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DAIMON IN CLASSICAL GREEK LITERATURE

From the very beginning, it can be pointed out that the word δαίμων reflects the dynamism of the Greek vocabulary operating throughout the various periods of Greek literature. There is, of course, no single English equivalent. It is a word of tremendous range and significance. In its way, it reflects the dynamic range of Greek literature and thought. It is a convenient word for poetry since the one form satisfies both the masculine and feminine genders, and it has a vocative which θεὸς does not[1] δαίμων is a word of literature rather than cult. It is a word that is more generalized and less personalized than θεός. A systematic examination of the various Greek authors would tend to show that no ONE meaning was fixed upon the word until Christian times. The Christian vocabulary used to it to mean "an evil spirit", and in Modern Greek[2] ὁ δαίμονας = ὁ δαίμων means simply "The Devil". In the authors to be examined, we shall see that the word has a variety of meanings.

Though Homer will not be discussed at great length, some notice of him is unavoidable since all Greek literature must for us begin with Homer. A brief discussion of Homer's use of δαίμων will follow shortly. The observation has been made that even though the Homeric poet repeatedly refers to anthtropomorphic gods, the "cause of events" is not assigned by him to a specific θεός, but rather to a δαίμων or a θεός τις or Zeus. *Daimon,* generally is considered as a supernatural power rather than a personalized god, but also as a power exerting influence over the fortunes and lives of mankind[3]. The word even approaches the meaning of fate in such expressions as σὺν δαίμονι, πάρος τοι δαίμονα δώσω. The tragedians retain the old reference to a specific manifestation in such expressions as ὁ παρὼν δαίμων.

People also refer to a good and evil *daimon* that follows one through life. The term is not generally applied to cult gods, but to less definite gods.

To categorize generally[4], we might say that an investigation of classical Greek literature would lead to the discovery of the following meanings for δαίμων: *(1)* The use of the word to signify a god or goddess or individual gods and goddesses. This would be a rarer use of the term; (2) more frequently, we would find it used of the Divine Power (the Latin *numen*[5]). This would signify a superhuman force, impersonal in itself, but regularly belonging to a person (a god of some kind); (3) The Power controlling the destiny of individuals and then one's fortune or lot; (4) it could be further specialized as the good or evil *genius* of a person or family; (5) a more special use would reveal the δαίμονες as tutelary deities, the "souls" of the men of the golden age in Hesiod; (6) general spiritual or semi-divine creatures who are less than the gods, but intermediate between the gods and men cf. Plato; (7) finally, "devil", "bad spirit" in the Christianized sense (of course, this last is not classical).

The Indo-European philologist would tell us that δαίμων comes from the IE *dai —

and would compare δαίομαι. It is interesting to note the scholiast on Homer: *Iliad* I. 222: δώματ' ἐς αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς μετὰ δαίμονας ἄλλους.

Athena manifests herself to Achilles who is contemplating whether to slay Agamemnon or curb himself. Athena assuages him and Achilles consents to obey: (1. 218) ὅς κε θεοῖς ἐπιπείθηται, μάλα τ' ἔκλυον αὐτοῦ. "And Athena forthwith departed to Olympus, to the other gods in the palace of aegis-bearing Zeus". (222) On this last line (22) the scholiast explains δαίμων etymologically: οὕτως δαίμονες καλεῖ τοὺς θεούς, ἤτοι ὅτι δαίμονες (ἔμπειροι γὰρ καὶ ἴδριες πάντων αὐτοί εἰσιν) ἢ ὅτι διαιτηταί εἰσι καὶ διοικηταὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς Ἄλκμαν. Ἄλλους τε θωπεύοντες οἰκοῦμεν σύ τε κἀγὼ τὸν αὐτὸν δαίμον' ἐξειληφότες.

Plato, in his *Cratylus*[6], suggests a similar etymology for δαίμων. But to continue, our Indo - European philologist would also compare δαίμων with the Norse "time", "time", "hour", Anglo-Saxon "tima", English "time", Old High German *"tī-man», "period" (*dī-) and would explain δαίμων as coming from an earlier *δάσι-μων Latin *lasi (cf. Sabine * dasi-) in the Latin lasēs. The Latin plural more familiar to us as larēs, larium and larum[7]. Thus, we would have an IE etymological connection of the word δαίμων with a Latin word with which one of the meanings of the Greek δαίμων occasionally corresponds.

Enough has now been said to serve as a general introduction to the use and meaning of the word δαίμων. But what about its use generally in Homer, and specifically in Hesiod ant the Pre-Socratics? We shall see that the modern conceptual mind would like to reduce the word to a single, clear-cut meaning, but that the pre-conceptual and semi-conceptual minds will refuse to be strait-jacketed. We shall be able to draw up a few general categories, but no more. The word tends to slide easily from one meaning to another. We shall note that Homer uses the word fairly frequently; that Hesiod presents the word rarely and bafflingly; and that the use of the word in the Pre-Socratics is limited, but can be fairly adequately defined.

The discussion of the use and meaning of the word δαίμων in Homer does not intend or pretend to be exhaustive, but merely suggestive. In the Homeric poems, δαίμων emerges in at least three different senses, one oftentimes merging into another: (1) it is used with reference to a specific god or goddess;(2) with reference to a divine power, or divinity (cf. Latin *Numen*) unspecified and unnamed but potent; (3) with reference to one's fate, lot or destiny, good or evil. The most usual sense in Homer is (2), to which are assigned events not referred to any particular god. The most numerous instances show that *daimon* brings or is the CAUSE of bringing upon man something that is contrary to his will, purpose, or expectations. The adjective derived from δαίμων, δαιμόνιος generally has the notion of blame more or less saliently attached to it and signifies something wonderful, incomprehensible, irrational.

The word δαίμων in the first meaning may refer to any god or goddess, as in *Iliad* XIX, where Thetis brings Achilles his new arms and an assembly is called in which Achilles publicly renounces his wrath against Agamemnon. Agamemnon apologizes for his actions in seizing Briseis, claiming that he was possessed of Ate when he did the deed. Odysseus bids Agamemnon to "be more righteous hereafter; for no shame it is that a man that is king should make amends if he have been the first to deal violently".

Then Agamemnon replies:

> χαίρω σεῦ, Λαερτιάδη, τὸν μῦθον ἀκούσας·
> ἐν μοίρῃ γὰρ πάντα διίκεο καὶ κατέλεξας.
> ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐγὼν ἐθέλω ὀμόσαι. κέλεται δέ με θυμός,
> οὐδ᾽ ἐπιορκήσω πρὸς δαίμονος. *(185-188)*

δαίμων here means that Agamemnon will not forswear himself by any god: no specific god is named. But there is also another point that is clear. There is no moral connotation involved in swearing by a god. However, to swear falsely by a god is dangerous. It is using the god's name in vain. It's like signing his name to a bad check. So Agamemnon is here careful to avoid making any mistakes. Agamemnon will swear by *a* god, but he doesn't name him here.

Another example of category (1) in which the plural refers to θεοὺς ("the other gods") is the one already cited above (p. 3) in *Iliad* I. 922 where Athena returns to the palace of Zeus and to the other gods. *(μετὰ δαίμονας ἄλλους)* where δαίμονες clearly refers to the Olympians.

In Book III. 420 of the *Iliad* δαίμων equals Θεός and in this case a specific θεά, that is Aphrodite. In answer to a proposal that the outcome of the war between the two sides, Trojan and Greek, be decided by a single combat between Menelaus and Paris, an agreement is reached that the winner keep Helen. Paris is at first reluctant, but Hector rebukes him for his hesitation, and Paris finally consents. The fight turns unfavorably for Paris but before any fatal blow can be struck against him, Aphrodite rescues him, and transports him miraculously to his chamber. There Aphrodite prepares him for love. Helen reproaches Aphrodite for enticing her to love with Aphrodite, but Aphrodite gets furious and says: (ll 414-420)

> μὴ μ᾽ ἔρεθε, σχετλίη, μὴ χωσαμένη σε μεθείω,
> τὼς δέ σ᾽ ἀπεχθήρω ὡς νῦν ἔκπαγλα φίλησα,
> μέσσῳ δ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων μητίσομαι ἔχθεα λυγρά,
> Τρώων καὶ Δαναῶν, σὺ δέ κεν κακὸν οἶτον ὄληαι.
>
> Ὣς ἔφατ᾽, ἔδεισεν δ᾽ Ἑλένη Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα,
> βῆ δὲ κατασχομένη ἑανῷ ἀργῆτι φαεινῷ
> σιγῇ, πάσας δὲ Τρῳὰς λάθεν· ἦρχε δὲ δαίμων.

Helen was afraid and obeyed, "and the goddess *(δαίμων)* led the way". The goddess specifically referred to is Aphrodite. δαίμων is here not only metrically convenient, but the single form suffices for either the feminine or masculine gender (here, of course, it is feminine). It is noteworthy that δαίμων may be used for θεός but never θεός for δαίμων[8].

In *Iliad* XVII at lines 98-9, we have the words of Menelaus:

> ὁππότ᾽ ἀνὴρ ἐθέλῃ πρὸς δαίμονα φωτὶ μάχεσθαι,
> ὅν κε θεὸς τιμᾷ, τάχα οἱ μέγα πῆμα κυλίσθη

The struggle in Book XVII is over the body of Patroclus. Menelaus distinguishes himself in preventing the Trojans from getting it. But when Hector enters the fray, Menelaus exclaims the words quoted above: "When a man would fight against his lot with another whom a god honors, then swiftly on him rolls a great woe". Here the δαίμων is conditioned by the action and is equated with μέγα πῆμα However, it seems easily to fit into category (2) or (3): it probably originally meant "against divinity" in the line quoted and since it is beyond human power to contend with Divine Power, an individual's lot.

A few lines below, in lines 103-105, Menelaus says:

> ἄμφω κ' αὖτις ἰόντες ἐπιμνησαίμεθα χάρμης
> καὶ πρὸς δαίμονά περ, εἴ πως ἐρυσαίμεθα νεκρὸν
> Πηλείδῃ Ἀχιλῆι· κακῶν δὲ κε φέρτατον εἴη

This Menelaus says after he has explained that none of the Greeks would be angry with him for giving way to Hector because he has the gods on his side, but that he and Ajax could save the body of Patroclus for Achilles even against Divinity (πρὸς δαίμονά περ). Remember, Diomedes by his great fortitude wreaked havoc on the Trojans and even wounded Aphrodite and Ares with the assistance of Athena (Book V). Here πρὸς δαίμονα seems to blend from the meaning "against divinity" to "lot""or destiny", since the δαίμων is something beyond an individual human being's control. It is not in Menelaus' power to go against divinity, but with Ajax he would get Patroclus' body in spite of Divine Power. The chief sense of this passage would place here in category (2).

In Iliad XI. 792, Nestor speaks to Patroclus of the command of his father Menoitios who had said to him: "my child of lineage is Achilles higher than you, and thou art older but in might he is better far. But do thou speak gently, and show him what things he should do, and he will obey thee to his profit". Nestor bids Patroclus to try and persuade Achilles to return to battle saying: (ll. 792-793)

> τίς δ' οἶδ' εἴ κεν οἱ σὺν δαίμονι θυμὸν ὀρίναις
> παρειπών; ἀγαθὴ δὲ παραίφασίς ἐστιν ἑταίρου.

With the help of Divine Power, with the favor of the gods, Achilles might be persuaded by Patroclus. The δαίμων here is undefined, but powerful. Category (2).

In *Odyssey* V. 396, after some time with Calypso, Odysseus sets out on a raft, but Poseidon spots him and stirs up the sea violently. Brave as he is, Odysseus fears death. Luckily he sights land, a sight most welcome to Odysseus: (ll. 394-399).

> ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἀσπάσιος βίοτος παίδεσσι φανήῃ
> πατρός, ὃς ἐν νούσῳ κεῖται κρατέρ' ἄλγεα πάσχων
> δηρὸν τηκόμενος στυγερὸς δὲ οἱ ἔχραε δαίμων,
> ἀσπάσιον δ' ἄρα τόν γε θεοὶ κακότητος ἔλυσαν
> ὣς Ὀδυσῆ' ἀσπαστὸν ἐείσατο γαῖα καὶ ὕλη,
> νῆχε δ' ἐπειγόμενος ποσὶν ἠπείρου ἐπιβῆναι.

The δαίμων is here described as a hateful deity because of "his" consequences. Divinity is assigned as the cause of the illness.

In *Odyssey* X. 64, Aeolus asks Odysseus:

πῶς ἦλθες, Ὀδυσεῦ; τίς τοι κακὸς ᾽χραε δαίμων;

An evil divinity has returned Odysseus and his men to Aeolus. While Odysseus was sleeping, his men, out of curiosity and foolishness, had opened the bag of winds that Aeolus had given Odysseus. We are still in Gategory (2) but verging very closely on category (3) here.

In *Odyssey* XI. 61, we are definitely in Gategory (3). Odysseus meets Elpenor in his visit to the Kingdom of the Dead. Odysseus wonders how Elpenor got there so quickly to which Elpenor answers:

διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχαν᾽ Ὀδυσσεῦ,
ἀσέ με δαίμονος αἶσα κακὴ καὶ ἀθέσφατος οἶνος.

it was not merely the wine that made him lose his balance, but also a piece of bad fortune. δαίμονος αἶσα κακὴ is a periphrastic way of referring to a κακὸς δαίμων.

From here let us return to another illustration from the *Iliad*, this time a final one from Book VIII. 166. In Book VIII, Zeus summons an assembly of the gods and instruckts them to cease interceding on either side. His purpose is to keep his promise to Thetis by granting victory to the Trojans when the battle is resumed. This promise is carried out. The morale of the Greek troops declines sharply and even Diomedes retreats. It is at this point that Hector threatens Diomedes with destruction: (ll. 161-166).

Τυδεΐδη, περὶ μὲν σε τίον Δαναοὶ ταχύπωλοι
ἕδρῃ τε κρέασίν τε ἰδὲ πλείοις δεπάεσσι·
νῦν δὲ σ᾽ ἀτιμήσουσι· γυναικὸς ἄρ᾽ ἀντὶ τέτυξο.
ἔρρε, κακὴ γλήνη, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἴξαντος ἐμεῖο
πύργων ἡμετέρων ἐπιβήσεαι, οὐδὲ γυναῖκας
ἄξεις ἐν νήεσσι· πάρος τοι δαίμονα δώσω.

δαίμων here is an evil lot or destiny = death.

These illustrations should be sufficient to give some idea of the use of in Homer. The adjective δαιμόνιος generally suggests something wonderful, incomprehensible, irrational. It indicates that something is under superhuman influence. Five of meaning may be distinguished in Homer[9], particularly in its vocative use: (1) in stern reproach; (2) in more or less stern remonstrance; or in tender or gentle remonstrance; (3) implying folly or senselessness; (4) indicating a degree of wonder, the person addressed himself being superior to what his outward appearance would indicate; (5) merely as a term of affectionate address, with all sense of connection with the original δαίμων lost.

This brief survey with a limited number of Homeric illustrations serves to suggest

the three sense of δαίμων in Homer: (1) reference to a specific god or goddess or an un-named god or goddess; (2) Divine power, divinity, power that controls human cir-cumstances; (3) one's personal fate or lot, good or evil. This neat little scheme, worked out by the conceptual mind, does not mean that every time the word δαίμων occurs that it will fit exactly into any one of the preceding categories. It merely suggests a general line of approach. It would be more natural to expect one meaning to blend into another in this pre-conceptual period. Some of the examples cited indicate just that.

Hesiod presents many baffling and unsolved problems. The use and meaning of δαίμων simply add another one. The occurrences of δαίμων or words derived from it in Hesiod are rare. This might seem unusual, particularly in the case of the *Theogony*, but there the word δαίμων occurs *only once, and then in the accusative form δαίμονα (Theogony.* 991): "And Eos bare to Tithonus brazencrested Memnon, King of the Ethiopians, and the Lord Emathian. And to Cephalus she bare a splendid son, strong Phaethon, a man like the gods, whom, when he was young boy in the tender flower of glorious youth with childish thoughts, laughter-loving Aphrodite seized and caught up and made a keeper of her shrine by night, a divine spirit" (vs. 984-991).

> τὸν ῥα νέον τέρεν ἄνθος ἔχοντ᾽ ἐρικυδέος ἥβης
> παῖδ᾽ ἀταλὰ φρονέοντα φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη
> ὧρτ᾽ ἀναρεψαμένη, καί μιν ζαθέοις ἐνὶ νηοῖς
> νηοπόλον νύχιον ποιήσατο, δαίμονα δῖον.

The meaning of δαίμων here is difficult to determine exactly because it cannot be checked against the use of the word elsewhere in the *Theogony*. The word occurs twice in the *Works and Days* (122.314) in two different usages and in the one case (314) some editors would reject the line as spurious[10]. Add to this the unusual pairing of δῖος with δαίμων. This description of Phaethon (not to be connected with Phaethon of chariot fame) indicates that he is a lesser divine creature, not a full-fledged divinity, for he is described in line 987 as a θεοῖς ἐπιείκελον ἄνδρα.

Further, he occurs in the section of the *Theogony* generally called the Ἡρωογονία of course, according to the myth, Tithonus[11] was a mortal. Consequently, it seems safest to say that here δαίμων with δῖος means that Phaethon was a demi-god, a hero plus (the δῖος being the plus factor).

The *Theogony* contains once only the derivative δαιμόνιος in the elided vocative form (1.655). It is contained in Cottus' reply to Zeus' exhortation to resist and defeat the Titans. Zeus is addressed as δαιμόνι᾽. The usual translation is "Divine one" and this seems to be acceptable, meaning perhaps simply "sir" in divine company: (ll. 654-663).

> Ὣς φάτο τὸν δ᾽ ἐξαῦτις ἀμείβετο Κόττος ἀμύμων·
> Δαιμόνι᾽, οὐκ ἀδάητα πιφαύσκεαι ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ
> ἴδομεν, ὅ τοι περὶ μὲν πραπίδες, περὶ δ᾽ ἐστὶ νόημα,
> ἀλκτὴρ δ᾽ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀρῆς γένεο κρυεροῖο.
> σῆσι δ᾽ ἐπιφροσύνῃσιν ὑπὸ ζόφου ἠερόεντος
> ἄψορρον δεῦρ᾽ αὖτις ἀμειλίκτων ὑπὸ δεσμῶν

ἠλύθομεν Κρόνου υἱὲ ἄναξ, ἀνάελπτα παθόντες.
τῷ καὶ νῦν ἀτενεῖ τε νόῳ καὶ ἐπίφρονι βουλῇ
ῥυσόμεθα κράτος ὑμὸν ἐν αἰνῇ δηιοτῆτι
μαρνάμενοι Τιτῆσιν ἀνὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας.

In the *Works and Days* we come across the marvellous Hesiodic description of the Five Ages: Golden, Silver, Bronze, Heroic, and Iron. At the end of the description of the Golden Age, we are told that when this generation of men of the Golden Age had passed away, they were called goodly spirits who dwell on the earth, delivering men from harm, wandering over the earth clothed in mist and keeping watch on judgments and cruel deeds, givers of wealth. This passage perhaps illustrates the most unusually specialized meaning of in Greek literature and states and explains most explicitly what here means: (ll. 121-126).

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖ᾽ ἐκάλυψε,
τοὶ μὲν δαίμονες ἁγνοὶ ἐπιχθόνιοι καλέονται
ἐσθλοί, ἀλεξίκακοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων
οἵ ῥα φυλάσσουσίν τε δίκας καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα
ἠέρα ἐσσάμενοι πάντη φοιτῶντες ἐπ᾽ αἶαν,
πλουτοδόται[12].

Line 314 of the *Works and Days* contains a proverbial saying whose translation has caused much difficulty and which has been rejected or bracketed by some editors: δαίμονι δ᾽ οἷος ἔησθα, τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι ἄμεινον.

However, the general sense seems clear: "And whatever be your *lot*, work is best for you». This meaning for δαίμων here is substantiated by Homeric usage, category (3). Thus far, we have found the word δαίμων used in Hesiod in three different ways. No one categorization is possible.

In lines 207-211 of the *Works and Days* is contained in pictorialized form the famous precursor of the arguments of Gorgias and Thrasymachus in Plato:

Δαιμονίη, τί λέληκας; ἔχει νύ σε πολλὸν ἀρείων·
τῇ δ᾽ εἶς ᾗ σ᾽ ἂν ἐγώ περ ἄγω καὶ ἀοιδὸν ἐοῦσαν·
δεῖπνον δ᾽, αἴκ᾽ ἐθέλω, ποιήσομαι ἠὲ μεθήσω.
ἄφρων δ᾽, ὅς κ᾽ ἐθέλῃ πρὸς κρείσσονας ἀντιφερίζειν
νίκης τε στέρεται πρός τ᾽ αἴσχεσιν ἄλγεα πάσχει.
Ὣς ἔφατ᾽, ὠκυπέτης ἴρηξ, τανυσίπτερος ὄρνις.

The hawk calls the nightingale δαιμονίη. The problem here is what does δαιμονίη really mean? Evelyn - White translates it as "miserable thing"; Hays says[13], δαιμονίη means fool rather than wretch;" others have other views. Mazon approaches closest perhaps with "possessed", "fey". The nightingale is certainly possessed of something, namely a δαίμων but the δαίμων is not clear at first glance. The further reading of the passage indicates the context. The δαίμων implied is a κακὸς δαίμων under the cir-

cumstances, one that now brings her on the verge of annihilation now, at the mercy of the ἴρηξ. The nightingale is physically inferior to the hawk. It could seem that the hawk attribute the nightingale's position to her bad lot *(κακὸς δαίμων)* by calling her δαιμονίη.

The adjective εὐδαίμων occurs only once in Hesiod and that once in the *Works and Days,* at the very end of the poem in the final description of the days: (ll. 826-828)

> τάων εὐδαίμων τε καὶ ὄλβιος, ὅς τάδε πάντα
> εἰδὼς ἐργάζηται ἀναίτιος ἀθανάτοισιν,
> ὄρνιθας κρίνων καὶ ὑπερβασίας ἀλεείνων.

εὐδαίμων is "happy", but the happiness results from having a favorable guiding δαίμων who brings you to the realization of happiness and prosperity by helping you to know what you should know and helping you to do what you should do. He is thus your individual *genius.*

Such are the occurrences and uses of δαίμων and its derivatives in Hesiod. Many difficulties present themselves. The rarity of the use of the word makes it difficult to generalize except to say that in a few of te rare occurrences of the word, the general sense corresponds with known meanings in Homer and elsewhere; in other cases the Hesiodic usage is unique or beyond immediate exact analysis.

In dealing with δαίμων in the Pre-Socratics, a number of men will be included who, though not strictly chronologically anterior to Socrates, are so in thought. Only known original fragments will be quoted. Spurious, doubtful fragments, and testimonia will be excluded. All references are to the 6th edition of Hermann Diels' references outside and preceding a parenthesis indicate the number of the testimonia (A) or the fragments (B) or the imitation (C). No references will be made in this paper to (A) or (C); only to (B). The numbers inside the parenthesis of the reference indicate volume, page, and line number respectively.

The occurrence of δαίμων and related words, is, of course, limited in the Pre-Socratics by the limits imposed upon us by the fragmentary nature of the evidence. In spite of the lack of full texts, the frequency in the fragments is noteworty. It is possible to draw up three separate categories for the use and meaning of the word δαίμων on the basis of the genuine fragments that are in our possession. The collection of citations below will reinforce the validity of these three categories. They are: (1) in its most important Homeric sense as Divine Power, Divinity; (2) in the sense of ghost or spirit (This meaning will need further clarification); (3) in the sense of lot, fate, destiny. The following citations will include all genuine references to δαίμων that are known to us, with occasional others.

The first category of δαίμων for the Pre-Socratics must be subdivided into two subdivisions of a different nature: (A) Divine Power; (B) references to specific deity like Homeric category (1).

The first fragment to be cited for category I (A) is from Heracleitus B79 (I. 169.1):

> ἀνὴρ νήπιος ἤκουσε πρὸς δαίμονος ὅκωσπερ παῖς πρὸς ἀνδρός.

A comparison is here made: "a man is called foolish (childish) compared with divinity, just as a boy compared with a man". The fragment is distinctly proverbial and δαίμων is here Divine Power. The common denominator in the analogy is power in its widest and most comprehensive sense. There is a doubtful fragment assigned to Heracleitus (?) B 128 (I. 180 ll) in which Heracleitus is pictured as reprimanding the Greeks for praying to the unresponsive statues of gods. The word used for gods in this doubtful fragment is δαίμων which must equal θεός for Divinity (Numen) as such cannot be worshipped in the form of a statue: ὅτι ὁ Ἡράκλειτος ὁρῶν τοὺς Ἕλληνας γέρας τοῖς δαίμοσιν ἀπονέμοντες, εἶπεν· δαιμόνων ἀγάλμασιν εὔχονται οὐκ ἀκούουσιν, ὥσπερ ἀκούειν, οὐκ ἀποδίδουσιν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀπατοῖεν.

In Parmenides' hexameter poem Περὶ Φύσεως in the Prologue, we have a reference to δαίμονες (B 1.3 (I. 228.19)). Parmenides speaks in epic language of the mares which carried him as far as he wanted with the goddesses directing his way along the resounding road. The goddesses (δαίμονες) are later clearly explained as daughters of the Sun. They raise some doubts as to their being called θεοί even though they are daughters of Helios. The clear thing about a θεός is that he is worshipped; Helios was only worshipped on the island of Rhodes. Whether his daughters even were is another question. Be that as it may, in this passage from Parmenides δαίμονες = Ἡλιάδες κοῦραι:

ἵπποι ταί με φέρουσιν, ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ θυμὸς ἱκάνοι
πέμπον, ἐπεί μ' ἐς ὁδὸν βῆσαν πολύφημον ἄγουσαι
δαίμονες, ἥ κατὰ πάντ' ἄστη φέρει εἰδότα φῶτα
τῇ φερόμην· τῇ γάρ με πολύφραστοι ἵπποι
ἅρμα τιταίνουσαι, κοῦραι δι' ὁδὸν ἡγεμόνευον
ἄξων δ' ἐν χνοίῃσιν ἵει σύριγγος ἀυτὴν
αἰθόμενος (δοιοῖς γὰρ ἐπείγετο δινωτοῖσιν
κύκλοις ἀμφοτέρωθεν), ὅτε σπερχοίατο πέμπειν
Ἡλιάδες κοῦραι, προλιποῦσαι δώματα Νυκτός,
εἰς φάος, ὠσάμενοι κράτων ἄπο χερσὶ καλύπτρας.

Again in Parmenides B 12.3 (I. 243.2) we run into δαίμων this time in the sense of a Divine Power who governs everything. Parmenides here speaks of the narrower rings that where filled with unmixed fire and that next to them was night, but that a portion of flame rushes between. In the centre of these coms our δαίμων who seems responsible for generation and mating:

αἱ γὰρ στεινότεραι πλῆντο πυρὸς ἀκρήτοιο
αἱ δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς νυκτός, μετὰ δὲ φλογὸς ἵεται αἶσα
ἐν δὲ μέσῳ τούτων δαίμων ἥ πάντα κυβερνᾷ...
πάντα γὰρ (ἥ) στυγεροῖο τόκου καὶ μίξιος ἄρχει
πέμπουσ' ἄρσενι θῆλυ μιγῆντο τ' ἐναντίον αὐτῆς
ἄρσεν θηλυτέρῳ.

In Empedocles B. 59 1 (I. 333.21), the Empedoclean φιλίη and νεῖκος are described as δαίμων in their commingling:

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ μεῖζον ἐμίσγετο δαίμονι δαίμων,
ταῦτά τε συμπίπτεσκον, ὅπῃ συνέκυρσεν ἕκαστα
ἄλλα τε πρὸς τοῖς πολλά... διηνεκῆ ἐξεγένοντο.

Thus here δαίμων is used by Empedocles for his personified deities of Love and Strife. Category 1 (B).

Again in Empedocles B 126 (I. 362. 7), δαίμων reappears in its female form clothing (the soul) in the unfamilliar tunic of the flesh. δαίμων here appears to refer to another Empedoclean personified deity of goddess:

σαρκῶν ἀλλογνῶτι περιστέλλουσι χιτῶνι

Finally, for category number (1), Thrasymachus of Chalcedon may be briefly cited. Thrasymachus was active in the latter half of the 5th century. In his work Περὶ Πολιτείας B 1 (II. 322.8), he speaks to the "good old days" when men kept silent unless circumstances compelled them to speak and when the older men correctly supervised the state. But in Thrasymachus' day, Divine Providence has so advanced matters that an individual must suffer the consequences brought about by the rulers whom he has to obey; and since these dire effects are not deeds of Divinity or Heaven, one must speak:

ἐπειδὴ δ᾽ εἰς τοσοῦτον ἡμᾶς ἀνέθετο χρόνων ὁ δαίμων, ὥστε
(ἑτέρων μὲν ἀρχόντων) τῆς πόλεως ἀκούειν, τὰς δὲ συμφορὰς
(πάσχειν) αὐτούς, καὶ τούτων τὰ μέγιστα μὴ θεῶν ἔργα εἶναι
μηδὲ τῆς τύχης, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπιμεληθέντων..

Here δαίμων simply denotes generalized Divine Power.

In the famous fragment of Critias B 25.17 (II. 387. ll), the sophist describes the rise of conventions as man-made to preserve law and order, but possessing no absolute validity in themselves. Generalized divinity (τὸν δαίμον᾽) is one of these "police" conventions.

The second classification on δαίμων in the Pre-Socratics is based wholly upon its occurrence in the fragments of Empedocles. Only two fragments can be quoted. In the first, δαίμων is the form taken on by a god when he foolishly pollutes himself with bloodshed and swears falsely. He is made to wander all over the world, being born throughout this time (thrice ten thousand seasons) into all sorts of mortal shapes, suffering all sorts of terrible ordeals. The wandering δαίμονες reminds one of Hesiod, but what a difference between the wandering δαίμων of Hesiod's Golden Age and Empedocles' erring "ghosts" of erring gods. The fragment is from ΚΑΘΑΡΜΟΙ:

ἔστιν Ἀνάγκης χρῆμα, θεῶν ψήφισμα παλαιόν,
ἀίδιον, πλατέεσσι κατεσφρηγισμένον ὅρκοις

εὖτε τις ἀμπλακίῃσι φόνῳ φίλα γυῖα μιήνῃ,
(νείκεϊ θ᾽) ὅς κ(ε) ἐπίορκον ἁμαρτήσας ἐπομόσσῃ,
δαίμονες οἵτε μακραίωνος λελάχασι βίοιο,
τρὶς μιν μυρίας ὧρας ἀπὸ μακάρων ἀλαλῆσθαι
φυομένους παντοῖα διὰ χρόνου εἴδεα θνητῶν
ἀργαλέας μὲν γὰρ σφε μένος πόντονδε διώκει,
πόντος δ᾽ ἐς χθονὸς οὖδας ἀπέπτυσε, γαῖα δ᾽ ἐς αὐγὰς
ἠελίου φαέθοντος, ὁ δ᾽ αἰθέρος ἔμβαλε δίναις
ἄλλος δ᾽ ἐξ ἄλλου δέχεται, στυγέουσι δὲ πάντες
τῶν καὶ ἐγὼ νῦν εἰμι, φυγὰς θεόθεν καὶ ἀλήτης,
νείκεϊ μαινομένῳ πίσυνος.

Such is the transmigratory (practically metempsychotic) nature of the δαίμων in this Empedoclean fragment. The second "ghost" fragment pairs δαίμονες with μοῖραι B. 122 (I. 360.23): διτταὶ τινες ἕκαστον ἡμῶν γινόμενον παραλαμβάνουσι καὶ κατάρχονται μοῖραι καὶ δαίμονες.
So much for the "ghost" or "spirit" classifcation.

The third classification entails the meaning "lot", "fate", "destiny". The most famous one in this category is probably Heracleitus B 119 (I. 177. 6): ἦθος ἀνθρώπῳ δαίμων. The ethos of man is his lot, destiny, familiar spirit. This saying is paralleled by Epicharmus B. 17 (I. 201.13) who supplies more information: ὁ τρόπος ἀνθρώποισι δαίμων ἀγαθός, οἷς δὲ καὶ κακός. "Character for man is good destiny, but for some men bad also". There is a good as well as a bad *daimon*. There are a pair of doubts in Democritus which belong under this heading. They also serve to illustrate the derivatives εὐδαιμονία and κακοδαιμονίη. These fragments are B 170 and 171 (II. 179.2): εὐδαιμονίη ψυχῆς καὶ κακοδαιμονίη (170) εὐδαιμονίη οὐκ ἐν βοσκήμασιν οἰκεῖ οὐδὲ ἐν χρυσῷ ψυχὴ οἰκητήριον (cf. Heracleitus B 119).

Antiphon the Sophist, in a fragment on the advisability and vicissitudes of marriage uses δαίμων in the Homeric sense of πότμος. Antiphon explains his δαίμων by πότμος — what marriage can turn into: B 49 (II. 357.15) ΠΕΡΙ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑΣ, φέρε δὴ προελθέτω ὁ βίος εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν καὶ γάμων, καὶ γυναικὸς ἐπιθυμησάτω. αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα, αὕτη ἡ νὺξ καινοῦ δαίμονος ἄρχει, καινοῦ πότμου μέγας γὰρ ἀγὼν γάμος ἀνθρώπῳ.

So much for δαίμων in the Pre-Socratics εὐδαιμονία, εὐδαιμονικός, εὐδαίμων and the opposite κακοδαιμονέστερος (Democritus B. 45 (II. 156.2). ὁ ἀδικῶν τοῦ ἀδικουμένου κακοδαιμονέστερος occur in limited frequency. An examination of the fragments in which these are used would indicate that they involve what in Latin is called felicitas and felix, "happiness", "prosperity", "happy", "prosperous"[14]. Thus, there is no unusual mystery about εὐδαίμων in what we have of the Pre-Socratics.

Thus, we conclude our swift survey of δαίμων in Homer, Hesiod, and the Pre-Socratics. We have seen that it is a word of great fluidity and range, a word that very often defies strict categorization. The three different uses in Homer were neatly outlined but often merge one into the other; the Hesiodic cannot be generally categorized since each surviving use is distinct within Hesiod though corresponding in a few instances to

Homeric examples; the Pre-Socratic material, limited though it is, affords us uses of some of them completely distinct from anything in their predecessors, though certain general comparisons may by made. *Daimon* expresses a wide range of meanings, from a specified god clearly known and described to an unknown, unspecified, depersonalized, divine power of great potency.

II

In the second part of this paper, it remains for us to consider whatever occurrences remain to us the word δαίμων and its derivatives in the Greek Elegiac, Lyric, and Iambic poets and also in Pindar. We shall begin by investigating the texts of the Lyric Poets as contained in the three lovely fascicles of the Teubner Library (1949-1952), *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*[15].

An examination of the three fascicles of the *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca* reveals the very limited frequency of δαίμων in what we have in the writers of poetry of this period. The poet who makes the most frequent use of δαίμων is Theognis and his use varies. The first occurrence of δαίμων is in IAMBOI 24 (36-37) ll. 4-5 [Solon]

> μήτηρ μεγίστη δαιμόνων Ὀλυμπίων
> ἄριστα, Γῆ μέλαινα

Here Earth is called the very great mother of the Olympians.

Phocylides in one instance only uses the word δαίμονες to indicate that there are various undefined powers among men which save men from impending disaster. There are good and bad δαίμονες:

> *16 (15)* ἀλλ᾽ ἄρα δαίμονές εἰσι ἐπ᾽ ἀνδράσιν ἄλλοτε ἄλλοι
> οἳ μὲν ἐπερχομένου κακοῦ ἀνέρας ἐκλύσασθαι

In the so-called *Epigrammata* of Plato, 32 (16) we notice a use of the word δυσδαίμων;

> ἦ γὰρ ἔγωγε
> δυσδαίμων ἐς ἐμὴν ὕβριν ἐκαρποφόρουν.

In Theognis, In Elegy I, we come upon a more fruitful field for δαίμων There are eight occurrences of the word in Theognis, more than in any other poet contained in Ernst Diehl's edition of *Anthologia Lyrica Graec*. The first occurrence in ll. 149-150 refers to δαίμων in the sense of a powerful Divine Power which distributes gifts to mankind: the δαίμων gives material possessions to the wicked, but the gifts of ἀρετή come only upon a few:

> Χρήματα μὲν δαίμων καὶ παγκάκῳ ἀνδρὶ δίδωσιν
> Κύρν᾽ ἀρετῆς δ᾽ ὀλίγοις ἀνδράσι μοῖρ᾽ ἔπεται.

In lines 165-166, Theognis tells us that no man is without a δαίμων whether he be rich or poor, bad or good. Here was see δαίμων as man's presiding deity, so to speak, his lot or destiny:

> οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων οὔτ᾽ ὄλβιος οὔτε πενιχρὸς
> οὔτε κακὸς νόσφιν δαίμονος οὔτ᾽ ἀγαθός.

In lines 381-382 of the same elegy of Theognis we have δαίμων in the sense of Fortune or Luck. Theognis has just addressed Zeus in marvel at his great honor and power. Zeus knows and mind of every man alive. Zeus' power is very great *(σὸν δὲ κράτος πάντων ἔσθ᾽ ὕπατον βασιλεῦ)*.
Theognis cannot see how Zeus could possibly consider the just and the wicked in the same light. Then comes the section with δαίμων:

> οὐδέ τι κεκριμένον πρὸς δαίμονός ἐστι βροτοῖσιν
> οὐδ᾽ ὁδὸν ἥντιν᾽ ἰὼν ἀθανάτοισιν ἅδοι.

Fortune is not responsible and yet the wicked prosper.

Lines 401-406 warn that one should not be overeager in anything; due measure is best in all human works; often a man hastens after ἀρετὴ in his pursuit of profit, only to be led astray into some great wrongdoing by Good Fortune *(δαίμων)* which easily makes what is evil seem good, and what is good evil:

> Μηδὲν ἄγαν σπεύδειν· καιρὸς δ᾽ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος
> ἔργμασιν ἀνθρώπων· πολλάκι δ᾽ εἰς ἀρετὴν
> σπεύδει ἀνὴρ κέρδος διζήμενος, ὅντινα δαίμων
> πρόφρων εἰς μεγάλην ἀμπλακίην παράγει
> καὶ οἱ ἔθηκε δοκεῖν, ἃ μὲν ᾖ κακά, ταῦτ᾽ ἀγάθ᾽ εἶναι
> εὐμαρέως, ἃ δ᾽ ἂν ᾖ χρήσιμα, ταῦτα κακά.

Theognis personifies Hope and Risk in ll. 637-638, saying that are similar, both difficult δαίμονες. There are good and bad δαίμονες. One has to be careful to distinguish between them. The line of demarcation is not always clear:

> Ἐλπὶς καὶ κίνδυνος ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ὁμοῖοι
> οὗτοι γὰρ χαλεποὶ δαίμονες ἀμφότεροι.

We now take a look at the first occurrence of the derivative εὐδαίμων in Theognis. εὐδαίμων is here closely associated with the gods *(θεοῖς)*. The only ἀρετὴ that Theognis desires is to be beloved of the immortal gods. If he can achieve this, he would be εὐδαίμων ("happy"):

> Εὐδαίμων εἴην καὶ θεοῖς φίλος ἀθανάτοισιν,
> Κύρν᾽ ἀρετῆς δ᾽ ἄλλης οὐδεμιῆς ἔραμαι.

In the next instance of εὐδαίμων Theognis explains what he means by saying that he is blessed and happy and fortunate who goes down into the black house of Hades troubleless and before he has cowered before his enemy and transgressed by necessity or tested the loyalty of his friends. εὐδαίμων τε καὶ ὄλβιος are paired. We saw this pairing occurring first in Hesiod's *Works and Days* (826): (ll. X013-1016 - Theognis: Elegy I).

> Ἄ μάκαρ εὐδαίμων τε καὶ ὄλβιος, ὅστις ἄπειρος
> ἄθλων εἰς Ἀίδεω δῶμα μέλαν κατέβη,
> πρὶν τ᾽ ἐχθροὺς πτῆξαι καὶ ὑπερβῆναι περ᾽ ἀνάγκῃ
> ἐξετάσαι τε φίλους, ὅντιν᾽ ἔχουσι νόον.

In one very specific reference, δαίμων is used by Theognis to indicate specific reference, δαίμων is jused by Theognis to indicate Ganymede's position among the Olympians. Here Theognis praises pederasty and cites Zeus' love for Ganymede, who seized Ganymede, brought him to Mount Olympus, and made him a coop-bearer. Thus, Theognis justifies his own actions and feelings to Simonides: (ll. 1345-1350)

> Παιδοφιλεῖν δέ τι τερπνόν, ἐπεί ποτε καὶ Γανυμήδους
> ἤρατο καὶ Κρονίδης, ἀθανάτων βασιλεύς,
> ἁρπάξας δ᾽ ἐς Ὄλυμπον ἀνήγαγε καί μιν ἔθηκεν
> δαίμονα παιδείης ἄνθος ἔχοντ᾽ ἐρατόν.
> οὕτω μὴ θαύμαζε, Σιμωνίδη, οὕνεκα κἀγὼ
> ἐξεδάην καλοῦ παιδὸς ἔρωτ᾽ δαμείς.

This last example exhausts the occurrences of δαίμων in Theognis.

In Archilochus, the word δαίμων occurs only once and in a very specific context. It is in the fragment that refers to the Lelantine War between Chalcis and Eretria (c. 790 B.C.) in which they agreed not to use missile weapons. δαίμονες is used in connection with the "masters of Euboea" who are masters in this type of warfare. δαίμονες here apparently = δαήμονες [3 (3)]:

> Οὔ τοι πόλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τόξα τανύσσεται οὐδὲ θαμειαί
> σφενδόναι, εὖτ᾽ ἄν δὴ μῶλον Ἄρης συνάγῃ
> ἐν πεδίῳ· ξιφέων δὲ πολύστονον ἔσσεται ἔργον
> ταύτης γὰρ κεῖνοι δαίμονές εἰσι μάχης
> δεσπόται Εὐβοίης δουρικλυτοί.

There are a few more instances of δαίμων contained in Diehl's edition, such as ΙΑΜΒΟΙ - ΤΡΙΜΕΤΡΑ 45 (95) τίς ἄρα δαίμων καὶ τέου χολούμενος...;

Here δαίμων seems to indicate a θεός of some kind. The ΜΕΛΙΑΜΒΟΙ contain the word twice.[16]

When discussing Pindar[17], we are reading on more film are more extensively preserved ground. Pindar makes extensive use of δαίμων and its derivatives. He uses the

word in a variety of senses. Three primary senses may be distinguished: (1) with reference to a particular god or an unnamed god; (2) in reference to a Divine Power *(numen)* governing human affairs, now favorably, now unfavorably, and consequently; (3) now takes on the meaning of fate, lot or fortune, good or bad.

The adjectival form δαιμόνιος is used in the meaning of "pertaining to a god or given by a god; consequently, singular or extraordinary". In *Nemean* IX 27, Pindar speaks of the mighty power of Zeus and his submission of Amphiaraos. "For when the terror cometh of heanven, then flee even the sons of gods". ἐν γὰρ δαιμονίοισι φόβοις φεύγοντι καὶ παῖδες θεῶν.

Here δαιμόνιος, indicates the heavenly source of the fear.

In *Olympian* IX 110, Pindar says that the receipt of the prize should be assigned to divine help because it was through the divine that this man was born with dexterous hand, nimble limbs, with the light of valor in his eyes, and that now victorious, he was crowned at the feast at Oilean Ajax's altar: ὄρθιον ὤρυσαι θαρσέων τόνδ' ἀνέρα δαιμονίᾳ γεγάμεν εὔχειρα, instead of θείᾳ μοίρᾳ γεγονέναι.

There is a great abundance of δαίμων in Pindar and therefore it will be necessary to select a few examples to illustrate the categories illustrated above. The treatment of Pindar does not purport to be exhaustive, but rather suggestiv. In *Olympian* VI. 46: we have αὐτὸν δαιμόνων βουλαῖσιν ἐθρέψαντο δράκοντες.

We are told of the birth of Iamos from Euadne and the god Apollo. When Iamos was born, through the counsel of the Gods (δαιμόνων βουλαῖσιν) two bright-eyed serpents nursed and fed him with the harmless venom (i.e., honey) on the bee. Here the δαίμονες are clearly θεοί but unnamed. An example of a god who is named and is called δαίμων is found in Olympian VII. 39: φαυσίμβροτος δαίμων Ὑπεριονίδας. He is Hyperion the got that giveth light to men.

In Pindar, a δαίμων may be the Divine Power governing or determining human affairs howsoever it will. cf. *Pythian* X. 103 γλυκὺ δ' ἀνθρώπων τέλος ἀρχά τε δαίμονος ὀρνύντος αὔξεται. In *Olympian* IX. 28, Divine Power assigns valor and wisdom to men: ἀγαθοὶ δὲ καὶ σοφοὶ κατὰ δαίμον' ἄνδρες ἐγένοντ'.

In Pythian III, Pindar concludes: "Small will I be among the small, and great among the great. Whatever δαίμων follow me, I will work therewith, and wield it as my power shall suffice. If God should offer me wealth and ease, I hope that I should first have won high honor to be in the times afar off". (ll. 107-111)

> σμικρὸς ἐν σμικροῖς, μέγας ἐν μεγάλοις
> ἔσσομαι. τὸν δ' ἀμφέποντ' αἰεὶ φρασὶν
> δαίμον' ἀσκήσω κατ' ἐμὰν θεραπεύων μαχανάν.
> εἰ δέ μοι πλοῦτον θεὸς ἁβρὸν ὀρέξαι,
> ἐλπίδ' ἔχω κλέος εὑρέσθαι κεν ὑψηλὸν πρόσω.

Here δαίμων appears almost in the sense of one's "guardian angel". It has divine origin, and is powerful.

It is the lot of all to die says Pindar in *Isthmian* VI (VII), although our δαίμονες may be different. "If any lift up his eye to look upon things afar off, yet is he too weak to attain unto the bronze-paved dewlling of the gods". Here Pindar again reminds us not to strive to be gods; it is not our destiny: (ll. 40-45)

ὅτι τερπνὸν ἐπάμερον διώκων
ἕκαλος ἔπειμι γῆρας ἔς τε τὸν μόρσιμον
αἰῶνα. Θνᾴσκομεν γὰρ ὁμῶς ἅπαντες·
δαίμων δ᾽ ἄϊσος τὰ μακρὰ δ᾽ εἴ τις
παπταίνει, βραχὺς ἐξικέσθαι χαλκόπεδον θεῶν
ἕδραν

Iv Pythian III, Koronis, though she had slept with the god Apollo and had his seed within her, dared to sleep with a stranger from Arcadia also. When Apollo got wind of the affair, he was terribly angry and contrived to destroy her. She perished and so did many of her neighbors, though Apollo saved the child from her. Pindar used δαίμων here in the sense of doom, bad luck, that came upon Koronis and others: (ll. 34-36) δαίμων δ᾽ ἕτερος / εἰς κακὸν τρέψαις ἐδαμάσσατό νιν, καὶ γειτόνων / πολλοὶ ἐπαῦρον, ἁμᾶ δ᾽ ἔφθαρεν.

In *Olympian* XIII. 105 we have an example of δαίμων in the sense of luck, fortune, destiny: (ll. 104-107)

εἰ δὲ δαίμων γενέθλιος ἕρποι,
Δὶ τοῦτ᾽ Ἐνυαλίῳ τ᾽ ἐκδώσομεν
πράσσειν.

So much for δαίμων in Pindar. εὐδαιμονία and εὐδαίμων present no spectacular problems. They generally correspond to the Latin *felicitas* and *felix* respectively.

III

The dramatists, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, probably make more extensive use of δαίμων and its derivatives than any other body of classical literature[18]. That this should be the case is not strange in view of the nature of the tragic drama. In contrast to the relatively limited occurrence of *daimon* in the literature of the previous centuries (with the possible exception of Homer), the appearance of *daimon* in the trage-dians is at first overwhelming. Nevertheless, though no exhaustively complete picture will be attempted. The general outlines of the main uses can be made out and supported by selected illustrations.

Three main senses may be distinguished in the first great tragedian, Aeschylus. They are: (1) θεοί and δαίμονες may be used interchangeably or δαίμονες may indicate inferiority of position to the θεοί. No less frequent is the word employed to signify either specific gods or all the gods in general or simply the gods; (2) In the plural, it may be used of all or several of the gods; (3) very frequently, it refers to the Divine Power

(*numen*) upon whose will the lot or destiny of human beings depends, whether it be a good or an evil one.

In the *Septem contra Thebas,* we have an example in which Ares is specifically referred to as a *daimon.* This occurs in the first chorus of the play in which the chorus appeals to Ares to oversee and protect his own land: (ll. 103-107)

κτύπον δέδοικα· πάταγος οὐχ ἑνὸς δορός.
τί ῥέξεις; προδώσεις, παλαίχθων
Ἄρης, τὰν τεάν;
ἰὼ χρυσοπήληξ δαῖμον, ἔπιδ᾽ ἔπι-
δε πόλιν, ἄν ποτ᾽ εὐφιλήταν ἔθου.

Thus here δαίμων simply equals θεός.

In the ΧΟΗΦΟΡΟΙ in Electra's dialogue with the chorus, in pouring libations at her father's tomb, she is instructed as to the procedure to be followed. The chorus tells her to name herself first and all that hate Aegisthus, then to remember poor Orestes. Next she is to remember the authors of her father's destruction. In reply to Electra's question as to what she should do next, the chorus instructs her to pray that some god or man may come to avenge them for Agamemnon's death: (ll. 118-121)

Ἠλ. τί φῶ; δίδασκ᾽ ἄπειρον ἐξηγουμένη.
Χο. ἐλθεῖν τιν᾽ αὐτοῖς δαίμον᾽ ἤ βροτῶν τινα
Ἠλ. πότερα δικαστὴν ἤ δικηφόρον λέγεις;
Χο. ἁπλῶς τι φράζουσ᾽, ὅστις ἀνταποκτενεῖ.

Here again some god is refered to; he is called indefinitely a δαίμων but is quite clearly a θεός. In the *Persians* of Aeschylus, the ghost of Darius who was powerful in life is powerful in death, and consequently must be heeded. The Persians pay their respects to Darius, powerful though dead, by pouring libations and through worship. Aeschylus uses the word to describe Darius in this situation. Atossa who has seen the ghost of Darius, appeals to the Persians to make the proper chants and libations to the dead, and summon forth the δαίμων of Darius while she makes offerings to the nether gods: (ll. 619-622).

ἀλλ᾽, ὦ φίλοι, χοαῖσι ταῖσδε νερτέρων
ὕμνοις ἐπευφημεῖτε, τὸν τε δαίμονα
Δαρεῖον ἀνακαλεῖσθε, γαπότους δ᾽ ἐγὼ
τιμὰς προπέμψω τάσδε νερτέροις θεοῖς.

The chorus bids Atossa to pour the libations to the earth, while they in solemn chant implore the graciousness of the conductors of the dead beneath the earth. The gods below the earth are called δαίμονες as Darius is called a δαίμων (ll. 628-646)

ἀλλά, χθόνιοι δαίμονες ἀγνοί,
Γῆ τε καὶ Ἑρμῆ, βασιλεῦ τ᾽ ἐνέρων,
πέμψατ᾽ ἔνερθεν ψυχὴν ἐς φῶς·
εἰ γάρ τι κακῶν ἄκος οἶδε πλέον,
μόνος ἂν θρήνων πέρας εἴποι.

[στρ. α

ἦ ῥ᾽ ἀίει μου μακαρίτας
ἰσοδαίμων βασιλεὺς βάρ -
βαρα σαφηνῆ
ἱέντος τὰ παναίολ᾽ αἰανῆ δύσθροα βάγματα;
παντάλαν· ἄχη
διαβοάσω;
νέρθεν ἆρα κλύει μου;
ἀλλὰ σύ μοι, Γᾶ τε καὶ ἄλλοι
χθονίων ἀγεμόνες δαί-
μονα μεγαυχῆ
ἰόντ᾽ αἰνέσατ᾽ ἐκ δόμων, Περσᾶν Σουσιγενῆ θεόν·
πέμπετε δ᾽ ἄνω
οἷον οὔπω
Περσὶς αἶ᾽ ἐκάλυψεν.

Here δαίμονες are divinities below the earth and Darius who is also below the earth also gets called a δαίμων.

We have stated above that δαίμονες may be used in the plural of several gods. An instance of this is found in line 85 of the *Prometheus Vinctus* where kratos taunts Prometheus with his etymology (ll. 85-87)

ψευδωνύμως σε δαίμονες Προμηθέα
καλοῦσιν αὐτὸν γάρ σε δεῖ προμηθέως
ὅτῳ τρόπῳ τῆσδ᾽ ἐκκυλισθήσῃ τέχνης.
δαίμονες = θεοί

Aeschylus' third category of δαίμων uses the term with reference to the numen upon whose will the lot or destiny of human beings depends, be it good or evil. In this category occur the following selected instances. *Agamemnon* 1569 δαίμονι τῷ Πλεισθενιδῶν ὅρκους θεμένη.
Of good fortune: *Persians* 158: εἴτι μὴ δαίμων παλαιὸς νῦν μεθέστηκε στρατῷ. Of the author of evils: *Septem* 705: δαίμων λήματος ἐν τροπαίᾳ χρονίᾳ μεταλλακτός. *Persians* 345 ὧδε δαίμων τις κατέφθειρε στρατόν, *Persians* 354: φανεὶς ἀλάστωρ ἢ κακὸς δαίμων πόθεν. *Agamemnon* 1660 δαίμονες χηλῇ βαρείᾳ δυστυχῶς πεπληγμένοι. The vocative occurs most conveniently for poetry:
Persians 472: ὦ στυγνὲ δαῖμον; *Agamemnon* 1469 δαῖμον, ὃς ἐμπίτνεις δώμασι.

The words δαιμονάω, δαιμόνιος and εὐδαίμων also appear in Aeschylus. The verb δαιμονάω is found in the *Septem* 1001: ἰὼ ἰώ, δαιμονῶντ᾽ ἐν ἄτᾳ and in the Choephoroe

566: δαιμονᾷ δόμος κακοῖς in which δαίμων is the controlling element. The verb would then mean "to be held by an evil *daimon*. δαιμόνιος indicates something sent by a *daimon. Septem* 892: αἰαῖ δαιμόνιοι, αἰαῖ δ᾽ ἀντιφόνων (ἐκ) θανάτων ἀραί. *Persians* 581: δαίμονι ἄχη. εὐδαίμων means "happy" in Aeschylus. Cf. *Persians* 768: Κῦρος, εὐδαίμων, ἀνήρ; *Agamemnon* 530: ἄναξ Ἀτρείδης πρέσβυς εὐδαίμων ἀνήρ.

So much for our general survey of *daimon* in Aeschylus. Let us now proceed to the most classical of the classical tragedians, Sophocles.

Sophocles employs δαίμων and its derivative forms profusely. An entire book could be written on the subtleties of the word *daimon* in the tragedies of Sophocles alone. Here only certain general classifications can be indicated. Again, the general categories become clear: (1) δαίμων in Sophocles may be used of any god or of a certain god; in the plural it may be used of the gods generally; (2) *daimon* also has the meaning of *numen* powerful in determining the fortunes of men. This numen may be good or bad; (3) finally, it may be equivalent to τὸ θεῖον.

Let us take a quick glance at some examples that would illustrate the preceding categories. At one point in the Oedipus at Colonus, the chorus extols the greatness of Athens and refers to the various gifts bestowed upon the city. Among other things, the chorus expresses its pride in the might of the horse and the might of the sea for which it thanks Poseidon.

Sophocles here uses the word δαίμων to refer to Poseidon: (ll. 707-715)

> ἄλλον δ᾽ αἶνον ἔχω ματροπόλει τᾷδε κράτιστον,
> δῶρον τοῦ μεγάλου δαίμονος, εἰπεῖν, χθονὸς αὔχημα μέγιστον,
> εὔιππον, εὔπωλον, εὐθάλασσον.
> ὦ παῖ Κρόνου, σὺ γάρ νιν εἰς
> τόδ᾽ εἷσας αὔχημ᾽, ἄναξ Ποσειδᾶν,
> ἵπποισιν τὸν ἀκεστῆρα χαλινὸν
> πρώταισι ταῖσδε κτίσας ἀγυιαῖς.

In the *Philoctetes*, in Philoctetes's last remarks is contained the notice that his voyage be speeded to the land where be borne by great Moira and the god at whose decree all was commanded and (where would be) brought to pass: (ll. 1464-1468)

> χαῖρ᾽, ὦ Λήμνου πέδον ἀμφίαλον,
> καί μ᾽ εὐπλοίᾳ πέμψον ἀμέμπτως,
> ἔνθ᾽ ἡ μεγάλη Μοῖρα κομίζει
> γνώμη τε φίλων χὠ πανδαμάτωρ
> δαίμων, ὃς ταῦτ᾽ ἐπέκρανεν

The use of the plural of δαίμων with reference to the gods generally is clearly seen in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* when Jocasta prepared to visit the shrines of the gods. She says: (ll. 911-913)

χώρας ἄνακτες, δόξα μοι παρεστάθη
ναοὺς ἱκέσθαι δαιμόνων, τάδ᾽ ἐν χεροῖν
στέφη λαβούσῃ κἀπιθυμιάματα.

In the same play, Oedipus bewails his situation after the revelation and his self-blinding. No sights can now ever bring him joy: (ll. 1377-1383)

οὐ δῆτα τοῖς γ᾽ ἐμοῖσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ποτε·
οὐδ᾽ ἄστυ γ᾽ οὐδὲ πύργος οὐδὲ δαιμόνων
ἀγάλματα ἱερά, τῶν ὁ παντλήμων ἐγὼ
κάλλιστ᾽ ἀνὴρ εἷς ἔν γε ταῖς Θήβαις τραφεὶς
ἀπεστέρησ᾽   ἐμαυτόν, αὐτὸς ἐννέπων
ὠθεῖν ἅπαντας τὸν ἀσεβῆ, τὸν ἐκ θεῶν
φανέντ᾽ ἄναγνον καὶ γένους τοῦ Λαΐου

Here again, the status of the gods *(δαιμόνων)* refers to *θεοί.*

The second Sophoclean category employs *δαίμων* to indicate a powerful Divine Agency which determines the good or bad fortunes of men. In his final speech in the *Oedipus Tyrannus,* addresses Creon and softens because his daughters have been brought to him in one of the tenderest scenes in all Greek literature. Oedipus wishes Creon well and that *δαίμων* Divine Providence, may deal with him kindlier than it has dealt with him: (ll. 1478-1479)

ἀλλ᾽ εὐτυχοίης, καὶ σε τῆσδε τῆς ὁδοῦ
δαίμων ἄμεινον ἤ ᾽μὲ φρουρήσας τύχοι.

In the *Electra* of Sophocles, Chrysothemis tells her sister of the discovery of a lock of Orestes' hair at the paternal tomb. She concludes that it was Orestes himself who made the offering, and bids her sister to take courage for never does *δαίμων* run one unbroken course: 1. 917: τοῖς αὐτοῖσί τοι / οὐχ αὐτὸς αἰεὶ δαιμόνων παραστατεῖ. Two examples may be sited briefly in which the *daimon* is clearly unfavorable: (1) *Oedipus Tyrannus* 828: ἀπ᾽ ὤμου δαίμονος. Oedipus gives a biographical sketch of himself in a long speech (8 771-833) before the terrible evidence is to be brought before him. If these terrible things are true about him, Oedipus says that this is the handiwork of some inhuman power *(ἀπ᾽ ὠμοῦ δαίμονος)* (2) *Electra* 1156-1157: ὁ δυστυχὴς δαίμων ὁ σός τε κἀμός. Orestes (unknown to Electra as such) brings his "ashes" to Electra who laments over his loss and refers to her *δαίμων* as well as his as being a *δυστυχὴς δαίμων.*

The last Sophoclean category in which *δαίμων* equals to *θεῖον* may be illustrated very briefly by a citation from the *Oedipus at Colonus* 1370:
τοιγὰρ σ᾽ ὁ δαίμων εἰσορᾷ μὲν οὔ τί πω ὡς αὐτίκα.

As *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον* occurs in Sophocles with *δαίμων* as its root and that is *εὐδαιμονέω* in the *Antigone:* ἡ τυραννὶς πολλά τ᾽ ἄλλ᾽ εὐδαιμονεῖ (l. 506). It means "is happy, fortunate". *εὐδαιμονίζω* and *εὐδαίμων* occur with "happy" as the basic element in their meaning.

Euripides uses *daimon* liberally, but he poses a special problem because of his peculiar reaction toward the gods and his (at times) severe ctiticism of them. Euripides' plays are in a real sense a "discussion club".

Euripides himself reflects an intellectual revolution and *daimon* is included in that process.The various categories that have been noted in the other tragedians and poets will occur in Euripides also. There will be no attempt to repeat these outlines here, but perhaps the most frequent meaning in Euripides is that of Luck or Fortune, good or bad:

> *Trojans* 103: πλεῖ κατὰ πορθμόν, πλεῖ κατὰ δαίμονα
> *Alcestis* 561: πῶς οὖν ἔκρυπτες τὸν παρόντα δαίμονα;
> *Alcestis* 931: φίλοι, γυναικὸς δαίμον᾽ εὐτυχέστερον
> τοὐμοῦ νομίζω, καίπερ οὐ δοκοῦνθ᾽ ὅμως.

The *daimon* in Euripides may refer to one's lot. In *Hippolytus* 99 (as in *Iliad* III) it refers to a specific goddess, Aphrodite: πῶς οὖν σὺ σεμνὴν δαίμον᾽ οὐ προσεννέπεις. It may be used to refer to one's "shades" or manes as in the *Alcestis* of Alcestis (l. 1003): καί τις δοχμίαν κέλευθον ἐμβαίνων, τόδ᾽ ἐρεῖ, Αὕτα ποτὲ προὔθαν᾽ ἀνδρός, νῦν δ᾽ ἐστὶ μάκαιρα δαίμων.

The familiar Euripidean rendering of the end of a play offers us an example of δαιμόνιος in the sense of "works of Divinity" which are closely associated with θεοί:

> πολλαὶ μορφαὶ τῶν δαιμονίων,
> πολλὰ δ᾽ ἀέλπτως κραίνουσι θεο
> καὶ τὰ δοκηθέντ᾽ οὐκ ἐτελέσθη,
> τῶν δ᾽ ἀδοκήτων πόρεν ηὖρε θεός,
> τοιόνδ᾽ ἀπέβη τόδε πρᾶγμα.

IV

The use of δαίμων in the historians, Herodotus and Thucydides, reflects somewhat the standards of their respective historical methods. Herodotus would not hesitate to assign a divine cause to an historical or non-historical event; Thucydides' strict interpretaion of the philosophy of history wouldn't even think of the idea. Thucydides' mention of the word *daimon* is rare; not so of Herodotus.

The Herodotean usage falls into three main headings: (1) It may refer simply to the divinity or a deity as in VI. 12: τίνα δαιμόνων παραβάντος; I. 86 εἴ τίς μιν δαιμόνων ῥύσεται; III. 119. εὐδαίμων ἐθέλοι. So also, it may be used of a goddess, ἡ δαίμων as it is used in II. 40 to refer to Isis: τὴν μεγίστην δαίμονα ἥγηνται. (2) It may be employed to signify a hero as in IX. 76: οὔτε δαιμόνων οὔτε θεῶν ὄπιν ἔχειν; (3) or it may indicate fortune or chance: I. 111. τότε κως κατὰ δαίμονα τίκτει.

εὐδαίμων clearly means "rich" or "prosperous" in Herodotus. Cf. V. 31 νήσῳ μεγάλῃ καὶ εὐδαίμονι and VIII. III. αἱ Ἀθῆναι μεγάλαι τε καὶ εὐδαίμονες.

The adjectival δαιμόνιος is used mostly of address, expressing either respect or reproach. Cf. VII. 48, IV. 126, VIII. 84. But δαιμονίη τις ὁρμὴ refers to a divine impulse (VII. 18).

Thucydides is definitely more restricted and more sparing in his use of the term δαίμων and its derivatives. δαιμόνια is found in one of the most significant parts of the whole of Thucydides' work, that is, following the *Funeral Oration,* in Book II, chapter 64, in Pericles' speech on the naval greatness of Athens: "But you must not be seduced by citizens like these or angry with me — who, if I voted for war, only did as you did yourselves — in spite of the enemy having invaded your country and done what you could be certain that he would do, if you refused to comply with his demands; and although besides what we counted for, the plague has come upon us - the only point indeed at which our calculation has been at fault. It is this, I know, that has had a large share in making me (more) unpopular than I should —. Otherwise have been - quite undeservedly, unless you are also prepared to give me the credit of any success with which chance may present you. Besides, the hand of heaven must be borne with resignation, that of the enemy with fortitude. *(φέρειν δὲ χρὴ τά τε δαιμόνια ἀναγκαίως τά τε ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνδρείως).* Thucydides puts this in the mouth of Pericles. The Athenians must endure the things that cannot be averted, matters which are beyond their human control, which are of such as nature as must be tolerated *(δαιμόνια)* necessarily; the enemy can be resisted with bravery.

In Book IV, chapter 97, δαίμων is used in the plural with reference to Apollo and the deities: *ὥστε ὑπέρ τε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἑαυτῶν Βοιωτοὺς, ἐπικαλούμενος τοὺς ὁμωχέτας δαίμονας καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, προαγορεύειν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀπιόντας ἀποφέρεσθαι τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν.*

Thus, strictly speaking, δαίμων occurs only once as such in the whole of Thucydides and is there equivalent to θεοί. This is very noteworthy. We may now indicate the limited use of εὐδαίμων and its forms in Thucydides: (1) εὐδαιμονήσαντες - VIII 24. *Χῖοι γὰρ μόνοι μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίους ὧν ἐγὼ ᾐσθόμην εὐδαιμονήσαντές τε ἅμα καὶ ἐσωφρόνησαν, καὶ ὅσῳ ἐπεδίδου ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον, τόσῳ δὲ καὶ ἐκοσμοῦντο ἐχυρώτερον.*

In dealing with the recovery of Lesbos and the defeat of the Chians, Thucydides pays the Chians a compliment for knowing how to be wise in prosperity and ordering their city the more securely the greater it grew. (2) εὐδαιμονία III. 39. This word is used to indicate physical prosperity. Prosperity was not enough to dissuade them from affronting danger: *καὶ κακοπραγίαν ὡς εἰπεῖν ῥᾷον ἀπωθοῦνται ἢ εὐδαιμονίαν διασώζονται.*

(3) εὐδαιμονία occurs once more only in Thucydides, denoting general prosperity. book II. 97: *τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ὅσαι μεταξὺ τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου καὶ τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου μεγίστη ἐγένετο χρημάτων προσόδῳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ*

(4) In the Periclean Funeral Oration, Book II, chapter 43, *τὸ εὔδαιμον* is equated to *τὸ ἐλεύθερον and this can be brougt about by the crushing of the ennemy: οὓς νῦν ὑμεῖς ζηλώσαντες καὶ τὸ εὔδαιμον τὸ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ δὲ ἐλεύθερον τὸ εὔψυχον κρίναντες μὴ περιορᾶσθε τοὺς πολεμικοὺς κινδύνους.*

(5) Chapter 53, Book II, included in the description of the plague, tells us how those who previously had nothing succeeded suddenly to the property of the prosperous: The *εὐδαίμονες ῥᾷον γὰρ ἐτόλμα τις ἃ πρότερον ἀπεκρύπτετο μὴ καθ' ἡδονὴν ποιεῖν ἀγχίστροφον τὴν μεταβολὴν ὁρῶντες τῶν τε εὐδαιμόνων καὶ αἰφνιδίως θνῃσκόντων καὶ*

τῶν οὐδέν πρότερον κεκτημένων, εὐθὺς δε τἀκείνων ἐχόντων.

(6) Finally, in Book I, chapter 6 we have actually the first occurrence of εὐδαίμων in the so-called ἀρχαιολογία where we encounter the meaning, "the rich", "the materially prosperous": καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι αὐτοῖς τῶν εὐδαιμόνων διὰ τὸ ἁβροδίαιτον οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ χιτῶνάς τε λινοῦς ἐπαύσαντο φοροῦντες...

Thus, we see the remarkable rarity of the word δαίμων in Thucydides and that εὐδαίμων when used in a few cases, involves the idea of material prosperity.

V

This general survey of δαίμων should serve to indicate rather roughly and swiftly the tremendous range and scope of the topic under discussion. This survey demonstrates the power and fluidity of the word δαίμων from its specific reference to a specific god or goddess (θεός) to an uspecified, unnamed Divine Power, to one's individual destiny or lot, good or bad, with many variations and mergings. The frequency, use, meaning, and importance of the word δαίμων in the authors mentioned above were meant to be indicated in this survey. It is characteristic of the modern conceptual mind to categorize and classify meanings. Undoubtedly, to the Greek mind, the word and the idea had a fluidity and range greater than possibly can be understood by the modern age, und certainly the Greeks did not stop to categorize, whenever they made use of the word, at least not conscicously.

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΙΣ

Ὁ δαίμων εἰς τὴν κλασσικὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Λογοτεχνίαν

Εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν μελέτην ὁ συγγραφεὺς προβαίνει εἰς γενικὴν ἐξέτασιν τῆς ἐννοίας δαίμων καὶ τῶν παραγώγων τῆς δαιμονικὸς καὶ εὐδαίμων εἰς τὴν κλασσικὴν Ἑλλην. Λογοτεχνίαν - Ὅμηρον, Ἡσίοδον, Προσωκρατικούς, Λυρικούς, Πίνδαρον, Ἡρόδοτον καὶ Θουκυδίδην. καθορίζει τὴν ἔκτασιν τῶν σημασιῶν τῆς ἐννοίας καὶ ταξινομεῖ τὴν χρῆσιν τῆς λέξεως καὶ τὴν συχνότητα τῶν ἀποχρώσεων τοῦ νοήματος τῶν σημασιῶν της, διαπιστώνει δὲ μίαν εὐρυτέραν ρευστότητα καὶ ποικιλίαν τῆς ἐννοίας ἢ ὅσον θὰ ἠδύνατο νὰ φαντασθῇ ὁ σημερινὸς ἄνθρωπος.

NOTES

1. θεὲ doesn't occur until Hellenistic times, and, of course, frequently in the Christian vocabulary.

2. δαίμονες is used in the plural in Modern Greek also, as well as with the meaning "evil spirits", 'devils'.

3. Compare Martin P. Nilsson's article on *daimon* in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*; Martin P. Nilsson, *A History of Greek Religion,* trans. F. J. Fielden, Oxford 1925. p.p. 165-168; M. P. Nilsson, A.R.W. XII. (1924) 363 ff.; *Geschichte d. griech. Religion* 1. 201ff; H. J. Rose, *H.T.R.* XXVIII (1935), p. 243; the article on *daimon* in the 3d supplement of Pauly-Wissowa (267-322).

4. See also Friedrich Pfister's article on δαίμων in the 7th supplement of Pauly-Wissowa: *Real Encyclopädie,* as well as the regular article.

5. For *numen,* see H. H. Rose, "Numen and Mana", *Harvard Theological Review XLIV* 1951, pp. 109-120. On page 109, Rose tells us that "numen signifies a superhuman force, impersonal in itself but regularly belonging to a person (a god of some kind)..." On p. 110, we are informed that *genius* is the common Latin translation of δαίμων.

6. *Cratylus* 398 v: τοῦτο τοίνυν παντὸς μᾶλλον λέγει, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τοὺς δαίμονας ὅτι φρόνιμοι καὶ δαήμονες ἦσαν, δαίμονας αὐτοὺς ὠνόμασεν καὶ ἔν γε τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φωνῇ αὐτὸ συμβαίνει τ᾽ὄνομα.

7. Both genitives occur, though the most familiar is certainly larum. Cf. Emile Boisacq, *Dictionnaire Etymologique de la langue Grecque,* 4 ed., Heidelberg, 1950. p. 162.

8. This is an important observation.

9. Cf. Richard J. Cunliffe, *Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect,* London, 1924.

10. I would not.

11. Cf. the *Homeric Hymn to Aprodite,* ll. 218-255.

12. The readings of the text would vary with the editor. Though Mazon would reject ll. 124-125, I would keep them as is.

13. Heber Michel Hays, *Notes on the Works and Days of Hesiod,* Chicago, 1918, p. 106.

14. εὐδαίμων: Heracleitus B 4 (I 151. 9); Gorgias B. 10 ((II. 287.24); εὐδαιμονικός: Anaxarchus B 1 (II. 239.21).

15. The third edition edited by Ernst Diehl.

16. In Ernst Diehl's third edition δαίμονες (p. 143) and δαίμων (p. 144). I mention here also the oc currences in the ΧΡΥΣΑ ΕΠΗ of Pseudo-Pythagoras in Diehl: p. 82 l. 3; p. 84 l. 17; p. 89 l. 62; p. 99 l. 101 for records' sake.

17. It is interesting to note that a widely used book like John H. Finley, jr.'s *Pindar and Aeschylus* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1955). contains no discussion of *daimon* in Pindar or in Aeschylus.

18. There have been many excellent books published on Greek drama over the past thirty years. One that has been, recently reissued is Hugh Lloyd-Jones, *The Justice of Zeus* (Revised Edition: Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1983). *Daimon* in Herodotus is metioned on pp. 64, 84, and 150; in Aeschylus on no page; in Sophocles on p. 162; and in Euripides on p. 149. My own study of *draimon* should be considered preliminary and tentative but aready begins to give some idea of the magnitude and the importance of the subject for ancient Greek literature and religion.