.430.28.

¹⁰ On the frequent agreement between the *scholia minora* in M and Hesychius’ lemmas, see Latte 1953, xv n. 1, Pontani 2005, 95 with n. 209, referring to the data in Ludwich 1888-90.

shortage of “slices from great Homeric feasts”¹¹ in which Aeschylus could have used this Homerism and/or adapted it to one of the meanings of ὀρέγομαι, i.e. “grasp at”, “yearn for” (see LSJ s.v. II and discussion below)¹². But the way in which the information about Aeschylus is conveyed by Schol. M *Od.* 13.381 is anomalous compared to how Aeschylus is usually cited in the Homeric scholia. Aeschylus’ presence there is not so ubiquitous as one might expect, although he remains among the most cited authors¹³. There are 35 “unique” citations of Aeschylus’ name in the available editions of the scholia¹⁴, predominantly in VMK-type or exegetical scholia (32 out of 35; the other 3 occur in D/V-scholia). In 27 out of 35 examples, citations of Aeschylus’ name are followed by direct quotations from his works. Indication of the play’s title is given in 17 out of 35 citations (12 out of the 27 with quotations), and in 5 more cases knowledge of the play’s title is certain (3 quotations from *Prometheus*) or inferable from other citations of the same play elsewhere in the scholia (2 from *Palamedes*). Attributed citations cover extant plays (*Prometheus Bound*, *Agamemnon*) and a good range of fragmentary tragedies (*Aetnae*, *Edonoi*, *Glaucus*, *Xantriai*, *Palamedes*, *Prometheus Unbound*, *Proteus*, *Semele or Hydrophoroi*, *Philoctetes*, *Phrygians or The Ransom of Hector*, *Psychagogoi*, *Psychostasia*), including two whose title can be confidently restored from other sources (*Thracian Women*¹⁵, *Niobe*¹⁶).

Some 11 citations (9 of which with quotations) refer to plays whose title is doubtfully conjecturable or no longer identifiable. Nonetheless, in these cases the information provided by the scholia almost always receives external confirmation from other sources, connected or not with the scholium. The kind of information being carried relates to different strands of tradition, including paroemiography and gnomology (fr. 301 ἀπάτης δικαίας οὐκ ἀποστατεῖ θεός¹⁷, 381 ὅπου γὰρ ἰσχυρὸς συζυγοῦσι καὶ δίκη, | ποῖα ξυνωρὶς τῶνδε

¹¹ On τεμάχη... τῶν Ὀμήρου μεγάλων δεῖπνων, see Athen. 8.347e, Eust. in *Il.* 4.721.15-16. On Homer in Aeschylus, see Sideras 1971.

¹² For example, in plays illustrating the exploits and downfalls of major Iliadic warriors (*Myrmidons*, *Nereids*, *Phrygians or The Ransom of Hector*, *Hoplion Krisis*, *Thracian Women*, *Salaminians*, *Memnon*, *Psychostasia*).

¹³ See n. 65.

¹⁴ By “unique” is meant not duplicated across different scholia (i.e. Schol. *Il.* 2.862a1+a2, Schol. *Il.* 13.198a1+a2, Schol. *Il.* 22.210a1+a2+b Erbse, Schol. *Il.* 23.34c1+c2/d2) and not making the same point or quoting a passage found in other scholia.

¹⁵ See Schol. *Il.* 14.404-6 Erbse, on Aeschylus’ treatment of Ajax’s physical impenetrability on occasion of his suicide (relating to fr. 83), for which see Schol. Lycophr. 455 (explicitly naming *Thracian Women*) and Schol. *S. Aj.* 833 Christodoulou (no title given).

¹⁶ Schol. *Il.* 9.158b Erbse = A. *Niobe* fr. 161 (title and quotation given in Stob. 4.51.1).

¹⁷ Schol. *Il.* 2.114 Erbse: cf. *Dissoi logoi* 3.10 D-K, Stob. 3.3.13, etc.

καρτερωτέρα;¹⁸, 385 οἱ τοι στεναγμοὶ τῶν πόνων ἰάματα¹⁹), mythography (fr. 312, a pun on ἄπτεροι Πελεΐάδες²⁰), grammar (fr. 281a28 ἔτης with smooth breathing²¹, 378 use of adjectival σπιδής²², 451 ψιλῆτος as gen. of ψιλής²³), and lexicography (fr. 379 ἀπείρων = “borderless”, referring to a circle²⁴, 446 Φρῦγες and Φρυγία meaning “Trojans” and “Troy”²⁵).

In only two examples a completely “new” and not otherwise known information is provided. (1) Schol. *Il.* 9.593a Erbse = fr. 244 κύνες διημάθουνον ἄνδρα δεσπότην, from *Toxotides*, attests to the use of διαμαθύνω = διαφθείρω (“destroy”). No other source mentions this specific information, but the verb is found elsewhere in Aeschylus (*Ag.* 824: cf. *Eum.* 937 ἀμαθύνει), the information concerning Actaeon’s dogs substantially repeats knowledge available from many different sources²⁶, and the attribution to Aeschylus is confirmed by fr. 245 = Poll. 5.47, reporting the names of the dogs in Aeschylus’ version. (2) Fr. 380 = Schol. *Il.* 16.380 Erbse informs that in one of Aeschylus’ plays Achilles was said to have jumped over the moat with his full armour, walking backwards and not showing his back to the enemies (Αἰσχύλος δὲ Ἀχιλλεῖα σὺν τῇ πανοπλίᾳ φησὶν ὀπίθεν ὀρμήσαντα πεδηῆσαι τὴν τάφρον μὴ δείζαντα <τά> νῶτα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς). Even if unattested elsewhere, the piece of information presumably comes from plays on which we are relatively well-informed (*Myrmidons*, *Nereids* or *Phrygians*, forming the so-called *Achilleid*)²⁷ and makes use of language (τάφρος) otherwise known to be Aeschylean²⁸. As is evident, therefore, both scholia can be fitted into a significant constellation of sources more or less directly concerning the play(s) being cited and/or the specific information being conveyed.

There is a world of difference between all other Aeschylean fragments transmitted by Homeric scholia and Schol. *M. Od.* 13.381. The latter is

¹⁸ Schol. *Il.* 16.542b Erbse: cf. Sol. fr. 36.15-17 *IEG*² with Noussia Fantuzzi *ad loc.*

¹⁹ Schol. *Il.* 23.10 Erbse: cf. Schol. *S. El.* 286 Xenis (with ἐρείσματα for ἰάματα).

²⁰ Schol. *Il.* 18.486 van Thiel: cf. Athen. 11.491a = Asclep. Myrl. fr. 4 Pagani (with n.).

²¹ Schol. *Il.* 6.239c Erbse, matching *P.Oxy.* 2256 fr. 9a.28: cf. Hdn. 2.55.22 Lentz.

²² Schol. *Il.* 11.754a Erbse: cf. Hdn. 2.79.19-21 Lentz.

²³ Schol. *Il.* 5.9b Erbse: cf. Hdn. 1.63.2, 2.47.11, 2.614.7 Lentz.

²⁴ Schol. *Il.* 14.200 Dindorf ≈ Schol. *Od.* 1.98d Pontani: cf. Porph. *Quaest. Il.* 191.10-20 Schrader.

²⁵ Schol. *Il.* 2.862a1+a2 Erbse: cf. e.g. Strab. 12.8.7, Schol. *E. Hec.* 4 Schwartz, Schol. *Ap. Rhod.* 1.936-49f Wendel.

²⁶ See e.g. *E. Ba.* 1289, *Acus.* fr. 33 *EGM*, *Ps.-Apollod.* 3.30-32, Schol. *E. Pho.* 4.25-6 Schwartz, Davies-Finglass on *Stes.* fr. 295, with bibliography.

²⁷ See West 2000, 338-343, Sommerstein 2010, 242-249.

²⁸ Τάφρος features among Aeschylus’ obscure expressions cited by “Euripides” in *Ar. Ran.* 928 and from Schol. *Ael. NA* 6.11.8-10 Meliadò = fr. 419 we additionally know that αὐλών was used as a synonym for it.

carried by an isolated and potentially unreliable source (a marginal gloss of uncertain chronology) and is neither certainly nor probably assignable to any extant fragmentary play known to have been produced by Aeschylus. Individual Homeric scholia about Aeschylus hardly ever mention material that is not transmitted, presupposed or somehow alluded to in other sources: when this happens (e.g. Schol. *Il.* 9.593a Erbse = A. fr. 244), a quotation is supplied or other inferences are possible. But the gloss $\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\nu\tilde{\alpha} = \delta\acute{\rho}\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ is totally detached from any known tradition about Aeschylus. In addition, $\delta\acute{\rho}\epsilon\gamma\omega/\delta\acute{\rho}\epsilon\gamma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, no less a *vox Homerica* than $\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\nu\tilde{\alpha}\omega$ (*Iliad* 32x, *Odyssey* 8x)²⁹, is attested in Aeschylus only³⁰ at Ag. 1111 $\pi\rho\omicron\tau\epsilon\iota\nu\epsilon\iota \delta\grave{\epsilon} \chi\epsilon\iota\rho' \acute{\epsilon}\kappa \chi\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \delta\acute{\rho}\epsilon\gamma\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$ (Clytemnestra is imagined as laying her hands over Agamemnon), where its meaning, “stretch out”, is incompatible with $\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\nu\tilde{\alpha}\omega$ ³¹. Even if one reckons with the possibility that the author or source of Schol. M *Od.* 13.381 read a larger body of Aeschylean texts than the one currently accessible, evidence of $\delta\acute{\rho}\epsilon\gamma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ in Aeschylus remains suspiciously flimsy. Furthermore, since the wording of the scholium coincides in all other respects with Hsch. μ 855, it is not impossible for the scholium to be later than Hesychius, although the contrary hypothesis remains likelier³².

These uncertainties lead to a different, though not unlikely scenario: that the indication $\kappa\alpha\iota \pi\alpha\rho' \text{Αἰσχύλῳ}$ in Schol. M *Od.* 13.381, unsupported in Aeschylus’ poetic text, may be incorrect, no matter its chronology. Either the words $\kappa\alpha\iota \pi\alpha\rho' \text{Αἰσχύλῳ}$ were added to the other *interpretamenta* by an incompetent critic, or a textual corruption obscured the name of another author.

A survey on the Archaic and Classical attestations of $\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\nu\tilde{\alpha}\omega$ is required, and it is to the verb form $\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\nu\tilde{\alpha}$ or –allowing room for slight textual corruptions– to the paleographically similar $\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\nu\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$ and $\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\nu\tilde{\alpha}$ that we should turn first³³.

The hypothesis that the passage illustrating $\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\nu\tilde{\alpha}\omega = \delta\acute{\rho}\epsilon\gamma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ comes from Homer is unlikely. First of all, it fails to provide a convincing account for the addition of $\kappa\alpha\iota \pi\alpha\rho' \text{Αἰσχύλῳ}$ in Schol. *Od.* 13.381: the text behind the hypothetical corruption cannot have been $\kappa\alpha\iota \pi\alpha\rho' \text{Ὀμήρῳ}$, and an an-

²⁹ See *LfgreE s.v.* $\delta\acute{\rho}\epsilon\gamma\omega$, $\delta\acute{\rho}\epsilon\gamma\eta\nu\mu\iota$, $\delta\acute{\rho}\eta\gamma\eta\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$.

³⁰ See also $\delta\acute{\rho}\epsilon\gamma\mu\alpha$ (A. *Cho.* 426, 799); the adjective $\alpha\tilde{\iota}\tau\omicron\rho\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\mu\omicron\nu$ at A. fr. 117, transmitted by Hsch. α 8459 Cunningham, more probably derives from $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\omega$ (see Carrara *ad loc.*).

³¹ See Medda *ad loc.*: $\delta\acute{\rho}\epsilon\gamma\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$ here intensifies $\pi\rho\omicron\tau\epsilon\iota\nu\epsilon\iota$, as both verbs share the accusative $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho'$ (the reading of M^{pc}, preferable to the nom. $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho$ in M^{ac}FGT).

³² On the derivation of lexicographic lemmas from *scholia minora*, see Tosi 1988, 123-127; on Hesychius and the V-scholia to the *Odyssey*, see Pontani 2005, 94-96.

³³ The simultaneous occurrence of the third-person $\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\nu\tilde{\alpha}$ in the poetic text, in the lemma of the scholium and in Hesychius’ entry makes us confident that this is not a case of “lemmatizzazione”, i.e. deliberate alteration of the verb form of the *glossandum* to any of the default paradigm forms (see Bossi-Tosi 1979-80, 8-13, Tosi 1988, 120-123).

cient critic would have had no reason to add a similar specification if he found the desired meaning in Homer. Second, it is disconfirmed by the distribution of *μενοινάω* in Homer's text. No occurrence of *μενοινᾶ*, *μενοινᾶς*, *μενοίνα* or of any other verb form of *μενοινάω* in *Iliad* or *Odyssey* can be comfortably explained by *ὀρέγομαι*. When occurring in short relative clauses (*Od.* 2.275, 2.285, 4.480: see also *h. Merc.* 474 = 489) or in formulaic expressions with the preceding dative *φρεσὶ(v)* (*σῆψι* (*Il.* 14.221, 14.264, *Od.* 2.34, 6.180, 15.111, 17.355, 21.157), *μενοινάω* blandly indicate a wish or desire, without further specification³⁴, and the same holds true with *Il.* 12.59 and the occurrences including *νόος* (*Od.* 2.92, 13.381, 18.283)³⁵.

In the ten remaining occurrences, *μενοινάω* does not simply mark a desire, but emphatically designates the eagerness or strong impulse to perform some action. Apart from *Il.* 15.82 and *Od.* 2.36, in which the desire pertains to the verbal or imaginative sphere³⁶, *μενοινάω* always refers to the furious eagerness of fighting against and killing enemies, in which case the verb is often connected with other words deriving from the **μεν*-root (e.g. *μένοσ*, *μέμονα*, *μαιμάω*, *μαίνομαι*) or with *θυμός*. Three attestations are relatively unmarked (*Il.* 10.101³⁷, 13.214³⁸, *Od.* 22.217³⁹), whereas the emphasis is greater in the five remaining passages, in which the irresistible yearning expressed by *μενοινάω* is strengthened by other linguistic clues: *Il.* 15.293 (Hector's fury in the first lines of the army⁴⁰), 19.164 (soldiers craving for battle, but hampered by hunger and thirst⁴¹), *Od.* 2.248 (Odysseus' yearning for revenge on the suitors and its potential consequences⁴²),

³⁴ For later imitations, see [Opp.] *Cyn.* 1.22, Q.S. 1.786, 5.171, 10.408, 14.142, 14.310 (with *σῆψιν ἐνὶ πραπίδεσσι*), *Man.* 3.374.

³⁵ A combination of the *φρεσὶ*- and the *νόος*-formula is found at *h. Merc.* 62: see Thomas *ad loc.*

³⁶ In *Il.* 15.82, Hera's flight is compared to the mental journey of a human longing for many different places: note the juxtaposition of *μενοινάω* and *φρεσὶ πευκαλίμησι νοήση* and *Il.* 15.83 *ὥς κρατνῶς μεμναῖα* (see Janko on *Il.* 15.80-83). In *Od.* 2.36, Telemachus is eager to speak out in the assembly of Ithaca: note his joy (35) and inability to remain seated (36).

³⁷ Note the repetition *δυσμενέες* (100) ... *μενοινήσωσι* (101) and the negative insistence on the Trojans' *μένοσ*: see Hainsworth *ad loc.*

³⁸ Note *ἔτι* (214) and the redundant *πολέμοιο μενοίνα | ἀντιάαν* (214-5), creating an ascending threefold hexameter in 215, unusual in *προσέφη*-lines (see Janko *ad loc.*).

³⁹ Note *οἶα* ... | *ἔρδειν ἐν μεγάροις* (22.217-8), highlighting (in the suitor's view) the negative connotation of Athena/Mentor's *μενοινᾶν*.

⁴⁰ Note *ὄδε* and the emphasis on Hector's position (*πρόμος ἴσταται*): cf. also *Il.* 15.298-9, with Janko on *Il.* 15.286-293.

⁴¹ Note *θυμῷ γε* and *εἰ περ*, highlighting the special force of the conditional, which balances 165-6.

⁴² Note, again, *ἐνὶ θυμῷ*, and the contrast between the *if*-clause with *μενοινάω* and the *apodosis* (2.249-50).

11.531 (Neoptolemus described as eager to fight Trojans from within the wooden horse⁴³), and especially *Il.* 13.79 (Ajax describes the arousal of his μένος; see below). None suitably illustrates μενοινᾶ = ὀρέγεται: all except one feature μενοινᾶ in a different verb form than the required one, and even μενοινᾶ at *Il.* 19.164 (as well as *Od.* 22.217 μενοινᾶς) does not work, since ὀρέγομαι + infinitive, unlike μενοινᾶ, is unattested in Homer with the meaning “yearn for”⁴⁴.

From the previous survey it should become clear that the gloss μενοινᾶ = ὀρέγεται cannot be an example of Ὀμηρον ἐξ Ὀμήρου σαφηνίζειν, but has to do with the use of μενοινᾶ (i.e. meaning ὀρέγομαι) by a different author. This provides a better rationale for the addition of καὶ παρ’ Αἰσχύλω in the scholium, which could have been an accidental error rather than a gratuitous intrusion. As for the omission of Aeschylus’ name in Hesychius, this can be certainly ascribed to the processes of epitomisation that variously affected Hesychius’ lexicon during its transmission⁴⁵.

The six pre-dramatic occurrences of μενοινᾶ are mostly unhelpful: in *H. Ap.* 116, μενοινήσεν retains some connection with Homeric μένος insofar as it indicates Leto’s impulse to childbirth after Eilethya’s visit⁴⁶; in [Hes.] *Scut.* 368, ἐμενοίνα means, quite simply, “wish”, denoting Cycnus’ unwillingness to obey Heracles’ request⁴⁷; in *Thgn.* 461, μήποτ’ ἐπ’ ἀπρήκτοισι νόον ἔχε μηδὲ μενοίνα | χρήμασι, although μήποτ’... μενοίνα means “(do not) seek for”⁴⁸, it still exhibits a strong connection with irrational impulse, as the quest for wealth is presented as ethically inconvenient⁴⁹. In Pindar, μενοινᾶ occurs 3×, all in the participle⁵⁰: in *Ol.* 1.58, μενοινᾶω (“wish”) highlights Tantalus’ abnormal effort to overcome his punishment (57-8 τὸν

⁴³ Note the enumeration ἰκέτευν... ἐπεμαίετο... μενοίνα and the depiction of Neoptolemus as one who, unlike his fellows, does not shed a tear (11.528-30).

⁴⁴ At *Il.* 16.834 ὀρέγομαι means “stretch out”; for ὀρέγομαι + infinitive, see E. *HF* 16, *Thuc.* 3.42.6, *Crit. fr.* 6.6 *IEG*², *Pl. Prt.* 326a3.

⁴⁵ On epitomisation in Hesychius, see Latte 1953, xi-xvi, Bossi-Tosi 1979-80, 7, Tosi 2015.

⁴⁶ Note the co-ordinated τὴν τότε δὴ τόκος εἴλε (Richardson *ad loc.*).

⁴⁷ Cf. [Theoc.] 25.62 ὡς εἰπὼν ἠγγεῖτο, νόον δ’ ὄγε πόλλ’ ἐμενοίνα, which Gow *ad loc.* would unnecessarily emend to πολλὰ μενοίνα to match *Od.* 2.92, 13.381, 18.283.

⁴⁸ Note the exceptional construction with the dative χρήμασι, by analogy with ἐπ’ ἀπρήκτοισι νόον ἔχε. *Contra*, van Groningen *ad loc.*, following Bergk, takes μηδὲ μενοίνα as parenthetical and ἐπ’ ἀπρήκτοισι... χρήμασι as a single phrase. But a twofold division of 461 after the bucolic diaeresis is more elegant, and there is a significant difference between “turning one’s mind toward unattainable things” and “wishing for riches to excess”.

⁴⁹ Cf. *Thgn.* 227-32, 699-728, 1155-6, 1157-8.

⁵⁰ A fourth attestation might be *P.Oxy.* 2736 fr. 1 ii.14 (μενοινᾶν?), a severely damaged narrative of the sack of Oechalia, if the latter is to be ascribed to Pindar (thus Lobel 1968, Henry on *P. Nem.* 8.2), but the context is obscure.

[= λίθον] αἰεὶ μενοιῶν κεφαλᾶς βαλεῖν εὐφροσύνας ἀλᾶται⁵¹); in *Pyth.* 1.43, the poetic “I” emphatically states his “desire” to praise Hieron I of Syracuse but not beyond measure (42-5 ἄνδρα δ’ ἐγὼ κεῖνον | αἰνῆσαι μενοιῶν ἔλπομαι etc.⁵²); in *Nem.* 11.45, humans are described as embarking in ambitious exploits (44 μεγαλανορίας ἐμβαίνομεν) and yearning for many accomplishments (45 ἔργα τε πολλὰ μενοιῶντες) because of their inclination to hope and lack of forethought (45-6), although Zeus gives no clear sign of success (43-4), and such desires are beyond reach and redolent with μανία (see 47-8 κερδέων δὲ χρῆ μέτρον θηρευέμεν | ἀπροσίκτων δ’ ἐρώτων ὀζύτεραι μανία)⁵³. Only at *Nem.* 11.45 could μενοιῶν be paraphrased with ὀρέγομαι, but the verb form μενοιῶντες is incompatible with μενοιῶν in the scholium and Hesychius⁵⁴.

The survey of μενοιῶν in drama texts other than Aeschylus is more promising, although μενοιῶν occurs once in each of the three genres.

The satyric attestation occurs in Euripides’ *Cyclops*, a play with a clearly identifiable Homeric model⁵⁵. At some point in the 2:2 stichomythia of E. *Cycl.* 440-50, while the Satyrs and Odysseus are discussing on how to get rid of the Cyclops, the Satyrs assume that Odysseus either wants to slay the monster by himself or push him down a cliff (447-8 ἔρημον ξυλλαβῶν δρυμοῖσί νιν | σφάξαι μενοιῶν ἢ πετρῶν ὄσαι κάτα). The Homerism μενοιῶν (448)⁵⁶, an epic touch to emphasize Odysseus’ ‘heroic’ stature, is literally paraphrased in Odysseus’ reply (449): οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον· δόλιος ἢ προθυμία, where προθυμία rephrases μενοιῶν. Rather than being the *locus classicus* of μενοιῶν = ὀρέγομαι, E. *Cycl.* 448-9 could have provided the source of μενοιῶν = προθυμοῦμαι which so frequently occurs in scholia and lexica⁵⁷.

⁵¹ Translations differ: “always *desiring* to cast this from his head” (Instone), “*in his constant eagerness* to cast it away from his head” (Race), “egli sempre *aspira* a stornarlo [i.e. il macigno]” (Gentili 2013).

⁵² See Cingano in Gentili *et alii* 1995, Pfeijffer 2004, 23-25.

⁵³ See Verdenius, Henry *ad loc.*

⁵⁴ The passage might provide the *locus classicus* of μενοιῶν = φροντίζει via Schol. P. *Nem.* 11.55.4 [= 11.43-5] Drachmann τὸ ἀποβησόμενον, τέλος ἐκ τοῦ Διός, φησίν, οὐ προγινώσκομεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἀλλὰ μεγαληγοροῦμεν μεγάλα τε μενοιῶντες καὶ φροντίζοντες ὑπερῆαυτούς. Alternatively, the *locus classicus* could be one of the passages in Homer where μενοιῶν co-occurs with φρένες, but μενοιῶν is never glossed by φροντίζω in the scholia *ad locc.*

⁵⁵ On *Cyclops* and *Od.* 9, see now Hunter 2009, 53-77, Collard-O’Sullivan 2013, 41-56 (with further references at 41 n. 156).

⁵⁶ On the tolerance of satyr drama for “Homerisms, rare words and outdated and poetic forms”, see López Eire 2003, 393-395.

⁵⁷ See the scholia cited above and n. 9. On the “coppia contigua” (coupling of lemma and *interpretamentum* on the basis of their co-occurrence in the *locus classicus*), see Marzullo 1968, Degani 1977-1978, 136-142, Bossi-Tosi 1979-80, 15-16, Tosi 1988, 92-93, 128-130. Euripides may obviously allude to either *Il.* 19.163 or *Od.* 2.247, in which μενοιῶν and

The comic attestation of *μενοινάω* occurs in the *parabasis* of Aristophanes' *Wasps*. In their capsule-account of the Persian Wars⁵⁸, the Chorus refer to the barbarians' eagerness to destroy Attica (1078-80 ἠνίκ' ἦλθ' ὁ βάρβαρος | τῷ καπνῷ τύφων ἄπασαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ πυρπολῶν | ἐξελεῖν ἡμῶν *μενοινῶν* πρὸς βίαν τάνθηρνια). As in most Homeric occurrences, *μενοινάω* is associated with war, so it cannot indicate a bland desire⁵⁹, but rather denotes the enemy's irrational hunger for destruction⁶⁰. Although *μενοινάω* approaches the meaning of *ὀρέγομαι* insofar as it indicates the subject's ultimate goal, the emphasis is rather on the ways used by the Persians to attack the Athenians, and *μενοινάω* effectively highlights the intensity of the desire.

In tragedy, *μενοινάω* occurs only in *S. Aj.* 341, quoted below:

οἴμοι τάλαιν'· Εὐρύσακες, ἀμφὶ σοὶ βοῶ.
τί ποτε *μενοινῶ*; ποῦ ποτ' εἶ; τάλαιν' ἐγώ.

Lines 340-1 are spoken by Tecmessa in the first episode of Sophocles' *Ajax*, another play with evident epic background. Ajax repeatedly cries out from behind the *skēnē*-door, including a vague *ἰὸ παῖ παῖ* (339); Tecmessa takes this to be referred to Eurysaces (340 οἴμοι τάλαιν'· Εὐρύσακες, ἀμφὶ σοὶ βοῶ) and speculates about Ajax's intent (341 τί ποτε *μενοινῶ*;) and her child's whereabouts (ποῦ ποτ' εἶ;). Scholars generally pass *μενοινάω* in silence⁶¹ or simply acknowledge its Homeric and dramatic parallels⁶². At first glance, Tecmessa simply alludes to Ajax's intention, hence *μενοινάω* means "wish". But since Ajax's unclear intentions relate to his madness (discussed at length between Tecmessa and the Chorus at 263-330 and 331-9), *μενοινάω* retains its correlation with the **μεν*-root, particularly *μαίνομαι*, for which cf. *Il.* 15.293, 19.164, *Od.* 2.248, 11.532, and especially *Il.* 13.79 cited above, on Ajax's μένος and eagerness to face Hector.

In a note following his edition of Schol. *Il.* 13⁶³, Ludwich suggested that *μενοινῶ* = *ὀρέγεται* in Schol. *M Od.* 13.381 should refer to Sophocles, not Aeschylus, and precisely to this passage, and that καὶ παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ ought to be emended to καὶ παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ. Ludwich does not justify his claim, but the hypothesis deserves consideration. What Ludwich did not see is that some interesting arguments strongly support his conclusion.

θυμός co-occurred.

⁵⁸ See Austin 1973, 134, Biles-Olson on *Ar. Ve.* 1079-80.

⁵⁹ Thus e.g. Henderson "intent upon", Biles-Olson *ad loc.* "intending". Better Mastromarco: "bramando".

⁶⁰ Note the accumulation of participles (τύφων, πυρπολῶν, μενοινῶν), the emphasis on violence (πρὸς βίαν) and destruction (ἐξελεῖν), and on their completeness (ἄπασαν τὴν πόλιν).

⁶¹ Jebb, Stanford, Garvie *ad loc.*

⁶² Kamerbeek, Finglass *ad loc.*

⁶³ Ludwich 1887, 475.

To begin with, in S. *Aj.* 341, as well as Schol. *Od.* 13.381 and Hsch. μ 855, μενοινάω occurs as μενοινᾶ. This might have prompted an ancient scholar or schoolteacher who was dealing with Homer's text to check for the usage of μενοινάω in the νεώτεροι, which would have directed him quite naturally to Sophocles, and to a play, *Ajax*, strongly connected with Homeric tradition and widely read in Antiquity (as well as Byzantine Age).

The only relevant scholium is a *supra lineam* gloss on ms. G (= Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conv. Soppr. 152), Schol. S. *Aj.* 341a Christodoulou <μενοινᾶ·> προθυμεῖται <προθυμεῖ G^{ac}, προθυμῆ G¹: corr. Christodoulou). Although this is of little help (ὀρέγομαι is not present), the origin of this gloss lies in the same strand of Homeric scholarship represented in the *scholia minora* listed above.

The search can go further than this. Tecmessa's μενοινᾶ appears to be another piece connecting Sophocles' *Ajax* with Homer⁶⁴. The far-reaching relations between Sophocles and Homeric poems had been already sufficiently explored by ancient critics, who frequently attempted to elucidate Sophocles' text in the light of Homer. Some 34 explicit quotations of *Iliad* and *Odyssey* survive in the ancient scholia to the *Ajax*, covering several parts of the play⁶⁵. Some 13 refer to the first episode (*Aj.* 201-595), which evidently provided a special focus of interest for ancient scholarship. This is especially due to the well-known intertextual relations between the scene with Ajax, Tecmessa and Eurysaces (S. *Aj.* 430-595) and the farewell scene by the Scaean gates between Hector, Andromache and Astyanax (*Il.* 6.369-502)⁶⁶.

The surviving *scholia vetera* to Sophocles' *Ajax* strongly invite the suspicion that a point-by-point comparison between the two scenes was made at some point in ancient scholarship. Moreover, the analysis of the individual scholia reveals the existence of regular patterns of interpretation. (1) Schol. S. *Aj.* 499 compares Tecmessa's request that she and Eurysaces be not bereft of Ajax's protection (496-9 ἧ γὰρ θάνης σὺ ... | ... νόμιζε κάμῃ τῆ τόδ' ἡμέρα | ... | ξὺν παιδὶ τῷ σῶ δουλίαν ἔξειν τροφήν) with Andromache's comparable supplication to Hector (*Il.* 6.432 μὴ παῖδ' ὀρφανικὸν θεῖης χήρην τε γυναικά). The author of the comment did not pay attention to the differences between the two passages⁶⁷, but sought for a comparison (couched in terms

⁶⁴ On Sophocles' relation to the Homeric poems, Radt 1982, 197-202 (with bibliography) is a useful starting point. A wealth of material is also found in the references cited at n. 66.

⁶⁵ Homer is by far the most quoted author in the ancient scholia to Sophocles, even more than Sophocles himself: for statistics, see Montanari 1992, which makes the same point for the scholia to Euripides (cf. also Scattolin 2007, 233); moreover, Sophocles and Euripides are cited more frequently than Aeschylus in both Sophoclean and Euripidean scholia.

⁶⁶ Literature is vast: see esp. Perrotta 1935, 144-7, Easterling 1984, Möllendorff 2001.

⁶⁷ No mention of enslavement is made in the *Iliad* parallel (but see Hector at *Il.* 6.462-3,

of moral teaching: note the scholiast's use of διδασκαλία) that would juxtapose Tecmessa's and Andromache's speeches. (2) Schol. S. *Aj.* 501b compares the τίς-*Reden* included in the two passages⁶⁸, and particularly Tecmessa's ἴδετε τὴν ὀμευνέτιν Ἰ Αἴαντος (S. *Aj.* 501-2) with Hector's Ἔκτορος ἦδε γυνή (*Il.* 6.460)⁶⁹. The overlap, once again, is limited to the pragmatics of the sentences and perhaps to the ethical view implied in the onlooker's evaluation of the widowed woman⁷⁰. Similarly, (3) Schol. S. *Aj.* 514 compares Tecmessa's 514-7 ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐκέτ' ἔστιν εἰς ὃ τι βλέπω ἰ πλὴν σοῦ (followed by a reference to the death of Tecmessa's parents) with Andromache's statements at *Il.* 6.413 οὐδέ μοι ἐστὶ πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ and 429 Ἔκτορ· ἀτὰρ σύ μοι ἐσσι πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ to make the same point in terms of family values and ethics. (4) = Schol. S. *Aj.* 550 compares the prayers made by Ajax for Eurysaces (550-1) and by Hector for Astyanax. Although the similarity is explicitly stated (ἡ δὲ ὁμοία εὐχή), it is strictly limited to the identity of speaker (a father) and addressee (his child) and to the form of the speech act (a prayer), whereas the content, as Eustathius foresaw⁷¹, is diametrically opposite⁷². (5) Schol. S. *Aj.* 577, finally, compares Ajax's request that his weapons (except the shield) be buried with his corpse (*Aj.* 577)⁷³ with Andromache's report about Achilles' decision to bury his father Eetion's weapons along with the corpse as a sign of honour toward the defeated king (*Il.* 6.416-9)⁷⁴: the similarity is generically thematic (οἶδεν Ὀμηρος ὅπλα συγκαίόμενα) to the expense of other aspects such as the motif (inhumation vs. cremation), the diverging moral character of Ajax and Achilles⁷⁵ and, again, the linguistic form.

including the phrase δούλιον ἡμᾶρ, similar to S. *Aj.* 499 δουλίαν τροφήν), whereas Tecmessa's widowed and Eurysaces' orphaned status is mentioned again at 510-3 and 652-3.

⁶⁸ See in general Wilson 1979, de Jong 1987, and Finglass on S. *Aj.* 500-4 for a comparison.

⁶⁹ On the epigrammatic nature of *Il.* 6.460-1 (a definition which equally fits Sophocles' passage) see Graziosi-Haubold *ad loc.* See also Stoevesandt on *Il.* 6.459-63.

⁷⁰ Incidentally, the similarity extends beyond the selected portions of text: cf. *Aj.* 502 ὃς μέγιστον ἴσχυσε στρατοῦ ~ *Il.* 6.460-1 ὃς ἀριστεύεσκε μάχεσθαι ἰ Τρώων ἱπποδάμων, 504 τοιαῦτ' ἐρεῖ τις ~ *Il.* 6.462 ὅς ποτέ τις ἐρέει.

⁷¹ See Eust. in *Il.* 2.367.18-23, Brown 1965, 120, Finglass *ad loc.*

⁷² Hector prays that Eurysaces may be better than he (*Il.* 6.476-8), rule over Troy (6.478), kill the enemies (6.480-1), and make Andromache rejoice (6.481); Ajax only prays that Eurysaces may be equal to him but with better luck (*Aj.* 550-1), *requires* that he stand up to his father's reputation (556-7), and says that he will give joy to her mother *before* he grows up (558-9).

⁷³ See Finglass *ad loc.*

⁷⁴ See Kirk on *Il.* 6.417-20, Graziosi-Haubold on *Il.* 6.418-9.

⁷⁵ Indeed, the scholiast speculates approvingly about Ajax' decision to leave the shield to Eurysaces (τὸ μὲν σάκος διὰ τὸ ἐξαίρετον τῷ παιδί φυλάσσειν κελεύει) and not leave his weapons free to be plundered or disputed in a future contest (τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τεύχη συνθάψαι

All these scholia mostly revolve around Ajax's legacy (compared to Hector's) and the grim future awaiting Tecmessa and Eurysaces. Each consists of a single comparison between the Sophoclean and the Homeric wording, with little or no comment added. This shows, *inter alia*, that ancient critics were keen to engage in close readings of two extended passages from different authors in order to establish similarities and differences between them or the indebtedness of one to the other.

The gloss μενοινᾶ = ὀρέγεται, I submit, is part of the broader comparison between *S. Aj.* 330-595 and *Il.* 6.369-502 outlined above, hence it can be shown to refer to Sophocles' use of μενοινᾶω at *Aj.* 341 in the meaning of the Homeric ὀρέγομαι.

As noted above, Tecmessa identifies the intended addressee of Ajax's ἰὼ παῖ παῖ with Eurysaces (340 Εὐρύσακες, ἀμφὶ σοὶ βοῶ). Even if Tecmessa were wrong and Ajax were addressing Teucer⁷⁶, it is undeniable that Tecmessa so understands Ajax's cry. Indeed, the fact is explicitly stated and accounted for in Scholl. *S. Aj.* 339, 340b and 342b, although the three disagree between them in points of detail. On the one hand, Schol. *S. Aj.* 340b suggests that Tecmessa's reason for identifying Ajax's addressee with Eurysaces is her fear that Ajax could accidentally kill his son in another fit of madness (ἔδεδει γὰρ μὴ ἀνέλοι αὐτὸν μαινόμενος: cf. *S. Aj.* 533); on the other hand, Schol. *S. Aj.* 342b claims that Ajax calls on Teucer at 342-3 because he wants to entrust Eurysaces to his half-brother's care (ἐπιζητεῖ Τεῦκρον, ἵνα παράθῃται αὐτῷ τὸν παῖδα), which implies the view that Tecmessa was right and Ajax called on Eurysaces at 339 — a possibility rejected by Schol. *S. Aj.* 339 (ἢ δὲ Τέκμησσα ἐνόμισεν αὐτὸν τὸν παῖδα καλεῖν)⁷⁷.

Despite their differences, all scholia aim at explaining the content of Ajax's μενοινᾶν, and all conceive it as related to his (no matter if real or alleged) desire to see Eurysaces — a request which Ajax will make later in the episode (*Aj.* 530) so as to give Eurysaces his final recommendations (*Aj.* 545-82). In *Iliad* 6, Hector interrupts his visit to Paris and Helen because he wants to see his wife and child for one last time (or so he thinks: *Il.* 6.367-8) before going to war (*Il.* 6.365-6 καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν οἴκονδ' ἐσελεύσομαι, ὄφρα ἴδωμαι | οἰκῆας ἄλοχόν τε φίλην καὶ νήπιον υἷόν). Since Ajax's and Hector's speeches to their children are profusely compared in the ancient scholia to

φησίν. ἐπίσταται γὰρ καὶ αὐτὰ περιμάχητα ἐσόμενα).

⁷⁶ Thus Catrambone forthcoming, arguing (from stagecraft and pragmatics) that Ajax addresses Teucer at 339 and corrects Tecmessa's guess at 342 (see Campbell on *S. Aj.* 339, Fraenkel 1977, 12-13, Lloyd-Jones - Wilson 1990, 17) as against the view of many scholars (esp. Jebb, Finglass *ad loc.*) arguing that Ajax addresses Eurysaces at 339 and Teucer at 342-3.

⁷⁷ On the aorist ἐνόμισεν to indicate a guess which later proves wrong, cf. Schol. *E. Alc.* 1104 Schwartz ἐνόμισε διὰ τὴν φιλίαν εἰρηκέναι αὐτὸν μετέχειν τῆς νίκης.

Sophocles, this incident would likely have been in the mind of Sophocles as well as of the ancient critics who dealt with *Ajax*⁷⁸.

What is the exact relation between μενοινᾶ in *Ajax*, the gloss μενοινᾶ = ὀρέγεται, and *Iliad* 6? In itself, the Homerism μενοινᾶ at S. *Aj.* 341 may have been borrowed from any of the Homeric parallels discussed above: a very good candidate would be Ajax's speech at *Il.* 13.77-80, in which the speaker's μένος is at the forefront: οὕτω νῦν καὶ ἐμοὶ περὶ δούρατι χεῖρες ἄαπτοι | μαιμῶσιν, καὶ μοι μένος ὄρρορε, νέρθε δὲ ποσσὶν | ἔσσυμαι ἀμφοτέροισι· μενοινῶ δὲ καὶ οἷος | Ἴκτορι Πριαμίδῃ ἄμοτον μεμαῶτι μάχεσθαι⁷⁹. As to the meaning of μενοινῶ, S. *Aj.* 341 may be connected precisely with the scene in *Iliad* 6, and in a way that could persuasively explain the birth of the gloss μενοινᾶ = ὀρέγεται. As noted above, Tecmessa's τί ποτε μενοινᾶ; refers to Ajax's desire to see Eurysaces; similarly, the only occurrence of ὀρέγω/ὀρέγομαι in *Iliad* 6 refers to Hector's wish for physical contact with Astyanax (*Il.* 6.466): ὧς εἰπὼν οὗ παιδὸς ὀρέξατο φαίδιμος Ἴκτωρ.

Like μενοινᾶ in S. *Aj.* 341, ὀρέγομαι (here introduced by the narrator) is used in the third person. If, as I assume, an ancient critic glossed μενοινᾶ at S. *Aj.* 341 with ὀρέξατο at *Il.* 6.466, he would certainly have parsed ὀρέγομαι according to the verb form of μενοινᾶ attested in Sophocles' text, in keeping with the normal practice observed in scholiastic and lexicographic tradition: hence, the aorist ὀρέξατο would have been changed to the present ὀρέγεται. In *Iliad* 6, ὀρέξατο immediately follows Hector's highly emotional speech to Andromache (6.441-65), which the scholia to the *Ajax* quote in relation to Tecmessa's speech (Schol. S. *Aj.* 501b), and closely precedes the scene of the helmet (*Il.* 6.467-75, refashioned in a darker light by Sophocles at *Aj.* 545-9⁸⁰) and Hector's speech to Astyanax (*Il.* 6.476-81), quoted in the

⁷⁸ Moreover, Tecmessa's agitated mood (see Schol. *Aj.* 340b) mirrors Andromache's apprehension in *Iliad* 6, which makes her run to the rampart μαινομένη εἰκυῖα (6.389: cf. 22.460 μαινάδι ἴση, referring to Andromache's similar running after Hector's death).

⁷⁹ See Janko *ad loc.*: "Ajax's words are full of μένος, since μαιμάω, μενοινᾶω, ἄμοτον and μεμαῶς are all from that root". This passage could also have influenced S. *Aj.* 50 καὶ πῶς ἐπέσχε χεῖρα μαιμῶσαν φόνου; (cited in *Suda* μ 327 Adler *s.v.* μαιμῶσα, μαιμῶσα; see Finglass *ad loc.*). On μένος in Homer, see especially Dodds 1951, 8-10, Bremmer 1983, 57-60, Claus 1981, 24-26, 35-37, Jahn 1987, 39-45 and *LfggE s.v.* μένος (with further bibliography).

⁸⁰ At *Il.* 6.467-70, Astyanax is afraid of his father because of the plume of his helmet (ἀνδ' ὁ πάϊς πρὸς κόλπον ἐϋζώνοιο τιθήνης | ἐκλίνθη ἰάχων, πατρὸς φίλου ὄψιν ἀτυχθεῖς, | ταρβήσας χαλκόν τε ἰδὲ λόφον ἰπιοχαίτην, | δεινὸν ἀπ' ἀκροτάτης κόρυθος νεύοντα νοήσας), which prompts his parents' laughs (6.471) and the removal of the helmet (6.472-3). Contrariwise, at S. *Aj.* 545-7, while holding the baby in his arms, Ajax boastfully claims that Eurysaces, if he is really his own son, will not be frightened by the sight of the blood (αἶρ' αὐτόν, αἶρε δεῦρο· ταρβήσει γὰρ οὐ, | νεοσφαγῆ ἴτουτονδε† προσλεύσσω φόνον, | εἶπερ δικαίως ἔστ' ἐμὸς τὰ πατρόθεν; see Finglass *ad loc.*).

scholia to the *Ajax* (Schol. *S. Aj.* 550) and evidently reworked by Sophocles under the influence of the Homeric model.

Given the similarity of the contexts in which *μενοινάω* and *ὀρέγομαι* feature, it would have been an easy step for an ancient critic or grammarian to explain Ajax's *μενοινᾶν* with Hector's *ὀρέγεσθαι*. Such gloss would find its *raison d'être* in the fact that both *μενοινάω* and *ὀρέγομαι* are neither deployed in their usual meaning nor in familiar contexts. As for *μενοινάω* at *S. Aj.* 341, not only was the term unfamiliar to tragedy (and as such it would have been perceived by ancient critics), but also occurs with an indeterminate object (τῷ) — two circumstances which would invite explanation via a more transparent *interpretamentum*. As for *ὀρέξατο* at *Il.* 6.466, it equally does not fall in any of the attested Homeric meanings and/or constructions of *ὀρέγω/ὀρέγομαι*, that is, (1) “stretch out” (with *χείρ* or other body parts and/or physical extensions) in either (a) active⁸¹ or (b) middle and passive⁸², or (2) “give”, “hand”, “hold out”⁸³.

True, *ὀρέξατο* at *Il.* 6.466 has some remote connection with meaning (1b) insofar as it indicates Hector's stretching of his hands toward Astyanax (cf. *Il.* 23.99, where the hands are mentioned), but in those examples *ὀρέγομαι* (always in the middle) is construed absolutely⁸⁴, whereas at *Il.* 6.466 it governs the obligatory genitive οὗ παιδός. This leaves *Il.* 6.466 as the only epic attestation of *ὀρέγομαι* for which a meaning compatible with *μενοινάω* (i.e. “seek for”, “aim at”, “grasp at” + obligatory genitive) can be suggested. Though attested only here in Homer, this meaning and collocation of *ὀρέγομαι* gained currency in Late Archaic and Classical Attic texts (tragedy, oratory, historiography, and philosophy) until it became the predominantly or exclusively attested use of *ὀρέγομαι*⁸⁵: see Tyrt. 12.12 *IEG*², *E. Ion* 842, *Or.* 303, 327, *Archelaus* fr. 240 *TrGF*, Antipho 2.2.12.4, all of the 17 occur-

⁸¹ See *Il.* 1.351, 15.371, 22.37, *Od.* 9.527, 12.257, 17.366, 24.743, *P. Pyth.* 4.240, *A. Ag.* 1111, *E. Med.* 902, *Hcl.* 844, *Pho.* 103, 1710, *S. OC* 843, 1130, *Ar. Av.* 1760, *Hdt.* 2.2.18.

⁸² See *Il.* 4.307, 5.851, 11.26, 13.20, 13.190, 16.314, 16.322, 16.834, 23.99, 23.805, 24.506, *Od.* 11.392, 21.53, *Hes. Th.* 178, *h. Cer.* 15, [*Hes.*] *Scut.* 456, *E. Hel.* 353b, 1238, *Emp.* 31 B 129.4 D-K.

⁸³ See (+ *κῆδος* = “give glory”) *Il.* 5.33, 5.225, 5.260, 11.79, 12.174, 15.596, 15.602, 17.453, 22.57, *Od.* 4.275, *Hes. Th.* 433; (+ *εὐχος* = “give pride”) *Il.* 12.328, 13.327, 22.130, *S. Ph.* 1203; (+other objects) *Il.* 23.406 (*τάχος*), 24.102 (*δέπας*), *Od.* 15.312 (*κοτύλην καὶ πύρνον*), *Od.* 17.407 (*τόσσον*), and also *h. Merc.* 496, *P. Pyth.* 3.110, *Nem.* 7.58, *Bacchyl.* 5.114, *Ar. Av.* 1102.

⁸⁴ At *Il.* 16.314, 16.322 and 23.805, although *ὀρέγομαι* and *φθάνω* appear to share the same direct object, the relevant accusatives are governed, strictly speaking, by *φθάνω*. See Richardson on *Il.* 23.805-6.

⁸⁵ For *ὀρέγομαι* + infinitive, a further development of *ὀρέγομαι* + genitive, see n. 44.

rences in Isocrates⁸⁶, 9 out of 10 in Thucydides⁸⁷, 22 out of 27 in Xenophon⁸⁸, 7 out of 14 in Plato⁸⁹, 5 out of 5 in the Demosthenic corpus⁹⁰.

Evidently, if ὀρέγομαι had to be used as an *interpretamentum* in technical works devoted to the explication of high poetry, its “Attic” meaning (“seek for”) and collocation (with obligatory genitive) would have been selected in the first place. In the case under discussion, there was one more reason to do so, namely that this meaning and construction were attested in Homer, even if once. The semantic and syntactical overlap between μενοινάω and ὀρέγομαι, combined with the similarity of the two contexts, would have assisted the connection.

Two different scenarios could explain the formation of the gloss μενοινᾶ = ὀρέγεται. In the simpler hypothesis, the gloss independently blossomed in school practice or in scholarly works on Homer and/or Sophocles in order to explain what was certainly felt as a hard Homerism or to register another sign of Homer’s persistence in Sophocles’ text. Alternatively, and more interestingly, the gloss μενοινᾶ = ὀρέγεται could itself be the relic of a more extended note comparing Ajax’s longing for Eurysaces with Hector’s desire to embrace Astyanax. This view is encouraged by the extended comparison between *Ajax* and *Iliad* 6 attested in the *scholia vetera* to *Ajax* discussed above, which even suggest that a good deal of attention was devoted precisely to Ajax’s and Hector’s fatherly role and approaches to their children: there would have been every reason to push this comparison further than the meagre remnants surviving in the scholia⁹¹. Over time, an exegetical note so drafted could easily have been reduced to a gloss, retaining its basic information –Sophocles’ (possibly exceptional?) use of μενοινάω + accusative (“seek for”) as a synonym of ὀρέγομαι + genitive (“yearn for”)– and losing all the rest (e.g. original quotations, paraphrases of the two passages, scholarly considerations on the parallel, etc.). The modifications would have affected the indication of the author’s name (Sophocles), which could have been confused with another one (Aeschylus) in the scholium⁹² and omitted

⁸⁶ See Isoc. 1.2, 1.5, 1.38, 1.46, 1.51, 1.52, 13.4, 2.2, 9.80, 6.105, 8.7, 8.23, 8.62, 8.144, 15.217, 5.134, 2.18.

⁸⁷ See Thuc. 2.61.4, 2.65.10, 4.17.4, 4.21.3, 4.41.4, 4.92.2, 6.10.5, 6.16.6, 6.83.1.

⁸⁸ See Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.6, 6.5.42, *Mem.* 1.2.15, 1.2.16, 3.1.1, 4.2.23, *Smp.* 4.43, 8.23, 8.35, *Cyr.* 2.4.21, 8.2.22, *Hier.* 7.1, 7.3, 9.7, *Ages.* 1.4, 1.35, *Lac.* 2.13, 7.3, *Vect.* 2.7 (bis), 3.11, *Eq. mag.* 1.23.

⁸⁹ See Plat. *Phd.* 65c9, 75b1, *Resp.* 439b1, 572a2, *Leg.* 714a4, 757c7, 807c6.

⁹⁰ Dem. 4.42, 16.22, [Dem.] 61.20, 61.41, 61.52. See also Antisth. fr. 117.53 Decleva Caizzi = 82.42 Prince (with n. *ad loc.*).

⁹¹ Further topics for comparison might have been οἰκονομία and narrative coherence (see Nünlist 2009, 23-34, with references) or characterization (see Nünlist 2009, 246-254).

⁹² A source of confusion could have been Hsch. μ 71 Cunningham μαμῆ: ἐνθουσιᾶ καὶ

from Hesychius' lexicon for reasons inherent to the textual transmission of that work⁹³. Comparable scenarios, in which the original *loci classici* have been obscured in textual transmission, can be envisaged for each of the *interpretamenta* attached to Schol. M *Od.* 13.381 and Hsch. μ 855 — φροντίζει, μεριμνᾷ, and προθυμεῖται⁹⁴— and the process could have been assisted by the very fact that all four *interpretamenta* were joined together at some point in our sources.

Speculations on the source(s) and chronology of Schol. M *Od.* 13.381 and Hsch. μ 855 will not get us too far. It has been observed that all four of the *interpretamenta* attached to μενοινᾷ may come from *loci classici* of different yet widely-read authors (Pindar, Euripides, Sophocles, and Homer himself) and/or to exegetical works dealing with their works⁹⁵. The fact that two of these, προθυμεῖται and μεριμνᾷ, are juxtaposed in the lexicon of Apollonius the Sophist (1st century CE) and that all four appear, separately or in combination, in the *Odyssey* manuscripts supposedly preserving vestiges of Alexandrian scholarship (H and M)⁹⁶ might suggest a Hellenistic or early

ὄξεως ὄρμᾳ, ἢ ὀρέγεται, προθυμεῖται (cf., with minor variations, Hsch. μ 75, 81 and 83). Even if the *locus classicus* of the *interpretamenta* is very likely *Il.* 13.75 (μαιμάωσι co-occurs with 13.73 θυμός and 13.74 ἐφορμάται: cf. Scholl. *Il.* 5.661 and 13.75 van Thiel, Apoll. Soph. 109.31 Bekker), μαιμάω is certainly attested in A. *Supp.* 895 μαίμᾳ πέλας δίπους ὄφις (see Sideras 1971, 90, FJ/W *ad loc.*) and may be the *locus classicus* of μαίμᾳ ... ὀρέγεται. If so, the attribution of the *interpretamentum* ὀρέγεται to Aeschylus could have been inadvertently transferred to μενοινᾷ = ὀρέγεται and the process could have been assisted by the regular use of προθυμοῦμαι as *interpretamentum* of μενοινᾷ, μαιμάω and μέμονα (see e.g. Schol. T *Il.* 13.155 Erbse μένος: τὴν προθυμίαν, παρὰ τὸ μένος τὸ προθυμοῦμαι ὅθεν καὶ ὁ μέμονα παρακείμενος, Schol. *Il.* 1.590 van Thiel, Schol. *Od.* 4.416c, 4.700a, Schol. A. *Sept.* 686d Smith, etc.).

⁹³ See above with n. 45 and Tosi 2015.

⁹⁴ For προθυμεῖται and μεριμνᾷ see above on E. *Cyc.* 447-9 and P. *Nem.* 11.45 respectively. As to μενοινᾷ = μεριμνᾷ, the origin of the gloss might be etymological: the *interpretamentum* in Schol. *Od.* 2.34e Pontani (cited above: cf. Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.894 Wendel) is also found in P. Amh. 18 vii.96 μερμη[ρι]ξεν· διεμεριμναι and P. Strasb. inv. G. 33 iii.27 μερμηριξεν· ε[μ]ερι[μνησε]ν, and might refer to *Il.* 15.82 (cf. Apoll. Soph. 111.15-16 Bekker, cited at n. 7). Even if no *locus classicus* can be suggested (nor is one strictly needed: Tosi 1988, 34-35, 117), the gloss μενοινήσειε = μεριμνήση in Apollonius the Sophist is mirrored in Schol. T *Il.* 15.82d1 Erbse μενοινήσειε τε πολλά· ὁ ἀνήρ δηλονότι πολλά μέρη τῆς γῆς ἐννοήσεται and Schol. BCE³E⁴ *Il.* 15.82d2 Erbse (for the etymological derivation of μεριμνᾷω from μερμερίζω, μερίζω and μέρος, see Schol. HM⁴V *Od.* 1.427e1 Pontani, Schol. BCE³E⁴T *Il.* 2.3c Erbse, *EM* 580.16-18, 25-8 Gaisford). Alternatively, but less likely, μεριμνᾷ could have been added next to φροντίζει because of their regular co-occurrence in scholia and lexica: see e.g. Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 638 Jones, Schol. H E. *Med.* 61mi.4 Daitz, Schol. S. *Ant.* 20.11-12 Papageorgius.

⁹⁵ See Pontani 2005, 100-103 on the relations between the *Odyssey* scholia and other scholiastic corpora.

⁹⁶ On the sources of Apollonius (Apion, the ancestors of the D-scholia, Aristarchus) see Erbse 1960, 407-432, Schenck 1974, Haslam 1994. On M, see n. 2; on H = London, British

Imperial chronology. In particular, the possible derivation of the individual *interpretamenta* from ancient exegetical works on Sophocles (μενοινᾶ = ὀρέγεται), Euripides (μενοινᾶ = προθυμεῖται) and Pindar (μενοινᾶ = φροντίζει)⁹⁷ univocally points to the activity of Didymus, who was credited, apart from *ὑπομνήματα* on Homeric poems, with the composition of commentaries on Pindar, Sophocles and Euripides, and a lexicon on tragedy (λέξις τραγική)⁹⁷, cited by Hesychius among the sources which Diogenianus, Hesychius' source, had epitomized⁹⁸. The evidence is obviously inconclusive, and different scenarios cannot be ruled out, including a possible derivation from works roughly contemporary with Didymus, e.g. Apion's *Γλωσσαι Ὀμηρικαί* (a source of both Apollonius the Sophist and Hesychius)⁹⁹, or from the activity of pre-Alexandrian γλωσσογράφοι¹⁰⁰.

Whatever the truth, the gloss μενοινᾶ = ὀρέγεται, doubtfully edited by Radt as Aeschylus fr. 486, is not Aeschylean at all: if my argument is sound, the gloss should be removed from any future edition of Aeschylus. At the same time, since the *locus classicus* of the gloss is very probably S. Aj. 341, the gloss should find a place among the ancient *testimonia* of Sophocles' *Ajax*, possibly as part of the broader exegetical comparison outlined in the Sophoclean *scholia vetera* between S. Aj. 333-595 and *Il.* 6.369-502.

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Library, Harl. 5674, see Pontani 2005, 208-217, esp. 213-215.

⁹⁷ See Braswell 2013, 46-47, Montana 2015, 175. On the preservation of Didymus' activity in Hesychius and the *Suda*, see Tosi 2003, Scattolin 2013.

⁹⁸ Hsch. *Epistula ad Eulogium* 3-4 Cunningham; on Diogenianus, see Bossi 2000, Schironi 2009, 47-52.

⁹⁹ On Apion's "translation" of Homer, for which he drew from Aristarchus' and other scholars' material, see Neitzel 1977, 202-207.

¹⁰⁰ See Dyck 1987.

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ABSTRACT

The paper contends that the gloss $\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\nu\tilde{\alpha}$... $\delta\acute{\rho}\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ attributed to Aeschylus (fr. 486) by Schol. M *Od.* 13.381 actually refers to Sophocles *Ajax* 341, as once suggested by Ludwig. The gloss was probably meant to explain $\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\nu\tilde{\alpha}$ by means of $\delta\acute{\rho}\epsilon\zeta\alpha\tau\omicron$ (*Il.* 6.466) and may be another relic of a broader comparison between S. *Aj.* 333-595 and *Il.* 6.369-502 attested in the *scholia vetera* to Sophocles.

KEYWORDS

Homeric scholarship and *scholia*, Hesychius, lexicography, *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, Aeschylus, Sophocles.