

WEATHER LORE AS A SOURCE OF HOMERIC IMAGERY

That Homer* was indebted to folklore for some of his themes and narrative devices is a fact widely accepted by scholars¹. The purpose of this paper is to illuminate the poet's debts, hitherto unrecognised, to a particular branch of folklore, i.e., the lore of the weather.

The ancient occupations whose practitioners especially needed weather wisdom were agriculture, herding and seafaring. That all three were extensively practised in Bronze Age Greece is clear from the Linear B tablets (e.g., Pylos tablets Er 312, agriculture; Un 2, herding; An 1, seafaring)². It is reasonable to suppose that the farmers, shepherds and seamen of Pylos, for example, had at their disposal a body of weather signs derived from natural phenomena, perhaps the same signs that were known to the Boeotian farmer-poet, Hesiod, some five hundred years later: thus the cosmical setting of the Pleiades in late October - early November may have served to tell the farmers of Pylos to sow their barley and wheat and its seamen to leave the sea before the onset of winter storms (Hesiod, *Op.* 383-4, 613-7, 619-21), while the summer solstice may have announced to them the arrival of the safest period for sailing (Hesiod, *Op.* 663-5), the period possibly denoted by the word *po-ro-wi-to-jo* on a tablet from the palace (Tn 316)³.

Homer reveals an intimate familiarity with the life of the farmer, shepherd

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1. The name «Homer» is used here to denote the poet and his tradition. The following works may be taken as representing an extensive literature on Homer's debt to folklore: D. L. Page, *Folktales in Homer's Odyssey*, Cambridge, Mass., 1973; H. Petersmann, «Homer und das Märchen», *Wiener Studien* 94 (1981) 43-68; W. Hansen, «Homer and the Folktale», in: I. Morris & B. Powell (eds.), *A New Companion to Homer*, Leiden - New York - Köln 1997, pp. 442-462. The text from which Homeric quotations are taken is *Iliad*, ed. T. W. Allen, vols. 3, Oxford 1931.

2. Cf. J. Chadwick, *The Mycenaean World*, Cambridge 1976, pp. 100, 110 and 173.

3. For L. R. Palmer's plausible suggestion that this word is to be transliterated as *Plowistos* (= «fit for sailing») cf. his «A Mycenaean calendar of offerings», *Eranos* 53 (1955) 11.

and sailor in the Greek world of the eighth century B.C.⁴ The existence of a body of Greek weather signs at this time is proved beyond doubt by Hesiod. Therefore, one is justified *a priori* in assuming that Homer also had knowledge of these signs. The validity of this assumption will be tested in the light of (a) information provided over many later centuries by Greek writers on weather lore and (b) the evidence of contemporary Greek weather lore as orally preserved⁵. The durability of folk beliefs, which enables them to survive the passage of millennia, allows us to subject Homer to this kind of retrospective examination⁶.

In *Iliad* 4 the goddess, Athene, as she descends from Mount Olympus to the Trojan plain, is compared to a shooting star, brightly shining and emitting many sparks (75-84):

4. For Homer's familiarity with herding cf. *Il.* 3.1, 4.275-9 (discussed in this article), 4.452-5, 8.555-9 (discussed in this article), 16.352-5, 17.20-1, 18.525-9, 18.573-89; with agriculture cf. *Il.* 18.541-72, *Od.* 10.410-4, 18.356-75, 21.48-9, 22.299; with seafaring cf. *Od.* 5.244-60, 5.271-7.

5. The later sources (abbreviated titles in brackets) from whom evidence is chiefly drawn are: Pseudo-Theophrastus, *De Signis* (*De Sign.*), ed. A. Hort (in *Theophrastus: Enquiry into Plants*, vol. II), London & New York 1916; Aratus, *Phaenomena* (*Phaen.*), ed. G. R. Mair, London & New York 1921; Pseudo-Aristotle, *Problemata* (*Probl.*), ed. W. S. Hett, vols 2, London & Cambridge, Mass. 1961 and 1965; *Papyrus Wessely* (*Pap. Wess.*): seven fragments of a papyrus from the 2nd cent. B. C., first published by C. Wessely, «Bruchstücke einer antiken Schrift über Wetterzeichen», *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* [Phil.-Hist. Classe, CXLII, Abh], Wien 1900 and again, with valuable corrections, by O. Neugebauer, «Über griechische Wetterzeichen und Schattentafeln», *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* [Phil.-Hist. Classe, CCXL], Bd. II, Wien 1962, pp. 26-44; Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* (*Tetrab.*), eds. F. Boll & A. E. Boer, Leipzig 1957; Ioannes Lydus, *De Ostentis* (*De Ost.*), ed. C. Wachsmuth, Leipzig 1897; *Geoponica* (*Geopon.*), ed. H. Beckh, Leipzig 1895; Παρασημειώσεις προγνωστικαὶ περὶ τῆς μελλούσης τοῦ ἀέρος καταστάσεως, an anonymous collection of weather signs found in the 15th cent. *Codex Laurentianus* (*Cod. Laur.*) 28,32 (foll. 12-5) and edited by M. Heeger, as an appendix to his *De Theophrasti qui fertur περὶ σημείων libro*, Leipzig 1899; Michael Glykas, *Biblos Khronike* (*Bibl. Khron.*), ed. I. Bekker, Bonn 1836; Ioannes Tzetzes, *Allegoriae in Iliadem* (*All. in Il.*), ed. Boissonade, Paris 1851; *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum* (CCAG), eds. F. Cumont et al., vols. 9, Brussels 1899-1953.

For references to recent Greek weather lore my debts are chiefly to Δ. Α. Κρεκούκίας, *Τὰ Προγνωστικὰ τοῦ καιροῦ εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν, μεσαιωνικὴν καὶ τὴν νεωτέραν Ἑλλάδα*, Athens 1966 (= Krekoukias), supplemented by my own enquiries over many years in various parts of Greece and by my study of the *Oral History Archives* of The Centre for Asia Minor Studies in Athens, a study facilitated by the kindness of its Director, Professor P. Kitromilidis, and of its Researcher, Dr. G. Yiannakopoulos. Only a selection of this post-Homeric evidence will be quoted in full.

6. The existence of a body of orally transmitted weather maxims some four centuries after Homer is clearly acknowledged by Pseudo-Theophrastus, when he writes τὸ δημόσιον ... λεγόμενον (*De Sign.* 23), φασι δέ τινες (*De Sign.* 25), ἐν δὲ τῷ Πόντῳ φασὶν (*De Sign.* 41), τὸ πανταχοῦ δὲ λεγόμενον σημεῖον (*De Sign.* 49). The reference to Pontus is particularly noteworthy, as it suggests the existence of a body of weather lore in a district close to Homer's native Ionia.

οἶον δ' ἀστέρα ἦκε πάϊς ἀγκυλομήτεω,
 ἢ ναύτησι τέρας ἢ στρατῶ εὐρέϊ λαῶν,
 λαμπρόν· τοῦ δέ τε πολλοὶ ἀπὸ σπινθήρες ἴενται·
 τῶ εἵκυτ' ἦἴξεν ἐπὶ χθόνα Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη,
 καὶ δ' ἔθορ' ἐς μέσσον· θάμβος δ' ἔχεν εἰσορόωντας,
 Τρῶάς θ' ἵπποδάμους καὶ εὐκνήμιδας Ἀχαιούς·
 ὦδε δέ τις εἶπεσκεν ἰδὼν ἐς πλησίον ἄλλον·
 «ἦ ῥ' αὖτις πόλεμός τε κακὸς καὶ φύλοπις αἰνῆ
 ἔσσειται, ἢ φιλότητα μετ' ἀμφοτέροισι τίθησι
 Ζεύς, ὃς τ' ἀνθρώπων ταμίης πολέμοιο τέτυκται».

The phenomenon is said to serve as an omen to sailors or to an army but what it is said to portend, i.e. either peace or war, is applicable only to an army. To discover what it portends for sailors we must turn to a complementary passage in *Iliad* 17.547-9:

ἦῦτε πορφυρέην ἴριν θνητοῖσι τανύσση
 Ζεὺς ἐξ οὐρανόθεν, τέρας ἔμμεναι ἢ πολέμοιο,
 ἦ καὶ χειμῶνος δυσθαλπέος [...]

Here a celestial phenomenon, the rainbow, is given a twofold significance: it is an omen of war or chilling storm. But for whom? Surely the passage in *Iliad* 4 leads us to the answer: for soldiers and sailors respectively. Returning to the latter passage, we may now conclude that what, according to Homer, a shooting star portends for sailors is wintry weather.

Homer assumes that the meteorological significance he attaches to the shooting star and the rainbow was well known to his audience. Already it must have become part of folk belief in the eighth century B.C.. It is acknowledged by later Greek writers on weather lore and by Greek weather prophets of recent times. Of the belief in the shooting star as a harbinger of inclement weather one may note the following literary survivals⁷:

[Theophr., *De Sign.* 13⁸:

ἀστέρες πολλοὶ διάττοντες ὕδατος ἢ πνεύματος (sc. εἰσι σημεῖον), καὶ ὄθεν ἂν διάττωσιν ἐντεῦθεν τὸ πνεῦμα ἢ τὸ ὕδωρ.

7. Cf. also Lyd. *De Ost.* 57; *Geopon.* 1.11.9. For Latin references to shooting stars as weather signs cf. Virg. *G.* 1.365-7 and Plin. *HN.* 18.352.

8. For the authorship, sources and date of this work cf. P. Cronin, «The Authorship and Sources of the *Peri Semeion* ascribed to Theophrastus», in *Theophrastus: His Psychological, Doxographical, and Scientific Writings*, W. F. Fortenbaugh & D. Gutas (eds.) [Rutgers University Studies in Classical Humanities, vol. V], New Brunswick (U.S.A.) 1992, pp. 307-345.

[Theophr., *De Sign.* 37:

ὄθεν ἂν ἀστέρες διάττωσι πολλοί, ἄνεμον ἐντεῦθεν· ἐὰν δὲ πανταχόθεν ὁμοίως, πολλὰ πνεύματα σημαίνουσιν.

Arat., *Phaen.* 926-9:

Καὶ διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν ὄτ' ἀστέρες αἴσσωσιν
ταρφέα, τοὶ δ' ὄπιθεν ῥυμοὶ ὑπολευκαίνωνται,
δειδέχθαι κείνοις αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἐρχομένοιο
πνεύματος.

Ptol., *Tetrab.* 2.14.10:

αἱ δὲ διαδρομαὶ καὶ οἱ ἀκοντισμοὶ τῶν ἀστέρων εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ μιᾶς γίνοντο γωνίας, τὸν ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἄνεμον δηλοῦσι, εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀκαταστασίαν πνευμάτων, εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων, παντοίους χειμῶνας μέχρι βροντῶν καὶ ἀστραπῶν καὶ τῶν τοιούτων.

The same belief lives on in many parts of modern Greece, e.g., on Lesbos, where they say:

“Ὅταν χύνονται τ' ἀστέρια, θὰ πάρ' ἀγέρας?”

Ever since Homer's day Greeks have seen the rainbow as a sign of unpleasant weather, as the following passages show¹⁰:

[Theophr., *De Sign.* 22:

ὅταν ἴρις γένηται, ἐπισημαίνει· ἐὰν τε πολλαὶ ἴριδες γένωνται, σημαίνει ὕδωρ ἐπὶ πολὺ.

Ptol. *Tetrab.* 2.14.11:

αἱ τε συνιστάμεναι κατὰ καιροὺς ἴριδες χειμῶνα μὲν ἐξ εὐδίας [...] προσημαίνουσι.

M. Glykas, *Bibl. Khron.* I, p. 58:

εὐδίας δὲ οὐσης εἶγε φανείη (sc. ἴρις), χειμῶνα [...] ἐμήνυσε.

Tzetz. *Alleg. In Il.* 1.210:

ἴρις δ' ἐκ πελάγουσ ἄνεμον φέρει ἢ μέγαν ὄμβρον.

Homer's choice of the epithet πορφυρέην bears remarkable testimony to the accuracy of his observation: the rainbow he has in mind is one in which the

9. Krekoukias, p. 118, quoting Χειρόγραφον Λαογραφικοῦ Ἀρχείου, 1146B', p. 321.

10. Cf. also Lyd. *De Ost.* 9; Procl. *In Tetrab.* 2.14; *Geopon.* 1.3.5; CCAG, VIII, 1.139. For Latin references to the rainbow as a weather sign cf. Virg. *G.* 1.380-2 and Plin. *HN.* 18.353.

dark colours, especially red, predominate, the kind of rainbow which, according to the *Suda* (s.v. ἴρις), precedes strong wind and rain:

Τῆς ἰριδος [...] τὸ πυρρὸν πνευμάτων (sc. σημαντικόν)· τὸ δὲ μελανίζον ὑδάτων.

Among the Greeks of today one still finds those for whom the rainbow serves as a *τέρας χειμῶνος δυσθαλπέος*. The farmers of Saidon in the Mani, for example, say that a rainbow by the sea indicates heavy rain:

Σουσουπάρα (= ἴρις) στὸ γιαλό,
οὔτε κατσὶ (= γαττί) στὸ φοῦρνο¹¹.

In *Iliad* 10 the fearful groans of Agamemnon are said to be as frequent as the lightning of Zeus before a deluge of rain or hail or snow or an outbreak of war (5-10):

ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἀστράπτῃ πόσις Ἥρης ἠυκόμοιο,
τεύχων ἢ πολὺν ὄμβρον ἀθέσφατον ἢε χάλαζαν
ἢ νιφετόν, ὅτε πέρ τε χιῶν ἐπάλυνεν ἀρούρας,
ἢε ποθι πτολέμοιο μέγα στόμα πευκεδανοῖο,
ὡς πυκίν' ἐν στήθεσσι ἀνεστενάχιζ' Ἀγαμέμνων
νειόθεν ἐκ κραδίης, τρομέοντο δὲ οἱ φρένες ἐντός.

Here again a natural phenomenon is credited with a twofold predictive power. Lightning has always been associated with rain in the Greek popular mind¹². We read:

[Theophr.,] *De Sign.* 21:

ἀστραπαὶ δὲ ἕαν γε πανταχόθεν γένωνται, ὕδατος ἂν ἢ ἀνέμου σημεῖον.

Arat. *Phaen.* 933-6:

αὐτὰρ ὅτ' ἐξ εὐροιο καὶ ἐκ νότου ἀστράπησιν
ἄλλοτε δ' ἐκ ζεφύροιο, καὶ ἄλλοτε πὰρ βορέαο
δὴ τότε τις πελάγει ἐνὶ δεΐδιε ναυτίλος ἀνήρ
μή μιν τῇ μὲν ἔχη πέλαγος τῇ δ' ἐκ Διὸς ὕδωρ.

Georon. I. 3.3¹³:

ἕαν δὲ ποτὲ μὲν ἐκ νότου, ποτὲ δὲ ἐκ βορέου ἢ εὐρου ἀστραπαὶ φέρωνται, προορατέον ὅτι ἐκεῖθεν μὲν ὄμβρος, ἔνθεν δὲ ἄνεμος ἐπενεχθήσεται.

11. Krekoukias, p. 109.

12. For Latin references to lightning as a weather sign cf. Virg. *G.* 1.370-3 and Plin. *HN.* 18.354.

13. Despite the fact that the author of *Georonica* acknowledges that he is indebted to Aratus for 1.2-4, I quote him here, since there is not exact agreement with his source.

The older inhabitants of Vassaras in Laconia still believe that:

“Όταν οἱ ἀστραπέδες εἶναι νοτερὰ καὶ ψηλά, τότε θὰ βρέξῃ¹⁴.”

There is no explicit evidence of a popular association of lightning with hail and snow but such an association may be implied by Pseudo-Theophrastus and the author of *Codex Laurentianus*:

[Theophr.], *De Sign.* 43:

καὶ ἐὰν ἀστραπὴ λαμπρὰ μὴ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μένῃ, χειμέριον.

Cod. Laur. IX. 1-2:

βρονταὶ καὶ ἀστραπαὶ ὅθεν ἂν γίνωνται, ἐκεῖθεν τὸν χειμῶνα δηλοῦσιν.

The words *χειμέριον* (*De Sign.*) and *χειμῶνα* (*Cod. Laur.*) may reasonably be taken as denoting the combination of meteorological conditions, including hail and snow, that characterise the Greek winter now, as it did in Homer's day¹⁵.

Homer by interpreting each of these celestial phenomena as an omen both of war and of difficult weather leads us to infer that in his day Greek weather lore was not clearly differentiated from divination of a more general nature. It is noteworthy that among the earliest Babylonian astrological predictions we find some that refer to the weather, e.g.: «When Venus appears in Abu from the first to the thirtieth day, there will be rain and the crops of the land will prosper»¹⁶.

We may reasonably conclude that, by its very nature as a predictive mechanism, weather lore, in its embryonic state, was virtually inseparable from astrology, a relationship that may have arisen in the primitive imagination from a belief that celestial forces control the weather, as they control human destiny. Indeed this perceived relationship long outlived Homer. It is acknowledged by Pindar in *Paeon IX*, when he wonders which one of a range of calamities, including war and ruinous weather, is portended for Thebes by a total eclipse of the sun (13-20)¹⁷:

πολέμοιο δὲ σᾶμα φέρεις τινός,
ἢ καρποῦ φθίσειν, ἢ νιφετοῦ σθένος
ὑπέρφρατον, ἢ στάσιν οὐλομένην
ἢ πόντου κενεώσιας ἄμ' πέδον,

14. Krekoukias, p. 131, quoting G. Vassarevs, *Μαλεβός* 3 (1922-1923) No 29 147.

15. Hesiod, *Op.* 504-63, provides a memorable description of a Boeotian winter.

16. R. C. Thompson, *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon*, London 1900, p. 62.

17. Ed. B. Snell.

ἢ παγετὸν χθονός, ἢ νότιον θέρος
 ὕδατι ζακότῳ ῥέον,
 ἢ γαῖαν κατακλύσαισα θήσεις
 ἀνδρῶν νέον ἐξ ἀρχᾶς γένος;

That it was a relationship easily entertained by the Greek mind and therefore destined to remain credible over many centuries is evidenced by the fact that in the sixth century *De Ostentis* of Ioannes Lydus and in the still later astrological codices omens of various kinds touching on the human condition are interspersed with weather signs¹⁸. While it is true that this later amalgamation of astrology and weather lore is chiefly due to Babylonian influence, the passages cited above from Homer make it clear that it was an amalgamation familiar to the Greeks long before the third century B.C., when they probably first came into contact with Babylonian astrology¹⁹. One wonders, therefore, why Theophrastus, according to Proclus (*In Ti.* III. 151. 1), should have been amazed at the claim of the Chaldaeans to be able to predict from celestial phenomena the lives and deaths of individuals as well as changes in the weather.

In *Iliad* 4 the awe inspired by the advancing squadrons of the Aiantes is compared to that felt by a goatherd who sees a dark cloud approaching across the sea from the west and knows that it precedes a violent storm, from which he must protect his herd (275-279):

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἀπὸ σκοπιῆς εἶδεν νέφος αἰπόλος ἀνήρ
 ἐρχόμενον κατὰ πόντον ὑπὸ Ζεφύροιο ἰωῆς·
 τῷ δὲ τ' ἀνευθεν ἐόντι μελάντερον ἤϋτε πίσσα
 φαίνεται' ἰὸν κατὰ πόντον, ἄγει δέ τε λαίλαπα πολλήν,
 ῥίγησεν τε ἰδῶν, ὑπὸ τε σπέος ἤλασε μῆλα.

The felicity of observation underlying this comparison is convincingly proven by Theophrastus, from whom we learn that Ζέφυρος blows with storm force in some places (*De Vent.* 38: perhaps we may infer from the Homeric passage that the coast of Asia Minor, the probable home of Homer's goatherd, was one of these places) and, secondly, that it is the wind that brings the greatest clouds (*De Vent.* 42)²⁰. Since both Theophrastus (*De Vent.* 38) and Pseudo-

18. Cf. Lyd. *De Ost.* 20-7 and CCAG, VIII.1.137-40, XI.174-83.

19. For the influence of Babylonian astrology on Greece cf. T. Barton, *Ancient Astrology*, London & New York 1994, pp. 21-3.

20. Among other allusions to Homer's Ionian environment one may mention here *Il.* 2.144-6 and 9.4-7; cf. G. L. Huxley, «Homer's Perception of his Ionian Circumstances», *Maynooth*

Aristotle (*Probl.* 52) say that Ζέφυρος is an afternoon wind of spring and late autumn, one is tempted to assume that Homer visualises his goatherd as making his alarming observation at this time of day and year. Especially in late autumn the goatherd would have been alert for signs of bad weather, signs that would warn him of winter's approach and of the need to take his herd to lowland pastures. One remembers the shepherds in Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*, who each year at the heliacal rising²¹ of Arcturus in late September brought their flocks back to winter stalls from their pastures on Cithaeron (1138-1139)²²:

χειμῶνα δ' ἤδη τὰμά τ' εἰς ἔπαυλ' ἐγὼ
ἤλαυνον οὐτός τ' εἰς τὰ Λαΐου σταθμά.

In Greece today the direction in which clouds are seen to move still serves as a weather sign. In Elis, for example, clouds moving northwards towards Patras, used to be taken (and possibly still are) as a sign of rain:

Πᾶν τὰ σύγνεφα στὴν Πάτρα,
πᾶνε τὰ γρανιά (= τάφοι) γεμάτα²³.

The Greeks who, prior to the upheaval of 1922, lived in the village of Dila in Asia Minor, used to expect foul weather whenever they saw clouds approaching from Mount Silata to the west:

Κοιτούσαμε τὰ Σίλατα. Ἄ σὴ Σίλατα ἔστραψε ἢ σηκώθην μπουλούτ
(= σύννεφο), νὰ (= θὰ) βρέξ²⁴.

In *Iliad* 5 the withdrawal of Ares to Olympus, after he had been wounded by Diomedes, is described in the following words (864-867):

οἷη δ' ἐκ νεφέων ἐρεβεννὴ φαίνεται ἀήρ
καύματος ἔξ ἀνέμοιο δυσάεος ὀρνυμένιοι,
τοῖος Τυδεΐδῃ Διομήδῃ χάλκεος Ἄρης
φαίνεθ' ὁμοῦ νεφέεσιν ἰὼν εἰς οὐρανὸν εὐρύν.

Review 3 (1977) 73-84. The semantic connection of Ζέφυρος and ζόφος surely originated in the association of this wind with gloomy weather.

21. The heliacal rising of a star is its first visible rising on the eastern horizon immediately before sunrise.

22. Eds. H. Lloyd-Jones & L. G. Wilson.

23. Krekoukias, p. 125, quoting Nt. Psykhogios, «Μετεωρολογικὰ Ἠλειώτικα», *Ἠλειακά* 18 (1959) 631.

24. *Oral History Archives, Kappadokia* 171 (Dila), Centre for Asia Minor Studies, Athens.

Homer does not say explicitly how the three natural elements, ἐρεβεννή ἀήρ, καῦμα and ἄνεμος δυσαήης, are related to one another, because he could take it for granted that the interrelationship was known to his audience: they believed that a dark mist following a period of heat heralded the approach of wind. The following passage from Eustathius, referring to essentially the same details as Homer, testifies to the existence in the twelfth century A.D. of this piece of folk meteorology (*Ad Il. et Od.* 615.29)²⁵:

Ὅπηνίκα, καυματηρᾶς οὔσης τῆς ἡμέρας, πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἢ
δύσιν μελαίνεται ὁ ἀήρ, ἄνεμος προσδοκᾶται.

The words of Eustathius allow us to infer that Homer's mist (ἐρεβεννή ἀήρ) appeared in the east or in the west. Failure to see that Homer's simile was based on a specific weather sign has led scholars to erroneous identifications of ἐρεβεννή ἀήρ as «a whirlwind of dust raised by the Scirocco» (Leaf), «a thunderbolt» (Monro), «a whirlwind or tornado» (Willcock)²⁶.

In *Iliad* 8 the watchfires of the Trojans are said to be like certain natural phenomena that delight the heart of a shepherd (555-559)²⁷:

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄστρα φαεινὴν ἀμφὶ σελήνην
φαίνεται ἄριπρεπέα, ὅτε τ' ἔπλετο νήμενος αἰθήρ·
ἔκ τ' ἔφανεν πᾶσαι σκοπιαὶ καὶ πρόωνες ἄκροι
καὶ νάπαι· οὐρανόθεν δ' ἄρ' ὑπερράγη ἄσπετος αἰθήρ,
πάντα δὲ τ' εἶδεται ἄστρα, γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα ποιμήν.

The very splendour of the scene he contemplates, a luminous landscape beneath brightly shining moon and stars, thrills the shepherd's heart but part of his delight surely springs from his awareness, gained by practical experience, that the scene betokens the continuation of fine weather.

The moon that so generously bathes the landscape in its light is surely a full moon. A brilliant full moon has always heralded fine weather for the Greeks, as the following passages show²⁸:

25. Ed. M. van der Walk.

26. W. Leaf, *The Iliad*, 2nd edition, London 1900-1902, ad 5.865; D. B. Monro, *Homer: Iliad*, Oxford 1884, ad 5.864; M. M. Willcock, *The Iliad of Homer*, London 1978, ad 5.864-5.

27. Lines 557-8 were omitted by Zenodotus and athetised by Aristophanes and Aristarchus, on the grounds of being wrongly introduced from *Il.* 16.299-300: modern editors have accepted them with acknowledged reluctance. Their genuineness is not decisive for my interpretation.

28. For Latin references to a clear full moon as a sign of fine weather cf. Varro ap. Plin. *HN.* 18.348.

[Theophr., *De Sign.* 50:

Εὐδίας δὲ σημεία τάδε. ἥλιος μὲν ἀνιὼν λαμπρὸς καὶ μὴ καουματίας καὶ μὴ ἔχων σημεῖον μηδὲν ἐν ἑαυτῷ εὐδίαν σημαίνει. ὡς δ' αὐτως σελήνη πανσελήνω.

Arat. *Phaen.* 802:

πάντη γὰρ καθαρῇ κε μάλ' εὐδία τεκμήραιο.

Cod. Laur. VI. 2-3:

καὶ πανσέληνος δὲ οὔσα ἐὰν καθαρὰ φανῇ, εὐδίαν σημαίνει.

CCAG, VIII.139.22-3:

εὐχρους ἐν πανσελήνω εὐδίαν σημαίνει.

On the other hand, a cloudy full moon has served and continues to serve as a sign of rain, wind or storm for the Greek weather prophet. From an astrological text we learn:

CCAG, VIII.139.23:

μελαινομένη (sc. ἡ σελήνη) ἐν πανσελήνω, ὑετώδης.

This sign finds expression among the seamen of Leros today as:

“Αμα τὸ φεγγάρι εἶναι μὲ τσίμλα (= τσίμπλα), δηλαδή ἔχη ὀμπρὸς θολούρα, θὰ σηκωθῇ φουρτούνα²⁹.

The Greeks who, early in the nineteenth century, lived in Bithynia, close to Homer's homeland, preserved the ancient belief in somewhat different terms:

“Όταν ἡ σελήνη καλύπτεται ὑπὸ ὀμίχλης, προμηνύεται ἄνεμος³⁰.

The stars of Homer's passage shine with a steady brightness (ἀριπρεπέα), thus reassuring the shepherd that bad weather is not imminent, as it would be, according to later Greek weather lore, if their light was dimmed³¹. In the records of Greek weather lore we repeatedly find bad weather being predicted from the dimming of starlight. Thus Aratus tells us (*Phaen.* 1013, 1017-8):

29. Krekoukias, p. 113, quoting Χειρόγραφον Λαογραφικοῦ Ἀρχείου, 2279, 10.

30. Krekoukias, p. 113, quoting Χειρόγραφον Λαογραφικοῦ Ἀρχείου, 243, 7.

31. The author's inference that the steady brightness of the stars indicated fine weather for the Greeks seems justified by their association of dimly shining stars with bad weather and is explicitly supported by Virgil, who, drawing on Aratus, gives as a sign of good weather: *nam neque tum stellis acies obtunsa videtur* (*G.* 1.395).

ἦμος δ' ἀστερόθεν καθαρὸν φάος ἀμβλύνηται
 ...
 μηκέτι τοι τόδε σῆμα γαληναίης ἐπικείσθω,
 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ χεῖμα δόκευε.

In the village of Sverdia on Limnos they say:

Ὅταν τ' ἄστρα εἶναι θολά, ἔχει βροχή³².

In *Iliad* 11 Hector, as he appears in all his glory, now here, now there, among the Trojan ranks, is likened to a baneful star that glitters fitfully in a cloudy sky (62-6):

οἶος δ' ἐκ νεφέων ἀναφαίνεται οὐλιος ἀστὴρ
 παμφαίνων, τοτὲ δ' αὖτις ἔδου νέφεα σκιόοντα,
 ὡς Ἴκτωρ δ' ὅτε μὲν τε μετὰ πρότοισι φάνεσκεν,
 ἄλλοτε δ' ἐν πυμάτοισι κελεύων· πᾶς δ' ἄρα χαλκῶ
 λάμφ' ὡς τε στεροπὴ πατρὸς Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.

Evidence for identifying the star in question with Sirius, *alias* Orion's Dog, is provided by a simile in *Iliad* 22, describing Achilles in his flashing armour of bronze (25-31)³³:

τὸν δ' ὁ γέρων Πρίαμος πρῶτος ἴδεν ὀφθαλμοῖσι,
 παμφαίνονθ' ὡς τ' ἀστέρ' ἀπεσσύμενον πεδίωιο,
 ὃς ῥά τ' ὀπώρης εἶσιν, ἀρίζηλοι δὲ οἱ αὐγαὶ
 φαίνονται πολλοῖσι μετ' ἀστράσι νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ·
 ὄν τε κύν' Ὀρίωνος ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσι.
 λαμπρότατος μὲν ὃ γ' ἐστί, κακὸν δέ τε σῆμα τέτυκται,
 καί τε φέρει πολλὸν πυρετὸν δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν.

The prepositional element in ἀναφαίνεται (11.62) may in this context have a special significance denoting, as in the possibly analogous ἀνατέλλει, the rising of the star above the horizon³⁴. There was one particular rising of Sirius that attracted the attention of the ancient weather prophet, i.e., its heliacal rising at dawn, the time denoted by the phrase νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ, the time of the dawn milking³⁵. The phrase νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ surely indicates that

32. Krekoukias, p. 113, quoting Χειρόγραφον Λαογραφικοῦ Ἀρχείου, 1160Γ', 134.

33. Schol. A and B identify this star as Sirius.

34. It is probable that in the fifth century B.C. ἀνατέλλειν was replaced by ἐπιτέλλειν in astronomical terminology as the verb denoting a seasonal, as distinct from a daily rising of a star: cf. P. Cronin, *op.cit.*, p. 315.

35. The usual meaning of the phrase νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ in Homer is not «dead of night», *pace*

this is the rising which Homer has in mind. To Homer, as to Hesiod and several Greek writers, this astronomical event proclaimed the arrival in early August of deadly, enervating heat (φέρει πολλὸν πυρετὸν δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν: 22.31)³⁶. Rightly then does Homer, drawing on his knowledge of weather lore, describe Sirius as οὐλιος ἀστῆρ (11.62) and as κακὸν σῆμα (22.30).

By describing Sirius as οὐλιος (11.62) Homer would seem to imply that he considered the star to be the force which was actually responsible for the weather attendant upon its heliacal rising. His use of the verb φέρει (22.31), with κύων Ὠρίωνος as its understood subject, may be seen as reinforcing this conclusion. While it may be that this verb in this particular context is simply a graphic poeticism, such as we find in *Iliad* 8.541, where a certain day is said to «bring evil» to the Greeks, and in *Odyssey* 1.283, where rumour is said to «bring news» to men, nevertheless, the fact that later writers clearly ascribe the debilitating weather to the active agency of Sirius makes it probable that Homer did likewise. Thus he is attributing to Sirius a certain quasi-divine power cognate to that enjoyed by the stars in astrology. Here then we may have further evidence that astrology and weather lore had their origin in the same primitive level of human reasoning, as man sought to account for and anticipate forces beyond his control³⁷.

In *Iliad* 14 Nestor, as he views with bewilderment the fleeing Greeks, is compared to a great sea troubled by a «dumb wave» before a storm (16-22):

ὥς δ' ὅτε πορφύρη πέλαγος μέγα κύματι κωφῶ,
ὀσσόμενον λιγέων ἀνέμων λαίψηρὰ κέλευθα
αὐτῶς, οὐδ' ἄρα τε προκυλίνδεται οὐδετέρωσε,
πρὶν τίνα κεκριμένον καταβήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς οὐρον,
ὥς ὁ γέρων ὤρμαινε δαΐζόμενος κατὰ θυμὸν
διχθάδι, ἢ μεθ' ὄμιλον ἴοι Δαναῶν ταχυπάλων,
ἦε μετ' Ἀτρεΐδην Ἀγαμέμνονα, ποιμένα λαῶν.

The «dumb wave», which serves Homer as a sinister omen (ὀσσόμενον) of approaching gales, has been correctly identified by Leaf as «the groundswell

LSJ, s.v. ἀμολγός.

36. Cf. Hes. *Op.* 587; Archil. fr. 107; Aesch. *Ag.* 967.

37. One may wonder whether the use in later Greek weather lore texts of the verb ποιεῖν as a synonym for σημαίνειν, to denote the relationship of a star to the meteorological phenomenon accompanying its rising or setting, is a continuing manifestation of the belief that the stars are responsible for some kinds of weather: cf. E. Pfeiffer, *Studien zum antiken Sternnglauben* [Stoicheia, Heft II], Leipzig 1916, p. 1.

produced by a storm at a distance, and often followed by the storm itself»³⁸. What seems to have escaped the notice of scholars is the poet's debt to weather lore, not only for the phenomenon of the «dumb wave», but perhaps also for his phraseology. This weather sign was probably known to Greeks of the eighth century B.C. who lived in coastal places other than those of Ionia. Some four centuries later it was certainly not confined to Ionian Greeks, for we find it expressed, though in different terms, by Pseudo-Theophrastus, Aratus and the anonymous author of *Papyrus Wessely*³⁹:

De Sign. 29:

θάλασσα οἰδοῦσα [...] ἀνεμώδης.

Phaen. 909-10.

σῆμα δέ τοι ἀνέμοιο καὶ οἰδαίνουσα θάλασσα γινέσθω [...]

Pap. Wess. fr. 3. ii. 2-4⁴⁰:

[θαλασσα οἰ]δουσα ευδιασ ουσης
[και ακται ψο]ουσαι και ηχουσαι
[ανεμους σ]ημαινουσι.

In 1989 an elderly lady on Paros reported it to the present author in language remarkably reminiscent of that used by Homer:

“Όταν ἔχει βουβὸ κύμα, προσδοκάμε κακοκαιρία⁴¹.”

In the village of Vlikhos on Levkas they say:

“Άμα ἔχουμε ρουβαλιές (= βουβὸν ἀνεβοκατέβασμα τῆς θαλάσσης), θά 'χουμε κακοκαιρία⁴².”

In *Iliad* 16 a meteorological simile is used to illustrate the delight felt by the Greeks after Patroklos had defeated the Trojan's attempt to burn their ships (297-300):

ὦς δ' ὅτ' ἀφ' ὑψηλῆς κορυφῆς ὄρεος μέγαλοιο
κινήση πυκινὴν νεφέλην στεροπηγερέτα Ζεὺς,
ἐκ τ' ἔφανεν πᾶσαι σκοπιαὶ καὶ πρόνες ἄκροισι
καὶ νάπαι, οὐρανόθεν δ' ἄρ' ὑπερράγη ἄσπετος αἰθήρ.

38. *Op.cit.*, ad 14.16.

39. For Latin references to the meteorological significance of this marine phenomenon cf. *Virg. G.* 1.366-7.

40. Ed. O. Neugebauer.

41. Marouso Spanou of Paroikia was my kind informant.

42. Krekoukias, p. 138.

As the removal of the cloud from the mountain top, with the accompanying brightness of the atmosphere and the illumination of the landscape, symbolises the sense of relief felt by the Greeks, so its presence, one may surely infer, symbolises their anxiety. Much of the simile's power resides in the fact that in reality the presence of a cloud on a mountain top signified for Homer and his audience the threat of storm, while its removal signified the removal of that threat and the promise of fine weather. Pseudo-Theophrastus and Aratus include cloud-capped mountain tops among their signs of wind⁴³:

De Sign. 34:

πρὸς κορυφῆς ὄρους ὀπόθεν ἄν νεφέλη μῆκύνηται, ταύτη ἄνεμος πνευ-
σεῖται.

Phaen. 920:

ἢ νεφέλη ὄρους μῆκύνεται ἐν κορυφῆσιν.

For both authors cloud-free mountain tops are a sign of fine weather:

De Sign. 51:

᾽Ολυμπος δὲ καὶ ᾽Αθως καὶ ὄλως τὰ ὄρη τὰ σημαντικὰ ὅταν τὰς κορυφὰς
καθαρὰς ἔχωσιν, εὐδίαν σημαίνει.

Phaen. 988-90:

Εἶ γε μὲν ἠερόεσσα παρἔξ ὄρους μέγαλοιο
πυθμένα τείνηται νεφέλη, ἄκραι δὲ κολῶναι
φαίνωνται καθαροί, μάλα κεν τόθ' ὑπεύδιος εἴης.

There can be few villages in Greece today whose inhabitants do not predict the weather from the cloudiness or clarity of a nearby mountain top. Thus the inhabitants of Meganisi on Levkas observe a burden of cloud on Mount Skaros and say:

Σκάρος πλακωμένος,
βροχὴ καταπιασμένη⁴⁴.

The author, on a recent visit to the village of Khalandriani in northern Syros, was assured by a local man that fine weather was certain, as «η κορυφο-
γραμμὴ των βουνῶν της Τήνου εἶναι καθαρὰ»⁴⁵.

The epithet στεροπηγερέτα, applied to Zeus as remover of the cloud, has

43. For Pliny, *HN.* 18.356, clouds signify storm.

44. Krekoukias, p. 126, quoting *Χειρόγραφον Λαογραφικοῦ Ἀρχείου*, 2276, 335.

45. My informant was George Printezis, an old friend.

seemed ill-chosen to some scholars, e.g. Leaf⁴⁶. But apart from wishing to avoid the intolerable combination νεφέλη νεφεληγερέτα, Homer may have chosen στεροπηγερέτα with an eye to meteorological reality, for lightning was sometimes associated with fine weather in Greek weather lore, as the following passage from Pseudo-Theophrastus shows (*De Sign.* 33):

Ἐὰν νότου πνέοντος βορρᾶθεν ἀστράπτῃ, παύεται· ἔαν ἔωθεν ἀστράπτῃ εἴωθε παύεσθαι τριταῖος, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πεμπταῖοι ἑβδομαῖοι ἔνναταῖοι, οἱ δὲ δειλινοὶ ταχὺ παύονται.

The equation underlying the simile of *Iliad* 16.297-300 is that of atmospheric light with human exultation. There follows almost at once another meteorological simile, as Homer describes how shouts of terror rise from the retreating Trojans (364-367):

ὧς δ' ὅτ' ἀπ' Ὀλύμπου νέφος ἔρχεται οὐρανὸν εἴσω
αἰθέρος ἐκ δίης, ὅτε τε Ζεὺς λαίλαπα τεῖνῃ,
ὧς τῶν ἐκ νηῶν γένετο ἰαχὴ τε φόβος τε,
οὐδὲ κατὰ μοῖραν πέραον πάλιν.

Here the equation, no less felicitous, is that of atmospheric gloom with human distress. The reasons why some scholars have found this simile unintelligible and have accordingly rejected it as spurious are, perhaps, best expressed by Leaf and Bayfield: «The αἰθήρ is to Homer the bright upper air, where no clouds are; it is wrong therefore to say that a cloud comes from this into the οὐρανὸς or lower sky. And even apart from this the simile illustrates nothing; why is the rout compared to a cloud except that both move?»⁴⁷. But the physical process described by the poet, so far from being impossible, is the normal process by which a cumulonimbus cloud settles on a mountain top and subsequently rises tower-like towards the heavens (οὐρανὸν εἴσω), until its summit reaches the higher regions of the atmosphere (αἰθήρ). It is altogether understandable that an observer, unacquainted with the convectional laws which produce a cumulonimbus cloud, would see it as originating partly in those higher regions and would, therefore, find the phrase αἰθέρος ἐκ δίης aptly descriptive of its origin. A cumulonimbus cloud produces any one or a combination of the following weather conditions: hail, rain, snow, thunderstorm; Homer's word λαίλαψ may be taken as embracing this meteorological variety. It is very misguided to say of this

46. W. Leaf, op.cit., ad 16.298.

47. W. Leaf & M. A. Bayfield, *The Iliad of Homer*, vol. II, London 1898, ad 16.364-71: they reject the whole passage as an interpolation.

simile that «there is no appropriateness anywhere» (Leaf and Bayfield); its details could scarcely be more true to nature and could be described with such fidelity only by one had himself watched the formation of a cumulonimbus cloud and was certain of its inevitable meteorological import. No more fitting commentary on the appropriateness of Homer's imagery can be found than the following words of Martin Nilsson, though written without reference to the poet: «Every traveller in Greece will have noticed how the clouds wiftly gather round the highest mountain top in the neighbourhood. In a short time the sky is covered with clouds, the roar of the thunder is heard and the rain pours down»⁴⁸.

As we have already noted, Olympus was part of Greek weather lore in the fourth century B.C., indicating fine weather when cloud-free (*De Sign.* 51, quoted above). Conversely, as we learn from Pseudo-Theophrastus, its cloud-capped summit announced the approach of bad weather (*De Sign.* 43):

Ἄθως καὶ Ὀλυμπος καὶ ὄλως ὀρέων κορυφαὶ κατεχόμεναι ὑπὸ νεφελῶν χειμέριον.

There is no reason why we ought not to infer from the Homeric passage that already in the eighth century B.C. it was regarded by the Greeks as meteorologically prophetic. We need not suppose that Homer himself ever saw it cloud-capped; he may well have learned of its role in weather lore from Ionian seamen who must often have seen it on their voyages and perhaps used it as a weather guide.

Olympus and Athos belonged to a group of mountains which collectively were known to Pseudo-Theophrastus and doubtless also to other Greeks as τὰ ὄρη τὰ σημαντικά (*De Sign.* 51, quoted above), because they were recognised as providing phenomena by which weather change could be predicted⁴⁹. A few generations after Homer, the lyric poet, Archilochus, allegorically expressing his foreboding of approaching war, mentions such a prophetic mountain (Fr. 56, Diehl)⁵⁰:

48. *A History of Greek Religion*, Oxford 1925, p. 113. M. M. Willcock, *A Companion to the Iliad*, Chicago & London 1976, ad 16.364-5, recognises the νέφος as a cumulonimbus cloud.

49. There are several examples of such mountains in Greece today, e.g. Drapano in Crete, Skaros in Levkas, Touri in Castellorizo: cf. Krekoukias, p. 126. They are to be found too in places other than Greece: England has Bredon in Worcestershire, Italy Mount Cavo in Lazio, South Africa Table Mountain near Capetown. Known to the author is Cnoc Firinne near Limerick in Ireland; its name, meaning «Hill of Truth», i.e. hill that truthfully predicts the weather, is analogous to the Greek generic term τὰ ὄρη τὰ σημαντικά.

50. The controversy concerning the identity of this mountain need not be discussed here: cf. C. M. Bowra, *Classical Review* 54 (1940) No. 3 (Old Series) 127-129; D'Arcy W. Thompson, *Classical Review* 55 (1941) No. 2 (Old Series) 67; F. H. Sandbach, *Classical Review* 56 (1942)

Γλαῦχ' ὄρα· βαθὺς γὰρ ἤδη κύμασιν ταράσσεται
 πόντος, ἀμφὶ δ' ἄκρα Γυρέων ὄρθον ἴσταται νέφος,
 σῆμα χειμῶνος· κιχάνει δ' ἐξ ἀελπτίης φόβος.

Ionian Ida may well have belonged to this group of mountains which were popularly credited with special meteorological significance. To Homer, at any rate, it foretold a thunderstorm when its summit was shrouded in cloud, as we see from *Iliad* 17.593-6:

καὶ τότ' ἄρα Κρονίδης ἔλετ' αἰγίδα θυσσανόεσσαν
 μαρμαρέην, Ἴδην δὲ κατὰ νεφέεσσι κάλυψεν,
 ἀστράψας δὲ μάλα μεγάλ' ἔκτυπε, τὴν δ' ἐτίναξε,
 νίκην δὲ Τρώεσσι δίδου, ἐφόβησε δ' Ἀχαιοὺς.

When the mythic detail, the divine intervention, is removed, what we are left with is a piece of genuine weather wisdom, probably based on the personal experience of the poet.

Although close observation of weather conditions is evidenced in the *Odyssey* by a number of aptly chosen epithets, metaphors and similes and by a graphic description of a winter scene in the Troad (14.475-7), the poet reveals no debts to weather lore⁵¹. This cannot be taken as proof either that he was not acquainted with such lore or that he is to be distinguished from the weather-wise poet of the *Iliad*. It is hardly credible that a poet, who was so close to the common folk as to draw much of his subject matter from their tales, knew nothing of their beliefs about weather change⁵². The influence of weather lore on the poet of the *Iliad* is discernible almost solely in his similes (the single exception being 17.593-6): if he also composed the *Odyssey*, the very fact that this poem has about one third of the number of similes found in the *Iliad* may explain its lack of traces of weather lore⁵³.

It is impossible to say which, if any, of the weather signs, detectable in the similes of the *Iliad*, had been introduced into the epic tradition by earlier oral poets and inherited from them by Homer and which, if any, he himself adopted from contemporary weather lore. Later Greek weather lore employs as predictive media various phenomena provided by the heavens, the sea, animals, birds, plants and domestic life. While all of these sources of popular

No. 2 (Old Series) 63-65. Archilochus' use of storm as a metaphor for war reminds us that Homer had said that a rainbow heralds either storm or war (*Il.* 17.547-9).

51. Epithet: 24.253, 458; metaphor: 4.180, 22.88, 24.315; simile: 5.328, 19.205.

52. One may mention Circe and the Sirens as examples of themes derived from folklore.

53. For the difference between the two epics in frequency of similes cf. W. C. Scott, *The Oral Nature of the Homeric Simile*, Leiden 1974, p. 120.

weather wisdom feature as the themes of Homeric similes, it is noteworthy that all the weather signs, to which allusion is made in the *Iliad*, with the exception of the $\chi\omicron\mu\alpha$ $\kappa\omega\phi\acute{o}\nu$ (14.16), are based on celestial phenomena: shooting star (4.75-84), cloud from the sea (4.275-9), mist after heat (5.864-7), bright stars and moon (8.555-9), lightning (10.5-8), Sirius (11.62-6, 22.25-31), cloud on a mountain (16.297-300), cumulonimbus cloud on Olympus (16.364-7), rainbow (17.547-9) and cloud on Ida (17.593-6)⁵⁴. It seems probable that when the Greeks first attempted to predict changes in the weather, they directed their attention to phenomena of the sky rather than of the earth: they would have been naturally led to do so by their awareness that the weather in its varied manifestations had its origin in the sky. As their experience of seafaring and agriculture developed over many centuries and with it inevitably a vital need to predict accurately, they would have come to attach meteorological significance to a variety of marine and terrestrial phenomena, so that by the end of the fourth century B.C. more than one half of the *corpus* of Greek weather lore was constituted of signs based on phenomena other than celestial⁵⁵. However, the Homeric evidence suggests that in the eighth century B.C. the Greeks looked mainly to the sky for their weather wisdom.

An important characteristic of a Homeric simile is the appropriateness of the comparison, its *Vergleichungspunkt*. This paper will have achieved its objective, if it has shed new light on the *Vergleichungspunkt* of the similes it has discussed, by showing how they sprang from a treasury of weather lore familiar to Homer's fellowmen, not only in Ionia but also in other parts of the Greek world, a treasury destined to grow with the passing of the centuries and to survive, in part at least, even to our own time: they testify to the poet's affinity with the farmers, shepherds and seamen of his day, among whom Greek weather lore developed, and to his own talents as an observer of his natural environment.

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54. Some examples of simile themes in the *Iliad* other than celestial and marine are: 11.292 (hunting dogs), 9.223 (bird), 12.132 (tree), 4.130 (domestic life).

55. The *De Signis* of Pseudo-Theophrastus has a total of 292 signs, of which 156 (= 53.4%) are non-celestial: cf. Cronin, *op.cit.*, p. 338-341 (Tables 1-4).