

TEXTUAL NOTES ON HERODAS *MIM.* 8, *ENHYPNION OR THE DREAM*

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In connection with another project, I had the opportunity in August 2014 to study the papyrus fragments of Herodas' eighth mime, 'Dream' (Ἐνύπνιον), which is kept in the British Library in London.¹ The following are some observations and suggestions on the text. Recorded readings depend to a large degree on the text and apparatus of I. C. Cunningham's Teubner edition.² The eighth mime of Herodas describes a dream the narrator had, which he tells to his servant Annas.³ He dreamed he encountered Dionysos and a group of goatherds, who slaughtered the goat he was leading. They all performed the frolic known as *askoliasmos* (dancing on an inflated wineskin) and, after an altercation with an old man, the narrator was awarded the prize, perhaps jointly with the old man. Then follows the interpretation of the dream. The narrator equates the goat with a poetic gift from Dionysos, which critics will rend asunder, but which will bring him fame for the writing of limping iambic verse. The piece is clearly a poetic self-evaluation and advertisement by Herodas, bringing in Dionysos and his cult through a dream experience. The text is very fragmentary; what remains is transmitted mainly in a London papyrus (Pap. 135 = Pap. Egerton 1 = P) with line endings from lines 67-75 in P.Oxy. 22.2326 (= O).⁴

15 v.[...]ς φρένας. Editors have been content with νηπίας, 'childish, silly', here, and this is indeed a possibility. But a rarer word – and one therefore which Herodas might have favoured – would be νωθέας, 'slow, sluggish, dim'. Palaeographically only the nu and final sigma are in any way secure. Both νωθής and νωθρός are used of the understanding to denote dim-wittedness (see LSJ *ad locc.*). νωθέας would be Ionic accusative plural for

¹ My thanks go to Cillian O'Hogan there for help in obtaining access to the papyrus.

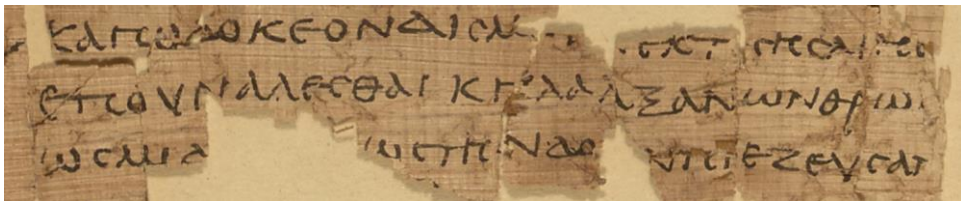
² Leipzig 1987, in combination with his 1971 Oxford edition with commentary. There is also the voluminous Italian edition by Lamberto Di Gregorio, *Eronda. Mimiambi (V-XIII)* Milan 2004, which does not add very much to Cunningham in this respect. Older works are: R. Herzog, 'Der Traum des Herondas', *Philologus* 79, 1924, 386-433, to which A. D. Knox, 'The Dream of Herodas', *CR* 39, 1925, 13-15, responded, with further suggestions. For background and discussion see now Graham Zanker, *Herodas Mimiambi*, Oxford (Aris and Phillips) 2009.

³ Or possibly his maid Anna, see Cunningham (1971, 198).

⁴ The first edition was by F. G. Kenyon, *Classical texts from papyri in the British Museum*, London 1891. A facsimile was published by the British Museum in 1892, but it is unhelpful for the eighth mime as at the time of publication the fragments were not properly placed. See Cunningham (1971, 195) for details of the history of the reconstruction of the many fragments of this mime.

Attic $\nu\omega\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$. This reading might have the edge semantically over $\nu\eta\pi\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$, which means ‘childish, silly’, rather than ‘dim’. In *Il.* 11.559 the donkey in a simile is said to be ‘unheeding’ ($\nu\omega\theta\eta\varsigma$) when children belabour it with sticks, whilst their efforts are described as $\nu\eta\pi\acute{\iota}\eta$ (561).

44 εἰς ἔν γέλως τε κἀνή [.....]εντα P. Here the narrator explains how in the Dionysiac revel he experienced that night ‘everything – laughter and pain – was [—] into one’. Conjectures here have been $\nu\alpha\mu\iota\chi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha$ (Knox), ‘mixed up’, $\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha$ (Herzog), ‘mixed’. Both are indeed possibilities, whereby $\kappa\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\nu\omicron\mu\iota$ is perhaps more commonly used of mixing liquids (e.g. wine and water) than things or qualities. The prodelision of alpha required by Knox’s conjecture can be paralleled in Herodas by 2.43 (εἶς ἄνείπη). As an alternative to these I suggest $\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\chi\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha$, ‘all was a turmoil of laughter and pain’. $\tau\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega$, I think, suits the chaotic Dionysiac scene described, showing how everything was upside down and thrown around, like the people falling around on the wine-skin, which the narrator describes. One might also consider $\mu\epsilon\theta\upsilon\sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha$ from $\mu\epsilon\theta\upsilon\sigma\kappa\omega$, ‘make drunk’, as that, too, would suit the Dionysiac revel, but perhaps the sense $\mu\epsilon\theta\upsilon\sigma\kappa\omega$ εἰς ἔν, ‘make drunk into one’ is stretching things.



Herodas *Mim.* 8, ll. 45-47. London Pap. 135 = Pap. Egerton 1 © The British Library Board

45 κἀγω δόκεον δις μ...[.]. ἐκ τῶσης λιης P. Apart from the gap in the middle of the line, $\lambda\iota\eta$ has caused problems. Knox reads $\lambda\epsilon\iota\eta$, explaining this as ‘strages (sc. *stratorum corporum* as expressed in Quint. *Decl.* IV.17) but perhaps the simile is from ungathered booty’. This is certainly difficult, as Cunningham (1971) says; he tentatively accepts an extension of Hesychius’ definition of $\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$ as $\eta\tau\omega\upsilon\theta\epsilon\rho\epsilon\mu\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\upsilon\alpha\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\eta$, ‘herd of animals’ (Herzog) to apply to humans. But $\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$ = ‘flock’ (of *animals*) is used in contradistinction to people (see LSJ s.v.). Presumably the word here has nothing to do with the $\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$ mentioned in *Mim.* 7.57, which are a type of women’s footwear.⁵ Herzog’s suggestion $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ $\tau\epsilon$ $\gamma\eta\varsigma$ $\lambda\epsilon\iota\eta$ was rightly rejected by Knox in his review (above n. 2) for palaeographic and syntactic reasons. I wonder whether we should not instead read $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\eta\varsigma$ ($\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ τῶσης $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\eta\varsigma$), which various ancient dictionaries define as $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$, or a dissolution of order.⁶ The word would refer to the chaotic competition between vying parties ($\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$), which Herodas has just described. Eustathius (*Comm. ad Il.* 1 p. 168 line 15) has an interesting note: ὅθεν καὶ

⁵ Cf. Luis Gil, ‘Λεῖαι, un calzado femenino (Herodas VII, 57)’, *Emerita*, vol. XXII, 1954, 211-14.

⁶ Herodianus Gr. 1.306 <λή> ἢ $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ ἀπὸ τῆς διαλύσεως; *Et. Mag.* s.v. $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\eta$, *Et. Gudanium* $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\eta$, ἢ $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$, παρὰ τὸ $\lambda\upsilon\theta\eta\eta\alpha\iota$ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν· Schol. vet. *Il.* 8.240a Erbse: τὸ γὰρ ἐναντίον $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\eta$ ἀπὸ τῆς διαλύσεως. Eustat. *Comm. ad Il.* 1 p. 168, line 12: τὸ γὰρ τοῦτου ἀνάπαλιν παράγει τὴν $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\eta\eta$, ὃ σημαίνει τὴν $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$, ὃ ἔστι διάστασις, παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, τὴν διαλυτικὴν τῆς συνδετικῆς ὁμονοίας.

Διόνυσος Λυαῖος, οὐ μόνον ὡς ἐκλύων μέλη, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ αἴτιος εἶναι λύης τοιαύτης ἐν τῷ ἀμέτρως πίνεσθαι, ‘hence Dionysos is called Lyaios, not only because he loosens the limbs, but because he is responsible for such commotion (λύη) in immoderate drinking’. This explanation suits our context particularly well as it is precisely the commotion of a Dionysiac festival which Herodas is describing. The iotacism of λι-/λύ- is, of course, common in papyri generally, though not in this P. Lond.; the scribe does, however, routinely write iota for -ει-. For the gap in mid-line Herzog’s μούνος gives good sense, although, as the fragments of the papyrus are mounted at present, the space looks rather small to me for the required five letters after mu. Assuming, however, that μούνος is right – it receives some confirmation from line 73 (ὡς δόκευν ἔχειν μούνος), where Herodas assesses the significance of the dream – we get the sense ‘And I alone among this great confusion (or ‘medley’) appeared to jump twice upon (sc. the skin)’. This seems to me an improvement on the puzzling λείης of previous editions.⁷

70 κρεω[.....]νυνο P:]αμεδαινυνο O. Without O editors confidently supplemented κρεῶν ἐδαίνυνο, ‘they feasted on the meat’ (sc. of the goat), although, as Cunningham points out, δαίνυμαι only very rarely takes a genitive object (partitive). When O was placed, however, we are confronted with a puzzling -αμ- before ἐδαίνυνο. Cunningham wondered about an otherwise unattested noun κρέαμα, ‘meatiness’ (perhaps), but this is unlikely. Barigazzi suggested κρέα ἄμ, but ἄμα is not required by the sense. Combining P’s omega with O’s reading I wonder whether we might read κρέα ὦμ’ ἐδαίνυνο, ‘they dined on raw meat’, with synaloiphe of the vowels -α ω-, as is quite common in Herodas: e.g. line 3 of this mime εὖ ἦλιος, 6 καὶ ἄνον, 13 τῆι οἰκιῃ. We know, of course, that eating *raw* meat was typical of certain Bacchic rites, so might be in place in this dream festival of Dionysos. Specifically, we would have to posit in P: κρεωμεδαινυνο, where the scribe has represented the glide -α ω- by omega, and in O: κρεαμεδαινυνο, where the same is represented by alpha. That seems to me a possible confusion. The reading has the advantage of preserving the transmitted letters better, and of avoiding a questionable δαίνυμαι + genitive.

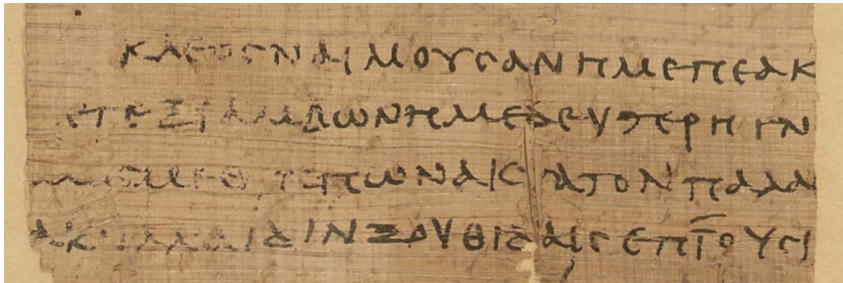
72 ωδεγω[. . .]το. The first letters are in P, the ending το is on O (P.Oxy. 2326). G. Crane suggested in *HSCP* 90, 1986, 85, ὠδέ γ’ ὠιοντο, ‘so they thought’ or ‘judged’, referring to the opinions of the critics.⁸ But the tense here (imperfect) does not go well with the prediction that many *will* pluck his poems to pieces (τιλεῦσιν). Before the placing of P.Oxy. 2326 by Barigazzi, scholars took the sense to be something like ‘thus did I judge this aspect of my dream’: e.g. ὠδε γοῶν κρίνω (Headlam); ὠδ’ ἐγὼ [κρίνω] (Herzog). Cunningham suggested doubtfully in his apparatus either ὠιστο ‘so at least it presaged’⁹ or, with the poems as subject, ὠλλυτο, ‘they were destroyed’, or ὠπτῶτο, ‘roasted’. He remarked himself in his 1971 Oxford edition that ‘the truth may lie in another direction’. I

⁷ One might also object to λείης that the reading should, strictly speaking, in Herodas’ literary Ionic dialect, be λήης, which is certainly not the reading of the papyrus; cf. Cunningham (1971) ad loc.

⁸ P. 89: ‘If we read ὠδέ γ’ ὠιοντο, then 72 concludes by summarizing the impressions of his critics, who appear as goatherds in the dream.’

⁹ With middle ὠιστο as in *Od.* 19.312.

suggest now ὠδέ γ' ὄριστο (pluperfect passive of ὀρίζω) with the sense 'so at least was it ordained', with a common meaning of ὀρίζω, 'ordain, determine, lay down' (LSJ s.v. III). The expression, then, rounds off the interpretation of the first part of the dream, as early editors thought.



Herodas Mim. 8, ll. 76-79. London Pap. 135 = Pap. Egerton 1 © The British Library Board

76-79 Cunningham (1971) is right that much uncertainty surrounds these concluding lines as their beginnings and ends are missing. He acknowledges gloomily that 'supplements can be found to fit most preconceptions'. At the risk of doing no more than illustrating that last statement I offer a possible reconstruction of these lines:¹⁰

εἴη] κλέος, ναὶ Μοῦσαν, ἢ μ' ἔπεα κ[τῆσθαι
 μέγ' ἐξ ἰάμβων, ἢ με δευτέρη γν[ώμη
 ἐ]ϋθὺς μετ' Ἴππώνακτα τὸν πάλαι [δρμὺν
 τ]ὰ κύλλ' ἀείδειν Ξουθίδης ἐπ[ε]ίγουσιν.

'... yes, by the Muse, may it be that I either win great fame for words from my iambs, or that I on second reckoning, directly after wily old Hipponax, sing my limping verses to Ionians, who urge me on.'

Specific points are discussed in order.

76 There seems to be room for two letters at line beginning; I assume the scribe wrote η, in his usual manner, for εἴη, expressing a wish. I take ἔπεα here as accusative of respect, 'fame *for* words'.

78 At line beginning Herzog read ἐμοῖς; Cunningham prints .μ.ς. To me only the sigma was anything like plausible. Before that one can see the bottoms of a number of letters, admitting many possibilities, and excluding only letters with long descenders such as rho and phi. I suggest, without any confidence, εὐθὺς, 'straight', 'directly', taken with μετ' Ἴππώνακτα, 'in the direct line of descent from Hipponax'.

¹⁰ For discussion of previous attempts cf. Di Gregorio pp. 390-94, who does not make his own suggestion. For comparison, Enzo Degani (following Crusius), *Studi su Ipponatte* (= Spudasmata vol. 89), Hildesheim 2002, p. 51 and 103 n. 145, writes: ἔξω] κλέος, ναὶ Μοῦσαν, ἢ μ' ἔπεα κ[άμπει, / μ]έγ' ἐξ ἰάμβων, ἢ με δευτέρη γν[ώμη / ἐ]μοῖς μετ' Ἴππώνακτα τὸν πάλαι [χρῆσται / τ]ὰ κύλλ' ἀείδειν Ξουθίδης ἐπέουσιν. R. Herzog, 'Der Traum', 392, wrote: οἶσω] κλέος, ναὶ Μοῦσαν, ἢ μ' ἔπεα κ[άμειν / θέ]λετ' ἐξ ἰάμβων, ἢ με δευτέρη γν[ώμη / μ]ίμ[ο]ς μετ' Ἴππώνακτα τὸν πάλαι [κείνον / τ]ὰ κύλλ' ἀείδειν Ξουθίδης ἐπέουσι.

Δριμύν can mean ‘wily, crafty’, ‘with sharp wits’, which seems to suit Hipponax’ verse, but it is only a guess.

79 τ]ὰ κύλλ’ ἀείδειν Ξουθίδης †επιουσι[This seems to mean ‘to sing limping verse (*i.e.* choliamb) to the sons of Xouthos (*i.e.* Ionians)’, then comes a word which has caused trouble. As Cunningham records, this has been explained as ἐπ(ε)ίουσι, participle of ἐπέω = ἔπειμι, ‘to come after’, ‘to succeed’. This sense would be ‘to future generations of Ionians’. That makes sense, particularly after the reference to ‘old Hipponax’ in the previous line, but ἐπέουσι (= ἐπίουσι) is not a convincing form: Cunningham remarks: ‘vix credible’. And regular ἐπίουσι (dat. pl. ἐπίων) has short first iota; the scribe deliberately writes a *longa* above this iota (as well as accent: επῖ) to stress the length. Casting around for a solution I wonder whether we should not read ἐπέιγουσι, participle from ἐπέιγω. It is the scribe’s habit to write iota for ει; otherwise he would only have forgotten gamma, perhaps explicable by the similarly shaped iota just before. Sometimes we find an extraneous gamma written in papyri as a glide between vowels; this might be an instance of the reverse process: the omission of gamma because it was hardly pronounced. Palaeographically, then, one would represent the reading as ἐπ(ε)ί(γ)ουσι[ν] (probably with final nu). The sense would be ‘to Ionians who encourage me/urge me on’ *i.e.* to a favourable audience of Ionians. Herodas would be saying in his final self-appraisal that, following in the footsteps of Hipponax, he sees his calling to sing his mimes to Ionians who ‘bid him do this’. ἐπέιγουσι here would pick up the enthusiasm of the audience in the dream: κηλάαξαν ὄνθρωποι. As they egged him on in the *askōliastos*, so he interprets his dream to mean that his audience of Ionians is behind him in his verse-making. Summarizing both halves of the ‘interpretation’ section of the poem, we see that Herodas is saying that on the one hand those ‘versed in the Muses’ (*i.e.* the Alexandrian critics and rivals)¹¹ will pluck his poems to pieces, but his audience on the other hand (μήν 73) will encourage him in his efforts, indeed will accord him fame second only, perhaps, to Hipponax himself.

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¹¹ For a discussion who these might be, see Zanker (2009) 233-35.

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