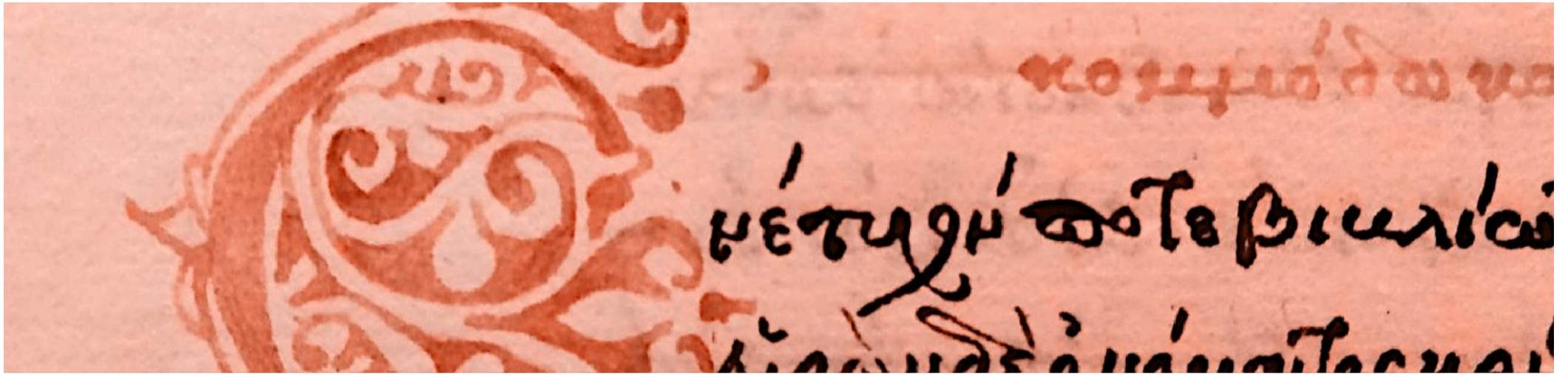




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PURA. *Purism In Antiquity: Theories Of Language in Greek Atticist Lexica and their Legacy*



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Lexicographic entries

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αὐτόκερας, αὐτόκρατον

(Phryn. *PS* 1.9–11, Phryn. *PS* 29.13–5, Poll. 6.23–4)

A. Main sources

(1) Phryn. *PS* 1.9–11: αὐτόκερας· σημαίνει τὸ αὐτό<κρατον οἶον εὐ>κέραστον καὶ συμμετρῶς κεκρασμένον ἤγουν πεφυκὸς κεράννουσθαι. εἴρηται δὲ καὶ ἐπιρρηματικῶς.

αὐτόκερας Kaibel (1899, 19) : αὐτοκέρας cod. | Kaibel integrated αὐτοκέρας· αὐτόκρατον, οἶον εὐκέραστον, συμμετρῶς κεκραμένον from Σ^b α 2468 [= Σ'] | ἤγουν Bekker (1814–1821 vol. 1, 3.11) : ὀτιοῦν cod. || εἴρηται δὲ καὶ de Borries (1911, 1) : καὶ εἴρηται δὲ cod. : {καὶ} εἴρηται δὲ Bekker | εἴρηται δὲ καὶ ἐπιρρηματικῶς <αὐτοκέρας> de Borries, though <αὐτόκερας> would be a better option.

αὐτόκερας: It means αὐτόκρατον ('self-mixed'), like εὐκέραστον ('well-mixed') and συμμετρῶς κεκρασμένον ('conveniently mixed'), that is, already disposed by nature for mixing. It is also used as an adverb.

(2) Phryn. *PS* 29.13–5: αὐτόκρατον· ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀμιγούς καὶ ἀκεράστου καὶ ἀκράτου οἴνου. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς πολλοῖς καθωμίληται τὸ αὐτόκρατον ἐπὶ τοῦ συμμετρῶς κεκραμένου.

αὐτόκρατον: It is used for wine that is ἀμιγής ('unmixed'), ἀκέραστος ('self-mixed'), and ἄκρατος ('unmixed'). αὐτόκρατον is used among laymen for wine that is conveniently mixed.

(3) Poll. 6.23–4: καὶ ἄκρατος οἶνος, ἀμιγής πρὸς ὕδωρ, ἀμικτος. ἄκρατον σπάσαι. κεκραμένος, εὐκρατος εὐκρας εὐκραής, εὐκέραστος. αὐτόκρας ὁ μηδεμιᾶς προσθήκης δεόμενος, καὶ αὐτοκέρας καὶ αὐτόκρατον.

Wine ἄκρατος ('unmixed'), ἀμιγής ('unmixed') with water, ἀμικτος ('unmixed'), drink ἄκρατον ('unmixed wine'). κεκραμένος ('mixed'), εὐκρατος εὐκρας εὐκραής, εὐκέραστος ('well-mixed'). αὐτόκρας ('self-mixed'). Wine that does not require anything to be added, also αὐτοκέρας ('self-mixed') and αὐτόκρατον ('self-mixed').

(4) Σ^b α 2468 (~ Phot. α 3217, exΣ' ~ Su. α 4496) : αὐτοκέρας· αὐτόκρατον, οἶον εὐκέραστον, συμμέτρως κεκραμένον (= Σ' ~ Su. α 4496: αὐτοκέραστον· οἶον εὐκέραστον, συμμέτρως κεκραμένον ~ Phot. α 3217: αὐτοκέρας· αὐτόκρατον. Κρατίνος Νόμοις. καὶ αὐτοκέρης ὁ αὐτόκρατος).

αὐτοκέρας: αὐτοκέρας, like εὐκέραστον ('well-mixed'), conveniently mixed (*Suda*: αὐτοκέραστον ('self-mixed')): like εὐκέραστον ('well-mixed'), conveniently mixed; Photius: αὐτοκέρας ('self-mixed'): αὐτοκέρας. Cratinus [uses this form] in *Laws* (fr. 141). αὐτόκρατος is also called αὐτοκέρης).

B. Other erudite sources

(1) Ath. *Epit.* 1.32f–33a: χαριέστατος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ Χίος καὶ τοῦ Χίου ὁ καλούμενος Ἀριούσιος. διαφοραὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰσι τρεῖς· ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐστηρὸς ἐστίν, ὁ δὲ γλυκάζων, ὁ δὲ μέσος τούτων τῇ γεύσει αὐτόκρατος καλεῖται.

The wine from Chios is the most graceful, and of the Chian variety the so-called Ariusios. There are three varieties of it. For one is more austere, one is sweet, the middle type of these as far as taste is concerned is called αὐτόκρατος ('self-mixed').

(2) Hsch. α 8425: αὐτοκέρας· ὥρας μέτρον οὐκ ἐπιδεόμενον ἢ θερμοῦ <ἢ ψυχροῦ>, τουτέστιν τὸ τοῦ ἀέρος αὐτόκρατον, εὐκραές.

αὐτοκέρας ('self-mixed'): The time of a season which does not require either warm or cold, that is, self-mixed in air and well-mixed.

(3) Schol. Hom. *Od.* 2.421c: ἀκραῆ ζέφυρον· τὸ 'ἀκραῆ ζέφυρον κελάδοντα', καὶ τὸ 'ἐπλέομεν βορέῃ ἀνέμῳ ἀκραεῖ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἄκρως πνέοντα, ἀλλ' ἀκεράστως πνέοντα. τῆς γὰρ κράσεως τῶν ἀνέμων κατηγορεῖ τὸ δεινόν·(DEHM^a) λέγει γὰρ 'δεινὴ μισγομένων ἀνέμων ἐλθοῦσα θύελλα'. ἐπαινεῖ ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐπὶ οἴνου τὸ ἀκέραστον· 'ἐν δὲ πίθοι οἴνοιο παλαιοῦ ἡδυπότοιο | ἔστασαν ἄκρητον θεῖον ποτὸν ἐντὸς ἔχοντες'. οὕτως ἀκούσεις καὶ τὸ 'ὔδωρ ἐπιχεῦαι ἀκήρατον'. μή ποτ' οὔν καὶ νέκταρ τὸ καθαρὸν πόμα καὶ ἀκέραστον, καὶ ἀκραιφνεῖς οἱ θεοί. (DEH)

ἀκραῆ ζέφυρον: The passages 'Strong Zephyrus sounding' (*Od.* 2.421) and 'We sailed with the strong wind Boreas' (*Od.* 14.253) do not mean '(wind) blowing strongly', but rather '(wind) blowing unmixed'. For the poet refers to the danger of the mixing of winds. The poet says: 'Terrible storm of mixing winds coming' (*Od.* 5.317). Likewise, he also praises the purity of the wine: 'And there were jars of wine, old and sweet to drink, containing inside divine pure drink' (*Od.* 2.340–1). In this way you also find 'To pour pure water' (*Il.* 24.303). Perhaps, then, like the nectar is the pure and unmixed drink, so the gods are untouched.

C. *Loci classici*, other relevant texts

(1) Call. *Hec.* fr. 34 Hollis (= fr. 246 Pfeiffer):

ἐκ δ' ἔχεεν κελέβην, μετὰ δ' αὖ κεράς ἠφύσατ' ἄλλο

(She, i.e. Hecale) spilled the jug, then [she] drew another mixture of [hot and cold] water.

D. General commentary

Phrynichus ([A.1](#)) comments on the semantics of the rare word αὐτόκερας, which indicates wine that has been conveniently mixed by nature and does not need to be tempered with water (on the topic of wine-mixing, see also ζωρότερος, εὐζωρος, εὐζωρότερος[☞]). He then compares αὐτόκερας with synonyms such as αὐτόκρατον and εὐκέραστον. The first of the forms to which Phrynichus compares αὐτόκερας, αὐτόκρατον, is given a gloss of its own in the *PS* ([A.2](#)); the connection between [A.1](#) and [A.2](#) is apparent and reinforced by the fact that αὐτόκερας and αὐτόκρατον are also treated together by Pollux ([A.3](#)). Perhaps the two glosses of the *PS* were originally part of the same discussion, though they have later been separated for some unknown reason (comparable examples are collected by de Borries 1911, XXVIII). Finally, the gloss in Σ^b ([A.4](#)), together with the glosses in Photius and the *Suda* that derive from the first expansion of the *Synagoge* (Σ'), all go back to Phrynichus (see Cunningham 2003, 53 n. 108). For the sake of disambiguation, one should point out that recurring εὐκέραστος and συμμετρως κεκρασμένον do not mean that the wine has been tempered with water, but rather that the wine is ready by itself (i.e. αὐτο-) for mixing (for εὐκέραστος in opposition to ἄκρατος, one may compare Arist. *Pr.* 874a.28–9).

The aim of Phrynichus' glosses for αὐτόκερας and αὐτόκρατον is not immediately clear. These two words are virtually never attested in literary texts, save for the occurrence of αὐτόκρατος in Athenaeus ([B.1](#)). However, one concrete option is that while αὐτόκερας was a form that fell out of use, αὐτόκρατον may have been a commonly used term in Phrynichus' time. In such a case, one might envisage the possibility that αὐτόκερας and αὐτόκρατον were discussed together by Phrynichus, who presented the former as an Atticism and the latter as a more recent equivalent. Although we lack any direct evidence as to how widespread αὐτόκρατον was, the inference above becomes plausible if one takes on board Phrynichus' comment that αὐτόκρατον was common παρά τοῖς πολλοῖς 'among the laymen' ([A.2](#)); Athenaeus' comment that αὐτόκρατος was a variety of Chian wine ([B.1](#)) may well provide further support.

The derivation of αὐτόκερας and αὐτόκρατον from κεράννυμι is apparent. The difference in the root depends on the variation between full and zero apophonic grades and the outcome of the laryngeal suffix (see *DELG* s.v.). On the one hand, αὐτόκερας derives from *ker-h₂- > κέρα-, on which many other nominal formations depend (κέρασις, κέρασμα, etc.) – note that all verbal derivations from this basis (κεράω, κεράννυμι, etc.) are actually neoformations analogous to the ancient aorist κέρασαι (see *GEW* s.v.). On the other hand, αὐτόκρατον goes back to *k_ṛ-eh₂- > κρᾱ-, a comparable derivation that is particularly relevant for αὐτόκρατον being ἄκρᾱτος (with the initial prefix *h₃-). In both αὐτόκερας and αὐτόκρατον, the first element of the compound ('self') indicates that the wine has not been diluted with water. Phrynichus devotes a number of other glosses in the *PS* to compound words with a first element αὐτο- 'self-' (αὐτοβοάω, αὐτογνώμων, αὐθέντης, αὐτοκῆρυξ, αὐτοκέλευστος, αὐτομήνυτος, αὐτοχειρία), but in none of these cases does the semantics of the compound appear to be a matter of debate.

The closest comparandum in morphological terms is μετάκερας, which is also formed with the suffix -ας (though μετάκερας indicates warm or tepid water, see Arnott 1996, 416 and Hollis 2009, 171). That the suffix -ας has a short [a], and therefore that the correct accentuation is αὐτόκερας and μετάκερας, is demonstrated by the metrically guaranteed occurrence of μετὰ [...] κεράς in Callimachus (see [E.3](#)). The category of neuter nouns with the suffix -ας/-αος is fairly restricted (see Buck, Petersen 1945, 692 and Schwyzer, Debrunner 1950 vol. 1, 514–6), and αὐτόκερας and μετάκερας are rather peculiar cases. Derivates from κεράννυμι usually present the stem κερᾱ- and are later formations, which regularly display more common suffixes (-σις, -σμα/-σμός, -στος/-στικός, etc.; see *DELG* s.v. κεράννυμι). Thus, αὐτόκερας and μετάκερας are singled out by Chantraine (*DELG* s.v. κεράννυμι) as 'composés artificiels et inattendus'. The suffix -ας/-αος does appear in a number of words of deverbal origin, but these are usually old (mostly Homeric) forms, and none of them is a compound. On top of that, μετάκερας has a perfect equivalent in μετακέρασμα, which is first attested in the Hippocratic treatise *Acut.* 18 (dated at the latest to around

350 BCE, see Bartoš 2015, 4): not only is this first occurrence as old as those of *μετάκερας* in 4th-century comedy, but *μετακέρασμα* is a far less problematic derivation from *κερα-* than are *αὐτόκερας* and *μετάκερας*. To conclude, although it is unclear what Chantraine meant by describing *αὐτόκερας* and *μετάκερας* as ‘artificial’ creations, they are by all accounts unexpected.

Phrynichus ([A.1](#)) also attests to the adverbial use of *αὐτόκερας*. This is far from impossible. In terms of formation, one might compare *πέλας*, which was perhaps originally also a form in *-ας/-αος* (see Schwyzer, Debrunner 1950 vol. 1, 516), while a comparandum from the same word group of *αὐτόκερας* is the adverbial use of neuter plural *αὐτοκέραστα* in *Orac.Sib.* 8.135 ἄρξει δ’ αὐτοκέραστα θεοῦ βουλαῖσι μεγίστου (‘He will rule absolutely with the will of the greatest god’). An alleged cognate to adverbial *αὐτόκερας* is the adverb *κέρας*, which, according to a *Suda* gloss, occurs in Call. *Hec.* fr. 34 Hollis (= fr. 246 Pfeiffer) ([C.1](#)), but this interpretation of Callimachus’ line must be regarded as wrong (see [E.3](#)). On the basis of the interpretation in the *Suda* gloss, as well as reading the end of Phrynichus’ gloss as it had been edited by Bekker at that time (see [E.1](#)), Lobeck (1823, 223–4) tried to demonstrate that *αὐτόκερας* and *μετάκερας* could only be adverbs and never nouns. Besides the interpretative and textual difficulties posed by Lobeck’s reading of the *Suda* and Phrynichus’ glosses, his efforts to treat *μετάκερας* adverbially in all other remaining occurrences are unconvincing.

While Phrynichus attests to the use of *αὐτόκερας* for wine (see also Kassel and Austin’s discussion of Phot. *α* 3217 *ad* Cratin. fr. 141: ‘Cratinus credibilis dixisse [i.e. *αὐτόκερας*] de vino quam de aëre’), the Hesychian gloss on *αὐτοκέρας* ([B.2](#)) testifies to the use of this word in relation to the air. Similarly, the Homeric scholium establishes a (faulty) connection between *ἀκεράστως* and *ἀκραής* so as to support the view that *ἀκραής* refers to wind blowing ‘purely’ ([B.3](#)).

Finally, as far as its formation is concerned, the adjective *αὐτόκρατος* does not raise any issues (see *DELG* s.v. *κεράννυμι*). This form is attested in literature only in a passage of Athenaeus as one of three varieties of the Chian wine Ariousios ([B.1](#)).

E. Byzantine and Modern Greek commentary

N/A

F. Commentary on individual texts and occurrences

(1) Phryn. *PS* 1.9–11 ([A.1](#))

(i) Since *μετάκερας* is predominately attested in comedy, Kaibel (1899, 19) argued that the *locus classicus* of *αὐτόκερας* may be comedy as well. This is possible, though not the only option. A non-comic occurrence of *μετάκερας* is in fact [C.1](#), though Callimachus may be deliberately using a comic word (see further Hollis 2009, 171–2).

(ii) Kaibel rightly restored the proparoxytone accent in the lemma. However, paroxytone *αὐτοκέρας* is still printed by the editors in all other glosses (see Poll. 6.24, Hsch. *α* 8425, Σ^b *α* 2468, Phot. *α* 3217), the only exception being Kassel and Austin (*ad* Cratin. fr. 141) who restore *αὐτόκερας* in Phot. *α* 3217. At the end of the gloss de Borries restores <*αὐτοκέρας*>, which does not appear to be a necessary supplement. Even if this were the case, it would still be advisable to print <*αὐτόκερας*>, a comparable example being the similarly formed adverb *πέλας* (see Schwyzer, Debrunner 1950 vol. 1, 516).

(iii) In the *interpretamentum*, Kaibel restored αὐτό<κρατον οἶον εὐ>κέραστον in place of the transmitted αὐτοκέραστον. The latter form does exist, although only two occurrences are certain (see schol. Nic. *Al.* 163c <αὐτοκρηές δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ G²X> αὐτοκέραστον, ἀμιγές, ἄκρατον G²Xf, commenting on Nic. *Al.* 162–3 τῷ μὲν τ' ἐξ ἔδανοιο πόροις δέπας ἔμπλεον οἴνης, | Πράμνιον αὐτοκρηές, and adverbial αὐτοκέραστα in *Orac.Sib.* 8.135 ἄρξει δ' αὐτοκέραστα θεοῦ βουλαῖσι μεγίστου). The transmitted text αὐτοκέραστον can be easily explained as a conflation of αὐτόκρατον and εὐκέραστον. Kaibel's emendation, based on [A.4](#), is all the more convincing in light of αὐτόκρατον in [A.2](#). The form αὐτοκέραστος also occurs in *Su.* α 4496 αὐτοκέραστον· οἶον εὐκέραστον, συμμέτρως κεκραμένον, but this hardly constitutes sufficient proof for retaining the paradosis in Phrynichus. The evidence provided by [A.4](#) (which is ultimately the source of the *Suda* gloss) together with [A.3](#) make it a likely conclusion that the *lemma* αὐτοκέραστον in the *Suda* gloss is a corruption from αὐτόκρατον through the influence of εὐκέραστον. One may notice that [A.1](#) is still quoted as evidence for αὐτοκέραστος in LSJ s.v. and *GE* s.v., but this is to be regarded as a ghost-occurrence.

(iv) At the end of the *interpretamentum*, de Borries' εἴρηται δὲ καὶ ἐπιρρηματικῶς is a far more plausible emendation of transmitted καὶ εἴρηται δὲ than Bekker's {καὶ} εἴρηται δὲ. Although we have no direct occurrence of αὐτόκερας, its cognate form μετάκερας is frequently a substantive, and so one has reason to think that this may also have been the case with αὐτόκερας. Provided that αὐτόκερας was in fact used adverbially, this is more likely to be one of its possible uses.

(2) Phryn. *PS* 29.13–5 ([A.2](#))

Usually, the reason for Phrynichus to mention οἱ πολλοί is to condemn incorrect use or to provide a modern, or at least a more common, equivalent of older forms (examples are collected by Matthaios 2013, 95 and n. 138). In this gloss, however, it seems that παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς πολλοῖς καθωμίληται is employed to confirm the correct use of αὐτόκρατος. A parallel case is Phryn. *Ecl.* 375 στρόβιλον [...] τὸ δὲ ἐκκεκοκκισμένον ἔτι καὶ νῦν κόκκωνα λέγουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ὀρθῶς· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Σόλων ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ ποιήμασιν οὕτω χρῆται· [... = Sol. fr. 36 Gentili–Prato² = fr. 40 West²]. Partly comparable are *PS* 60.14–8 γρυμεία· ἦν οἱ πολλοὶ γρύτην καλοῦσιν [...] Σαπφῶ δὲ γρύτην καλεῖ τὴν μύρων καὶ γυναικείων τινῶν θήκην [= Sapph. fr. 179 L–P² = Voigt] and *PS* 61.1–4 γόμφιοι· [...] ἐν δὲ τῇ χρήσει τῶν πολλῶν ὀδόντες κλειδῶν καλοῦνται (cf. Ar. *Th.* 423).

(3) Call. *Hec.* fr. 34 Hollis (= fr. 246 Pfeiffer) ([C.1](#))

This instance of μετάκερας is not recorded in modern lexica, which follow a different interpretation of the *Hecale* fragment (see LSJ s.v. and *GE* s.v.). According to a *Suda* gloss, Callimachus' line provides evidence for the adverb κεράς (see *Su.* κ 1372 κεράς· ἐπίρρημα, ἀντὶ τοῦ κεραστικῶς. μετὰ δ' αὖ κεράς ἠφύσατ' ἄλλο. ὁ δὲ νοῦς· ἀπὸ τοῦ κεράσματος ἄλλο ἦντλησεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄγγους, ἐν ᾧ ἦν 'κεράς: adverb, instead of κεραστικῶς ['in a mixed way']: 'Then (she) drew another [amount of water?] in a mixed way'. The sense would be that, from the vessel in which it was kept, she drew other [water] from the mixture'). However, it is far more likely that, as first suggested by Rudolf Pfeiffer, Callimachus creates a parodic tmetic noun μετὰ [...] κεράς out of μετάκερας (see further Hollis 2009, 171 and Skempis 2010, 342–5). Nonetheless, it remains unclear why μετὰ [...] κεράς is treated as oxytone. It is not impossible that ancient readers of Callimachus came up with the interpretation of κεράς as an adverb in analogy with the adverbial use of αὐτόκερας (see [A.1](#) and [D.](#)).

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ABSTRACT

This article deals with the compounded adjectives αὐτόκερας and αὐτόκρατον, and other expressions for wine-mixing, discussed in the Atticist lexica Phryn. PS 1.9–11, Phryn. PS 29.13–5, and Poll. 6.23–4.

KEYWORDS

Compounds Compounds with a first element αὐτο- Wine -ας αὐτοκέραστος εὐκέραστος κεράννυμι κέρας μετάκερας μετακέρασμα πέλας

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