

# FURTHER GREEK EPIGRAMS

EPIGRAMS BEFORE A.D. 50  
FROM THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY  
AND OTHER SOURCES, NOT INCLUDED  
IN *HELLENISTIC EPIGRAMS* OR  
*THE GARLAND OF PHILIP*

EDITED BY  
D. L. PAGE

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

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## FOREWORD

When Sir Denys Page died in July 1978, he left behind him the typescript of a substantial volume, marked with a pencilled note: 'Ready for the Press, except that it would be the better for a critical eye.'

Our eyes are doubtless not as critical as they ought to be, but we have done what we could, in a field in which neither of us is a specialist, to perform such duties as seemed to us necessary. We have tacitly made numerous minor adjustments, but when in doubt we have preferred to incur the charge of doing too little to that of doing too much. On the rare occasions when we have intervened to make an alteration or addition of more substance to Sir Denys' exposition, we have apprised the reader by adding the initials of whichever of us was responsible. We have also compiled the Indices.

This book was already in the hands of the printer when we were fortunate enough to meet Dr P. A. Hansen, previously known to us only by his writings and as an authority mentioned in Sir Denys' Preface. We would like to acknowledge the generous help Dr Hansen has given us in improving this volume at proof stage.

Acknowledgements are also due to the anonymous Press reader, who pursued his investigations with an enthusiasm far beyond the call of duty.

Our sadness at the nature of our task has been tempered with a pleasure in having the opportunity to do something, however late, in return for all that Sir Denys did for us. And long and at times laborious though the task has been, it still seems a very small return, when we remember the countless hours which he cheerfully devoted to the improvement of our own work during twenty years or more.

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## PREFACE

After the publication of *The Garland of Philip* in 1968, following that of *Hellenistic Epigrams* in 1965, Mr Gow and I discussed from time to time what the next step, if any, should be. Neither of us felt sufficiently familiar with the historical, social, and literary backgrounds to edit Palladas or the *Cycle* of Agathias. The ancient anthology of satirical epigrams comes next in time to Philip's *Garland*; but there remained one large area still to be cultivated in our former field. Our previous volumes were limited to authors who were represented in the anthologies compiled by Meleager and Philip (allowing a few exceptions), and we thought that it would be useful to complete the collection down to A.D. 50 by editing all the other epigrams composed during the period covered by those two anthologies.<sup>1</sup>

Epigrams preserved in inscriptions are not included (unless they appear also in literary texts); partly because their editing requires the skill of the experienced epigraphist, partly because the bulk is enormous, and the great majority from the fourth century B.C. onwards is of low quality and little interest, partly because the texts of the greater part (the epitaphs) are already available in Peek's *Griechische Vers-Inschriften*. Many of those from the fifth century and earlier are of high quality, and I was about to include these, but abandoned this section half-finished when Dr P. A. Hansen announced his intention to edit them: see *A List of Greek Verse Inscriptions down to 400 B.C.* (Copenhagen 1975).

The present collection is divided into three sections:

I The first section contains epigrams ascribed to authors by name. This section is sub-divided into two parts:

- (a) epigrams whose ascriptions are certainly or probably authentic;
- (b) epigrams falsely, or at least without firm foundation, ascribed to famous names of the pre-Alexandrian era.

The distinction is not clear-cut; a few in each section might as well have been placed in the other.

<sup>1</sup> I had hoped that Mr Gow might collaborate in the work, or at least watch over it; declining health prevented him from taking any part.

## PREFACE

II The second section contains epigrams which are anonymous and which are judged to be earlier than A.D. 50. This section also is sub-divided into two parts:

- (a) epigrams from the Palatine and Planudean anthologies, most of them mere literary exercises;
- (b) epigrams from other sources, most of them pre-Alexandrian and concerned with real persons and events.

Dates for epigrams in (a) are almost always doubtful, for epigrams in (b) usually definable within quite narrow limits. Separation of earlier from later in (a) is a hazardous undertaking involving a wide margin of error. Nearly five hundred anonymous epigrams come into consideration, and about one fifth of them is included here; some detail is given in an introductory note to Section II, and reasons for inclusion are as a rule offered in the Prefaces to the epigrams.

III The third section contains:

(1) Leonides of Alexandria, some of whose epigrams may be earlier than A.D. 50, though most are from the next ten to fifteen years.

(2) Tiberius Ilus, commonly misnamed 'Illustris', probably of the first half of the first century A.D.

(3) Nicodemus of Heraclea, of indeterminable date; the middle of the first century A.D. is as likely a time as any.

(4) Epigrams ascribed to Imperial Romans; this part contains Germanicus and Tiberius, who are within the date-limit, and Trajan, Hadrian, and Julian, who are not.

*Tarset, Northumberland*  
1978

D.L.P.

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>A.P.</i>	<i>Anthologia Palatina</i>
<i>A.Plan.</i>	<i>Anthologia Planudea</i>
Beckby	H. Beckby <i>Anthologia Graeca</i> , 4 vols., 2nd ed. Munich 1966
Benndorf	O. Benndorf <i>De Anthologiae Graecae Epigrammatis quae ad artes spectant</i> , diss. Bonn 1862
Boas	M. Boas <i>De Epigrammatis Simonideis</i> , diss. Groningen 1905
Budé	<i>Anthologie Grecque</i> , vols. 1–8, 10 and 12, 1928–1974, ed. P. Waltz and others (Association Guillaume Budé)
Diehl <i>ALG</i>	E. Diehl <i>Anthologia Lyrica Graeca</i> , 3rd ed. Leipzig (Teubner) 1949–52
Dübner	J. F. Dübner <i>Anthologia Palatina</i> , 2 vols., Paris 1864–1872 (Firmin Didot series; vol. 3 by E. Cougny, 1890)
Friedländer & Hoffleit	P. Friedländer & H. B. Hoffleit <i>Epigrammata: Greek Inscriptions in verse from the beginnings to the Persian Wars</i> , Univ. of Calif. Press 1948
Geffcken	J. Geffcken <i>Griechische Epigramme</i> , Heidelberg 1916
Hauvette	A. Hauvette <i>De l'authenticité des epigrammes de Simonide</i> , Paris 1896
<i>HE</i>	A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page <i>The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams</i> , Cambridge 1965
Hecker 1843	A. Hecker <i>Commentatio critica de Anthologia Graeca</i> , Leiden 1843
Hecker 1852	A. Hecker <i>Commentationis criticae de Anthologia Graeca pars prior</i> , Leiden 1852
Hiller von Gaertringen	F. Hiller von Gaertringen <i>Historische griechische Epigramme</i> , Bonn 1926



# ABBREVIATIONS

Huschke	I. G. Huschke <i>Analecta critica in Anthologiam Graecam</i> , Jena & Leipzig 1800
Jacobs <sup>a</sup>	C. F. W. Jacobs <i>Anthologia Graeca</i> , 13 vols., Leipzig 1794–1814 (the text is repeated from R. F. P. Brunck <i>Analecta Veterum Poetarum Graecorum</i> , Strasburg 1772–6)
Jacobs <sup>b</sup>	C. F. W. Jacobs <i>Anthologia Graeca ad fidem codicis olim Palatini nunc Parisini . . . edita</i> , Leipzig 1813–17
Jacobs <sup>c</sup>	C. F. W. Jacobs <i>Delectus Epigrammatum Graecorum</i> , Gotha & Erfurt 1826
Jeffery <i>LSAG</i>	L. H. Jeffery <i>The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece</i> , Oxford 1961
Kaibel <i>ep.</i>	G. Kaibel <i>Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta</i> , Berlin 1878
Mackail	J. W. Mackail <i>Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology</i> , 3rd ed. London 1911
Meiggs & Lewis	R. Meiggs & D. M. Lewis <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the end of the fifth century B.C.</i> , Oxford 1969 (reprinted with corrections 1975)
Meineke	A. Meineke <i>Delectus Poetarum Graecorum Anthologiae Graecae</i> , Berlin 1842
Moretti	L. Moretti <i>Olympionikai: i vincitori negli antichi agoni olympici</i> , Rome 1959
Morrison & Williams	J. S. Morrison & R. T. Williams <i>Greek Oared Ships 900–322 B.C.</i> , Cambridge 1968
Paton	W. R. Paton <i>The Greek Anthology</i> , 5 vols., London (Loeb) 1916–18
Peek	W. Peek <i>Griechische Vers-Inschriften: I Grab-Epigramme</i> , Berlin 1955
PG	A. S. F. Gow & D. L. Page <i>The Greek Anthology: the Garland of Philip</i> , Cambridge 1968
Pickard-Cambridge DTC	A. W. Pickard-Cambridge <i>Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy</i> , Oxford 1927, 2nd ed. rev. T. B. L. Webster, Oxford 1962
Preger	T. Preger <i>Inscriptiones Graecae metricae, ex scriptoribus praeter Anthologiam collectae</i> , Leipzig (Teubner) 1891

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>RE</i>	Pauly-Wissowa <i>Real-Encyclopädie</i> (1894- )
<i>Rufinus</i>	D. L. Page <i>The Epigrams of Rufinus</i> , Cambridge 1978
Snell <i>TGF</i>	B. Snell <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , Göttingen 1971
Stadtmüller	H. Stadtmüller <i>Anthologia Graeca</i> , 3 vols., Leipzig (Teubner) 1894-1906
Tod <i>GHI</i>	M. N. Tod <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions</i> , Oxford I (1946), II (1948)
Wilamowitz <i>SS</i>	U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff <i>Sappho und Simonides</i> , Berlin 1913

Jacobs' first edition remains the fullest and best commentary on many of the epigrams included in the present collection; I have added references (*e.g.* 'Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 8.188'), as it is often tiresome to track down a particular epigram among the thirteen volumes, which include no useful index.

On Hecker's indispensable but ill-arranged volumes, see *HE* 2.683; as he supplied no indexes to help the reader, I have provided a large number of references.

Epigrams (both by named authors and anonymous) from literary sources other than the *Anthology* were included by Brunck in his *Analecta*, and therefore reappear in Jacobs' first edition; in his second they reappear as an 'Appendix Epigrammatum' at the end. They are included also in Cougny's additional volume in the Firmin Didot series (see 'Dübner' above), an almost useless book. They were carefully reassembled and usefully edited by Preger. I therefore give references to 'Jacobs<sup>b</sup> App.' and to 'Preger' throughout Section II Part 2.

To the following works, much less frequently quoted, a heavy obligation is nevertheless avowed:

- A. S. F. Gow *The Greek Anthology: Sources and ascriptions*, London 1958
- R. Reitzenstein *Epigramm und Skolion*, Giessen 1893
- L. Sternbach *Anthologiae Planudeae Appendix Barberino-Vaticana*, Leipzig (Teubner) 1890
- O. Weinreich *Studien zu Martial: Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft* 4, Stuttgart 1928
- A. Wifstrand *Studien zur Griechischen Anthologie: Lunds Universitets Årsskrift* n.f. Avd.1, Bd.23 nr.3, Lund 1926

## SIGLA

- P = codex Anthologiae Palatinae (Palat. 23 + Paris. suppl. gr. 384)  
J = codicis P partim librarius, alibi lemmatista  
C = codicis P libr. i–ix corrector  
Pl = codex Anthologiae Planudeae (Ven. Marc. 481) ab ipso Max.  
Planude scriptus  
Pl<sup>A</sup> = folia 2–76 capita vii Anthologiae complectentia  
Pl<sup>B</sup> = folia 81 v.–100 supplementa ad cap. i–iv complectentia  
Syllogae minores (vid. *HE* 1. xli)  
Syll. E = Sylloge Euphemiana  
Syll. S = Sylloge S  
Σπ = Sylloge codici P addita  
Apographa codicis P (vid. *HE* 1. xliii)  
Ap. B = apographon cod. Buheriani  
Ap. G = apographon Guetianum  
Ap. L. = apographon Lipsiense  
Ap. R. = apographon Ruhnkenianum  
ac = ante correctionem  
aC = ante correctionem a C factam  
pc = post correctionem  
s.a.n. = sine auctoris nomine

In the headings to epigrams square brackets enclose the source of what immediately follows: for example, in the heading to Cyllenius π ‘A.P. 9.33, Pl<sup>A</sup>[CPl] Κυλληνίου [Pl] Παιτιανοῦ [J] εἰς ἑτέραν ναῦν ὁμοίως’ the meaning is that C and Pl have Κυλληνίου, Pl alone has Παιτιανοῦ, J alone has the *lemma* εἰς ἑτέραν κτλ.

SECTION I  
EPIGRAMS ASCRIBED TO AUTHORS  
BY NAME

PART I  
AUTHENTIC ASCRIPTIONS

## LIST OF AUTHORS<sup>1</sup>

Aceratus	Gaetulicus
Alexander	Gallus
Alexander Magnes	Herodicus
Amyntes	Juba rex
Andronicus	Longus, Cornelius
Antigenes	Mamercus
Antimachus	Menander
Aphareus	Metrodorus
Apollonius of Rhodes?	Oenomaus
Arcesilaus	(Parmenon)
Archelaus Chersonesites	Parrhasius
Archimedes	Philiadas
Archimelus	Philippus rex
Aristocles	Pisander
Aristoteles	Plato junior
Artemidorus	Ptolemaeus rex
Astydamas	Pytheas
Capito	Quadratus, Asinius
Cyllenius	Satyrius
Daphitas	Satyrus
Demetrius of Bithynia	Theocritus Chius
Demiurgus	Theodoridas
Democritus	Thyillus
Demodocus	Tryphon
Dionysius?	Xenocritus of Rhodes
Dionysius of Andros	Zelotus
Dionysius Sophista	Zeuxis
Dorieus	Zosimus of Thasos
Flaccus?	

### Authors who may be later than A.D. 50

Aesopus	Gauradas
Athenaeus	Glycon
Eugenes	Ptolemaeus

### Appendix on authors not included

<sup>1</sup> For 'Leonteus', see anon. LXI(a); for 'Musicius', see 'Plato' vii.

## ACERATUS

The name Aceratus is not common (Hdt. 8.37.1, Jeffery *LSAG* p. 307 nos. 64, 67, Kirchner 475–6), and there is no other information about a *grammaticus* or poet so called. The context in *A.P.* offers no clue to the source from which the epigram was taken; it is the second of a block of four (the first and third anonymous, the fourth ascribed to ‘Archias of Macedon’ = *PG* xv) on the subject of Hector, within a longer series on the Trojan War.

The subject and style of this undistinguished epigram would seem at home in the later part of the period covered by the *Garland* of Philip.

### I

On Hector.

A.P. 7.138, P1<sup>A</sup> [PPI] Ἀκηράτου γραμματικοῦ [P] εἰς τὸν αὐτόν

Ἔκτορ, Ὀμηρεῖσιν αἰὲ βεβημένε βίβλοις,  
θειοδόμου τείχευς ἔρκος ἔρυμνότερον,  
ἐν σοὶ Μαιονίδης ἀνεπαύσατο, σοῦ δὲ θανόντος,  
Ἔκτορ, ἐσιγῆθη καὶ σελὶς Ἰλιάδος.

4

1 Ὀμηρεῖσιν P1<sup>ac</sup> 2 ἔρυμνότερον CPI: -ότατον P

Jacobs\* 9.87, 13.13.

1 [1] **βεβημένε**: *celebrated*; not a common use, but as early as Hdt. 3.39.3, 6.131.1; ἐπιβόητος, περιβόητος generally mean rather *notorious* than *famous*.

2 [2] **θειοδόμου**: elsewhere only in the similar context of Alpheus 9.104.4 = *PG* 3569 (Τροίης) θειοδόμον στέφανον. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 8.519, of Troy, θεοδμήτων πύργων (‘because Troy was built by Poseidon and Apollo’, *Et. Mag.* 445.54).

**ἔρυμνότερον**: it is remarkable that Paton, whose judgement is generally good, accepted the superlative from P here; *stronger defence than the wall* is obviously preferable to *strongest defence of the wall*.

3 [3] **ἐν σοὶ**: compendious, for ‘in the midst of singing about you’. *in tuo funere*, Jacobs; *at thy death*, Paton, but that information is reserved for the following phrase.

**Μαιονίδης**: this obscure name for Homer appears first in Antipater of Sidon 7.2.2 = *HE* 215, and becomes common in Greek and Roman poets of the period of Philip’s *Garland*; see the note on Alpheus 9.97.5–6 = *PG* 3558–9.

**ἀνεπαύσατο**: *rested* (from his labours).

4 [4] **σελίς**: of a column in a papyrus-roll, LSJ *s.v.* π 1.

## ALEXANDER

## ALEXANDER

### I

Epitaph for a poor man.

A long sequence from the *Garland of Meleager* precedes 7.507 in *A.P.*, and 7.508–16 are all ascribed to Simonides. Now the epigram marked 7.507 is a conflation of two independent epigrams, generally distinguished as 7.507<sup>a</sup> and 7.507<sup>b</sup>, and the *lemma* attached to 7.507<sup>a</sup> actually applies to 7.507<sup>b</sup>. It is highly probable (as Boas first observed, *de epigr. Simon.* 183) that the author-name as well as the *lemma* originally applied to 7.507<sup>b</sup>, not to 7.507<sup>a</sup>, and that Σιμωνίδου should be transferred to 7.507<sup>b</sup>. This probability seems confirmed by the fact that Planudes, who has 7.507<sup>a</sup> but not 7.507<sup>b</sup>, ascribes the former not to Simonides but to ‘Alexander’, a heading which is certainly not a guess and is not likely to be a corruption. The evidence is thus in favour of Boas’ conclusion that the Simonidean series begins with 7.507<sup>b</sup> (= ‘Simonides’ LXXXI), not with 7.507<sup>a</sup>, which should retain the heading ‘by Alexander’.

In a block from Meleager’s *Garland*, ‘Alexander’ should be the well-known author Alexander Aetolus; only a couple of his epigrams have survived elsewhere (see *HE* 2.27), and this one would add nothing to his reputation.

*A.P.* 7.507<sup>a</sup> (cum ‘Simonid.’ LXXXI coniunctum, cum titulo Σιμωνίδου), Pl<sup>a</sup> ‘Αλεξάνδρου

ἄνθρωπ’, οὐ Κροίσου λεύσσεις τάφον· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀνδρός 5  
χερνήτεω μικρὸς τύμβος, ἔμοι δ’ ἱκανός.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 6.264 (= Simonides xcvi); Simonides 124<sup>a</sup> Bergk, 140 Diehl.  
I λεύσεις P

■ [5] ἀλλὰ γάρ: on this combination of particles, hard to interpret as usual, see Denniston *GP* 98ff.; the present example is at the head of category III (1) (ii) on p. 102.

## ALEXANDER MAGNES

Nothing else is known about an epigrammatist named ‘Alexander of Magnesia’, and no indication of his date is offered by the context of the epigram in *A.P.* Style and subject point to the period covered by Philip’s *Garland* (90 B.C.–A.D. 40), the later rather than the earlier half.

### I

On the hunter, the fowler, and the fisherman.

For other epigrams on this theme, see the Preface to Satyrius 1, where the rules of the game are described. Alexander observes the rules strictly.

*A.P.* 6.182, Pl<sup>a</sup> [PPI] ‘Αλεξάνδρου [P] Μαγνήτου (Μαγνήτος coni. Meineke)  
[PPI] εἰς τὸ αὐτό; Suda s.v. ἱδρίας (4)

## ALEXANDER MAGNES

Πίγρης ὀρνίθων ἄπο δίκτυα, Δᾶμις ὀρείων,  
 Κλείτωρ δ' ἐκ βυθίων σοὶ τάδε, Πάν, ἔθεσαν,  
 Ξυνὸν ἀδελφείοι θήρης γέρας, ἄλλος ἀπ' ἄλλης,  
 Ἴδρι τὰ καὶ γαίης, Ἴδρι τὰ καὶ πελάγευς. 10  
 5 ἀνθ' ὧν τῷ μὲν ἄλός, τῷ δ' ἥερος, ὦι δ' ἀπὸ δρυμῶν  
 πέμπτε κράτος ταύτηι, δαῖμον, ἐπ' εὐσεβίηι.

4 Ἴδρι τὰ bis Hecker: Ἰδρίτα P, Suda, Ἰδρυτὰ Pl      καὶ prius om. Pl      5 ὦι δ'  
 ἀπὸ Pl: τῷ δ' ἀπὸ P

Jacobs\* 7.235 (= Alexander Aetolus i); Hecker 1852.236.

**3 [9] ἀπ' ἄλλης:** six of the fourteen parallel epigrams have ἄλλος ἀπ' ἄλλης (or ἀλλοίης), but always with a noun (ἀγρεσίης Leonidas, ἐργασίης Alpheus and Lucianus, λινουστασίης Archias, τέχνης Archias and Zosimus) which is left to the understanding here.

**4 [10] Ἴδρι:** Hecker is surely right, notwithstanding the distance of the vocatives from Πάν.

## AMYNTES

Nothing else is known about Amyntes ('Amyntas' in Grenfell & Hunt, followed by all editors since; but the heading is Ἀμύντου not Ἀμύντα). His date-limits are given by the age of the papyrus, late first century B.C. or early first century A.D., and by the reference in the text to the destruction of Sparta by Philopoemen in 188 B.C. His association with Leonidas of Tarentum and Antipater of Sidon in this text, and his imitation of them, make the second half of the second century B.C. a likely time without excluding the first century B.C.

If these are fair specimens of his writing, the oblivion to which posterity consigned Amyntes is not much to be deplored. Wifstrand (*Studien zur Gr. Anthol.* 36) suggested that Amyntes was himself the compiler of the anthology represented by this papyrus, apparently on the ground that nobody but Amyntes would have thought his epigrams worthy of inclusion alongside Leonidas and Antipater.

The epigrams come from an anthology in a papyrus-text dated 'within the reign of Augustus' by the first editors. The text is in three consecutive columns:

col. i    First, a blank line-end, presumably a line for an author-name, followed by ends of lines of Leonidas 7.163 = *HE* lxx. Then another blank, presumably another heading, followed by ends of lines of Antipater of Sidon 7.164 = *HE* xxi.

col. ii    First, a heading, Ἀμύντου. Then follows an elegiac couplet, and after it, without either a heading or a marginal *paragraphus*, the epigram reproduced here as Amyntes i. Then comes another heading, Ἀμύντου, followed by the epigram reproduced here as Amyntes ii.

col. iii    First, a heading, Λεωνίδου, followed by an hitherto unknown epigram = Leonidas *HE* li. Then comes another heading, Ἀντιπάτρου, followed by another hitherto unknown epigram = Antipater of Sidon *HE* xlviii. Then another heading, which Grenfell & Hunt deciphered as Ἀ[εω]νι[δ]ου; this



## AMYNTES

is followed by a line beginning *δρυμνονομου* (*sic*), after which nothing more was written either on this line or in the rest of the column, which continues with a blank surface capable of taking at least six more lines.

There are two unattached scraps; Grenfell & Hunt consider, but give strong arguments against, the possibility that they come from the ends of col. i 19–20 (= Antipater 7.164.9–10).

The text was re-edited by Milne as *Catal. Lit. Papyri, Br. Museum*, no. 61.

The beginning of col. ii presents an insoluble problem. Elsewhere all epigrams are separated by lines giving author-names. Col. ii begins with such a heading, Ἀμύντου, and continues (col. ii 2–3) with an elegiac couplet which is plainly neither the beginning of an epigram nor in any way connected with the epigram which immediately follows it = Amyntes 1; the latter epigram has neither a heading of its own nor a marginal stroke to separate it from the preceding couplet.

An error in copying seems the only possible explanation. It is most probable that col. ii 2–3 represent the last couplet of an epigram which began near the foot of col. i; and that epigram may have been by Amyntes. The copyist, ‘a careless and unintelligent person’, as Grenfell & Hunt say, has put Ἀμύντου at the head of the column instead of after its second line, perhaps thinking that it did not matter, as the whole column was by Amyntes anyway. By a curious coincidence this heading is on the same horizontal line as headings in both the adjacent columns, [Λεωνίδου] in col. i and Λεωνίδου in col. iii.

The text of col. ii 2–3, which may be the work of Amyntes, is hard to decipher. Grenfell & Hunt transcribed

2    αὐχμαλεᾶς νοτ[.]ον υπ οφρυος ανθεσι δακρυ  
3    ν[.]λων ενβα[.]σεις ψ[.]ρο[.]φτης σπιλαδι

Their note says, on 2, that νοτ[ might be νογ[ , perhaps with a correction above ο; that the letter before ον has a high cross-stroke suitable to σ, γ, or τ; ‘νοτ[ε]ρον just possible though not satisfactory, and would of course leave the line a syllable short’; on 3, that ενβα[ could be read for ενβα[ , ‘and the following word is perhaps some form of ψυχρός’, though the ψ is admitted to be doubtful, the ο very doubtful, and ]α may be ]ο; ‘Blass suggests λείβων ἐμβλέψεις, and this may well be right, but was certainly not written.’

It is risky to challenge the readings of Grenfell & Hunt, especially in a text which even they found hard to decipher, and which is still more difficult now than it was then. Some of the letters not marked as doubtful cannot now be read (*e.g.* νο in 2) or look extremely doubtful. I have no doubt that the letters preceding υπ in 2 are σιν, not ον, and that the gap between νο and ον (σιν) is appreciably wider than Grenfell & Hunt allow; the word was surely νοτ[έρο]σιν, and the metrical difficulty disappears. In 3, λι[β]ων is most probable, *i.e.* λείβων. What was written between ενβα[ and σπιλάδι cannot now be deciphered, except the π preceding σπιλάδι.

## I

Epitaph for Prexo.

Of the four extant variations on this theme the earliest is Leonidas of

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Tarentum 7.163 = *HE* lxx; the others are Antipater of Sidon 7.164 = *HE* xxi, Archias 7.165 = *PG* xiii, and Amyntes. See the Preface to Antipater *loc. cit.*

The type recurs in inscribed epitaphs, as Peek 1859 (II/I B.C.), 1860–2 (I–II A.D.), and later, so that Leonidas' epigram has a claim to be regarded as a true epitaph (it is so taken by Peek, 1858); the truth may however be that Leonidas' epigram was merely a literary exercise which became popular (as the imitations prove) and was later used as a model by the composers of inscriptional epitaphs.

For the Hellenistic imitators of Leonidas, the conventions were that different phrases should be used for the same questions and answers in the same order: (1) Your name, father's name, and native land? – Prexo, daughter of Kalliteles, of Samos. (2) Who made your tomb? – My husband, Theocritus. (3) How did you die? – In childbirth. (4) How old were you? – Twenty-two. (5) Had you children? – A three-year-old son, Kalliteles. (6) May your son grow to old age. – And good fortune to you too.

Amyntes differs from Antipater and Archias (*a*) in not avoiding the phraseology of his predecessors: he has *ἡ ῥά γ' ἄτεκνος* from Leonidas and (if, as I suppose, his epigram is later than Antipater's) *φράζε γύναι* and *ποίην ἡλθες ἐς ἡλικίην* from Antipater; also either *Καλλιτέλην τριετῇ παῖδα* from Antipater or *οὐκ, ἀλλὰ τριετῇ* from Leonidas; (*b*) in disrupting the order: (3) above, the question 'How did you die?', is asked and answered as part of the first question; (*c*) in reducing the number of questions and answers: in the first six lines, each party speaks six times in Leonidas, five in Antipater, seven in Archias, only four in Amyntes; (*d*) in omitting (6), the last couplet.

Of the four, Amyntes is plainly the least skillful.

P. Oxy. iv (1904) n. 662, ed. Grenfell & Hunt

col. ii 1

Ἀμύντου

col. ii 4–11 – φράζε, γύναι, τίς ἐοῦσα κ[α]ὶ ἐκ τίνος, εἰπέ τε πάτρην,  
καὶ ποίας ἔθανες νούσου ὑπ' ἀργαλῆς.

– οὔνομα μὲν Πραξὼ Σαμίη, ξένη, ἐκ δὲ γονῆος 15  
Καλλιτέλεως γενόμεαν· ἀλλ' ἔθανον τοκετῶι.

5 – τίς δὲ τάφον στάλωσε; – Θεόκριτος, ὧι με σύνευνον  
ἀνδρὶ δόσαν. – ποίην δ' ἡλθες ἐς ἡλικίην;

– ἐπτάετις τρίς ἐνὸς γενόμεαν ἔτι. – ἡ ῥά γ' ἄτεκνος;  
– Καλλιτέλην τριετῇ παῖδα δόμωι λιπόμαν. 20

omnia corr. ed. pr. 1 ἐκ τίνος: ε (ex 1) et ivo post correctionem 2 καὶ  
ποίας ex νηπίας corr. ut vid. 3 μὲν: κεν Π εγ δε Π 5 Θεογκριτος η με  
Π 8 Καλλιτέλην: ου Καλλιτελης Π

1 [13] φράζε. . . τίς ἐοῦσα. . . εἰπέ τε πάτρην is incoherent, a sign of careless writing.

2 [14] The question about cause of death should have come later (see Pref.), and it should not have been assumed by the questioner that she died of disease; the other authors all ask simply 'How did she die?'

3 [15] The hiatus at the bucolic diaeresis (again in 7) is very rare in epigrams

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of the Hellenistic and early Imperial periods; see anon. 1384 n. Careless composition again.

**4 [16] ἀλλ’**: meaningless in this place; the third sign of carelessness so far.

**7 [19]** ‘Thrice seven years old, I became of one year more’, *i.e.* twenty-two. ἐνὸς γενόμεν ἐπὶ is awkward; the genitive is better modern than ancient Greek (ἐπὶ, not ἐτῶν, γεγονώς).

**8 [20]** the text is doubtful. Strongly in favour of Καλλιτέλην τριετῆ is the fact that the other three poets all give the son’s name, just as all four give the father’s name and the husband’s name. Fraenkel (*ex tempore*, during discussion of a paper read by J. U. Powell to the Oxford Philological Society) conjectured οὐκ, ἀλλὰ τριετῆ, which is identical with Leonidas’ version (7.163.6); if Καλλιτέλην is accepted, the presence of οὐ at the beginning of the line is to be regarded as a mistake made (and not corrected) under the influence of Leonidas’ line, which the papyrus has in the preceding column.

## II

On the destruction of Sparta by Achaeans under Philopoemen in 188 B.C.

This epigram is closely related to anon. 7.723 = *HE* liii:

ἀ πάρος ἀδμητος καὶ ἀνέμβατος, ὦ Λακεδαῖμον,  
καπνὸν ἐπ’ Εὐρώται δέρκεαι ὠλένιον,  
ἄσκιος· οἰωνοὶ δὲ κατὰ χθονὸς οἰκία θέντες  
μύρονται, μήλων δ’ οὐκ ἀίουσι λύκοι.

It is not certain that both refer to the same occasion,<sup>1</sup> though the close resemblance makes it likely.<sup>2</sup> Anon. 3–4 and Amyntes 5–6 are obviously not independent of each other; and Amyntes is the inferior. ἄσκεπος and πεδίον δ’ οὐκ ἐπίασσι βόες (if this is the true reading) are adequate but uninteresting expressions, ἄσκιος and μήλων δ’ οὐκ ἀίουσι λύκοι are imaginative. The fourth couplet in Amyntes is verbose, involving him in repetition of δερκομένα + ‘bewail’ from ἰδόντες μύρονται; this is much inferior to the terse καπνὸν ἐπ’ Εὐρώται δέρκεαι of anon. 2. The writer of the latter epigram had no need to keep an eye on such a model as Amyntes, and it may be confidently supposed that Amyntes is the later of the two.

The background is briefly described by G. A. Cary, *The Medieval Alexander* (Cambridge 1956) 197: ‘Philopoemen...led a punitive expedition against Sparta and captured the town without resistance. On his own authority he instituted a Bloody Assize among Nabis’ former partisans, demolished the fortifications, and dispossessed the Helots; lastly, he abolished the time-honoured “institutions of Lycurgus” and forced upon the Spartans an ephebic training of Achaean type.’

P. Oxy. iv (1904) n. 662, ed. Grenfell & Hunt

<sup>1</sup> See the Preface to anon. *HE* liii; Legrand *Rev. Ét. Anc.* 3 (1901) 194; Wifstrand *Studien zur Gr. Anthol.* 37.

<sup>2</sup> Likely, at least, that Amyntes thought that 7.723 referred to the catastrophe of 188 B.C.

# AMYNTES

col. ii 12-20

Ἀμύντου

τὰν πάρος ἄτρεστον Λακεδαίμονα, τᾶς χέρα μούνας  
πολλάκις ἄμ πο[λέμο]υ δ[ή]ριν ἔφριξεν Ἄρης,  
νῦν ὑπ' ἀνικάτῳ Φιλοποίμενι δουρί τ' Ἀχ[α]ϊῶν  
πρηνῆς ἐκ τρισσᾶν ἦριπε μυριάδων  
5 ἄσκεπος· οἰωνοὶ δὲ περιμυχηρὸν ἰδόντες 25  
μύρονται, πεδίον δ' οὐκ ἐπίασι βόες·  
κ]απνὸν δ' ἐκθρώισ[κοντα π]αρ' Εὐ[ρώτα]ο λοετροῖς  
Ἐλ]λὰς δερκομένα [κωκύει ἄ]κρόπο[λιν].

1 τὰν πάρος G.-H.: τας π.αρος (τας πῆφαρος G.-H.) Π κερα Π 2 ἄμ  
πολέμου δῆριν Powell: αν πολεσι δῆριν legerant G.-H.; ἐν πολέμῳ θοῦριν  
Milne 4 μυριάδων G.-H.: -αδαν Π 5 -3μ- ex -σμ-corr. ut vid. 6  
οὐκ ἐπίασι βόες Milne: ου ε[... ]φεισιπος legerant G.-H. 7 παρ' Εὐρώταο  
suppl. Wilamowitz coll. Theocr.18.23 8 Ἐλλὰς suppl. Milne κωκύει  
suppl. Page

**1 [21]** There is no serious doubt about the true reading, τὰν πάρος, but ΤΑΣ is clear in the text, followed by Π. Between Π and ΑΡΟΣ is something hard to articulate, within one normal letter-space; one can see why G.-H. read ΕΞ (πῆφαρος), and also why they thought the decipherment doubtful.

There is no verb to govern the accusative Λακεδαίμονα. Powell's αἰ πάρος (rather than ἄ πάρος, as αἰ may govern an accusative) leaves the connection between the first and second couplets too jerky; it would have been worth consideration only if the verb in 4 had been second-person. The alternatives are (a) to suppose a lacuna of two lines after 2, or (b) to acquiesce in an anacoluthon of a peculiarly disagreeable kind. That Amyntes was capable of anacoluthon on a small scale is apparent in 11; it may be best to recognise it on a larger scale here, comparable with Crinagoras 6.232 = PG xlii (see Preface there), where five lines of nominatives are followed by a verb which requires them to be accusatives.

**2 [22]** The text is uncertain. After πολλάκις, ἀνπο is clear, then comes a gap capable of four letters now unidentifiable, then the foot of an upright, I or Y, the latter much likelier because of its distance from the next trace, which is a horizontal on the line interpreted by G.-H. as Δ. πο[λέμο]υ δ[ή]ριν seems very probable. Before ΠΟ, ΑΝ not ΕΝ; ΑΜ should have been written, ἄμ πολέμου δῆριν.

**5 [25] ἄσκεπος:** without covering or shelter; elsewhere only Lucian *Philopat.* 21, 'bare-headed'. ἄσκεπής *Lyr. Adesp.* 7.17 Powell (papyrus 100 B.C.), not elsewhere until much later.

**περιμυχηρόν:** here only; περισμύχω only Orph. *Lith.* 602 and Agathias 5.292.11 according to the Lexica.

**6 [26]** The text is uncertain. οὐκ ἐπίασι βόες is the reading of Milne, excellent in itself but risky and not now capable of confirmation. The papyrus shows πεδιονδου.ε[...].....ς, where ] is the top of an isolated upright apparently rising high above the line (Φ according to G.-H.), and the final .ς looks more like ος (G.-H.) than ες (Milne).

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**8 [28]** Between δερκομενα[ and ]κροπο[ there is a gap of the same size as that which must have contained the letters [KONTAΠ] in the line above. The commonly accepted supplement [MYPETAIA], disagreeable after μύρονται in 6, is too long. [κωκύει δ] would just fit.

## ANDRONICUS

Jacobs thought that Andronicus (whose name is common) might be the poet mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus 19.12.11, *Andronicus...claritudine carminum notus*, perhaps to be identified with the friend of Libanius (*RE s.v* Andronicus no. 20); but a much earlier date is likely. The epigram, which is of quite good quality in a conventional style, has much in common with inscriptional epigrams of the last two centuries B.C. and the first two A.D. (*cf.* Peek 932, II B.C., κατέβαν δόμον εἰς Ἀχέροντος | τὸν στυγερὸν, πολλοὺς ματρὶ λιποῦσα γόους), and itself may well be inscriptional. The resemblances to Mnasilces 7.488 = *HE* ix εἰς Ἀχέροντα...ματρὶ τε δάκρυα σᾶι καταλείπεται...ἐκ κεφαλᾶς) and Sappho 7.489.3 (= 680 below) (ἄς καὶ ἀποφθιμένας πᾶσαι νεοθᾶγι σιδάρωι) have long been noted. The resemblance to these Hellenistic models supports, what the epigram itself suggests, a date in the late Hellenistic or early imperial period; indeed its context in *A.P.* indicates that Andronicus was included in one of the two *Garlands*, for all the other authors named in *A.P.* 7. 159–203 are either Meleagrian or Philippan.

### I

Epitaph for Damocrateia.

A.P. 7.181 (caret Pl) [C] Ἀνδρονίκου [J] εἰς Δαμοκράτειαν; Suda s.v. νεοθηγεῖ (3–4)

οἰκτρὰ δὴ δνοφερὸν δόμον ἤλυθες εἰς Ἀχέροντος,  
 Δαμοκράτεια, φίλαι ματρὶ λιποῦσα γόους· 30  
 ἃ δὲ σέθεν φθιμένας πολιοὺς νεοθᾶγι σιδάρωι  
 κείρατο γηραλέας ἐκ κεφαλᾶς πλοκάμους.

2 φίλαι Brunck: φίλα P      3 ἡ...φθιμένης Suda      νεοθᾶγι Brunck: -θηγεῖ P,  
 Suda      σιδήρωι Suda      4 γηραλέης Suda      κεφαλᾶς Brunck: -λῆς P,  
 Suda

Jacobs\* 10.182.

**1 [29] εἰς Ἀχέροντος:** *sc.* δόμον (*cf.* Peek 932.1 δόμον εἰς Ἀχέροντος). For Acheron as a place or person, see the notes on Asclepiades 5.85.3 = *HE* 818 and Bianor 7.396.3 = *PG* 1671.

**2 [30] Δαμοκράτεια:** a very rare name, though Δαμοκράτης is common.

**φίλαι:** the dative is better than P's nominative; *cf.* Theodoridas 7.527.4 = *HE* 3539 κάλλιπες ἡδίστηι ματρὶ γόους καὶ ἄχη.

**ματρὶ λιποῦσα γόους:** a commonplace in sepulchral inscriptions; *e.g.* Peek 932.2 ματρὶ λιποῦσα γόους, 953.2 πατρὶ λιπόντα γόους, 771.6 ματρὶ λείλοιπε

## ANDRONICUS

γόν, 776.5 ματρί λιπών στεναχάς, 958.7 ματρί λιπούς' . . ἄλγος, 963.6 λείπω  
δὲ δόκρυα καὶ γόους.

3 [31] νεοθαγι σιδάρωι: the same phrase in 'Sappho' 680; direct borrowing seems probable, especially as the contexts are similar.

4 [32] κείρατο . . . πλοκάμους: the note in the Budé edition (vol. 4 p. 133) draws attention to the long survival of the ancient custom of cutting the hair (by women; not by men, who on the contrary refrained from cutting the hair) as a sign of mourning: Plutarch *quaest. Rom.* 267B παρ' Ἑλλήσιν, ὅταν δυστυχία γένηται, κείρονται μὲν αἱ γυναῖκες, κομῶσι δ' οἱ ἄνδρες.

## ANTIGENES

### I

Inscription on a tripod commemorating a victory in the Dithyrambic competition at Athens.

The victory of a dithyrambic poet is here celebrated in verses which strongly reflect his customary manner of writing; the exotic metre, the exuberant language, and the Choral Lyric dialect combine to create something unique in our records – an epigram composed in the style of the Dithyramb.

The epigram represents an inscription on a tripod (5) commemorating a victory (11) in the Dithyrambic competition (2) at the Dionysia (3) by the Athenian tribe Acamantis (1). The director, producer-poet, and music-master (χορηγός, χοροδιδάσκαλος, σύλητής) are named. The successful poet is Antigenes, an author of whom there is no other record. The source ascribes the commemorative epigram to 'Bacchylides or Simonides', but it would be absurd to suppose that either of them would have celebrated the victory of a successful rival; the director, who was responsible for the monument and the inscription, might have commissioned some other poet to compose the epigram, but the dithyrambic style suggests that the composer was the dithyrambic poet himself, Antigenes.

It is generally supposed that the epigram comes from the fifth century. There is no clear indication of a more specific date, and guesses have ranged from 490 to 480 B.C. (so e.g. Wilamowitz *SS* 222, Kirchner *s.v.* Στρούθων, and Pickard-Cambridge *DTC*<sup>2</sup> 16) to the end of the century (Reisch *RE* 3.2384). If the lines are a true reflection of the style of Antigenes, it would seem fair comment that he was much more like Bacchylides than Timotheus, and that the first half of the century is the likelier.

The dialect is mixed, Attic η being retained in stems (ἡδύ, ἐχορήγησεν, μέλιγηρυν) but Doric α being used in terminations (νίκαν, θεᾶν, Μοισᾶν; φυλῆς in 1 is incongruous and must be changed to conform).

The metre is unique. It was necessary to record the names of the director and producer, and as ἵππόνικος cannot be accommodated in elegiac or ᾠδὴν in iambic verse, a mixture was required. The metre is Archilochean (dactylic tetrameter + ithyphallic) followed by an easy though unfamiliar combination of simple elements, cretic (surrounded by *ancipitia*) + Alcaic decasyllable.

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(There is a useless metrical *lemma* in P, not repeated here; the Budé edition, vol. 12 p. 164, offers five different analyses of the second line, all of them wrong.)

A.P. 13.28 (caret Pl)

Βακχυλίδου ἢ Σιμωνίδου

πολλάκι δὴ φυλᾷς Ἀκαμαντίδος ἐν χοροῖσιν ὦραι  
 ἀνωλόλυξαν κισσοφόροις ἐπὶ διθυράμβοις  
 αἶ Διονυσιάδες, μίτραισι δὲ καὶ ῥόδων ἁώτοις 35  
 σοφῶν ἀοιδῶν ἐσκίασαν λιπαρὰν ἔθειραν,  
 5 καὶ τόνδε τρίποδα σφίσι μάρτυρα Βακχίων ἀέθλων  
 †ἔθηκαν· κείνους† δ' Ἀντιγένης ἐδίδασκεν ἄνδρας,  
 εὔ δ' ἐτίθηνεῖτο γλυκερὰν ὄπα Δωρίοις Ἀρίστων  
 Ἀργεῖος ἡδὺ πνεῦμα χέων καθαροῖς ἐν αὐλοῖς. 40  
 τῶν ἐχορήγησεν κύκλον μελίγηρυν Ἱππόνικος,  
 10 Στρούθωνος υἱός, ἄρμασιν ἐν Χαρίτων φορηθεῖς,  
 αἶ οἱ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ὄνομα κλυτὸν ἀγλαάν τε νίκαν  
 †θῆκαν ἰοστεφάνων θεᾶν ἕκατι Μοῖσᾶν.†

1 δὴ Ernesti: δι P φυλᾷς Page: φυλῆς P 2 ἀνωλόλυξαν Ernesti:  
 ανωλουξαν P 5 καὶ Page: οἱ P βακχείων P 7 ἐτίθην εἰ τὸ P 9  
 κύκλον Anna Fabri: κύκλων P 10 Στρούθωνος... φωρηθεῖς P 11 κλυτὸν  
 Ernesti: κ' αὐτὸν P 12 Μοῖσαν P

Jacobs\* 6.250; Hecker 1852. 149-51; Simonides 148 Bergk; 2. 1 p. 144 Diehl.

**1-6 [33-8]** Wilamowitz (SS 219) follows Hecker (who was the first to see that the author of the epigram is Antigenes himself) and Schneidewin in taking the general sense to be that the tribe Acamantis had competed many times in the past without success, and has now won its first victory. This is plainly wrong: (a) No man ever described *the many failures of the past* in such terms as these, 'Many times the Dionysiad Horae have shouted loudly in the choirs at the ivy-bearing dithyramb'; the tone is triumphant, and ἀνωλόλυξαν means 'shouted for joy' as in A. Ag. 587 and S. Tr. 205 (see my note on *Medea* 1173). (b) The transition to the present cannot be made at μίτραισι δέ. The adjective σοφῶν shows that ἀοιδῶν means *poets* (not 'the singing members of the choir'; Wilamowitz is obviously mistaken in taking it so), and the plural can only refer to the numerous occasions in the past; on the present occasion there is only one poet, Antigenes. (c) It would be essential to say νῦν δέ or the like, to balance πολλάκι, if the contrast between past and present is to begin at μίτραισι δέ.

It is certain that the first four lines concern past victories; but there remains the difficulty of connecting 1-4 with 5. οἱ is very awkward. Its antecedent cannot be ἀοιδῶν, for they belong to the past and have nothing to do with 'this' tripod. οἱ must refer to χοροί, understood from ἐν χοροῖσιν, or to the 'members of the tribe Acamantis', understood from φυλῆς κτλ.; the reference is then obscure, and the transition from 4 to 5 intolerably abrupt.

There is little room for manoeuvre, and καὶ seems the only plausible alternative to οἱ. The subject of ἔθηκαν, 'members of the Acamantid tribe', is now no

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longer obscure, for τόνδε τρίποδα σφίσι has prepared the way, and indeed eliminated all other possibilities. The transition from 4 to 5 is quite easy, in effect 'they often won in the past, *and* they have won *this* tripod'.

The alternative is to suppose a lacuna after 4 (Hecker 150).

**φυλᾶς Ἀκαμαντίδος:** Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀκαμάντιον says that Simonides mentioned the φυλὴ Ἀκαμαντίς; the reference is probably to the present epigram, read by Stephanus under the name of Simonides (*cf.* the heading in *A.P.*). See Boas *de epigr. Simon.* 112.

**ἽΩραι Διονυσιάδες:** the Horae were not daughters of Dionysus and are not often mentioned in connection with him; *RE* 8.2303 finds nothing but the present passage and Nonnus 9.12, but Jacobs had quoted Philochorus *ap.* Athen. 2.38c βωμόν ὀρθοῦ Διονύσου ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἵρῶν ἱερῷ. The Horae are the seasons, and, as Schneider observed, the meaning here is simply 'the Dionysiac seasons', the times when the Dionysiac festivals come round; 'many Dionysiac seasons have proclaimed them victorious'. The language is characteristic of the dithyrambic style: Schneider compared Pind. *Ol.* 4.2-3 Ζεῦ, τεαὶ γὰρ ἽΩραι... ἐλίσσόμεναί μ' ἔπεμψαν ὑψηλοτάτων μάρτυρ' ἀέθλων, where the sense is 'the season of your Olympic games has come round'; and *Isthm.* 2.23, where 'the Seasons' heralds' means those who announce that the time for the Games has come round. (Wilamowitz, *SS* 221, takes the same view and quotes the same parallels, evidently independently, for he does not mention Schneider.)

For the adjective Διονυσιάς *cf.* Pratinas *PMG* 708.2 Διονυσιάδα... θυμέλαν.

**κισσοφόροις:** to call the Dithyramb itself 'ivy-bearing' is presumably to imply that those who danced in the performance wore ivy; the ivy-wreath is particularly characteristic of Dionysus and his devotees.

**μίτραισι... ᾠώτοις:** evidently the successful poet was crowned with a *mitra* and also with roses; the fact is not recorded elsewhere. A *mitra* in this sort of context is a *chaplet*, the kind of headband with which victors at the Isthmian Games were wreathed: Pind. *Ol.* 9.84 Ἰσθμίαισι... μίτραις, described as woollen in *Isthm.* 5.62, εὐμαλλον μίτρην. For the roses, *cf.* Simonides *PMG* 506 τίς δὴ τῶν νῦν τοσάδ' ἦ πετάλοισι μύρτων | ἦ στεφάνοισι ῥόδων ἀνεδήσατο | νικάσας ἐν ἀγῶνι περικτιόνων; whence Koeler ingeniously conjectured μύρτοισι for μίτραισι here.

**ἐσκίασαν... ἔθειραν:** pure Lyric style; Pind. *Isthm.* 5.8 ὄντιν' ἄθροοι στέφανοι... ἀνέδησαν ἔθειραν.

**τρίποδα:** the tripod was the prize of victory in the Dithyramb; Pickard-Cambridge *DTC*<sup>3</sup> 36.

**μάρτυρα... ἀέθλων:** the same phrase in Pindar, *Ol.* 4.3, μάρτυρ' ἀέθλων.

**ἔθηκαν· κείνους** is unmetrical. Bentley's θήκαντο leaves κείνους as uncomfortable as it was before; such changes as ἔθηκαν· εὐ τοῦσδ' (Meineke) and θήκαντο· Κείος (Schneidewin) are too far from the tradition. κείνους probably conceals some more colourful word to qualify ἄνδρας. That noun was necessary, to record that the competition was the men's, not the boys', but it is too bleak all alone, especially in this elaborate style.

The problem remains unsolved.

**Ἀντιγένης:** as his nationality is not given, he was presumably an Athenian.



## ANTIGENES

**7-8 [39-40] ἐτιθηνείτο:** a *recherché* verb, middle for active and metaphorical as elsewhere only in Sophocles, *OC* 1050 πότνια ... σεμνά τιθηνούνται τέλη.

What Ariston 'nursed' was more probably the sound of his own flute (so Jacobs; cf. Theognis 532 αὐλῶν φθεγγομένων ἡμερόεσσιν ὄπα) than the voices of the choir.

**Ἀριστων Ἀργεῖος:** this Ariston appears nowhere else; he comes from Argos, the home of the most famous of flute-players, Klonas and Sakadas.

**καθαροῖς:** καθαρός, of language, *pure* (signifying especially *clear*), is common, and the application to music is easy. As αὐλοῖς already has one epithet, Meineke thought that καθαρῶς would improve the style.

**9-10 [41-2] τῶν:** τῶν δ' would be an improvement and may well be the true text.

**ἐχορήγησεν κύκλον:** χορηγεῖν does not govern an external direct accusative, already having an internal one in χορ-; it might, however, be followed by a cognate accusative, as χορὸν κύκλιον χορηγεῖν, and the simplest explanation here is that κύκλον is short-hand for χορὸν κύκλιον (the 'cyclic' chorus characteristic of the Dithyramb; Pickard-Cambridge *DTC*<sup>2</sup> 32). The construction is much like that in Thuc. 3.78.1 κύκλον ταξαμένων = τάξιν κυκλίαν ταξαμένων (quoted by Wilamowitz *SS* 220 in support of a similar interpretation).

**μελίγηρυν:** the word not in Bacchylides but several times in Pindar. It is remarkable that here, and here only, the poet allows a word to run over from the dactylic tetrameter to the ithyphallic; he had a fair precedent in Archilochus *fr.* 191.1, ὑπὸ καρδίην ἔλυσθεις, where the word-division is a mere formality. Compare the metrical anomaly involving another adjective compounded from μέλι- at [Aesch.] *PV* 172.

**Ἰππόνικος:** nothing more is known about him. His father's name is an odd one: Στρουθ- is rare (Στρουθίας in Menander *Colax fr.* 2.2); Στρούθων is not otherwise known to Kirchner and Pape-Benseler.

**ἄρμασιν...φορηθείς:** is the chariot real or metaphorical? It is to be noted that (a) in this epigram the chariot-borne person is the *choregos*, whereas in 'Simonides' 794 he is the poet; was there a separate chariot for each, or did both share one chariot? (b) In this epigram the chariot belongs to the Charites, whereas in Pind. *Pyth.* 10.65, ἄρμα Πιερίδων, *Isthm.* 2.2, δίφρον Μοισᾶν, and 8.62, Μοισαῖον ἄρμα, it is of the Muses, and in 'Simonides' *loc. cit.* it is of Victory; did each of these divine parties have a chariot?

The facts may seem at first sight easier to explain if the chariot is metaphorical, but Simonides *PMG fr.* 519.79.10-12 + An. Ox. Cramer 4.186.33 (quoted on Simon. *loc. cit. adnot.*) may point in the other direction, ἀρέσθ[αι τε] κῦδος εὐωνύμου | [Νίκας ἐς ἄρ]μα (βάντες)... | ἐνὶ δ' οἶον εἶκει θεὰ δίφρον ἐς μέγαν θορέν: this looks like a real chariot, which may be said to belong to whichever of the divinities concerned in the success (Muses, Charites, Victory) might be preferred by the poet's fancy.

**11-12 [43-4] ἀγλαάν τε νίκαν:** Pind. *Nem.* 11.20 ἀγλααὶ νίκαι. The metre of 12 is eccentric, and most editors have declined to receive it. Wilamowitz expressed a doubt (*SS* 221 n.1: 'Nur bin ich durch die Erfahrungen, die ich bei Aristophanes gemacht habe, gegenüber Inkongruenzen am Schlusse res-

## ANTIGENES

pondirender Stücke vorsichtig geworden'), and Paton and Diehl make no change. The incongruence is so great, and the parallels to it so few and distant, that corruption seems much the likelier diagnosis; change the word-order, and good metre emerges easily, ἑκατὶ Μοισᾶν θῆκαν ἰοστεφάνων θε(αίν)ῶν.

**ἰοστεφάνων**: the compound occurs in both Pindar and Bacchylides.

## ANTIMACHUS

### I

See the Introductory Note to Section 1 part 2, p. 127. The epigram appears in *A.P.* within an extract from Meleager's *Garland*. The elaborate style is characteristic of the period from Leonidas to the Sidonian Antipater (and beyond). The subject, the Spartan Aphrodite in Armour, is commonplace: see Leonidas 9.320 = *HE* xxiv, and *A.Plan.* 171 = ciii with Pref., Antipater of Thessalonica *A.Plan.* 176 = *PG* lxxxviii, Philip *A.Plan.* 177 = *PG* lxxii; cf. also Julianus *A.Plan.* 173, anon. *A.Plan.* 174.

No other epigram in the *Anthology* is ascribed to this name. It is not an easy corruption of any other name familiar in this genre,<sup>1</sup> and the style and content were not likely to suggest ascription to the famous poet Antimachus of Colophon.<sup>2</sup> The name is very common, and there is no reason to reject this evidence that a person so called was among the many contributors to Meleager's *Garland* not named in his *Proem* (4.1.55).

A.P. 9.321 Ἀντιμάχου, Pl<sup>B</sup> s.a.n. [C] εἰς Ἀφροδίτην ὀπλοφοροῦσαν

τίπτε μόθων ἄτλητος Ἐνυαλίῳ λογιχᾶς, 45  
 Κύπρι; τίς ὁ ψεύστας στυνὰ καθᾶπε μάταν  
 ἔντεα; σοὶ γὰρ Ἔρωτες ἐφίμεροι ἅ τε κατ' εὐνάν  
 τέρψις καὶ κροτάλων θηλυμανεῖς ὄτοβοι·  
 5 δούρατα δ' αἱματόεντα· κάθεσ Τριτωνίδι δῖαι  
 ταῦτα, σὺ δ' εὐχαίταν εἰς Ὑμέναιον ἴθι. 50

2 μάταν Pl: μάτην P 3-4 αἶ τε...τέρψεις Pl 5 κάθεσ P: μέθες Pl, qui post αἱματόεντα distinxit Τρωνιδι P<sup>ac</sup> 6 ταῦτα δ' P<sup>ac</sup> εὐχαίταν Pl: εὐχεται ἂν P  
 Jacobs\* 6.329.

**1 [45] μόθων**: ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with ἄτλητος and λογιχᾶς, as Reiske took it. All editors since have marked off μόθων ἄτλητος by commas, but λαχεῖν Ἐνυαλίῳ alone would be an odd and somewhat uncouth phrase.

Cf. Coluthus 92ff., and 162 ἔργα μόθων οὐκ οἶδα· τί γὰρ σακῶν Ἀφροδίτῃ; ἄτλατος O. Schneider.

<sup>1</sup> Καλλιμάχου, Ἀντιπάτρου, Ἀλκαίου have been suggested.

<sup>2</sup> Paton, the Budé edition, and Beckby list him (without comment) as the Colophonian.

## ANTIMACHUS

**2-3 [46-7]** Pl punctuates before, not after, ἔντεα, wrongly; στυγνά obviously requires the noun. ἐφίμεροι is, as Stadtmüller says, predicative.

**κροτάλων:** *castanets* or *rattles*; associated with the same epithet, but in a quite different sort of context, by Rufinus 5.19.1-2 νῦν δὲ καλοῦμαι | θηλυμανῆς, καὶ νῦν δίσκος ἐμοὶ κρόταλον. The *motif*, that musical instruments would be more suitable emblems for Aphrodite, recurs in only one of the parallel epigrams (see Pref.), together with the essence of Antimachus' last phrase: Philip *loc. cit.* 3-4 σοὶ Παιῖαν φίλος ἦν καὶ ὁ χρυσοκόμης Ὑμέναιος | καὶ λιγυρῶν αὐλῶν ἡδυμελεῖς χάριτες. θηλυμανῆς again in Meleager 9.16.2 = *HE* 4387.

**5-6 [49-50] δούρατα... ταῦτα:** there are three ways of taking the words: (a) punctuate after κάθες, understanding 'belong to' or 'are suitable for' with Τριτωνίδι ταῦτα; (b) δούρατα... κάθες... ταῦτα, 'lay down these spears for Athena'; (c) αἱματόεντα predicative, followed by a stop: 'Love is dear to you; spears are murderous. Lay them down for Athena.' The construction of the dative Τριτωνίδι is rather harsh in (a), and δέ runs less well in (b) than in (c), where it marks an antithesis.

**6 [50] εὐχαίταν:** the compound is rare before Nonnus (*Dion.* 13.84 εὐχαίτης Ὑμέναιος); first in Callimachus 12.230.3 = *HE* 1069 εὐχαίτεω Γανυμήδεος.

## APHAREUS

### I

For a bronze statue of Isocrates dedicated by Aphareus.

Aphareus, son of Hippias, became stepson and adoptive son of Isocrates (who married the widow of Hippias, Plathane). He was remembered for his devotion to Isocrates and as a tragedian who produced three dozen plays between the years 368 and 341 B.C., winning twice at the Dionysia and twice at the Lenaea. His name is plausibly supplemented in the *Didascalia* as third-prize winner with *Peliades*, *Orestes*, and *Auge*; no fragments have survived. See Snell *TGF* 1 no. 73; Thalheim *RE* 1.2712.

The ascription of the epigram to Aphareus has been generally accepted without question, but it is imprudent to take things on trust from the *Lives of the Ten Orators*. If Aphareus wrote it, he did not put himself to much trouble. Pausanias saw the statue half a millenium later, but does not mention an inscription: 1.18.8 κεῖται δ' ἐπὶ κιόνος (πρὸς τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ) Ἰσοκράτους ἀνδρίας.

[Plut.] vit. decem orat. 839b (Ἀφαρεὺς) εἰκόνα χαλκῇν αὐτοῦ (τοῦ Ἰσοκράτους) ἀνέθηκε πρὸς τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ ἐπὶ κιόνος καὶ ἐπέγραψεν·

Ἰσοκράτους Ἀφαρεὺς πατὴρ εἰκόνα τήνδ' ἀνέθηκε  
Ζηνί, θεοῦ τε σέβων καὶ γονέων ἀρετήν.

52

fere eadem Phot. Bibl. 488<sup>a</sup>8 (1-2).

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* dlv, <sup>b</sup>App. 216; Preger 157; 2 p. 329 Bergk; 1 p. 114 Diehl.

## APOLLONIUS OF RHODES?

## APOLLONIUS OF RHODES?

### I

Invective against Callimachus.

In the notorious controversy at Alexandria concerning Epic poetry, whether one should continue to write more or less in the traditional Homeric manner or break with the past and lead the stream of poetry into new channels, the chief antagonists were Callimachus and Apollonius of Rhodes. The ascription of the present epigram to Apollonius was therefore to be expected, but there is no way of deciding whether the ascription represents a true tradition or is merely a guess. At 7.41 the *lemma* refers to 'Απολλώνιος ὁ 'Ρόδιος ὁ γράψας τὰ 'Αργοναυτικά, but at 11.275 the heading is 'Απολλωνίου γραμματικοῦ, and that is surprising if the Rhodian was meant. *Apollonius poeta passim grammaticus vocatur apud veteres*, said Jacobs, but in truth he is normally called 'Apollonius' or 'Apollonius of Rhodes', and is not called γραμματικός even when the reference is to one of his works of learning, as in the Argument to the Hesiodic *Shield* or in Athen. 10.451D; 'Απολλώνιος γραμματικός elsewhere regularly refers to one of several other *grammatici* of this name.

The doubt cannot be resolved, but it should be said that there is nothing improbable in the ascription to the Rhodian. It is recorded that he wrote epigrams (Anton. Lib. 23 Introd., p. 40 Papatomopoulos); the peculiar uses of παίγνιον and ξύλινος suggest an author out of the ordinary; and the intense personal animosity reflected especially in the word κάθαρμα is more characteristic of the contemporary scene than of some latter-day armchair man of letters.

A.P. 11.275 'Απολλωνίου γραμματικοῦ; etiam J in marg. ad A.P. 7.41 (Καλλίμαχον) τὸν ποιητὴν ὃν ἔσκωπεν 'Απολλώνιος ὁ 'Ρόδιος ὁ γράψας τὰ 'Αργοναυτικά, εἰπὼν [1-2]; Pl<sup>B</sup> (bis) s.a.n.

Καλλίμαχος τὸ κάθαρμα, τὸ παίγνιον, ὁ ξύλινος νοῦς·  
αἴτιος ὁ γράψας Αἴτια Καλλίμαχος.

54

2 Καλλίμαχος Bentley: -μάχου PPl, Eust. Od. 1422.30, μα<sup>x</sup> J

Jacobs\* 10.47; Hecker 1852.19; 3 p.124 Diehl.

1 [53] **κάθαρμα**: the *refuse* of society, a strong term of abuse denoting worthlessness, not criminality, as is plain in Dem. 21.185 τοὺς μὲν πτωχοὺς, τοὺς δὲ καθάρματα, τοὺς δ' οὐδ' ἀνθρώπους, 21.198 πάντες εἰσι τούτῳ καθάρματα καὶ πτωχοὶ καὶ οὐδ' ἀνθρώποι, Lucian *dial. mort.* 2.1 ἐξονειδίζει ἀνδράποδα καὶ καθάρματα ἡμᾶς ἀποκαλῶν, and so no doubt in other passages where the colour is not so obvious, as Eupolis *fr.* 117.8, Ar. *Plut.* 454, Dem. 18.128, 19.198, Aeschin. 3.211. See Sandbach on Men. *Samia* 481.

**παίγνιον**: rendered from Jacobs to Beckby as *rem ridiculam*, 'butt', 'plaisantin', 'Spottbild', but the sense is surely the same as in Theocr. 15.50, οἶα πρὶν ἐξ ἀπατᾶς κεκροτημένοι ἄνδρες ἔπαισδον, | ἀλλάλοις ὁμαλοῖ, κακὰ παίχνια, πάντες ἀραίοι, where Gow comments: 'neither here nor there

## APOLLONIUS OF RHODES?

[*sc. A.P.* 11.275] is the colour plain, but here it can hardly be disassociated from ξπαισδον and seems to mean *tricksters*.

ξύλινος νοῦς: as Jacobs observed, 'wooden' for 'stupid' is a familiar image in Latin (Ter. *Heaut.* 5.1.4 *quae sunt dicta in stulto, caudex stipes asinus plumbeus*) but not in Greek; he quotes only Strato 12.15.2, καὶ ξύλον αἰσθάνεται, which is quite different, and *A.Plan.* 187.1, which is irrelevant.

2 [54] αἴτιος: the meaning, especially in relation to the previous line, is obscure: (1) Eustathius paraphrased ὑπεύθυνος, κολάσεως ἄξιος, as if αἴτιος by itself could mean in effect 'a criminal', but the word is never so used. (2) Hecker explained: *huius de ingenio sui iudicio* [*sc.* the judgement stated in the previous line] *ipse causa... Callimachus, scriptis Causarum libris*; this is far-fetched and unconvincing. (3) Boissonade *ap.* Dübner rendered: *ingenio causarius fuit qui scripsit Causas*; but αἴτιος could not possibly be equivalent to (*ingenio*) *causarius*. (4) Wilamowitz suggested that the epigram is an exercise on the theme τί ὄν εἶποι 'Απολλώνιος ἐκπίπτων ἐξ 'Αλεξανδρείας;. This was an ingenious explanation, but it postulates a type without parallel among epigrams (*A.P.* 9.454-79 are all on legendary or Olympian subjects), and the style of the present lines is very unlike that of the average rhetorical exercise.

It may be that αἴτιος is related to something outside the epigram, in its background; it might be a reply to a charge that the author himself was 'to blame' for something.

## ARCESILAUS

The primary source for the career and character of Arcesilaus is the lively and informative biographical notice in Diogenes Laertius 4.28-45. He was born at Pitane in Aeolis *c.* 318 B.C., and after study in Asia Minor went to Athens, where he became a pupil of Theophrastus but soon went over to Crantor at the Academy; he became founder of the Middle or 'Sceptic' phase of that institution, and later its President. He died *c.* 241 B.C. See von Arnim *RE* 2.1 164-8.

Nothing more is known about his friendship with Attalus, a close contemporary; but he was on familiar terms with Attalus' nephew Eumenes, the first king of the Pergamene dynasty, who supported him with liberal gifts of money (Diog. Laert. 4.38).

### I

Praise of Attalus.

'Attalus' in this epigram is the brother of Philetaerus (*c.* 320-263) the founder of the Pergamene state, and of Eumenes, whose son was the first king (263-241), to be succeeded by Attalus I (241-197), son of the present Attalus.

The epigram describes Pergamon as famous for victories not only in war but also in horse-racing at Olympia; 'and if it be permissible for a mortal to express the mind of Zeus, Pergamon shall be much more celebrated hereafter'. Jacobs referred this prophecy to an expectation of further victories in the Games, but the solemnity of the phrase and the historical circumstances suggest a quite different interpretation. Arcesilaus is speaking to the father of the presumable (and actual) successor to the throne, and if Pergamon is to be 'much

## ARCESILAUS

more celebrated hereafter', it will be through the achievements of the future king Attalus I. Attalus I became king at the age of about twenty-eight years in or about the year of Arcesilaus' death, 241/0 B.C.; it is therefore probable that the last line is truly prophetic, a compliment to a friend whose son has not yet succeeded to the throne. The epigram may well have been composed in the decade 250-241 B.C.

The allusion to Attalus' success in horse-racing at Olympia is further strong evidence that the epigram is contemporary; there is no reason whatever to doubt the ascription to Arcesilaus, a friend of the royal house of Pergamon (Diog. Laert. 4.38).

Diog. Laert. 4.30 φιλογράμματος ἱκανῶς γενόμενος ἥπτετο καὶ ποιητικῆς· καὶ αὐτοῦ (τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλαου) φέρεται ἐπίγραμμα εἰς Ἀτταλον ἔχον οὕτω·

Πέργαμος οὐχ ὄπλοις κλεινὴ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵπποις      55  
πολλάκις αὐδᾶται Πῖσαν ἀνὰ ζαθέην.  
εἰ δὲ τὸν ἐκ Διόθεν θεμιτὸν θνατῶι νόον εἰπεῖν,  
ἔσσεται εἰσαῦτις πολλὸν ἀοιδότερη.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 8.188, <sup>b</sup>App. 10.

1-2 [55-6] ὄπλοις κλεινὴ: the reference may be general, but most readers would think first of the great victory of Eumenes I over Antiochus at Sardis in 262 B.C.

αὐδᾶται: κηρύσσεται. in stadio Olympico, simul cum victoris nomine, ipsius patria praeconis voce celebrabatur, Jacobs.

A victory by Attalus in the chariot-race at Olympia is the subject of an inscriptional epigram, *Inscr. von Pergamon* 1.10 (Hiller *Hist. Gr. Epigr.* no. 98, Geffcken *Gr. Epigr.* no. 177), dated not later than 264/3 B.C.

## II

Epitaph for Menodorus.

On the metrical form, dactylic hexameter + iambic trimeter, as in Hegesippus 6.266 and 13.12 = *HE* iii and vi, Nicaenetus 13.29 = *HE* v, and Peek 553, 1501, 1502, and 1512.5-6, see *Wiener Studien* n.s.10 (1976) 165. The mixed metre is there shown to be characteristic of the third century B.C., the iambic being often used to accommodate proper-names for which the standard metre in epitaphs, the elegiac, is unsuitable (except by such distortions as Μηνόδωρος and Μηνεόδωρος in Peek 1149 and 1869). Thus the time of Arcesilaus is the likeliest for this epigram; the ascription to him is presumably correct, and the epigram is presumably an epitaph actually inscribed (= Peek 1506).

Diogenes' statement, that Menodorus was the 'beloved' (in the amatory sense) of Eugamus, a fellow-student of Arcesilaus, is probably an inference, and a false one. Menodorus was 'the best loved of many *serfs*', simply a favourite slave, honoured in death by his master, and the epitaph - composed by Arcesilaus for his fellow-student - is of the type quoted in the notes on 7.179 = anon. xxv.

Diog. Laert. 4.30 ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Μηνόδωρον τὸν Εὐγάμου ἐνὸς τῶν συσχολαστῶν ἐρώμενον·

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60

τηλοῦ μὲν Φρυγίῃ, τηλοῦ δ' ἱερῇ Θυάτειρα,  
 ὦ Μηνόδωρε, σὴ πατρίς †καδανάδη†.  
 ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰς Ἀχέροντα τὸν οὐ φατὸν Ἴσα κέλευθα,  
 ὥς αἶνος ἀνδρῶν, πάντοθεν μετρούμενα.  
 5 σῆμα δέ τοι τόδ' ἔρεξεν ἀριφραδὲς Εὐγαμος, ὦι σὺ  
 πολλῶν πενεστέων ἦσθα προσφιλέστατος.

2 καδανάδη codd. BP, κανάδη F (καδαβαδὴ F<sup>7ρ</sup>), καδανάδη codd. dgt 4  
 αἶνος Porson: δεινὸς codd. 5 Εὐγαμος Arnim: Εὐδαμος codd. hic et supra  
 ὦι codd. BP: ὡς F 6 προσφιλέστατος Cobet: -τερος codd.

Jacobs\* 8.188, <sup>b</sup>App. 11; Peek 1506.

**1-2 [59-60]** σὴ πατρίς must go with Θυάτειρα at least, presumably also with Φρυγίῃ as well; and this is very strange, for if Menodorus was a native of Thyateira he was not a native of Phrygia, and vice versa. Thyateira is in Lydia, not Phrygia, and so close to Pitane, the birthplace of Arcesilaus (about forty miles as the crow flies east), that the error seems inexcusable.

†καδανάδη†: this is generally taken to be a patronymic, with a choice between Καδανάδη and Καδανάδη (both equally barbaric, as might be expected of a Phrygian); but Menodorus was a serf, πενεστής, and it would be extraordinary for a master to address a serf by name and patronymic. The problem remains unsolved.

**3-4 [61-2]** The 'old saying', that all roads lead to Death, is illustrated at length in the Preface to 10.3 = anon. xc.

**5-6 [63-4]** Εὐγαμος: Εὐδαμος is impossible. For Εὐγαμος, which is itself very rare, see *IG* ii/iii<sup>2</sup> part 2, fasc. 2, no. 2332 (183/2 B.C.) col. 1, line 72, Εὐγα[μ]ος.

πενεστέων: see Pref.; as a rule specifically of Thessalian serfs, but not exclusively so (*cf. e.g.* Leonidas of Tarentum 6.300.1 = *HE* 2183); it never means anything but a slave-labourer of some kind.

## ARCHELAUS CHERSONESITES

The following verses come from a book entitled Ἰδιοφυῖ, 'creatures of peculiar growth or nature'.<sup>1</sup> The author, Archelaus, was a native of Chersonesus in Egypt.<sup>2</sup> He may be the same person as the Archelaus to whom (as an alternative to Asclepiades) *A.Plan.* 120 is ascribed; identification with an Archelaus called ὁ φυσικός by Plutarch (*Cim.* 4) and Hierax (*ap. Stob. ecl.* 3.10.77) is

<sup>1</sup> Athen. 9.409c κατῶβλεψ παρὰ Ἀρχελάωι τῷ Χερροννησίτῃ ἐν τοῖς Ἰδιοφυέσιν; Diog.Laert. 2.17 γεγόνασι δὲ τρεῖς ἄλλοι Ἀρχέλαοι... ὁ τὰ Ἰδιοφυῖ ποιήσας...; *cf. schol. Nic. Ther.* 823. It is a curious coincidence that Ἰδιοφυῖ was the title of a book by one of the Kings Ptolemy (p. 84 below). It is known that Philadelphus was particularly interested in strange animals (Hecker 1852. 16ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Χερροννησίτῃ Athen. *loc. cit.*; Αἰγύπτιος Antig. Caryst. (1(a) below); probably from Χερσόνησος μικρά, a peninsula on the coast of the Nomos Mareotes, west of Alexandria (*RE* 3.2269 no. 23).

## ARCHELAUS CHERSONESITES

hazardous. According to Antigonus of Carystus (I (a) below) Archelaus addressed his book to 'the Ptolemy'; this presumably means 'the present Ptolemy', and it then follows that Archelaus was a contemporary of Antigonus; the time will be the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes (246–221 B.C.), or perhaps the later years of Philadelphus (285–246 B.C.).

Both sources for these extracts, Antigonus and Varro, call them 'epigrams', meaning short compositions in elegiac verse; III below seems plainly complete in six lines, and this raises a question about the form of the book:

(1) It may have been a short book, say 600 lines like an average book of the *Iliad*. If Ἰδιοφυῆ comprised peculiar shape and behaviour as well as peculiar birth, the reader of Aelian will agree that enough material was available for 150 epigrams with an average of four lines.

(2) The book may have comprised both 'epigrams' and longer elegiac poems; indeed some of the indirectly quoted fragments of Archelaus (*Paradoxographi Graeci* 158ff.; *fr.* 9 and 10) indicate that certain topics were treated at considerable length. A special form of the combination of short and long was suggested by Reitzenstein (*Ep. und Skol.* 176 n. 2, and again in *RE* 2.453) – that the 'epigrams' were headings to longer poems on the topics announced in the 'epigrams'; this seems less probable than a straightforward series of short and longer elegiac compositions.

A similar book of elegiac verse was composed by another contemporary, Philostephanus of Cyrene,<sup>1</sup> mainly a prose-writer but author also of a book of elegiac verse, of which the only remnant<sup>2</sup> describes the strange behaviour of a lake in Sicily:

γαίη δ' ἐν Σικελῶν Τρινάκριδι χεῦμα λέλειπται  
αἰνότατον, λίμνη καίπερ ἐοῦσ' ὀλίγη,  
ἰσχυρὸν δῖναις, ὅπερ ἦν ποσὶ παῦρα τινάξῃς  
ἡλιθίως, ξηρὴν σ' ἤλασεν ἐς ψάμαθον.

There are several points of interest in this. First, the book evidently resembled the Ἰδιοφυῆ of Archelaus in comprising a series of elegiac 'epigrams' on paradoxical phenomena. Secondly, the lines quoted are not quite independent but are linked to what preceded by the particle δέ; formally, therefore, a continuous narrative, not a series of epigrams. Thirdly, the first letters of the lines, Γ, Α, Ι, Η, repeat the first word of the 'epigram', γαίη(ι). It is generally supposed that twelve lines followed, beginning with the letters Ι, Δ, Ε, Ε, Ν, Σ, Ι, Κ, Ε, Λ, Ω, Ν, but this is not probable, for the four extant lines tell a complete story – 'the lake has so strong a landward flow that it thrusts you back on shore if you step into it'.

There was evidently some repetition in Archelaus: the birth of wasps from dead horses appears in both I (a) and II (b), the birth of bees from oxen in both II (a) and II (b).

<sup>1</sup> Καλλιμάχου γνώριμος, according to Athenaeus, 8.331D; he lived into the reign of Ptolemy Philopator (221–203 B.C.; *RE* 20.104).

<sup>2</sup> Diehl *A.L.G.* 2.2 p. 82. The text is seriously corrupt; λέλειπται remains unintelligible.



## ARCHELAUS CHERSONESITES

### I

(a) On the birth of scorpions from dead crocodiles.

Cf. Aelian *n.a.* 2.33 ἡκουσα, ὃ κροκόδειλος ὅταν ἀποθανῇ, σκορπίον ἐξ αὐτοῦ τίκτεσθαι.

(b) On the birth of wasps from dead horses.

Cf. Nic. *Ther.* 741 ἵπποι γὰρ σφηκῶν γένεσις; Pliny *h.n.* 11.70 *equorum vespas*; Plut. *Cleom.* 39, quoted on III below; Aelian *n.a.* 1.28 ἵππος ἐρριμμένος σφηκῶν γένεσις ἐστίν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὑποσῆπεται, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ μυελοῦ ἐκπέτονται οἱ θῆρες οὗτοι, ὠκίστου ζωιοῦ πτηνὰ ἔκγονα, τοῦ ἵππου οἱ σφήκες.

Antig. Caryst. *mir.* 19 φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν κροκόδειλον σκορπίους γεννᾶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἵππων σφήκας γενέσθαι. καὶ τις Ἀρχέλαος Αἰγύπτιος τῶν ἐν ἐπιγράμμασιν ἐξηγουμένων τὰ παράδοξα τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ περὶ μὲν τῶν σκορπίων οὕτως εἶρηκεν·

(a) εἰς ὑμᾶς κροκόδειλον ἀποφθίμενον διαλύει, 65  
σκορπίοι, ἢ πάντα ζωοθετοῦσα φύσις.

περὶ δὲ τῶν σφηκῶν·

(b) ἐκ νέκυος ταύτην ἵππου γράψασθε γενέθλην,  
σφήκας· ἴδ' ἐξ οἶων οἷα τίθησι φύσις.

(b) 2 σφήκας· ἴδ' ἐξ οἶων Jacobs: σφήκας δὲ ζῶων codd.

Jacobs\* 8.180, <sup>b</sup>App. 12-13; Hecker 1852. 16f.; 2.2 pp. 82-3 Diehl.

(a) 2 [66] ζωοθετοῦσα: *making alive*; here only.

(b) 1 [67] γράψασθε: *write for yourself* = 'make a note of...'; the direct address to the reader, common in some types of epigram (especially epitaphs and descriptions of works of art) is unexpected here.

### II

On bees born from dead oxen.

Cf. Philitas *fr.* 16 (Diehl) βουγενέας... μελίσσας; Nic. *Ther.* 741 ἵπποι γὰρ σφηκῶν γένεσις, ταῦροι δὲ μελίσσων; Virg. *Geo.* 4.281ff.; Plut. *Cleom.* 39, quoted on II below; Aelian *n.a.* 2.57.

Varro *rust.* 3.16.4 primum apes nascuntur partim ex apibus, partim ex bubulo corpore putrefacto, itaque Archelaus in epigrammate ait eas esse

(a) βοὸς φθιμένης πεπλανημένα τέκνα.

idem

(b) ἵππων μὲν σφήκες γενεά, μόσχων δὲ μέλισσαι. 70

(a) boos pthimenes pepianem mina tegna, (b) hippomens piches geneamos chondae melissae codd., corr. edd. vett.

Not in Jacobs; 2.2 p. 83 Diehl.

(a) 1 [69] πεπλανημένα: quasi-adjectival as in *e.g.* Isocr. 15.265 πεπλανημένην ἔχειν τὴν διάνοιαν.

III

On the birth of snakes from the marrow of the spine of dead men.

*Cf. Ovid metam.* 15.389 *sunt qui, cum clauso putrefacta est spina sepulcro, | mutari credant humanas angue medullas*; *Pliny h.n.* 10.188 *anguem ex medulla hominis spinae gigni accepimus a multis*; *Plut. Cleom.* 39 ὀλίγαις δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις οἱ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κλεομένου ἀνεσταυρωμένον παραφυλάττοντες εἶδον εὐμεγέθη δράκοντα τῇ κεφαλῇ περιπεπλεγμένον...οἱ δὲ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς καὶ προσετρέποντο φοιτῶντες ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, ἥρωα τὸν Κλεομένη καὶ θεῶν παῖδα προσαγορεύοντες, ἄχρι οὗ κατέπαυσαν οἱ σοφώτεροι διδόντες λόγον ὡς μελίττας μὲν βόες, σφήκας δὲ ἵπποι κατασαπέντες ἐξανθοῦσι..., τὰ δὲ ἀνθρώπινα σώματα, τῶν περὶ τὸν μυελὸν ἰχώρων συρροήν τινα καὶ σύστασιν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς λαβόντων, ὅφεις ἀναδίδωσι; *Aelian n.a.* 1.51 ῥάχης ἀνθρώπου νεκροῦ, φασίν, ὑποσηπόμενον τὸν μυελὸν ἤδη τρέπει εἰς ὄφιν.

*Antig. Caryst. mir.* 89 (96) ἴδιον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο νεκρῶν τινῶν τοῦ μυελοῦ σαπέντος ἐκ τῆς ῥάχεως ὀφίδια γίνεσθαι, ἐὰν πρὸ τοῦ τελευτᾶν ὄφews τεθνηκὸς ἐλκύσῃσιν τὴν ὀσμήν. καὶ τι καὶ ἐπιγραμματίῳ περιπεπτώκαμεν Ἀρχελαῶν, οὐ καὶ πρότερον ἐμνήσθημεν, ὅς περὶ τῶν θανμασίῶν καὶ τοῦτο καταγράφει· καὶ φησίν·

πάντα δι' ἀλλήλων ὁ πολὺς σφραγίζεται αἰὼν·

ἀνδρὸς γὰρ κοίλης ἐκ μυελοῦ ῥάχεως

δεινὸς γίνετ' ὄφεις, νέκυος δειλοῖο σαπέντος

†ὅς νέον ἐκ τούτου πνεῦμα λάβηι τέρας†

5      τεθνεότος ζωὴν ἔλκων φύσιν. εἰ δὲ τόδ' ἔστιν,

75

οὐ θαῦμα βλαστεῖν τὸν διφυῆ Κέκροπα.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 8.179, <sup>b</sup>App. 14; 2.2 p. 83 Diehl.

**1 [71] πάντα...σφραγίζεται:** the use of the verb is abnormal and indeed hardly intelligible. LSJ *s.v.* II 5 render 'set an end or limit to,' and compare Antipater of Thessalonica 9.297.6 = *PG* 330 'Ρώμην...ἀνερχομένῳ σφραγίσαι ἡελίῳ, which does not seem much like the present passage. The meaning may be 'seals (the destiny of) all things through one another', implying that it creates one animal out of the death of another; but the phrase remains very obscure.

**3-5 [73-5]** Antigonus takes this to mean that a snake is created out of the spine of a man's corpse 'if, before dying, the man draws in the scent of a dead snake', but that is plainly nonsense. The doctrine applied generally; it was not limited to the corpses of those men (if there ever were any) who happened, shortly before dying, to have smelt a dead snake.

Jacobs in both his editions insisted on this point; he was right in principle, but his attempt to create a suitable text was not successful. He conjectured ὡς for ὅς, preferred λαβεῖν to λάβηι, and put a comma after τέρας, which he referred not to the snake but to the marrow, *propter effectum*; νέκυος is then to be understood with τεθνεότος and the whole rendered 'So that, by this miraculous change (ἐκ τούτου τέρας), the snake may get fresh breath, drawing a living nature from the dead body.' The sense here attributed to τέρας is

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unacceptable, and it is questionable whether the genitive absolute, νέκκος σαπέντος, is a satisfactory substitute for a main clause antecedent to the ὥς λαβεῖν or ὥς λάβηι clause, – ‘the corpse having rotted, so that...’. If νέκκος σαπέντος is thought a sufficient antecedent, the required sense would be given by ὥς...λάβηι <τὸ> τέρας, with εὐρόν for εὐρών; ἐκ τούτου and τεθνεότος might (but need not) go together, ‘the corpse having rotted, so that the monster may get new life from the dead man’.

For τέρας of a snake, cf. Hom. *Il.* 12.209 (apposed to ὄφης), *H. Apoll.* 300–2.

**6 [76] τὸν διφυῆ Κέκροπα:** διφυῆς, of Cecrops, also schol. *Ar. Plut.* 773 and *Suda s.v.* δράκαινα. Cecrops is often represented below the waist as a snake (*Ar. Vesp.* 438 πρὸς ποδῶν Δρακοντίδῃ) in literature and art; *RE* 11.120f.

## ARCHIMEDES

There is no other information about a poet named Archimedes. An ἐπιγραμμάτων ποιητής named Archimelus is quoted by Athenaeus (5.209b), and Brunck altered Ἀρχιμήδους to Ἀρχιμήλου in the heading of *A.P.* 7.50 for no better reason than that we hear of an epigrammatist named Archimelus but not of one named Archimedes. Jacobs in his second edition (3.229), Dübner, the Budé edition, and Beckby agree with Brunck; Stadtmüller leaves the question open. Reitzenstein (*RE* 2.507 and 539) rejected the identification, finding (as Jacobs had done in his first edition, 13.860) the reason given for it quite inadequate; as indeed it is.

The epigram is one of a series of nine on Euripides within a long sequence on celebrated authors, mostly by epigrammatists from the two *Garlands* but including a few by poets from the *Cycle* of Agathias and numerous *adespota*. Archimedes stands between Bianor and Adaeus, two of Philip’s authors, and there is nothing in the epigram to preclude him from that company; *A.P.* 7.49–51 might be a little block of three from the *Garland* of Philip, like 7.38–40, 73–5, and possibly 16–18.

### I

On Euripides.

*A.P.* 7.50 Ἀρχιμήδους εἰς τὸν αὐτόν, *Pl<sup>B</sup>* s.a.n. εἰς Εὐριπίδην

τὴν Εὐριπίδεω μήτ’ ἔρχεο, μήτ’ ἐπιβάλλου,  
 δύσβατον ἀνθρώποις οἶμον, ἀοιδοθέτα·  
 λείη μὲν γὰρ ἰδεῖν καὶ ῥέπιρροθος†, ἣν δέ τις αὐτὴν  
 εἰσβαίνει\*, χαλεποῦ τρηχυτέρῃ σκόλοπος. 80

5 ἣν δέ τὰ Μηδείης Αἰήτιδος ἄκρα χαράξις,  
 ἀμνήμων κείσῃ νέρθεν· ἕα στεφάνους.

3 λείη *Pl<sup>pc</sup>*: δεινὴ C, δεῖν P, εἰν *Pl<sup>ac</sup>* εἰ δέ *Pl* 4 εἰσβαίνει *CPl<sup>ac</sup>*: -νει  
*PP<sup>pc</sup>* 5–6 caret *Pl*

Jacobs\* 8.192 (= Archimelus 11).

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1 [77] μήτ' ἐπιβάλλου: *neither essay it*, Paton, 'ne la tente pas', Budé; more probably as LSJ *s.v.* III 1, *do not set your heart upon it*. As this verb does not govern the accusative in any sense suitable here, μήτ' ἐπιβάλλου is best taken parenthetically (so Huschke *anal. crit.* 157, comparing Call. *H.Del.* 163-4 οὐτ' οὖν ἐπιμέφομαι, οὐδὲ μεγάρω, νῆσον).

2 [78] ἀοιδοθέτα: here only, coined on the model of ὕμνοθέτης. Not 'lyric poet', as LSJ.

2 [79] λείη: *cf.* Hes. *op.* 288 λείη μὲν ὁδὸς κτλ.

ἐπίρροθος: whether as adjective or as substantive, this word is regularly used of one who *rushes to* the rescue or defence, so *helper*, *helpful*, or the like. (Hom. *Il.* 4.390, 23.770; Hes. *op.* 560 μακραί γὰρ ἐπίρροθοι εὐφρόναι εἰσι, where despite the word-order the sense is 'long nights are helpful'; A. *ScT* 368 ἀλγέων ἐπίρροθον, 'defender against pains'; Ap. Rhod. 2.1068, 1193, 4.1045.) It is obviously an unsuitable epithet for a road; *viam intelligas... quae ambulantes quodam modo adiuvet*, said Jacobs, who very seldom applies such desperate remedies; Dorville, Brunck, and Paton all independently conjectured ἐπίκροτος, *well-trodden*, not a likely change. The Budé edition has ἐπίρροδος, 'semée de roses', a Gallic fantasy.

4 [80] *Cf.* Lucian *VH* 2.30 προῆμεν διὰ τινος ἀκανθώδους καὶ σκολόπων μεστῆς ἀτραποῦ, Clem. Alex. *protr.* 27 τρίβον... διὰ ἀκανθῶν καὶ σκολόπων.

5-6 [81-2] This couplet has caused perplexity ever since the time of Planudes, who simply omitted it. Huschke (*anal. crit.* 157-8) and Hecker (1843. 186-7) despaired, as we all must do if we cannot improve upon the efforts of Lenz, reported with approval by Dübner, ἀκρα *est cacumen artis... sive ipsa Medea, quae primum locum inter Euripidis tragoedias obtinet... dicit igitur: quodsi grassatus fueris ad Medeam in summo constitutam, tanto graviori casu praecipitaberis, inglorius tristem acturus vitam*; of Orelli, reported by Jacobs (who adds that ἦν δὲ τὰ would have to be changed to εἰ καὶ), *etiamsi summam Medae Euripideae perfectionem attigeris, tamen inglorius abibis*; of the Budé edition, 'quant à Médée... si tu l'effleures d'une égratignure, tu tomberas à terre sans laisser de souvenir'; of Paton, 'scratch but the surface of Medea (by re-touching)... and thou shalt lie below forgotten'; or of Jacobs in his first edition, *nisi Medeam superaveris, ignotus et inglorius inter umbras versaberis*, requiring the change of ἀκρα χαράξης to οὐ παραθρέξης. Evidently a new approach is needed.

The epigram is addressed to a poet (1 ἀοιδοθέτα), and warns him of the difficulty of imitating Euripides. In this context χαράξης is likely to be equivalent to γράψης (Huschke *loc. cit.*; LSJ *s.v.* III), and good sense would then be made if τὰ ἀκρα = *the edges* (LSJ *s.v.* 13). The meaning will be 'if you wish to imitate Euripides, stay away from the theme of his masterpiece, the Medea; for if what you write touches even the fringes of that story, the comparison with Euripides will doom you to oblivion'. *Cf.* Peek 432.4 (I A.D.) κακῶν οὐδ' ἀκρα γευσάμενος, 'not even the fringes of misfortune'.

ἀμνήμων κείση: *cf.* Sappho *fr.* 55 κατθανοῖσα δὲ κείση, οὐδέ ποτα μναμοσύνα σέθεν | ἔσσειτ'.

ἔα στεφάνους: this seems an odd and abrupt ending. 'Hands off his crowns', Paton; 'laisse-là les couronnes', the Budé, with the note 'c'est à dire: renonce à concourir avec Euripide'.

## ARCHIMELUS

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Nothing else is known about this author (see the Preface to Archimedes), nor is there any other reference to the present epigram or to its subject.

The epigram stands in Athenaeus at the end of a verbatim extract from 'a certain Moschion' (about whom there is no other information), describing in great detail the construction, launching, equipment, and cargo of a gigantic ship said to have been built for Hieron II by 'Archias of Corinth' (of whom there is no other trace), not without technical assistance from the great Archimedes. Designed for trade with Greece, the ship proved too large for any Greek harbour, and Hieron sent it as a gift to King Ptolemy.

If this were truth and not fantasy, the time would presumably be within the twenty-three years of peace and prosperity which followed 241 B.C. in Syracuse under Hieron, and Ptolemy would be Euergetes. See Gow's Prefaces to Theocr. xvi and xvii, and *RE* 8.1509, 16.348.

It is certain, however, that Moschion's description of the ship is for the most part, if not wholly, imaginary, as Cecil Torr (*Ancient Ships* (Cambridge 1894) 25ff.) demonstrated by the following arguments:<sup>1</sup>

(1) The largest merchant-ships are regularly described throughout antiquity as *μυριοφόροι*, 'carrying 10,000 talents' (Torr 25 with n. 67): Hieron's ship according to Moschion (Athen. 209A) carried 60,000 of corn, 10,000 of dried fish, 20,000 of timber, and 20,000 of miscellaneous cargo. The absurdity of the total, 110,000, is manifest.

(2) 'And then Moschion dilates upon the luxury of the cabins and the baths and the covered walks on deck, shaded by vines and whole gardens of plants in pots' (not to mention stables and a library among many other things); 'while Suetonius describes the very same display of luxury on Caligula's yacht: and Caligula was the emperor who built the great ship for the obelisk' (*sc.* the Vatican obelisk which, with its pedestal, weighs over 496 tons; the burden, including 800 tons of lentils in which it was packed, is stupendous, but Moschion's ship carries nearly three times as heavy a cargo, not counting the stables and library etc.). 'Thus, in all probability, Moschion has blended some of the characteristics of that great ship and those luxurious yachts in a vessel of ideal size and splendour; and then endeavoured to give reality to his idea by associating it with some vessel that Hieron sent to Ptolemy' (Torr 29).

This conclusion, that Moschion wrote not earlier than the time of Caligula, is confirmed by the 'three masts' with which he equips Hieron's ship in the third century B.C. (Athen. 208D τριῶν δὲ ἰστέων ὑπαρχόντων): the three-master is mentioned by Pliny (*h.n.* 19.1) as a recent innovation, and Torr could find no other exception to the rule that from the fifth century B.C. to the sixth A.D. ships had either one or two masts.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a different view, see L. Casson *Ships and seamanship in the ancient world* (3rd imp. Princeton 1973) 185ff.; Duncan-Jones *CQ* n.s. 27 (1977) 331-2.

<sup>2</sup> Torr admits a possible reference to a three-master in the jest in Strabo 8.6.20 *fin.*: I do not see the point of the number *three* there, but should find it even more obscure if only one ship is meant.

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(3) Indeed Moschion may be later than Plutarch, for his account of the launching looks very like a variation of the story in *Marcellus* 14: Hieron, says Plutarch, asked Archimedes to demonstrate the moving of a large object by a small force, and Archimedes responded by launching a large ship complete with crew and cargo, by means of a compound pulley (πολύσπαστον); in Moschion the gigantic ship can only be launched by the science of Archimedes, who used a ἑλιξ.

It is necessary to conclude that Moschion's story is fictitious, and it is likely that he was a relatively late writer. It is therefore the more important to determine whether he was the source not only for the description of the ship but also for the epigram about the ship, which comes at the very end. Now Athenaeus' introduction to the epigram includes the remarkable statement that Hieron sent ('at his own expense') 1,000 *medimnoi* of wheat from Sicily to Piraeus as payment to Archimelus for his epigram; the absurdity of this yarn suggests that Athenaeus is still, at the moment when he is about to quote the epigram, relying on Moschion.

The question remains whether the epigram may nevertheless be contemporary with its subject-matter, and there is no certain answer. A fictitious epigram (of deplorable quality, as it happens) by a fictitious author (there is no other trace of 'Archimelus') about a ship built by a fictitious architect ('Archias of Corinth' is unknown) would not be out of place in a narrative which is absurd and irresponsible from start to finish. If we could be sure that Archimelus imitates Antipater of Sidon, we should at least know that the epigram is far from contemporary with its subject-matter; and if it is later than Antipater, it might be of any date between him and Athenaeus. The resemblances to Antipater are confined to 5 κορυφαῖς Αἴτνας παριστούμενον, which is not much like Antipater 7.748.5 = *HE* 414 Ἀθωῆος Ἴσον ἐρίπναι, and 7-8 ἡ ῥα Γίγαντες | τοῦτο πρὸς οὐρανίας ἔξεσαν ἀτραπιτούς, which has something in common with Antipater's ἡ ποῖοι χθονὸς υἷες ἀννυώσαντο Γίγαντες. As Jacobs said, *haec de mole dicta* (as in Antipater<sup>1</sup>) *nemo facile reprehenderit; de nave, eadem longe ineptissima sunt*, and this is the only good evidence for imitation. It remains, however, a long way from proof.

The date of composition remains quite uncertain. As a rule, epigrams with this sort of subject-matter are contemporary with what they describe; but a very large ship (if it ever existed) might last a very long time, and might be seen and described for at least a couple of generations after its building. We have to reckon with the possibility that both the author and the epigram are products of the boundless fancy of 'a certain Moschion'.

If the epigram comes from the third century B.C., it has the distinction of being the most fatuous preserved from the Alexandrian era.

### I

On a very large ship built by Archias for Hieron.

Athen. 5.209B ὁ δ' Ἰέρων καὶ Ἀρχιμηλον τὸν τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων ποιητὴν

<sup>1</sup> Martial 8.36 applies a similar image to Domitian's palace on the Palatine; see especially Weinreich *Studien zu Martial* 9ff.

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γράψαντα εἰς τὴν ναῦν ἐπίγραμμα χιλίοις πυρῶν μεδίμνοις, οὓς καὶ παρέπεμψεν  
ἰδίοις δαπανήμασιν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, ἐτίμησεν. ἔχει δ' οὕτως τὸ ἐπίγραμμα·

τίς τόδε σέλμα πέλωρον ἐπὶ χθονὸς εἴσατο; ποῖος  
κοίρανος ἀκαμάτοις πείσμασιν ἡγάγετο;  
πῶς δὲ κατὰ δρυόχων ἐπάγη σανίς; ἢ τίνι γόμφοι 85  
τμηθέντες πελέκει τοῦτ' ἔκαμον τὸ κύτος,  
5 ἢ κορυφαῖς Αἴτνας παρισούμενον ἢ τινι νάσων  
ᾧς Αἰγαῖον ὕδωρ Κυκλάδας ἐνδέδεται,  
τοίχοις ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἰσοπλατές; ἢ ῥα Γίγαντες  
τοῦτο πρὸς οὐρανίας ἔξεσαν ἀτραπιτούς· 90  
ἄστρον γὰρ ψαύει καρχῆσια, καὶ τριελίκτους  
10 θώρακας μεγάλων ἐντὸς ἔχει νεφών.  
πέισμασι δ' ἀγκύρας ἀπερείδεται οἷσιν Ἀβύδου  
Ζέρξης καὶ Σηστοῦ δισσὸν ἔδησε πόρον.  
μανύει στιβαρᾶς κατ' ἐπωμίδος ἀρτιχάρακτον 95  
γράμμα τίς ἐκ χέρσου τάνδ' ἐκύλισε τρόπιν·  
15 φατὶ γὰρ ὥς "Ἰέρων Ἰεροκλέος Ἑλλάδι πάσαι  
καὶ νάσοις καρπὸν πῖονα δωροφορῶν,  
Σικελίας σκαπτοῦχος ὁ Δωρικός". ἀλλά, Πόσειδον,  
σῶιζε κατὰ γλαυκῶν σέλμα τόδε ῥοθίων. 100

8 οὐρανίους cod. C 11 π(ε)ίσμασι δ' cod. C: πείσμασιν A ἀπερείδεται A:  
ἀπηωρήσατο cod. C 14 τάνδ' ἐκύλισε cod. C: τάνδε κύλισσε A 15 φατὶ  
Schneidewin: φασὶ A, φησὶ cod. C 16 καρπὸν A<sup>ac</sup>: -πῶν A<sup>pc</sup>, cod. C  
δωροφορῶν Casaubon: -οφόρον A, -οφόρων cod. C

Jacobs\* 8. 190, <sup>b</sup>App. 15; Cougny 3.82, with commentary including a Latin translation by Natalis Comes.

1 [83] σέλμα: properly *bow* (or *stern*) *platform* (Morrison and Williams 48, 196–7); the sense commonly ascribed to the plural, *rowing-benches*, is very seldom possible and never required except apparently in Dionysius Chalcus *IEG* (West) *fr.* 4.5 ἐρέτας ἐπὶ σέλματα πέμπει. Here and in 18 it stands for the ship as a whole; the only parallel seems to be Lyc. *Alex.* 1217 πορκεὺς δίκωπον σέλμα ναυστολῶν ἔλαϊ.

ἐπὶ χθονὸς εἴσατο: *set up on land*, referring to the building, before launching.

2 [84] πείσμασιν ἡγάγετο: an unsatisfactory expression, presumably *brought (it) by means of ropes (to the sea)*, i.e. launched it; Moschion's words (Athen. 207b) are σκάφος εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν κατήγαγε.

3 [85] κατὰ δρυόχων: δρυόχοι are rests for the keel at the start of ship-building; full discussion of this word in my *Folk Tales in Homer's Odyssey* (Cambridge, Mass. 1973) 130–2.

γόμφοι: *dowel-pins*; 'cut with an axe', so of wood (if the author is thinking about what he is saying). Moschion writes of γόμφοι in 206f, of *bronze nails* χαλκοὶ ἦλοι in 207b. Torr 37–9.

## ARCHIMELUS

**4 [86] κύτος:** not normally a nautical term, though Polybius uses it of the *hold* (16.3.4); here of the whole structure from keel to deck (the hollow of the ship).

**5-6 [87-8]** The hyperbole is grotesque, and not the better for having the word κύτος as subject.

Etna was the obvious mountain for the comparison; that is where most of the timber came from according to Moschion (206F).

**ἐνδέδεται:** like ἡγάγετο in 2, an arbitrary middle for active.

**7 [89] τοίχοις...ἰσοπλατέες:** presumably as Natalis Comes took it, *equal in breadth to walls*, i.e. the ship's sides are as thick as walls. But τοίχοις was a bad choice of word for walls, as it is commonly used of the sides of a ship; a competent writer would have said τείχεσιν.

**8 [90] πρὸς...ἀτραπιτούς:** *sawed it towards the paths of heaven* means 'sawed the timbers of such dimensions that they reached the sky'. It is hard to accept such phrasing as of Hellenistic date.

**9-10 [91-2] καρχήσια:** *trucks* at the mast-head (Morrison and Williams 199); of bronze, according to Moschion (208E).

**τριελίκτους θώρακας:** by θώρακας he means what were called θωράκια (Torr 92-5 with n.199), not 'crows' nests' but military-tops near the mast-head, carried by merchantmen as a defence against pirates. Moschion (208D-E) equips each of his three masts with a θωράκιον, supplied with missiles in baskets hauled up by pulleys. τριελίκτους signifies that there were three masts, and that each had a θωράκιον 'wound' round it, as in Moschion.

**μεγάλων:** a fatuous epithet. μελάνων Jacobs, but that is not much better, and it is unsafe to tamper with this author. No amount of change will save him from saying that, while the trucks touched the stars, the military-tops – which must be adjacent to, and are probably identical with, the trucks – are as high as the clouds.

**11-12 [93-4] πείσμασι...ἀπερείδεται:** *is supported by the cables of the anchor*. The use of the verb is classical; e.g. Plato *Symp.* 190A τοῖς μέλεσιν ἀπερειδόμενοι, 'supported by their limbs'.

The hyperbole is again uncommonly offensive.

**13 [95] ἐπωμίδος:** ἐπωμίς is not a nautical term, and there is no knowing what this author may have meant by a ship's *shoulder*. In a good writer one would thankfully accept Casaubon's ἐπωτίδος, for the cat-head offers a broad and prominent surface for the inscription, and στιβαρῶς would be a most appropriate epithet (Torr 62 and 69 with figures 22 and 23).

**ἀρτιχάρακτον:** not elsewhere till Nonnus.

**15-17 [97-9]** The lack of a main verb in the inscription is presumably meant to be a touch of realism.

**18 [100] κατά:** διὰ Kaibel, but an author who says ἐξεσαν πρὸς ἀτραπιτούς (8) may say also σῶιζε κατὰ ῥοθίων; the meaning is clear enough, 'keeps the ship safe against the fury of the waves'.



## ARISTOCLES

### ARISTOCLES

#### I

On a bull led to sacrifice by an old woman at Hermione in the Argolid.

A different account is given by Pausanias 2.35.5: 'The Hermionians... celebrate a festival called Chthonia every year in the summer-time... The procession is brought up by some men driving a fine, full-grown cow from the herd, fastened with cords, but still wild and frisky. Having driven it to the temple, some of them slip the cords and let the cow rush into the sanctuary. Others meanwhile hold the doors open, and as soon as they see the cow inside the temple, they clap them to. Four old women remain inside: it is they who butcher the cow. Whichever of them gets the chance cuts the beast's throat with a sickle. Then the doors are opened, and the men whose business it is drive up a second cow, and after it a third, and then a fourth. The old women butcher them in the same way' (Frazer's translation; see also his Commentary 3.295-6).

It is remarkable that the two accounts should be so different. Aristocles tells of a bull,<sup>1</sup> not a cow, and of one old woman, not four. The circumstantial narrative of Pausanias is surely to be trusted, whereas the story told by Aristocles is intrinsically improbable: four old women might deal with a frisky cow, but a bull which 'not even ten men can take' is a dangerous animal, not to be led 'by the ear' by one old woman.

There is no way of defending Aristocles against the charge of ignorance, carelessness, or indifference to truth, except by the unconvincing plea that the facts were indeed as stated and that these important details of the ceremony changed before the time of Pausanias. It is impossible to examine the matter further, because the date of Aristocles is not known. There is no other record of a poet so named, but several *grammatici* are known (Wentzel *RE* 2.935 no.18), and *grammatici* often wrote epigrams; if the conjecture Ἀριστοκλῆς for Ἀριστοτέλης is correct in schol. Theocr. 15.64 (p. 311 Wendel; the conjecture is based on the present epigram), we have an antiquarian Aristocles who wrote περί τῶν Ἑρμιόνης ἱερῶν, and who might have written the present epigram, but we should know nothing about his date.

The composition is clear and lively.

Aelian n.a. 11.4 τὴν Δήμητρα Ἑρμιονεῖς σέβουσι, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῇ μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ σοβαρῶς, καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν Χθόνια καλοῦσι. μεγίστας γοῦν ἀκούω βοῦς ὑπὸ τῆς ἱερείας Δήμητρος ἀγεσθαί τε πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀγέλης καὶ θύειν ἑαυτὰς παρέχειν. καὶ οἷς λέγω μάρτυς Ἀριστοκλῆς, ὃς ποῦ φησι·

Δάματερ πολύκαρπε, σὺ κῆν Σικελοῖσιν ἐναργής  
καὶ παρ' Ἑρεχθείδαις. ἐν δέ τι <τοῦτο> μέγα  
κρίνεται ἐν Ἑρμιονεῦσι· τὸν ἐξ ἀγέλης γὰρ ἀφειδῇ  
ταῦρον, ὃν οὐχ αἰροῦσ' ἀνέρες οὐδὲ δέκα,

5 τοῦτον γραῦς στείχουσα μόνα μόνον οὐατος ἔλκει 105

<sup>1</sup> Aelian goes on talking as though Aristocles had said 'cow'.

## ARISTOCLES

τόνδ' ἐπὶ βωμόν, ὃ δ' ὡς ματέρι παῖς ἔπεται.  
 σὸν τόδε, Δάματερ, σὸν τὸ σθένος. Ἴλαος εἴης,  
 καὶ πάντων θάλλοι κλᾶρος ἐν Ἑρμιόνηι.

2 τοῦτο suppl. Gesner 3 ἀγέλας, 8 Ἑρμιόνοι fort. scribenda

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 8.285, <sup>b</sup>App. 7; Weinreich *Stud. zu Martial* 140.

1 [101] κῆν Σικελοῖσιν: the best commentary in brief is Cicero *Verr.* 2.4.106, beginning *vetus est haec opinio... quae constat ex antiquissimis Graecorum litteris ac monumentis, insulam Siciliam totam esse Cereri et Liberae consecratam...*

2 [102] παρ' Ἑρεχθεΐδαις: because of the Eleusinian Mysteries.

3 [103] ἀφειδῆ: it was a *merciless* bull. This unqualified use of ἀφειδῆς is probably to be seen in Callimachus 12.150.7 = *HE* 1053 ἀφειδέα πῶτ τὸν Ἔρωτα, apparently 'to Eros when he is implacable'; it is rare before Nonnus, who has many examples.

4 [104] αἰροῦσ': *catch* is suitable but *get into their power* better still. Hercher's conjecture οὐ χειροῦντ' is attractive in itself but a rough change. Elision in mid-pentameter is rare (except for δέ, τε, σε) in the present collection (118, 509, 517, 557, 561, 793, 991, 1095, 1193, 1251, 1335, 1619, 1683).

8 [108] πάντως Hercher, without need, and κλᾶρος is the better for πάντων, 'may every man's holding flourish'.

## ARISTOTELES

### I

Epigram for a statue at Delphi of Hermeias, prince of Atarneus.

The background of this interesting epigram is best read in the lively sketch by Jaeger, *Aristotle* (English translation 2nd ed. Oxford 1948) pp. 112–19, 288–90, based largely on Didymus in *Demosth.*, *Berliner Klassikertexte* 1.27.

Hermeias,<sup>1</sup> a man of lowly origin and an eunuch, acquired a principedom in the region called Atarneus, part of Aeolis on the coast opposite the island of Lesbos. He became a close friend of Erastus and Coriscus, pupils of Plato who had returned from the Academy to their native town, Scepsis in the Troad; both his character and his political conduct were much improved by this intercourse. He expanded his dominion as far as the town of Assos, of which he made a gift to the philosophers. In 347 B.C. (the year of Plato's death) Aristotle joined the company at Assos and stayed three years; he and Hermeias became intimate friends.

In 342 B.C. (a couple of years after Aristotle had left Assos for Mytilene) a redoubtable opponent, Mentor (he had once had his own principedom of Ilium, Scepsis, and Cebren, a gift from Artabazos the satrap of Dascyleum), led a Persian force against Atarneus, took Hermeias prisoner by treachery, and delivered him to the Great King at Susa, who put him to death. Aristotle's affection and respect for his friend are attested by this epigram, by the *Hymn to Virtue* (*PMG* 842), and by the erection of a cenotaph (see Theocritus of Chios, p. 93 below; presumably at Assos or Atarneus).

<sup>1</sup> See Tod *GHI* 2.188–90 and 246–8, with literature.

## ARISTOTELES

There is no particular reason to doubt the authenticity of either the epigram or the *Hymn to Virtue*, though it must be noted that not all works ascribed to Aristotle were truly his.

This epigram and the *Hymn to Virtue* gave great offence, and were the basis for a prosecution for impiety; see Theocritus Chius 1 Pref.

Diog. Laert. 5.5 'Αριστοτέλης... τὸν ὕμνον ἐποίησεν εἰς τὸν προειρημένον Ἑρμίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνδριάντος τοιοῦτον·

τόνδε ποτ' οὐχ ὁσίως παραβάς μακάρων θέμιν ἀγνῆν  
ἔκτεινεν Περσῶν τοξοφόρων βασιλεύς, 110  
οὐ φανεραὶ λόγχῃ φονίοις ἐν ἀγῶσι κρατήσας  
ἀλλ' ἀνδρὸς πίστει χρησάμενος δολίου.

Didymus in Demosth. 6.36, *BKT* 1.27 'Αριστοτέ[λης... ἐγγέγ[ραφε· (vv.1-4 fragmenta: 1 ]σιωσπαραβ[, 2 ]κτινεν[, 3 ]νερασ[λογ]χη[, 4 αλ[λανδρο]σ[)]

3 φανεραὶ λόγχῃ Diels: φα]νερᾶς [λόγ]χη[ς Didymus, φανερώς λόγχῃ Diogenes

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 6.366, <sup>b</sup>App. 8; Preger 163; 2 p. 338 Bergk; 1 p. 116 Diehl.

**2 [110] Περσῶν... βασιλεύς:** Artaxerxes III.

**3 [111] φανεραὶ λόγχῃ:** the reading is not certain. Didymus offers the genitive, which can hardly be true but may be nearer to the truth than Diogenes; φανερᾶς λόγχῃς is likelier to be a corruption of φανεραὶ λόγχῃ than of φανερώς λόγχῃ.

**4 [112]** An odd phrase; 'making use of the faith of a faithless man'; πίστις must = 'pledge of good faith' (LSJ s.v. π 1).

**ἀνδρὸς... δολίου:** Mentor, whose adventurous career is summarised by Kahrstedt in *RE* 15.964-5; at the time, in 342 B.C., he held a special command on the west coast of Asia Minor under the Persian king.

## ARTEMIDORUS

Artemidorus of Tarsus, plausibly identified with the father of the scholar Theon, worked in Alexandria in the first half of the first century B.C. This epigram tells us that he made a collection of hitherto scattered bucolic poems. On the relation of this assembly to that in our manuscripts under the name of Theocritus, see Gow *Theocritus* 1. lx-lxii and 2.549-51.

### I

On a collection of bucolic poems.

A.P. 9.205 (caret Pl) [C] 'Αρτεμιδώρου γραμματικοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀθροίσει τῶν βουκολικῶν ποιημάτων; Theocr. codd. KGEAT

βουκολικαὶ Μοῖσαι σποράδες ποκά, νῦν δ' ἅμα πᾶσαι  
ἐντὶ μιᾷς μάνδρας, ἐντὶ μιᾷς ἀγέλας. 114

1 Μοῖσαι Theocr. codd.: Μοῦσαι P σποράδην Theocr. codd. 2 ἀγέλας P: ἀγέλης Theocr. codd.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 7.190.

## ARTEMIDORUS

1 [113] **βουκολικαί**: only ten of Theocritus' idylls (1, 3-11) are 'bucolic'; **ἅμα πᾶσαι** suggests a more extensive collection, perhaps corresponding more or less to that of our manuscripts of Theocritus.

**σποράδες**: like the lays of Homer before Peisistratus assembled them; anon. 1184-5 below, **ὅς τὸν Ὅμηρον | ἤθροισα σποράδην τὸ πρὶν ἀειδόμενον**.

## ASTYDAMAS

### I

Epigram by Astydamos on a statue of himself erected in the theatre at Athens.

The general sense of this display of conceit is as follows: Referring to the most eminent tragedians of the past (2), Astydamos wishes that he had been born among them or that they had been born in his time (1), so that he might have competed with them on equal terms and been judged accordingly (3); in fact he is handicapped, for his ancient rivals have time on their side, and are thus not burdened with the jealousy of contemporaries (4).

The sources ascribe this epigram to Astydamos I, the son of Morsimus (see the *stemma* in Snell *TGF* 1 p. 88; Morsimus was grandson of a sister of Aeschylus), but they are certainly wrong. Morsimus was alive in 424 B.C. (Ar. *Equ.* 401); his son Astydamos I first produced tragedies in 398 B.C. and died at the age of sixty (Snell *ibid.* did d2). Now the *Parthenopaios*, the play with which the present epigram is associated, was produced in 340 B.C.; plainly it could not have been the work of Astydamos I, and it must be referred to his son, Astydamos II. So Capps *AJP* 21(1900) 41, followed by Wilamowitz *Aischylos: Interpretationen* (Berlin 1914) 238-9 n. 1 and Snell *op. cit.* no. 60.

Of the two, the son was by far the more famous; he is said to have written 240 tragedies, winning 15 times. *Testimonia* (copied below) and fragments are assembled by Snell *loc. cit.*

The sources for the epigram are all very late and plainly depend on some sort of anecdotal writing; it would be an act of blind faith to accept the truth of the tale or the authenticity of the epigram.

Pausanias *lexic.* σ 161 **σαυτὴν ἐπαινεῖς ὥσπερ Ἀστυδάμας ποτέ Ἀστυδάμαντι τῷ Μορσίμου εὐημερήσαντι ἐπὶ τραγωιδίας διδασκαλίᾳ Παρθενοπαίου δοθῆναι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων εἰκόνας ἀνάθεσιν ἐν θεάτρῳ. τὸν δὲ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπίγραμμα ποιῆσαι ἀλαζονικὸν τοῦτο**.

εἶθ' ἐγὼ ἐν κείνοις γενόμεν, ἢ κείνοι ἅμ' ἡμῖν, 115  
οἱ γλώσσης τερπνῆς πρῶτα δοκοῦσι φέρειν,  
ὥς ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἐκρίθην ἀφειδὲς παράμιλλος·  
νῦν δὲ χρόνῳ προέχουσ', ὦι φθόνος οὐχ ἔπεται.

διὰ γοῦν τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἀλαζόνειαν <ἐκείνους> παραιτήσασθαι τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν. καὶ παροιμία παρὰ τοῖς κωμικοῖς ἐγένετο.

eadem Suda, Phot. (502.21), Apostol. (15.36) s.v. **σαυτὴν ἐπαινεῖς**; cf. etiam Zenob. 5. 100.

## ASTYDAMAS

4 προέχουσ' Apostol. cod. R: παρέχουσ' Suda, προσέχουσ' rell. ὦι Bentley: οἷς codd.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 6.310, <sup>b</sup>App.17; Preger 158; 2 p. 326 Bergk; 1 p. 113 Diehl.

2 [116] γλώσσης...πρῶτα...φέρειν: a common type of phrase (see the notes on Antipater of Sidon 6.118.5-6 = HE 501-2 and Crinagoras 5.108.4 = PG 1844), usually with the verb in the middle voice, but cf. Peek 1121 (II/I B.C.), ἀκρα φέρουσ' ἀρετῆς, and Parrhasius 282 πρῶτα φέροντα τέχνης.

3 [117] ἀφεθείς παράμιλλος: this is the language of the stadium. ἀφεις is the start of a race, the man who is παράμιλλος is 'competing side-by-side' (LSJ's rendering, *beyond rivalry*, is nonsense). The author wishes that he could have *started level with his competitors*, ἀφεθείς παράμιλλος; in fact his rivals start with a lead (προέχουσ') given by Time, which outruns the jealousy of contemporaries.

4 [118] ὦι: οἷς is tenable but awkward, and the change is small.

## CAPITO

Capito is a common Roman *cognomen*. Athenaeus (10.425c) knows of an epic poet so called, but there is no reason to identify him with the author of this clever little epigram. A less unlikely identification would be with Pompeius Capito, παντὶ μέτρῳ καὶ ῥυθμῷ τὴν μεγαλοφυῆ τῆς ποιήσεως ἀρετὴν ἐπιδειξάμενον (IG II<sup>2</sup> 3800; Snell TGF no. 186). There is no clue to the date; the epigram occurs in the medley at the beginning of A.P. 5 of which the principal component is Rufinus.

The divergent ascription in Pl is not easily explained; see *Rufinus* p. 16.

### I

On beauty without charm.

A.P. 5.67 Καπίτωνος, Pl<sup>a</sup> τοῦ αὐτοῦ (= Νικάρχου) [J] εἰς κάλλος

κάλλος ἄνευ χαρίτων τέρπει μόνον, οὐ κατέχει δέ,  
ὥς ἄτερ ἀγκίστρου νηχόμενον δέλεαρ.

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Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 9.108.

1 [119] οὐ κατέχει: *does not hold in subjection*.

## CYLLENIUS

A.P. 9.4 has the heading Κυλλινίου in P, Καλλινίου in Pl, both unique and improbable names. A.P. 9.33 has the heading Κυλληνίου in P, Κυλληνίου Παιτιανοῦ in Pl. It is a fair guess that the headings in 9.4 are corruptions of Κυλληνίου, though *Cyllenius*, common as an epithet for Hermes, is almost unheard of as a proper-name. Planudes' addition in 9.33, *Paetianus*, shows that his source for the epigram was independent of P, and offers a *cognomen* of which I have not noticed another example.

## CYLLENIUS

The two epigrams are included in the miscellany which opens *A.P.* 9; the context, which is set out fully in *PG* 1. xxii, affords no clue to the source from which Cyllenius was taken. His epigrams are *epideictica* of a type particularly common in the *Garland* of Philip. 1 is an ambitious composition, well up to the standard of the Thessalonican Antipater or Antiphilus; 11 is a neatly phrased epigram on a commonplace theme. Both subjects and style are characteristic of the later years of the first century B.C. and the first half of the first century A.D.

*A.P.* 9.35 is headed τοῦ αὐτοῦ in P, where this means Antiphilus, and also in Pl, where it means Cyllenius. The epigram, which is probably of a relatively late era, was included in *PG* as Antiphilus 1093-4.

### I

On a wild pear improved by grafting.

The two epigrams which follow this one in *A.P.*, improbably ascribed to Palladas, are on the same theme, the turning of a wild pear (ἀχράς, ἄχερδος) into a cultivated pear (ἄπιος as in the *lemma*; the following epigrams use the broader term δχνη) by grafting.

The composition is elaborate: νόθης ζείδωρος ὀπώρης is a striking phrase; θηροβότος, ἐρημοσύνη, and μετέμφυτος are words not otherwise known to us; the whole is neat and clever.

*A.P.* 9.4 Κυλλινίου, Pl<sup>A</sup> Καλλινίου [J] εἰς ἀχράδα κεντρισ[C]θεῖσαν [C] εἰς ἄπιον [J] ἡμερον

ἡ πάρος ἐν δρυμοῖσι νόθης ζείδωρος ὀπώρης  
ἀχράς, θηροβότου πρέμνον ἐρημοσύνης,  
ὀθνεῖοις ὄζοις μετέμφυτος ἡμερα θάλλω,  
οὐκ ἔμὸν ἡμετέροις κλωσὶ φέρουσα βάρος.  
5      πολλὰ σοί, φυτοεργέ, πόνου χάρις· εἵνεκα σείω      125  
         ἀχράς ἐν εὐκάρποις δένδρεσιν ἐγγράφομαι.

1 νόθης Pl: νοθή P

Jacobs\* 9.316; Hecker 1852. 89.

1 [121] νόθης: a quite common metaphor; LSJ *s.v.* 11, and add Archias 6. 207.3 = *PG* 3630 (of the 'breeze' of a fan), Antiphilus 9.86.3 = *PG* 993 (of the 'flesh' of an oyster), Call. *fr.* 604.

ζείδωρος: the use of this ornamental Epic epithet in a functional way (it governs ὀπώρης) is an innovation.

2 [122] ἀχράς: the wild pear; see the notes on Alcaeus 7.536.3 = *HE* 78, Leonidas 9.316.6 = *HE* 2132, Meleager 4.1.30 = *HE* 3955, Antipater of Thessalonica 9.706.3-4 = *PG* 523-4.

θηροβότος elsewhere only in the 'letters of Phalaris', ἐρημοσύνη only Agathias 9.665.2.

3 [123] μετέμφυτος: here only.

4 [124] οὐκ ἔμὸν: as Virgil *Geo.* 2.82 *non sua poma*.

ἔμὸν ἡμετέρης: the juxtaposition of singular and plural, having the same

## CYLLENIUS

reference, is remarkable; less extreme is Paulus 5.293.6 σὸν χροᾶ παρθενικῆς τηλόθεν ὑμετέρης.

5 [125] φυτοεργέ = φυτουργέ, elsewhere only Dion. Per. 997 φυτοεργὸς ἀνὴρ.

εἵνεκα σεῖο: εἵνεκα = *because of you* in the sense *by your doing*. LSJ have only one example of this use, anon. *A.P.* 9.729.2 εἵνεκα γὰρ τέχνας σεῖο, Μύρων, ἀρόσω, where Paton may be right in rendering 'so far as depends on thy art'. It is remarkable that Jacobs (let alone any other editor) has no comment.

## II

On a ship destroyed by waves ashore before its building was complete.

The preceding epigram is a longer version, and the next one is another distich, on the same theme. For other variations see the Preface to Bianor 11.248 = *PG* xx.

*A.P.* 9.33, Π<sup>A</sup> [CPI] Κυλληνίου [PI] Παιτιανοῦ [J] εἰς ἑτέραν ναῦν ὁμοίως

οὐπῶα ναῦς, καὶ ὀλωλα· τί δ' ἂν πλέον, εἰ βυθὸν ἔγνων,

ἔτλην; φεῦ πάσαις ὀλκάσι μοῖρα κλύδων.

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2 ita in textu P: versum erasit C, qui *A.P.* 9.35.2 (πόντος κήν χέρσωι εἰς ἐμὲ μὴνόμενος) supra rasuram scripsit, mox semet ipse correxit versu ἔτλην—κλύδων in marg. inf. scripto

Jacobs\* 9.317.

## DAPHITAS

Though memory of Daphitas survives in only four places (*Suda s.v.* Δαφίδας, Cicero *de fato* 3.5, Val. Max. 1.8 ext. 8, and Strabo 14.1.39, c 647), it is clear that he was an uncommon sort of person, about whom there was much to say; Crusius *RE* 4.2134. He wrote a book περὶ Ὀμήρου, finding fault with his author; he wrote in contemptuous terms against the Pergamene kings; he played a trick on the Delphic oracle, asking if he should find his horse and adding, when told that he should find it, that he had no horse. The oracle had its revenge: it gave Daphitas the inscrutable warning φυλάττεσθαι τὸν θώρακα; and he died by crucifixion on a hill near Magnesia named 'Thorax', as a consequence, Strabo implies, of his abuse of the Pergamene kings.

The identity of the persons attacked in the present epigram is disclosed by the phrase 'treasure of Lysimachus'. Lysimachus, companion of Alexander the Great, later the ruler of a province comprising Thrace and north-western Asia Minor, stored a vast treasure (9,000 talents) at Pergamon, guarded by a trusted eunuch, Philetaerus. Philetaerus deserted from Lysimachus to Seleucus, took control of Pergamon, and kept the treasure. His brother's son, Eumenes, succeeded him; and a nephew of Eumenes, Attalos, became the first of a line of kings of Pergamon. Attalos I or (though Jacobs thought this less probable) one of his successors is described by Daphitas as 'scrapings from the treasure of Lysimachus'.

The opening phrase, 'purple weals', is explained by Jacobs as meaning *servi flagellorum vibicibus terga signata habentes*, and nobody has improved on this. It is not obviously appropriate to the Attalids or to the founder of the family's

## DAPHITAS

fortunes, Philetaerus; it is presumably mere vituperation, comparable with Cicero's calling Piso *furcifer* and *caruifex*. As weals are usually purple, and as this sort of writer does not waste words, πορφύρεοι should be understood in a double sense – *simul ad vibicum colorem, simul ad regiam purpuram respicitur* (Jacobs).

### I

Invective against the Pergamene royal family.

Strabo 14.1.39, C 647 κείται δ' ἐν πεδίῳ πρὸς ὄρει καλουμένῳ Θώρακι ἡ πόλις (sc. Μαγνησία ἐπὶ Μαιάνδρῳ), ἐφ' ᾧ σταυρωθῆναί φασι τὸν Δαφίταν τὸν γραμματικόν, λοιδορήσαντα τοὺς βασιλέας διὰ διστίχου·

πορφύρεοι μῶλωπες, ἀπορρινήματα γάζης  
Λυσιμάχου, Λυδῶν ἄρχετε καὶ Φρυγίων. 130

καὶ λόγιον δ' ἐκπεσεῖν αὐτῷ λέγεται, φυλάττεσθαι τὸν Θώρακα.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 8.105, <sup>b</sup>App. 18; Hecker 1852. 18.

**2 [130] ἄρχετε:** imperative; the tone is contemptuous, implying that such barbarians are the only fit subjects for such kings.

## DEMETRIUS OF BITHYNIA

Jacobs (13.882) suggested that this author might be identified with the Demetrius of Bithynia who is said by Diogenes Laertius (5.84) to have been a Stoic, pupil of Panaetius; Reitzenstein agreed, giving the remarkable reason that the style of these dozen words 'points to the pre-Christian era'. It is prudent to admit that we know nothing about this author apart from the present epigram. It is a neat composition, which might come from any generation between Antipater of Sidon and Philip of Thessalonica; it combines the motifs of Antipater 9.721 (= *HE* xxxvii; the calf), Dioscorides 9.734 (not included in *HE*; the bull), and 'Anacreon' 9.715 = xvii (the herdsman).

Reitzenstein (*RE* 4.2805) says that the following epigram, 9.731 in *A.P.*, is ascribed to this author in *Pl*: this is an error; *Pl* has no heading at all to 9.731 (*P* has ἄλλο).

The epigram was translated by Ausonius, *ep.* 30 *P*.

### I

On Myron's bronze statue of a cow.

*A.P.* 9.730, *Pl*<sup>a</sup> [*PPl*] Δημητρίου Βιθυνοῦ

ἦν μ' ἐσίδῃ μοσχός, μυκῆσεται· ἦν δέ γε ταῦρος,  
βήσεται· ἦν δέ νομεύς, εἰς ἀγέλαν ἐλάσει. 132

**2 ἀγέλην** *Pl*

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 8.194.



## DEMIURGUS

### DEMIURGUS

Nothing else is known about this bearer of an unique and surprising name (fit company for Ἰδιώτης, a fourth-century Acharnian (Kirchner 7445), and Διάλογος, the subject of Peek 1971, II A.D.).

This undistinguished epigram is the first of a series of four epitaphs for Hesiod in the midst of a long sequence on celebrated authors; it might be of any date within half a millenium.

#### I

Epitaph for Hesiod.

A.P. 7.52 Δημιουργοῦ, Pl<sup>A</sup> s.a.n. [PPI] εἰς Ἡσίοδον

Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόρου στέφανον καὶ κόσμον ἀοιδῆς  
Ἄσκραϊον γενεὴν Ἡσίοδον κατέχω.

134

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 12.147 (= *adesp.* dii).

1 [133] The Budé translator takes στέφανον καὶ κόσμον with ἀοιδῆς, and Ἑλλάδος as dependent on ἀοιδῆς; Paton and Beckby take στέφανον with Ἑλλάδος, κόσμον with ἀοιδῆς independently.

## DEMOCRITUS

Nothing is known about an epigrammatist named Democritus, except that he may be the person whom Diogenes Laertius includes in a list, 9.49, πέμπτος ποιητῆς ἐπιγραμμάτων σαφῆς καὶ ἀνθηρός. The present epigram resembles rather the earlier than the later writers in this genre; there is nothing to indicate a date later than that of some of Philip's or even some of Meleager's authors.

#### I

On the painting of Aphrodite Anadyomene by Apelles, a favourite subject in the *Anthology*; see the Preface to Antipater of Sidon *A.Plan.* 178 = *HE* xlv.

A.Plan. (Pl<sup>A</sup>) 180 Δημοκρίτου εἰς τὸ αὐτό

Κύπρις ὅτε σταλάουσα κόμας ἄλιμυρέος ἀφροῦ

135

γυμνὴ πορφυρέου κύματος ἔξανέδν,

οὕτω που κατὰ λευκὰ παρήϊα χερσὶν ἑλοῦσα

βόστρυχον Αἰγαίην ἔξεπίζεν ἄλα,

5 στέρνα μόνον φαίνουσα, τὰ καὶ θέμις, εἰ δὲ τοιήδε

κείνη, συγχέισθω θυμὸς Ἐνυαλίου.

140

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 9.266.

1 [135] σταλάουσα: the verb first in Ap. Rhod. 4.1064.

ἄλιμυρέος: very rare, but already in Peek 1833.5 (Cyprus, II B.C) πόντον... ἄλιμυρέα; Opp. *Hal.* 2.258 πέτρης ἄλιμυρέος.

## DEMOCRITUS

**ἀφροῦ:** for the genitive with σταλάω, cf. Hom. *Od.* 3.408 ἀποστίλβοντες ἀλείφατος, Plato *Phaedr.* 230b ρεῖ μόλα ψυχροῦ ὕδατος.

**2 [136] πορφυρέου κύματος:** open borrowing from Homer is not alien to this style; *Il.* 1.481–2 κύμα... πορφύρεον.

**3 [137] οὐτω:** sc. as in this painting by Apelles.

**5–6 [139–40] στέρνα...θέμις:** cf. Parmenion *A.Plan.* 216.3 = PG 2622, of Polyclitus' statue of Hera, θνητοῖς κάλλος ἔδειξεν ὅσον θέμις; *haec enim sola videre mortalibus fas est*, Jacobs.

**εἰ δέ...Ἐνυαλίου:** the meaning is not clear. Beckby, taking θυμός as *heart*, translates 'mag Enyalios' Herz bald in Verwirrung vergehn', presumably meaning 'Ares is likely to fall in love with her immediately'; but this is not convincing. Paton, with θυμός as *wrath*, translates 'let the wrath of Ares be confounded', and explains 'his wrath for her infidelity'; this seems more promising, if 'let it be confounded' can stand for 'the devil take it', the implication being 'if the mythological Aphrodite (κείνη) was like this one of Apelles (τοιήδε), I should care nothing for the wrath of Ares, but should act as Hephaestus did in the *Odyssey*' – much the same thing as Hermes says to Apollo, *Od.* 8.339–42.

## DEMODOCUS

It is surprising and regrettable that the author of these clever and amusing epigrams has left almost no other trace of his existence.<sup>1</sup> There is no other information about him, indeed not even a mention of him, except that Diogenes Laertius (1.84) describes him as a native of Leros and quotes from him a trochaic tetrameter which, as it refers to Bias of Priene, gives an upper limit for his date. The common assumption that Demodocus lived in the sixth century may well be correct; he would then be a contemporary of Phocylides, the only other author who uses the signature κοὶ τόδε... at the beginning of his utterances.

It was not to be expected that Demodocus would spend much of his time in so insignificant a place as his native Leros, as the great mother-city Miletus was nearby; but if he did, the fact might partly account for his neglect by posterity. No other native of Leros was remembered as notable in any walk of life.

### I

Milesians are not fools; but you could not tell this from their behaviour.

Arist. *Eth.Nic.* 7.8, 1151A6 (*IEG* 2.56 West) τὸ μὲν γὰρ παρὰ προαίρεσιν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἔστιν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁμοίον γε κατὰ τὰς πράξεις, ὥσπερ τὸ Δημόδοκου εἰς Μιλησίους·

<sup>1</sup> π is followed in *A.P.* by three others with the heading τοῦ αὐτοῦ, meaning Demodocus. The first of them repeats the theme of π with 'Cilician' for 'Lerian'; the second, on the Cappadocian bitten by a snake (and the snake it was which died) is not certainly spurious (the hiatus in mid-pentameter is not a sure criterion of date), but as it stands between an epigram of doubtful authenticity (11.236) and one certainly spurious (11.238), it is safer to reject than to accept it. There is no proof that these rejects fall outside the limits of the present collection, but in any case they would be more at home in an edition of the satirical epigrammatists.

## DEMODOCUS

(καὶ τόδε Δημοδόκου)· Μιλήσιοι ἀξύνετοι μὲν  
οὐκ εἰσὶν, δρῶσιν δ' οἶά περ ἀξύνετοι.

142

καὶ οἱ ἀκράτεις ἄδικοι μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶν, ἀδικοῦσι δέ.

cf. Comm. in Ar. Graeca xix (2) 150.37, xx 439.15

1 suppl. Bergk

Jacobs\* 8.176; Demod. fr. 1 Bergk et Diehl.

**1-2 [141-2]** It is to be remembered that Demodocus' native island was a colony of Miletus.

## II

All men born in Leros are of bad character, except Procles; and Procles was born in Leros.

A.P. 11.235, P1<sup>A</sup> Δημοδόκου

καὶ τόδε Δημοδόκου· Λέριοι κακοί· οὐχ ὁ μὲν, ὅς δ' οὐ·  
πάντες, πλὴν Προκλέους· καὶ Προκλῆς Λέριος.

144

Strabo 10.5.12, C 487 ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀμοργὸς τῶν Σποράδων, ὅθεν ἦν Σιμωνίδης ὁ τῶν ἰάμβων ποιητής, καὶ Λέβινθος, καὶ †Λέρια† (Λέρ(ος), ἐφ' ἧς ἐλέχθη τὰ ἐλεγεῖα, West) (1-2)· διαβέβληντο γὰρ ὡς κακοήθεις οἱ ἐνθένδε ἀνθρώποι; Eust. in Dion. Per. 530

1 Δημοδόκου P1: Φωκυλίδου Strabo Λέριοι Strabo: Χῖοι P1 2  
Πατροκλ- utroque loco Strab. codd. pars Λέριος Strabo (δὲ Λ. codd. pars):  
δὲ Χίος P, δὲ Χίος P1

Jacobs\* 8.176; Phocylides fr. 1 Bergk et Diehl; IEG 2.56 West.

**1-2 [143-4]** On the conflict of evidence (*A.P.*'s epigram is by Demodocus about a Chian Procles, Strabo's by Phocylides about a Lorian Procles) see West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin 1974) 171, with whom the present editor agrees: 'Procles... was a real person, and either a Chian or a Lorian. Since the better-known place is likely to have extruded the lesser-known, and since the couplet is quoted by Strabo specifically in relation to Leros, and since Χῖος is unmetrical in the second line, and the combination καὶ...δὲ foreign to archaic verse, it is clear that he was a Lorian.'

As for the author: 'the Anthology has it from a book tradition, whereas Strabo is quoting from memory and might easily substitute Phocylides' well-known signature for Demodocus'; and since pieces quoted from Phocylides are usually in hexameters and it is not certain that he wrote elegiacs...; and since those pieces are not distinguished for wit, while the Procles poem deservedly stands beside the Μιλήσιοι ἀξύνετοι one; I conclude that it was the Lorian who castigated the Lorians. Who else was interested in them, after all?'

## DIONYSIUS?

On the epigrams ascribed to this name in the *Anthology*, see *HE* 2.231. Five, including one by 'Dionysius of Rhodes' and one by 'Dionysius of Cyzicus', are printed in *HE*; others, ascribed to 'Dionysius of Andros' and 'Dionysius Sophista', follow in the present collection.

## DIONYSIUS?

Now the last line of *A.P.* 6.3, ascribed there to Dionysius (= *HE* 1462), coincides with the remains of the first line in a papyrus-text of the third century B.C., *P.Berol.* 9812 (*Berliner Klassikertexte* 5.1.77). The coincidence was first observed by M. Gronewald (*ZPE* 12 (1973) 92), who identified the text as a sequence of epigrams; the papyrus was re-edited, with facsimile, photograph, and full commentary, by J. Ebert in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 24/25 (1976) 47.

The last line of *A.P.* 6.3 is followed in the papyrus by parts of eight lines, rightly identified by Gronewald as relics of two four-line epigrams. As epigrams by different authors are regularly separated in papyrus-anthologies by a line giving the author-name (Gow, *The Greek Anthology: Sources and Ascriptions* 16), and as no such separation occurs in *P.Berol.*,<sup>1</sup> it is highly probable that all three epigrams represented in the papyrus are by the same author, namely 'Dionysius', if the ascription in *A.P.* is accepted. As it happens, there is reason to doubt whether that ascription is reliable; the subject of 6.3 is a dedication by a person named in its text as 'Dionysius', and the heading may be an inference from the text, as in the instances of 'Damostratus' (*HE* 2.230) and 'Parmenon' (p. 74 below).

The epigrams are here numbered 'vi' and 'vii', because they follow the epigram by the same author already numbered 'v' in *HE*.

## VI

On the statue of a victorious wrestler.

*P.Berol.* 9812.2-5 s.a.n.

[c. 7-8 <sup>2</sup>	]. . τέχνα· τὸ γὰρ εὖ μέγα· †τοι δ' ἀναθέντ[	145
[c. 9	]. . . . . [.] γαλησοεβης†	
[c. 9	άν]τιπάλους ἀπτῶς. ἴτ' ἐλέγχετε πα[	
[c. 10	]πλάσταν καὶ τὸν ἀριστοπάλαν.	

1]θ. Ebert

**1-2 [145-6]** τὸ γὰρ εὖ μέγα: see Gronewald 94 and Ebert 51 n.12, quoting Stob. *eccl.* 3.4.49 Δημοσθένης...ἔφη· ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ μέγα εὖ ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ εὖ μέγα, Athen. 14.629A Καφισίας ὁ αὐλητῆς...εἶπεν οὐκ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ τὸ εὖ κείμενον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ εὖ τὸ μέγα, and *ibid.* ἐν τῷ εὖ τὸ μέγα, of moderation in gesture; the phrase means 'it is not greatness that makes goodness, but goodness that makes greatness', 'greatness' in the first part denoting size or quantity, in the second part excellence. Here it was evidently an explanation of, or comment on, some epithet preceding τέχνα. Ebert's [εὐμεγέ]θη[ς is clever, and

<sup>1</sup> See Ebert 54 with nn. 21 and 22: the space between the first and second lines in the papyrus (*i.e.* between the end of *A.P.* 6.3 and the next epigram) is a little greater than usual, but there was certainly not (and not room for) an author-name between these lines. The spacing of lines, like that of letters within the line, is anyway irregular in this manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> Estimates of the number of letters missing in the lacunae are very rough. As Ebert (49) observes, and as the photograph shows, the lettering is inconsistent both in size and in spacing. In 8 οσακαιθεμισ occupies only a shade more space than τουανερχ in 7 above it.

## DIONYSIUS?

*prima facie* attractive because its components seem to lead naturally to τὸ γὰρ εὖ μέγα. A closer look, however, reveals a serious defect (of which Ebert is not unaware; p. 51): the primary stress in εὐμεγέθης is on *size*, *i.e.* much less on εὖ- than on -μεγέθης, whereas τὸ γὰρ εὖ μέγα requires that it be rather on εὖ- than on -μεγέθης. Ebert renders 'in schöner Weise gross ist das Kunstwerk', where the stress falls heavily on 'in schöner Weise': 'the statue is indeed great (*i.e.* of great size), but in a beautiful way; it is the beauty which confers the greatness'. The reader must reinterpret εὐμεγέθης after he has seen τὸ γὰρ εὖ μέγα, and take it to mean not (as he has supposed) 'of a good size' but 'with beauty in its size'; this is far-fetched and obscure beyond the norm even of Hellenistic epigrammatists.

What follows μέγα is extremely difficult. If τοὶ δ' ἀναθέντες (Wilamowitz and Gronewald) is right, something must have been said about these dedicators, and there is not enough room to say it in, especially as the little room available is urgently needed by a context for ἀλησοεβής which cannot have been included in the same clause as τοὶ δ' ἀναθέντες. Gronewald supplied 2 as [εἰσι τίνες; σὲ δὲ τίς τ]εῦχε παλησοεβής; but, apart from other objections, Ebert is plainly right in rejecting this on the ground that such questions, if asked, must be answered (as they are not), and that it is quite out of the question that inquiry should be made about the dedicators and the sculptor while no inquiry (not even about his name) is made about the athlete himself.

Ebert conjectured τῶι δ' ἀναθέντι, supplied the first half of 2 as [οὖνομα τί; <πλάσσε> τάνδ'], read the second half as εἰκ[ό]να Λησοεβής, and continued [στρέψας ἄν]τιπάλους: that is to say, 'Leosebes, having defeated his opponents without a fall, made and dedicated this statue'. Leosebes is both athlete and artist; he won the wrestling-match and made his own statue, this point being explicit in ἴτ' ἐλέγχετε... | τὸν τε σοφὸν πλάσταν καὶ τὸν ἀριστοπάλαν, 'surpass him if you can (ἐλέγχειν as in *P. Pyth.* 11.49f., anon. *A.Plan.* 351.3-4), this man who is both gifted sculptor and champion wrestler'.

Such ingenuity deserves success; but the intrinsic improbability is too great. Wrestling-bouts at the Games (let alone victories in them) were not for part-time amateurs from the sculptor's studio but for professional strong-men; there is nothing in our records remotely similar to what is alleged here (Ebert's n. 13 is no help). It must be added (*a*) that the sequence 'What is the dedicator's name?' – 'The sculptor's name is Leosebes' is intolerable, even if dedicator and sculptor were the same person; (*b*) that the interpretation of ἴτ' ἐλέγχετε is highly improbable: no statue of a victor in the Games ever cried out to the casual passer-by 'beat me if you can!', which is what the words are to mean in effect. Even if the epigram were epideictic (a very remote possibility, by the look of it, and one which Ebert does not envisage), such eccentricities would be unparalleled in the third century B.C. (and for a long time to come).

The problems remain unsolved. The primary difficulty is that there is not enough room to say what must be said in a victor-inscription (whether real or epideictic), or even to make sense of what is preserved; and it is therefore worth while to consider whether a couplet is missing from the text. That there is a serious fault in 2 is certain; as Ebert observed, this pentameter ends much too far towards the left (eleven letters short of the end of the first and third penta-

## DIONYSIUS?

meters in the papyrus, seven letters short of the fourth). Something has dropped out, and this might possibly be a symptom of a more serious ailment in the text, involving the loss of a whole couplet and of part of this pentameter.

...[.]γαλῃσοεβης: Ebert reads ἐκ[ό]να Ληοσέβης, where his predecessors had τ[ε]υχ[ε] παλῃσοεβής. The advantages of his text are (a) that the vocalisation of ληο- needs no defence in a proper-name (Λεωσέβης is attested in the third century B.C.; Ebert 52), whereas παλῃσο- would have to be explained away as a scribal error; (b) that the imperfect τεύχε, where τεύξε was required, is eliminated; and (c) that the traces of the letter before αλῃσοεβης suit N appreciably better than Π. The difficulty remains to convince oneself that the traces preceding [.]γαλῃσοεβης are consistent with ΕΙΚ; the photograph is much against both the E and the K.

**3 [147] ἀπτῶς:** he threw his opponents three times without being thrown himself; a common boast (Alcaeus 9.588.5 = *HE* 110, Philip *A.Plan.* 25.4 = *PG* 3069; Ebert 52 with n.17).

ἴτ' ἐλέγχετε: the general sense is uncertain. Ebert's *surpass* ('übertrifft') is unconvincing (see 2 n.); Gronewald's *inquire of*... ('befragt'), with its objects given as πά[ντας | ἀνθεμένους,] πλάσταν, καὶ τὸν ἀριστοπάλαν, spoken by the statue to the passer-by, is intolerable in phrasing and makes a quite pointless conclusion to the epigram.

The statue or its dedicator might possibly say 'Come and ask (the above questions), one and all: say what you think of this artist and of this champion wrestler', ἴτ' ἐλέγχετε πάντες, | κρίνετε τὸν πλάσταν καὶ τὸν ἀριστοπάλαν.

**4 [148] ἀριστοπάλαν:** the compound here only.

## VII

On the painting of *Aphrodite anadyomene* by Apelles.

On this famous painting see the Prefaces to Antipater of Sidon *A.Plan.* 178 = *HE* xlv, Leonidas of Tarentum *A.Plan.* 182 = *HE* xxiii, and Archias *A.Plan.* 179 = *PG* xxxiv; the last of these has much in common with the present epigram, at least in its first couplet.

P.Berol. 9812.6-9 s.a.n.

[c. 9	] χρυσῆν θηήσατο Κ[ύπ]ριν Ἀπελλῆς	
[c. 7 ]	..[c. 4 πό]ντου ἀνερχ[ομέ]νην	150
[c. 13	].. οσα καὶ θέμις [....] ἐν αὐτ[	
[c. 18	] θαῦμα[	

**1 [149] χρυσῆν:** the reading is not quite certain, but ΧΡΥ is a plausible interpretation of the traces of the first three letters (Σ and Η are represented only by tiny and ambiguous traces at the level of the letter-tops, N by what could be its top left-hand angle and a fragment of its cross-bar).

**2 [150]** The line probably began γυμνήν (Gronewald); if so, it was followed either by ἐκ+an epithet or by an epithet without ἐκ (*cf.* Ap.Rhod. 3.1230 ὅτε πρῶτον ἀνέρχεται ὥκεανοιο) qualifying πόντου. Ebert gives [γυμνήν ἐ]κ δ[λου πό]ντου, κ and δ being consistent with tiny traces of letter-tops (just below the χρ of χρυσήν); but the traces would be consistent with other interpretations, and δλου is an unconvincing epithet here.

## DIONYSIUS?

**3-4 [151-2]** Gronewald, slightly modified by Ebert, gives [μέχρις δὲ στέρνω]ν, ὅσα καὶ θέμις, [εἰσιδ]εν αὐτ[ήν, | κάγραψεν τοῖην· ἡ μέγα] θαῦμα [ιδεῖν]; the phrasing is likely to be very wide of the mark, but the general sense can hardly have been much otherwise.

**οσα:** there is no way of telling whether this represents ὅσα or ]...ος, &. For the phrase, see the parallels quoted on Parmenion *A.Plan.* 216.3 = *PG* 2622 (again in Ebert 53), Democritus 139 στέρνα μόνον φαίνουσα, τὰ καὶ θέμις, of the same painting, Parmenion *loc. cit.* (of the *Hera* of Polyclitus) θνητοῖς κάλλος ἐδειξεν, ὅσον θέμις, and 'Plato' 670 Πραξιτέλης οὐκ εἶδεν ἃ μὴ θέμις.

## DIONYSIUS OF ANDROS

See *HE* 2.231. The present epigram has a good claim to a place in one of the *Garlands*, standing as it does between three Philippan epigrams and a Meleagrian series; subject and style are in accord.

### I

The alliance of Zeus (= rain) and Bromios (= wine) too strong for the author.

This theme recurs, much more elaborately treated, in Asclepiades 5.167 = *HE* xiv; for other variations, see the Preface to Rufinus 5.93 = xxxiv.

*A.P.* 7.533 (caret Pl) [C] Διονυσίου Ἀνδρίου εἰς μέθυσον ὀλισθήσαντα

καὶ Διὶ καὶ Βρομίῳ με διάβροχον οὐ μέγ' ὀλισθεῖν,

καὶ μόνον ἐκ δοιῶν καὶ βροτὸν ἐκ μακάρων.

154

2 βροτὸν Reiske: -τῶν P

Jacobs\* 9.250.

## DIONYSIUS SOPHISTA

See *HE* 2.231.

### I

The rose-seller.

This charming epigram comes from the miscellany at the beginning of *A.P.* 5; the context gives no clue to the source, and the date is indeterminable.

Planudes combines *A.P.* 5.83 and 84 as a single epigram with the heading τοῦ αὐτοῦ, which in his arrangement refers to Dionysius Sophista; both the combination and the ascription are wrong (see *Rufinus* pp. 15ff.).

*A.P.* 5.81, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPl] Διονυσίου σοφιστοῦ

ἦ τὰ ῥόδα, ῥοδόεσσαν ἔχεις χάριν· ἀλλὰ τί πωλεῖς;

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σαυτήν, ἦ τὰ ῥόδα, ἥ ἐ συναμφοτέρα;

Jacobs\* 9.252.

**2 [156]** On the combination of hiatus and *brevis in longo* in mid-pentameter, see *Rufinus* pp. 31ff. The combination is not found again before Palladas 10.44.4. See the note on 'Simonides' ix 2 (= 715) below. A. Cameron, *Class. Phil.* 75 (1980) 140-1 argues for Hermann's ἦ τὰ ῥόδ' ἦ σαυτήν.

## DIONYSIUS SOPHISTA

### II

The bath-woman.

This epigram is of uncertain authorship. No more can be said than that there is no particular reason to reject the ascription to Dionysius offered by the *Appendix Barberino-Vaticana* (which has a better text than P or Pl); if the author is indeed Dionysius, he is likely to be Dionysius Sophista, the author of the epigram which precedes in *A.P.*

A.P. 5.82 ἀδέσποτον, Pl<sup>A</sup> τοῦ αὐτοῦ (= Μελεάγρου), App. B.-V. 12 (cod. M; om. cod. V) Διονυσ(ι)ου [C] εἰς βαλάνισσαν

ὦ σοβαρή βαλάνισσα, τί μ' οὕτως ἔμπυρα λούεις;  
πρὶν μ' ἀποδύσασθαι τοῦ πυρὸς αἰσθάνομαι. 158

1 τί μ' οὕτως App.: τί μ' (om. οὕτως) P, τί δήποτε μ' Pl ἔμπυρα App.:  
ἔκπυρα PPl 2 πρὶν μ' P, App.: πρὶν δ' Pl

Jacobs\* 11.324 (= *adesp.* lxiv).

**1 [157] σοβαρή:** on this word, avoided by the epigrammatists until a relatively late era, see *Rufinus* pp. 44f. The context excludes 'haughty' ('proud' Paton, 'superbe' the Budé, 'prächtiges Kind' Beckby) and requires 'impetuous', the only sense of the word in the classical and Hellenistic periods unless [Theocr.] 20.15 and 'Plato' 604 are exceptions.

**βαλάνισσα:** the word here only.

**τί μ' οὕτως:** see *PG* 1. xlv. The epigrammatists seldom break the rule that, if the fourth foot of the hexameter is spondaic, no word except a forward-looking monosyllable may end with that foot. Other breaches in the present collection: Plato Junior 301, 'Bacchylides' 542, 'Sappho' 676, 'Simonides' 753, 788, 1026, 'Thucydides' 1054, anon. 1494, 1498, 1502, 1518, 1632, 1824, 1834, 1842, Leonides 1894.

## DORIEUS

This quotation is not called an epigram in the source, and the beginning, τοῖος ξην..., looks as though it refers back to a fairly full description of Milo. The lines may come from a relatively long poem, not epigram but elegy, and Dorieus was for that reason excluded from my *Epigrammata Graeca*; but the address to the reader, ξῖνε, inclines the balance the other way, and as the lines tell a complete anecdote they may as well be included in a collection of epigrams.

There is no other mention of the author Dorieus, unless he is to be identified with a glutton of that name in an epigram by Leonidas of Tarentum (6.305 = *HE* lvi), a contemporary of the source for the present quotation, the historian Phylarchus. See *HE* 2.364; there is no close point of contact, and the identification, though quite attractive in itself, remains a mere guess.

### I

Milo the wrestler carries a four-year-old steer on his shoulders through the crowds at Olympia, butchers it, and eats it all.



## DORIEUS

No ancient Greek athlete had greater or more lasting fame than Milo of Croton, hero of thirty-one victories in the four principal Games; he was successful at Olympia six times, from 540 to 516 B.C., but was defeated at the seventh attempt (Paus. 6.14.2-3; see 'Simonides' xxv Pref.). His extraordinary physical strength was the subject of numerous anecdotes (assembled in Paus. 6.14.3-8; *RE* 15.1674), and the present quotation is one of these.

Athen. 10.412F Φύλαρχος δέ φησιν ἐν τῇ γ' τῶν Ἱστοριῶν τὸν Μίλωνα ταῦρον καταφαγεῖν κατακλιθέντα πρὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Διός· διὸ καὶ ποιῆσαι εἰς αὐτὸν Δωριέα τὸν ποιητὴν τάδε·

τοῖος ἔην Μίλων ὅτ' ἀπὸ χθονὸς ἤρατο βριῖθος  
 τετραετῇ δαμάλην ἐν Διὸς εἰλαπίναις, 160  
 ὥμοις δὲ κτῆνος τὸ πελώριον ὡς νέον ἄρνα  
 ἤνεγκεν δι' ὅλης κοῦφα πανηγύρεως.  
 5 καὶ θάμβος μὲν, ἀτὰρ τοῦδε πλέον ἤνυσε θαῦμα  
 πρόσθεν Πισαίου, ξεῖνε, θυηπολίου·  
 ὃν γὰρ ἐπόμεπυσεν βοῦν ἄζυγον, εἰς κρέα τόνδε 165  
 κόψας πάντα κατ' οὖν μοῦνος ἐδαίσαστό νιν.

Eust. Od. 206.38 περὶ δὲ Μίλωνος τοῦ Κροτωνιάτου φησὶ Δωριεὺς ὅτι, ὃν ἐπόμεπυσε βοῦν, [7 εἰς κρέα-8]

Jacobs\* 8.190, <sup>b</sup>App. 20; Hecker 1852.9, 68.

**2 [160] ἐν Διὸς εἰλαπίναις:** at the feast on the evening of the fifth day of the Games, when the victors were entertained.

**5 [163] θάμβος:** as Jacobs said, understand ἦν not ἤνυσε.

**6 [164] Πισαίου... θυηπολίου:** Athenaeus (or rather Phylarchus) renders θυηπόλιον, a word not found elsewhere, as 'altar'. The reference is to the altar of Zeus in the festal square, east of, and more or less equidistant from, the Heraeum and the Pelopium.

**7 [165] ἐπόμεπυσεν:** the verb implies ceremonious conveyance; the victors at Olympia were expected to make a thank-offering to Zeus, and the steer was presumably Milo's contribution.

**ἄζυγον:** ἄζυγος for ἄζυξ is very rare, and elsewhere relatively late.

**8 [166] κατ' οὖν... ἐδαίσαστο:** the placing of οὖν between the pre-verb and the verb is a mannerism of Herodotus ('but only of recurrent events', Powell *Lexicon* s.v. ix).

**νιν:** monosyllables seldom stand at pentameter-end; cf. anon. 1509, and see *Rufinus* p. 102. I know no other example of an enclitic monosyllable in this position. Strato 12.13.4 should be read καὶ θεραπεύσεται' ἐμέ.

## FLACCUS?

*A.P.* has the heading Φαλάκκου, presumably a corruption of either Φαλαΐκου or Φλάκκου. Gow excluded it from Phalaecus in *HE* on the ground that the elaborate and ornate style would be anomalous in one of the earliest of the

## FLACCUS?

Hellenistic epigrammatists. Its omission from *HE* implied a half-promise to include it under 'Flaccus' in *PG*, but this was forgotten when I ruled it out of that author on the ground (*PG* 2.451 n.1) that it is very different from anything else ascribed to Flaccus. The authorship of the epigram thus remains quite uncertain; perhaps there were two (or more) authors named 'Flaccus'.

### I

Dedication by a Bacchant to Dionysus.

For the theme, see anon. xx Pref. The elaborate style is characteristic of the followers of Leonidas of Tarentum.

A.P. 6.165 (caret Pl) Φαλάκκου ἀνάθημα τῷ Βάκχῳ παρὰ Εὐάνθης;  
Suda s.vv. βασσαρικά, θιάσος, ῥόμβος, στρεπτός (1), ἀμφιδόρον, ἀχαιίνεω (2),  
ἰαχήματα, Κορυβαντείων (3), κωνοφόρον (4), θύρσος (5), βρόμον (5 καὶ –  
βρόμον), λείκνον (ἡδὲ – 6)

στρεπτόν Βασσαρικοῦ ῥόμβον θιάσοιο μύωπα  
καὶ σκύλος ἀμφιδόρου στικτόν ἀχαιίνεω  
καὶ Κορυβαντείων ἰαχήματα χάλκεα ῥόπτρων  
καὶ Θύρσου χλοερὸν κωνοφόρου κάμακα 170  
5 καὶ κούφοιο βαρὺν τυπάνου βρόμον ἡδὲ φορηθέν  
πολλάκι μιτροδέτου λίκνον ὕπερθε κόμης  
Εὐάνθη Βάκχῳ, τὴν ἔντρομον ἀνίκα θύρσοις  
ἄτρομον εἰς προπόσεις χεῖρα μετημφίασεν.

2 σκύτος Suda v.l. 4 χλοερὸν Suda: -ρῶν P 6 λίκνον C: λείκνον P, Suda  
8 -εσεν P<sup>pc</sup>

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 7.247 (= Phalaecus iii).

1 [167] **στρεπτόν... ῥόμβον**: see Gow on Theocr. 2.30 with Plates 1 and 2: 'an oblong or diamond-shaped piece of wood or metal... to the point of which a cord is attached. When swung in a circle, the instrument emits a muttering roar which rises in pitch as the speed increases.' στρεπτόν (from στρέφειν as in e.g. Hdt. 5.12.4 στρέφουσα τὸν ἄτρακτον) describes the *turning round and round* of the ῥόμβος swung in a circle.

**Βασσαρικοῦ**: of the *Bassarai* (title of an Aeschylean play) or *Bassarides* (Anacr. fr. 411 (b)), as the Bacchanals were sometimes called. Βασσάρα is the long *chiton* of the Bacchanal (Hesych. s.v., Aesch. fr. 59 ὅστις χιτῶνας βασσάρας τε Λυδίας | ἔχει ποδήρεις). Dionysus is βασσαρεὺς (Hor. *carm.* 1.18.11), the conduct of his followers βασσαρεῖν (Anacr. fr. 356 (a) 6), his adventures Βασσαρικά (*RE* 3.104).

**μύωπα**: *stimulant*; the metaphorical use of this word is rare, and its application here farther-fetched than in the only other examples quoted in the lexica, Lucian *amor.* 2, *cal.* 14, Ach. Tat. 7.4.2.

**μῦω-** also Asclepiades 5.203.1 = *HE* 832, Call. fr. 301, Triphiodorus 361, but μῦω- Nic. Ther. 417 and 736.

2 [168] **σκύλος**: *hide* of an animal; Call. fr. 677.1, Theocr. 25.142, Lyc. *Alex.* 1316, Leonidas 6.35.2 = *HE* 2256.

**ἀμφιδόρου:** *flayed all round*, as Jacobs said, meaning that it was a complete skin.

**ἀχαιῖνεω:** *brocket*, a male deer in the spring after its birth; the word first in Ap.Rhod. 4.174–5 ἐλάφοιο | ... ἦν τ' ἀγρῶσται ἀχαιῖνῃν καλέουσιν. See Mair on [Opp.] *Cyn.* 2.426.

**3 [169] ῥόπτρων:** *drums* of some sort; Dionysiac in Agathias 6.74.7, but not in Plut. *Crass.* 23, where the Parthians use them to give the signal for attack, ῥόπτρα βυρσοπαγῇ καὶ κοῖλα περιτείναντες ἡχείοις χαλκοῖς.

LSJ *s.v.* ῥόμβος say that ῥόπτρον and ῥόμβος may mean the same thing, citing Ar. *fr.* 303, Diog. Athen. 1.3 (= *TGF* p. 776 N.), Ap.Rhod. 1.1139, the present passage, and a couple of inscriptions: the reference to the present epigram is obviously misplaced, for here the two are described separately, and in all the other passages ῥόμβος may, and therefore presumably does, mean *bull-roarer* as usual.

**χάλκεα:** *cf.* Plut. *Crass. loc. cit.* ῥόπτρα... περιτείναντες ἡχείοις χαλκοῖς. The round of the drum is of bronze, the top is of hide; the drummer beats on the hide, the bronze body is the sound-chamber, ἡχείον. It sounds, Plutarch continues, βύθιον τι καὶ δεινόν, ὠρυγῇ θηριώδει καὶ τραχύτητι βροντῆς μεμιγμένον.

**4 [170] κωνοφόρου:** the word elsewhere only in Theophrastus. The thyrsus in art is often tipped with an object resembling a large pine-cone; *Myth. Lex.* 1.1106, 2.2268, with illustrations.

**5 [171] τυπάνου:** a kind of drum common in Dionysiac contexts; much lighter than the ῥόπτρον, so κοῦφον here as *leve tympanum* in Catullus 63.8.

**βαρὺν... βρόμον:** *cf.* Dioscorides 6.220.10–11 = *HE* 1548–9 τύπανον... | οὐ βαρὺν μυκήσαντος.

**6 [172] μίτροδέτου:** here only. The μίτρα is specially the head-gear of the Bacchante.

**λίκνον:** *basket*, for conveyance of offerings, especially grain and fruit; full discussion of the word by Pearson on S. *fr.* 844.3, where it first appears.

**7–8 [173–4] Εὐάνθη:** the masculine Εὐάνθης is quite common, the feminine Εὐάνθη (an eccentric form) very rare and almost confined to mythology.

The omission of the verb of dedicating is most unusual.

**τῇν ἔντρομον... μετημφίασεν:** the meaning is, as Jacobs said, *ferendis quatiendisque thyrsis minus valens mulier, aetate provector, in compotationibus tamen satis fortis, thyrsus cum poculis commutavit*. The phrasing is over-elaborate and disagreeable, lit. 'her hand, unsteady with thyrsi, steady to drinking she transferred'. The implication of the last part of this is not clear: probably not that she has 'taken to drink' (ἄτρομον would be against this), but rather that she serves drink to others (προπόσεις = *drinking parties* as in Posidippus 5.134.2 = *HE* 3055), perhaps on Dionysiac occasions, though we know no other evidence for the employment of superannuated Bacchantes in this capacity. In Agathias 6.74 the retiring Bacchante enters the service of Aphrodite, in anon. xx nothing is said about her future.

**ἐντρομον... θύρσοις:** lit. 'trembling among thyrsi', is an unattractive phrase; the adjective is much happier in Meleager 5.204.8 = *HE* 4305 γόνασιν δ' ἔντρομός ἐστι σάλος, 'unsteadiness is a-tremble in her knees'.

**μετημφίασεν** is even more disagreeable: the verb means to *take off* clothing

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*in exchange* for other clothing; here the transfer is of the hand from one kind of activity to another, and the verb is obviously unsuitable. There is nothing remotely like it elsewhere.

## GAETULICUS

Ten epigrams<sup>1</sup> are ascribed to Gaetulicus, a name variously spelt in P and Pl:

Γαιτουλίκου (or -λικοῦ)	P twice, C once
Γαιτοῦ λίκου	P once
Γετουλίκου	Pl twice
Γέτου λίκου	Pl once
Γαιτολικοῦ	P once
Γαιτουλίχου	P once, C once
Γαιτουλικίου	P once
Γαιτυλλίου	J once
Γαιτουλίου	Pl twice
Γαιτούλλου	C twice
Γαιτου <sup>λ</sup>	P once, C once
Γαίτου	Pl twice

The contexts of the epigrams in *A.P.* provide no sure indication of their source. 5.17 stands between Argentarius and Rufinus in a miscellany; 6.190, together with a similar epigram by Cornelius Longus, between Moero and Archias; 6.331, between Aeschines and Hadrian; 7.71, together with two others on the same theme by an author from the *Cycle* of Agathias, Julianus; 7.244 and 275, together with epigrams from the *Garlands* on similar themes; 7.354 is preceded by three and followed by one from Meleager's *Garland*, on miscellaneous themes; 11.409, between two by Lucianus, on miscellaneous themes.

The last of these is the only one whose position seems significant. 11.409 occurs within an alphabetically ordered series from that anthology of satirical epigrams in which Lucillius predominates; and that anthology, which is generally and no doubt rightly assigned to the second century A.D., cannot be shown to include any other author earlier than Lucillius, a contemporary of the emperor Nero.

Now the style and subjects of the epigrams (including 11.409) argue strongly for a date well within the first half of the first century A.D. or even earlier. Gaetulicus writes elaborate Greek with great fluency in a style which would be at home in either of the two *Garlands*. His principal model is Leonidas, whose name he uses; he is indeed so like Leonidas that, if his epigrams had been transmitted under that author's name, there would have been no reason to doubt the ascriptions (except perhaps of VII and VIII). It must be admitted that the middle of the first century A.D. cannot be quite ruled out, but alternatives

<sup>1</sup> Two of these are not included under the present heading: *A.P.* 6.154 Λεωνίδα Ταραντίνου, of δὲ Γαιτου<sup>λ</sup> = *HE* Leonidas xcvi; *A.P.* 7.245, following one ascribed to Gaetulicus, is mistakenly headed τοῦ αὐτοῦ in P and consequently Γετουλίκου in Pl; an inscription (*IG* II<sup>1</sup> 1680 = II<sup>2</sup> 5226) shows that the epigram comes from the fourth century B.C.

## GAETULICUS

remain open: first, that two authors named Gaetulicus are represented, one the author of 11.409 and the other the author of the rest; secondly, that some epigrams by authors earlier than Lucilius were, after all, included in the satirical anthology. In fact 11.409 is much more like the work of some of the *Garland*-authors than of any of the satirical authors.

The question would be settled if only there was a little more positive evidence to support the identification of the epigrammatist with a well-known bearer of the *cognomen* Gaetulicus – Cn. Cornelius Lentulus. The political career of Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus is summarised by Skutsch in *RE* 4.1385–6: consul A.D. 26, he was executed by the emperor Gaius in the year A.D. 39 on suspicion of treason. If the identification is correct, this explains why Gaetulicus was not included in the *Garland* of Philip; it is highly probable that the *Garland* was published in the last year of Gaius' reign (see *PG* 1. xlviii), and Philip, who sought the patronage of the court, would not have included the poems of a man recently executed for conspiracy against the emperor.

The reason for identifying this distinguished man with the author of the epigrams is, quite simply, that Cornelius Lentulus was a well-known poet, and it happens that the epigrams would be most at home in his lifetime.

The little that is known about the Latin poetry of Cornelius Lentulus comes from the following sources:

- (a) Martial, *Praefatio* to his *Epigrammata* 1:  
*lascivam verborum veritatem, id est epigrammaton linguam, excusarem, si meum esset exemplum: sic scribit Catullus, sic Marsus, sic Peto, sic Gaetulicus, sic quicumque perlegitur.*
- (b) Pliny, *epist.* 5.3.5, justifies his writing *versus parum severos* by citing the precedent of numerous authors including *Lentulum Gaetulicum*.
- (c) Sidonius Apollinaris *carm.* 9.259  
*non Gaetulicus hic tibi legetur,  
 non Marsus, Peto, Silius, Tibullus...*
- (d) Sidonius Apollinaris *epist.* 2.10.5  
*remiscescere quod saepe versum Corinna cum suo Nasone complevit, Lesbia cum Catullo, Caesennia cum Gaetulo, Argentaria cum Lucano, Cynthia cum Propertio, Delia cum Tibullo.*

It appears that Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus was a popular writer of amatory verse especially associated with the name of Caesennia. Three hexameters, of astronomical content, are preserved by Probus on Virgil *Geo.* 1.227 (= *FPR* p. 361 Baehrens).

The identification, assumed by Brunck, has not been generally approved. It was doubted by Jacobs (13.896) and Mackail (*Biographical Index* p. 325), and rejected by Skutsch (*RE* 4.1385–6) with the approval of Stadtmüller (*II* xxi), von Radinger (*RE* 7.456) and Peek (*RE* 17.2340). The reasons given for rejection are not strong; brief comment should suffice:

(1) 'That the name Gaetulicus is common.' The fact is not an obstacle to the identification. A Gaetulicus wrote Greek verse, of a type common in the lifetime of a Gaetulicus who wrote Latin verse. They may be different persons; it is at least as likely that they are one.

(2) 'That none of the authors who refer to Cornelius Lentulus as a poet says that he wrote anything in Greek.' A glance at the evidence set out above

## GAETULICUS

shows that there is no reason in the contexts why anything should be said about Greek; in all of them, Gaetulicus is one in a list of Latin poets who composed sprightly verses.

(3) 'In *A.P.* 5.17 the name of Gaetulicus' beloved is Eidothea; the beloved of Cornelius Lentulus was Caesennia.' Gaetulicus, like (for example) Meleager, may have loved (and named) numerous women in addition to one special favourite.

(5) 'That the Latin poems of Cornelius Lentulus were amatory; the Greek epigrams of Gaetulicus are not.' In fact 5.17 is amatory; and if Gaetulicus wrote both amatory and 'Leonidean' epigrams, he was in good company; Maccius (to name only one other, with a Roman name, of the same period) wrote both kinds.

The proper judgement is that there is no obstacle to the identification; that it is intrinsically quite probable; but that it cannot be proved.

### I

A prayer for a safe voyage and a successful amour. The occasion may well be real (see 2 n.).

For Aphrodite as guardian of the shore, see the Preface to Anyte 9.114 = *HE* xv citing Antipater of Thessalonica 9.143 = *PG* xciii, Mnascalces 9.333 = *HE* xv, anon. *A.Plan.* 249, and Aphrodite's titles Λιμενία, Εὐπλοία, Ποντία; add Apollonides 9.791 = *PG* xxv, Philodemus 10.21.7-8 = *PG* 3252-3 Κύπρι φιλορμίστειρα φιλόργιε...σῶιζέ με...Ναϊακούς...πρὸς λιμένας, anon. 5.11 and 9.601. Gaetulicus evidently had both Philodemus and Antipater in mind: he has in common with Philodemus the combination of Goddess of Harbours and Goddess of Love, and his κόλπον ἐς Εἰδοθέας reflects Philodemus' Ναϊακούς πρὸς λιμένας. With Antipater he has in common ἐπὶ πλατύν in the same *sedes*, his ἐν ἔρωτι οὖριος recalls Antipater's οὖριος...ἔρωτι, his δεσπότης ἡϊόνος Antipater's δεσπότης...ἡϊόνων. Rufinus 5.9 too has much in common with Gaetulicus: lovers separated by the sea, a very rare theme in the *Anthology*; the return 'tomorrow', αὐριον in both; and the rare postponement of ἀλλά, in the same *sedes*.

*A.P.* 5.16 (caret Pl) [P] Γαιτοῦ λίκου ut vid. [J] Γαιτυλλίου εἰς ἑταίραν τινά· ἔρωτικόν; *Suda* s.v. ψαιστά (1 σοί - 2)

ἀγχιάλου ῥηγμίνος ἐπίσκοπε, σοὶ τάδε πέμπω 175  
ψαιστία καὶ λιτῆς δῶρα θυηπολίας·

αὐριον Ἰονίου γὰρ ἐπὶ πλατὺ κύμα περήσω  
σπεύδων ἡμετέρης κόλπον ἐς Εἰδοθέας.

5 οὖριος ἀλλ' ἐπίλαμψον ἐμῶι καὶ ἔρωτι καὶ ἰστῶι,  
δεσπότηι καὶ θαλάμων Κύπρι καὶ ἡϊόνων. 180

4 ἡμετέρης Heinsius: ὕμ- P  
Jacobs\* 9.31.

1 [175] πέμπω: food and drink, like other articles, may be *dedicated* (θῆκεν Zonas 6.22, Philip 6.36, ἔθετο Zonas 6.98, ἄθετο Philip 6.102, ἀντίθεται Crinagoras 6.232; *given* in Apollonides 6.105) and articles to be dedicated are

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normally *brought* (anon. 6.42 κομίζων), not *sent*; πέμπω is an odd verb here. As it would have been easy to write σοι τάδ' ἔθηκα, there were presumably circumstances which made 'send' the right word, but it is useless to speculate what they may have been. See VII 3 = 215 n.

**2 [176] ψαιστία:** ψαιστόν is a kind of cake used as an offering; see the note on Leonidas 6.334.5 = *HE* 1970 and 6.300.3 = 2185. It was a poor man's gift, and the diminutive form (here only, unless read in *IG* 5 (1) 1447, III-II B.C.) makes it all the more modest.

**δῶρα:** contrast II, where the offerings are (as often in Leonidas and his followers) named and described in detail; here only the little cakes are named, the rest summarised as 'gifts'. The present epigram is plainly not of the standard dedicatory type; the voyage to the beloved is the main theme, the dedication secondary.

**θυηπολῆης:** first in Ap.Rhod. 1.1124 and very rare.

**3 [177] Ἰονίου:** *sc.* πόντου, the sea between north-western Greece and Italy; see the note on Diodorus 7.624.1 = *PG* 2124.

**4 [178] κόλπον ἐς Εἰδοθέης:** see Pref.; in Philodemus *loc. cit.* the goddess both of harbours and of love is asked to bring the lover to the harbour of the beloved, in Gaetulicus to the bay of the beloved. κόλπον here does double service, meaning both *bay* and *bosom*; λιμένας in Philodemus has only the one meaning (*cf.* Empedocles *fr.* 98.3 Κύπριδος ὀρμισθεῖσα... ἐν λιμένεσσιν).

Εἰδοθέα is a name which appears elsewhere only in legend, like Ἰνώ in Antiphanes 6.88 = *PG* i and Λυσιδάνασσα in Philodemus 5.126 = *PG* xxv.

As the mythical Eidothea was a sea-goddess, 'our Eidothea' may perhaps be said because the mortal so named is *my* beloved, the immortal a goddess under *your* authority as Harbour-Goddess. To retain ὑμετέρης, as Waltz does, produces impenetrable obscurity in the text.

**5 [179] ἄλλ':** on the postponement see *Rufinus* p. 72.

**ἐπιλαμψον:** metaphorical use of the verb is very rare; Pind. *fr.* 172.2 νεότας ἐπέλαμψεν.

## II

Dedication to Aphrodite by the poet Leonidas.

This epigram and Longus 1 are imitations of Leonidas 6.300 = *HE* xxxvi. Both imitators use 'Leonidas' as the name of the dedicator, and both copy his list of offerings – grapes, figs, olives, honey-cakes, and wine for libation. Both dedicate to Aphrodite, presumably understanding Λαφρία in Leonidas to refer to her (see *HE* 2.346). Both end, as Leonidas does, by saying 'as you saved me from disease, so save me from poverty'. Gaetulicus follows Leonidas in promising a goat, whereas Longus absurdly promises a bull. In his description of the offerings Gaetulicus is for the most part independent of his model, using novel and ambitious vocabulary, but πεντάδα...εὐρωγέα follows Leonidas' πεντάρρωγον, ἅπ' ἀκρεμόνων his ἀποκράδιον, and πυθμένοι κευθομένην his ὑποπυθμίδιον.

The imitation is first-rate, indistinguishable from a genuine epigram of Leonidas.

A.P. 6.190 [P] Γαιτουλικοῦ [C] Γαιτούλλου, P1<sup>A</sup> Γετουλίκου [P] ἀνάθημα

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παρά Λεωνίδου; Suda s.vv. αἶψα (1–2), ἀλινήκτειραν, ἀπέτηλον (5), ψαιστά, πενιχραλέον (6), σπονδή (7), κύλιξ (7–8)

λάζεο, τιμήεσσα Κυθηριάς, ὕμνοπόλοιο  
 λιτὰ τὰδ' ἐκ λιτοῦ δῶρα Λεωνίδεω,  
 πεντάδα τὴν σταφυλῆς εὐρωγέα, καὶ μελῖδες  
 πρῶιον εὐφύλλων σῦκον ἅπ' ἄκρεμόνων,  
 5 καὶ ταύτην ἀπέτηλον ἀλινήκτειραν ἐλαίην, 185  
 καὶ ψαιστῶν ὀλίγον δράγμα πενιχραλέων,  
 καὶ σταγόνᾳ σπονδίτιν, αἶι θυέεσσιν ὀπηδόν,  
 τὴν κύλικος βαιῶι πυθμένι κευθομένην.  
 εἰ δ', ὥς εὐ βαρύγυιον ἀπώσασο νοῦσον, ἐλάσσεις  
 10 καὶ πενίην, δώσει πιαλέον χίμαρον. 190

2 λιτὰ τὰδ' ἐκ λιτοῦ Jacobs: αἶψα τὰδε κλυτοῦ P, Suda, αἶψα τὰδε κλειτοῦ Pl  
 3 τὴν P: τῆς Pl 4 εὐφύλλων Badius: εὐφυλλον PPl 6 ψεστῶν P in lin.,  
 ψ ex corr. ὀλίγον P<sup>ae</sup>, Suda: -γων CPl πενιχραλέων Jacobs: -έον PPl,  
 Suda 7 σπονδίτην P 8 τὴν P: τῆς Pl βαιῶι P, Suda: βωμῶι Pl  
 9 εὐ Hecker: μεν PPl 10 δώσει C<sup>yp</sup>: δάσει P, δώσω Pl

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 9.31.

**1 [181] τιμήεσσα:** of Hera in Call. *H. Del.* 218, Nossis 6.265.1 = *HE* 2799.  
**Κυθηριάς:** for Κυθήρεια; this form elsewhere only Antipater of Sidon 6.206.10 = *HE* 207.

**ὕμνοπόλοιο:** he leaves no doubt that his 'Leonidas' is the poet whom he is imitating.

**2 [182] λιτὰ...λιτοῦ:** this is Jacobs at his best. Gaetulicus has Leonidas in mind, 6.288.7–8 = *HE* 2219–20 πενιχραί | ἐξ ὀλίγων ὀλίγην μοῖραν, 6.355.3–4 = *HE* 2205–6 εἰ δὲ τὸ δῶρον | ῥωπικόν, ἃ λιτὰ ταῦτα φέρει πενία.

**3 [183] εὐρωγέα:** here only, = πυκνόρρωγα, Zonas 6.22.3 = *PG* 3442.

**5 [185] ἀπέτηλον:** elsewhere only Antipater of Thessalonica 9.231.4 = *PG* 264.

**ἀλινήκτειραν:** here only, in effect = ἀλίπαστον in the parallel epigram by Longus, 247 below.

For the prosody, Hecker (1843.118–20) compares Nic. *Alex.* 605 ἀλίβαπτον, where however ἀλίβλαπτον should be read, and Lyc. *Alex.* 681 ἀλίπεδον, where ἀλήπεδον is generally preferred. Nor would these be apt parallels, for they would not illustrate or justify the lengthening before the letter ν, for which Gaetulicus would appeal to the Epic, ἐύνητος, ἀγάννητος, and the common lengthening before initial ν in νευρή, νιφός, νύμφη, νόσος, νύσσα, and once before νῆς (*Il.* 13.742) and νημερτές (*Od.* 3.327).

**6 [186] δράγμα:** *handful*; they must have been very small cakes.

**πενιχραλέων:** here only.

**7 [187] σπονδίτιν:** the form here only.

**αἶι...ὀπηδόν:** it is odd that both Gaetulicus and Longus have this uninteresting motif, which is not in their model; τὴν νομίμην θυσίην, of the ψαιστά, in Longus. Presumably one of them has his eye on the other.



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**9-10 [189-90]** εὐ: μὲν will not do, with third-person verb. Planudes' δώσω is surely conjectural, and Hecker's change is the likelier. The form εὐ not elsewhere in the epigrammatists, but sanctioned by Homer.

**βαρύγχιον:** elsewhere only Opp. *Hal.* 5.63.

On the motif of sickness and poverty, see Longus 250 n.

### III

Alcon dedicates his quiver, having shot a snake which was constricting his son.

The *Garlands* of Meleager and Philip contain many epigrams describing wonderful events or experiences, and the general rule is that these are represented as contemporary. The present epigram is exceptional in describing a mythological example: Alcon, father of Phaleros, is first mentioned by Apollonius of Rhodes, 1.96-100; no extant Greek author tells the story of the bow-shot which saved his son's life, but it was familiar to contemporary Romans, and appears in Manilius 5.305-7:

*serpentem super ora cubantem  
infelix nati somnumque animamque bibentem  
sustinuit misso petere ac prosternere telo,*

in Valerius Flaccus 1.398-401:

*insequeris casusque tuos expressa, Phalere,  
arma geris: patula nam lapsus ab arbore parvum  
ter quater ardenti tergo circumvenit anguis;  
stat procul intendens dubium pater anxius arcum,*

and in Sidonius Apollinaris *carm.* 5.154-8:

*non sic libravit in hostem  
spicula qui nato serpentis corpore cincto  
plus timuit cum succurrit, dum iactibus isdem  
interitum vitamque daret stabilemque teneret  
corde tremante manum.*

The phrasing of the epigram is clear, the vocabulary conventional.

A.P. 6.331 [P] Γαιτολικοῦ [C] Γαιτουλίκου, P1<sup>A</sup> Γαίτου; Syll. E s.a.n.

[E] εἰς παῖδα κτεινόμενον ὑπὸ δράκοντος

παῖδα πατήρ Ἄλκων ὀλοῶι σφιγχθέντα δράκοντι  
ἄθρήσας δειλῇι τόξον ἔκαμψε χερί·  
θηρὸς δ' οὐκ ἀφάμαρτε, διὰ στόματος γὰρ οἰστός  
ἦιξεν τυτθοῦ βαιὸν ὑπερθε βρέφους.

5 παυσάμενος δὲ φόβοιο παρὰ δρυὶ τῇιδε φαρέτρην 195  
σῆμα καὶ εὐτυχίης θῆκε καὶ εὐστοχίης.

1 σφιγθέντα P<sup>ac</sup> 4 τυτθὸν...βρέφος P<sup>ac</sup> βαιὸν om. P<sup>ac</sup> 5 φόβοιο  
Wakefield: φόνοιο PPIE

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 9.33.

**1 [191] σφιγχθέντα:** large serpents represented as constrictors are so common in mythology and art that some familiarity with them in life seems to be

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presupposed. I am not aware that any constrictor was native to Greece, but such a snake as *Python sebae*, said to have been common in Lycia (Gow and Scholfield on Nic. *Ther.* 438), might have served as a model.

[Since Alcon and Phaleros are honoured as Athenian heroes, one would expect the episode to have taken place in Greece. If so, the snake coiled around Alcon's baby son must be considered as one of those European snakes which may grow up to 300 cm, as *Coluber iugularis*, *Elaphe* (e.g. *Elaphe quatuorlineata*), or *Malpolon monspessulanus*. These colubrids feed mainly on small rodents and birds, after killing their prey by constriction. None seems able to kill a baby, but one could injure him and frighten his parents. – Information supplied to R.D.D. by Dr Liliane M. Bodson.]

**2 [192] δειλῆι:** the story evidently had much to say about Alcon's anxiety and the danger of hitting his son; *dubium pater anxius arcum* in Valerius, *timuit* and *corde tremente* in Sidorius.

**5 [195] φόβοιο:** φόβοιο is particularly apposite (see 2 n.), and φόνοιο very weak ('having finished the killing, he dedicated his quiver', to be compared with 'being released from his anxiety...'). Jacobs at first approved the change, but in his *Addenda* (13.6) and *Delectus* (II 5) reinstated φόνοιο with the unconvincing explanation that παυσάμενος φόνοιο means that he has now finished with killing and may dedicate his quiver because he has no further use for it. Paton accepts φόβοιο, Stadtmüller, Waltz, and Beckby do not.

[παυσάμενος is middle, not passive, and so 'being released from' is not the ideal translation. The sense is more 'releasing himself from anxiety he dedicated...' but this seems at least as weak as 'having finished the killing he dedicated...' Stadtmüller suggested πόνοιο, bridging the ideas of what he did and what he suffered, as it does at S. *Ai.* 61, where the same confusion is found. But πόνοιο is an extravagant description of a single bow-shot. It seems much more likely that παυσάμενος is a middle used irregularly as an active, just as e.g. κλινάμενος is used for κλίνας at 771. Cf. 1343 n., 1351 n., 2079 n. 'Überhaupt hat die nachklassische Sprache vielfach die Grenzlinien zwischen Aktiv und Medium übersprungen' – Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* 1, 123. φόνοιο now becomes not the killing of the snake by Alcon, but the intended killing of the child by the snake, which Alcon has prevented. – R.D.D.]

## IV

On the tomb of Archilochus.

The theme appears first in Theocritus 7.664 = *HE* xiv, later in Hadrian 7.674 and Julianus 7.69 and 70. Cf. also Dioscorides 7.351 = *HE* xvii, Meleager 7.352 = *HE* cxxxii, and G. W. Bond *Hermathena* 80 (1952) 3–11 (papyrus, III–II B.C.; an epitaph for the daughters of Lycambes, spoken by themselves).

A conventional epigram, straightforward in vocabulary and phrasing.

A.P. 7.71 [P] Γαιτουλίχου [C] Γαιτού, P1<sup>A</sup> s.a.n. [P] εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν [C] Ἀρχιλοχὸν [J] τὸν Πάριον ποιητὴν

σῆμα τόδ' Ἀρχιλόχου παραπόντιον, ὃς ποτε πικρὴν  
μοῦσαν Ἐχιδναίῳ πρῶτος ἔβαψε χόλῳι  
αἰμάξας Ἐλίκωνα τὸν ἥμερον· οἶδε Λυκάμβητ,

μυρόμενος τρισσῶν ἄμματα θυγατέρων.  
 5 ἡρέμα δὴ παράμειπον, ὁδοιπόρε, μή ποτε τοῦδε  
 κινήσεις τύμβωι σφῆκας ἐφεζομένους.

1 πικρήν C<sup>7</sup>P<sup>10</sup>: μικρήν P<sup>10</sup> 6 κινήσεις P<sup>1</sup>

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 9.34.

**1 [197] παραπόντιον:** the compound here only. Nobody else says that Archilochus was buried beside the sea, and we shall not take it on trust from Gaetulicus; any tomb in Paros (and Gaetulicus probably supposed that Archilochus was buried there) has a fair chance of being near the sea, and an author who does not know how many daughters Lycambes had (4 n.) is not to be relied upon in such details.

**2 [198] Ἐχιδναίωι:** the word is known only (before Nonnus) from Call. *fr.* 515, where it refers to Cerberus as offspring of Echidna. Here it might mean simply *viperish*, but the viper is a trifle compared with Echidna and her monstrous family (Hes. *Theog.* 305), and *Echidnaean* is both more effective in itself and also suggested by the use in Callimachus.

χόλος here = χολή, *gall*, the poison of Echidna, like that of her daughter Hydra in Stesichorus, *Suppl. Lyr. Gr.* s 15 ii 4–6 χολᾷ, | ὀλεσάνορος αἰολοδείρου | ὀδύναισιν ὕδρας.

**3–4 [199–200] αἱμάξας:** = καὶ ἤμαξεν, as in S. *Tr.* 884 ἐμήσατο... θάνατον ἀνύσασα = ἐμήσατο καὶ ἀνυσε, and in E. *El.* 984 πόσιν καθεῖλες Αἴγισθον κτανῶν = καὶ ἔκτανες; anon. *A.P.* 9.159.5–6 τὸν ἄφέντα | πῆρωσεν... βλέμματος ὀρφάνισας = καὶ βλέμματος ὠρφάνισε; K.–G. 2.98.

**οἶδε Λυκάμβης:** see the Preface to Dioscorides *loc. cit.* (Pref.), and now especially the poem of Archilochus in *Suppl. Lyr. Gr.* s 478.

**τρισσῶν:** Archilochus *fr.* 38, οἶην Λυκάμβεω παῖδα τὴν ὑπερτέρην, implies two daughters, and that is the number given by the only other author who is specific, Julianus 7.69.6 δισσᾶς θυγατέρας. τρισσῶν in Gaetulicus is inexplicable, but δισσῶν would be a very unlikely change.

**5–6 [201–2]** The motif, ‘his tomb is still dangerous’, is applied to Hipponax by Leonidas 7.408 = *HE* lviii and Philip 7.405 = *PG* xxxiv.

The whole couplet is a close imitation of Leonidas *loc. cit.* 1–2 ἀτρέμα τὸν τύμβον παραμείβετε, μὴ τὸν ἐν ὕπνῳ | πικρὸν ἐγείρῃτε σφῆκ’ ἀναπαυόμενον; cf. Philip *loc. cit.* 4 μὴ πῶς ἐγείρηις σφῆκα τὸν κοιμώμενον.

## V

A literary exercise on swords in the battle of Thyrea between 300 Argives and 300 Spartans in the middle of the sixth century B.C.; all were killed except two Argives, Alcenor and Chromios, and one Spartan, Othryadas.

The theme is common: Chaeremon 7.720 and 721 = *HE* ii and iii, Damagetus 7.432 = *HE* iii, Dioscorides 7.430 = *HE* xxxi, Nicander 7.526 = *HE* ii, ‘Simonides’ 7.431 = *HE* v; cf. Crinagoras 7.741.1 = *PG* 1883, Lucillius 11.141.3.

Gaetulicus has especially Chaeremon *loc. cit.* in mind, and even borrows a phrase verbatim.

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A.P. 7.244 Γαιτουλίκου, P<sup>B</sup> Γάιτου [P] εἰς [J] τοὺς αὐτοὺς τριακοσίους [J] ad v. 2] τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων; Suda s.vv. θούρον (1 θούρ. – 2), ἀνάγγελον (3–4 πίπτ.)

δισσὰ τριηκοσίων τάδε φάσγανα θούριος Ἄρης  
ἔσπασεν Ἀργείων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων,  
ἔνθα μάχην ἔτλημεν ἀνάγγελον, ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλῳ 205  
πίπτοντες, Θυρέαι δ' ἦσαν ἄεθλα δορός.

1 δισσὰ Pl: βισσὰ P 3 ἄλλῳι: ἄλλον PPl, Suda: ω supra ο sscr. C  
Θυρέαι Jacobs: Θυρέα PPl ἄεθλον P<sup>ac</sup>

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 9.31.

**1 [203] δισσά:** the meaning is not clear; Paton, Waltz, and Beckby simply omit it, and the usual literal rendering in Dübner, *binos trecentorum hos gladios*, is no help.

As swords both of Argives and of Spartans are involved, there is only one possible explanation for δισσά: δισσὰ φάσγανα must mean *not two swords* but *swords of two kinds*, one half of them from the Argive side, one half from the Spartan. There is a good parallel to the use of δισσός in S. *El.* 645, where δισσῶν ὀνείρων = *dreams of double meaning*, as μάρτυρες...διττοί in Aristot. *Rhet.* 1.15.13 (quoted by Jebb *ad loc.*) means *witnesses of two different kinds*. The epigram is therefore to be understood as describing the dedication of an unspecified number of swords, some Argive and some Spartan, taken from the battlefield.

**3 [205] ἀνάγγελον:** here only. The model, Chaeremon, has οἰωνοῖς θανάτου λείπομεν ἀγγελίαν, the other epigrams on this theme have nothing of the kind.

**ἄλλῳι:** there is no objection to ἄλλον, though the dative (illustrated by Jacobs in his last edition *ad loc.*) is much commoner. The Corrector presumably intended ἄλλῳι and had manuscript authority for his change; he had otherwise no reason to interfere with ἄλλον.

**4 [206] Θυρέαι:** ἦσαν requires the plural both here and in Chaeremon 7.721.3 Θυρέαι δ' ἦσαν ἄεθλα δορός, where Pl has the singular. Damagetus, Nicander, and 'Simonides' use the singular; Herodotus has the singular in 6.76, singular and plural side by side in 1.82.1–2 περὶ χώρου καλεομένου Θυρέης· τὰς γὰρ Θυρέας ταύτας..., and the plural again twice in 1.82.7–8.

Verbatim copy is very rare; cf. *Rufinus* p. 88.!

## VI

On the cenotaph of Astydamos of Cydonia, son of Damis, drowned in the sea between the Peloponnese and Crete.

The epigram is composed in the style and spirit of Leonidas (cf. 7.273 and 654 = *HE* lxii and xvi); presumably a literary exercise, not inscriptional.

A.P. 7.275 [C] Γαιτούλλου, P<sup>A</sup> Γέτου λίκου [J] εἰς Ἀστυδάμαντα υἱὸν Δάμιδος ναυηγόν

ἅ Πέλοπος νᾶσος καὶ δύσπλοος ὤλεσε Κρήτα  
καὶ Μαλέου τυφλαὶ καμπτομένου σπιλάδες

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Δάμιδος Ἀστυδάμαντα Κυδώνιον. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἤδη  
 ἐπλησεν θηρῶν νηδύας εἰναλίων, 210  
 5 τὸν ψεύσταν δ' ἐμέ τύμβον ἐπὶ χθονὶ θέντο· τί θαῦμα,  
 Κρήτες ὅπου ψεύσται καὶ Διὸς ἔστι τάφος;

1 Πελοπόννησος C<sup>7</sup>P, Πελοπόννησος Pl      5 τί θαῦμα CPl: om. P

Jacobs\* 9.35.

**1 [207] δύσπλοος:** a new compound, boldly applied to land instead of sea, as would have been natural; *of hard sailing*, meaning hard to sail to, or having a dangerous coast-line.

**2 [208] Μαλέου:** on Cape Malea, the most easterly of the three prongs of the Peloponnese, proverbially associated with danger to ships (Μαλέαν δὲ κάμψας ἐπιλάθου τῶν οἴκαδε, Eust. on *Od.* 3.287), see the note on Archias 7.214.7 = *PG* 3730; Propertius 3.19.8 *saeva Malea*, Alciphron 1.10.3; *RE* 14.863.

The name is usually ἡ Μάλεια or Μαλέα; ὁ Μαλέας is relatively late (Diodorus Siculus, Gaetulicus, Lucian; *RE* 14.860-1).

**τυφλαί:** *unseen*, as in Antipater of Thessalonica 9.417.4 = *PG* 462 and other examples in the note on Serapion 7.400.2 = *PG* 3405.

**3 [209] Κυδώνιον:** of Cydonia on the north-western coast of Crete, the modern Chaniá.

**4 [210] ἐπλησεν...εἰναλίων:** drowned men often 'feed the fish'; Leonidas 7.273.5 = *HE* 2349 ἰχθύσι κύρμα, Honestus 7.274.3 = *PG* 2472 τὸν δ' ἤδη φάγον ἰχθύες, Antipater of Thessalonica 7.288.3 = *PG* 399 σάρκα γὰρ ἐν πόντῳ φάγον ἰχθύες, 7.286.6 = *PG* 150 ὤλεο μοχθήσας ἰχθύσι, Laurea 7.294.5-6 = *PG* 3921-2.

**5-6 [211-12] ψεύσταν...τύμβον** recalls Leonidas 7.273.6 = *HE* 2350 οἴχημαι, ψεύστης δ' οὗτος ἔπασσι λίθος. The context shows that the cenotaph is supposed to be in Crete.

**Κρήτες...ψεύσται:** cf. Leonidas, in a similar context, 7.654.2 = *HE* 2049 τίς Κρητῶν οἶδε δικαιοσύνην; Κρήτες αἰεὶ ψεύσται was a proverbial saying: St. Paul: Titus 1.12 Κρήτες αἰεὶ ψεύσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί.

**καὶ Διὸς ἔστι τάφος:** cf. Call. *H. Jov.* 8 Κρήτες αἰεὶ ψεύσται· καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σείο | Κρήτες ἐτεκτῆναντο, σὺ δ' οὐ θάνες· ἐσσι γὰρ αἰεὶ; anon. 7.746.6 (Πυθαγόρου εἰς τάφον τοῦ Διὸς ἐν Κρήτῃ)· ὧδε μέγας κείται Ζεὺς ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσιν; Farnell *Cults* 1.36-7.

The general sense is, as Jacobs said, *non mirum, fallax monumentum conspici apud Cretenses, ubi ipsius Jovis monstretur sepulcrum*.

## VII

Epitaph for Medea.

Epigrams describing works of art representing Medea are common (anon. 9.593, *A. Plan.* 135-43); this is the only one which takes the form of an epitaph.

The third line shows that Gaetulicus adopted an eccentric version of the story. The most popular account at all times is that of Euripides, whose Medea kills her own children; obviously there is no room in that version for 'Corinth sending peace-offerings to propitiate the wrath of Medea'. According to

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Parmeniscus, on the other hand, the killers were Corinthian women, and a consequent plague was averted by a religious ceremony; and according to Creophylus the killers were kinsmen of Jason (see Page *Euripides: Medea* (Oxford 1938) xxv–xxvi). The propitiatory peace-offerings must come from a story of that kind, but it remains remarkable that Gaetulicus should have deliberately rejected the popular version, especially so soon after Timomachus had painted his famous picture at Herculaneum of Medea about to kill her children (Page *op. cit.* lxxvi–lxxvii).

A.P. 7.354 [C] Γαιτουλίχου, Pl<sup>B</sup> Γαιτουλίου [J] εἰς τοὺς παῖδας Μηδείας οὓς διὰ Γλαύκην ἀνείλεν

παίδων Μηδείης οὔτος τάφος, οὓς ὁ πυρίπνους  
ζῆλος τῶν Γλαύκης θῦμ' ἐποίησε γάμων·  
οἷς αἰεὶ πέμπει μειλίγματα Σισυφίς αἴα, 215  
μητρὸς ἀμείλικτον θυμὸν ἱλασκομένα.

2 ζῆλος Pl      4 ἀμειλίκτου Pl      ἱλασκομένη Pl

Jacobs\* 9.34.

**1–2 [213–14] πυρίπνους ζῆλος:** *fire-breathing jealousy*, an unattractive phrase.

From the first couplet one would infer that Gaetulicus is thinking of Medea as the killer of her children; the second couplet shows that this is not so. See Pref.

**Γλαύκης:** Euripides does not name her; Page *op. cit.* xxv.

**3 [215] πέμπει:** see 1 1 n. (= 175 above); *bring* or *give* would seem more natural there, but *πέμπειν* is appropriate here where offerings are 'sent' to the dead. See the tragic lexicæ *s.v.*

Planudes' change of *αἶ* to *η* twice is unlikely to be right; whether *η* should be changed to *αἶ* thrice is problematic.

## VIII

On a woman who drank herself to death.

The precedents for this epigram are Leonidas 7.455 = *HE* lxxviii, Antipater of Sidon 7.353 = *HE* xxvii, Dioscorides 7.456 = *HE* xxix, Ariston 7.457 = *HE* ii, and Argentarius 7.384 = *PG* xxxi (*cf.* also anon. 7.329), and there is no intrinsic reason why it should not be ascribed to the same author as the other epigrams, Gaetulicus; it looks back to Meleager's and Philip's authors, though its position in Book 11 may be evidence that Gaetulicus lived a little after Philip (see pp. 49f.).

A.P. 11.409 Γαιτουλικίου, Pl<sup>A</sup> Γαιτουλίου

τετράκις ἀμφορέως περὶ χεῖλεσι χεῖλεα θεῖσα  
Σειληνὶς πάσας ἐξερόφησε τρύγας,  
εὐχάϊτα Διόνυσε, σὲ δ' ὕδασιν οὐκ ἐμίηνεν,  
ἄλλ' οἶος πρώτης ἦλθες ἀπ' οἰνοπέδης 220  
τοῖόν σε προῦπινεν, ἀφειδέες ἄγγος ἔχουσα  
εἰσότε καὶ νεκύων ἦλθεν ἐπὶ ψάμαθον.

5

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2 Σηληνίς P      ξερόφρησε Scaliger: ξεφόρησε PPI      4 οίης P      5 ἀφειδές  
 ἐς ἄγγος PI      6 ἤλθ' ἐπὶ συμμορίην PI

Jacobs\* 9.36.

1 [217] **τετράκις**: the four amphorae of neat wine drunk continuously are Gaetulicus' own contribution; the parallel epigrams do not specify.

**περὶ χεῖλεσι...θεῖσα**: it would be apt if (as is, on general grounds, probable) Gaetulicus is deliberately using the phraseology of the amatory poets; cf. especially Meleager 5.171.3-4 = *HE* 4184-5 εἶθ' ὕπ' ἐμοῖς νῦν χεῖλεσι χεῖλεα θεῖσα | ἄπνευστί ψυχάν τάν ἐν ἐμοὶ προπτοί. Silenis loves her cup.

2 [218] **Σειληνίς**: perhaps better spelt Σιλ-. The same name in the parallel epigram by Dioscorides; the name was chosen for its associations, through Σιληνός, with Dionysus, as Μαρωνίς in the parallel epigrams by Leonidas and Antipater suggests Μάρων, who supplied the wine which intoxicated Polyphemus; cf. Ἀμπέλιν in Ariston *loc. cit.*

**ἐξερόφησε τρύγας**: cf. Theocr. 7.69-70 πίομαι...καὶ ἐς τρύγα χεῖλος ἐρείδων.

3 [219] **εὐχαίτᾱ**: εὐχαιτ' ὦ Passow, for the final syllable ought to be short; cf. however Archias 7.214.5 = *PG* 3728 ἀφρηστᾱ and Posidippus *A.Plan.* 119.1 = *HE* 3150 πλαστᾱ, vocatives.

4 [220] **πρώτης**: the required sense is 'as you first came from the vineyard' not 'as you came from the first vineyard'. The editors take πρώτης as equivalent to τὸ πρῶτον but quote no parallel. The truth may perhaps be that the Roman author's Greek was imperfect (see 5 n.); the alternative is to read πρώτιστ' (Piccolos).

**οἶνοπέδης**: here only; the norm is the neuter οἰνόπεδον. If πρώτιστ' is read, perhaps οἶνοπέδου should be read too.

5 [221] **ἀφειδέες**: ἀφειδής, for ἀφειδής, is an improper form (*graecum esse non credo*, said Brunck) but very hard to eliminate. Planudes' conjecture ἀφειδές ἐς is metrically disagreeable; Hermann's ἀφειδέως (accepted by Dübner and Paton) breaks Naeke's law and leaves ἄγγος without the adjective for which it loudly calls; Meineke's ἀφειδέα βράγχον and Jacobs' ἀειφλεγές ἄλγος are very rough changes. No remedy being in sight, the conclusion may be that it is a mistake by Gaetulicus, not a corruption of his text; a contemporary of his made a similar mistake in Peek 1700.4, εὐπρεπέης for εὐπρεπής.

6 [222] **νεκύων...ψάμαθον**: Planudes evidently objected, as some modern editors have done, to the phrase 'went to the sand of the dead', and substituted 'went to the company of the dead'; but νεκύων ψάμαθος is not very different from νεκύων ἄκται in Nicarchus 11.328.7 (not 9.328, as in Jacobs *Delectus* viii 101, whence the same error in Dübner). Zonas 7.365.5-6 = *PG* 3462-3 has γυμνά δὲ θείναι | ἴχνια δειμαίνει ψάμμον ἐπ' ἡιονίην, of a body approaching the boat of Charon, but there the context makes the phrase easy.

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The corrupt words τοῦ δικαίου which precede Γάλλου in P's heading to *A.P.* 5.49 presumably conceal a Roman *nomen gentile*. Reiske's conjectures, Αἰλίου or Διδίου, take no account of τοῦ and are unlikely changes. Τονδικίου,

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conjectured by Desrousseaux and approved by the Budé editor and Beckby, restores at small cost the gentile name *Tudicius* (Cic. *pro Cluent.* 198) and may well be right; if so, we have no other information about this author. The context of 5.49 offers no clue to the source from which it was taken into the *Anthology*. Obscene epigrams are very rare in Philip's *Garland*, but the style and vocabulary of 5.49 are consistent with that period (c. 90 B.C. to c. A.D. 40). The other epigram appears in Planudes only; it is ascribed to 'Gallus' without qualification, and there is no way of knowing whether this is the same person as the author of 5.49.

### I

On the skill of Lyde, a harlot.

A.P. 5.49 (caret Pl) †τοῦ δικαίου† Γάλλου [J] ἐπίγραμμα ἀδικώτατον

ἢ τρισὶ λειτουργοῦσα πρὸς ἓν τέλος ἀνδράσι Λύδη,  
τῷ μὲν ὑπὲρ νηδύν, τῷ δ' ὑπό, τῷ <δ'> ὀπιθεν,  
εἰσδέχομαι φιλόπαιδα, γυναικομανῆ, φιλυβριστήν· 225  
εἰ σπεύδεις, ἐλθὼν σὺν δυσί, μὴ κατέχου.

1 τέλος Jacobs: τάχος P 2 δ' suppl. Salmasius

Jacobs\* 8.278.

1 [223] τρισί: cf. Martial 9.32.4 *hanc volo quae pariter sufficit una tribus*.

τέλος Jacobs; λάχος Paton, but neither λάχος nor τάχος provides a satisfactory phrase with the participle λειτουργοῦσα. τάχους is an inferior variant for τέλους at S. *Ai.* 685. Lyde performs her services to her customers three at a time. In 4 the point is 'the man who is in a hurry, and finds himself one of three arrivals, might as a rule have to wait for his turn; with Lyde this is not necessary – no need for any one of the three to wait'.

2-3 [224-5] τῷ ὑπό refers to the γυναικομανῆς, τῷ ὀπιθεν to the φιλόπαις. The editions refer τῷ ὑπὲρ νηδύν to the φιλυβριστής, equating this with *irrumator*, presumably rightly, though the phrase ὑπὲρ νηδύν does not immediately suggest this. Housman in *Herm.* 66 (1931) 402ff. = *Classical Papers* 3.1178 said 'φιλυβριστῆς *irrumator est*, cum ὑπὲρ νηδύν *eodem spectet quo Mart. xi 46.6 "summa petas"*'; but *summa petas* says one thing, ὑπὲρ νηδύν another.

γυναικομανῆ: the compound in Meleager 12.86.1 = *HE* 4088 and in earlier and later prose; the verb in Ar. *Thesm.* 576.

φιλυβριστήν: here only; Crates Thebanus *fr.* 5a has φίλυβρις.

4 [226] μὴ κατέχου: *ne te cohibeas*, Paton; i.e. if you are in a hurry and there are two others before you, don't hold back.

### II

On a figure of Tantalus on a drinking-cup.

The punishment of Tantalus was commonly related either to his insolence when entertained by the gods or (as here) to his betrayal of their secrets; cf. E. *Or.* 10 (Τάνταλος) ἀκόλαστον ἔσχε γλώσσαν, Theodoridas *A.Plan.* 132.7 = *HE* 3586 θνατοῖς ἐν γλώσσαι δολία νόσος (of Niobe), and see the note on Antipater *A.Plan.* 131.9 = *PG* 555 (probably by the Sidonian) Τάνταλε, καὶ δὲ σὲ γλώσσα



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διώλεσεν, Ovid *am.* 2.2.43–4 *quaerit aquas in aquis et poma fugacia captat* | *Tantalus*;  
*hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.*

A.Plan. (Pl<sup>A</sup>) 89 Γάλλου εἰς Τάνταλον

οὔτος ὁ πρὶν μακάρεσσι συνέστιος, οὔτος ὁ νηδύν  
πολλάκι νεκταρέου πλησάμενος πόματος,  
νῦν λιβάδος θνητῆς ἰμείρεται· ἡ φθονερὴ δέ  
κρᾶσις αἰὲ χεῖλες ἐστὶ ταπεινότερη. 230  
5 “πῖνε” λέγει τὸ γλύμμα “καὶ ὄργια μάνθανε σιγῆς·  
οἱ γλώσσηι προπετεῖς ταῦτα κολαζόμεθα.”

Jacobs\* 8.279; Hecker 1852.197.

4 [230] κρᾶσις: *mixture* of wine and water in the cup.

ταπεινότερη: the wine is *lower than* the lips of Tantalus; Jacobs supposed that the figure of Tantalus was on the handle of the cup with his lips close above (but not quite reaching down to) the surface of the wine when the cup was full.

5 [231] λέγει: *means* rather than *says*; the moral is not inscribed on the cup but given by the cup with its figure of Tantalus.

## HERODICUS

This epigram is an attack on the school of Aristarchus by an author whom Athenaeus describes as ‘the Babylonian Herodicus’. Now the most likely source for such an attack is the rival Pergamene school of Crates; and Athenaeus in six other places quotes from a certain Herodicus<sup>1</sup> whom in all but one of those places he calls ‘the disciple of Crates’, ὁ Κρατήτειος. It has therefore been universally supposed that ‘the Babylonian Herodicus’ and ‘Herodicus the disciple of Crates’ are one and the same person.

This identification is not certain. It is equally tenable that when Athenaeus wrote ‘the Babylonian Herodicus’ he intended to distinguish this poet from the scholar whom he regularly calls ‘the disciple of Crates’. The fact that the epigram itself supplies the information about Herodicus’ birth-place does not help the argument on either side.

If the author is indeed the disciple of Crates, his date is still uncertain. The prevailing opinion is that he was one of the first generation of Crates’ pupils, flourishing therefore about the middle of the second century B.C.;<sup>2</sup> but the best of the arguments in favour of this early date, as stated by Gudeman in *RE* 8.973ff., are fallacious. First, it is said that the term ὁ Κρατήτειος is never used of ‘later’ pupils of Crates;<sup>3</sup> but this is precisely what we need to, and do

<sup>1</sup> Author of books entitled πρὸς τὸν φιλοσωκράτην, σύμμικτα ὑπομνήματα, and κωμωιδούμενοι (presumably about persons characterised in Old Comedy).

<sup>2</sup> Crates was more or less contemporary with Aristarchus, in the time of Ptolemy Philometor, 180–145 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> The fact that there was no such general term in later times as οἱ Κρατήτριοι corresponding to οἱ Ἀριστάρχειοι is not relevant here.

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not, know. The only individuals distinguished by this title are Herodicus and (overlooked by Gudeman) Hermias *ap. schol. A Hom. Il.* 16.207, and the dates of both are unknown. Secondly, it is said that the hostility and 'almost personal animosity' revealed in the epigram are consistent only with a time when the schools were still quarrelling bitterly: but the quarrel remained bitter for many generations; violently abusive epigrams against the followers of Aristarchus and Callimachus were still being written a hundred years after Crates by Antipater of Thessalonica (11.20 = *PG* xx) and two hundred years after him by Philip (11.321 = *PG* lx and 11.347 = lxi). It is not possible to progress beyond the judgement of Jacobs in 1814: *an ipsum Cratetem audiverit, nec affirmare audeo neque negare.*

The fundamental difference between the Pergamene and Alexandrian schools is defined by Kroll in *RE* 11.1634 and by Pfeiffer in his *History of Classical Scholarship* 1 (1968) ch. vii. In brief, the two schools differed most strongly in their approach to the study of Homer. Whereas the Alexandrians concentrated on textual criticism and grammar, the Pergamenes, though by no means neglecting these aspects, were primarily interested in Homer's subject-matter, and especially in relating the contents of the poems to the principles of Stoic philosophy; allegorical interpretation of the text revealed Homer to be the prime authority for Stoic cosmogony, astronomy, geography, and ethics.

The epigram is no ordinary composition. τῆς ξουθῆς δειλότεροι κεμάδος is an unexpected phrase and a lively touch of colour; γωνιοβόμβυκες is a highly original expression; δυσπήμελος was a recherché epithet.

### I

Invective against the school of Aristarchus.

Athen. 5.222A ὑμεῖς οὖν, ὦ γραμματικοί, κατὰ τὸν Βαβυλώνιον Ἡρόδικον, μηδὲν τῶν τοιούτων ἰστοροῦντες,

φεύγετ', Ἀριστάρχειοι, ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης  
 'Ελλάδα, τῆς ξουθῆς δειλότεροι κεμάδος,  
 γωνιοβόμβυκες μονοσύλλαβοι, οἷσι μέμηλε 235  
 τὸ σφῖν καὶ <τὸ> σφῶιν καὶ τὸ μὴν ἡδὲ τὸ νῖν.  
 5 τοῦθ' ὑμῖν εἶη, δυσπήμελοι, Ἡροδίκωι δέ  
 'Ελλὰς αἶι μίμνοι καὶ θεόπαις Βαβυλῶν.

1 θαλάσσης edd. vett.: θαλάττης Athen. 4 <τὸ> suppl. Pierson 5  
 δυσπήμελοι C: -λον A et sscr. C

Jacobs\* 8.194, \*App.35; Hecker 1852.21.

**1-2 [233-4]** After *Hom. Il.* 2.159 Ἀργεῖοι φεύξονται ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης.  
 Ἀριστάρχειδι: epigrammatists avoid *correptio epica* at the feminine caesura; see *PG* 1. xl; in the present collection, Zosimus 408, anon. 1240, 1260, 1328, 1366, 1620, 1754.

**θαλάσσης:** Athenaeus has θαλάττης, but the Attic form is improbable in an epigram of this type. Brunck, and Jacobs in three editions (including *Delectus* vi 76), printed θαλάσσης without comment.

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**ξουθής:** *nimble, agile*. The phrasing is more recherché than *e.g.* Alcaeus 7.247.6 = *HE* 33 θοῶν ἐλάφων ὦιχετ' ἐλαφρότερον.

**3-4 [235-6] γωνιοβόμβυκες:** on γωνιο- see Dodds on Plato *Gorg.* 485D 7, καταδεδυκότι...βιῶναι μετὰ μειρακίων ἐν γωνίαι τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων ψιθυρίζοντα, and numerous later examples in Jacobs on his *Append. epigr.* no. 34. It is a 'proverbial taunt', as Dodds says, but not, as he adds, 'at the academic life'; whatever the walk of life, it is applied to the contrast between the superior persons who take the centre of the floor and the inferior who congregate in the corners.

The second half of the compound is less clear. LSJ render -βόμβυκες 'buzzing', as if it were related to βομβέω, from which in fact it is altogether distinct. βόμβυξ is either *a silkworm*, which seems out of place here, or *a wind-instrument*, which is more promising: αὐλοῦ εἶδος Hesych., making music of an orgiastic kind according to Aeschylus, *fr.* 57, βόμβυκας ἔχων... δακτυλόδεικτον πῖμπλησι μέλος, μανίας ἐπαγωγὸν ὁμοκλάν, Pollux 4.82, τὸ δὲ τῶν βομβύκων ἔνθεον καὶ μανικὸν τὸ αὐλημα, πρέπον ὀργίοις, and Plut. *qu. conv.* 8.8.4, 713A, παρεξιστάς (ὁ αὐλός) βόμβυξι καὶ πολυχорδαίαις τὴν διάνοιαν. The meaning in Herodicus should then be that the pedants congregate in corners and make a great deal of noise there.

**μονοσύλλαβοι:** this irrational application of 'monosyllabic' to those who study monosyllables is unique; the use in Demetr. *Eloc.* 7, πᾶς δεσπότης δούλωι μονοσύλλαβος, is parallel but more natural. The word and its cognates not elsewhere until Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

**<τὸ> σφῶιν:** as the subject is 'Monosyllables', and as the only dissyllable in the text is the only one which lacks the article, Pierson's supplement is surely right.

*Cf.* Philip 11.321.5-6 = *PG* 3037-8 συνδέσμων λυγρῶν θηρήτορες, οἷς τὸ μῖν ἢ σφῖν | εὔαδε.

**5-6 [237-8] δυσπέμφελοι:** this rare epithet of unknown etymology occurs once in the *Iliad* and thrice in Hesiod; thereafter it is attested only in Herodicus and occasionally in much later authors.

In *Il.* 16.748, *Theog.* 440, and *op.* 618 it is applied to the sea or seafaring, and the sense 'stormy' or the like (so Hesych.), certain in the *Iliad*, is applicable to *Theog.* and to *op.* 618. In *op.* 722, μηδὲ πολυξείνου δαιτὸς δυσπέμφελος εἶναι, it has an active sense, not 'disturbed' but 'disturbing'; English 'troublesome' would represent this well enough. In Herodicus, *turbulent* or *troublesome* persons.

The main tradition is plainly δυσπέμφελον, accepted by Kaibel, not δυσπέμφελοι, the vulgate since the earliest editions. With the latter, the sense is 'may this be (destined) for you (*viz.* to depart from Hellas), turbulent persons'; this is not wholly satisfactory, but it is hard to accept the alternative, with δυσπέμφελον, 'may this stormy (fate) be yours'. That τοῦτο = τὸ 'Ἑλλάδα φεύγειν is sufficiently proved by the antithesis, 'Ἡροδίκωι δὲ 'Ελλάς μῖμοι.

**θεόπαις:** see the note on Meleager 7.419.5 = *HE* 4004 θεόπαις...Τύρος. The meaning there, 'of god-like boys', is not well suited to the context here. The alternative is to interpret 'having a divine founder'; this is suitable to some versions of the foundation of Babylon, though the adjective is more naturally applied to a person (as in Meleager 12.56.7 = *HE* 4578) than to a city.

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Herodicus, who has ordered the pedants to fly from Hellas, would not welcome them in Babylon either; he understandably includes his native city in his concept of Hellas.

## JUBA, MAURETANIAE REX

### I

On Leonteus, an actor who ruined his voice by eating too much.

There is no other information about a τραγωιδός named Leonteus; nor does the statement in Athenaeus that he was 'a pupil of Athenion' convey any meaning to us. The name appears in Planudes in the heading to *A.P.* 9.20; if it is the truth there, identification of the epigrammatist with the actor would be the wildest of guesses.

Diehl in *RE* 12.2040 mistakenly calls Leonteus a tragedian, author of an *Hypsipyle*; the epigram depicts him as an actor, and 'actor' is the sense to be expected of the word τραγωιδός (Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (2nd ed. rev. Gould & Lewis, Oxford 1968) 128); *Hypsipyle* in the epigram is the Euripidean tragedy, presumably acted in the presence of Juba, with Leonteus in the title-role. It is likely that Juba built a theatre in his new royal city, Caesarea (formerly Iol) on the north coast of Mauretania (Jacoby *RE* 9.2387).

The authority for the present epigram is Amarantus of Alexandria, apparently an older contemporary of Galen (xiii 83, xiv 208 K.). He wrote a commentary on Theocritus, twice mentioned in the *Etymologicum Magnum* (156.30, 273.38); if Athenaeus' quotations from his περί σκηνῆς are fair samples (10.414E and the present passage), this book was rather a collection of anecdotes about players in the theatre than a serious work of scholarship (Wentzel *RE* 1.1729). The epigram is nevertheless presumably authentic.

Juba II, son of Juba I the king of Numidia, lived from c. 50 B.C. to c. A.D. 23. He is first heard of as an infant taken to Italy on the occasion of the Triumph of Julius Caesar in 46 B.C. He was brought up in Italy, and was given the rights of citizenship by Octavian, whom he accompanied in the field against Antony and by whom he was appointed king of Mauretania; his first wife was Cleopatra-Selene, the daughter of Antony and Cleopatra.

Juba wrote many books, some historical (περί Ἀσσυρίων, περί Λιβύης, Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἱστορία, *al.*), others on cultural and literary themes (Ὅμοιότητες, περί γραφικῆς, θεατρικὴ ἱστορία, *al.*); there is no other example of poetic composition. His work is highly praised by Pliny, Plutarch, and others, and the present epigram, which is distinctive and almost too ambitious in style, attests much greater virtuosity than is generally accredited to his prose writings nowadays; Jacoby (*RE* 9.2388) calls him a mere quoter, or at best compiler, from the books of others, to be congratulated only on the possession of an excellent library and the services of competent secretaries.

The early editors regarded this epigram as gravely corrupt; especially its first couplet, which nevertheless proved impervious to change (except of one

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letter); see Jacobs *paralipomena* 2.33 and *Append. epigram.* 41. In fact it is very doubtful whether there is any textual error except of a single letter in each of four places as noted in the *apparatus criticus*; the difficulties are inherent in the author's style, not the product of corruption.

The general sense of the epigram is: 'Do not think that the harsh voice of the actor of the part of Hypsipyle reflects baseness in her character; it is merely a consequence of the fact that the actor, who was once very talented, has ruined his voice by excessive indulgence at the dinner-table.' The second and third couplets are clear enough, but the first strives too hard for its effect and the result is obscurity. The phrase 'look at a voice' is tolerable where the picture is of an audience looking at an actor talking, and the transference of the epithet 'artichoke-swallowing' from the actor to his voice is merely a displeasing example of a common trick of the trade; but μή... 'Υψιπύλης ἐς κακὸν ἦτορ ὄρα, 'do not look to an evil heart in Hypsipyle', implying 'do not look from the ugly voice of the actor to the heart of the heroine, as if the harshness of the former could be explained by the baseness of the latter' is almost too cryptic even by the standards of a style practised by some Alexandrian poets and evidently admired by Juba.

Athen. 8.343E-F ὁμοφάγος δ' ἦν καὶ Λεοντεύς ὁ 'Αργεῖος τραγωιδός, 'Αθηνίωνος μὲν μαθητής, οἰκέτης δὲ γενόμενος 'Ιόβαν τοῦ Μαυρουσίῳ βασιλέως, ὥς φησιν 'Αμάραντος ἐν τοῖς περὶ σκηνῆς, γεγραφέναι φάσκων εἰς αὐτὸν τόδε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸν 'Ιόβαν ὅτε κακῶς τὴν 'Υψιπύλῃν ὑπεκρίνατο·

μή με Λεοντήος τραγικοῦ κιναρηφάγον ἦχος  
 λεύσσω 'Υψιπύλης ἐς κακὸν ἦτορ ὄρα. 240  
 ἦμην γάρ ποτ' ἐγὼ Βάκχῳ φίλος, οὐδέ τιν' ὤδε  
 γῆρυν χρυσολόβοις οὔασιν ἡγάσατο·  
 5 νῦν δέ με χυτρόποδες κέραμοι καὶ ξηρὰ τάγηνα  
 χήρωσαν φωνῆς γαστρὶ χαριζόμενον.

1 κιναρηφάγον Villebrun: κεναρ- A    3 τιν' ὤδε Porson: τινῶν δὲ A    4  
 χρυσολόβοις Porson: -οβόλοις A    6 χαριζόμενον Schweighaeuser: -όμενοι A

Jacobs\* *paralipomena* 2.33, <sup>b</sup>App. 41.

1 [239] κιναρηφάγον: this clever and convincing conjecture (accepted by LSJ but not by Kaibel in his edition of Athenaeus) was based on Columella 10.235-6 *hispidā ponatur cinara, quae dulcis Iaccho | potanti veniat, nec Phoebo grata canenti*; evidently *cinara*, a kind of artichoke, was thought to be bad for the singer's voice.

ἦχος: Arndt and Gingrich, *Lex. New Testament* p. 350, find no other example of this neuter form except ps.-Callisthenes p. 61.2,9, *Papyri Graecae Magicae* 201, 204, 394, 545, and LXX Je. 28.16; ἦχους in Luke 21.25 may be accented ἦχους.

2 [240] ἐς... ὄρα: see Pref.; there is no implication here that the heart of Hypsipyle was evil (and in the play it was not). He means 'blame the actor, not Hypsipyle (who is not at fault)'.

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3 [241] φίλος: the subject in 1 was neuter, and φίλον ought perhaps to be read here; but the transition from the voice to the actor is not hard to follow.

4 [242] χρυσολόβοις: not elsewhere; of ears with gold rings in them.

5 [243] χυτρόποδες: pots or cauldrons; the word first in Hes. *op.* 748.

κέραμοι: earthen vessels, here perhaps wine-jars as in Hom. *Il.* 9.469.

τάγῃνα: as in Old Comedy, equivalent to τήγανα, saucepans or perhaps more specifically frying-pans.

ξηρά: *harsh*, as first in E. *Andr.* 784, from the effect which the pan has on the voice of one who eats from it; as in κινωρηφάγον ἥχος, an eccentric and rather disagreeable freedom in the application of an epithet.

6 [244] χαριζόμενον: -όμενοι is unlikely, as the last antecedent was neuter plural; it is a free choice between -όμενον and (Jacobs) -όμενα.

## CORNELIUS LONGUS

There is no other record of a Cornelius Longus (or Longinus, as Planudes has it) except a soldier who served under Titus against the Jews (*RE* 4.1402). Nor does the context of the epigrams allow any inference about their source: 6.191 owes its position to its resemblance to 6.190 (= Gaetulicus II); the other epigram appears in Planudes only. Subject and style argue strongly for a date much the same as that of Gaetulicus.

### I

Dedication to Aphrodite by Leonidas.

The model, as for Gaetulicus II, is Leonidas 6.300 = *HE* xxxvi. The opening couplets in Longus and Leonidas have much in common; in the sequel, the ψαιστά, σπονδή, and σῦκα of the model recur, but the phrasing in Longus is independent; the olive and the grape also recur, but in very different forms; the motif at the end, 'as you saved me from disease, so save me from poverty, and I will make a much greater offering', is the same in both.

For the most part Longus shows independence in thought and phrase, and his composition, though well below the standard of (say) Zonas or Gaetulicus, reaches the average level of a number of the contributors to Philip's *Garland*. But he has some curious lapses: he misuses the adjective ἀκραϊφνής; δρύπεπα is a monster, *horrendum informe*; the promise to sacrifice a bull is ridiculous (an absurd offering for a small farmer); and it was a mistake to continue the epigram beyond its conventional ending, the promise of a richer offering.

A.P. 6.191 [C] Κορνηλίου Λόγγου, Pl<sup>A</sup> Κορνηλίου Λογγίνου [P] ἀνάθημα τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ παρὰ Λεωνίδου; Suda s.vv. ἀκραϊφνοῦς (1, om. ὡς οἶσθα, – 2 δῶρα), δρυπέπης (3 τὴν – 4 δρύπεπα)

ἐκ πενίης, ὡς οἶσθα, ἀκραϊφνέος ἀλλὰ δικαίης, 245  
Κύπρις, ταῦτα δέχου δῶρα Λεωνίδεω·  
πορφυρέην ταύτην ἐπιφυλλίδα τὴν θ' ἀλίπαστον  
δρύπεπα καὶ ψαιστῶν τὴν νομίμην θυσίην

5 σπονδὴν θ' ἦν ἀσάλευτον ἀφύλισα, καὶ τὰ μελιχρὰ  
 σῦκα. σὺ δ', ὡς νούσου, ῥύεο καὶ πενίης, 250  
 καὶ τότε βουθυτέοντά μ' ἐσόψεται. ἀλλὰ σύ, δαῖμον,  
 σπεύδοις ἀντιλαβεῖν τὴν ἀπ' ἐμεῦ χάριτα.

2 δέχου P, Suda: δέχου Pl 4 νομίην P<sup>ac</sup> 5 θ' ἦν Brunck: τὴν PPl 6  
 νοῦσον P<sup>ac</sup> 7 ἐσόψεται P 8 σπεύδεις Pl

Jacobs\* 9.109.

1 [245] οἷσθα: there are three possibilities:

(a) To allow the hiatus; the model, Leonidas, allows it in the same place (as quite often in Theocritus; Gow on Theocr. 7.8) in 9.335.1 = *HE* 2123. Cf. Parmenon 277 n.

(b) To elide, οἷσθ' ἀκραϊφνέος (Jacobs, approved by Dübner, Paton and Beckby). This may be right, although ᾠκρ- would be anomalous. The epigrammatists generally avoid lengthening before mute+liquid consonants in the syllable following the masculine caesura; but Longus has been reading Leonidas, the only Hellenistic epigrammatist who is indifferent to the rule (as in *HE* 2012, 2046, 2056, 2359, 2447; the rest of the authors in *HE*, including the *adespota*, have only a dozen examples between them).

(c) To read οἷσθας (Meineke, approved by Waltz). Longus' knowledge of Greek is imperfect (see below), and the form οἷσθας cannot be ruled out, improper though it is. It is very rare, and never admitted to the higher poetry (except by Zenodotus in his edition of Homer; Eust. *Od.* 1773.27). Choeroboscus attests it for Cratinus (*fr.* 105); it occurs in Alexis *fr.* 15.11, Menander *Epitr.* 305, Herodas 2.55 (without the guarantee of metre), and Peek 1167.1 (III A.D.). The similar form ἤσθας occurs in Men. *Epitr.* 197, *Pk.* 100.

ἀκραϊφνέος: this is a misuse of the word, as if *pure* could mean *undiluted*, as in 'it is *pure* foolishness'. ἀκραϊφνής means *untainted*, free from impurity, and cannot be contrasted with δίκαιος. The author meant 'poverty absolute but honest'; he has said 'poverty untainted but honest'.

LSJ allow a looser use of ἀκραϊφνής in 'Lysippus *fr.* 9' (= *C.A.F.* 1 p. 703 Kock), translating 'free from' *c. gen.* In fact (a) the fragment is ascribed by the source to 'Chrysippus' (whoever he may be), and 'Lysippus' is a conjecture by Meineke; (b) the phrase κόρους πλεκτοὺς ἀκραϊφνεῖς μυρρίνης (where κόρους = κλάδους) means 'pure (*i.e.* fresh, hitherto unused) woven boughs of myrtle', not (as LSJ) 'woven boughs *free from* myrtle'.

2 [246] Κύπρις: = Κυθηρίς in the parallel epigram by Gaetulicus. Evidently both imitators supposed that the goddess addressed in the model, Leonidas 6.300 (= *HE* xxxvi), was Aphrodite. The only clue to her identity in Leonidas is the opening word, Ἀσθρίη. This, though appropriate as an epithet, is not a cult-title for Aphrodite and seems a very inadequate form of address to her. Nor is Aphrodite at home in the epigram as a whole: she is not a healer (6), and Geffcken's suggestion that νόσος in Leonidas means the pains of love is most improbable (love plays no part in any except one of the 103 epigrams of Leonidas, and an allusion to it here would be particularly obscure); nor is Aphrodite a suitable recipient for the offerings, which are of a type normally

## CORNELIUS LONGUS

made to Demeter (*cf.* Callimachus 13.25 = *HE* xix, Adaeus 6.258 = *PG* ii, Antiphilus 6.95 = *PG* xv, Philip 6.36 and 104 = *PG* ix and xix, Zonas 6.98 = *PG* ii); but neither λαθρίη nor any imaginable substitute for it would suit Demeter.

**Λεωνίδεω:** thus the model is openly avowed, as in Gaetulicus 182.

**3 [247] ἐπιφυλλίδα:** small grapes left on the vine after the harvest, gleanings; metaphorical in *Ar. Ran.* 92, where this rare word first appears.

**4 [248] δρύπεπα:** see *Athen.* 2.56A-D, *Pliny h.n.* 12.130, 15.6, Kock on *Chionides fr.* 7, and the note on *Phanias* 6.299.3-4 = *HE* 2996-7. *druppa* (according to *Athenaeus* and *Pliny* a Latin, not a Greek, word) means *olive*, especially a ripe or ripening olive. It is obviously related to the old Greek adjective δρυπετής, *ripening on the tree* (often with the variant δρυπετής, *ready to fall from the tree*), used both literally (of figs and olives) and metaphorically (of μάζαι and ἐπαίραι) in *Attic Comedy*.

Longus has made more mistakes than one would have thought possible in the use of a single word. First, the Greek word was an adjective, not a noun (as here). Secondly, if there were such a noun, it would not mean (as *druppa* does; hence the mistake here) an *olive*; it would mean a ripening fruit, and might as well signify a fig or a grape. Thirdly, Longus scans δρῦ- for Greek δρῦ-; presumably he was familiar only with the Latin *druppa*. Fourthly, the termination -α is unintelligible. It is not enough to call it simply 'heteroclite', as *Dübner* and *LSJ* do; as *Jacobs* said, *substantivum, unde τὴν δρύπεπα descenderit, nemo, quod sciam, indicavit*, and it is true that nobody has dared to state the only possible conclusion, that Longus has coined a private and personal Greek noun, δρύπεψ.

*Küster* conjectured δρύππαν, a most improbable change; *Bothe* wrote δρυπετέα ψαιστῶν, but the καί is indispensable.

**ψαιστῶν:** cakes as offerings; see the notes on *Leonidas* 6.334.5 = *HE* 1970, and *Gaetulicus* 12 (= 176 above).

**τὴν νομίμην:** 'juste la quantité rituelle: le poète insiste sur la modicité de l'offrande', said the *Budé* translator, but the phrase in the parallel epigram by *Gaetulicus*, αἰεὶ θυέσσιν ὀπηδόν, indicates simply 'customary'.

**5 [249] ἀσάλευτον:** *cado vel poculo non commoto, ne scil. faex cum vino commisceretur*, *Jacobs*.

**ἀφύλισα:** the word here only; *removed the sediment*.

**6 [250] ὡς νούσου:** *cf.* *Leonidas* 6.300.7-8 = *HE* 2189-90 ὡς ἐκ νούσου ἀνειρῶσω, ὥδε καὶ ἐχθρῆς | ἐκ πενίης ῥύσῃ, *Gaetulicus* 189-90, *Philip* 6.231.7-8 = *PG* 2779-80 ὡς ἐκ πελάγους ἐρρύσαο, ... κῆκ πενίης [*sc.* ῥύσῃ].

The parallels suggest κάκ πενίης (*Stadtmüller*), but there is plenty of evidence for ῥύομαι *c. gen.* (*LSJ s.v.* ἐρύομαι (B) 5), as at 260 below.

**7-8 [251-2] βουθυτέοντα:** *Leonidas* and *Gaetulicus* more sensibly promise a goat.

**ἀλλὰ κτλ.:** a feeble appendage; Longus has not managed matters as well as *Gaetulicus*, who conforms to convention in ending the epigram with the motif 'make me richer, and I will give more'.



## CORNELIUS LONGUS

### II

On Cynegeiros.

Cynegeiros, the brother of Aeschylus, lost both hands, cut off while he was holding on to a Persian ship, at the battle of Marathon; Hdt. 6.114, *RE* 11.2479. The painter Phasis here portrays him as still having both hands.

A.Plan. (Pl<sup>A</sup>) 117 Κορηλίου

οὐ σε, μάκαρ Κυνέγειρ', ἐτύμως Κυνέγειρον ἔγραψε  
Φᾶσις, ἐπεὶ βριαραῖς ἄνθετο σὺν παλάμαις.  
ἀλλὰ σοφός τις ἔην ὁ ζωγράφος, οὐδέ σε χειρῶν 255  
νόσφισε, τὸν χειρῶν οὐνεκεν ἄθάνατον.

1 Κυνέγειρ', ἐτύμως Jacobs: Κυνάγειρε, τὸν ὡς Pl Κυνάγειρ- utroque loco  
ε supra αἱ scr. Pl 4 τὸν Brunck: τῶν Pl

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 9.110.

1 [253] Κυνέγειρ': see the note on Crinagoras 7.741.1 = *PG* 1883. Κυνέγειρ- is offered by the older tradition of Herodotus (Κυνάγειρ- only in manuscripts of *saec.* XIV) and is required by metre here, in Crinagoras, and in Paulus *A.Plan.* 118.3. It is hardly credible that it should be a false quantity, as alleged by an anonymous satirical epigrammatist in *A.P.* 11.335.

ἐτύμως: this clever conjecture is strongly supported by 'Erinna' 6.352.3-4 = *HE* 1799-1800 ταύταν γοῦν ἐτύμως ('true to life') τὰν παρθένον δῶτις ἔγραψε, Theocr. 15.82-3 ποιοὶ ζωογράφοι τάκριβέα γράμματ' ἔγραψαν· | ὡς ἔτυμ' ἑστάκαντι καὶ ὡς ἔτυμ' ἐνδινεῦντι; cf. Herodas 4.37, and ἐτήτυμον in anon. *A.P.* 9.593.1. [Would the required sense 'did not paint you, blessed Cynegirus, truly as Cynegirus' emerge any more clearly if we kept Planudes' ὡς and amended Jacobs' idea to ἔτυμ' ὡς? - R.D.D.]

2 [254] Φᾶσις: there is no other mention of this painter. Lippold (*RE* 19.1896) thought he might be contemporary with the Μαραθωνομάχοι, but it would be surprising if a painting of that period survived into the time of Longus.

ἄνθετο: σ' ἄνθετο Jacobs. The painting was presumably 'dedicated' in the sense that it was displayed in a temple or other official place.

The heroic deed of Cynegeiros was shown in the Marathon-painting in the Stoa Poikile; Aelian *n.a.* 7.38, Lucian *Jup. Trag.* 32 and *Demonax* 53.

## MAMERCUS

### I

Dedication of captured shields.

In or about the year 339 B.C. Mamercus, tyrant of Catana, with the help of forces sent from Carthage under Gisco, ambushed and destroyed four hundred of Timoleon's mercenaries near Messene.

## MAMERCUS

This very effective epigram is perhaps too highly coloured; it may be doubted whether the shields of the mercenaries were so elaborate.

Though dedications were unsigned, there is no reason to doubt the ascription of this one to Mamercus. Plutarch shows that he was remembered as a poet and tragedian, and contemporary writers may well have known and recorded his authorship of this epigram.

Plut. vit. Timol. 31.1 καὶ γὰρ ὁ Μάμερκος ἐπὶ τῷ ποιήματα γράφειν καὶ τραγωιδίας μέγα φρονῶν ἐκόμπαζε νικήσας τοὺς μισθοφόρους καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἀναθεῖς τοῖς θεοῖς ἐλεγείον ὑβριστικὸν ἐπέγραψε·

τάσδ' ὅστρειογράφους καὶ χρυσελεφαντηλέκτρους  
ἀσπίδας ἀσπιδίοις εἴλομεν εὐτελέσιν. 258

1 χρυσελεφαντεπιλέκτρους codd. L<sup>1</sup> PKQZ

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* dcvi, <sup>b</sup>App. 330; Preger 115; 2 p. 325 Bergk, 1 p. 112 Diehl.

1 [257] The two compounds here only; some of the shields are described as purple-painted, others as inlaid with gold, ivory, and electrum.

## MENANDER

### I

Praise of Themistocles and Epicurus.

The only point in common between these famous men is the name of their fathers, Neocles. It is inconceivable<sup>1</sup> that the celebrated New Comedian wrote this trivial epigram. Menander is a very common name, and there is no particular reason to reject this evidence that the author of these lines was so called. The Corrector added κωμικοῦ, as someone was sure to do in the course of time.

A.P. 7.72, Pl<sup>a</sup> [PPI] Μενάνδρου [C] κωμικοῦ [PPI] εἰς Ἐπικούρου καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα

χαῖρε Νεοκλειδᾶν δίδυμον γένος, ὦν ὁ μὲν ὑμῶν  
πατρίδα δουλοσύνας ῥύσαθ', ὁ δ' ἀφροσύνας. 260

1 Νεοκλειδᾶν Bothe: -δα PPI γόνος P<sup>ac</sup> 2 ῥύσατ' P

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 6.438; 2 p. 375 Bergk, 1 p. 135 Diehl.

1 [259] ὦν...ὑμῶν: cf. Callimachus 12.118.3 = HE 1077 ὦν ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν.

## METRODORUS

A.P. 9.360 stands under the name 'Metrodorus'; 9.712, under 'Metrodorus grammaticus in Byzantium'; and 'Metrodorus' is the heading of a series of arithmetical problems in epigram-form in A.P. 14.116-47. The name is common, and it is probable that three different authors are represented. The

<sup>1</sup> Except to Paton and Beckby; the Budé editor thinks it not quite impossible.

## METRODORUS

arithmetical epigrams lie outside the limits of the present collection, and a relatively late date for the Byzantine *grammaticus* is indicated by the name of the law-maker, 'Ioannes', in his epigram.

9.360 is a retort to Posidippus 9.359 = *HE* xxii; see the Preface and notes there, and the Budé vol. 8 p. 2 n. 1. The epigram is undatable. Gerhard's suggestion (*Phoinix von Kolophon* (Leipzig-Berlin 1909) 104) that it is by Metrodorus of Lampsacus, the friend of Epicurus (*RE* 15.1477), is chronologically possible (he died in 277 B.C. aged 53, and Posidippus was born c. 310 B.C.); but such ripostes were composed as late as 800 years after Posidippus, as Julianus 9.446 proves (*cf.* also Agathias 5.302). The occurrence of two proparoxytone hexameter-ends argues against the inclusion of Metrodorus in the period of the *Cycle* (see *Rufinus* p. 28), and it is therefore presumable that Julianus had Metrodorus in mind when he wrote 9.446; the two epigrams are very much alike both in arrangement and in phrasing (compare especially κέρδος πλόος in Julianus with ἐν δὲ θαλάσση κέρδος in Metrodorus, ἄφροντις αἰ βίος with ἄφροντις ἄπαις βίος, and ἡνωρέην νεότης with αἱ νεότητες ῥωμαλέαι).

### I

On the pleasures of life.

A reply to Posidippus. Metrodorus retains two thirds of the model's words, reversing the sense of each phrase, usually by changing a noun or adjective. So much of the model is deliberately preserved that it is reasonable to accept the small changes of the copy's text in 4 (the addition of δ'), 6 (ἐλαφρότερος for -ον) and 7 (πόθοι for πόθος). Whether τῶν δισσων μόνον in 9 should be changed to conform with τοῖν δοιοῖν ἐνός is much more doubtful. The change ought perhaps to be the other way round, *viz.* reading δισσοῖν in Posidippus v. 9. At *S. Ai.* 57 *P.Oxy.* 2093 before correction had δοίους for δισσοῦς.

A.P. 9.360, P1<sup>A</sup> [CPI] Μητροδώρου, Syll. S s.a.n. [C] ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου προτρεπτική εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν [PI] ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου πιθανά

παντοίην βιότοιο τάμοις τρίβον· εἰν ἀγορῇ μὲν  
 κύδεα καὶ πινυταὶ πρήξεις, ἐν δὲ δόμοις  
 ἄμπαυμ'· ἐν δ' ἀγροῖς Φύσιος χάρις, ἐν δὲ θαλάσση  
 κέρδος· ἐπὶ ξείνης <δ'>, ἣν μὲν ἔχῃς τι, κλέος,  
 5 ἣν δ' ἀπορῆς, μόνος οἶδας. ἔχεις γάμον; οἶκος ἄριστος 265  
 ἔσσεται. οὐ γαμέεις; 3ῆς ἔτ' ἐλαφρότερος.  
 τέκνα πόθοι, ἄφροντις ἄπαις βίος. αἱ νεότητες  
 ῥωμαλέαι, πολιαὶ δ' ἔμπαλιν εὐσεβέες.  
 οὐκ ἄρα τῶν δισσων μόνον αἶρεσις, ἣ τὸ γενέσθαι  
 10 μηδέποτ' ἣ τὸ θανεῖν· πάντα γὰρ ἔσθλα βίωι. 270

1 εἰν PPI<sup>nc</sup>: ἦν P1<sup>ac</sup> 4 δ' suppl. Sternbach coll. Posidipp. 6 ἐλαφρότερος Syll. (*cf.* Posidipp.): -ρον PPI 7 πόθοι Page coll. Posidipp. (πόννοι): πόθος PPI, Syll. 9 μόνον P: μόνου P1<sup>ac</sup>, ἐνός P1<sup>nc</sup> (*cf.* Posidipp.) 10 βίωι P: βίου P1

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 10.334.

## METRODORUS

3 [263] Φύσιος: Nature is virtually personified here; LSJ *s.v.* iv 1.

5 [265] ἀρεστός Bothe, but there is no need for change.

7 [267] πόθοι: the text, πόθος, offers the lengthening *metri gratia* of a closed short vowel, an extremely rare phenomenon at this point of the hexameter in the Hellenistic, late Republican, and early Imperial epigrammatists: in *HE*, only Leonidas 2002, Philoxenus 3036 *s.v.l.*, and ‘Meleager’ 4746; in *PG*, not at all. Hiatus at this point is also extremely rare: in *HE*, Leonidas 2167; in *PG*, only Crinagoras (whose technique is in some respects eccentric) 1845, 1867, 1927. Both phenomena occur quite often in the idylls of Theocritus (see Gow on 1.86 and 8.72).

The plural πόθοι is recommended not only by the plural in the model but also by the sense. τέκνα πόθος is rendered ‘children are darlings’ by Paton and Mackail, ‘Kinder sind Lust’ by Beckby, but πόθος is not elsewhere so used; the plural is made much easier by the common use of Πόθοι, children of Aphrodite.

8 [268] εὐσεβέες: εὐσεβής, *venerating*, never elsewhere means *venerable* unless at *E. El.* 1272 εὐσεβὲς χρηστήριον (erroneously included by LSJ *s.v.* ii among examples of the normal sense), where Clarke conjectured εὐσεβέσι.

10 [270] πάντα γάρ: the sense is ‘it is not true that you have no choice but either to wish you had never been born, or to die; life is wholly enjoyable, so you have a third choice – to live, and to enjoy life’; so Jacobs, rightly.

## OENOMAUUS

Nothing more is known about this author; his name, familiar in legend, is very rare in life.<sup>1</sup> His epigram is both preceded and followed by three describing carved rings: these come from various sources – Polemon (one of Philip’s authors), ‘Plato’, Plato Junior, one of the poets named Archias, and ‘Asclepiades, but some say Antipater of Thessalonica’; unless Oenomaus is an odd man out in this company, he will be not later than the middle of the first century A.D.

### I

On a figure of Eros carved on a cup.

A.P. 9.749, P1<sup>A</sup> [PPI] Οἶνομάου εἰς Ἔρωτα ἐν καυκίῳ γεγλυμμένον

ἐν κυάθῳ τὸν Ἔρωτα τίνος χάριν; ἀρκετὸν οἶνωι  
αἰθεσθαι κραδίην· μὴ πυρὶ πῦρ ἔπαγε.

272

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 10.187.

2 [272] πυρὶ πῦρ: variation on a commonplace theme; Meleager 12.109.4 = *HE* 4311 φλέγεται πῦρ πυρὶ καίμενον, Antipater of Thessalonica *A.Plan.* 197.2 = *PG* 574 τίς πυρὶ πῦρ...εἶλε;., *A.Plan.* 251.6 φλέξει τις πυρὶ πῦρ, and in a quite different sort of context Bianor 7.396.5 = *PG* 1673 πυρὶ πῦρ ἡλεγξάν ἐναντίον.

<sup>1</sup> *RE* ignores the epigrammatist and knows nobody of this name outside legend except the philosopher–tragedian (Snell *TGF* no. 188) Oenomaus of Gadara. Pape–Benseler add a gladiator and two or three examples from inscriptions.

(PARMENON)

(PARMENON)

Though the name is not rare, it is rather more probable that the heading Παρμένοντος was derived from Παρμένων in the text<sup>1</sup> than that both the dedicator and the poet were named 'Parmenon'. If the author was so called, we know no more about him; there is no particular reason to identify him with the iambographer whose fragments are assembled in Powell *Coll. Alex.* 237-8 and Diehl *ALG* 3.136-7; cf. *RE* 18.4.1572.

I

Dedication of a bronze statue, commemorating a horse which unseated its rider but came in first and was adjudged winner.

A similar story is told by Pausanias, 6.13.5 ἡ δὲ ἵππος ἡ τοῦ Κορινθίου Φειδώλα ὄνομα μὲν... ἔχει Αὔρα, τὸν ἀναβάτην ἔτι ἀρχομένου τοῦ δρόμου συνέπεσεν ἀποβαλεῖν αὐτήν, καὶ οὐδὲν τι ἤσσαν θέουσα ἐν κόσμῳ περὶ τε τὴν νύσσαν ἐπέστρεφε... καὶ νικῶσα ἔγνω, καὶ παύεται τοῦ δρόμου (cf. anon. xcvi). The scene is Olympia.

The mixed metres argue strongly for a date in the third or at latest the first half of the second century B.C.; see *Wiener Studien* n.s. 10 (1976) 165.

A.P. 13.18 (caret Pl) Παρμένοντος

χάλκεα ἔργα, λέγοισθε τοῦς ἐπινίκια πώλου,  
ἥτις κεντροραγῆς βαλοῦσα παῖδα  
ψιλή λευρὸν ἔθυσσε περὶ δρόμον· ἐκ δ' ἄρ' ἐκείνου 275  
Παρμένων χρυσῆς κύρησε νίκης.  
5 Φώκριτε, σῶι δ' ἄρα παιδί 'Αμυκλαῖδαι βασιλῆς  
πατρῶιων ἔδοσαν λαχεῖν ἀέθλων.

2 κεντροραγῆς Hecker: κεντροραγῆ P 3 ψιλή P 4 χρυσῆς P  
5 'Αμυκλαῖδαι Meineke ('Αμυκλαῖται iam Jacobs): καὶ ὑλαῖδαι P

Jacobs 11.356-9 (= *adesp.* cxxi), 13.113; Hecker 1852.153-4.

1 [273] λέγοισθε: λέγοιτε Reiske, but the passive is not objectionable; cf. Crinagoras 7.628.3 = *PG* 1861 κληθείητε, *be called*.

2 [274] κεντροραγῆς: the change to the nominative is necessary; it is the mare, not the rider, who is 'torn by the κέντρα'. The word here only; in LSJ (see the Supplement) only to be found under κεντρομανῆς, a word which has no existence except as a bad conjecture in this place.

3 [275] ἐκείνου: ἐκείνης Meineke, perhaps rightly, but Hecker's explanation, *redit ad universam sententiam praegressam*, may be the truth.

5 [277] Φώκριτε; the name is very rare; first in [Dem.] *or.* 33.14-17, 21.

<sup>1</sup> So Reiske and Brunck, followed by the Budé edition; Jacobs, Dübner, Paton and Beckby retain the heading Παρμένοντος. Boissonade (*ap.* Dübner) saw no objection to the dedicator being the same person as the poet, but the phrase Φώκριτε, σῶι... παιδί seems strongly against this.

## (PARMENON)

**\*Ἀμυκλαῖται βασιλῆες:** the Dioscuri, presidents of the Olympian Games (Pind. *Ol.* 3.35).

For the hiatus at the feminine caesura, a rare phenomenon, cf. Longus 245 (*s.v.l.*), Thyillus 376, 'Plato' 646.

## PARRHASIUS

Almost all famous names of the pre-Hellenistic era attached to epigrams owe that attachment to forgery, guesswork, or copyists' carelessness. The case in favour of admitting Parrhasius and Zeuxis as exceptions to the general rule is not strong, and it may well be that they should have been left where they started, in Section I Part 2 below. They owe their privileged position almost wholly to the subjective judgement that they have the ring of authenticity, not forgery; the present editor agrees with Bergk about this, admitting at the same time that the probable source of the epigrams is an obstacle to faith.

The question of their source was discussed most profitably by Otto Jahn in 1857<sup>1</sup> and by E. Sellers in 1896.<sup>2</sup> Athenaeus quotes Clearchus (mid-third century B.C.; see p. 130) as his source in 12.543c and again in 15.687b; and there is no doubt that Clearchus had the story of Parrhasius' luxurious style of life and insolent behaviour, together with the opening couplet of the first epigram (1). But what follows in Athenaeus 12.543, including the fuller text of the first epigram, as well as the second and third, plainly comes from a different source (it has a white chaplet, not a golden crown as Clearchus said, as the artist's headgear); and a strong case has been made for recognising Duris of Samos (c. 340–260 B.C.) as the second source. If this is so, it is a blow to faith in the authenticity of the epigrams. Duris has proved too often unreliable; we must feel, as Miss Sellers said (lxvii), 'impelled from the side of historical verity to echo the complaint of Plutarch that Duris shows, even where not misled by interest, an habitual disregard of truth' (see further anon. ci Pref.). Jahn took the further step, and condemned not only the narrative as reported by Athenaeus but also the epigrams as apocryphal. There is no criterion, apart from subjective impressions, to decide this matter. Miss Sellers was hesitant (lvii–lviii); Lippold (*RE* 18.4.1878) and Diehl (1 p. 110) accept the authenticity of the epigrams without apparent awareness that it has long been, and remains, questionable.

If the epigrams are authentic, the question of the author's mode of publication needs consideration. Bergk suggested that epigrams of this type were exhibited on tablets in the artist's workshop, or alternatively posted in public in support of the artist's campaign for a prize in a competition. Competition between artists is attested as early as Paeonius of Mende: *Inschr. von Olymp.* 259 = Tod *GHI* 1.65 (425 B.C.) Παιώνιος...τάκρωτήρια ποιῶν ἐπὶ τὸν νᾶν ἐνίκᾳ, 'he was victorious', implying that his work was preferred to that of rivals. And competitions at the international Games are attested by

<sup>1</sup> *Kleine Beiträge zur Gesch. der alten Literatur* 286ff.

<sup>2</sup> *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, translated by K. Jex-Blake, with Commentary and Historical Introduction by E. Sellers (London 1896) xli–lxvii.

## PARRHASIUS

Pliny, *h.n.* 35.58, 'Competitions in painting were instituted at Delphi and Corinth in the time of Panaenus, when in the first contest (448 B.C.) he competed with Timagoras of Chalcis and was defeated at the *Pythia*, as appears from an ancient epigram by Timagoras himself.' Evidently Timagoras attached an inscription to his work, as Paeonius did.

Parrhasius I and II are not victory-inscriptions, but that they are connected with a competition is shown<sup>1</sup> by the retort to Parrhasius in Zeuxis I 3, 'Before he claims *victory*, let us see his picture, δειξας νικάτω'; I 4, 'I do not think that mine will get *the second prize*'.

Parrhasius III is of a different type. It accompanied the work of art to which it refers, a painting of Heracles exhibited at Lindos. This is an example of a practice attested by 'Simonides' xxxii (inscription by Iphion on one of his paintings), 'Simonides' xxxiii (verses inscribed on painted doors by the artists Kimon and Dionysius), anon. crv and cv (b) (inscriptions by Onatas on his works), and Pliny *h.n.* 35.154 (epigrams by the artists Damophilus and Gorgaeus inscribed on the temple of Ceres at Rome); according to Pliny *h.n.* 36.12 the practice was as old as the time of Bupalus and Athenis (c. 550).

Bergk detected traces of other epigrams by Parrhasius in Pliny *h.n.* 35.71 (*Apollinis se radice ortum* [sc. *dixit Parrhasius*]) and Themistius *or.* 2.34 (another painting accompanied by an epigram).

### I-III

Athen. 12.543C οὗτω δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τὰ τῆς τρυφῆς καὶ τῆς πολυτελείας ἡσκεῖτο ὥστε καὶ Παρράσιον τὸν ζωγράφον πορφύραν ἀμπέχεσθαι, χρυσοῦν στέφανον ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχοντα, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Κλέαρχος ἐν τοῖς Βίοις. οὗτος γὰρ παρὰ μέλος ὑπὲρ τὴν γραφικὴν τρυφῆσας λόγῳ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντελαμβάνετο καὶ ἐπέγραψεν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιτελουμένοις ἔργοις (I I). καὶ τις ὑπεραλλήσας ἐπὶ τούτῳ παρέγραψεν "ῥαβδοδίαίτος ἀνὴρ". ἐπέγραψεν δ' ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ καὶ τάδε·

#### I

ἀβροδίαίτος ἀνὴρ ἀρετὴν τε σέβων τάδ' ἔγραψεν  
 Παρράσιος κλεινῆς πατρίδος ἐξ Ἑφέσου. 280  
 οὐδὲ πατρός λαθόμην Εὐήνορος, ὅς <μ'> ἀνέφυσε  
 γνήσιον, Ἑλλήνων πρῶτα φέροντα τέχνης.

ἡύχησε δ' ἀνεμεσήτως ἐν τούτοις·

#### II

εἰ καὶ ἄπιστα κλύουσι, λέγω τάδε· φημί γὰρ ἤδη  
 τέχνης εὐρῆσθαι τέρματα τῆσδε σαφῇ  
 χειρὸς ὑφ' ἡμετέρης· ἀνυπέρβλητος δὲ πέπηγεν 285  
 οὔρος· ἀμώμητον δ' οὐδὲν ἔγεντο βροτοῖς.

<sup>1</sup> Assuming that the epigrams are authentic. The story that Parrhasius was defeated in a competition in Samos (Athenaeus 12.543 quoted below) against Timanthes (Pliny *h.n.* 35.71) probably comes from Duris and is therefore likely to be fictitious (Sellers lxiv), but at least it takes for granted the existence of such competitions.

## PARRHASIUS

ἀγωνιζόμενος δὲ ποτε πρὸς καταδεέστερον ἐν Σάμῳ τὸν Αἴαντα καὶ ἡττηθεὶς, συναχθεμένων αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων, ἔφη ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ὀλίγον φροντίζει, Αἴαντι δὲ συνάχθοιτο δεύτερον ἡττηθέντι. ἐφόρει δὲ ὑπὸ τρυφῆς πορφυρίδα καὶ στρόφιον λευκὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς σκίπτωνι τε ἐστηρίζετο χρυσᾶς ἑλικας ἐμπεπαισμένῳ χρυσοῖς τε ἀνασπᾶστοις ἐπέσφιγγε τῶν βλαυτῶν τοὺς ἀναγωγέας. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην ἀηδῶς ἐποιεῖτο ἀλλὰ ῥαιδίως, ὡς καὶ αἰδεῖν γράφοντα, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ Περὶ εὐδαιμονίας. τερατευόμενος δὲ ἔλεγεν, ὅτε τὸν ἐν Λίνδῳ Ἡρακλέα ἔγραφεν, ὡς ὄναρ αὐτῷ ἐπιφαινόμενος ὁ θεὸς σχηματίζει ἑαυτὸν πρὸς τὴν τῆς γραφῆς ἐπιτηδειότητα. ὅθεν καὶ ἐπέγραφεν τῷ πίνακι·

### III

οἷος δ' ἐννύχιον φαντάζετο πολλάκι φοιτῶν

Παρρασίῳ δι' ὕπνου, τοῖος ὅδ' ἐστὶν ὄρᾶν.

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1-III Plin. h.n. 35.71 *fecundus artifex, sed quo nemo insolentius usus sit gloria artis; namque et cognomina usurpavit 'Habrodiaetum' se appellando, aliisque versibus principem artis et eam ab se consummatam, super omnia Apollinis se radice ortum et Herculem, qui est Lindi, talem a se pictum qualem saepe in quiete vidisset.*

I Athen. 15.687b Παρράσιος δὲ ὁ ζωγράφος, καίπερ παρὰ μέλος ὑπὲρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τέχνην τρυφῆσας καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ἐλευθέρῳ ἴεκ' ῥαβδίῳ ἐκ τινων ποτηρίων† ἐλκύσας, λόγῳ γοῦν ἀντελάβετο τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἐπιγραψάμενος τοῖς ἐν Λίνδῳ πᾶσιν αὐτοῦ ἔργοις (I 1-2 Παρράσιος). ὦι κομψὸς τις, ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖ, ὑπεραλγῆσας ῥυπαίνονται τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄβρὸν καὶ καλόν, ἅτε φορτικῶς μετακαλ-εσαμένῳ εἰς τρυφὴν τὴν δοθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης χορηγίαν, παρέγραψε τὸ "ῥαβδοδίαιτος ἀνὴρ". ἀλλ' ὁμως διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀρετὴν φῆσαι τιμᾶν ἀνεκτέον. ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Κλέαρχος.

II Aristid. or. 28.88, II 170 K. ζωγράφου τι ἐπίγραμμα ἐξεδίδασκε τοιοῦτον· (II 1-4)

I I τε: δὲ Athen. cod. E sscr. 3 μ' suppl. Hecker II 4 ἔγεντο Aristid. codd. TQ<sup>1</sup>: ἐγένετο Aristid. rell., Athen. III I ἐννύχιος Athen. cod. E sscr.

Jacobs\* 8.184-6, <sup>b</sup>App. 59-61; Hecker 1852.22, 26; 2 pp. 230-2 Bergk; I pp. 110-11 Diehl.

I I [279] ἄβροδίαιτος: the meaning is sufficiently illustrated by the context in Athenaeus as quoted here; cf. also Aelian *v.h.* 9.11.

ἀρετὴν τε σέβων: δὲ σέβων was preferred by Jacobs, who thought a contrast required (*vir delicatus quidem, virtutis tamen amans*), but it is likely that Parrhasius saw no such inconsistency.

On the word-division at the 'fourth trochee', an extremely rare phenomenon in the *Anthology*, see PG 1. xliiif.; 'Plato' 590, anon. 1558.

ἔγραφα Jahn, to conform with λαθόμην, but the change is not absolutely necessary; Bergk quoted Thuc. 1.128.7 Πανσανίας... ἀποπέμπει... καὶ γνώμην ποιοῦμαι, and Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.31 Ἀρταξέρξης... νομίζει... ἐγὼ πολέμῳ. These two passages reappear in K.-G. 1.88 as their only examples of the '*Briefstil*'.

3 [281] Εὐήνορος: cf. Pliny *h.n.* 35.60, referring to the years 420-417, *fuere*



## PARRHASIUS

*Aglaophon, Cephisodorus, Erillus, Euenor pater Parrhasi et praeceptor maximi pictoris . . . omnes iam illustres.*

4 [282] γνήσιον: a true son of such a father; Euenor was one of the most distinguished painters of his time, and taught Parrhasius his art.

πρῶτα φέροντα: φερόμενον would have been normal; see Astydamos 116 n.

II 3-4 [285-6] He has set up a boundary-stone beyond which nobody can pass.

ἄμῳμητον κτλ.: this is probably a sop thrown to Nemesis after a proud boast; Iphion in 'Simonides' 810-11 has no such inhibitions, οὐκ ἐνὶ μῶμος | χερσίν.

III 1 [287] δ': Bergk inferred from this particle that a couplet preceded.

ἐννύχιον: the change to the nominative is not necessary; see Gow on Theocr. 7.21.

Cf. Hdt. 7.15.2 ἐπιφοιτῶν δνειρον φαντάζεται μοι, Plato *Phaedo* 60E πολλὰκις μοι φοιτῶν τὸ αὐτὸ ἐνύπνιον.

## PHILIADAS

### I

On the Thespians who fell at Thermopylae.

Herodotus (7.222) describes the heroism of the Thespians at Thermopylae; names their leader, Damophilus the son of Diadromas, and their greatest hero in the battle, Dithyrambus the son of Harmatidas; but quotes epigrams in which there is no mention of the Thespians. Strabo (9.4.2) tells of five *stelai* erected at Thermopylae, of which one bore an epitaph for the Locrians; it is conjectured that one of the others was a similar monument for the Thespians, and the common opinion is that the present lines are, or are part of, an epitaph inscribed thereon (so, among others, Bergk *PLG* 3.428, Preger 23, Hiller von Gaertringen 19, Peek 5 and *RE* 19.2172, Diehl *ALG* 1.87).

The evidence is rather against this judgement. As the source of Stephanus is unknown, the fact that a thousand years elapse between the battle of Thermopylae and the only mention of Philiadidas and his epigram may not be a very serious matter; much weightier is the objection that the epitaph is ascribed to a particular author. If the lines are truly inscriptional, they were unsigned. The name of a great poet, Simonides, may be preserved by an historian, Herodotus, as author of a particular epitaph; contemporary Sicilian writers might record that a notorious braggadocio tyrant, Mamercus, wrote a certain dedication; but who preserved the name of an obscure poet from Megara? Boas (*de epigr. Simon.* p. 17 n. 23) drew what may well be the correct inference: the fact that the author is named probably means that the epigram is demonstrative, not inscriptional, preserved in an anthology (the *Garland* of Meleager, according to Boas).

Whether the lines are inscriptional or not, they are not a complete epigram; there must have been a statement that the men died and are buried here. The connective τε may be an indication that a couplet preceded; but these lines read like a beginning (cf. Peek 20.9 ἀνδρας μὲν ..., 41 [ἀνδρας] τοῦσδ' ...,

## PHILIADAS

539 ἀνδρὸς...), τοῖ for θ' οἱ may be right, but if so there must have been at least one couplet to follow:

Steph. Byz. s.v. Θέσπεια... ἐπίγραμμα τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν· ἦν δὲ Φιλιάδου Μεγαρέως·

ἄνδρες θ' οἱ ποτ' ἔναιον ὑπὸ κροτάφοις Ἑλικῶνος,  
λήματι τῶν αὐχεῖ Θεσπιάς εὐρύχορος. 290

Eust. II. 266.11 (1-2)

1 κροτάφοις Eust.: κροτάφω Steph. 2 αὐχεῖ... εὐρύχορος Eust.: ἀρχεῖ... εὐρύχορος Steph.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 6.273, <sup>b</sup>App. 94; Hecker 1852.128; Preger 23; 2 p. 378 and 3 p. 428 Bergk; 1.87 Diehl; Peek 5.

1 [289] τοῖ Brunck; see Pref.

κροτάφοις: the lexica quote only one other example of this metaphorical use, [A.] PV 721 (of the Caucasus) κροτάφων ἀπ' αὐτῶν.

## PHILIPPUS V, MACEDONIAE REX

### I

Invective against Alcaeus of Messene.

For the background, see Walbank *CQ* 37 (1943) 1 and the Prefaces to Alcaeus 7.247 = *HE* iv and anon. 9.520 = anon. *HE* lx.

Alcaeus wrote several savage epigrams against Philip V of Macedon: 9.519 = *HE* ii, 11.12 = iii, and 7.247 = iv, and two ripostes on behalf of the king are preserved – the present epigram (whose ascription to the king himself is at least as likely to be false as true) and 9.520 = *HE* anon. lx:

Ἀλκαίου τάφος οὗτος, ὃν ἔκτανεν ἡ πλατύφυλλος  
τιμωρὸς μοιχῶν γῆς θυγάτηρ ῥάφανος.

The present epigram is directly related to 7.247 = *HE* iv, in which Alcaeus pours scorn on Philip after his defeat by Flamininus at Cynoscephalae, beginning

ἄκλανστοι καὶ ἄθαπτοι, ὁδοιπόρε, τῷδ' ἐπὶ τύμβωι...;

the taunt, that Philip left his dead unburied on the field (and in fact they stayed unburied for six years), evidently stung the king. This riposte is probably authentic, a more or less immediate retort.

The general sense is 'Here stands Alcaeus impaled'; literally, 'Barkless and leafless, a tall stake is fixed in Alcaeus' back.'

Plut. *vit.* Tit. Flam. 9 ὁ μὲν γάρ (sc. Φίλιππος) ἀντικωμωιδῶν τὸν Ἀλκαῖον τῷ ἐλεγείῳ (sc. *HE* iv) παρέβαλεν·

ἄφλοιος καὶ ἄφυλλος, ὁδοιπόρε, τῷδ' ἐπὶ νώτῳ  
Ἀλκαίῳ σταυρὸς πῆγνυται ἡλίβατος. 292

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 7.365-6, <sup>b</sup>App. 95.

## PHILIPPUS REX

**1-2 [291-2]** The *editio Wecheliana* (1599), p. 291, has a different and inferior version of this epigram:<sup>1</sup> ... τῶιδ' ἐπὶ βουνῶι | σταυρὸς ἐπ' Ἀλκαίῳ ἵσταται αὐτόματος; the hiatus in mid-pentameter is abominable and αὐτόματος is nonsense.

The line of Alcaeus to which this is a retort ends τῶιδ' ἐπὶ τύμβῳι in the *Anthology's* version, τῶιδ' ἐπὶ νώτῳι in Plutarch's; τύμβῳι is suspect (for the point is that the men were left without a tomb), but νώτῳι cannot be right (see *HE* 2.12) and is presumably a transference from the present epigram.

The phrase here, τῶιδ' ἐπὶ νώτῳι Ἀλκαίῳ σταυρὸς πῆγνυται, where Ἀλκαίῳ must be taken in apposition to τῶιδε νώτῳι (as 'this back' is in fact the back of Alcaeus) is inelegant. The alternative ἐπὶ βουνῶι would be welcome in itself, but its credentials are suspect; the fact that it is easier is not in itself a recommendation, and if νώτῳι is not original its appearance in the text is hard to explain.

## PISANDER

### I

Epitaph for Hippaimon.

The epigram implies a funereal monument, presumably a relief-sculpture, portraying a man, his horse, his hound, and his servant. It may well be an inscriptional epitaph, and it is so taken by Preger (25), Keydell (*RE* 19.145; cf. *Hermes* 70 (1935) 301), and Peek (865).

If it is inscriptional, it was unsigned, and the ascription to a particular author is suspect. This epigram was much admired in antiquity, and tradition may possibly have preserved, or supplied, an author's name for it; if it did, 'Pisander' is not likely to be the well-known Rhodian poet of that name, for there is nothing in the contents to suggest the ascription to him. The name is very common; we can only record the fact that this epitaph was said to have been composed by a person so called. It was to be expected that someone would add 'the Rhodian' in the course of time.

The epigram appears in *A.P.* at the foot of an extract from Meleager's *Garland*. As always in such cases, it is impossible to tell whether it is part of the extract or not.

Opinions have been divided whether the four attributes in the third line all apply to Hippaimon or should be distributed among the names in the first couplet. The fame of the epigram strongly suggests that the ancients generally distributed them<sup>2</sup> (for otherwise the lines have no particular ingenuity or interest); and they may have been right. Thessalian horses (*RE* 19.1440) and Cretan hounds (*RE* 8.2551) were among the most highly prized, and it would be an odd coincidence if 'Thessalian' and 'from Crete' had no relation to the

<sup>1</sup> Jacobs<sup>b</sup> in his note on *Append. epigram.* no. 95 says that this version is in the *Wecheliana's* scholia; in fact, as he had said in his first edition, it is in the text, with a scholion relating only to ἀφλοῖος καὶ ἀφυλλος.

<sup>2</sup> The only details recorded are that Pollux referred 'Magnesian' to the hound, Dio to the master, and that the Lemmatist referred both 'from Crete' and 'Magnesian' to the master.

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animals just named. Moreover it would be eccentric to describe the deceased as 'a Thessalian *from Crete*, of Magnesian family'; it is indeed common to give both place of birth and place of burial where these differ, but it would be odd to supply the further information that he came to Thessaly by way of Crete. There is a comparable but more clearly phrased example from the sixth century B.C. in Peek 862, an epitaph which states that the deceased was born in Sparta, brought up in Athens, and buried in Eretria.

If the four attributes are to be distributed, the only satisfactory course is to apply one of them to each of the four names given in the first couplet: the horse is Thessalian, the hound from Crete, the servant of Magnesian origin, and the master is son of Haimon.<sup>1</sup> The arrangement is good: Hippaimon begins one series and ends the other; horse, hound, and servant appear in the same order in both. If it is objected that nobody would refer to a slave's *family*, the answer is that Μάγνης γένος simply means that he was born in Magnesia (whether Carian or Lydian, a common source for slaves).

A.P. 7.304, Pl<sup>B</sup> [PPI] Πεισάνδρου [C] 'Ροδίου [J] τοῦτου τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος μέμνηται Νικόλαος ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς (FGH II A 90 F 140) ὡς ἀρίστου εἰς 'Ιππαίμονα τὸν ἐκ Κρήτης Μάγνητα

ἀνδρὶ μὲν 'Ιππαίμων ὄνομ' ἦν, ἵππῳ δὲ Πόδαργος,  
καὶ κυνὶ Λαίθαργος, καὶ θεράποντι Βάβη·  
Θεσσαλός, ἐκ Κρήτης, Μάγνης γένος, Αἴμονος υἱός· 295  
ᾧλετο δ' ἐν προμάχοις ὄξυν Ἄρη συνάγων.

Dio Prus. or. 37.39, II 26 Arnim (1-2) τίς οὖν οἶδεν Ἑλλήνων οὐχ ὅτι τὸν ἵππον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τὸν 'Ιππαίμονα; δοκῶ μὲν οὐδὲ Μαγνήτων, ὅθεν ἦν 'Ιππαίμων· οὗτος μὲν οὖν φροῦδος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων αὐτῷ Βάβητι καὶ Ποδάργῳ. Pollux 5.46 οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὁ Μάγνης κύων, τὸ 'Ιππαίμονος κτῆμα, ὁ Λήθαργος, ἀνώνυμος, δὲ τῷ δεσπότηι συντέθαιπται, καθάπερ μνηύει τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος (1-2)

1 ὄνομ' om. Pl. 2 Λαίθαργος Masson: Λήθαργος C<sup>7</sup>ρ, Dio, Pollux; Θήραργος PPI 3 ἐκ om. P<sup>ac</sup>

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 6.181; 2 p. 24 Bergk; 1 p. 129 Diehl; Peek 865.

1 [293] Πόδαργος: horses of Hector (Hom. *Il.* 8.185), Menelaus (23.295), Protesilaus (on a late Corinthian pyxis; Payne *Necrocorinthia* no. 1296), and of the Thracian Diomedes (Hygin. *fab.* 30) are so named.

2 [294] Λαίθαργος: both spelling and meaning are doubtful. Λαίθ- is preferred here as being the form supported by earlier authors; see Neil on Ar. *Equ.* 1068 κυναλώπεκα...λαίθαργον, Pearson on S. *fr.* 885 σαίνεις δάκνουσα

<sup>1</sup> This distribution, of which I approve, is Brunck's. Bergk (followed by Beckby): Thessalian horse, Cretan hound, Magnesian Hippaimon the son of Haimon. Boissonade: Thessalian servant, Cretan hound, Magnesian horse. Jacobs says that the nationality of Hippaimon should be stated, but this is the reverse of the truth; if he died in his own land (as Brunck allows him to do), it would be contrary to rule to give his nationality. Hartung (followed by Preger, Diehl, and the Budé edition) assigned all four attributes to Hippaimon.

## PISANDER

καὶ κύων λαίθαργος εἶ, and Masson on Hipponax *fr.* 66 κοῦκ ὡς κύων λαίθαργος ὕστερον τρώγει. Hesychius has both λαίθαργοι· κύνες κρύφα δάκνοντες and λήθαργος·... κύων δ' προσσαίνων μὲν λάθρα δὲ δάκνων. The explanations fail to account for either part of the word; -αργος should mean whatever it means in Homer's κύνες ἀργοί. λαίθ- (or λήθ-) remains inscrutable.

Θήραργος has the merit of being easily understood, but not that of explaining why the *Anthology* has the other word.

**Βάβης:** the name looks suitable for an Asian, like Βάβυς; see Masson on Hipponax *fr.* 151, with literature p. 176 n. 1.

**4 [296]** Traditional phrasing: Hom. *Il.* 2. 440 δξύν Ἄρηα, 14.149 ξριδα ξυνάγοντες Ἄρηος, Tgrtaeus 20.15 συνοίσομεν δξύν Ἄρηα, 10.1 ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα.

## PLATO JUNIOR

See the Introductory Note to Section I part 2, p. 125. Three distichs are ascribed to this author in the *Anthology*. Two are mediocre descriptions of works of art, and it is reasonable to ascribe to the same author three other commonplace distichs of the same type, though in these the heading is 'Plato', not 'Plato the Younger'. On the ascription of *A.P.* 9.44 to 'the great Plato' and of the inferior version of it, 9.45, to 'Plato', see *PG* 2.454-5.

The date of Plato the Younger can only be conjectured from his relation to some of the latest contributors to Philip's *Garland*: i is a variation on the theme of Philip 9.11 = *PG* xxxv and Antiphilus 9.13<sup>b</sup> = *PG* xxix; iv is very closely related to Polemon 9.746 = *PG* i. It is a fair guess that he lived about the middle of the first century A.D.

### I

A blind man and a lame man help each other.

This is a very neat abbreviation of Philip (alternatively ascribed to Isidorus) and Antiphilus as cited above; cf. Leonides of Alexandria 9.12 = xv.

*A.P.* 9.13, ΠΙ<sup>A</sup> [PPI] Πλάτωνος νεωτέρου [JPI] εἰς τὸ αὐτό [J] καὶ ὅτι ὁ τυφλὸς τὸν χωλὸν ἐπ' ὤμων ἐβάσταζεν

ἀνέρα τις λιπόγυιον ὑπὲρ νώτοιο λιπαυγῆς  
ἦγε πόδας χρήσας, ὄμματα χρησάμενος.

298

Jacobs<sup>b</sup> 6.359; 2 p. 295 Bergk.

**2 [298]** 'Having *lent* feet and *borrowed* eyes' – LSJ *s.v.* χράω B.

### II

On a figure in amethyst of Dionysus drinking.

The amethyst was, as its name suggests, a 'sober' stone; it was a protection against drunkenness. Cf. Pliny *h.n.* 37.124 *magorum vanitas ebrietati eas (sc. amethystos) resistere promittit et inde appellatas*, quoted by Jacobs; further references in the Budé edition vol. 8 p. 269 and Beckby 3.817.

## PLATO JUNIOR

A.P. 9.748, Pl<sup>A</sup>, Σπ (post A.P. 11.441) [PPI Σπ] Πλάτωνος νεωτέρου [P et fere eadem Σπ] εἰς Διόνυσον γεγλυμμένον ἐν ἀμεθύσῳ

ἀ λίθος ἔστ' ἀμέθυστος, ἐγὼ δ' ὁ πότας Διόνυσος·  
ἢ νήφειν πείσει μ', ἢ μαθέτω μεθύειν. 300

1 ἡ λίθος Σπ ἀμέθυστος cod. Monac. gr. 157: ἀμέθυστος PPI Σπ Syll. E. 48  
πότης Σπ Syll. 2 ἢ νείφειν πείσει μ' P, ἢ πιθέτω νήφειν Pl, ἢ πεισάτω  
νήφειν Σπ Syll.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 6.360; 2 p. 296 Bergk.

### III

On figures in jacinth of Dionysus and Daphne.

A.P. 9.751, Pl<sup>B</sup> [PPI] Πλάτωνος [P] νεωτέρου εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα ἐν δακτυλίῳ

ἀ σφραγὶς ὑάκινθος, Ἀπόλλων δ' ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῇ  
καὶ Δάφνη. ποτέρου μᾶλλον ὁ Λητοΐδας; 302

1 οἰακίνθος P

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 6.361; 2 p. 296 Bergk.

1 [301] Ἀπόλλων: a metrical fault; see Dionysius 157 n.

2 [302] ποτέρου κτλ.: 'to which of the two does Apollo belong?', i.e. which of them is the one he loves especially? The pair are Daphne and (derived from the name of the stone) Hyacinthus.

### IV

On figures of five cows, in jasper.

A.P. 9.747, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPI] Πλάτωνος [P] ἐπὶ πέντε βοῶν ἄλλως

εἰκόνα πέντε βοῶν μικρὰ λίθος εἶχεν ἴασις  
ὥς ἤδη πάσας ἔμπνοα βοσκομένας.  
καὶ τάχα κἄν ἀπέφευγε τὰ βοΐδια· νῦν δὲ κρατεῖται 305  
τῇ χρυσῇ μάνδρῃ τὸ βραχὺ βουκόλιον.

1 μικρὴ Pl 3 ἀπέφυγε P

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 6.351; Plato 21 Bergk; Plato 18 Diehl.

1-4 [303-6] See the commentary on the parallel epigram by Polemon in *The Garland of Philip* 2.401.

### V

On the 'Cnidian Aphrodite' of Praxiteles.

A dismal epigram on a conventional theme; see the Prefaces to Antipater of Sidon *A.Plan.* 167 = *HE* xliv and Hermodorus *A.Plan.* 170 = *HE* i.

A.Plan. (Pl<sup>A</sup>) 161 Πλάτωνος, Σπ τοῦ αὐτοῦ = Πλάτωνος, Syll. S s.a.n. [Pl]  
εἰς τὸ αὐτό

οὔτε σε Πραξιτέλης τεχνάσατο οὐθ' ὁ σίδαρος,  
ἀλλ' οὕτως ἔστης ὥς ποτε κρινομένη. 308

## PLATO JUNIOR

1 σίδηρος Syll. 2 ποτε Σπ Pl: πάλοι Syll.

Jacobs\* 6.346; Plato 27.3-4 Bergk; Plato 25 Diehl.

1 [307] On the hiatus at the bucolic diaeresis see anon. 1384 n.

σίδηρος: see 'Plato' 670-1 n.

2 [308] πάλοι points to πάλοι; the choice is between 'you stand as in the past while being judged' and 'as if being judged a second time'.

## VI

On a sleeping Satyr chased in silver.

Pliny *h.n.* 33.156 writes as follows: *Antipater quoque Satyrum in phiala gravatum somno conlocavisse verius quam caelasse dictus est*; Jex-Blake and Sellers, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, p. 4 (*cf.* their Introduction lxviii) comment on 'Antipater': 'The name of the writer of an epigram has been substituted for Diodorus, the real name of the artist, and moreover that required by the alphabetical arrangement' (the silver-chasers in this part of Pliny are arranged in four groups each alphabetically ordered; Diodorus would be in order, Antipater is not). Evidently Pliny supposed Antipater to be the author of this epigram.

A.Plan. (Pl<sup>A</sup>) 248 Πλάτωνος εἰς ἕτερον Σάτυρον

τὸν Σάτυρον Διόδωρος ἐκοίμισεν, οὐκ ἐτόρευσεν·

ἦν νύξης, ἐγερεῖς· ἄργυρος ὕπνον ἔχει.

310

Jacobs\* 6.350; Plato 28 Bergk; Plato 21 Diehl.

## PTOLEMAEUS, AEGYPTI REX

### I

Praise of the astronomer-poet Aratus.

The title of the king's book, Ἰδιοφυῖ, 'Things of peculiar growth (or nature)', recurs among the works of Archelaus Chersonesites (p. 20 above); it is recorded that Ptolemy Philadelphus, who reigned from 285 to 246 B.C., was interested in strange animals (Hecker 1852.17f.), and he is at least as likely as Euergetes to be the king in question.

vita Arati p. 79 Maass καὶ γὰρ Εὐδοξος ὁ Κνίδιος ἔγραψε Φαινόμενα καὶ Λᾶσος ὁ Μάγνης, οὐχὶ ὁ Ἑρμιονεύς... καὶ Ἑρμιππος καὶ Ἠγησιάνας καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ Βυζάντιος καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί, ὧν καὶ Πτολεμαῖος μέμνηται ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν Ἰδιοφυέσιν οὕτως·

πάνθ' Ἠγησιάνας τε καὶ Ἑρμιππος <τὰ> κατ' αἴθρην

τείρεα καὶ πολλοὶ ταῦτα τὰ φαινόμενα

βίβλοις ἐγκατέθεντο, ἀποσκόπιοι δ' ἀφάμαρτον·

ἀλλὰ τὸ λεπτολόγου σκῆπτρον Ἄρατος ἔχει.

314

1 τὰ suppl. Scaliger 4 τὸ Scaliger: τότε codd. σκῆπτρον Scaliger: σκήπτου codd.

Jacobs\* 8.195, <sup>b</sup>App. 70; 2. 2 p. 93 Diehl.

## PTOLEMAEUS REX

1 [311] **Ἡγησιάνναξ**: Ἀγησιάνναξ, presumably the same person, is quoted as the author of hexameters of astronomical content by Plutarch *mor.* 920E and 921B (*Coll. Alex.* pp. 8–9 Powell); identification with the well-known Hegesianax of Alexandria in the Troad is commonly accepted (Stähelin *RE* 7.2603) but seems risky.

**Ἑρμιππος**: other evidence for an astronomical poem by an author so named is scanty (Kroll *RE* 8.851–2); identification with the well-known pupil of Callimachus is generally accepted but not more than a guess (Kroll 852).

3 [313] **ἀποσκόπιοι**: here only.

4 [314] The text is uncertain. If Scaliger is right, the sense is ‘has the sceptre of the man of fine reasoning’ (not, as Jacobs, *acutae subtilitatis principatum obtinet*, as if – and this he asserts explicitly in his second edition – λεπτολόγου without the definite article could stand for λεπτολογίας).

Ursinus conjectured ἀλλά γε λεπτολόγος, improved by Kaibel to ἀλλ’ ὁ γε λεπτολόγος, better phrasing but an improbable change.

## PYTHEAS

### I

Pytheas composes his own epitaph, commemorating his collection of valuable wine-cups.

Nothing else is known about ‘Pytheas of Phigaleia’, and very little more about the source, ‘Harmodios of Lepreon’. The same book, ‘On the customs of Phigaleia’, is represented in Athenaeus by a long quotation in 4.148F–149C, by a short one in 11.479C, and by a brief reference in 10.442B, where Harmodios says that the Phigaleians were lovers of drinking. The style and title of the book suggest a date somewhere in the Hellenistic period (Jacoby in *RE* 7.2379), but there is no apparent justification for dating Pytheas firmly ‘IV–III B.C.’ as in Peek 98 and Preger no. 2.

Jacobs disliked this epigram (*jejunum carmen*).

Athen. 11.465C οἶδα δὲ τινὰς...καὶ μέγα φρονήσαντας οὐχ οὕτως ἐπὶ πλούτῳ ὥς ἐπὶ τῷ κεκτηθῆναι πολλὰ ἐκπώματα ἀργυρᾶ τε καὶ χρυσᾶ· ὧν εἷς ἔστι καὶ Πυθέας ὁ Ἀρκὰς ἐκ Φιγαλείας, ὃς καὶ ἀποθνήσκων οὐκ ὤκνησεν ὑποθέσθαι τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐπιγράψαι αὐτοῦ τῷ μνήματι τάδε·

Πυθέα μνήμα τόδ’ ἔστ’, ἀγαθοῦ καὶ σώφρονος ἀνδρός,      315  
ὃς κυλίκων ἔσχεν πλήθος ἀπειρέσιον  
ἀργυρέων χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἡλέκτροιο φαεινοῦ,  
τῶν προτέρων πάντων πλείονα πασάμενος.

τοῦτο δ’ ἱστορεῖ Ἀρμόδιος ὁ Λεπρεάτης ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν κατὰ Φιγάλειαν νομίμων (FGrHist III B 319 Jac.)

4 πασάμενος Casaubon: πασσά- A

Jacobs\* 9.241, <sup>b</sup>App. 71; Preger 2; Peek 98.

1 [315] **ἀγαθοῦ καὶ σώφρονος**: a standard formula in epitaphs, e.g. Peek 1227 (VI B.C.), occasionally applied to women, Peek 495 and 890 (both IV *med.*);



## PYTHEAS

it signifies much the same thing as the still commoner formula praising σωφροσύνην ἀρετήν τε as in Peek 157 (c. 530 B.C.), 167 (V *ex.*), 931 (IV *med.*), 1105 (IV *p. post.*), 99 (III *inc.*), and of women 81 (IV), 893 (IV *med.*). The meaning is 'of good character and good sense', and when a relative clause follows it is expected to define the sphere in which these qualities were exhibited; the sequel in the present epigram is contrary to that expectation, whether intentionally or not.

**3 [317]** The line has an Homeric ring; cf. *Od.* 4.74 χρυσοῦ τ' ἡλέκτρον τε καὶ ἄργυρου.

## ASINIUS QUADRATUS

Few persons of this name are known, and none is readily identifiable with the author of this epigram, which stands in the most miscellaneous of contexts, between anonymous iambs on Lot's wife and hexameters on Timon the misanthrope. The *lemma*, if accepted, rules out that Asinius Quadratus who wrote 'A Thousand Years of Roman History' in the third century A.D. (*RE* 2.1603). Jacobs (13.865) mentions him, Paton (in his Index) accepts him, the Budé translators do not reject him, and Beckby admits him with a question-mark; but none of them explains the circumstances in which this distinguished Roman historian might write an epigram which is plainly in sympathy with the victims of Roman aggression.

### I

On men killed in battle against the Romans.

The occasion is not at all self-evident, and the first question is whether the *lemma* is to be accepted. The lemmatists, whether P or J or C, very seldom say anything beyond what is immediately given by the epigram (see *HE* 1.xxxvi). Here the reference to Sulla must have been derived from an extraneous source.

The victims died κρυφίῳ καὶ δολερῷ θανάτῳ, by a death *secret and treacherous*, and the adjectives are not readily applied to any particular incident in the career of Sulla. No doubt there were numerous ambushes, which might be so described, during Sulla's campaigns in Greece;<sup>1</sup> but how was it known that this epigram had anything to do with Sulla?

If the epigram is an actual epitaph (as Peek thought; *GVI* 36), a likely answer is given at once: the stone may be the original source of the *lemma*, telling (what the epigrammatist thought it unnecessary to repeat) who the dead were and on what occasion they died. There is perhaps a parallel in Pancrates 7.653 = *HE* iii, where the *lemma* knows the name of the dead man's father, who is not named in the epigram. This may be the true solution. The epigram has the form of an epitaph, and it is not easy to imagine what other form of publication it could have had.

The connection with Sulla would solve another problem: Sulla was detested by many Romans; if the epigram refers to one of his actions, there is no longer

<sup>1</sup> Jacobs envisaged the massacre of the Athenians in 86 B.C.; but, though the breach in the walls was made κρυφίως καὶ δολερῶς, the slaughter of the people was not.

## ASINIUS QUADRATUS

any reason for surprise that the bearer of an honourable Roman name should write in sympathy with the victims of a Roman army.

A.P. 7.312 [C] Ἀσιννίου Κουαδράτου, Pl<sup>B</sup> s.a.n. [C in rasura] εἰς τοὺς ἀναιρεθέντας [J] ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπάτου Σύλα

οἱ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους δεινὸν στήσαντες Ἄρηα  
κεῖνται ἀριστεῖς σύμβολα δεικνύμενοι·320  
οὐ γάρ τις μετὰ νῶτα τυπεῖς θάνεν, ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντες  
ῶλοντο κρυφίῳ καὶ δολερῷ θανάτῳ.

Jacobs\* 9.366.

**1 [319] οἱ:** whether this epigram is an epitaph or not, οἶδε not οἱ is the norm; οἶδ' ἐπὶ Peek, a rough change.

**2 [320] ἀριστεῖς σύμβολα:** the *symbols of their heroism in battle* are the wounds which they bear on their fronts (none on their backs, 3); cf. Dioscorides 7.229.3 = *HE* 1653 δεικνὺς πρόσθια πάντα, Bassus 9.279.3-4 = *PG* 1619-20 πρόσθια πάντα | τραύματα.

**3 [321] μετὰ:** there is no use of μετὰ which suits here. μετὰ *c. accus.* may mean *behind* only in the sense *after*, of subjects in a series. The context here requires *on the back*, not *behind the back*; though the latter might pass muster as a confused equivalent of the former, the use of μετὰ remains improper. The Roman's command of Greek was perhaps imperfect.

κατά (Stadtmüller) is an improbable change; γέ τα (Reiske) introduces two unwanted words.

## SATYRIUS

Five epigrams have the heading Σατύρου (one in P only, two in Pl only, two in both), and one other (6.11) has the heading Σατρίου in P, Σατυρίου in Pl. There is an obvious possibility that only one author is represented in all six, but the most prudent course is to treat P's heading in 6.11 as a corruption of Σατυρίου and to distinguish two authors, 'Satyros' and 'Satyrios'. There never was a name 'Satrios', and Σατρίου in P points to Σατυρίου, not Σατύρου. The name 'Satyrios' is extremely rare, and is not likely to be conjectural in Planudes, who, if emending, would have written the familiar name 'Satyros'.<sup>1</sup>

There is no other information about Satyrius. The theme of his epigram was so long-lived that no inference about his date can be drawn from his use of it.

<sup>1</sup> Jacobs entered 'Satyrus sive Satyrius' in his *catalogus*, and distinguished this author from Thyillus, with whom he had been confused by Stephanus and Brunck under the mistaken impression that Pl has Σατύρου Θυλλίου in the heading to A.P. 10.5. In his second edition Jacobs gave 6.11 to Satyrius without comment; Dübner did the same. Stadtmüller left the question open (Σατυρίου, nisi Σατύρου praefers). Mackail's Biographical Index gives 'Satyrus (whose name is also given as Satyrius)'. Paton's Index lists 'Satyrus (or Satyrius)'. Waltz and Beckby ascribe 6.11 to 'Satrios', and the latter enters in his List of Poets (4.766) 'Satrios (Satyrios; meist mit Satyros gleichgesetzt)'.

## SATYRIUS

It begins with Leonidas in the third century B.C., remains popular for the next 300 years, is parodied in the second century A.D., and recurs for the last time in Julianus, 800 years after Leonidas. The style of Satyrius points to a relatively early period, perhaps the first century B.C. or the first half of the first century A.D.

### I

On the hunter, the fowler, and the fisherman.

This epigram is one of fifteen on the same theme, dedications to Pan by a fowler, a hunter, and a fisherman. Earliest in the series is Leonidas 6.13 = *HE* xlvi, next Antipater of Sidon 6.14 = *HE* i; thereafter Archias 6.16, 179, 180, and 181 = *PG* iv–vii, Alpheus 6.187 = *PG* v, Zosimus 6.15, 183, 184 and 185, Diocles 6.186 = *PG* ii, Alexander of Magnesia 6.182, and finally Julianus 6.12; there is an amusing parody in Lucillius 6.17. As Gow says (*HE* 2.35) ‘the original... is unlikely to commemorate a real dedication, and may well have been written for inscription on a work of art. It is in fact inscribed under a faded fresco at Pompeii of three men with hunting-gear (Kaibel *Ep. Gr.* 1104).’

The rules of the game were: (a) that the dedication should be to Pan; (b) that the names of the dedicators should be Pigres, Damis, and Cleitor (only Diocles omits the names); (c) that Pigres should be the fowler, Damis the hunter, and Cleitor the fisherman; (d) that they should be brothers (only Zosimus in 6.184 and 185 omits this motif); (e) that they should dedicate the tools of their trades (only Alpheus dedicates the produce instead of the tools); and (f) that the epigram should end with a prayer for success ‘on land, in the air, and in the sea’ (only Antipater ends with a thank-offering for the past instead of a prayer for the future; only Satyrius and Zosimus 6.185 have ‘birds, beasts, and fish’ instead of ‘air, land, and sea’). The object of the exercise is to display ingenuity in word-coining and phrase-making; Satyrius is mediocre.

A.P. 6.11 Σατύριου, ΠΙ<sup>Α</sup> Σατυρίου [P] ἀνάθημα τῷ Πανὶ παρὰ τριῶν ἀδελφῶν θηρευτῶν; Suda s.v. νέποδες (6)

θηρευτῆς δολιχὸν τόδε δίκτυον ἄνθετο Δᾶμις,  
 Πίγρης δ' ὀρνίθων λεπτόμιτον νεφέλην,  
 τριγλοφόρους δὲ χιτῶνας ὁ νυκτερέτης θέτο Κλείτωρ      325  
 τῷ Πανί, τρισσῶν ἐργατῖναι καμάτων.  
 5 Ἴλαος εὐσεβέεσσιν ἀδελφείοις ἐπίνευσσον  
 πτηνὰ καὶ ἄγροτέρων κέρδεα καὶ νεπόδων.

4 ἐργατῖναι Paton: ἐργατῖν P, ἐργασίην ΠΙ      5 ἀδελφοῖς P  
 Jacobs\* 9.303.

**2 [324] λεπτόμιτον:** Satyrius may have thought this his own invention, but it occurs in E. *Andr.* 831. It was conjectured by Schütz at A. *Pers.* 112.

**νεφέλην:** of a bird-snare; see the note on Antipater of Thessalonica 6.109.1 = *PG* 363; Archias 9.343.2 = *PG* 3739.

**3 [325] τριγλοφόρους:** -φόνους Brodaeus, but there is no need for change.

## SATYRIUS

τρίγλη is the *red mullet*; Thompson *Glossary of Greek Fishes* (St Andrews Univ. Publ. 45, London 1947) 264–8.

**χιτώνας**: for χιτών, of a net, *cf.* Ion *fr.* 40 N. λινουλκός χλαῖνα, θήραγρος πέδη, Ach. Tat. 2.22.7 ὀλίγος δέ με ἤγρευσεν ἀράχνης χιτών.

**νυκτερέτης**: here only; Cleitor is not specifically a night-fisher in any of the parallel epigrams.

**4 [326] τῶι Πανί, τρισσών**: the article is superfluous and disagreeable (none of the parallel epigrams has it), and the lengthening of -ι is of a not very common type (see *PG* 1.xxix). *Malim* σοί, Πάν, τρεῖς, said Stadtmüller, and τρεῖς τρισσών would indeed make a better phrase (the trope appears in two of the parallel epigrams, Archias 6.16.2 and Zosimus 414).

**ἐργατῖναι**: Stadtmüller, Waltz ('instruments'), and Beckby ('Werkzeuge') accept ἐργασίην from Planudes, but this is, as Hecker said (1843.97) *plane insolenter dictum de instrumentis et apparatu*. He proposed ἐργατίνῃ, a very neat change but unsuitable in sense, for Pan cannot be called the *workman* of their labours. A man may be ἐργατίνης of a god (Leonidas 5.206.2 = *HE* 2232, Paulus 5.275.12), but not vice versa. Paton's ἐργατῖναι (printed without comment, presumably his own conjecture) must be right, though the change is greater than Hecker's.

**5 [327] ἀδελφείοις**: Hecker suspected that this was a conjecture by Planudes, and suggested ἀδελφοῖς, (Πάν), ἐπίνευσον; perhaps rightly, despite the breach of Naeke's law (see Dionysius 157 n.).

**6 [328] νεπόδων**: see LSJ *s.v.* νέπους and Pfeiffer on Call. *fr.* 533. νέποδες, qualified by Ἀλοσύδνης (Hom. *Od.* 4.404), θαλασσαιοί (Call. *loc. cit.*), = *maris progenies*, a circumlocution for *fish*; the word may also be used without circumlocution, as here, Nic. *Alex.* 468, 485 and Paulus 11.60.7.

## SATYRUS

See the Preface to Satyrius. There is no other information about an epigrammatist of this name. The five epigrams ascribed to him are all on conventional themes, in a style characteristic of the Hellenistic authors and their followers in the *Garlands* of Meleager and Philip. The contexts of the epigrams offer no clue to their source.

Satyrus is an elegant composer, and has some original touches; there would be no cause for surprise if we learnt that he lived as early as the second century B.C.; but he may be somewhat later.

### I

On the return of spring and the sailing-season.

One of a series of epigrams on this subject; the others are by Leonidas 10.1 = *HE* lxxv, Antipater of Sidon 10.2 = *HE* xli, Argentarius 10.4 = *PG* xxviii, and Thyillus iii.

Satyrus conforms to a traditional pattern, of which the components were (a) Zephyr; (b) the swallow; (c) the flowering of meadows; (d) a calm sea; (e) the weighing of anchor or casting-off of anchor-cables; (f) the setting of sail,

## SATYRUS

and (g) a reference to Priapus as harbour-god. The first of these is omitted by Antipater, the remainder appear in all five authors, who compete in colour of verbs and epithets and in ingenuity of phrase. Satyrus is as good as any, and as original, though not quite so ambitious as some, in his phrasing.

A.P. 10.6, P1<sup>A</sup> [PPI] Σατύρου

ἤδη μὲν Ζεφύροιο ποητόκου ὕγρον ἄημα  
 ἡρέμα λειμῶνας πίτνει ἐπ' ἀνθοκόμους, 330  
 Κεκροπίδες δ' ἠχεῦσι, γαληναίη δὲ θάλασσα  
 μειδιάει κρυερῶν ἄτρομος ἐξ ἀνέμων.  
 5 ἄλλ' ἴτε θαρσαλέοι, πρυμνήσια λύτετε, ναῦται,  
 πίτνατε δ' εὖ πτερύγων λεπταλέας στολίδας.  
 ὦ ἴτ' ἐπ' ἐμπορίην πίσυνοι χαρίεντι Πριήπῳ, 335  
 ὦ ἴτε δὴ λιμένων δαίμονι πειθόμενοι.

1 ποητόκου Blomfield: ποντοτόκου P, πλοητόκου P1    2 πνεΐει P<sup>sser</sup>    6  
 εὖ πτερύγων Scaliger: εὐπτερύγων PPI

Jacobs\* 9.306.

**1 [329] ποητόκου:** the text is uncertain. ποντοτόκου in P is an unusual aberration; πλοη- in P1 may be conjectural *metri gratia*. -τόκος is more suitable to ποη- than to πλοη-.

**2 [330] ἀνθοκόμους:** the compound adjective here only except (of birds) in [Opp.] *Cyn.* 2.190; the verb in anon. 7.321.8.

**3-4 [331-2] Κεκροπίδες:** neither the lexica nor the editors have anything to say about this extraordinary use of Κεκροπίδες meaning (they say) *swallows*. All four parallel epigrams have χελιδών, the swallow; but Κεκροπὶς never stands for 'swallow', and there is no apparent reason why it should. Κεκροπὶς means strictly *daughter of Cecrops*, and no daughter of Cecrops had any connection with swallows. The word might mean, in general terms, *Athenian lady*, but Athenian ladies were not swallows, nor were swallows specially Athenian birds.

The only possible explanation is that Κεκροπίδες here means *the Philomelas*, or *Philomela and Procne* as in Ovid *met.* 6.667 *corpora Cecropidum*; they were not in fact daughters of Cecrops, but of Pandion, as Ovid said in the previous line, *genitas Pandione*; but the Romans occasionally call them 'Cecropids' as in Ovid *am.* 3.12.32, where *Cecropis ales* = Philomela. Now Philomela was the most famous of all swallows, and if she can be called *Cecropis*, then Κεκροπίδες may stand for *the Philomelas*, meaning *swallows*.

If this is not the true answer, *nil coniectando quivi interpretarier*.

**θάλασσα μειδιάει:** cf. *H. Dem.* 14 γαῖα τε πᾶσα γέλασσε καὶ ἄλμυρὸν οἶδμα θαλάσσης, [A.] *PV* 89 ποντίων τε κυμάτων | ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα (though it is not suggested there that the sea is joyful), *Trag. adesp.* 336 ἀκύματος δὲ πορθμός... γελᾷ, Apollonides 9.791.3-4 = *PG* 1269-70 πόντος... γέλασαι.

**ἄτρομος:** normally *fearless*, here *undisturbed* as in Macedonius 6.69.4 ἄτρομον ὕπνον ἔχει.

**5 [333] πρυμνήσια λύτετε:** see Thyillus 376 n.

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**6 [334] πίντατε...στολίδας:** στολίδες are *folds*, defined by Pollux 7.54 and exemplified in E. *Ba.* 936; *spread the folds* means in effect *unfold*, and implies ‘spread the sails’.

**πτερύγων:** πτέρυγες, πτερὰ, may mean either *oars* (Hom. *Od.* 11.125 ἐρετμά, τὰ τε πτερὰ νηυσὶ πέλονται) or *sails* as here and Hes. *op.* 628 εὐκόσμως στολίσας νηὸς πτερὰ (it is the sails, not the oars, which need careful stowing), [A.] *PV* 468 λινόπτερα...ναυτίλων ὀχήματα, E. *Hipp.* 752 λευκόπτερε...πορθμῖς, *Hel.* 147 νεῶς...οὖριον πτερόν (the adjective and the singular number prove *sail*, not *oar*); cf. *velivolus*, of ships, in the Roman poets.

εὐπτερύγων alone, leaving ‘ships’ to the understanding, would be harsh, though perhaps not quite to be ruled out in a writer who can say ‘Cecropids’ when he means ‘swallows’.

Jacobs disliked εὐ and wrote δὲ πτερύγων; this is preferable in itself but an unlikely change.

**7–8 [335–6]** ἐπ’ ἐμπορίην as in the parallel epigrams Leonidas 8 and Thyillus 378; πρίνος...Πριήπῳ as in Argentarius 7–8 Πριήπῳ | πειθόμενος, λιμένων δαίμονι as ὁ λιμενίτας in Leonidas, ἐνορμίτας in Antipater, ὁ λιμενορμίτης in Thyillus; only Argentarius omits this fragment of the pattern.

## II

The hunter and fowler should pray to Pan for success.

This epigram and Erucius 9.824 = *PG* iv are variations on the theme of Leonidas 9.337 = *HE* xxix. Satyrus’ composition is ambitious, exotic in vocabulary and compact in phrasing.

A.P. 10.11 (caret Pl) Σατύρου

εἶτε σύ γ’ ὀρνεόφοιτον, ὑπὲρ καλαμίδα παλύνας  
 ἰξῶι, ὀρειβατέεις εἶτε λαγοκτονέεις,  
 Πᾶνα κάλει· κυνὶ Πᾶν λασίου ποδὸς ἴχνια φαίνει,  
 † ἄνθεσιν ἀκλινέων Πᾶν ἄγει† καλάμων.

340

2 λαγοκτονέεις Schaefer: -κτενέεις P      4 ἀκλινέων Brunck: ἀκλινῶν P

Jacobs\* 11.385 (= *adesp.* clxxiii).

**1–2 [337–8] ὀρνεόφοιτον:** *frequented by birds*, LSJ, taking it with καλαμίδα, and so Dübner and Paton, *to which the birds resort*; but it is absurd to say that the birds frequent or resort to the fowler’s limed reed; they keep out of its way if they can, and he has to bring it near them unobtrusively, *tacita manu* as Martial says (14.216.2). Jacobs mistranslated -φοιτον as (*aves*) *appetens*, Beckby as ‘du die Vögel erhaschst’; Mackail omits the word.

As ὀρνεόφοιτον cannot be taken with καλαμίδα, it must go with ὀρειβατέεις as a cognate accusative, *sc.* ὀρειβασίαν.

ὑπὲρ...ἰξῶι = ἰξῶι καλαμίδα ὑπερπαλύνας.

**καλαμίδα:** καλαμῖς, -ῖδα, for -ῖς, -ῖδα, is a monstrous form; but if one great poet can say κνημίδες (Homer) and another κναμίδες (Alcaeus), and if one and

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the same great poet can say both κλαΐδας and κλαΐδες (Pindar *Pyth.* 8.4 and 9.39), confusion in the minds of smaller men is pardonable.

**δρειβατέεις**: elsewhere only in prose, and very rare.

**λαγοκτονέεις**: here only.

**3 [339] λασίου ποδός**: of the hare, which may be called simply δασύπους (LSJ *s.v.*).

**4 [340]** The editors accept the conjectures of Salmasius, σύνθεσιν... Πάν ἀνάγει, but συν- is not a likely source for αν-, and it is contrary to custom to say that Pan 'elevates' the fowler's reed; Pan encourages or even assists the fowler's work (as in the model, Leonidas) or adorns his traps with victims (as in the parallel epigram by Erucius), but he does not actually set the traps himself or lift the fowler's rod himself.

ἀνθεσιν, = ἀνάθεσιν, *setting up* (LSJ *s.v.* ἀνατίθημι II 2), may be right; 'Pan (watches over) the setting up of the rods', referring to the fitting together of the sections of the extensible rod (Sil. Ital. 7.677 *calamo crescente*, Martial 14.216.2 *crescit arundo manu*), but the noun is not so used elsewhere, and it is hard to find a suitable verb underlying ἄγει.

**ἀκλινέων**: *unbending*; however much extended the rod must be straight and firm.

## III

On a spring.

Variation on an early Hellenistic theme: Anyte 9.313, 314, *A.Plan.* 228 = *HE* xvi–xviii; elaborately treated in anon. *A.Plan.* 227. The spring is sometimes associated with a divinity, and some of such epigrams may be descriptions of statues and their environment. Not so, however, in Satyrus; his epigram is an elegant literary exercise in poetic but not *recherché* language.

A.P. 10.13, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPI] Σατύρου

ἦ καλὸν αἰ δάφναι, καλὸν δ' ὑπὸ πυθμέσιν ὕδωρ  
πιδύει, πυκινὸν δ' ἄλσος ὑποσκιᾶει  
τηλεθάον, Ζεφύροισιν ἐπίδρομον, ἄλκαρ ὀδίταις  
δίψης καὶ καμάτου καὶ φλογὸς ἡελίου.

344

2 πηδύει πυκινού δ' P

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 9.304.

**1 [341] πυθμέσιν**: *sc.* τῶν δαφνῶν, *roots*; Hom. *Od.* 13.122 πυθμέν' ἐλαΐης.

**3 [343] ἐπίδρομος**: *cf.* Call. *H. Del.* 12, of the island, αἰθύλης... ἐπίδρομος.

## IV

On Echo.

Another elegant variation on a common theme: Archias 9.27 and *A.Plan.* 154 = *PG* xxv and xxxiii, Euodius *A.Plan.* 155, Gauradas *A.Plan.* 152, anon. *A.Plan.* 156; some of these probably describe works of art representing Echo. The aim is to display ingenuity of phrase, and Satyrus is as good as any, better than most.

*A.Plan.* (Pl<sup>A</sup>) 153 Σατύρου εἰς τὸ αὐτό

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ποιμενίαν ἄγλωσσος ἄν' ὀργάδα μέλπεται Ἀχῶ 345  
ἀντίθρου πτανοῖς ὑστερόφωνον ὄπα.

1 ἄγλωσσος Salmasius: -ον Pl

Jacobs\* 9.303.

2 [346] ἀντίθρου: Coluthus 119 ἀντίθροος ἴαχεν ἡχώ; the word not elsewhere until much later.

πτανοῖς: a novel touch; it was customary to represent Echo as responding to men, and θνατοῖς was expected here.

### V

On a statue of Eros in bonds.

Yet another elegant variation on a popular theme: see the Prefaces to Antipater of Thessalonica *A.Plan.* 197 = *PG* lxxxix and Crinagoras *A.Plan.* 199 = *PG* l, quoting parallel epigrams by Alcaeus and Maccius.

*A.Plan.* (Pl<sup>A</sup>) 195 Σατύρου εἰς ἀγαλμα τοῦ αὐτοῦ δεδεμένου

τὸν πτερόεντα τίς ὦδε, τίς ἐν δεσμοῖσι θοὸν πῦρ  
ῶχμασεν; αἰθομένης ἦψατο τίς φαρέτρης  
καὶ τὰς ὠκυβόλους περιηγέας ἐσφήκωσε  
χεῖρας ὑπὸ στιβαρῶι κίονι δησάμενος; 350  
5 ψυχρὰ τὰδ' ἀνθρώποις παραμύθια· μὴ ποτ' ἐκείνου  
οὗτος ὁ δεσμώτης αὐτὸς ἔδησε φρένας;

Jacobs\* 9.305.

3 [349] περιηγέας: *drawn round, encircling*; not *post terga revinctus* as Jacobs, Dübner, Paton, Beckby, and LSJ take it, but drawn round the pillar, behind which his hands are tied.

4 [350] ὑπό: his hands are tied *behind* the pillar; the use of ὑπό *c. dat.* is rare, LSJ *s.v.* B 1 4.

5-6 [351-2] This motif, that Eros Bound has previously bound his binder, may be Satyrus' own flight of fancy; it is not in any of the parallel epigrams. It calls to mind Theocr. 1.97-8 τὴν τὸν Ἔρωτα κατεύχεο, Δάφνι, λυγίξειν; | ἦ ῥ' οὐκ αὐτὸς Ἔρωτος ὑπ' ἀργαλέω ἐλυγίχθης;

## THEOCRITUS CHIUS

### I

An attack on Aristotle.

For the background, see Aristoteles 1 Pref. A story was told (Diog. Laert. 5.5) that Aristotle was prosecuted for impiety, the charge being based on both the hymn (*PMG* 842) and the epigram (Aristot. 1 above) which he composed in honour of his dead friend Hermeias, prince of Atarneus. No doubt it was alleged, however absurdly, that Aristotle had offended by using the term 'immortal' of Hermeias: *PMG* 842.18 ἀθάνατόν τέ μιν αὐξήσουσι Μοῦσαι.



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This is plain from the reply attributed (with some hesitation) to Aristotle by Athenaeus in a passage which incidentally (whether authentic or not) confirms Theocritus' statement that Aristotle made a cenotaph for Hermeias: 15.697A, 'Aristotle himself says in his Defence against Impiety (if the speech is not a forgery): "If I had intended to sacrifice to Hermeias as an immortal, I should not have made a tomb for him as for a mortal; if I had wanted to immortalise his person, I should not have adorned him with sepulchral honours".'

Evidently the honour done by Aristotle to the memory of Hermeias gave great offence in some quarters; Theocritus joins the chorus of detractors.<sup>1</sup> He calls Hermeias offensive names, and describes Aristotle as an idiot. In the last sentence, if we are not mistaken, he alludes to the charge of impiety.

On Theocritus of Chios, see Laqueur in *RE* 5 A 2025. He was remembered as a political opponent of his fellow-countryman Theopompus the historian; as the author of Χρείαι and of books with such diverse titles as 'The History of Libya', 'Wondrous Letters', and 'Counsels to Alexander'; and as the central figure in a number of anecdotes which represent him as a man of quick and sometimes offensive wit (practised at the expense of Antigonus I, it cost him his life; Plut. *puer. educ.* 11B).

Aristocles ap. Euseb. *praep. ev.* 15.2, 793<sup>a</sup> Θεόκριτος γοῦν ὁ Χίος ἐποίησεν ἐπίγραμμα τοιοῦτον·

'Ερμίου εὐνούχου τε καὶ Εὐβούλου τόδε δούλου  
σῆμα κενὸν κενόφρων τεῦξεν 'Αριστοτέλης,  
ὃς γαστρὸς τιμῶν ἄνομον φύσιν εἴλετο ναίειν  
ἀντ' 'Ακαδημείας Βορβόρου ἐν προχοαῖς. 355

Didymus in Demosth. 6.43, *BKT* 1.27 φησὶ Βρ[ύ]ω[ν] ἐν τῷ περὶ Θεοκρίτου ἐπίγραμ[μ]α τι Θεόκριτον [τὸν Χίον εἰς αὐτὸν ποιῆ]σαι · 'Ερμιο[ν] εὐ[ν]ούχου τ]ε καὶ [Εὐβούλου τόδε] δούλου σῆμα κ[ενὸν] κενόφρων τεῦξεν 'Αριστο[τ]έλης ὃς [γα]στρὸς τιμῶν ἄνομον φύσιν εἴλετο ναί[ειν] ἀ[ντ'] 'Ακαδημείας βορ[β]όρου ἐν προχοαῖς; Diog. Laert 5.11 ἀπέσκωψε δ' εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπίγραμμα καὶ Θεόκριτος ὁ Χίος οὕτως ποιήσας, ὥς φησι Βρύων ἐν τῷ Περὶ Θεοκρίτου (1-2); Plut. *exil.* 10, 603c 'Αριστοτέλην δὲ καὶ λελοιδόρηκε Θεόκριτος ὁ Χίος ὅτι τὴν παρὰ Φιλίππῳ καὶ 'Αλεξάνδρῳ δίαταν ἀγαπήσας (3 εἴλετο - 4 προχοαῖς). ἔστι γὰρ ποταμὸς περὶ Πέλλην ὃν Μακεδόνες Βόρβορον καλοῦσι. Apostol. 6.38<sup>a</sup> (1-4)

1 τε καὶ edd.: δὲ καὶ Euseb., ἡδ' Diog., tantum καὶ Apost. τόδε Euseb., Apost.: ἅμα Diog. 2 σῆμα Didym., Diog.: μνήμα Euseb., Apost. τεῦξεν Diog.: ἔθηκεν Euseb., Apost. 3 ὃς διὰ τὴν ἀκρατῆ γαστρὸς φύσιν Euseb., Apost.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 6.374, <sup>b</sup>App. 38; 2 p. 374 Bergk; 1 p. 127 Diehl.

1 [353] εὐνούχου...Εὐβούλου...δούλου: that Hermeias was an eunuch and a slave of Euboulos is stated by Diogenes also, on the authority of Demetrius Magnes, a learned man of the first century B.C. (*RE* 4.2814); Demetrius added

<sup>1</sup> Who were numerous and widespread; a *stèle* at Delphi recording honours done to Aristotle and his nephew (or grand-nephew) Callisthenes was broken up and thrown into a well; Tod *GHI* 2.246-8.

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that Hermeias was a Bithynian and that he killed his master. Theopompus (*ap. Didym.* 5.24, *BKT* 1.27) called him a 'barbarian'. See Tod *GHI* 2.190.

2 [354] σῆμα: the reading is not certain; it seems reasonable to prefer the text common to Didymus and Diogenes.

3-4 [355-6] γαστρος... φύσιν: disagreement over this line is inexplicable, and the choice arbitrary.

Βορβόρου ἐν προχοαῖς: Plutarch (*exil.* 10; see App. Crit.) says that Borboros was the name of a river near Pella, and takes the lines to mean that Aristotle preferred the flesh-pots of the Macedonian court to the simple fare of the Academy at Athens. There is no other evidence for a river so called, but Macedonia is surely meant, for there is no other place in which Aristotle was likely to be entertained in the manner suggested. There must, however, have been a reason for using the river Borboros as a symbol for Macedonia, and there is great probability in Jacobs' opinion that the phrase alludes at the same time to the charge of impiety (see Pref.): ἐν βορβόρῳ κείσθαι *dicuntur impii*; cf. Plato *Phaedo* 69c δς ἂν ἀμύητος καὶ ἀτέλεστος εἰς Ἄιδου ἀφίκηται ἐν βορβόρῳ κείσεται, Ar. *Ran.* 145ff., Diog. Laert. 6.39.

## THEODORIDAS

See anon. CLIII ('The oyster'). The commentary reproduced there includes the following passage:

47 ὅτι δὲ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη [Δωσώ καλεῖ-  
ταί φη]σιν Θεοδωρίδας...[  
].υλ...ξιονουκ...[  
50 ]..ἱερεὺς [Δω] σοῦς[...][  
].εον κρήδεμνογ...[  
].ξ.σφίγγε.χρυσ[

(followed by scraps of nine more lines).

50-2 may be a quotation from elegiac verse (readings and supplements by Parsons):

[...] ἱερεὺς Δωσοῦς [- υ υ - υ -] 357  
[ἀργύ]φρον κρήδεμνον [υ - υ υ - υ -] 359  
τέττ]ιξι σφίγγει χρυσ.[υ υ - υ -]. 359

The last line might end e.g. χρυσοδέτοις πλοκάμους. It may, however, be an hexameter (χρυσέ[οισιν Parsons]).

On the hitherto unknown title for Aphrodite, Δωσώ, see the note on anon. *loc. cit.* 6-7.

The epigrams of Theodoridas are edited in *HE* 1.191-5.

## THYILLUS

Nothing is known about Thyillus, whose name is unique. Nor do the epigrams offer evidence about their source: 6.170 stands in a miscellaneous context

## THYILLUS

between unrelated anonymous authors; 7.223 was placed next to an epigram by Philodemus because of its similarity in theme; 10.5 is one of a series by miscellaneous authors.

His style and subjects make Thyillus fit company for some of the authors in either of the *Garlands*; there is no means of dating him more precisely.

### I

On a tree-girt fountain or spring sacred to Pan.

The correction of Θυηλάου to Θυίλλου was first suggested by Reiske and has been generally adopted since Jacobs in his second edition.

A.P. 6.170 (caret Pl) Θυηλάου ανάθημα τῶι Πανί; Suda s. vv. τανυμήκεις (1 καὶ αἰ – 2 ἰτέαι), ἀμφιλαφής (2), λιβάδα (3, om. Πανί), βοτηρικὰ κύπελλα (3 βοτ. κύπ.), κύπελλον (3 καὶ ταῦτα – 4). Zonaras s.v. βοτηρικά (3 βοτ. κύπ.)

αἱ πτελέαι τῶι Πανί καὶ αἱ τανυμήκεις αὐταὶ 360  
 ἰτέαι ἢ θ' ἱερὰ κάμφιλαφής πλάτανος  
 χαὶ λιβάδες καὶ ταῦτα βοτηρικὰ Πανί κύπελλα  
 ἄγκειται, δίψης φάρμακ' ἄλεξίκακα.

3 χαὶ Schaefer: καὶ P, Suda

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 9.29 (= Thallus iii).

**1 [360] τῶι Πανί:** sc. ἄγκειται (4), so it was rather clumsy to repeat Πανί (sc. ἄγκειται) in 3.

**τανυμήκεις:** here first, and not again except in *Orac. Sib.* 1.262 (of Mount Ararat).

**2 [361] ἱερὰ:** holy to Pan; cf. Thallus 9.220.2 = PG 3435 ἱερὰν φυλλάδα, of the πλατάνιστος, holy to Aphrodite.

**κάμφιλαφής πλάτανος:** cf. Plato *Phaedr.* 230b πλάτανος ἀμφιλαφής.

**3 [362] χαί:** much better than καί; all the other objects have the definite article or equivalent.

**4 [363] ἄγκειται:** ἄκινεται Ap. B., perhaps rightly; the singular number might be due to the fact that κύπελλα is the last in the series, but all the subjects are comprised, and the plural would be natural.

**δίψης φάρμακα:** in apposition to κύπελλα only (Paton). or to all the items (Waltz); the latter seems preferable.

### II

Epitaph for Aristion, servant of Cybele.

The resemblance to the preceding epigram, Philodemus 7.222 = PG xxvi, is slight; much closer is the relation to Rhianus 6.173 = HE vii.

A lively and on the whole well-phrased epigram, supposed by Peek (707) to be inscriptional.

A.P. 7.223, Pl<sup>a</sup> [CPl] Θυίλλου [J] εἰς Ἀρίστιον ζάκορον Κυβέλης; Suda s.v. ἄκρατος (3 ἢ τρις – 4)

ἡ κροτάλοις ὀρχηστρίς Ἀρίστιον, ἡ περὶ πεύκας  
 τὰς Κυβέλης πλοκάμους ῥίψαι ἐπισταμένη, 365

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ἡ λωτῶι κερρόεντι φορουμένη, ἡ τρίς ἐφεξῆς  
 εἶδυι' ἀκρήτου χειλοποτεῖν κύλικα,  
 5 ἐνθάδ' ὑπὸ πτελέαις ἀναπαύεται, οὐκέτ' ἔρωτι,  
 οὐκέτι παννυχίδων τερπομένη καμάτοις.  
 κῶμοι καὶ μανίαι, μέγα χαίρετε· κείθ' [370  
 ἡ τὸ πρὶν στεφάνων ἄνθεσι κρυπτομένη.

1 πεύκας Salmasius: πεύκαις PPl    2 τὰς Κυβέλης Page: καὶ Κυβέληι PPl  
 4 κύλικα Suda: κύλικας PPl    5 πτελέας P<sup>ao</sup>    7 *versum imperfectum reliquit*  
 P, post κείθ' suppl. ἀ μυρίπινους manus vet. (C, opinor); κεύθεται αἶδηι Pl  
 (κεύθε in rasura ut vid.)

Jacobs\* 9.306; Hecker 1852.235, 277.

**1 [364] κροτάλοις ὀρχηστρίς:** see the note on Rufinus 5.19 = *Rufinus* vi 2.  
 As Jacobs said, κροτάλοις does duty for σὺν κροτάλοις here.

**περὶ πεύκας:** see the note on Rhianus *loc. cit.* (Pref.): the πεύκαι are the  
 torches carried by the votaries.

No recognised use of *περὶ c. dat.* is applicable here; this fact and the relation  
 to Rhianus justify Salmasius' change to the accusative.

**2 [365] τὰς Κυβέλης:** καί is obviously wrong, leaving ἡ περὶ πεύκας too  
 isolated; and the dative Κυβέληι is unconvincing. Jacobs in his second edition  
 read καὶ περὶ πεύκαις | καὶ Κυβέληι, and translated *circum pinus Cybelae sacras*  
*et ipsam deam*, but his text will not bear this; Hecker (1843.212; 1852.235,  
 277) read τῇ Κυβέληι, but the definite article is disagreeable; the Budé  
 translator renders 'autour des torches de Cybèle', ignoring both καί and the  
 dative Κυβέληι; Beckby, keeping the manuscripts' text, translates 'um die  
 Fackeln und um Kybele's Bild'.

**πλοκάμους ῥίψαι:** for the tossing of the hair by Cybele's votaries, see the  
 note on Alcaeus 6.218.8 = *HE* 141.

**3-4 [366-7] λωτῶι κερρόεντι:** on λωτός, of a musical instrument, see the  
 note on Meleager 7.182.3-4 = *HE* 4682-3. On the horn-shape, κερρόεις, Ellis  
 on Catullus 63.22 *curvo...calamo*: 'a reed or cane bent at the lower end into a  
 horn, or having a horn-shaped extremity affixed there...', specially employed  
 in the ceremonials of Cybele', comparing Virg. *Aen.* 11.737 *curva...tibia*, Tibul-  
 lus 2.1.86 *Phrygio tibia curva sono*, Ovid *met.* 3.533 *adunco tibia cornu*.

**ἡ τρίς ἐφεξῆς:** the model is Callimachus 7.454 = *HE* lxii τὸν βαθὺν οἶνο-  
 πότην 'Ἐρασίζενον ἡ δις ἐφεξῆς | ἀκρήτου προποθεῖσ' ὦχετ' ἔχουσα κύλιξ.

**ἀκρήτου:** see the note on Rufinus 5.12 = *Rufinus* ii 1.

**χειλοποτεῖν:** χανδοποτεῖν J. G. Schneider and Mitscherlich independently,  
 but the change is not necessary; cf. Gaetulicus 216-17 τετράκις ἀμορρώας  
 περὶ χεῖλεσι χεῖλα θεῖσα | Σειληνὶς πάσας ἐξερόφησε τρύγας.

**κύλικα:** this is one of the few places where the Suda has preserved a true  
 reading not found in P or Pl. The singular number is surely correct; one may  
 drink three cups in succession, but one drinks one cup thrice. The singular  
 is normal in such contexts: cf. Callimachus *loc. cit.* ἡ δις ἐφεξῆς...κύλιξ, anon.  
 7.329.2 ἄφθονον ἀκρήτου σπασσαμένην κύλικα.

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**6 [369] καμάτοις:** so, of Bacchic revels, E. Ba. 66 πόνον ἡδὺν κάματόν τ' εὐκάματον.

**7 [370] κεῖθ' :** κεύθεται "Αἰδιη is presumably Planudes' own supplement. κεῖθ' (= κείται) is probably right, and what followed must have made an antithesis with ἄνθεσι κρυπτομένη, *she lies under (= is hidden by) the earth – she who was formerly veiled with flowers; e.g. κεῖθ' ὑπὸ γαίῃ, βώλωι, or the like.* Some such antithesis seems needed to justify the otherwise unnatural word κρυπτομένη (θρυπτομένη Diltthey) with ἄνθεσι.

### III

On the return of spring and the sailing-season.

One of a series on a common theme; see the Preface to Satyrus 1. Thyillus follows Leonidas closely, and has his eye on Antipater and Argentarius too; he is much inferior to his models.

A.P. 10.5 Θυίλου, Pl<sup>A</sup> Θυίλλου

ἦδη πηλοδομεῦσι χελιδόνες, ἦδη ἄν' οἶδμα  
 κολποῦται μαλακάς εἰς ὀθόνας Ζέφυρος,  
 ἦδη καὶ λειμῶνες ὑπὲρ πετάλων ἐχέαντο  
 ἄνθεα καὶ τρηχὺς σῖγα μέμυκε πόρος. 375  
 5 σχοίνους μηρύεσθε, ἐφ' ὀλκάδα φορτίζεσθε  
 ἄγκυρας καὶ πᾶν λαῖφος ἔφεσθε κάλοις.  
 ταῦτ' ὕμιν πλώουσιν ἐπ' ἐμπορίην ὁ Πρίηπος  
 ὁ λιμενορμίτης ναυτιλίην γράφομαι.

5 ἐπολκάδα P 6 ὕφεσθε P 7 ταῦθ' ὕμιν Pl 8 ωλιμενορμητης P  
 ναυτιλίῃ Pl

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 9.305; Hecker 1843.340, 1852.213.

**1 [372] πηλοδομεῦσι:** taken from Argentarius 10.4.5–6 χελιδῶν... πηλοδομεῖ θάλαμον; the verb not elsewhere.

**2 [373] κολποῦται... Ζέφυρος:** Thyillus is independent of his models here, and his phrasing is far-fetched. As Hecker said, the meaning is *Zephyrus vela sinuat*, and the preposition εἰς (which Hecker thought corrupt) is not wanted; cf. Lucian *VH* 1.9 ἀνεμος... κολπώσας τὴν ὀθόνην. The sense intended, however, is as given by Dübner, *quaesita subtilitate... Zephyrum in sinuata ab se vela receptum sinuari ipsum dicit*; the wind *curves itself into* the sails.

**3–4 [374–5] λειμῶνες... ἄνθεα:** *the meadows have shed flowers over their green leaves*, as Paton translates (ἐχέαντο middle for active, as in Hom. *Il.* 8.159 βέλεα... χέοντο; cf. γράφομαι below). This odd phrase is an unsuccessful attempt to improve upon the models, Leonidas λειμῶνες δ' ἄνθεῦσι, Antipater λειμῶνων δ' ἄβρα γελᾷ πέταλα, Argentarius ἄνθεα δ' ἀντέλλουσι κατὰ χθόνα.

**τρηχὺς... πόρος:** *the strait has closed its lips in silence*; cf. Cometis 15.40.6 μεμυκῶς χεῖλεα σιγῇ. Leonidas has σεσίγηκεν δὲ θάλασσα | κύμασι καὶ τρηχεῖ πνεύματι βρασσομένη.

**5 [376] σχοίνους μηρύεσθε:** σχοῖνος, though it may mean *rope*, is not a normal term for any part of a ship's tackle (Morrison and Williams *Greek Oared*

## THYILLUS

*Ships* 301), and it is strange that Thyillus did not use the obvious word *σχοινία*. He is copying Antipater's *μηρύσασθε... πείσματα* (= *σχοινία*, *πρυμνήσια*, *stern-cables*) which itself reflects Leonidas' *ἐκλύσαιο γύαia* (= *λῦσον... πρυμνήσια* in Argentarius, *πρυμνήσια λύετε* in Satyrus). Where Leonidas says, more simply, *cast off the stern-cables*, Antipater and Thyillus say *draw them in*, i.e. haul them aboard (after they have been cast off).

*μηρύεσθε, ἐφ'*: on the hiatus, see Parmenon 277 n. *μηρύεσθ', ἐπὶ θ'* (Jacobs) would be preferable to *μηρύεσθαι* (Hecker), but there is no certainty that the hiatus indicates corruption.

*ἐφ' δλκᾶδα φορτίζεσθε*: much simpler and better in the models, Leonidas *ἀγκύρας ἀνέλοιο*, Antipater *ἔλκετε δ' ἀγκύρας... ἐκ λιμένων*.

6 [377] *ἔφεσθε*: this is probably a conjecture by Planudes, and is not to be accepted without reserve. P's *λαῖφος ὕφεσθε* = *contract or lower sail*, the reverse of what is required here (*πᾶσαν ἐφείς δόδονην* in the model, Leonidas), and if it is the true reading Thyillus cannot be acquitted of the charge of ignorance; his use of *σχοῖνος* for *σχοινία* raises a doubt whether he was accurate in his use of nautical terms.

7-8 [378-9] The relation to Leonidas and Antipater is very close, but the Muse of Thyillus has worked hard on his behalf to produce a disjointed word-order (= *ταῦτα ὑμῖν γράφομαι ναυτιλίην πλώουσιν ἐπ' ἐμπορίην*), a fancy middle for active in *γράφομαι*, exotic prosody (but this comes from his model, *ὁ λιμενίτας* in Leonidas), and a purple patch, *ὑμῖν* for *ὑμῖν*.

*ναυτιλίην πλώουσιν*: cf. [Opp.] *Cym.* 2.219 *ναυτιλίην πλώνοντες*.

## TRYPHON

There is no other record of an epigrammatist named Tryphon; the modern editors wisely refrain from identifying him with the well-known scholar of that name. The addition in Planudes, *τοῦ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ*, remains enigmatic. The context of the epigram in *A.P.* (two by Palladas) gives no help. See Wendel *RE* 7 A 726.

The subject of the epigram and the familiarity with the Carneian *Σκιάδες* point rather to the late Hellenistic or early Imperial than to any later period.

### I

On the strange death of Terpes; somebody threw a fig which struck him in the mouth while he was singing; it choked him, and he died.

The story recalls the popular tale about Anacreon's death, that he was choked by a grape-pip, and it has something in common with Leonidas 7.504 = *HE* lxvi (imitated by Apollonides 7.702 = *PG* xii) on a fisherman choked by swallowing a fish. Peek 1322, an inscription dated II-III A.D., describes a similar death, choking by a fish, if the supplement is correct, [*χθυ*]βόρος δ' ἀφάτως λαιμός ἐκλείσει πνοάς; but the closest parallel is the story told by Suetonius *Claud.* 27 about the death of Drusus, son of the emperor Claudius and Urgulanilla, *Drusum... amisit, piro per lusum in sublime iactato et hiatu oris excepto strangulatum*.

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The scene is the Carneian festival at Sparta, and 'Terpes' is probably Terpander, the famous musician and poet from Antissa in Lesbos, who lived at Sparta in the mid-seventh century B.C. (see 1 n.).

A.P. 9.488, P1<sup>A</sup> [JPI] Τρύφωνος [PI] τοῦ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ [J] εἰς Τέρπην τὴν κιθαρωιδὸν τελευτήσασαν ὑπὸ πληγῆς σύκου [PI] εἰς Τέρπην κιθαρωιδὸν ἐν Σκιάδεσσι τῆς Λακωνικῆς σύκῳ πληγέντᾳ καὶ θανόντᾳ

Τέρπης εὐφόρμιγγα κρέκων, Σκιάδεσσιν αἰδῶν, 380  
 κάτθανε νοστήσας ἐν Λακεδαιμονίοις,  
 οὐκ ἄορι πληγείς οὐδ' οὖν βέλει, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ σύκῳ,  
 χεῖλεα. φεῦ, προφάσεων οὐκ ἄπορεῖ θάνατος.

1 Τέρπην P αἰδῶν P: αἰδός PI, αἰδουσ' J 2 κάτθαν εν ο στησας P, κάτθαν' εν ο στησας' J, κάτθανεν ο στησας C, κάτθανεν ἐξαπίνης PI 3 οὖν βέλει ἀλλ' ἐνὶ Reiske: ἐν βέλει ἀλλ' ἐνὶ PPI

Jacobs\* 10.296.

1 [380] **Τέρπης**: it looks as though Τέρπης is a shortened form of Τέρπανδρος, for (a) this story was told about Terpander: Suda s.v. γλυκὺ μέλι καὶ πνιξάτω· Τερπάνδρου διδόντος καὶ κεχηνότος πρὸς τὴν ὥιδην ἐμβαλὼν τις εἰς τὸν φάρυγγα σῦκον ἀπέπνιξε, proverb. app. Coislin. 1.77 Τέρπανδρος γὰρ σῦκα ἐσθίων ἐπνίγη; and (b) the scene is the Carneian festival at Sparta, with which Terpander was closely associated: Athen. 15.635E τὰ Κάρνεια πρῶτος πάντων Τέρπανδρος νικᾷ, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος ἱστορεῖ, ἐν τε τοῖς ἐμμέτροις Καρνεονίκαις καὶ τοῖς καταλογάδην. The alternative is, as Jacobs said, to suppose that 'Terpander' is a mistake for 'Terpes' in the passages quoted under (a) above.

The lemmatist 'J' misbehaves here as seldom elsewhere: thinking that Terpes is a female, he introduces her into the epigram at heavy cost.

**κρέκων**: a common verb in such contexts; Ar. Av. 682, Mnasalces 7.192.4 = HE 2650, Meleager 7.196.6 = HE 4071, Archias 7.191.3 = PG 3712, anon. 9.584.3.

**Σκιάδεσσι**: tent-like rotundas specially associated with the Carneian festival; Athen. 4.141E Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Σκήψιος τὴν τῶν Καρνείων φησὶν ἐορτὴν παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις μῖμημα εἶναι στρατιωτικῆς ἀγωγῆς· τόπους μὲν γὰρ εἶναι ἑννέα τῷ ἀριθμῷ, Σκιάδες δὲ οὗτοι καλοῦνται σκηναῖς ἔχοντες παραπλήσιόν τι. The Carneian Σκιάδες are not to be confused with the Σκιάς of which Pausanias writes in 3.12.8, ἑτέρα δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐστὶν ἕξοδος, καθ' ἣν πεποιετὰ σφισι καλουμένη Σκιάς, ἐνθα καὶ νῦν ἐτι ἐκκλησιάζουσι (cf. Et. Mag. s.v. σκιάς).

**εὐφόρμιγγα**: neuter plural, = μολπὴν εὐφόρμιγγα (Opp. Hal. 5.618).

αἰδῶν, an unnecessary and improbable change, has been accepted from Salmasius by all later editors (including Jacobs, though he thought εὐ φόρμιγγα ... αἰδῶν *fortasse verum*).

2 [381] **κάτθανε νοστήσας**: neither the lemmatist in P (who appended ζήτηι to mark his bewilderment) nor Planudes (who invented ἐξαπίνης) saw that the tradition points unmistakably to κάτθανε νοστήσας. νοστήσας seems an odd word here, and the editors have proposed such improbable alternatives

## TRYPHON

as ὀχθήσας (Jacobs), ἀνοστήσας (Boissonade), ἀνωίστως (Lumb), and ἑορτασταῖς (Stadtmüller). Beckby and the Budé edition retain νοστήσας, translating 'wohin heim er gekommen', 'à peine de retour', and this is presumably correct: what is said is that he 'died among the Lacedaemonians, having come back'; we are invited to assume that the story connected the strange death of Terpes (or rather Terpander) with a particular occasion when he returned to Sparta from abroad.

3-4 [382-3] οὐκ ἄορι... χεῖλεα: οὐδ' ἐν βέλει οὐδ' ἐνὶ σύγκωι χεῖλεα, sc. πληγαῖς, is gibberish. Reiske restored good sense at small cost (the Budé edition prefers οὐδ' αὖ): what struck him on the mouth was neither sword nor missile of war but a single fig. ἐνὶ = μόνωι, as ἓνα Βάκχον = μόνον Βάκχον in Antiphanes 9.258.5 = PG 751; Gow on Theocr. 7.125.

## XENOCRITUS OF RHODES

Nothing more is known about this bearer of the not very common name Xenocritus. 7.291 owes its position in *A.P.* to its theme, as one of numerous epigrams on persons lost at sea; its immediate neighbours are Statyllius Flaccus (probably early first century A.D.) and Theon of Alexandria (fifth century A.D.) The epigram would be at home in either of the two *Garlands*, and might be of any date from the third century B.C. to the first half of the first century A.D.

The other epigram, *A.Plan.* 186, is attributed to 'Xenocrates' by Jacobs, Dübner, and Paton; this is an error which goes back as far as Lascaris. Planudes' heading is plainly written, *Ξενοκρίτου* (correctly given only by Radinger *Rh. Mus.* 58 (1903) 304 and Beckby). The only evidence for an epigrammatist named Xenocrates is in fact not this epigram but the other one, 7.291, which the editors have always assigned to Xenocritus: the Corrector there first wrote *Ξενοκράτους* and then corrected this to *Ξενοκρίτου*.

### I

On Lysidice, lost at sea. The epigram is probably inscriptional.

The drowned woman's cenotaph has a *stele* inscribed with her name and country (4 Λυσιδική Ἀριστομάχου Κυμαία), and doubtless with a sculpture (most probably in relief) in which her hair is so portrayed that the poet can say that it appears to be still dripping with salt water.

A.P. 7.291, Pl<sup>B</sup> [CPl] *Ξενοκρίτου* [C] 'Ροδίου [J] εἰς Λυσιδικὴν ναυαγῆσασαν Κυμαίαν

χαῖταί σου στάζουσιν ἔθ' ἄλμυρά, δῦσμορε κούρη  
ναυηγέ, φθιμένης εἰν ἄλλί, Λυσιδική.  
ἧ γὰρ ὀρινομένου πόντου, δείσασα θαλάσσης  
ῥυβριν, ὑπέκ κοίλου δούρατος ἐξέπεσες.

5 καὶ σὸν μὲν φωνεῖ τάφος οὖνομα καὶ χθόνα Κύμην,

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ὅστέα δὲ ψυχρῶι κλύζετ' ἐπ' αἰγιαλῶι,  
πικρὸν Ἀριστομάχῳ γενέτῃ κακόν, ὃς σε κομίζων 390  
ἐς γάμον οὔτε κόρην ἤγαγεν οὔτε νέκυν.

1 δύσμορα Pac κούρα P 2 ναηγοῦ Pl 4 ὑπέκ Page: ὑπέρ PPl 5  
Κύμην Salmasius: κύμιν P, Ταρσόν Pl 6 κλύζετ' P: κλύζ' Pl 7-8  
tamquam peculiare epigramma in P, addito lemmate (J) εἰς τὴν θυγατέρα  
'Αριστομάχου ναυαγήσασαν

Jacobs\* 9.255; Hecker 1852.93-4.

1 [384] **στάζουσιν ἔθ' ἄλμυρά:** see Pref.; Ovid *met.* 11.691, of Ceyx shipwrecked, *adhuc humente capillo*.

2 [385] **ναυηγέ:** -γοῦ Pl, perhaps finding the genitive φθιμένης otherwise too isolated between the vocatives at this distance from σου.

3-4 [386-7] **δείσσα:** the relation of the participle to the main verb is not quite satisfactory ('in fear at the violence of the storm, she fell overboard') and some (e.g. the Budé translator) have thought δείσσα obscure or even corrupt. The fault, such as it is, may be imputed to the author. Jacobs made a closer connection: *puellam puta, in maris tumultu aut spiritus deliquium prae timore passam aut vertigine captam, ex nave excidisse*; but this is far-fetched.

**ὑπέκ:** *away from*, as in Homeric ὑπέκ θανάτοιο. ὑπέρ will not do: πίπτειν ὑπέρ νηός (= κοίλου δούρατος) means *fall over a ship*, as a wave may, Hom. *Il.* 15.382 (κύμα) νηός ὑπέρ τοίχων καταβήσεται. ἐκπίπτειν ὑπέρ νηός could only mean 'fall out (of something) over a ship'; Lysidike may fall out of the ship, she cannot fall over the ship.

6 [389] **ψυχρῶι:** as in Antipater of Thessalonica 7.288.4 = PG 400 ψυχρῇι τῇιδε παρ' ἡϊόνι; cf. Zonas 7.404.1-2 = PG 3464-5 ψυχράν... αἰγιαλίτιν | θίνα.

8 [391] **οὔτε κόρην... οὔτε νέκυν:** cf. Antiphanes 9.245.5-6 = PG 739-40 ἦν δὲ γυναῖκα | ἐλπίς ἰδεῖν, ἀφνωσ ἔσχομεν οὐδὲ νέκυν, of a bride devoured by dogs.

## II

On a statue of *Hermes*.

The ordinary *Hermæ* were blocks with heads but no hands or feet (Plut. *an seni* 28, 797F τῶν Ἑρμῶν τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἀχειρας καὶ ἀποδας... δημιουργοῦσιν); in the *palaestra*, of which ἐναγώνιος Ἑρμῆς is the president deity, he needs hands and feet for running and boxing. The general sense of the epigram is: 'Here you see me, an ordinary Herm without hands or feet; when it comes to making a statue of me for the *palaestra*, remember that I need arms and legs there.'

A.Plan. (Pl<sup>A</sup>) 186 Ξενοκρίτου εἰς ἀγαλμα Ἑρμοῦ

Ἑρμῆς ὥκὺς ἐγὼ κικλήσκομαι. ἀλλὰ παλαιστρῇ  
μὴ κόλοβον χειρῶν ἴστατε μὴδ' ἄποδα·  
ἦ πῶς ὥκὺς ἐγὼ, πῶς δ' ὄρθια χειρονομήσω,  
ἐς βάσιν ἀμφοτέρων ὀρφανὸς ἰστάμενος;

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Jacobs\* 8.184.

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**3 [394]** χειρονομήσω = πυκτεύσω (Sud. s.v.) as in Pausanias 6.10.2, of the famous boxer Glaucus, ἐπιτηδειότατος τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν χειρονομήσαι πεφυκώς.

**4 [395]** ἐς βάσιν: with ἰσάμενος, as if it were ἐν βάσει.

## ZELOTUS

Nothing more is known about Zelotus, whose name is of the rarest. The preceding epigram in *A.P.*, 9.30, is headed Ζηλωτοῦ, οἱ δὲ Βασσοῦ in P, simply Ζηλωτοῦ in Pl; 9.31 is headless in P, τοῦ αὐτοῦ (meaning Zelotus) in Pl.

9.30 runs as follows (= Bassus xi in *PG*):

ἐκλάσθην ἐπὶ γῆς ἀνέμῳ πίτυς· ἐς τί με πόντῳ  
στέλλετε, ναυηγὸν κλῶνα πρὸ ναυτιλίας;

It is a fair guess that the resemblance of ἐς τί πίτυν πελάγει πιστεύετε to πίτυς· ἐς τί με πόντῳ στέλλετε is not fortuitous, and that 9.30 is an attempt to reduce 9.31 to a single couplet. There is no certainty that the two are by different authors, though the doubt expressed in P's heading to 9.30 makes it quite likely that one of the two was by Bassus, one by Zelotus. In *PG* the shorter version was given to Bassus, and the longer one is therefore given here to Zelotus. This is a makeshift procedure, for none of the doubts can be resolved.

The context of the epigram in *A.P.* offers no indication of its source; it would be wholly at home in Philip's *Garland*, and the first half of the first century A.D. is the likeliest date.

### I

On a ship made of timber from a tree felled by the wind.

*A.P.* 9.31 s.a.n., Pl<sup>A</sup> τοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. Ζηλωτοῦ) [J] εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὁμοίως ὑπὸ νότου ἐκριζωθεῖσαν καὶ μέλλουσαν κατασκευάζεσθαι ναῦν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μεμφομένην

ἐς τί πίτυν πελάγει πιστεύετε, γομφωτῆρες,  
ῆς πολὺς ἐξ ὀρέων ῥίζαν ἔλυσεν νότος;  
αἴσιον οὐκ ἔσομαι πόντου σκάφος. ἐχθρὸν ἀήταις  
δένδρεον ἐν χέρσῳ τὰς ἀλὸς οἶδα τύχας.

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Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 10.183.

## ZEUXIS

### I

A reply to Parrhasius.

On the question of authenticity, see Parrhasius Pref. This epigram, whether authentic or not, was composed as a retort to Parrhasius II, challenging the latter's claim to supremacy in art.

Bergk's suggestion, that such epigrams were exhibited on tablets in the artists' workshops for all comers to see, is particularly attractive in the present case; the alternative is to suppose that they were written on, or beside, the artists' paintings.

## ZEUXIS

Aristid. or. 29.89, II 170 K. ἄκουε δὴ καὶ ἑτέρου ζωγράφου, ὡς μὲν σὺ φαίης ἄν ἀλαζευομένου, ὡς δὲ οἱ ταῦτα δεινοὶ λέγουσιν οὐ μείζον ἢ προσήκον φρονήσαντος. λέγει δὲ τί;

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‘Ἡράκλεια πατρίς, Ζεῦξις δ’ ὄνομ’· εἰ δέ τις ἀνδρῶν  
 ἡμετέρης τέχνης πείρατά φησιν ἔχειν,  
 δείξας νικάτω <  
 > δοκῶ δ’ ἡμᾶς οὐχὶ τὰ δεύτερ’ ἔχειν.

3-4 δείξας νικάτω· δοκῶ δέ, φησίν, ἡμᾶς κτλ. Aristid.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 8.186, <sup>b</sup>App. 211; 2 p. 318 Bergk; 1 p. 111 Diehl.

1 [400] ‘Ἡράκλεια: Zeuxis (as he calls himself; ‘Zeuxippus’ more fully and formally in Plato’s *Protagoras*) was a native of the south Italian town Heraclea in Lucania.

ὄνομ’: elision at the bucolic diaeresis is very rare in epigrams; see *PG* I.xlii, ‘Simonides’ 684, 802, 908, Hadrian 2143.

3 [402] νικάτω: implying a competition; see Parrhasius Pref.

4 [403] τὰ δεύτερ’ ἔχειν: to win the second place in the competition.

Zeuxis was a match for Parrhasius in arrogance, if the stories are not pure fiction: Pliny *h.n.* 35.62 *opes quoque tantas adquisivit ut in ostentationem earum Olympiae aureis litteris in palliorum tesseris intextum nomen suum ostentaret. postea donare opera sua instituit, quod nullo pretio satis digno permutari posse diceret*; and more to the same effect.

## ZOSIMUS OF THASOS

Nothing else is known about this author, whose name is not uncommon. Nor do the contexts of the epigrams in *A.P.* offer any clue to their source. 6.183-5 appear in a group of epigrams on the same theme by Archias, Alexander Magnes, Diocles, and Alpheus. Nothing is known of Alexander, but the others are authors of the period of Philip’s *Garland* or (as perhaps Archias) earlier, and Alexander and Zosimus may cohere with them. 6.15 is a member of a group which includes epigrams by Leonidas, Antipater of Sidon, and Archias, but the first of the series is Byzantine, and an early date for Zosimus cannot be safely inferred from the company he keeps in that place. 9.40 is placed with two others on the same theme, one by Theon and one by Leonides of Alexandria.

Thus the date of Zosimus remains uncertain; no more can be said than that his epigrams are very like those of certain authors within the period 150 B.C.-A.D. 50. His treatment of the ‘Three Hunters’ theme is conventional: 6.15 is among the plainest of the fifteen epigrams on this theme; 6.183 has a single flower of fancy, the phrase ἀγκύλος ἰχνελάτης; 6.184 is thoroughly conventional in style; 6.185 has two purple patches, the epithets πτηνολέτιν and μιτορροφές; 9.40 has hiatus in the middle of an hexameter, a phenomenon which makes a date within the period of Meleager’s *Garland* improbable (see the note).

## ZOSIMUS OF THASOS

### I

On the fowler, the hunter, and the fisherman.

See the Preface to Satyrius 1. As this epigram was not given to Antipater of Sidon in *HE* in spite of the primary heading in P, it is given to Zosimus here; but the doubt about the authorship cannot be resolved.

A.P. 6.15 τοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. Ἀντιπάτρου Σιδωνίου), οἱ δὲ Ζωσίμου, P1<sup>A</sup> Ζωσίμου [PPI] εἰς τὸ αὐτό

εἰναλίῳν Κλείτωρ τάδε δίκτυα, τετραπόδων δέ  
Δᾶμις καὶ Πίγρης θῆκεν ὑπερίων  
Πανί, κασιγνήτων ἱερὴ τριάς. ἀλλὰ σὺ θήρην  
ἥερί κῆν πόντῳ κῆν χθονὶ τοῖσδε νέμε.

Jacobs\* 8.24 (= Antipater Sidonius xvi).

2 [405] ὑπερίων: the word appears in Hippocrates *vict.* 2.63 (in the open air) and Ap.Rhod. 4.1577 (of the sea, misty).

### II

On the same.

A.P. 6.183, P1<sup>A</sup> [PPI] Ζωσίμου Θασίου εἰς τὸ αὐτό; Suda s.v. ἥερος (5 καὶ διὰ – 6)

σοὶ τάδε, Πάν, θηρευταὶ ἀνηρτήσαντο σύναιμοι  
δίκτυα, τριχθαδίας δῶρα κυναγεσίης,  
Πίγρης μὲν πτανῶν, Κλείτωρ ἀλός, ὃς δ' ἀπὸ χέρσου  
Δᾶμις τετραπόδων ἀγκύλος ἰχνελάτης.  
5 ἀλλὰ σὺ κῆν δρυμοῖσι καὶ εἰν ἀλὶ καὶ διὰ μέσσης  
ἥερος εὖαγρον τοῖσδε δίδου κάματον.

1 θηρευταὶ Hecker: -τὰ P 2 κυνηγ- P1 3 πτην- P1

Jacobs\* 10.298; Hecker 1852.236.

1 [408] θηρευταῖ: see Herodicus 234 n.

2 [409] τριχθαδίας: this example, Opp. *Hal.* 1.374, and [Opp.] *Cyn.* 1.47 should be added to LSJ's citations of this very rare word; Paulus 5.244.4 (conjectural), 5.260.7, Agathias 9.482.23, 'Aesara' (daughter of Pythagoras) *ap. Stob. ecl.* 1.49.27 = 1.355 W.-H.

4 [411] ἀγκύλος: the sense *crafty, wily*, familiar in ἀγκυλομήτης, is very rare in the simple adjective; first in Lyc. *Alex.* 3.44. Cf. Alciphron 3.28(64).1 ὡς ἀν...λόγων τινὰς σκινδαλμοὺς ἐκμαθὼν ἐριστικὸς καὶ ἀγκύλος τὴν γλῶσσαν γένηται.

ἰχνελάτης: the form here only, but Plutarch has ἰχνηλάτης.

5 [412] δρυμοῖσι: as in the parallel epigrams by Leonidas 6.13.6 διὰ δρυμῶν, and Alexander Magnes, 6.182.5 (= 11 above) ἀπὸ δρυμῶν.

## III

On the same.

A.P. 6.184, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPI] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. Ζωσίμου) εἰς τὸ αὐτό; Suda s.v. βολίς (3-4)

τρισσὰ τάδε τρισσοὶ θηραγρέται, ἄλλος ἅπ' ἄλλης  
τέχνης, πρὸς νηῶι Πανὸς ἔθεντο λῖνα, 415  
Πίγρης μὲν πτανοῖσιν ἑφείς βόλον, ἐν δ' ἁλίοισι  
Κλείτωρ, ἐν θηρσὶν Δᾶμις ἐρημονόμοις.  
5 τοῦνεκα, Πάν, τὸν μὲν τε δι' αἰθέρος, ὃν δ' ἀπὸ λόχμης,  
τὸν δὲ δι' αἰγιαλῶν θὲς πολυαγρότερον.

2 τέχνας P 3 πτανοῖσιν P, Suda: πτην- Pl v. 3 post v. 4 scr. P<sup>ac</sup>  
5 μὲν τι Pl

Jacobs\* 10.298.

4 [417] ἐρημονόμοις: earlier only Ap. Rhod. 4.1333.

5 [418] μὲν τε: this would pass without comment in Homer (Denniston *Greek Particles*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1954) 530) but is abnormal in epigrams at any date. The desire to change τε is understandable, but it is not safe to alter what has Homeric authority, and none of the proposed changes is attractive (τι Planudes, γε Jacobs, τὰ Lumb). Cf. Peek 1388 (III B.C.) χαῖρε, Κρίτων· σοὶ μὲν τε καὶ εἰν 'Αἶδαο κτλ.

6 [419] πολυαγρότερον: unique but not particularly colourful; Pollux has πολυαγρία.

## IV

On the same.

A.P. 6.185, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPI] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. Ζωσίμου) εἰς τὸ αὐτό

βριθὺ μὲν ἀγραύλων τόδε δίκτυον ἄνθετο θηρῶν 420  
Δᾶμις, καὶ Πίγρης πτηνολέτιν νεφέλην,  
ἀπλωτὸν δ' ἅλι τοῦτο μιτορραφεὲς ἀμφίβληστρον  
Κλείτωρ, εὐθήρῳ Πανὶ προσευξάμενοι.  
5 τοῦνεκα, Πάν, κρατερῶι πόρε Δάμιδι ληΐδα θηρῶν,  
Πίγρηι δ' οἰωνῶν, Κλείτορι δ' εἰναλίων. 425

3 ἀπλωτὸν Lobeck: ἀπλότατον PPl 6 Πίγρηι τ' P<sup>sscr</sup>

Jacobs\* 10.298.

2 [421] πτηνολέτιν: here only, but the type is common, e.g. Philip A. Plan. 104.4 = PG 3093 θηρολέτης, anon. 9.525.4 and 5 γιγαντολέτης, δρακοντολέτης.

νεφέλην: see Satyrius 324 n.

3 [422] ἀπλωτόν: not elsewhere, but a certain emendation (overlooked by the Thesaurus and LSJ); cf. anon. 10.9.3 δίκτυα δ' ἀπλώσασθε, Agathias 6.167.5 δίκτυά τ' ἐν ῥοθίοις ἀπλούμενα. ἀπλότατον makes no sense in this context.

## ZOSIMUS OF THASOS

μιτορραφές: here only.

4 [423] εὐθήρῳι: first in E. *Ba.* 1253, and fairly common; Maccius 6.89.3 = *PG* 2510.

5 [424] κρατερῳι: the rules of the game required that the names should not carry such otiose epithets.

### V

On a soldier saved by his shield from drowning.

See the Preface to Diocles 9.109 = *PG* iii, quoting Arrian *Alex.* 1.19.4, Leonides of Alexandria 9.42, and Theon 9.41. The four epigrams have little but the theme in common.

A.P. 9.40, Pl<sup>A</sup> [CPl] Ζωσίμου Θασίου [J] εἰς τὴν Ἀναξαμένους (sic) ἀσπίδα, ὅτι καὶ ἐν ναυαγίαι περιπεσὼν ἐπὶ ταύτης ἐνήξατο καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ πολλάκις δι' αὐτὴν ἐρρύσθη θανάτου

οὐ μόνον ὑσμήνησι καὶ ἐν στονόεντι κυδοιμῳ  
 ῥύοι' ἀρειτόλμου θυμὸν Ἀναξιμένους,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ πόντου, ὁπότε' ἔσχισε νῆα θάλασσα,  
 ἀσπίς, ἐφ' ἡμετέρης νηζάμενον σανίδος.

5 εἰμὶ δὲ κῆν πελάγει καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὸς ἑλπίς ἐκείνῳι, 430  
 τὸν θρασὺν ἐκ διπλῶν ῥυσαμένη θανάτων.

2 Ἀναξιμένους Pl: Ἀνιξαμένους P 4 νηζάμενον Pl: -μένης P 6 θανάτων  
 Pl: θάνατον P

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 10.298.

2 [427] ἀρειτόλμου: here only; *daring in battle*, as ἀρείφατος = *slain in battle*.

3 [428] Hiatus at the masculine caesura is not allowed by the authors in Meleager's *Garland*; there are only two breaches of the rule, Aratus 12.129.5 = *HE* 764 and Thymocles 12.32.1 = *HE* 3596. In *PG* there are three examples in Antipater of Thessalonica and four in Crinagoras, elsewhere only Antiphilus 9.263.1 = 1073 and Erucius 7.36.1 = 2262. In the present collection, only here, 'Plato' 616, and anon. 1510.

## AUTHORS WHO MAY BE LATER THAN A.D. 50

### AESOPUS

It is still necessary to state that this epigram is not the work of Aesop the celebrated fable-teller. This truth should be obvious; it has not even yet prevailed. Brunck included this author among the early poets, assuming that he was Aesop; Jacobs (in his *catalogus poetarum*) took the identification for granted and compared the epigram with Theognis and Solon; Pauly-Wissowa in 1893 made no separate entry for the epigrammatist; Paton's Index calls him simply 'Aesop', as if he were the fable-teller; and Beckby, although he puts

## AESOPUS

brackets round the name in his text (without reason given), frankly dates him 'c. 550 B.C.' in his list of poets. Bergk of course had seen the truth: *est autem satis noviciū poema* (PLG 2.64, followed by Diehl *Anth. Lyr. Gr.* 1.131, *pseudo-Aesopus* in the note).

### I

On the blessings and burdens of life.

The epigram is simple in vocabulary and phrasing, and there is nothing to indicate any particular date. The *Anthology* has nothing else much like it in theme and tone, at least before Palladas. Leonidas 7.742 = *HE* lxxvii and Posidippus 9.359 = *HE* xxii (with the reply by Metrodorus; cf. Agathias 5.302) have something in common with Aesopus but are much more elaborate. The anonymous and undatable epigram 10.118 comes fairly close; but the best parallel is Menander *Hypobolimaëus* 416\* (p. 314 Sandbach), quoted by Mackail:

τοῦτον εὐτυχέστατον λέγω,  
ὅστις θεωρήσας ἀλύπως, Παρμένων,  
τὰ σεμνὰ ταῦτ' ἀπῆλθεν ὄθεν ἦλθεν ταχύ,  
τὸν ἥλιον τὸν κοινόν, ἄστρ', ὕδωρ, νέφη,  
πῦρ κτλ.

A.P. 10.123 Αἰσώπου, P1<sup>B</sup> s.a.n.

πῶς τις ἄνευ θανάτου σε φύγοι, βίε; μυρία γάρ σευ  
λυγρὰ, καὶ οὔτε φυγεῖν εὐμαρὲς οὔτε φέρειν.  
ἡδέα μὲν γάρ σευ τὰ φύσει καλὰ, γαῖα, θάλασσα,  
ἄστρα, σεληναίης κύκλα καὶ ἡλίου, 435  
5 τᾶλλα δὲ πάντα φόβοι τε καὶ ἄλγεα· κῆν τι πάθῃ τις  
ἔσθλόν, ἀμοιβαίην ἐκδέχεται Νέμεσιν.

3 σευ Kalinka: σου PPI

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 6.194; 2 p. 64 Bergk; 1 p. 131 Diehl.

1 [432] πῶς...βίε: ἄνευ καμάτου Meineke, ἂν εὐθάνατος Stadtmüller. The changes are unconvincing, but were not made without good cause, for the question 'how can one escape from living except by dying?' is a silly one, whatever form of words is used to veil the inanity ('Life, how shall one escape thee without death?', Paton and Shane Leslie, and similarly Mackail; 'Kann man wohl, ohne zu sterben, dir, Leben, entfliehen?', Beckby; *quo pacto quis sine morte te fugiat, o vita?*, Dübner).

There are two possible ways of making sense: (a) by supposing that these lines are an extract from a longer poem; e.g. '(Death is a blessing), for life is intolerable, and there is no other way out of it'; (b) by taking πῶς φύγοι as a wish (LSJ s.v. πῶς II 1 b), 'How I wish that there was some way, other than death, of escaping the evils of life.'

φύγοι: Schaefer and Meineke thought φύγοι without ἂν incorrect and conjectured φύγη. The optative with ἂν would indeed be normal (K.-G. 1.235), but the omission of ἂν here seems of the same type as in A. *Cho.* 594 τίς λέγοι, S. *Ant.* 605 τίς...κατάσχοι, Posidippus 9.359.1 = *HE* 3180 ποίην τις βίοτοιο τάμοι τρίβον, [Opp.] *Cyn.* 1.67 τίς τάδε τολμήσειεν;

## ATHENAEUS

The name Athenaeus is quite common; there is no other record of a poet so called. Nor is there any clue to his date, which may lie beyond the limits of the present collection. There is no close parallel to the subject-matter of his epigrams, and the context of 9.496 in *A.P.* is no help. It stands in a miscellaneous block between hexameters spoken by Agamemnon and a quotation from Crates; its anonymity and the textual differences indicate that Diogenes Laertius was not the source from which this epigram came into the *Anthology*. The epigrams are unimagative but quite well composed.

## I

Praise of Stoics.

A.P. 9.496, Pl<sup>B</sup> [PPl] s.a.n. [J] εἰς τὴν αἵρεσιν τῶν Στωϊκῶν [C] καὶ τῶν Ἐπικουρείων. τίνος δὲ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ζητητέον; Diogenes Laertius<sup>1</sup> 6.14, <sup>2</sup>7.30 Ἀθήναιος ὁ ἐπιγραμματοποιός

ὦ Στοικῶν μύθων εἰδήμονες, ὦ πανάριστα  
 δόγματα ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐνθέμενοι σελίσιν,  
 τὰν ἀρετὰν ψυχᾶς ἀγαθὸν μόνον· ἅδε γὰρ ἀνδρῶν 440  
 μούνα καὶ βίοντον ῥύσατο καὶ πόλις.  
 5 σαρκὸς δ' ἡδυπάθημα φίλον τέλος ἀνδράσιν ἄλλοις  
 ἢ μία τῶν Μνήμης ἤνυσε θυγατέρων.

1 Στοικῶν P: Στωϊ- Pl, Diog. πανάριστοι vel -ται P in lin. 3 τὰν ἀρίστην ἀρετὰν P 4 βίοντον Pl: -του P, -τάν Diog. πόλις Pl, Diog.: πόλιος P 5-6 τῶν Pl, Diog.: τῆς P

Jacobs\* 9.256.

1 [438] Στοικῶν: Στοικός for Στωϊκός here only; metrically guaranteed στοά is extremely rare (Men. *Sam.* 511, *Dysc.* 173, Diog. Laert. 7.184, *A.P.* 7.706; never in Aristophanes, who has στωϊ- in several places).

εἰδήμονες: the word is very rare; anon. 9.505.4 πάσης εἰδήμονα τέχνης.

5-6 [442-3] ἡδυπάθημα: ἡδυπαθέω, -παθής, -πάθεια are old words, -πάθημα here only.

ἀνδράσιν ἄλλοις: especially the Epicureans.

ἢ μία: sc. Erato, as the scholia here say; Jacobs compares Athen. 13.555B, Stadtmüller Ap.Rhod. 3.1ff.

ἤνυσε: ἤνευσε Meibom, approved by Paton; but the sense is *made indulgence of the flesh an aim dear to other men*, with ἀνύω equivalent to ποιῶ as in S. *OT* 166 ἡνύσατ' ἐκτοπίαν φλόγα πτήματος, Nic. *Alex.* 400 (ἀνθρώπους) ἤνυσε... σφαλερούς, *rendered men unstable*.

There is the usual doubt whether the dialect of this couplet should be brought into conformity with the rest: ἡδυπάθημα... ἃ μία Brunck, Μνάμας Stadtmüller.



## ATHENAEUS

### II

Diog. Laert. 10.11–12 (τὸν Ἐπίκουρον) καὶ Ἀθηναῖος δι' ἐπιγράμματος οὕτως ὑμνεῖ

ἄνθρωποι, μοχθεῖτε τὰ χείρονα καὶ διὰ κέρδος  
 ἄπληστοι νεικέων ἄρχετε καὶ πολέμων· 445  
 τᾷς φύσις δ' ὁ πλοῦτος ὅρον τινὰ βαιὸν ἐπίσχει,  
 αἱ δὲ κεναὶ κρίσιες τὰν ἀπέραντον ὁδόν.  
 5 τοῦτο Νεοκλῆος πινυτὸν τέκος ἢ παρὰ Μουσέων  
 ἔκλυεν ἢ Πυθοῦς ἐξ ἱερῶν τριπόδων.

Jacobs\* 9.257, <sup>b</sup>App. 2.

1 [444] **μοχθεῖτε τὰ χείρονα**: for the accusative, cf. Epicurus *fr.* 470 ἀνήνυτα μ., LSJ *s.v.* I 1.

3 [446] **ἐπίσχει**: *presents, offers*, as in LSJ *s.v.* II 1.

4 [447] **τάν**: this looks like a mere stop-gap; the author might defend it by saying that he meant 'Nature's wealth has a narrow limit, the area without limits being reserved for the empty-headed.'

Jacobs compares Plut. *de cup. div.* 4, 524E ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε νοῦν ἔχουσιν ὁ τῆς φύσεως πλοῦτος ὥρισται (commenting on Solon *fr.* 13.71 West, πλούτου δ' οὐδὲν τέρμα πεφασμένον ἀνδράσι κείται), and Seneca *epist.* 16.9 *naturalia desideria finita sunt: ex falsa opinione nascentia ubi desinant non habent; nullus enim terminus falso est.*

5 [448] **Νεοκλῆος**: on Neocles the father of Epicurus see Philippson in *RE* 16.2414.

## EUGENES

There is no other information about this bearer of the extremely rare name Eugenēs; nor is there anything in the epigram to indicate its date except the general consideration that the close imitation of Leonidas of Tarentum is characteristic rather of the early Imperial period than of any later time.

### I

On a work of art, sculpture or painting, representing Anacreon.

See the Preface to Leonidas *A.Plan.* 306 = *HE* xxxi, an elegiac epigram by Leonidas parallel to his iambic one on this theme, *A.Plan.* 307 = *HE* xc. Eugenēs knows both these epigrams; his second line comes from Antipater of Sidon, the rest is an imitation of Leonidas.

*A.Plan.* (PI<sup>A</sup>) 308 Εὐγένους

τὸν τοῖς μελιχροῖς ἱμέροισι σύντροφον, 450  
 Λυαῖ', Ἀνακρέοντα, Τήιον κύκνον,  
 ἔσφηλας ὕγρῃ νέκταρος μεληδόνι·  
 λοξὸν γὰρ αὐτοῦ βλέμμα καὶ περὶ σφυροῖς

## EUGENES

- 5 ῥιφθεῖσα λώπευς πέζα καὶ μονοζυγές  
 μέθην ἐλέγχει σάνδαλον· χέλυς δ' ὁμῶς 455  
 τὸν εἰς Ἑρωτας ὕμνον †ἀθροίζεται†.  
 ἀπτῶτα τήρει τὸν γεραιόν, Εὐΐε.

Jacobs\* 10.298.

2 [451] Τήϊον κύκνον: from Antipater of Sidon 7.30.1 = HE 276, of Anacreon, ὁ Τήϊος... κύκνος.

3 [452] ὕγρη...μεληδόνι: an ambitious but unhappy phrase.

μεληδών, a very rare word, is *something cared about*; Simonides fr. 520.2 ἀπρακτοὶ δὲ μεληδόνες, Ap.Rhod. 3.812 θυμηδεῖς βιότοιο μεληδόνες, Paulus 5.293.3; here 'through his *care* for wine'.

5 [454] μονοζυγές: the compound here only.

7 [456] ἀθροίζεται: even in this artificial style 'collect a song' is not an acceptable phrase. The verb cannot mean 'plays continually', as Paton translates; *lyra, carmina amatoria resonans, eorum particulas et singulas voces sibi quasi colligere dicitur*, said Jacobs, no doubt in despair. Scaliger's conjecture αὐθροίζεται is the only available remedy, and this is exposed to the objection that his verb is an invention.

## GAURADAS

Nothing is known about Gauradas, whose name is unique ('scheint barbarisch' said Reitzenstein RE 7.877); nor is there anything in the epigram to make one date likelier than another within very wide limits. 'Gehört wohl in die byzantinische Zeit', said Reitzenstein, but there is no particular reason why he should belong there.

### I

Dialogue between Echo and a lover.

An original and ingenious variation on a popular theme; see the Preface to Satyrus IV.

A.Plan. (Pl<sup>A</sup>) 152 Γαυράδα ὥς παρὰ τοῦ Πανός; Σπ.

- Ἄχῳ φίλα μου, συγκαταίνεσόν τι. – τί;  
 ἔρῳ κορίσκας, ἅ δέ μ' οὐ φιλεῖ. – φιλεῖ.  
 πρᾶξαι δ' ὁ καιρὸς καιρὸν οὐ φέρει. – φέρει. 460  
 τὺ τοίνυν αὐτᾷ λέξον ὥς ἔρῳ. – ἔρῳ.  
 5 καὶ πίστιν αὐτᾷ κερμάτων τὺ δός. – τὺ δός.  
 Ἄχῳ, τί λοιπὸν ἢ πόθου τυχεῖν; – τυχεῖν.

1 μου Σπ: μοι Pl

Jacobs\* 10.272.

1 [458] There is nothing in the lines to indicate that the first speaker is, as the *lemma* alleges, Pan; a human lover seems likelier.

## GAURADAS

**μου:** the editors print φίλα, μοί without comment on the awkward position of the pronoun.

**2 [459] κορίσκα:** elsewhere only Plato *comicus fr.* 69.12 and Timocles *fr.* 22.

**3 [460]** 'To do it, Time gives me not good chance', as Paton translates; to which Echo replies in effect 'Yes, it does.' The least good of the lines.

**4 [461]** The first ἐρῶ = *I love*. The second = *I will tell her so*.

The hiatus is extraordinary but useless as evidence for the date; see *Rufinus* pp. 36f.

**5 [462]** Echo's reply means 'No, *you* give it.'

## GLYCON

There is no reason to identify this author with that Glycon whose name was given to the 'glyconic' verse; see von Radinger *RE* 7.1469. Nor is there any clue to the source of the epigram; it is near the end of a series of two dozen epigrams of a quasi-philosophic type by various authors at the close of Book 10, and may well be beyond the limits of the present collection.

In P, this epigram is joined to the following one (from lines on the advantages and disadvantages of having children and a wife); the two are rightly separated in Pl.

### I

On the futility of all things.

A.P. 10.124 Γλύκωνος, Pl<sup>B</sup> s.a.n.

πάντα γέλως καὶ πάντα κόνις καὶ πάντα τὸ μηδέν,  
πάντα γὰρ ἐξ ἀλόγων ἐστὶ τὰ γινόμενα. 465

2 γιν- Pl

Jacobs\* 9.308.

**1 [464]** Cf. Lucian *dial. mort.* 6(20).2, of Homer's heroes, κόνις πάντα καὶ πολὺς λῆρος.

## PTOLEMAEUS

Two epigrams under the name Ptolemaeus are preserved in the *Anthology*. The theme of one, a fine epigram, 9.577, has persuaded almost all modern editors to ascribe it to the celebrated Ptolemy, Claudius Ptolemaeus the astronomer and geographer who flourished c. A.D. 120-50; Paton is more judicious, noting (in his Index) that the identification is uncertain, as indeed it is and must remain. The other epigram (7.314), a commonplace trifle, is generally thought to be by a different author; it precedes a short run of Meleager's authors and is assigned to his *Garland* by Stadtmüller and Paton but not by Weisshäupl or by Gow and Page. Both epigrams are in fact undatable.

# PTOLEMAEUS

## I

The astronomer's intimations of immortality.

A.P. 9.577, P<sup>A</sup> [PPI] Πτολεμαίου [P] εἰς ἑαυτόν; Synesius ad Pacon.  
p. 311D

οἶδ' ὅτι θνατός ἐγὼ καὶ ἐφάμερος· ἀλλ' ὅταν ἄστρον  
μαστεύω πυκινὰς ἀμφιδρόμους ἑλικας  
οὐκέτ' ἐπιψαύω γαίης ποσίν, ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτῷ  
Ζανὶ θεοτρεφῆος πῖμπλαμαι ἀμβροσίης.

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1 θνατός P1, Synesius: θνητ- PPI 2 μαστεύω PPI: ἰχνεύω Synesius 3  
γαίης ποσίν Synesius: ποσὶ γαίης PPI 4 Ζηνι P1, Synesius θεοτρεφῆος  
Dindorf: θεοτροφίης P, διοτρεφῆος P1, διοτροφῆος Synesius

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 8.196.

1 [466] **θνατός**: the mixture of dialects may be original. The Doric form in Planudes is not likely to be conjectural, for he seldom introduces such forms and makes no attempt to do so in the sequel. Without any manuscript authority it is unsafe to alter γαίης and ἀμβροσίης.

2 [467] **μαστεύω**: *search for*; the orbits are πυκιναί, and the verb describes the effort made to find out how they run. The phrase would be specially apt if the author is an astronomer; but the mere star-gazer cannot be excluded. [But Synesius' ἰχνεύω may be the better word here. (1) It makes a better partner to ἐπιψαύω ποσίν. (2) πυκινὰς and ἑλικας make 'tracking' the ideal specialised word. (3) Synesius is right, against PPI, in the next line in the matter of word order. (4) μαστεύω interpolates itself as an inferior variant, this time for ἱστορεῶ, at S. *El.* 1101 (L<sup>879</sup>). – R.D.D.]

**πυκινὰς**: the root sense is *thick, dense, closely compacted*, but there are various extensions of the meaning, and one of them, *numerous*, is most favoured by the translators (so Dübner, Paton, Mackail, Shane Leslie and Beckby); *close-packed* would also be appropriate.

**ἀμφιδρόμους ἑλικας**: the ἑλικες are the orbits of the heavenly bodies (LSJ s.v. v 2 (b)). The adjective, which is rare, means 'running round (the sky)'; the use in S. *Ai.* 352, 'running round (me)', is the same.

4 [469] **θεοτρεφῆος**: the text is uncertain. Jacobs retained θεοτροφίης throughout three editions, but Dübner, Mackail, Paton, and Beckby accepted Dindorf's θεοτρεφῆος, and there is certainly good reason for the change: the objection to θεοτροφία (which is not found elsewhere) is that it ought to mean *feeding (or rearing) of the gods*, on the analogy of ζωιοτροφία, κτηνο-, σκυλακοτροφία and the like; it would be improper to use it in the sense *food of the gods*. LSJ actually omit the word altogether, and register this passage under θεοτρεφής (elsewhere only Nonnus *D.* 9.101) without any indication that this is a conjecture; the *Thesaurus* also omits the entry, having emended θεοτροφίης to θεοτρεφῆος s.v. θεοτρεφής.

διο- in Planudes and Synesius substitutes a familiar word, though in an unfamiliar sense (normally *nourished by the gods*).

## II

On Timon of Athens.

This is the second of a series of eight epigrams on Timon the misanthrope. There is another by Julianus in a series from the *Cycle* (7.577).

A.P. 7.314, Pl<sup>A</sup> [CPI] Πτολεμαίου [J] εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν Τίμωννα [Pl] εἰς αὐτόν

μή πόθεν εἰμὶ μάθῃς μηδ' οὔνομα, πλὴν ὅτι θνήσκειν 470  
τοὺς παρ' ἐμὴν στήλην ἐρχομένους ἐθέλω.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 8.196.

1-2 [470-1] *μή πόθεν...οὔνομα*: the motif also in Leonidas 7.316.2 = *HE* 2570 μήθ' ὅστις, μή τίνος ἐξετάσας, anon. 7.313.2 οὔνομα δ' οὐ πεύσεσθε.

*θνήσκειν ἐθέλω*: this motif elsewhere only in anon. *loc. cit.* 2 κακοὶ δὲ κακῶς ἀπόλοισθε.

## APPENDIX ON AUTHORS NOT INCLUDED

(1) The following are more suitable for inclusion in an edition of the satirical epigrammatists:

Antiochus (11.412, 422; *RE* 1.2492; undatable); Philon (11.419; *RE* 19.2532; undatable; no particular reason to identify him with Herennius Philo of Byblos); Pollianus (11.127, 128, 130, 167, *A. Plan.* 150; *RE* 21.1411; undatable, but suitable to the period of the principal satirical authors).

Finally, under this heading, Cillactor, who may be the same person as Callicter, one of the satirical authors. Two epigrams are ascribed to Cillactor:

(a) A.P. 5.29 (caret Pl) Κιλλάκτορος

ἀδὺ τὸ βινεῖν ἐστί, τίς οὐ λέγει; ἀλλ' ὅταν αἰτῇ  
χαλκόν, πικρότερον γίνεται ἔλλεβόρου.

(b) A.P. 5.45 (caret Pl) Κιλλακτῆρος P, Κιλλάκτορος C

παρθενικά κούρα τὰ ἄ κέρματα πλείονα ποιεῖ  
οὐκ ἀπὸ τᾶς τέχνας ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τᾶς φύσιος.

The name Κιλλάκτορος has been identified again in the heading to *Appendix Barberino-Vaticana* no. 10 (actually Κιλλακτῆρος; the epigram = *A.P.* 5.31, where it has the heading τοῦ αὐτοῦ, meaning Antipater of Thessalonica, = *PG* cxii). Now a name Καλλικτῆρος appears in the headings of P at 11.2, 11.5, and 11.118, of Pl at 11.333; these epigrams resemble the two above in certain features, and the question arises whether Κιλλάκτορος is nothing but a corruption of Καλλικτῆρος.

The amalgamation of similar-looking names in the *Anthology* is nearly always idle guesswork and often wrong, but here it may be defended by the arguments (a) that the epigrams ascribed to Callicter in *A.P.* 11 (nine, including those headed τοῦ αὐτοῦ) are all satirical, and those ascribed to Cillactor in *A.P.* 5 are of the same type; (b) that six of the nine epigrams

## APPENDIX

ascribed to Callicter are single distichs, and so are the two ascribed to Cillactor; (c) that three of the epigrams ascribed to Callicter have 'Doric' alphas – a rare phenomenon in the satirical authors – and so have the two ascribed to Cillactor. Moreover (d), of two names not attested elsewhere, Καλλικτήρ at least looks like Greek whereas Κιλλάκτωρ is inexplicable (see Thiele in *RE* 10.1644); and (e) Κιλλάκτῆρος in 5.45 is at least as likely to be a corruption of Καλλικτῆρος as of Κιλλάκτορος, so the only good evidence for a name Καλλικτωρ is the heading in 5.29, with a little doubtful support from the *Appendix Barberino-Vaticana*.

The conclusion is that the name Cillactor is probably, but not quite certainly, a mistake for Callicter.

(2) The following are more suitable for inclusion in an edition of Strato, and may be of the same period (whatever that is; see *Rufinus* pp. 25f.):

Fronto (12.174, 233; tentatively identified with the well-known Marcus Cornelius Fronto by Beckby, with a *rhetor* of the time of Severus by Jacobs; in fact undatable, as Reitzenstein says, *RE* 7.112); Numenius (12.28, and according to *App. B.-V.* also 12.60 and 237; *RE* 17.1296); Scythinus (12.22 and 232; *RE* 3 A 696; certainly not to be identified with the iambographer Scythinus of Teos, as in Beckby's 'Dichterverzeichnis').

(3) The following are excluded for sundry reasons:

Euphthios (9.206; *RE* 6.1165; contemporary with, or later than, the grammarian Herodian); Troilos (*A.Plan.* 55; generally identified with the fourth-century scholar of that name, *RE* 7 A 615); Zenobios (9.711; undatable, but not likely to be within the limits of the present collection).

Finally Cyrillus, to whom one epigram is ascribed:

A.P. 9.369, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPI] Κυρίλλου

πάγκαλόν ἐστ' ἐπίγραμμα τὸ δίστιχον· ἦν δὲ παρέλθῃς  
τοὺς τρεῖς, ῥαψωδεῖς κούκ ἐπίγραμμα λέγεις.

This couplet stands between epigrams, unrelated in theme, by Julianus and Tiberius Ilos. Geffcken (*RE* 12.174) placed Cyrillus in the period of Philip's *Garland* because of the likeness to Parmenion 9.342 = *PG* xi φημι πολυστιχίην ἐπιγράμματος οὐ κατὰ Μούσας | εἶναι κτλ. (Leonides of Alexandria 6.327 is not parallel: he writes a single distich, saying οὐ γὰρ ἔτι στέργω τὴν δολιχογραφίην, but 'dolichography' for Leonides means merely two distichs, a length which he never exceeds). It is true that the limit of three distichs recommended by Cyrillus is favoured by Philip's poets (see *PG* 1. xxxvii); but there is one serious obstacle to a place for Cyrillus in the first century, and that is his name, of which *RE* have no example earlier than the time of Constantine the Great. Κύριλλος, Κυρίλλης, Κύριλλα appear often in Peek *GVI* in inscriptions dated 'II–III A.D.' or later, very rarely 'II A.D.' (191 with a query, 668 without), and only once 'I–II A.D.' (1892).

(4) An abnormal epigram, consisting of two hexameters + one pentameter,<sup>1</sup> commemorating a dedication by L. Cornelius Sulla, is quoted by Appian *BC* 1.97: ἐπεμψε δὲ καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν καὶ πέλεκυν ἐπιγράφας τάδε·

<sup>1</sup> See Pref. to 'Simonides' xv, p. 212.

## APPENDIX

τόνδε σοι αὐτοκράτωρ Σύλλας ἀνέθηκ', Ἀφροδίτη,  
ὦι σ' εἶδον κατ' ὄνειρον ἀνὰ στρατιὴν διέπουσιν  
τεύχεσι τοῖς Ἄρεος μαρναμένην ἔνοπλον.

(Jacobs 8.198; Preger 116; 82 B.C.)

(5) I have not included the lines ascribed to 'Poseidippos' first published by Diels in *SBAW* 1898.845, re-edited by Schubart in *Symbol. philol. O.A. Danielsson octog. dicatae* (1932) 290 (= *Page Gk Lit. Pap.* no. 114), and again by Barns for Lloyd-Jones in *JHS* 83 (1963) 75. When the best has been done (by way of conjecture, to say nothing of the special pleading necessary in a number of places) for this unhappy composition, its ascription to the well-known Hellenistic epigrammatist seems to me quite out of the question. It is not even certain that the text falls within the date-limits of the present collection.

SECTION I

PART 2

EPIGRAMS ASCRIBED TO  
FAMOUS NAMES OF  
THE PRE-ALEXANDRIAN PERIOD



## LIST OF AUTHORS

'Aeschylus'	'Ion'
'Agathon'	(Iophon)
'Alcibiades'	'Phocylides'
'Anacreon'	'Pindar'
'Archilochus'	'Plato'
'Bacchylides'	'Sappho'
'Empedocles'	'Simonides'
'Epicharmus'	'Sophocles'
'Erinna'	'Speusippus'
'Euripides'	'Thucydides' or 'Timotheus'
'Hippon'	

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Evidence from the *Garland* of Meleager, as set out below, proves that collections of epigrams ascribed to Simonides, Anacreon, and Plato, including some actually composed during the Hellenistic period, were in circulation before the end of the second century B.C.

Apart from these three authors, epigrams ascribed to famous names appear sporadically, seldom more than one and never more than three to each of a long list of names: Aeschylus (2), Agathon (1), Alcibiades (1), Antimachus (1), Archilochus (3), Bacchylides (3), Empedocles (2), Epicharmus (1), Erinna (3), Euripides (2), Hippon (1), Ion of Chios (2), Menander (1), Parrhasius (3), Phocylides (1), Pindar (1), Pisander (1), Sappho (3), Sophocles (2), Speusippus (1), Thucydides or Timotheus (1), and Zeuxis (1).

I On the authenticity of the epigrams ascribed to Simonides, Anacreon, and Plato

### SIMONIDES

The present edition assembles eighty epigrams ascribed to Simonides and fifteen anonymous epigrams which come from his period or soon after it. Among the former, where more than one source is available, the proportion of discrepant ascriptions is extraordinarily high:

A.Plan. 204 Σιμωνίδου, Athenaeus Πραξιτέλης = Sim. LV1

A.P. 6.2 Σιμωνίδου PPI, Πλάτωνος Syll. E = Sim. XIX

A.P. 5.161 'Ηδύλου, οἱ δὲ Ἀσκληπιάδου P, denuo post 11.9 Σιμωνίδου PPI = Asclepiades HE xl

A.P. 6.144 τοῦ αὐτοῦ = Ἀνακρέοντος P, denuo post 6.213 τοῦ αὐτοῦ = Σιμωνίδου P = Anacreon xv

A.P. 7.187 τοῦ αὐτοῦ = Φιλίππου P, Λεωνίδου Pl, denuo post 7.344 τοῦ αὐτοῦ = Σιμωνίδου P = Philip PG lxxvii

A.P. 7.344<sup>b</sup> Καλλιμάχου P, τοῦ αὐτοῦ = Σιμωνίδου Pl = Sim. LXXXIII (*b*)

A.P. 7.345 Σιμωνίδου P, ἀδέσποτον Pl, Αἰσχυρίων Athenaeus = Aeschryon HE i

A.P. 7.508 Σιμωνίδου P, s.a.n. Pl, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς Diog. Laert. = Empedocles I

A.P. 7.647 Σιμωνίδου, οἱ δὲ Σιμίου P, Σαμίου Pl = Simias HE vii

A.P. 9.147 Ἀνταγόρου Ῥοδίου P, Σιμωνίδου Pl = Antagoras HE ii

A.P. 13.28 Βακχυλίδου ἢ Σιμωνίδου P = Antigenes I

In the above, two (or more) different authors are named; in the following, an epigram which is anonymous in the *Anthology* is ascribed to Simonides by another source:

Hdt. 7.228 Σιμωνίδης, A.P. 7.677 s.a.n. = Sim. VI

Dio Prus. (Favorin.) or. 37.19 Σιμωνίδης, A.P. 7.347 s.a.n. = Sim. X

schol. Aristid. 3.154 Σιμωνίδης, A.P. 7.257 ἄδηλον, Pl ἀδέσποτον = Sim. XVIII

In the following places there are further differences between the Palatine and Planudean anthologies:

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A.P. 7.20 Σιμωνίδου PPI, denuo post 7.37.5 ἀδέσποτον P = Sim. LI

A.P. 7.248 and 249, 250, 251, 253, 349 Σιμωνίδου P, s.a.n. Pl = Sim. xxii (a) and (b), xii, ix, viii, xxxvii Pref.

A.P. 7.431 ἄδηνον, οἱ δὲ Σιμωνίδου P, s.a.n. Pl = Sim. LXV

A.P. 7.507<sup>a</sup> s.a.n. P, Ἀλεξάνδρου Pl = Alexander I

A.P. 512 τοῦ αὐτοῦ = Σιμωνίδου P, s.a.n. (praecedente Simonideo) Pl = Sim. LIII

A.P. 9.757 Σιμωνίδου Pl, s.a.n. P = Sim. xxxii (a)

A.P. 9.758 τοῦ αὐτοῦ = Σιμωνίδου Pl, τοῦ αὐτοῦ (praecedente epigr. s.a.n.) P = Sim. xxxii (b)

A.P. 10.105 Σιμωνίδου P, ἄδηνον Pl = Sim. LXXIX

The high proportion of discrepancies seems at first sight to justify a doubt whether firm ground is ever to be found; but there are, after all, one or two hard and helpful facts.<sup>1</sup>

Inscriptional epigrams (in the time of Simonides, almost all sepulchral or accompanying either dedications to the gods or monuments erected in honour of famous men) in no way disclosed the author's name. This is a rule to which there are very few exceptions in any period, none earlier than c. 400 B.C., when Ion of Samos appended a metrical signature to an elegiac epigram, ἐκ Σάμου ἀμφιρύτου τεύξ' ἐλεγείον Ἴων.<sup>2</sup> There is no evidence that any particular author's epigrams were collected and published before the Hellenistic period; and Simonides is no exception to the rule. Herodotus, writing some forty years after the event, reports from hearsay (whose reliability we cannot judge) that Simonides was the friend of a certain Megistias and wrote his epitaph after the battle of Thermopylae (= Sim. vi); but this is a solitary example of its kind. No other author earlier than Aristotle, and only one between Aristotle and Meleager (c. 100 B.C.), ever names Simonides as the author of an epigram.

The earliest absolute proof of the general circulation of epigrams ascribed to Simonides by name comes from the remnants of the *Garland* of Meleager preserved in the Palatine Anthology. The principal facts are as follows:

Of 95 epigrams, no less than 43 are not included in, or not attested as Simonidean by, the Palatine Anthology: 12 are in the Planudean or the collection symbolised by Σπ but not in the Palatine; 23 others are not in the Palatine or in the Planudean or in Σπ; 8 others are ascribed to Simonides by other sources but not by the Palatine (though 2 of them are so ascribed by the Planudean).

Of the remainder, there are two categories:

<sup>1</sup> M. Boas, *De Epigrammatis Simonideis* (Groningen 1905), remains indispensable on this subject as on all topics connected with the sources of the epigrams.

<sup>2</sup> Meiggs and Lewis no. 95 (c). The only other examples in Peek *GVI* earlier than the Christian era are 1150-2, II B.C., 1150 and 1152 subscribed Ἡρώδης ἔγραψεν, 1151 Ἡρώδου; and 662, II/I B.C., where the name given acrostichally, Σαρπίων, is presumably that of the poet. There are a few later examples, 1064 (I/II A.D.), subscribed Ἀρτεμιδώρου ἔπη, 1871 (II A.D.), subscribed Διονύσιος Μάγνης ποιητῆς ἔγραψε; cf. 1424 and 1479.7. Add *Inscr. de Délos* nr. 2549 Ἀντισθένης Παιφίου (Peek *Philol.* 101.1957. 101ff.).

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

(1) Those which occur within extracts from the *Garland of Meleager*:<sup>1</sup>

(a) *Within two of the larger extracts*:

A.P. 5.134-215 includes Sim. 5.159 = LX

A.P. 7.406-529 includes Sim. 7.431 (ἄδηλον, οἱ δὲ Σίμωνιδου) = LXV, 7.442-3 = LIV and XLVII, 7.496 = LXVIII, and a block of which the first seven are in alphabetical order, presumably taken over unmodified from Meleager's source,<sup>2</sup> 7.507<sup>b</sup> - 516 = Sim. LXXXI, Empedocles 1, Sim. LXXXII, LXXII, LXXV, LIII, LXXIV, LXXI, LXX, LXXXIV.

(b) *Within three of the medium-sized extracts*:

A.P. 6.204-26: 23 epigrams, all of which may be from Meleager's *Garland* ('Antipater' unqualified four times; 'Archias' is probably one of Meleager's authors), including a small block ascribed to Simonides, 6.212-17 = LXII, xxvii, xxxiv, xiii, (6.216, a παίγνιον not included here), LIX.

7.246-273: 28 epigrams, all but one (anon., probably from the *Garland*) ascribed to Meleager's authors, including Simonides 248-51, 253-4<sup>b</sup>, 258, 270 = xxii (a), xxii (b), xii, ix, viii, xlix, lxxviii, xlvi, lxxvi (a).

7.646-665: 21 epigrams, all ascribed to Meleager's authors, including Simonides 650<sup>a</sup> = lxxvi (b).

(c) *Within smaller extracts*:

A.P. 7.19-31, all but one (anon., probably from the *Garland*) ascribed to Meleager's authors, including Simonides 20, 24, 25 = LI, LXVI, LXVII.

7.75-81: all by Meleager's authors, including Simonides 77 = lxxxv.

7.295-303, all except one (anon., certainly from the *Garland*) ascribed to Meleager's authors, including Simonides 296 and 300-2 = XLV, LXXIII, VII, LXXVII.

It may be fortuitous that A.P. 6 begins with four consecutive epigrams by Meleager's authors including Simonides 6.2 = XIX.

(2) The second category consists of epigrams in A.P. ascribed to Simonides but not demonstrably assignable to Meleager's *Garland*: five epigrams in mixed metres assembled in A.P. 13 (Sim. xxxv, xxxvi, xliii, L, LXIV); and the remainder, some ten or a dozen epigrams, scattered in miscellaneous contexts.

Thus it appears that about three quarters of the epigrams ascribed to Simonides in A.P. occur within extracts from the *Garland of Meleager*; and about these there are two most important observations to be made:

First, that Meleager in his *Proem* (A.P. 4.1.8) names Simonides as one of the authors whose epigrams have been included; this means that Meleager about 100 B.C. had at his disposal a collection or collections consisting of, or including, epigrams circulating under the name of Simonides and accepted by Meleager as authentic.

Secondly, that the epigrams which he adopted and accepted as authentic are of widely different types and dates. The principal types are:

(1) (a) Copies of inscriptions from the time of Simonides or thereabout:

<sup>1</sup> For the background, see Gow and Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* 1. xif.

<sup>2</sup> I doubt whether Meleager himself incorporated such blocks as this and 'Anacreon' 6.134ff. unmodified into his *Garland*; but whether we owe their preservation to him or to another, the value of their testimony remains the same.

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

xii, xiii, xxii (a), xxii (b), xlv, xlvi, xlix, lxxxvi, lxxxvii, to which viii, ix, lxxvi (a) and (b), and lxxxii may (with varying degrees of confidence) be added. The proportion of the total is high (about a third), and this is consistent with the fact that the epigrams ascribed to Simonides by sources other than Meleager are almost all copies of early inscriptions.

(b) Copies of inscriptions which are much later than the time of Simonides: liii, and probably some from the following list.

(c) Copies of inscriptions which are undatable, but of which the majority may be appreciably later than Simonides, some of them Hellenistic: lxii, lxx, lxxi, lxxii, lxxiii, lxxvii, lxxviii, lxxix, lxxx, lxxxii, lxxxiii (a).

(2) Literary exercises composed in the Hellenistic period. Some of these are of good quality and may be as early as the first half of the third century B.C. (though all may be somewhat later): lix, lx, lxi, lxv, lxvi, lxvii, lxviii. Others are of poor quality, probably products of the second century B.C.: xlvii, liv, lxxiv. Some are of mediocre quality, undatable within the Hellenistic period, but not likely to be early within it: vii, lxxxiv, lxxxv.

The evidence proves beyond question that Meleager had at his disposal a number of epigrams ascribed to Simonides and generally accepted as authentic, including some which are certainly compositions of the Hellenistic period, a few of them relatively late within that period. It remains to consider the nature of the book or books of or including Simonidean epigrams current in Meleager's time.

Between Herodotus and Meleager the only authors who ascribe an epigram to Simonides are:

(1) Aristotle, *Sim.* xxvi (a). This is an epigram quoted by Thucydides without author's name, and the ascription in Aristotle may be a personal guess or an example of a general tendency to ascribe to Simonides inscriptional epigrams preserved from his period.

(2) Aristophanes of Byzantium, *Sim.* xli. This is not relevant at present, as the evidence of Meleager has already proved that epigrams ascribed to Simonides were in circulation in considerable numbers quite soon after the time of the eminent scholar, if not earlier.

(3) See xiv Pref.: it is probable that Timaeus ascribed xiv by name to Simonides; but this fact, if it is one, is not helpful. Timaeus, like Aristotle, may be guessing or following the fashion; in any case, the evidence of Meleager has already established securely enough that his source for Simonides was not much (if at all) later than the last years of Timaeus (who did not die till about 260 B.C.).

It remains proper to say that Meleager is the earliest extant authority for the circulation, in a book or books, of epigrams ascribed to Simonides. Was it a single book, a *Sylloge Simonidea*? Or did various epigrams ascribed to Simonides circulate in various anthologies? The remarkable contrast between the two principal types of Simonidean epigram represented not only in Meleager's *Garland* but also in the tradition at large would be reasonably explained in one of two ways:

(1) A collection of early inscriptional epigrams was made, probably early in the Hellenistic period, and circulated under the name of Simonides. This

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

collection was republished on several occasions (as it must have been) during the Hellenistic period, and the new editions were augmented by the inclusion of Hellenistic compositions deliberately put into circulation under the name of Simonides (a practice comparable with the circulation of Hellenistic epigrams under the names of Plato and Anacreon). This process may have continued up to, or near, the time of Meleager.

(2) The collection of early inscriptional epigrams ascribed to Simonides circulated independently; the Hellenistic epigrams put into circulation under the name of Simonides were occasional pieces included in early anthologies and available to Meleager therein.

There is no certain choice between these alternatives. The present editor inclines to the former, and uses the term *Sylloge Simonidea* in this sense. A collection of ancient inscriptional epigrams was made and published under the name of Simonides quite early in the Hellenistic period. The compiler put together – mainly but not exclusively from literary sources – a number of epigrams which he believed to be inscriptional and contemporary with Simonides, principally therefore epigrams concerning the Persian Wars, early epigrams on Olympic victors, epigrams on other persons known or believed to be contemporaries of Simonides. A few of the inscriptions are slightly, a few wildly, anachronistic.

There is no reason to suppose that Simonides was in fact the author of any of these inscriptional epigrams except (if Herodotus' informants were trustworthy) vi, but most of them ring antique and some of them are of excellent quality, and it is understandable that the great name should become attached to them. It is not so easy to understand why a Hellenistic poet should circulate his own compositions under the name of Simonides, and it is a curious comment on the literary taste and judgement of the Hellenistic period that the world – even in poetic circles, as exemplified by Meleager – accepted the ascription of these latter-day exercises to Simonides without question.

### ANACREON

Anacreon is named by Meleager in his list of poets (4.1.35–6 = *HE* 3960–1), and eighteen epigrams ascribed to him appear in the *Anthology*. Eleven of these form a series which preserves, with one interruption, the alphabetical order which was presumably a feature of the collection from which Meleager took them. These eleven (and also a twelfth) are included in a large extract from the *Garland* (*A.P.* 6.110–57), and two others also, 7.160 (ii) and 7.263 (iii), occur in extracts from Meleager's *Garland*.

There is therefore no doubt that Meleager had at his disposal a book containing epigrams ascribed by name to Anacreon, and that at least these fourteen were transferred by him from that book to his anthology.

About the contents of the *Sylloge Anacreontea*, a few observations are relevant here:

(1) All twelve epigrams in the series *A.P.* 6.134–45 (v–xvi) are of similar type, short epigrams (nine of them two-liners) for dedications or monuments. There is no way of telling whether the *Sylloge* distinguished dedications from epitaphs (such as i–iii), arranging each category in its own alphabetical order;

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the present series of dedications may have been extracted from a composite alphabetically-arranged collection.

(2) Some of the epigrams in the series are contemporary with Anacreon. 6.135 (vi) is an Olympic victor-inscription from the last quarter of the sixth century B.C.; 6.138 (ix) reappears in an inscription from about the same period; the first two lines of 6.144 (xv) reappear in an inscription from the first half of the fifth century; 6.139 (x) names a sculptor who flourished c. 480 B.C. Two others include names identical with those of contemporary Thessalian aristocrats, Echecratidas and his wife Dyseris (6.136 and 142 = vii and xiii): Simonides wrote a dirge on the death of their son Antimachus, and it may well be that Anacreon was, or was said to have been, a guest at their court.

(3) Thus it looks as though a deliberate decision was made, for Anacreon as for Simonides, to include in the collection certain epigrams which had come down from his time; but it is certain that the maker of the collection had no authority whatsoever for attaching the name of Anacreon to them. Inscriptional dedications and epitaphs do not disclose their authors' names; if Anacreon composed anything of this kind, the fact could not have been known to later generations except by oral or literary tradition. Oral tradition (if there was any; there is no evidence that any Greek before the Alexandrian age was interested) would be unreliable; and of literary tradition there is no trace whatever. Indeed, apart from the *Anthology*, there is no elegiac verse in the remains of Anacreon, and no evidence that he wrote epigrams or anything else in this metre. The statement in the *Suda* that he wrote 'elegies' probably refers to the entries in the *Anthology*.

(4) A few of the epigrams ascribed to Anacreon are plainly compositions of a relatively late period: iv comes from the fourth century; iii and v are of Hellenistic date. Evidently the Anacreon-collection, like the Simonides-collection, included some compositions by Hellenistic authors, published by them under the ancient poet's name, and accepted as genuine by the literary world, as Meleager testifies.

(5) The two epigrams in the long series on Myron's heifer (xvii and xviii) and the epigram on Sophocles (xvi) are anachronistic. iv is a competent but undistinguished dedication which may be pre-Hellenistic. Of the three epitaphs, iii, plainly Hellenistic, may be the work of Leonidas; i concerns a man who died in defence of Abdera, where Anacreon resided for a time: as epitaphs were unsigned, the ascription is a guess, no doubt based on the mention of Abdera; ii, elegant and strong, is another epitaph, anonymous of course.

In summary: Meleager had at his disposal a collection of epigrams arranged in alphabetical order and ascribed to Anacreon. The collection was generally believed to be authentic. Some, perhaps quite a high proportion, of the epigrams come from the lifetime of Anacreon (or a little beyond it), but others were composed in the fourth century or in the Hellenistic period. There was never any reliable evidence (if indeed any evidence at all) for the ascription of any of these epigrams to Anacreon.

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### PLATO

Of the epigrams ascribed to Plato, three are qualified as of 'Plato the younger'. These are mediocre two-liners which may be as late as the middle of the first century A.D.; another (9.747), headed simply 'Plato' but adjacent in *A.P.* to two ascribed to 'Plato the younger' and of the same type, is given to that author in the present collection, and so are two other mediocre distichs of the same type absent from the Palatine but ascribed to Plato in the Planudean Anthology (*A.Plan.* 161, 248).

Of epigrams with ambiguous headings, five are better assigned to other authors:

*A.P.* 7.35 Λεωνίδου PPI, denuo post 7.516 Πλάτωνος P, = Leonidas *HE* xcix.

*A.P.* 9.44 Στατυλλίου Φλάκκου PPI, Πλάτωνος τοῦ μεγάλου C, Πλάτωνος Syll. E, Diog. Laert., = Statyllius Flaccus *PG* ix Pref.

*A.P.* 9.827 Ἀμμωνίου Σπ, τοῦ αὐτοῦ = Πλάτωνος PI; see Plato xxii Pref.

*A.Plan.* 11 Ἑρμοκρέοντος Σπ PI, Πλάτωνος Syll. E, = Hermocreon *HE* i.

*A.Plan.* 12 s.a.n. PI, Πλάτωνος Syll. E, = anon. Lxxviii.

Three others are included here, though the doubts cannot be resolved:

*A.P.* 6.43 Πλάτωνος P, ἄδηλον PI (= xxi)

*A.P.* 9.39 Μουσικίου PPI, Πλάτων Diog. Laert. (= vii)

*A.P.* 9.826 s.a.n. Σπ, Πλάτωνος PI (= xxii)

The relation of *A.P.* 7.217 (= Asclepiades *HE* xli; Πλάτωνος C marg.) to the poetic text in Diog. Laert. 3.31 and Athenaeus 13.589c (= Plato ix) is considered separately (pp. 167f.).

Of the remaining epigrams ascribed unambiguously to Plato, four are not in P, the ascription depending on Planudes and the minor *Syllogae* for three of them, on the 'Life' of Aristophanes and late commentators on Plato for one. There remains a hard core of fifteen epigrams in the Palatine Anthology, five probably taken from the *Garland* of Meleager (xi, xii, xviii, xix, xx), and ten (of which seven reappear in Diogenes Laertius<sup>1</sup>) in miscellaneous contexts.

Not one of all these epigrams can be accepted as the work of Plato. Many of them are of types unknown before the Hellenistic period – literary exercises such as the fictitious epitaphs (xi, xii), the pastoral vignette (xvi), the variations on the stock theme of the shipwrecked man's tomb (xviii, xix, xx), the descriptions of works of art (xvii, xxi, xxii, xxiii). The far-fetched imagery of the epigram on Aristophanes (xiv) is thoroughly Hellenistic; the mediocre lines on Sappho as the tenth Muse (xiii) repeat a common Hellenistic theme. The dismal distich on Time that changes all things (xv) may come from a much later period. The dialogue between Aphrodite and the Muses (vii) and the pseudo-epitaph for Lais (viii) are plainly Hellenistic.

Some of the amatory epigrams would call for longer discussion if their spuriousness had not been already demonstrated at length by Walther Ludwig in *GRBS* 4 (1963) 59–82. Suspicion should be immediately aroused by the fact that these epigrams appear plainly Alexandrian in tone, contents, and style,

<sup>1</sup> Common to P and Diogenes also: one of those within the probable *Garland*-extract (xi) and one of those with discrepant ascriptions (vii); ix is a special case.



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and have no antecedent whatsoever in the two or three centuries preceding the Hellenistic period. On this ground alone it would be proper to doubt their ascription to Plato: 'We are astonished to notice that these poems are composed in quite the same style as the Hellenistic erotic epigram and that they, which are alleged to have been composed during the transition from the fifth to the fourth century, are based substantially on a literary development which was not to take place, so far as we know, before *ca.* 300 B.C. There exists nothing like these poems in Plato's time, nor indeed have they had imitators immediately after Plato' (Ludwig 62).

The judgement that they are Hellenistic compositions is consistent with the fact that all five of the epigrams within the probable *Garland*-extract are of the 'demonstrative' type of fictitious epitaphs; this is sufficient proof that Meleager himself accepted the ascription to Plato of epigrams which were composed in the Hellenistic period. The judgement is confirmed by the contents of some of the amatory epigrams. They are given an air of authenticity by the inclusion of names associated with Plato – Agathon, the celebrated tragedian who speaks about Love in the *Symposium*; Phaedrus, after whom one of the dialogues is named, himself a speaker about Love in the *Symposium*; Xanthippe, wife of Socrates; Dion, tyrant of Syracuse, friend of Plato. The author (or authors) hoped, not in vain, that the public would overlook the grotesque absurdities: Agathon and Phaedrus, represented as boys beloved of Plato, were about twenty years his senior; the courtship of Xanthippe by Plato would have been a more suitable theme for Comedy; the philosopher aged seventy-five, composing an 'epitaph' for a Syracusan tyrant aged fifty-two when he was killed, makes the climax of his poem a passionately expressed avowal of their homosexual relations in the remote past.

The ascription to Plato of the justly celebrated 'Star'-epigrams (I and II) depends wholly on a relatively late book of scurrilous fiction (see below); there is no doubt that the other epigrams ascribed to Plato are forgeries, and there is no reason – rather the reverse (see the Prefaces to I and II) – to except this pair.

It is necessary to conclude that some person or persons composed and published a number of epigrams under Plato's name. These were presumably circulated as a separate book, probably at a date not far removed from 250 B.C.; Meleager at the end of the second century B.C. must have read them either in a copy of the original collection or in an anthology. He has no doubt about their authenticity (4.1.47 = *HE* 3972).

It is not, however, certain that all the extant epigrams ascribed to Plato were in the collection used by Meleager. The source for some of the pseudo-Platonic epigrams in Diogenes Laertius was not the *Garland* of Meleager but a book entitled *Περὶ παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς*, supposed by Diogenes to be the work of Aristippus, pupil of Socrates and contemporary of Plato (his 'Life' is described at length by Diogenes, 2.65–85). No doubt this inventor or compiler of gossip about the Socratic circle thought that his book would be received with special respect if it bore the name of a well-known member of that circle; but anecdotes about Polemo (Diog. 4.19) and about Aristotle's son Nicomachus (5.39) suffice to prove that the book was not written by a man who was already an adult before the end of the fifth century B.C.

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It is not certain how many of the amatory epigrams in Diogenes come from 'Aristippus';<sup>1</sup> I and II certainly; and they are further evidence that 'Aristippus' lived not earlier than the Alexandrian age. He may have lived as late as the first century B.C. or A.D. It is a curious fact that none of the amatory epigrams quoted by Diogenes occurs in a Meleagrian context in *A.P.* This fact is evidence (not proof) that they were not in the collection of pseudo-Platonic epigrams used by Meleager, and it may be an indication that they were not composed until after Meleager's time; there were epigrammatists in the first century B.C. (Philodemus, for example) capable of composing in these styles at this level of excellence. Whether the amatory epigrams were circulated separately or added to the pseudo-Platonic collection attested by Meleager, we cannot tell or even guess.

The evidence is sparse, confused, and unreliable. So far as it goes, it suggests that 'Aristippus' wrote in the early Imperial period, and that he used a source containing amatory epigrams ascribed to Plato but composed very late in the Hellenistic period.

### II On the authenticity of epigrams ascribed to other famous names

The ascriptions of some of these are obviously false; of the rest, without exception, suspect. I summarise my opinions about them under five headings.

#### (1) *Coincidence of name*

The most likely explanation of the ascriptions to Antimachus, Menander, and Pisander, all common names, is that these are homonyms of the famous poets so called. Antimachus is firmly fixed in a sequence from the *Garland* of Meleager; Pisander is not so firmly fixed, being the last in a sequence (if indeed he belongs to it). These two are probably Hellenistic epigrammatists, among the unnamed authors of ἔρνεα πολλὰ νεόγρᾶφα included by Meleager in his anthology. The contents of the epigrams are not such as to suggest ascription to the Colophonian and Rhodian poets, and the undatable epigram ascribed to Menander is surely not the work of the New Comedian. It was nevertheless to be expected that someone would be misled by the names in the course of time and append 'the comedian' to Menander and 'the Rhodian' to Pisander; the only cause for surprise is that 'the Colophonian' was not added to Antimachus.

#### (2) *Deliberate forgery*

It is certain that Hellenistic authors composed epigrams which they published under the names of Simonides, Anacreon, and Plato, and it is proper to inquire whether any of the residue may be of this type.

The authors who immediately fall under suspicion are Archilochus, Bacchylides, Erinna, and Sappho, for these are all named by Meleager in his list

<sup>1</sup> Diogenes 3.29ff. seems to use more than one source. The word φαί in 3.31 and 3.33 *prima facie* implies that 'Aristippus' is no longer the source; and φαί in 3.29 may be an indication that the change occurred earlier. Obscurity of syntax and confusion of sources go hand in hand, and it is not possible to disentangle the threads. Boas (*de epigr. Simon.* 121-4) argues that only I, II and X come from 'Aristippus'; Stadtmüller (II lxxii), that all the amatory epigrams except VI and VII come from him.

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of contributors, and this fact alone makes it certain that books of, or including, epigrams accepted as the work of these authors were in circulation in his time; epigrams by all of them appear within extracts from the *Garland* (Archilochus 6.133, 7.441; Bacchylides 6.313, at the end of a sequence; Erinna, all three; Sappho, all three).

It is manifest that the three epigrams ascribed to Erinna and two of the three ascribed to Sappho are Hellenistic compositions; these cannot be anything but examples of a widespread Hellenistic fashion, fit company for the spurious letters attributed to Plato and other famous men, plays ascribed to ancient dramatists, and sundry other forgeries, many of them recognised as such by later scholars. The epigrams in *A.P.* ascribed to Archilochus are certainly not his work, those ascribed to Bacchylides are naturally suspect; all are probably Hellenistic compositions.

It does not appear that Meleager had many epigrams ascribed to these four authors at his disposal. If he selected few from Sappho as he says (4.1.6 = *HE* 3931), the likely reason is that he had not much choice in the matter; and when he describes his takings from Bacchylides as 'left-overs' (4.1.33 = *HE* 3958) and those from Archilochus as 'small drops from an ocean' (4.1.38 = *HE* 3963), the implication may be the same. However that may be, the fact remains that epigrams of Hellenistic composition ascribed to at least two of these famous poets and probably all four of them were in circulation before the time of Meleager and generally accepted as authentic. Chance and error in the headings cannot account for all the phenomena; only deliberate forgery explains them all.

Ion of Chios may be another example in this class. It was indeed customary to attach the name of an eminent contemporary to an anonymous epitaph on a famous person, and *A.P.* 7.43 and 44 may be examples of that type. But Ion was not a very obvious choice for an epitaph on Euripides, and deliberate forgery may be the true explanation. The epigrams ascribed to Ion are not within a *Garland*-sequence, and he is not named in Meleager's catalogue of poets (4.1); it is likely that not many epigrams ascribed to him were in circulation in Meleager's time.

Finally, the epigrams ascribed to Epicharmus may be of the same class; a considerable body of verse ascribed to this famous name was recognised as forgery by the ancients and plainly labelled Ψευδοπικάρμεια.

### (3) *Great names attached to anonymous epigrams*

For some of the remainder the likeliest explanation is that the subject-matter of an anonymous epigram suggested the ascription to a famous author-name. An epitaph on Hesiod attracted the name of his fellow-Boeotian Pindar. For a fine pseudo-epitaph on Euripides a famous contemporary name was sought, and both Thucydides and Timotheus seemed suitable. For a moralising distich, Phocylides was an obvious choice. Speusippus was the nephew of Plato and succeeded him as head of the Academy; an epitaph on Plato will therefore be ascribed to Speusippus. Or the subject of an epitaph might be said to be its author: so Aeschylus according to Athenaeus, and Hippon according to Clement, wrote their own epitaphs.

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### (4) *Anecdotal origin*

A few of the ascriptions may have had a quite different sort of origin. Where the source is anecdotal writing, such as the 'Lives' of the poets, the epigrams included may have been specially composed to add colour to the largely fictitious narrative. The anecdote illustrated by an epigram ascribed to Alcibiades is surely fictitious and composed specially for that context. Certain amatory experiences are the subject of an epigram concerning Sophocles and Euripides; both the yarn and the verses are mere scurrilous fiction, despite the pretentious title of the source, the *ἱστορικὰ ὑπομνήματα* of Hieronymus. Eparchidas, whose date is unknown, told a fictitious tale about Euripides: during a visit to the island of Icarus the poet composed an epitaph for a mother and three children who had died of mushroom-poisoning; this epigram was probably an integral part of the narrative. The two epigrams ascribed to Empedocles come from an anecdotal 'Life'; Anacreon xvi probably has a similar origin.

### (5) *There remain a few inscrutables:*

(a) *A.P.* 7.255, under the name 'Aeschylus', appears within a sequence from the *Garland of Meleager*. The ascription may be true, for the name is very common, and the author may be one of Meleager's many unnamed contributors. There are two obstacles to the belief that he is the famous dramatist. First, he is not named in the *Proem*; all other authors from the fifth century and earlier known to have been included by Meleager are named by him in his list. Secondly, it is remarkable that no record should have survived of an occasion in the time of Aeschylus when men fell in battle near Mount Ossa. Herodotus (7.173) describes a camp established by Themistocles and Euaenetus to defend Tempe, but they stayed only a few days, and there was no fighting in that area either then or at any other time during the Persian invasion. On the other hand, if 'Aeschylus' is an author who lived in the third or second century B.C., there would be a wide choice of likely occasions.

If the epigram is by the dramatist, it is among the best that have been preserved from his time.<sup>1</sup> Several of the Hellenistic epigrammatists write as well as this and in this style.

(b) Stobaeus *eccl.* 1.8.16 has the heading 'Αγάθωνος in cod. F, but 'Αγάθωνος μόνου in cod. P; corruption is suspected (Wachsmuth and Hense transfer this heading to 1.8.14, leaving 1.8.16 anonymous), and there is no particular reason to believe that the distich is an epigram.

(c) Plutarch is the sole authority for a distich ascribed to Euripides on the Athenians who fell in the final defeat of Nicias in Sicily. The text calls the lines an *ἐπικήδειον*; the demonstrative *οἷδε* strongly suggests that it was an epitaph.<sup>2</sup> There was indeed a monument at Athens on which Nicias' men were commemorated, but the questions whether Plutarch's lines were on that monument and, if so, whether Euripides wrote them, remain open.

<sup>1</sup> Jacoby *Hesperia* 14 (1945) 180 n. 93 saw no 'sufficient reason to athetize' 7.255. He asserts, without reason given, that it is a fragment of an elegy; it is obviously complete, and an epitaph.

<sup>2</sup> Hecker (1852.53) quoted Plut. *anim. procr.* 33 as evidence of *ἐπικήδειον* = *ἐπιτάφιον*, but there is no good reason for the equation; Preger (9) adds Plut. *Pelopid.* 1, where the lines come from an elegy, not from an epitaph.

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(d) The authenticity of the three epigrams ascribed to Parrhasius and the reply to one of them by Zeuxis depends on the authority of Clearchus (probably in the first half of the third century B.C.) in his 'Lives', a popular book remarkable for its credulity (he believed that Phalaris ate suckling children; Athen. 9.396 E), prurience, frivolity, and a highly coloured style. A more reliable source would be welcome, but it must be admitted that none of the numerous other poetical quotations in Clearchus is suspect; Athenaeus names Clearchus as his source about seventy times, and in about a seventh of these passages quotations from poets are included (from Homer, Sappho, Euripides, Castorion, Lycophronides, Antiphanes, and others).

It is probable that these four epigrams were in circulation quite soon after the lifetime of the artists; they are treated as authentic in the present collection.

## 'AESCHYLUS'

### I

Epitaph on men killed in battle near Mount Ossa.

The reasons for doubting whether 'Aeschylus' is the Athenian dramatist are stated in the Introductory Note, p. 129. The suggestion that the author of this epigram is an Alexandrian homonym was first made by Heath, quoted by Jacobs in his first edition.

A.P. 7.255, Pl<sup>A</sup> [CPI] Αἰσχύλου [J] εἰς ἑτέρους (vel ἑταίρους) προμάχους Θεσσαλῶν

κυανέη καὶ τούσδε μενεγχεᾶς ὤλεσεν ἄνδρας  
Μοῖρα πολύρρηνον πατρίδα ῥυομένους.  
ζῶν δὲ φθιμένων πέλεται κλέος, οἳ ποτε γυίοις  
τλήμονες Ὀσσαίαν ἀμφιέσαντο κόνιν.

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3 ζωοὶ C ssr.

Jacobs\* 6.275; Peek 10; 2 p. 241 Bergk; 1 p. 77 Diehl.

1 [472] **κυανέη**: the adjective is common in contexts concerned with death, but the only close parallel to its application to Μοῖρα is [Hes.] *Scut.* 249, Κῆρες κυάνεαι.

**μενεγχεᾶς**: here only.

2 [473] **πολύρρηνον**: πολύρρην appears in Hom. *Il.* 9.154 = 9.296 = Hes. *fr.* 240.3 ἐν δ' ἄνδρες ναίουσιν πολύρρηνες πολυβοῦται, *carm. Naupact. fr.* 2 (Kinkel) πολύρρην πολυβοῶτης; cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.106 πολύαρνι Θυέστη. The form πολύρρηνος is found earlier only in Hom. *Od.* 11. 257; cf. [Theocr.] 25.117. 'Of many sheep' would apply to a large number of places, including Thessaly as apparently here and in Hom. *Od. loc. cit.* (of Pelias at Iolcus).

3 [474] **ζῶν...κλέος**: this contrast between dead warrior and his deathless fame is not found in early sepulchral inscriptions, but appears already in Tyrtaeus *fr.* 12.31 οὐδέ ποτε κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀπόλλυται οὐδ' ὄνομ' αὐτοῦ. Cf. Gorgias *Vorsokr.* 6 τοιγαροῦν αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντων ὁ πόθος οὐ συναπέθανεν, ἀλλ' ἀθάνατος οὐκ ἐν ἀθανάτοις σώμασι ζῇ οὐ ζώντων, 'Simonides' 716 οὐδέ τεθνᾶσι θανόντες κτλ.

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### 4 [475] τλήμονες: *enduring, steadfast*.

ἀμφιέσαντο κόβιν: a common metaphor: Alcacus *fr.* 129.17 γᾶν ἐπιέμμενοι, Pind. *Nem.* 11.16 γᾶν ἐπιεσσόμενος, Xen. *Cyr.* 6.4.6 γῆν ἐπιέσασθαι, Theocritus 7.660.4 = *HE* 3429 ὀθνείαν κείμεν ἐφεσσόμενος, Leonidas of Tarentum 7.480.4 = *HE* 2430 γῆν ἐπιεννύμεθα, and often elsewhere.

## II

Epitaph for Aeschylus.

There is more than one reason why the ascription of this epigram to Aeschylus should not be taken seriously.

(1) In the Christian era, the *Life of Aeschylus* must have been the primary source for the epigram and the narrative in which it is embedded; now the *Life* says nothing about Aeschylus' authorship, on the contrary it states explicitly that the Geloans were responsible for the inscription. Plutarch says nothing about Aeschylus' authorship. Only Pausanias and Athenaeus jump to the conclusion that Aeschylus himself wrote the epigram.

(2) The epigram is in fact not an epitaph. An epitaph in the middle of the fifth century B.C. would not name the place of burial, even if the deceased came from some other place, unless the deceased spoke in the first person (as in Peek 7). The inscription written in the third person naturally says ἐνθάδε, τῇδε or the like; the Geloans had no need to inform themselves (or others) that the name of the place where they are reading the inscription is Gela. Even later, exceptions to this rule (which is one of common sense) are rare; Peek 46, c. 410 B.C. Moreover, no epitaph of so early a date could possibly have called the tomb 'the memorial of Gela'; it is the memorial of Aeschylus, not of Gela. It is useless to plead that his tomb might be called 'a monument of Gela' (Wilamowitz *Aisch.* p. 11); μνημά τινος in epitaphs never means anything but 'memorial (*i.e.* monument in memory of) the deceased'.

In short, the primary source contradicts the assumption later made that Aeschylus wrote the epigram, and in any case it is not a product of the fifth century B.C. It is a pseudo-epitaph, of a type common in the Hellenistic period.

It is surprising that this epigram never found its way into the *Anthology*.

vita Aeschyli p. 332 Page σφόδρα τῶι τε τυράννῳ Ἰέρωνι καὶ τοῖς Γελώοις τιμηθεὶς ἐπιζήσας τρίτον ἔτος γηραιὸς ἐτελεύτα... ἀποθανόντα δὲ Γελῶιοι πολυτελῶς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι θάψαντες ἐτίμησαν μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐπιγράψαντες οὕτως·

Αἰσχύλον Εὐφορίωνος Ἀθηναῖον τόδε κεῦθει  
μνημα καταφθίμενον πυροφόροιο Γέλας.  
ἀλκὴν δ' εὐδόκιμον Μαραθῶνιον ἄλσος ἂν εἴποι  
καὶ βαθυχαιτήεις Μῆδος ἐπιστάμενος.

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Plut. exil. 13, 604E ἀκήκοας δὲ δήπου καὶ τουτὶ τὸ ἐπιγραμματίον (1-2); Athen. 14.627C ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Αἰσχύλος τηλικαύτην δόξαν ἔχων διὰ τὴν ποιητικὴν οὐδὲν ἤττον ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου ἐπιγραφῆναι ἡξίωσεν μᾶλλον τὴν ἀνδρείαν, ποιήσας (3-4); cf. Paus. 1.14.5 Αἰσχύλος, ὥς οἱ τοῦ βίου προσεδοκᾶτο ἢ τελευτῇ, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐμνημόνευσεν οὐδενός, δόξης ἔς τοσοῦτο

## ‘AESCHYLUS’

ἦκων ἐπὶ ποιήσει καὶ πρὸ Ἀρτεμίου καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσας· ὁ δὲ τό τε ὄνομα πατρόθεν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐγράψε καὶ ὡς τῆς ἀνδρίας μάρτυρας ἔχοι τὸ Μαραθῶνι ἄλλος καὶ Μήδων τοὺς ἐς αὐτὸ ἀποβάντας. Cf. etiam Eustrat. ad Arist. eth. Nicom. 3.2, p. 146 Heylb. (1–2 πυροφόρον).

1 Ἀθηναίων vitae cod. M 2 μῆμα vita, Plut.: σῆμα Eustrat. πυροφόροιο Plut., vitae cod. B: πῶράφ- M, παρα- cod. Iviron, πυρα- rell. Γέλας Plut.: πέλας vita (σέλας aliquot codd.) 3 ἄλλος Plut., Athen., vitae cod. B: ἄλλος vitae rell. 4 βαθυχεταικεν Athen.

Jacobs\* 6.276, <sup>b</sup>App. 3; Preger 39; Peek 43; 2 p. 241 Bergk; 1 p. 78 Diehl.

2 [477] The difficulty of μῆμα...Γέλας (see Pref.) was much better appreciated by Salmasius and Jacobs than it has been since. The former conjectured πυροφόρον πρὸ Γέλας, the latter πέδωι for κατα-, neither persuasively.

Γέλας, not Γέλα. The city is Γέλα, genitive Γέλας, the river is Γέλας, genitive Γέλα; Diodorus 7.40. 3–4 = PG 2168–9 n.

3 [478] ἄλλος; not a suitable word for the battlefield of Marathon, and it is not probable that Aeschylus himself would have used it; the fact that he uses it strangely of the sea (see Broadhead on *Pers.* 100–3) has no apparent relevance.

4 [479] βαθυχαιτήεις; here only, but cf. Hes. *Theog.* 977 and *fr.* 217.1 Ἀριστᾶϊος βαθυχαιτῆς. ‘Deep’ means rather *thick* than *long*. As West says on Hesiod *loc. cit.*, it is suitable to the Greek *kouros*; it is not obviously appropriate to distinguish Persians from others, nor so far as I know is such a distinction made elsewhere. The monuments show Persian notables with thick buns of hair on the nape.

Athenaeus’ text is curious: faced with βαθυχαιτῆεις Μῆδοι, somebody adapted the adjective to the plural, βαθυχάιται, and filled the gap with κεν, repeated from ἄν.

## ‘AGATHON’

### I

On Καῖρός.

The heading in Stobaeus is suspect; Wachsmuth and Hense transfer it to an entry just above, 1.8.14, and suggest Σιμωνίδου for μόνου in cod. P’s title here. The ascription to Agathon is generally rejected (*e.g.* by Diehl *ALG* 1.134 and Snell *TGF* 1 p. 161), and the status of the lines as an epigram rather than an extract from an elegy is questionable.

Stobaeus ecl. 1.8.16 Ἀγάθωνος cod. F, Ἀγάθωνος μόνου cod. P

ὠφελεν, ὡς ἀφανής, οὕτω φανερώτατος εἶναι  
Καῖρός, ὃς αὐξάνεται πλεῖστον ἀπ’ εὐλαβίης. 480

1 ὠφελεν Grotius: ὠφελον codd.

Not in Jacobs; 2 p. 268 Bergk; 1 p. 134 Diehl.

## ‘ALCIBIADES’

## ‘ALCIBIADES’

### I

Alcibiades’ joke.

Eupolis attacked Alcibiades in a play called *Βάπτται*; Alcibiades threw Eupolis into the sea on the way to Sicily, making a pun on the title of the offending play.

The story is fiction, and the epigram is obviously made for this context (*historia falsa fort. genuinis nata versibus*, West; but it is hard to imagine what story but this these lines could possibly have suited). See the Introductory Note p. 129.

schol. Aristid. III p. 444 D. ἄλλοι δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι ἐκωμῶιδουν ὀνομαστὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας μέχρις Εὐπόλιδος, περιεῖλε δὲ τοῦτο Ἀλκιβιάδης ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ ῥήτωρ. κωμωιδηθεὶς γὰρ παρὰ Εὐπόλιδος ἔρριπεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ ἐν Σικελίᾳ συστρατευόμενον, εἰπὼν·

βάπτες μ’ ἐν θυμέλῃσιν, ἐγὼ δέ σε κύμασι πόντου  
βαπτίζων ὀλέσω νάμασι πικροτάτοις. 483

Tzetz. π. κωμωιδίας pp. 20, 27–8 Kaibel, *fabulam eandem multo plenius narrat*; *exscripsit West, Iambi et Elegi Graeci 2.29, cum aliis testimoniis*, incl. Cic. ad Att. 6.1.18 ‘*quis enim non dixit Εὐπολιν τὸν τῆς ἀρχαίας ab Alcibiade navigante in Siciliam deiectum esse in mare? redarguit Eratos-thenes; adfert enim quas ille post id tempus fabulas docuerit.*’

1 βάπτες μ’ ἐν Meineke: βάπτε με ἐν schol., βάπτ’ ἐμὲ σὺ utroque loco Tzetz.

Not in Jacobs; 2 p. 268 Bergk; 1 p. 133 Diehl.

1 [482] **βάπτες**: though the imperative, implying future action, seems oddly applied to a man who is about to drown, it could be tolerated if the text were secure; but it is not, and βάπτες μ’ ἐν is as likely a correction as βάπτε σύ μ’ ἐν (Hiller–Crusius).

**ἐν θυμέλῃσιν**: *on the stage*, in the play called *Baptai*.

2 [483] ‘*fort. πικροτέροις*’ West.

## ‘ANACREON’<sup>1</sup>

### I

Epitaph for Agathon, who died defending Abdera.

Bergk (*PLG* 3.281) and Wilamowitz (*SS* 107 n.1) are among the very few who do not simply assume that the *Anthology* tells the truth in ascribing this epigram to Anacreon. *Hoc autem epigramma num quis Anacreontis esse negabit?*, asked Weber (*Anacreontea* 37); its authenticity is accepted without question by Friedländer (*Epigrammata* p. 68) and Bowra (*Early Greek Elegists* 181), and without apparent misgiving by almost all the editors, including Gentili (*Anacreon*

<sup>1</sup> Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 6.197–201; 3 p. 281–6 Bergk; 4 p. 189–92 Diehl.



## ‘ANACREON’

p. 101). The burden of proof is on the believers, and the proper question is *hoc autem epigramma num quis Anacreontis esse demonstrare potest?*

If it is an inscriptional epitaph, as most – including Peek (915) and Wilamowitz – suppose, it was unsigned. We do not know that there was an early tradition that Anacreon composed it; and, if there was, we should still need to know what the authority for that tradition may have been. We must also make allowance for the obvious possibilities (a) that it was an anonymous epigram ascribed to Anacreon because of the mention of Abdera, a place where Anacreon is said to have resided for a time, and (b) that it is a forgery, like some of the epigrams ascribed to Sappho, Simonides, and Plato, the place ‘Abdera’ being chosen in order to make the heading ‘by Anacreon’ the more credible.

The epigram itself offers no clue to its date. The composition, which is clear and strong, reflects the style rather of the literary than of the inscriptional epigram. The phrasing is generally Homeric, but with some original touches. There is nothing incompatible with any date within a period of at least three centuries.

Whether it is inscriptional remains an open question. There is no particular reason why it should not be. Friedländer denies it, because of the use of the words πόλις ἦδε: ‘no epitaph would refer the word “this” to anything but the dead man, or the tomb or its ornaments, or the highway passing by (*sic*);’ this peculiar statement is instantly refuted by Peek 20.9 πόλις ἦδε ποθεῖ, 1532.1 πόλις ἦδε ποθὴν ἔχει. The truth is that the chances are even; the epigram may be a literary exercise, or it may be a copy of an inscription.

A.P. 7.226, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPI] Ἀνακρέοντος [P] Τηίου [J] εἰς Ἀγάθωνα  
στρατιώτην ἐν Ἀβδηρίοις

Ἀβδήρων προθανόντα τὸν αἰνοβίην Ἀγάθωνα  
παῖς· ἐπὶ πυρκαϊῆς ἦδ’ ἐβόησε πόλις· 485  
οὗ τίνα γὰρ τοιόνδε νέων ὁ φιλαίματος Ἄρης  
ἠνάρισε στυγερῆς ἐν στροφάλιγγι μάχης.

Suda s.vv. προθανόντα (1), αἰνοβίας (1–2), ἠνάρισεν (3–4)

1 [484] αἰνοβίην: here only.

2 [485] ἐβόησε: βοᾶν τίνα is not Homeric and not very common later; in the sense ‘lament for someone’ some such word as ὀλοφυνδνά (Anyte 7.486.2 = HE 681), πολυπένθιμον (Diotimus 7.475 = HE 1741), or αἰακτώι (anon. 7.482 = HE 3861) is always present. At S. El. 802 the meaning is probably ‘bawl’ rather than ‘lament’. Hence Wakefield ἐγόησε here.

3–4 [486–7] The editors quote Hom. Il. 5.844 τὸν μὲν Ἄρης ἐνάριζε μαιφόνος; the author has preferred φιλαίματος, a very rare word (Tragedy only; A. ScT 45, E. Phoen. 174, Rhés. 932).

στυγερῆς...μάχης: στυγεροῦ πολέμοιο Hom. Il. 4.240, 6. 330, πολέμοιο...στυγεροῖο 19.230.

στροφάλιγγι μάχης: adaptation of a rare Homeric phrase, Il. 16.775, 21.503, Od. 24.39, στροφάλιγγι κούρης.

## ‘ANACREON’

### II

Epitaph for Timocritus.

See 1 Pref.; the same points of principle apply. Weber and Friedländer ask why the epigram should be taken away from Anacreon; the proper question was, why should it be given to him? The only witness, the *Anthology*, is notoriously unreliable in such a case. If the epigram was inscriptional, it was unsigned, and the ascription to Anacreon is presumably the product of guess-work; if it is a pseudo-epitaph, merely a literary exercise (for the sake of the neat pentameter), it is certainly much later than the age of Anacreon.

It is commonly assumed (e.g. by Bergk *PLG* 3.281, Peek 888, Wilamowitz *TG* 36 n. 4, Beckby 2.578) that the epigram is an inscriptional epitaph; if it is, it is probably much later than the age of Anacreon, for, as Friedländer observes (*Epigrammata* p. 69), ‘the sententious pentameter has no counterpart on the tombstones, at least in the archaic period’; there is indeed nothing like it in the fifth century.

A.P. 7.160, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPI] Ἀνακρέοντος [J] εἰς Τιμόκριτον ἀριστέα

καρτερὸς ἐν πολέμοις Τιμόκριτος, οὗ τόδε σᾶμα.

Ἄρης δ’ οὐκ ἀγαθῶν φείδεται ἀλλὰ κακῶν. 489

1 [488] ἐν: ἦν Bergk, but cf. Hom. *Il.* 9.53 πολέμῳ ἐνὶ καρτερός, whence Weber conjectured πολέμῳ here; cf. also *Od.* 14.222 τοῖς ἔα ἐν πολέμῳ.

### III

On Cleanorides, lost at sea.

*Carmen hoc ab antiqua simplicitate aliquantum abhorret*, said Bergk (*PLG* 3.285), with admirable self-restraint. He thought Leonidas a likely author, and the style is in favour of this. Moreover, the *lemma* to the following epigram, 7.264, ascribed to Leonidas (= *HE* lx), describes it as ‘addressed to the same Cleanorides’; now Cleanorides is the subject of the present epigram but not of 7.264 (where no subject is named), and Bergk thought that this carelessness or confusion was more easily explicable if both epigrams were by the same author. That may be so, but we still cannot explain why Anacreon should have supplanted Leonidas in the heading to 7.263.

The epigram is followed by an extract from the *Garland* of Meleager, with which it presumably coheres; it is certainly an Hellenistic composition.

A.P. 7.263, Pl<sup>A</sup> [CPI] Ἀνακρέοντος [C] Τηίου [J] εἰς Κληνορίδην (C: Κλεάνορα J) ναυαγήσαντα [denuo ad v. 2 J] εἰς Κλεάνορα

καὶ σέ, Κληνορίδη, πόθος ὤλεσε πατρίδος αἵης 490

θαρσήσαντα νότου λαίλαπτι χειμερίῃ·

ὦρῃ γάρ σε πέδησεν ἀνέγκυος, ὕγρα δὲ τὴν σὴν

κύματ’ ἀφ’ ἱμερτὴν ἐκλυσεν ἡλικίην.

2 θαρσήσαντα Pl: -αντι P    3 ἀνέγκυος P    4 ἀμφ’ Pl

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**2 [491] θαρσήσαντα:** Weber (*Anacreontea* 38) discusses at length the constructions of θαρσεῖν but misses the only point of importance: θαρσεῖν, whether with dative, accusative, or a prepositional phrase, implies situations in which confidence or courage is naturally or at least reasonably to be expected (whatever the actual outcome may be), as in *e.g.* Thuc. 7.49.1 ναυσί...ἐθάρσησε, Hom. *Od.* 8.197 θάρσει τόνδε γ’ ἀέθλον, Plato *Rep.* 566b θαρρήσαντες ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν. The use here is different and difficult, as one expects in an Hellenistic epigram: ‘placing your confidence in a wintry storm’ would be nonsense, which the translators avoid by inaccurate paraphrase; the meaning is ‘being over-confident, taking risks, in a wintry storm’. If there is any parallel, it will not be found in the lexica.

**νότου λαίλαπι:** based on Hom. *Il.* 11.306 νότοιο...λαίλαπι; cf. Leonidas of Tarentum 7.503.4 = *HE* 2358 Ἀρκτούρου λαίλαπι, Alcaeus 7.495.1–2 = *HE* 90–1 βορείης λαίλαπος.

**χειμερίη:** *wintry*, not *of winter*; see the next note.

**3–4 [492–3] ὥρη...πέδησεν:** *fettered* is an unsuitable verb for *season*, intelligible as an adaptation of the Homeric Μοῖρα πέδησεν.

**ἀνέγγυος:** Wilamowitz (*SS* 107 n. 1), while admitting that the style of the epigram is that of the third century B.C., could nevertheless think of no reason why this should not be a genuine ‘elegy’ by Anacreon; the present phrase is one of several such reasons. No poet of the sixth or fifth century would have used such an expression as ὥρη ἀνέγγυος. The adjective, which reflects the language of the law-courts, appears first in Euripides, *Erechtheus* fr. 369\* (Snell *Supplementum* p. 7; fr. 61 Austin), ἀνέγγυοι γάμοι, and Plato *Rep.* 461b νόθον καὶ ἀνέγγυον καὶ ἀνιερὸν...παῖδα; Adam *ad loc.*, ‘an ἀνέγγυος γάμος is a marriage without an ἐγγύη or contract between the parents of the betrothing parties’. The translators paraphrase loosely, following Hesychius, ἀνέγγυος· ἀπιστος (and so Nonnus understood it, writing Ζεφύροιο προάγγελος ἐγγυος ὥρη, *Dion.* 3.10, where ἐγγυος = *reliable*). The meaning is *illegitimate*; storms in the winter are true-born, wintry storms in other seasons have no proper credentials. Cleanorides sailed at a time when moderate weather was entitled to prevail; wintry weather had no right to appear, but it did in fact appear, and Cleanorides took a bold risk (θαρσήσαντα). The phrase is extremely sophisticated, of a type acceptable and indeed admired in the Hellenistic period.

**ὕγρα:** *wet waves* may seem tame to us, but not so to the Greeks; Hom. *Od.* 4.458 ὑγρὸν ὕδωρ, Pind. *Ol.* 7.69 ἀλὸς ὑγρᾶς, *Pyth.* 4.40 ὑγρῶι πελάγει, A. *Suppl.* 259 ὑγρᾶς θαλάσσης, E. *IA* 948 ὑγρῶν κυμάτων, fr. 636.6 ὑγροῖς κύμασιν.

**ἄφ’...ἡλικίην:** conventional phrasing; cf. ‘Simonides’ 1003 ἄφ’ ἡμερτῆν ἔπνεεν ἡλικίην, Mnasilces 7.491.1–2 = *HE* 2639–40 ἀπὸ...ἐκλασας ἡλικίαν.

**ἐκλυσεν:** cf. Archilochus fr. 13. 3–4 τοίους γὰρ κατὰ κύμα...ἐκλυσεν; κατακλύζω is a much more suitable compound than the present author’s ἀποκλύζω in this sort of context.

## IV

Dedication to Hermes by Tellias.

‘Telesias the son of Tellias of the deme *Euonymon*’ is the subject of an inscription dated somewhat before 322 B.C. (*IG* vii 4255; Kirchner 13517), and Tellias

## ‘ANACREON’

of the deme *Euonymon* is the subject of the present epigram. The name is not common, and it is highly probable that the same family is represented, likely enough that Tellias is the same person, in both.

The occasion of the dedication is not stated but is presumably implicit in the word εὐθυδίκων and in the prayer that Tellias may live happily in the deme *Euonymon*. Evidently he is a newcomer there, who has received ‘straight justice’ from the deme. Wilamowitz asserted that Tellias is a *metoikos* expressing gratitude for permission to reside; it is equally possible that he is an Athenian citizen born in another deme who has bought property in *Euonymon* and come to live there; perhaps he was exempted (as some were) from the regular tax (ἐγκτητικόν; Lipsius *Attische Recht* 2.677 n. 9) by favour of the Demarchos and his Assembly (on their powers in the fourth century see Hignett *The History of the Athenian Constitution to the end of the fifth century B.C.* (Oxford 1952) 136). But there is neither end to nor value in such speculation.

A.P. 6.346 (caret Pl) Ἀνακρέοντος

Τελλίαι ἡμερόεντα βίον πόρε, Μαιάδος υἱέ,  
 ἀντ’ ἐρατῶν δώρων τῶνδε χάριν θέμενος· 495  
 δὸς δέ μιν εὐθυδίκων Εὐωνυμέων ἐνὶ δήμῳ  
 ναίειν αἰῶνος μοῖραν ἔχοντ’ ἀγαθήν.

1 Τελλίαι Reiske: τελαίαι P ἡμερόεντα Ap. L.: ἡμερ- P

1 [494] ἡμερόεντα: the adjective is somewhat oddly applied to βίος.

Μαιάδος υἱέ: a common formula in *h. Herm*; first in Hom. *Od.* 14.435.

2 [495] ἀντ’ ἐρατῶν...χάριν: the *quid pro quo*, here defined at length in the second couplet, is a commonplace feature of dedicatory epigrams from the earliest period onwards: *IG* xiv 652 δὸς δέ μ’ ἐν ἀνθρώποις δόξαν ἔχειν ἀγαθάν, xii 5.215 τῶν γενεῆν βίον τ’ αὖξ’ ἐν ἀπημοσύνη, 1 2.700 ἀγαθῶν τῷ σὺ δὸς ἀφθονίαν, ‘Anacreon’ 506 δίδου χάριν, 509 οἷς χάριν ἀντιδίδου.

ἐρατῶν δώρων: see Trypanis *CQ* n.s. 1 (1951) 31, ‘From 510 onwards the stone τετράγωνος Ἑρμῆς spread all over Attica not only, or primarily, as a milestone but also as a cult-statue...Such stone *Hermæ* were then frequently dedicated and worshipped by private individuals; they were placed at the boundaries and at the gates of fields, villas, and houses; they were set up in the city, the gymnasia, and the palaestrae; and men put crowns of flowers upon their heads...and offered sacrifices on altars set up to them’; the ‘beautiful gifts’ of Tellias imply a formal act of worship, whether at a *Herm* in front of his own house or elsewhere (*e.g.* in a public place in the deme or at one of the well-known altars or statues in Athens; Paus. 1.15.1, 1.30.2).

3 [496] εὐθυδίκων: a rare compound, Bacchyl. 5.6 φρένα εὐθύδικον, A. Ag. 761 οἴκων εὐθυδικῶν, *cf.* *Eum.* 312 εὐθυδικαῖοι δ’ εὐχόμεθ’ εἶναι; earlier as a proper name (Fraenkel on A. Ag. *loc. cit.*). For the probable implication, see Pref.

Εὐωνυμέων: *Euonymon* was a deme of the tribe *Erechtheis*; Hesych. *s.v.*, *RE* 6.1156.

## ‘ANACREON’

### V

Three Bacchanals bring offerings to Dionysus.

This is not an epigram accompanying a dedication but (as Jacobs first observed) a description of a work of art, more probably a painting (see 1-2 n.) than a bas-relief of the type illustrated in the Budé edition *ad loc.* Both the genre and the style point to the Hellenistic period.

A.P. 6.134, Pl<sup>B</sup> [PPI] Ἀνακρέοντος [P] ἀνάθημα

ἦ τὸν θυρσὸν ἔχουσ’ Ἑλικωνιάς ἥ τε παρ’ αὐτὴν  
 Ξανθίππη Γλαύκη τ’ εἰς χορὸν ἐρχόμεναι  
 ἐξ ὄρεος χωρεῦσι, Διωνύσῳι δὲ φέρουσι 500  
 κισσὸν καὶ σταφυλὴν πίνονα καὶ χίμαρον.

1 ἃ δὲ παρ’ αὐτὰν in ἡ δὲ παρ’ αὐτὴν mut. (vel vice versa) Pl      2 τ’ εἰς χορὸν P: δ’ ἡ σχεδὸν Pl      ἐρχομένη Pl

**1-2 [498-9]** The proper names must have been read on the work of art, and this is a strong argument for painting against sculpture.

ἦ τε: αἶ τε Jacobs.

εἰς χορὸν ἐρχόμεναι: perhaps there was some indication of this in the picture, but it may be the author’s inference. Planudes’ reading is presumably an ancient variant.

**4 [501]** Hecker rearranged, κισσὸν καὶ χίμαρον πίνονα καὶ σταφυλὴν, and indeed the dislocation of copulative καὶ is a phenomenon to which no parallel is quoted by Denniston *Greek Particles*; see however the note on Philodemus 5.112.5 = PG 3272, ἡνίκα καὶ νῦν = καὶ νῦν ἡνίκα.

### VI

On a racehorse owned by Pheidolas, victorious in the Games.

For commentary on this epigram, which comes from the second half of the sixth century B.C., see the Preface to anon. xcvi.

A.P. 6.135 (caret Pl) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνάθημα τῷ Διὶ παρὰ Φειδόλα

οὗτος Φειδόλα ἵππος ἀπ’ εὐρυχόροιο Κορίνθου  
 ἄγκειται Κρονίδαι, μᾶμα ποδῶν ἀρετᾶς. 503

### VII

Dedication of a garment by two ladies.

Nine epigrams ascribed to Anacreon (vi-xiii and xv) are two-line dedications. Two of them (ix and xv) are known to be inscriptional and more or less contemporary with Anacreon; another (vi) may be confidently accepted as a victor-inscription of the later sixth century B.C., and another (x) describes its subject as the work of Anaxagoras, presumably the sculptor who flourished c. 480 B.C. Now all these epigrams are much alike in the extreme simplicity of their style, and if four of them are certainly or probably datable in the time of Anacreon, it is natural to wonder whether the rest of them may come from the same period.

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One of them (xiii) names the Thessalian prince Echekratidas, a contemporary of Anacreon, and in another (vii) one of the dedicators is ‘Dyseris’, a name familiar only as that of the wife of Echekratidas. The natural suspicion that these names were selected in order to make the ascription to Anacreon more credible cannot be dispelled but is weakened by the fact that so high a proportion of the other dedications in this group can be referred to the late sixth or early fifth century B.C.

As dedications were always unsigned, and as there is neither evidence for nor probability in a theory that authors in this early period assembled and published such casual work of this type as they may have composed, we conclude that there never was any firm foundation for the ascription to Anacreon. But neither is it probable that the ascriptions had their origin in forgery or idle guesswork. It is a reasonable guess that this homogeneous group, of which at least half is certainly or probably contemporary with Anacreon, represents a collection of ancient inscriptions made in the Hellenistic period (probably early within it) and deliberately circulated under Anacreon’s name in the belief that style, contents, and date were appropriate. It is quite likely that the same publication included epitaphs (i and ii); whether it originally included also such deliberate forgeries as iii, iv, v, and xiv remains an open question.

The fact that the recipient divinity is not named in the present epigram may be an indication of early date: Hellenistic and early Imperial dedications in A.P. regularly name the recipient, dedications in the sixth and fifth centuries quite often do not; cf. Anacreon ix and other early examples assembled in the Preface to Apollonides 6.239 = PG iii, where the very rare exceptions to the rule in the two *Garlands* also are recorded.

A.P. 6.136 (caret Pl) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνάθημα

Πρηξιδίκη μὲν ἔρεξεν, ἐβούλευσεν δὲ Δύστηρις,  
εἶμα τόδε· ξυνή δ’ ἀμφοτέρων σοφίη. 505

Suda s.v. εἶμα (1–2)

2 [505] ξυνή: cf. Friedländer and Hoffleit no. 153 (early V B.C.) ξυνὸν Ἀθανοδώρῳ τε καὶ Ἀσσωποδώρῳ τόδε φέρων.

## VIII

Dedication to Apollo by Naucrates.

A.P. 6.137 (caret Pl) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνάθημα τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι παρὰ Ναυκράτους

πρόφρων, Ἀργυρότοξε, δίδου χάριν Αἰσχύλου υἱῷ  
Ναυκράτει, εὐχολὰς τάσδ’ ὑποδεξάμενος. 507

1 [506] Ἀργυρότοξε: so Apollo is addressed in Hom. *Il.* 21.229.

δίδου χάριν: see 495 n.

2 [507] Ναυκράτει: the name is common.

εὐχολὰς: *res voto promissae*, as Jacobs said; probably much the earliest example of that sense (LSJ s.v. 1 2).

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### IX

Dedication of a Herm.

Calliteles in former years dedicated a Herm, now his grandchildren dedicate another, presumably to replace the old one. This epigram is partly preserved on a marble Herm found near Daphni in Attica.

The ascription of an unsigned dedication to Anacreon can only be a guess, and here it appears inconsistent with the contents of the epigram itself. See *iv* 2 n. and Trypanis *CQ* n.s. 1 (1951) 33: the dedication of Herms by private persons began late in the sixth century and became common early in the fifth. If Calliteles was among the earliest, dedicating his Herm *c.* 510 B.C., the date of his grandchildren's dedication can hardly be earlier than 480 and is likely to be much later. Trypanis has shown that it is indeed probable that Anacreon spent some time in Athens in the first decade of the fifth century, but he was surely not still living when the grandchildren of Calliteles were grown up.

On the epigraphic dating of the inscription see G. S. Roberts and E. A. Gardner *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy* (2 vols. Cambridge 1887, 1905) 439, Trypanis *loc. cit.* 33 n. 1, Labarbe in *SEG* 21.93, and Pfohl *ibid.* 25.52. Such dates as 525–520 B.C. (Labarbe) are absolutely ruled out by the fact that this is an inscription for a Herm in the third generation of a family; the middle of the fifth century (Pfohl) is a date suitable to the contents.

A.P. 6.138 (caret Pl) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμοίως

πρὶν μὲν Καλλιτέλης ἰδρύσατο, τόνδε δ' ἐκείνου  
ἔγγονοι ἐστήσανθ', οἷς χάριν ἀντιδίδου. 509

*IG* 1 381 = *IG* 1<sup>2</sup> 834 s.a.n., 1 πριμ – ἠδρυσατ[ 2 ε]γ[γ]ονοιστήσαν[

1 μ' ἰδρ- P 2 ἔγγονοι P ἐστάσανθ' P

1 [508] μ' ἰδρύσατο P, but the epigram is addressed to Hermes (2 ἀντιδίδου), not spoken by him; the stone has the right text.

τόνδε: the present Herm.

2 [509] ἔγγονοι: *grandchildren* or generally *descendants*, here probably the former; the word would not have been used of *children* of Calliteles, and therefore implies a generation-gap of at least twenty years (so Trypanis), more probably thirty to forty years.

χάριν ἀντιδίδου: see 495 n.

### X

Dedication by Praxagoras.

The artist named in 2 is more or less confidently identified with Anaxagoras of Aegina, who made a bronze statue of Zeus, erected at Olympia after the battle of Plataea; Paus. 5.23.3, *RE* 1.2077, Brunn *Gesch. d. gr. Künstler* 1<sup>2</sup> 60.

A.P. 6.139 (caret Pl) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνάθημα παρὰ Πραξαγόρα

Πραξαγόρας τάδε δῶρα θεοῖς ἀνέθηκε, Λυκαίου 510  
υἱός, ἐποίησεν δ' ἔργον Ἀναξαγόρας.

1–2 [510–11] θεοῖς: cf. Anacr. 526 θεοῖς...ἰδρύσατο and anon. 1524 ἀνέθηκε θεοῖσι; the identity of the recipients is not defined (see vii Pref.). The only

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parallels to this vagueness in the *Garlands* are Theodoridas 6.222.4 = *HE* 3523 δαίμοσι and Apollonides 6.238.6 = *PG* 1136 δαίμον.

Friedländer conjectured θεοῖν (Demeter and Persephone; cf. *IG* v 1.231 Χαλκοδάμανς μ’ ἀνέθηκε θεοῖν περικαλλῆς ἄγαλμα).

**Λυκαίου:** not elsewhere as a personal name, so far as I know.

## XI

Dedication by Melanthus after victory in the theatre.

Melanthus was victorious with a chorus, presumably dithyrambic, at a Dionysiac festival. The dialect (altered to Ionic by some of the early editors) does not exclude Athens as the site, though it is obviously against the ascription to Anacreon. Melanthus must have been the Director, χοροδιδάσκαλος, responsible for the dedication (a tripod) and for the inscription. The brevity and simplicity of the epigram favour an early date.

A.P. 6.140 (caret Pl) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνάθημα παρὰ Μελάνθου τῇ Σεμέλει

παιδὶ φιλοστεφάνωι Σεμέλας ἀνέθηκε Μέλανθος,

μῦμα χοροῦ νίκας, υἱὸς Ἀρηϊφίλου.

513

1 φιλοστεφάνωι Barnes: -νου P

The *lemma* carelessly attributes the dedication to Semele instead of her son.

**1 [512] φιλοστεφάνωι:** Friedländer, followed by Gentili, rejected this emendation on the ground that compounds with -στέφανος, when used in the singular number, generally apply to goddesses, not to gods. The objection seems pedantic; the fact remains that Semele was not specially a lover of wreaths and Dionysus was, and there is no intrinsic reason why the epithet should not be applied to him.

μ’ ἀνέθηκε Hecker, perhaps rightly.

**2 [513] nomen Ἀρηϊφίλος, id quod me monet Wilamowitzii auctoritas, a vetusto Graecorum appellatiōis more omnino abhorret,** Weber *Anacreontea* 34. Some of the later editors have thought this very acute observation decisive, and they may be right; there is indeed no other example of this proper-name at any date, and nothing much like it (it is taken from an Homeric epithet) in the classical period. But odd names do occur in odd places, and the dialect indicates that wherever Melanthus came from it was not Attica or Ionia; it seems imprudent to rule out the possibility of an early date on this ground alone.

## XII

Dedication of a shield to Athena.

The extreme simplicity of this epigram both in content and in phrase indicates that it is of early date and that it is an inscriptional record of an actual event; as a mere literary exercise it would be pointless. What the same theme looks like when transformed by Hellenistic taste may be seen in Zosimus 9.40 = v, Diocles 9.109 = *PG* iii, and Leonides of Alexandria 9.42 = xvi.

A.P. 6.141 (caret Pl) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνάθημα τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ

ῥυσαμένα Πύθωνα δυσαχέος ἐκ πολέμοιο

ἀσπίς Ἀθηναίας ἐν τεμένει κρέματαί.

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Suda s.v. *δυσηχέος* (1–2) 1 *ῥυσαμένη...δυσηχέος* Suda 2 Ἀθηναίος Stadtmüller: -αίης P

1 [514] *δυσαχέος ἐκ πολέμοιο*: straight from Homer, *Il.* 2.686 *πολέμοιο δυσηχέος*.

2 [515] The temptation to read *κρέμαμαι* (Bergk) is very strong; cf. Mnasalces 6.264.1–2 = *HE* 2621–2 *ἀσπισ...δῶρον Ἀπόλλωνι...δέδομαι*.

## XIII

Dedication by Echekratidas to Dionysus.

Echekratidas, king of Thessaly, had a son Orestes who lived for a time in exile and tried to regain his realm with Athenian help in 454 B.C. (Thuc. 1.111.1, with Gomme 1.324 on the title ‘king’). Echekratidas won at Olympia with the *κέλης* (Pliny *h.n.* 10.180), and was a patron of Simonides (*PMG* 528); his wife was named Dyseris (see vii Pref.).

Echekratidas may have been named in order to make the ascription to Anacreon more credible, but the fact that so many of the dedications in this group are certainly or probably copies of inscriptions from the first half of the fifth century B.C. is a point in favour of this one’s claim to a date in that period.

A.P. 6.142 (caret Pl) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνάθημα τῷ Διονύσῳ

σάν τε χάριν, Διόνυσε, καὶ ἀγλὰν ἄσπεϊ κόσμον  
Θεσσαλίας μ’ ἀνέθηκ’ ἀρχὸς Ἐχεκράτιδας.

517

1 post Διόνυσε, δίδου scr. et del. P

1 [516] *σάν...χάριν* = σοὶ χάριν, in balance with *ἄσπεϊ κόσμον*. This is not quite the same as the common idiom *σὴν χάριν* = σοῦ χάριν, ‘for your sake’, illustrated at length by Weber *Anacreontea* 32 and K.–G. 1.461.

*ἄσπεϊ*: the chief city of the realm of Echekratidas was Pharsalus (cf. Thuc. *loc. cit.*). Waltz and Beckby, presumably because the god is Dionysus, suppose that Athens is meant; references to the cult of Dionysus in Thessaly are indeed sparse and relatively late (Farnell *Cults* 5.325).

## XIV, XV

After xiv there is a vacant space in P equivalent to six lines<sup>1</sup> (the Corrector notes οὐ λείπει ὥς οἶμαι οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα); then follows xv with the heading τοῦ αὐτοῦ, which in this series means Anacreon. Now xv recurs after A.P. 6.213 with the same heading τοῦ αὐτοῦ, within a series ascribed to Simonides. And the epigram preceding 6.213, also ascribed to Simonides, has some points in common with Anacreon’s xiv, most notably the beginning εὐχεο, not found in any other extant epigram.

These phenomena are discussed by Marcus Boas in nine pages of argument (*de epigr. Simon.* 150–8) so intricate as to deter later editors from expounding or

<sup>1</sup> The idea that this lacuna contained an epigram ascribed to Simonides, so that τοῦ αὐτοῦ in the heading to xv might mean Simonides as it does in 6.213<sup>b</sup>, is rejected by Boas 151; he might have added the argument that the alphabetical order favours the coherence of xv with the Anacreon-series (supposing that 6.143 is, as he believed, an incongruous intruder).

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expressing any opinion about it. The essential conclusions are in part: (a) that xv was repeated in the second context because of its thematic similarity to 6.212 (= ‘Simonides’ LXII; ἄλνον ἔχεις Χαρίτων ~ οὐκ ἔλαθες Χάριτας); (b) that 6.213<sup>b</sup> (= the second appearance of xv) originally stood after 6.212, not as now after 6.213; (c) that 6.212 is a ‘twin’ (presumably a model for imitation) of xiv, and originally had the heading Ἀνακρέοντος, so that the heading τοῦ αὐτοῦ for 6.213<sup>b</sup> originally meant Anacreon, not as now Simonides; (d) that the other ‘twin’, xiv, was placed before xv in the Anacreon-series despite the breach of the alphabetical order so that the sequence should be similar in both places, one of the εὔχεο-epigrams followed by Στροίβου παῖ κτλ.; (e) that, as an epigram of Imperial date (Kaibel *Ep. Gr. Suppl.* 928<sup>a</sup>), having imitated ‘Simonides’ xxviii (which is not in *A.P.*), proceeds to imitate xv, the *Anthology* must at that time have had the order ‘Simonides’ 6.213, ‘Simonides’ xxviii (now missing from *A.P.*), 6.213<sup>b</sup> (= xv).

To observe the acute and penetrating mind of Boas in operation is always rewarding; but in the present instance, while some truth may be revealed, divination plays a very large part and hard fact is seldom on the stage.

## XIV

Dedication of a Herm by Timonax.

Hermes was patron of athletics, ἐναγώνιος, and Herms were commonly placed in front of gymnasia (Farnell *Cults* 5.28–30, 71).

As usual, we must conclude that the ascription to Anacreon of an unsigned inscription cannot be better than a guess; and it is easy to agree with Trypanis (*CQ* n.s. 1 (1951) 33–4) that ‘the florid and commonplace style’ is an additional argument against the ascription. Trypanis adds that ‘the mention of full liberty for ξεῖνοι and ἄστοί to train in the gymnasium points to a later date’, but it is not clear how this is to be proved. The epigram looks more like an inscription than an Hellenistic literary exercise, and might come from any time within a period of a couple of centuries.

Boas (p. 156 n. 126) observes that xiv is closely related to *A.P.* 6.212 (= ‘Simonides’ LXII), the only other epigram beginning with the word εὔχεο. xiv is judged to be the inferior, and therefore the imitation, mainly on the grounds (a) that θεὸν Λητοῖδην in 6.212 is not further defined whereas θεῶν κήρυκα in xiv is explained by Ἑρμῇ; (b) that ξείνων τε καὶ οἱ ναίουσι Κόρινθον is apt in 6.212 whereas ἄστῶν καὶ ξείνων is merely formulaic in xiv; (c) that ἐρατά is nonsense as an epithet of πρόθυρα and a sign of inferior and relatively late composition. Stronger arguments would be welcome, but it may be agreed that xiv is the weaker composition of the two.

*A.P.* 6.143 (caret Pl) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνάθημα τῷ Ἑρμῇ παρὰ Τιμώνακτος

εὔχεο Τιμώνακτι θεῶν κήρυκα γενέσθαι

ῆπιον, ὃς μ’ ἐρατοῖς ἀγλαίην προθύροις

Ἑρμῇ τε κρείοντι καθέσσατο. τὸν δ’ ἐθέλοντα

520

ἄστῶν καὶ ξείνων γυμνασίῳ δέχομαι.

3 κρείοντι Valckenaer: κρείοντι P

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**1 [518] εὐχεο:** the Herm addresses the passer-by; it is remarkable that, as in xv, it distinguishes itself from the god whom it represents (θεῶν κήρυκα, Ἑρμῆι).

**2 [519] ἐρατοῖς:** Boas is too hard on this epithet (*nihili est*); Timonax was evidently fond of the gymnasium, and ‘delightful’ may be as appropriate to the portals of a public building as to a farmer’s fields (Hes. *Theog.* 879) or to a city as a whole (*h. Apoll.* 477).

**3 [520] κρείοντι:** uniquely of Hermes here, as of Achelous in Hom. *Il.* 21.194; of gods, Zeus and Poseidon are generally so described, but the epithet is much more often applied to mortal kings.

## XV

Dedication of a Herm by Leocrates.

Leocrates was Athenian *strategos* in 479 and again in 459 B.C. (Thuc. 1.105.2, Diodor. 11.78; *RE* 12.2001, Kirchner 9084); whether he is the same person as the Leocrates named in connection with Simonides (*PMG* 510) remains an open question.

The first couplet of this epigram reappears on a headless and otherwise mutilated Herm found near Marcopoulo in eastern Attica, published by Wilhelm, *Jahreshefte d. Oesterr. Archäolog. Instituts Wien* 2 (1899) 221–44 (reprinted in *Die Gr. Elegie*, ed. Pfohl (1972) 290–322, to which I refer), and discussed by Boas, *de epigr. Simon.* 154ff.

The fact that the second couplet is a later appendage, indicated by its absence from the stone and by its superfluity, is proved by its content and style. The first couplet does all that is necessary, stating the fact of the dedication, giving the names of the dedicator and the god, and adding that the Graces (with whom Hermes was closely associated in cult; Wilhelm 307, Friedländer *Epigrammata* p. 114), would not fail to appreciate the honour done.

To this simple, clear, and dignified couplet was added another in a highly-coloured style (πολυγαθέα, ἐν ἀγοστῶι) beginning with the foolish words οὐδ’ Ἀκαδημειαν, *sc.* ἔλαθες: if, as this implies, the Herm was set up in the Academy, it was a dull author who added ‘the Academy has noticed you too’.

Wilhelm supposed that the first couplet is spoken by the onlooker, whereas the second is spoken to the onlooker by the Herm itself (τῶι προσιόντι λέγω); and he accordingly condemned the appendage for this reason also. It is not certain that he was right on this point. The onlooker is often the speaker in sepulchral epigrams (Peck 1384ff.), but not in dedications; and this is a natural difference. It is the onlooker (one of, or one acting on behalf of, the bereaved family) who composes the epigram for the deceased, and it is natural that an epitaph should take the form of an address by the composer to the deceased or to the passer-by, whereas when a man dedicates an object he composes (or is deemed to compose) his own epigram, and it is not natural that he should address himself by name in the vocative case. It is much more probable that the first couplet is spoken by the Herm, which, in using the expression τόδ’ ἄγαλμα ἀνέθηκας Ἑρμῆι, distinguishes itself from the god whom it represents just as in xiv, where it is unquestionably the Herm which says (Τιμῶνάξ) με Ἑρμῆι καθέσσαντο.

A.P. 6.144<sup>1</sup> denuoque post 6.213<sup>2</sup> (caret Pl), utroque loco τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνά-  
θημα τῷ Ἑρμῇ παρὰ Λεωκράτους

Στροίβου παῖ, τόδ’ ἄγαλμα, Λεώκρατες, εὖτ’ ἀνέθηκας  
Ἑρμῇ, καλλικόμους οὐκ ἔλαθες Χάριτας  
οὐδ’ Ἀκαδήμειαν πολυγαθέα, τῆς ἐν ἀγοστῶι  
σὴν εὐεργεσίην τῷ προσιόντι λέγω.

525

IG 1<sup>2</sup> 821 1 Σ[τροι[βο]π[α]ιτο[δαγαλ]μα:λεο[, 2 ἡρμει καλλικομωσουκελαθεσ[;  
Suda s.v. ἀγοστῶι (2 ουκ – 4); An. Par. Cramer 4.87.1 (4)

1 Στροίβου lapis: Στοίβου P<sup>1</sup>, Στρόμβου P<sup>2</sup> 2 καλλικόμους lapis 4 εὐ-  
εργεσίην P<sup>1</sup> C<sup>2</sup>: -ίαν P<sup>2</sup> Suda

1 [522] Στροίβου: P has the name wrong in both places; the inscription agrees with Thuc. 1.105 Λεωκράτους τοῦ Στροίβου (whence J. G. Schneider had already corrected the *Anthology's* text).

2 [523] καλλικόμους in the inscription is a mistake for which epigraphical parallels are quoted by Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* 1, 48f.

3 [524] Ἀκαδήμειαν: the Herm was found north-east of Marcopoulo, a long way from Athens; the composer implies that it stood in the Academy. Wilhelm states the choices, and prefers the second: either the stone was transported from Athens to the place where it was found, or the author, thinking that the place ought to be named, and believing that he had a free choice in the matter, chose the Academy because of its special connection with the Graces and with Hermes, who had an altar there (Paus. 1.30.2), and who was presumably patron of its well-known gymnasium (see the Preface to anon. vi).

πολυγαθέα: a grandiose word for ‘pleasant’, ‘delightful’. Wilhelm notes that the amenity of the Academy had been greatly improved in Leocrates’ day by Kimon’s creation of a park there, but allows that the epithet might have been applied to it at any time.

On -γαθέα for -γηθέα see Björck *Das Alpha impurum und die tragische Kunst-sprache* (Uppsala 1950) 136.

ἐν ἀγοστῶι: this far-fetched and sophisticated expression surely rules out any date before the Hellenistic era.<sup>1</sup> ἀγοστός, a word of unknown etymology, appears in Homer only in the formula ἔλε γὰρ ἂν ἀγοστῶι, conventionally rendered ‘with the palm of the hand’. In Hellenistic authors it may mean either this (Ap. Rhod. 3.120) or much the same thing as ἀγκάλη, ‘crook of the arm’, as Theocr. 17.129 νυμφίον ἐν μεγάροισι γυνὰ περιβάλλετ’ ἀγοστῶι, Antipater of Sidon 7.464.3 = HE 526 βρέφος ἄρτι νέον φορέουσιν ἀγοστῶι, Perses 7.730.5 = HE 2887 φίλος ὑπὸ μητρὸς ἀγοστῶι; so Hesych. s.v. τὸ ἐντὸς τῶν χειρῶν· ὁ ἀγκών. The use in the present passage is uniquely

<sup>1</sup> Wilamowitz (SS 145 n. 2) thought (evidently without serious consideration) that the longer version of this epigram is genuine: Leocrates, having set up a Herm near Marcopoulo inscribed with vv. 1–2, set up another in the Academy inscribed with the same vv. 1–2 plus the new vv. 3–4. This extraordinary aberration would have been passed over in silence here if it had not been approved by Friedländer, *Epigrammata* p. 114.

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metaphorical, taking the Hellenistic sense of ‘embracing arm’ and applying it to the Academy’s ‘embrace’ of the Herm placed there.

**4 [525] εὐεργεσίην:** Wilhelm rightly observes that this noun is ill-chosen; Leocrates is showing a worshipper’s respect for a divinity, not ‘doing him a good turn’, let alone ‘performing a public service’.

## XVI

Dedication by Sophocles.

It is not likely that Sophocles recorded, on a number of altars dedicated to a number of gods, his pride in his supremacy as a tragedian. Yet this epigram, which would be pointless as a mere literary exercise, unquestionably pretends to be inscriptional; it is probably anecdotal (see the Introductory Note, pp. 124, 129), specially composed to suit the context in a *Life* or some other fiction about him.

A.P. 6.145 (caret Pl) τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνάθημα Σοφοκλέους ποιητοῦ τῶν τραγωιδιῶν

βωμοὺς τούσδε θεοῖς Σοφοκλῆς ἰδρύσατο πρῶτος,  
ὃς πλεῖστον Μούσης εἶλε κλέος τραγικῆς. 527

1 πρῶτος C: de P incertum      2 εἶλε C<sup>scr</sup>: εἶδε P

**1 [526] θεοῖς:** see 510 n.

## XVII

On Myron’s bronze statue of a heifer.

Of the numerous epigrams on this subject this one seems to have enjoyed exceptional popularity; it was travestied by Lucilius, 11.178 βουκόλε, τὰν ἀγέλαν πόρρω νέμε, μή σε Περικλῆς | ὁ κλέπτῃς αὐταῖς βουσί συνεξελάσῃ, and was translated into Latin by Ausonius (*Ep.* 29) and in the *Epigr. Bobiens.* (10). Myron was born about the time when Anacreon died.

A.P. 9.715, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPl] Ἀνακρέοντος

βουκόλε, τὰν ἀγέλαν πόρρω νέμε, μή τὸ Μύρωνος  
βοίδιον ὥς ἔμπνουν βουσί συνεξελάσῃς. 529

## XVIII

On the same subject.

This is one of the silliest of the series. The present editor envies his predecessors, none of whom thinks that the statement that old age turns a cow into bronze needs any explanation.

A.P. 9.716, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPl] τοῦ αὐτοῦ

βοίδιον οὐ χόανσις τετυπωμένον, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ γήρωσ  
χαλκῶθεν σφετέρῃ ψεύσατο χειρὶ Μύρων. 530

## ARCHILOCHUS

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### I

Archilochus loses his shield.

The propriety of the inclusion of these lines is questionable, for it is unknown whether they are a complete poem or not; it is not even possible to say which of the alternatives is the likelier. The lines narrate an incident which appears complete in itself, and they end with an 'epigrammatic' point; they arouse in the reader no expectation of anything to follow. On the other hand they would make an excellent introduction to a more or less lengthy narrative.

In general, whether short poems in elegiac verse were common, rare, or non-existent in the seventh century is not known. The remnants of this metre in literature are too scanty to justify any opinion, unless West is right about the date of Theognis (*Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin 1974) 65ff.; 70 'His poetic and political career began in the 630s at latest'); and there are no inscriptional examples earlier than the beginning of the following century.

If these lines are indeed an 'epigram', they are by far the earliest example of the type in Greek literature; but there is no proof, or even reason for preference, on the one side or the other.

*Testimonia* and variant readings are given by West *IEG* 1 p. 3 and at great length by Tarditi *Archilochus* pp. 65-6.

Plut. instit. Lac. 34, 239B

ἀσπίδι μὲν Σαίων τις ἀγάλλεται, ἦν παρὰ θάμνῳ,  
ἔντος ἀμώμητον, κάλλιπον οὐκ ἐθέλων·  
αὐτὸν δ' ἐξεσάωσα. τί μοι μέλει ἀσπίς ἐκείνη;  
ἔρρετω· ἐξαῦτις κτήσομαι οὐ κακίω.

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### II

Dedication of a veil.

This epigram, accepted by Meleager as genuine (it occurs in an extract from his *Garland*), is certainly spurious. If it were inscriptional, for an actual dedication, it would have been unsigned, and posterity would not have known who its author was. In fact it is plainly not inscriptional; 'nobody ever accompanied the dedication of a veil with an explanatory stone slab' (Reitzenstein *Ep. und Skolion* 107). This is an epideictic epigram, therefore a composition of the Hellenistic era; its extreme simplicity points to the early part of that period. The ascription to Archilochus is refuted both by the subject and by the style.

*A.P.* 6.133 precedes a series of alleged dedications which are (for the first seven) in alphabetical order. This epigram begins with the letter A, and may belong to that series, of which the rest are ascribed to Anacreon. It is therefore possible that the source of the series was an anthology of epigrams ascribed to

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ancient authors, both authors and epigrams being arranged in alphabetical order.

A.P. 6.133 (caret Pl) Ἀρχιλόχου ἀνάθημα τῇ Ἑρᾷ παρὰ Ἀλκιβίης

Ἀλκιβίη πλοκάμων ἱερὴν ἀνέθηκε καλύπτρην  
Ἑρῃ, κουριδίωv εὖτ' ἐκύρησε γάμων.

537

Jacobs\* 6.153; Hecker 1852.43; 2 p. 388 Bergk; Archilochus 17 Diehl.

**1 [536] ἀνέθηκε καλύπτρην:** she dedicates the veil which she wore at the wedding-ceremony, removing it at a certain moment in the presence of the bridegroom and guests; this action of unveiling, an important part of the ceremony, was called ἀνακαλυπτῆρια. Cf. Pherecydes *Vorsokr.* B 2, Euphorion *fr.* 107.

## III

Epitaph for Megatimus and Aristophon.

This is another spurious ascription, accepted as genuine by Meleager (it occurs within a long extract from the *Garland*, A.P. 7.406–529). Inscriptional it may be, but not of the time of Archilochus or anywhere near it. Archaic and classical epitaphs are never composed in this rhetorical and highly coloured style; the address to ‘great Earth’ and the imagery of the ‘tall pillars’ reflect the taste of a later age, most probably the Hellenistic period (cf. Reitzenstein *Ep. und Skol.* 107, Friedländer and Hoffleit p. 67); I suppose that the present epigram was in the mind of the composer of Peek 1286 (Miletus, mid-II B.C.), σῆμα μὲν ἴσθ' ὅτι τοῦτο Μενεσθειδᾶν ἐπὶ δισσοῖς | κίουσιν ὠνκώθη, ξεῖνε, καταφθιμένοις, | εἰ τινὰς εὐόλβου μεγάλας παρὰ παιδί Σελεύκου | Ἀσίδος ὑψηλοῦς ἐκλυες ἀγεμόνας.

A.P. 7.441 (caret Pl) [C] Ἀρχιλόχου [J] εἰς Μεγάτιμον καὶ Ἀριστοφώντα τοὺς Ναξίους

ὑψηλοῦς Μεγάτιμον Ἀριστοφώντα τε Νάξου  
κίονας, ὧ μεγάλη Γαῖ', ὑπένερθεν ἔχεις.

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1 Μεγάτιμον P 2 ὧ P, ut vid. ὧ P<sup>nc</sup> γαῖ' Jacobs: γᾶ P

Jacobs\* *paralipomena* 1.39; Hecker 1852.43; 2 p. 388 Bergk; Archil. 16 Diehl.

**1–2 [538–9] ὑψηλοῦς...κίονας:** this metaphorical use of κίων is very rare; Pind. *Ol.* 2.81 δς Ἑκτορ' ἔσφαλε, Τροίης ἄμαχον ἀστραβῇ κίονα, and the epigram quoted in the Preface; στυλός is occasionally used in the same sense (A. *Ag.* 898, E. *IT* 57).

**μεγάλη Γαῖ':** μεγάλη, as often of divinities, here applied to personified Earth. (Hes. *Theog.* 622, ‘of the large earth’, is not relevant.) Epitaphs of the earlier period are never, and of later ages seldom, adorned with such outcries as ‘O great Earth’.

## IV

On a woman appropriately nick-named ‘Everybody’s friend’.

Nothing more is known about the source, ‘Menetor on Dedications’, of this epigram on Plangon, a Milesian courtesan, the subject of an anecdote in the present passage of Athenaeus.

## ‘ARCHILOCHUS’

There was a saying, variously attributed to Diogenes and Crates, that the wealth of the dissolute rich is like a fig-tree on the crags, accessible only to crows and kites, *i.e.* to the rapacious persons who are their only company: Diogenes Laertius 6.60 (Διογένης) τοὺς ἀσώτους εἶπε παραπλησίους εἶναι συκαῖς ἐπὶ κρημνῶι πεφυκυῖαις, ὧν τοῦ καρποῦ ἄνθρωπος μὲν οὐκ ἀπογεύεται, κόρακες δὲ καὶ γῦπες ἐσθίουσι; Stobaeus *eccl.* 3.15.10 (Wachsmuth and Hense 3.478) Κράτητος· Κράτης τὰ τῶν πλουσίων καὶ ἀσώτων χρήματα ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν κρημνῶν συκαῖς εἵκαζεν, ἄφ’ ὧν ἄνθρωπον μὴδὲν λαμβάνειν, κόρακας δὲ καὶ ἱκτίνας, ὥσπερ παρὰ τούτων ἐταίρας καὶ κόρακας.

This parable is applied to Pasiphila: like the dissolute man of wealth, she entertains much company (ξείνων δέκτρια; πᾶσι φίλη), but she is like the fig-tree on the crags; none but rapacious undesirables come to her hospitality.

There is, however, a special point here. συκῇ can mean the same thing as σῦκον (Ar. *Av.* 590), and σῦκον may denote γυναικείον αἰδοῖον (Ar. *Pax* 1350). Pasiphila is a συκῇ in that sense, and the appetite for which she provides is that of lust. I know no example of κορώνη equivalent to *membrum virile*, but should not be surprised if that is the meaning here.

The notion that Archilochus might write like this is not to be taken seriously. The epigram presupposes the parable, and is certainly not earlier than the third century B.C.; it may be later. See *Entretiens Hardt* 10 (*Archiloque*) 136–7.

Athen. 13.594D Ἴωνες..., ὡς φησι Μενέτωρ ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀναθημάτων, Πασιφίλην ἐκάλουν τὴν Πλάγγονα. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος περὶ αὐτῆς ἐν τούτοις:

συκῇ πετραίῃ πολλὰς βόσκουσα κορώνας  
εὐήθης ξείνων δέκτρια Πασιφίλη. 540

Not in Jacobs; 2 p. 388 Bergk; Archil. 15 Diehl.

**1 [540] συκῇ πετραίῃ:** intentionally recalling Hom. *Od.* 12.231 Σκύλλαν πετραίην; πολλὰς βόσκουσα, whether intentionally or not, recalls a line not far away, 12.127–8 πολλὰι βόσκοντο.

**2 [541] εὐήθης:** the adjective and its noun appear first in the fifth century; the meaning may be *good-natured* (‘generally in an ironical sense’ LSJ) or *simple-minded* (sometimes downright *silly*).

**δέκτρια:** elsewhere only Lucianus 11.400.6.

## ‘BACCHYLIDES’

Meleager names Bacchylides as one of the contributors to his anthology; it is therefore certain that he had at his disposal epigrams circulating under the name of Bacchylides and generally accepted as genuine. Of the two unambiguously ascribed to him in *A.P.*, 6.53 appears in a miscellaneous context, 6.313 stands at the end of a long extract from the *Garland* and most probably coheres with it (it certainly does not cohere with what follows, a series of ‘reversible’ epigrams by Nicodemus).

*A.P.* 13.28 is an ancient inscription for which an author-name was sought, and Bacchylides was one of those suggested; it is ascribed to Antigenes in the present collection.



# ‘BACCHYLIDES’

## I

Eudemus dedicates a temple to Zephyr.

It is generally and rightly agreed that this epigram is not the work of Bacchylides. It is not a true dedication but a literary exercise, and an uncommonly unrealistic one; ‘nobody ever built a temple to Zephyr, least of all a rustic and for such a reason’, as Wilamowitz said (see Snell *Bacchylides* p. 120). The epigram is a product, not of the best quality, of the Hellenistic period.

A.P. 6.53, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPI] Βακχυλίδου [P] ἀνάθημα τῷ Ζεφύρῳ ἀνέμῳ παρὰ Εὐδήμου γεωργοῦ

Εὐδημος τὸν νηὸν ἐπ’ ἀγροῦ τόνδ’ ἀνέθηκε  
τῷ πάντων ἀνέμων πιστάτῳ Ζεφύρῳ·  
εὐξαμένῳ γάρ οἱ ἦλθε βοαθός, ὄφρα τάχιστα  
λικμήσῃ πεπόνων καρπὸν ἀπ’ ἀσταχύων. 545

1 ἀνέθηκεν Pac

Suda s.vv. πίοτατος ἀνεμος (1 τόνδ’ – 2), πέπονες (3 ὄφρα – 4) 3  
βοηθός Pl

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 6.289; 3 p. 585 Bergk; 1 p. 76 Diehl.

1 [542] ἐπ’ ἀγροῦ: metrically abnormal; see Dionysius 157 n.

2 [543] πιστάτῳ: πίων, *fat*, may stand metaphorically for *rich*, *prosperous*, but the use here, apparently *making prosperous*, is unique and all the more disagreeable because the context would suggest that it refers to *fattening*, *i.e. ripening*, with which the wind has nothing to do; Theocr. 10.46–7, quoted by Stadtmüller in support, is irrelevant (see Jebb *Bacchylides* p. 425). The best of the conjectures, λειοτάτῳ (Meineke) and πιστοτάτῳ (Unger, Schneidewin), are not immediately convincing and may be mistaken in principle; bold innovation is characteristic of Hellenistic epigrammatists, and strain of language which we should judge to be excessive is common enough. Zephyr at winnowing-time is important for the farmer’s prosperity, and the author might say ‘most prosperous of winds’ meaning the one most closely associated with prosperity.

3 [544] γάρ οἱ: see Maas *Gr. Metrik* § 133 and Pfeiffer on Call. *fr.* 2.3: γάρ οἱ occurs in Call. *fr.* 228.43 and μὲν οἱ is as old as the *Odyssey* (there are half a dozen examples in Hellenistic poetry). There is therefore no need for change (γάρ δ γ’ Meineke).

λικμήσῃ: Jebb defends the subjunctive, where the optative is expected, as being ‘more vivid’, with a good parallel from Xenophon, *Anab.* 1.4.18 (πλοῖα) κατέκαυσεν, ἵνα μὴ Κύρος διαβῇ.

On the west wind as the best for winnowing, cf. Virg. *Geo.* 3.134 *surgente ad Zephyrum paleae iactantur inanes*, Columella 2.20 *ubi paleis immista sunt frumenta, vento separentur; ad eam rem Favonius habetur eximius, qui lenis aequalisque aestivis mensibus perstat.*

II

A prayer by Bacchylides to the goddess of victory.

Jebb (p. 424) and Snell (p. 121) suppose that this epigram accompanied an actual dedication, and neither denies the ascription to Bacchylides. It is therefore the more important to stress the fact that there is not a word about an act of dedicating or about an object dedicated; there is nothing but a prayer to Victory, that she will look kindly on the choir and bestow many prizes on Bacchylides. A dedicatory epigram which says nothing whatsoever about a dedication cannot come from the time of Bacchylides, and would be a freak at any time.

This is a prayer in epigram-form; and that too has no parallel in the time of Bacchylides or for long afterwards. There is only one period when its type exists and is indeed fashionable: the Hellenistic and early Imperial age. This epigram is plainly a product of the Alexandrian era.

A.P. 6.313 (caret Pl) Βακχυλίδου

κούρα Πάλλαντος πολuwνυμε, πóτνια Νίκα,  
 πρόφρων †Κρανναίων† ἱμερόεντα χορόν  
 αἰὲν ἐποπτεύοις, πολέας δ' ἐν ἀθύρμασι Μουσᾶν  
 Κηίῳ ἀμφιτίθει Βακχυλίδῃ στεφάνους. 549

3 πολλέας P<sup>ac</sup> 4 Κηίῳ Brunck: κηορωι P Βακχυλίδῃ P: Βακχυλίδης C  
 Jacobs\* 6.289; Hecker 1852.148; 3 p. 585 Bergk; 1 p. 76 Diehl.

1 [546] **κούρα Πάλλαντος**: Νίκη was one of the daughters of Pallas and Styx; see West on Hes. *Theog.* 383–5, and on 376 for the obscure person of Pallas. Cf. Bacchyl. 11.9 (Νίκη) κούρα Σ[τυγὸς ὅρ]θοδίκου.

**πολuwνυμε**: normally *of many names*, but here as Jebb says *of wide fame*; ‘there was no variety of cult-names in the case of Νίκη.’ This abnormal use is very rare; Jebb quotes Hes. *Theog.* 785 πολuwνυμον ὕδωρ, of the Styx, and Pind. *Pyth.* 1.17 Κιλίκιον... πολuwνυμον ἀντρον, clear examples. West refers to *h. Dem.* 18, of Pluto (not, as stated, Poseidon), and *h. Ap.* 82, of Apollo, but in both places ‘of many names’ is possible.

2 [547] **Κρανναίων** is unintelligible. Καρθαίων (Bergk; *i.e.* of the Cean town Carthaia) is a rough change. If this were an ancient epigram, from the time of Bacchylides, the name of a Cean town and the nationality of the poet (Κηίῳ) would not be given unless the poet was composing in a foreign area; in an Hellenistic epigram the rule might not apply.

Κρᾱναίων (Meineke) is palaeographically less improbable and deserves a moment’s consideration. ‘Sons of Kranaos’ will be Athenians, as in E. *Suppl.* 713, here with the Epic licence of lengthening the first syllable; and the implication will be that Bacchylides is envisaged as praying on behalf of an Athenian choir for whom he has written an ode (so Bacchyl. xviii was probably composed for an Athenian choir to perform at Athens; xvii was certainly for a Cean choir at Delos; Jebb p. 234 and 223 with n. 3). The addition of Κηίῳ in 4 would be

## ‘BACCHYLIDES’

natural enough if Bacchylides was writing in Athens; it would be unnatural and indeed unthinkable if he was writing among his own fellow-citizens.

There is, however, a serious objection: the conditions which would justify Κραναίδων might well apply if the epigram were genuine; but it is not genuine. It is a mere literary exercise, and its Hellenistic author would surely not envisage such special conditions while composing this simple prayer.

**3 [548] ἐν ἀθύρμασι Μουσᾶν:** musical contests are their *pastime*; Jebb, on Bacchyl. 9.87 Μουσ[ᾶν... ἀθ]ύρμα (where the sense is different), quotes Pind. *Pyth.* 5.23 Ἀπολλώνιον ἀθύρμα, his favourite *pastime* or *delight*, and Bacchyl. 18.57 Ἀρηίων... ἀθυρμάτων.

## ‘EMPEDOCLES’

The character of the two epigrams ascribed to Empedocles and the history of their transmission are as stated by Boas *de epigr. Simon.* 42, 124–9, and 240–1.

*A.P.* 7.508, ascribed to Simonides, appears in an extract from the *Garland* of Meleager. This is an important fact. It proves that the epigram was included in the Hellenistic *Sylloge Simonidea* (Introductory Note pp. 122f.) which was Meleager’s source for Simonidean epigrams. It reappears, ascribed to Empedocles, in Diogenes Laertius, who gives as his sources Aristippus (Introductory Note p. 126) and the biographer Satyrus. The source common to Satyrus and the *Sylloge Simonidea* must have been a biographical essay written in the fourth century B.C. (or early in the third).

The compiler of the *Sylloge Simonidea* made two changes. (a) He transferred the epigram from Empedocles to Simonides. There is no doubt that the source ascribed it to Empedocles: the lines illustrate an aspect of the life of Empedocles (a love-affair between him and the doctor Pausanias), and the first line is based on the beginning of the famous poem *On Nature* by Empedocles; nobody else (certainly not Simonides) is concerned. (b) He altered the character of the epigram. In its original form, as preserved by Satyrus, it was ‘demonstrative’, *i.e.* a non-inscriptional literary exercise, simply an epigram on a famous doctor (a type of writing unknown and inconceivable in the time of Empedocles). In the *Sylloge Simonidea*, as represented by *A.P.*, it has been turned into an epitaph in order to make the ascription to Simonides more plausible. In Satyrus it was certainly not an epitaph; there is no word of death or burial in his version. The compiler thought that the change of ἐθρεψε to ἔθαψε<sup>1</sup> was sufficient to make it an epitaph, unaware that the words ‘his native Gela buried him’ betray the forgery; when a man was buried at home, ancient epitaphs never informed his fellow-citizens of the name of their own town. He was unaware too that the deceased, Pausanias, outlived the alleged composer of his epitaph, Simonides,<sup>2</sup> by at least forty years.

One question remains unanswerable: we do not know why the epigram should have been transferred to Simonides by the compiler of the *Sylloge*.

<sup>1</sup> There are variations in the second distich too; these remain inexplicable.

<sup>2</sup> He outlived the other composer, Empedocles, too; Diog. Laert. 8.69 (disbelieved by Diels).

## ‘EMPEDOCLES’

The epigram on Acron (II) probably came from the same source and had a similar history: both I and II are embedded in biographical anecdotes firmly linked to the name of Empedocles; both were transferred to Simonides. II is not preserved in *A.P.*, but Boas is surely right in supposing that the *Sylloge Simonidea* adopted it together with I; when Diogenes says that ‘some say that it is by Simonides’, he is thinking of an anthology-tradition based on the *Sylloge Simonidea*.<sup>1</sup>

II is plainly spurious; it was presumably composed specially to add colour to the anecdote in which it is embedded.

### I

On Pausanias, a doctor.

A.P. 7.508 [C] Σιμωνίδου, P<sup>B</sup> s.a.n. [J] εἰς Πausανίαν τὸν ἰατρὸν

550

Πausανίην, ἱητρὸν ἐπώνυμον, Ἀγχίτεω υἱόν,  
φῶτ’ Ἀσκληπιάδην πατρὶς ἔθρεψε Γέλα,  
ὅς πολλοὺς μογεροῖσι μαραινόμενους καμάτοισι  
φῶτας ἀπέστρεψεν Φερσεφόνης ἀδύτων.

Diog. Laert. 8.60 ἦν δ’ ὁ Πausανίας, ὡς φησιν Ἀρίστιππος καὶ Σάτυρος, ἐρώμενος αὐτοῦ, ᾧ δὴ καὶ τὰ Περὶ φύσεως προσπεφώνηκεν (ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς) οὕτως· Πausανίη, σὺ δὲ κλῦθι, δαΐφρονος Ἀγχίτου υἱέ. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα εἰς αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν (1–4)

1 Πausανίαν P Ἀγχίτου Diog. 2 φῶτ’...ἔθρεψε Diog: τόνδ’... ἔθαψε PPI Γέλα Diog.: πέλας P, κόνις PI 3 ὅς πλείστους κρυεραῖσι μαραινόμενους ὑπὸ νόσοις PPI 4 Φερσεφόνης P, Diog. cod. P<sup>pc</sup>: -νας Diog. codd. BFP<sup>ac</sup>, Περσεφόνης PI ἀδύτων Diog.: θαλάμων PPI

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 6.317; 2 p. 260 Bergk; 1 p. 132 Diehl.

1 [550] The line is adapted from the beginning of Empedocles’ poem Περὶ φύσεως (*Vorsokr.* B 1), for which the present passage of Diogenes is the only source.

ἐπώνυμον: because his name, ‘Pausanias’, means ‘Pain-stopper’.

2 [551] φῶτ’ Ἀσκληπιάδην: Hom. *Il.* 4.193 Μαχάονα...φῶτ’ Ἀσκληπιοῦ υἱόν.

4 [553] θαλάμων is much inferior to ἀδύτων; the θάλαμοι of Persephone are reserved as a rule for those who die young and unmarried (Boas 241). Cf. Peek 99 (Thessaly, early III B.C.) ἀδύτους Φερσεφόνης θαλάμους.

### II

On another doctor, Acron the son of Acrus of Acragas.

The only parallel in *A.P.* to this trivial parlour-trick is 6.216, attributed to Simonides, Σῶσος καὶ Σωσώ, Σῶτερ, σοὶ τόνδ’ ἀνέθηκαν, | Σῶσος μὲν σωθεῖς, Σωσώ δ’ ἄτι Σῶσος ἐσώθη.

<sup>1</sup> Boas is not easy reading, and few of the modern editors have taken the trouble. It is a discredit to modern scholarship that Stadtmüller, Paton, the Budé edition, Peek (44), and Beckby all print an epitaph, with ἔθαψε in the text. ἔθρεψε is retained by Diels and Diehl.

## ‘EMPEDOCLES’

Diog. Laert. 8.65 Ἄκρωνος τοῦ ἱατροῦ τόπον αἰτοῦντος παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς εἰς κατασκευὴν πατρῷου μνήματος διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἱατροῖς ἀκρότητα παρελθῶν ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐκώλυσε, τὰ τε ἄλλα περὶ ἰσότητος διαλεχθεὶς καὶ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον ἐρωτήσας· τί δὲ ἐπιγράφομεν ἐλεγείον; ἢ τοῦτο·

ἄκρον ἱατρὸν Ἄκρων Ἄκραγαντῖνον πατρός Ἄκρου  
2<sup>a</sup> κρύπτει κρημνὸς ἄκρος πατρίδος ἀκροτάτης. 555<sup>a</sup>

τινὲς δὲ τὸν δεῦτερον στίχον οὕτω προφέρονται·

2<sup>b</sup> ἀκροτάτης κορυφῆς τύμβος ἄκρος κατέχει. 555<sup>b</sup>

τοῦτο τινες Σιμωνίδου φασὶν εἶναι.

versus laudant etiam alii (vid. Diehl *ALG* 1.132; Suda, Tzetzēs, Hesych. Miles., Eustathius).

1 ἱατρὸν Diog. cod. P<sup>pc</sup>

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 6.317, <sup>b</sup>App. 21; 2 p. 260 Bergk; 1 p. 132 Diehl.

1 [554] ἱατρὸν: this prosody first in Eur. *fr.* 1072.1 and Ar. *Eccl.* 363, *Plut.* 406.

2<sup>b</sup> [555<sup>b</sup>] This is presumably the version current in the *Sylloge Simonidea* (cf. the variations in 1).

## ‘EPICARMUS’

### I

How the dead become divine.

See Kaibel *Com. Gr. Fragmenta* p. 145 no. 296, *Vorsokr.* 1.210 Diels–Kranz, and Diehl *ALG* 1.131–2.

The ancients recognised that numerous works circulating under the name of Epicharmus were forgeries or at least incorrectly ascribed, and it is generally agreed that the present epigram belongs to this class. On the Ψευδοπιχάρμεια, as they were called, see Athenaeus 14.648D, and the discussion by Kaibel *op. cit.* 133–5.

The lines are a variation on a popular theme: the editors quote an Eretrian inscription, probably of the third century B.C., published in *AJA* 7 (1891) 252 = *IG* 12.9, 290 = Peek 1126 εἰ θεὸς ἔσθ' ἢ γῆ, κἀγὼ θεὸς εἰμι δικαίως· | ἐκ γὰρ γῆς βλαστὼν γενόμεν νεκρός, ἐκ δὲ νεκροῦ γῆ; cf. Peek 1941.5–6; *Anth. Lat.* Buecheler 974.4 *cinis sum, cinis terra est, terra dea est, ergo ego mortua non sum*, and 1532.2–3 *mortua heic ego sum et sum cinis: is cinis terrast. | sein est terra dea, mortua non sum.*<sup>1</sup>

schol. T in Hom. *Il.* 22.414 κατὰ κόπρον· κόπρον τὰ κόπρια. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα δ' εἰς Ἐπίχαρμον ἀναφέρεται·

εἰμι νεκρός, νεκρὸς δὲ κόπρος, γῆ δ' ἢ κόπρος ἔστιν·  
εἰ δ' ἢ γῆ θεός ἔστ', οὐ νεκρὸς ἀλλὰ θεός. 557

<sup>1</sup> Diels thought that the epigram was based on the lines ascribed to Epicharmus (Axioipistus) *Vorsokr.* B 9, συνεκρίθη καὶ διεκρίθη κάπηλθεν δθεν ἦλθεν πάλιν, | γὰ μὲν εἰς γᾶν, πνεῦμα δ' ἄνω, but the resemblance seems slight.

## ‘EPICHARMUS’

schol. B *ibid.* ἀντὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν συρφετὸν τῆς γῆς. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα εἰς Ἐπίχαρμον οὕτως· (1-2)

1 ἔστιν om. B      2 εἰ δ’ ἢ Bergk: εἰ δὲ T, ἢ δὲ B      ἢ δὲ γῆ νεκρὸς reliquis omisiss B

Not in Jacobs; 2 p. 239 Bergk; 1 p. 131 Diehl; Preger 49.

2 [557] δ’ ἢ: δῆ (Kaibel) may be right.

## ‘ERINNA’

Erinna is named by Meleager (4.1.12 = *HE* 3937) as one of his contributors, and three epigrams ascribed to her appear in *A.P.* within extracts from the *Garland*. It is therefore certain that epigrams under her name were in circulation in the Hellenistic period and generally accepted as genuine; modern scholars seldom express much misgiving.

There are three reasons for scepticism. First, two of the three epigrams are pseudo-epitaphs for Erinna’s friend Baucis, whose death inspired the poem which made Erinna famous, *The Distaff*; it is not probable that Erinna (who died in her nineteenth year) composed two pseudo-epitaphs for her friend in addition to *The Distaff*. Secondly, if (as the only respectable authority states) Erinna lived in the middle of the fourth century B.C., the writing of pseudo-epitaphs would be in advance of her time. And thirdly, the style of both epigrams is elaborate and sophisticated in a thoroughly Hellenistic spirit.

The third epigram, being a description of a work of art, is likelier to be of the Hellenistic period than earlier.

The most tolerant verdict on all three epigrams is that their authenticity is suspect; it is therefore proper to mention her in the present section. The texts, with prefaces and commentary, are already given in *Hellenistic Epigrams*.

## ‘EURIPIDES’

### I

Epitaph (413 / 412 B.C.) on the Athenians who fell in the final defeat of Nicias in Sicily.

See the Introductory Note, p. 129. Pausanias (1.29.11), describing a *stèle* in the Ceramicus at Athens, says that τὰ ἐλεγεία ‘signify that one and the same *stèle* is raised to the following – those who died in Euboea and Chios, those who perished in the furthest regions of Asia, and those in Sicily. Inscribed are the names of the generals, except Nicias, and the names of the soldiers, Plataeans together with the citizens.’

Now Plutarch’s lines are plainly the beginning of a separate epitaph (οἶδε... at the start as in *A.P.* 7.242, 256, 258, and elsewhere; here referring to the inscribed names), and the words τὰ ἐλεγεία in Pausanias may well imply that each of the parties had a separate epitaph on the *stèle*. It is therefore possible (and it is intrinsically quite likely) that Plutarch’s lines represent an epitaph which was actually on the *stèle*. If so, the lines were of course unsigned, and it

## ‘EURIPIDES’

cannot be accepted without question that the tradition inherited by Plutarch, that Euripides wrote them, is the truth.

Verse-epitaphs recording defeats are very rare, and it is an open question whether this one is complete or not. The author might think it sufficient to mention the earlier victories, merely alluding to the final defeat by suggesting that the gods, at a certain point, gave the enemy an unfair advantage. In the circumstances, it would have been well to say no more.

Plut. vit. Nic. 17.4 ὁ μὲν γὰρ Εὐριπίδης μετὰ τὴν ἦτταν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν ὄλεθρον γράφων ἐπικήδειον ἐποίησεν·

οἶδε Συρακοσίους ὀκτὼ νίκας ἐκράτησαν  
ἄνδρες, ὅτ’ ἦν τὰ θεῶν ἐξ ἴσου ἀμφοτέροις. 559

Not in Jacobs; 2 p. 265 Bergk; 1 p. 90 Diehl; Peek 21.

## II

On a mother and her children who died of mushroom-poisoning.

See the Introductory Note, p. 129. This is a pseudo-epitaph of the Hellenistic period, probably composed specially to add colour to the anecdote in which it is embedded; it is indeed essential to read it in the context of the anecdote, for the epigram itself offers no clue to the cause of death.

Wilamowitz (*Einleitung* 32 n. 58) thought it possible that Eparchides (the source; his date is unknown) has spun a yarn around a real epitaph; no real epitaph, however, would say that a mother and her three children died on the same day without giving the reason. The lines are not to be taken so seriously; ‘ernsthaft ist all das nicht zu nehmen’, as Wilamowitz himself concluded.

Athen. 2.61B Ἐπαρχίδης Εὐριπίδην φησὶ τὸν ποιητὴν ἐπιδημῆσαι τῇ Ἰκάρῳ καὶ γυναικὸς τινος μετὰ τέκνων κατὰ τοὺς ἀγρούς, δύο μὲν ἀρρένων τελείων, μίᾳ δὲ παρθένου, φαγούσης θανασίμους μύκητας καὶ ἀποπνιγείσης μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ποιῆσαι τοῦτ’ ἐπὶ γράμμα·

ὦ τὸν ἀγήρατον πόλον αἰθέρος, Ἥλιε, τέμνων, 560  
ἄρ’ εἶδες τοιόνδ’ ὄμματι πρόσθε πάθος,  
μητέρα παρθενικὴν τε κόρην δισσοὺς τε συναίμους  
ἐν ταύτῳ φέγγει μοιραδίῳ φθιμένους;

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 6.319, <sup>b</sup>App. 27; 2 p. 265 Bergk; 1 p. 90 Diehl.

1 [560] Diehl compares *Orph. Argon.* 303 ἥελις τὸν ἀπείριτον αἰθέρα τέμνων, and *Ar. Av.* 1400 αἰθέρος αὖλακα τέμνων.

On the form ἀγήρατος see ‘Simonides’ 713 n.

2 [561] ὄμματι: ὄμμασι Bergk, perhaps rightly.

4 [563] μοιραδίῳ: the only evidence for the form is what may be inferred from the readings of some manuscripts at *S. OC* 228; there is no intrinsic fault in it, but μοιριδίῳ (Musurus) would be normal and may be right.

## ‘HIPPON’

## ‘HIPPON’

### I

Epitaph for Hippon.

On Hippon, a natural philosopher of the Periclean age, see Wellmann in *RE* 8.1889 and Diels-Kranz *Vorsokr.* 1.388–9. He was ridiculed by Cratinus in his *Panoptai* and described by Aristotle as a second-rate thinker (*Vorsokr.* A 2, 7). As he was nicknamed ‘the Atheist’ (A 8, 9, and Athen. 13.610B), the present epigram was taken by Bergk to be satirical; however that may be, the ascription to Hippon himself is understandably rejected by Bergk, Diels, Wellmann, and Diehl.

Clem. Alex. protr. 55, 1 p. 43 St. οὐ νέμεσις τοῖνυν οὐδὲ Ἱππωνι ἀπαθανατίζονται τὸν θάνατον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ. ὁ Ἱππων οὗτος ἐπιγραφῆναι ἐκέλευσεν τῷ μνήματι τῷ ἑαυτοῦ τόδε τὸ ἐλεγείον·

Ἱππωνος τόδε σῆμα, τὸν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν  
ἶσον ἐποίησεν Μοῖρα καταφθίμενον.

565

Alex. in metaph. p. 27.1 H. ἄθεος ἦν· τοιοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ ἐπίγραμμα· (1–2)

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 6.336, <sup>b</sup>App. 44; 2 p. 259 Bergk; 1 p. 133 Diehl.

## ‘ION’

The first of the following epigrams on Euripides is ascribed to Ion, the second has no heading in P or Pl but is ascribed to Ion in ‘Syll. Σ’, a collection of epigrams found in certain manuscripts of the ‘Sylloge Euphemiana’ (see *HE* 1.xli); there is no way of assessing the worth of its evidence here.

Ion is not named by Meleager in his *Proem*, and no epigram ascribed to him occurs within an extract from the *Garland*. If the well-known poet Ion of Chios is meant, the epigrams are certainly spurious, for Euripides outlived Ion by about a dozen years. Wilamowitz (*Timotheos* 75 n. 1), followed by Blumenthal (*Ion von Chios* 64; cf. Schmid-Stählin *Gesch. d. gr. Lit.* 1.3.1, p. 327 n. 2, and *RE* 9.1867), suggested that the author might be Ion of Samos, who is known only from an inscriptional epigram (c. 400 B.C.) which proves him a bitter enemy of Athens; this identification is a blind and unlikely guess, and it is more prudent to suppose that an anonymous epigram has attracted the name of a famous contemporary of Euripides, chronology notwithstanding.

The style of the epigrams and their pseudo-epitaphic character suit the Hellenistic much better than any earlier period. They are competent but commonplace.

### I

Mourning for Euripides.

A.P. 7.43, Pl<sup>a</sup> [CPl] Ἴωνος [PPl] εἰς Εὐριπίδην



## ‘ΙΟΝ’

χαίρε μελαμπετάλοις, Εὐριπίδη, ἐν γυάλοισι  
 Πιερίας τὸν αἰὶ νυκτὸς ἔχων θάλαμον,  
 ἴσθι δ’ ὑπὸ χθονὸς ὧν ὅτι σοι κλέος ἄφθιτον ἔσται,  
 Ἴσον Ὀμηρεῖαις ἀνέμοις χάρισιν.

569

Suda s.v. ἐν γυάλοισι (1–2 Πιερίας) 1 μελαμπετάλοις Lobeck: -πέπλοις PPI  
 Suda 2 αἰὲ P

Jacobs\* 12.167 (= *adesp.* dxxxiv); 2 p. 254 Bergk; 1 p. 85 Diehl.

**1 [566] μελαμπετάλοις:** the text is not certain, but μελάμπεπτα γύαλα, though they would pass without comment in Timotheus, seem too exotic for this context. Lobeck offers a word used by Meleager and Philip; μελαμπετροῖς (Emperius) and μελαμπεδίοις (Hartung) are new words and less easy changes.

**γυάλοισι:** strictly *hollows*, but here as often used loosely; see the note on Archias 6.207.10 = *PG* 3637.

**2 [567]** The author speaks as if Euripides was actually buried in Pieria (contrast 11 5), thinking (if he thought about it at all) that a poet buried in Macedonia, the home of the Pierian Muses, might be said to be buried in their territory.

## II

On the same subject.

A.P. 7.44, P1<sup>A</sup> s.a.n., Syll. Σ 72 Ἴωνος [PPI] εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν [J] ὅτι Εὐριπίδης ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ ἐτελεύτησεν βρωθεὶς ὑπὸ κυνῶν [J ad v. 5] καὶ τοῦτο εἰς Εὐριπίδην

εἰ καὶ δακρυθεὶς, Εὐριπίδη, εἶλέ σε πότμος, 570  
 καὶ σε λυκορραῖσται δεῖπνον ἔθεντο κύνες,  
 τὸν σκηνῆς μελίγηρυν ἀηδόνα, κόσμον Ἀθηνῶν,  
 τὸν σοφίῃ Μουσέων μιξαμένον χάριτα,  
 5 ἄλλ’ ἔμολες Πελλαῖον ὑπ’ ἡρίον, ὡς ἂν ὁ λάτρις  
 Πιερίδων ναίῃς ἀγχόθι Πιερίης. 575

3 σκηνῆς Desrousseaux: σκηνῇ PPI Σ 4 Μουσέων P: τραγικὴν P1Σ  
 6 Πιερίης Σ: Πιερίδων PPI

Jacobs\* 12.168 (= *adesp.* dxxxv); not in Bergk or Diehl.

**2 [571] λυκορραῖσται:** the word elsewhere only in Zonas 6.106.2 = *PG* 3453.

**δεῖπνον...κύνες:** for this story about the death of Euripides, see the references given in the note on Adaeus 7.51.1–2 = *PG* 11–12.

**4 [573] Μουσέων:** with χάριτα, not σοφίῃ.

**5 [574] Πελλαῖον:** Euripides’ bones were taken to Pella by his friend King Archelaus of Macedon, according to the Suda; ἔμολες may allude to this removal. In the fourth century B.C. and thereafter, his place of burial was generally held to be Arethusa, a Macedonian town between the bay of Strymon and Lake Bolbe (a long way from Pella); see Adaeus 7.51.3 = *PG* 13 n.

**6 [575] ἀγχόθι Πιερίης:** Pella is not strictly speaking *near* Pieria; the author makes the same point as in 11 1–2, that the poet was buried in the land where the Pierian Muses dwell.

## ‘ION’

Πιερίδων in P and Pl is a careless repetition from the beginning of the line; Syll. Σ has far the better text, surely not by conjecture.

## [IOPHON]

The *Life of Sophocles* says that the following lines were inscribed on Sophocles’ tomb:

κρύπτω τῷιδε τάφωι Σοφοκλῆ πρωτεῖα λαβόντα,  
τῆς τραγικῆς σκηνῆς σχῆμα τὸ σεμνότατον. 577

See Bergk *PLG* 2.285; Valerius Maximus (8.7 ext. 12) says that Iophon wrote an epitaph on his father, but of entirely different content; there is no authority for the ascription of the above lines to Iophon, whose name was first introduced into the *Vita*-context conjecturally by Westermann.

## ‘PHOCYLIDES’

### I

A true friend.

These lines were divided into two separate epigrams by Bergk (*PLG* 2.68), both rightly condemned as spurious; *Phocylide plane alienum, quod vel novicius sermo, velut in priore disticho διόλου, in altero πρὸς ὑπόκρισιν arguit*. It should be added that there is no elegiac verse in the remains of Phocylides, and no good evidence that he ever used this metre; see West *IEG* 2 p. 93.

A.P. 10.117 Φωκυλίδου, Pl<sup>B</sup> s.a.n.; Syll. S s.a.n.

γνήσιός εἰμι φίλος καὶ τὸν φίλον ὥς φίλον οἶδα,  
τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς διόλου πάντας ἀποστρέφομαι.  
οὐδένα θωπεύω πρὸς ὑπόκρισιν, οὓς δ’ ἄρα τιμῶ, 580  
τούτους ἔξ ἀρχῆς μέχρι τέλους ἀγαπῶ.

3 θωπεύω Pl: ποθεύω P, τοθεύω Syll. ἄρα τιμῶ Pl: ἄρ’ ἀτιμάσω P, ἄρα τιμήσω Syll.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 6.195; 2 p. 68 Bergk; 1 p. 60 Diehl.

**2 [579] διόλου:** a relatively late word, very rare in poetry; Asclepiades 5.158.3 = *HE* 826 (where it probably means ‘always’, not as here ‘altogether’), *Lyr. Adesp.* 37.5 Powell.

**3 [580] πρὸς ὑπόκρισιν:** ‘with a view to play-acting’ *i.e.* hypocritically; an expression inconceivable in the sixth century B.C.

## ‘PINDAR’

### I

Epitaph for Hesiod.

Ingenious phrasing and allusive content are not characteristic of classical epitaphs, and the first line here would have seemed to point to the Hellenistic

## ‘PINDAR’

age if the source did not explicitly say that it was quoted by Aristotle in his *Constitution of Orchomenos*.

The phrase ‘twice a youth’, alludes to a popular saying about Hesiod, that he exhibited the vigour of youth for a second time in extreme old age; ‘Ἡσιόδειον γῆρας became a proverbial expression (*App. Prov.* 4.92).

The second phrase, ‘twice buried’, refers to a story told at length in the *Certamen* (205ff. Rzach, 215ff. Allen) and dissected by Wilamowitz in *Die Ilias und Homer* 406–12 (cf. Schmid-Stählin 1.1.252 with n. 5; Alcaeus 7.55.1 = *HE* 70 n., Mnasalces 7.54 = *HE* xviii Pref.). In brief, Hesiod died at Oeneon in West Locris and was buried there (Thuc. 3.96; at Oenoe in East Locris, *Certamen*) and his bones were later removed to Orchomenos (not from Locris at all, but from Ascra, according to Aristotle *ap. schol. Hes. Op.* 631; from the neighbourhood of Orchomenos, Paus. 9.38.3–4).

The existence of the present epitaph in the time of Aristotle involves a curious problem. It refers to the second burial, and is therefore plainly an epitaph for the second tomb, the Orchomenian. Yet Pausanias (9.38.4), describing the tomb at Orchomenos, says that a wholly different epitaph was inscribed on it, composed (according to his Orchomenian informants) by a local poet named Chersias; and the lines which he quotes reappear in the *Anthology* under the name of Mnasalces of Sicyon (7.54 = *HE* xviii). It is therefore necessary to suppose either (a) that the epitaph quoted by Aristotle was fictitious, composed as an integral part of the yarn about Hesiod’s death and double burial, or (b) that the Orchomenians decided later to add a second epitaph, for whatever reason. The former alternative is the less likely. Aristotle might well quote an actual inscription; he is not much given to quoting pseudo-inscriptions taken from popular yarns. If the latter alternative is correct, the second epitaph was added about a hundred years after the time of Aristotle; for its ascription to Mnasalces is not exposed to any objection. It is indeed hard to see why or how his name should have been attached to it by error or accident; and he or his family were well known at least in Oropus, the coastal border-town between Boeotia and Attica (Μνασάλκης Μνασίππου Σικυνώνιος was honoured in the Amphiareum; see *HE* 2.400). As there is a certain resemblance between the ends of the two epitaphs, ἀνθρώποις μέτρον ἔχων σοφίης and ἀνδρῶν κρινομένων ἐν βασιάνῳ σοφίης, it is a fair guess that Mnasalces deliberately paid the old epitaph the compliment of imitation, whether he read it on the monument or not.

*App. Prov.* 4.92, 1.456 Leutsch & Schneidewin (= *Ar. fr.* 565 R.) Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Ὀρχομενίῳ πολιτεῖται δις τεθάφθαι φησὶ τὸν Ἡσιόδον καὶ ἐπιγράμματος τοῦδε τυχεῖν·

χαῖρε, δις ἡβήσας καὶ δις τάφου ἀντιβολήσας,  
‘Ἡσιόδ’, ἀνθρώποις μέτρον ἔχων σοφίης.

583

1–2 Pindaro adscribunt Tzetz. vit. Hes. p. 3 Solmsen et Suda s.v. Ἡσιόδειον γῆρας

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 6.277, <sup>b</sup>*App.* 62.

2 [583] Jacobs compared Solon *fr.* 13.52 ἡμερτῆς σοφίης μέτρον ἐπιστάμενος (of the poet).

## ‘PLATO’

## ‘PLATO’<sup>1</sup>

### I and II

On these epigrams, among the most beautiful in the *Anthology*, see especially Walther Ludwig, *GRBS* 4 (1963) 77–80. II is plainly a pseudo-epitaph, an artistic form which, as Ludwig says, ‘clearly belongs to the Hellenistic age’. Ludwig is probably right also in associating I and II closely as a pair of the type illustrated in the Preface to anon. XI; cf. also Plato IV and V. They are ‘a Hellenistic combination of an erotic and a funeral epigram...easily explicable not from a biographical background, but by the common technique of varying a certain theme...The two epigrams seem to be variations of the theme “the star as a metaphor for the beloved”.’

It is remarkable that some modern scholars have been caught in the web woven by the irresponsible ‘Aristippus’ (see pp. 126f. above), for whom the background of I was the class-room during a lesson on astronomy, and the word ἀστήρ a pun; ‘Plato was in love with a youth named “Aster”, who studied astronomy under him’. The idea that ἀστήρ in I 1 stands for both ‘star’ and ‘Aster’ (a common enough proper-name) is unwanted and disagreeable but cannot be absolutely disproved. If it is accepted, it becomes necessary to suppose that the author assumed in his readers the knowledge of a tradition of which there is no earlier trace – that a pupil of Plato was so named. It must have been generally known, for there is nothing in the epigram to suggest it. If the subject’s name was Aster, ἀστήρ in I 1 nevertheless means ‘star’ not ‘Aster’, as the addition of ἐμός shows; the meaning is plainly ‘you are looking at the stars; to me it is you who are the star to be looked at’. The metaphor is immediately intelligible, whatever the subject’s name was; and the epigram is the better if it has nothing to do with a very obvious pun on a proper-name. A pretty child or a handsome young person is called a ‘star’ from Homer onwards: *Il.* 6.400–1 παῖδ’...ἀλίγκιον ἀστέρι καλῶι, Theodoridas 6.156.3 = *HE* 3514 παῖς δ’ ἴσον ἀστέρι λάμπει, *E. Hipp.* 1122 (of Hippolytus) φανερώτατον ἀστέρ’ Ἀθάνας, Musaeus 22 (of Hero and Leander) περικαλλέες ἀστέρες, *Hor. carm.* 3.9.21 *sidere pulchrior*.

II needs little comment. It is only necessary to remember, as Ludwig observes, (a) that the morning-star and the evening-star were believed to be one and the same (Ibycus *PMG* 331; Pfeiffer on *Call. fr.* 291.3), so that their identification with one and the same person is immediately intelligible; (b) that the morning-star typifies supreme beauty (Pind. *Isthm.* 4.42 Ἀσφόρος θαητὸς ὥς ἀστροῖς ἐν ἄλλοις); and (c) that the soul of the dead might inhabit a star (*Ar. Pax* 832).

II is adapted to a fine epitaph of the second or third century A.D., Peek 585:

οὐφρονα Κρησκεντεῖναν ἔχων τάφος ἐνθάδε κεῦθω  
τὴν πάσης ἀρετῆς κῦδος ἐνεγκαμένην·  
ἦτις ἐνὶ ζωοῖσιν ὅκως ἀνέτελλεν ἑῷος,  
νῦν δύνει δ’ ὑπὸ γῆς ἔσπερος ἐν φθιμένοις.

<sup>1</sup> Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 6.336–58; 2 p. 295–312 Bergk; 1 p. 102–9 Diehl.

## ‘PLATO’

### I

A.P. 7.669, P1<sup>a</sup> [PPI] Πλάτωνος [P] φιλοσόφου [C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ Πλάτωνος [J] εἰς Ἀστέρα τὸν μαθητὴν Πλάτωνος τοῦ φιλοσόφου [PI] εἰς τινὰ λεγόμενον Ἀστέρα

ἀστέρας εἰσαθρεῖς, ἀστήρ ἐμός· εἶθε γενοίμην  
οὐρανός, ὥς πολλοῖς ὄμμασιν εἰς σέ βλέπω. 585

Diog. Laert. 3.29 Ἀρίστιππος δ' ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ Περὶ παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς φησιν αὐτὸν Ἀστέρος μεираκίου τινὸς ἀστρολογεῖν συνασκουμένου ἐρασθῆναι... δηλοῦν δὲ τὸν ἔρωτα αὐτοῦ τάδε τὰ ἐπιγράμματα, αἱ καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι εἰς αὐτοὺς· ἀστέρας – βλέπω; Apul. apol. 10 (1–2); Apostol. 4.12<sup>a</sup> Πλάτωνος... εἰς Φαῖδρον (1–2)

1 εἰσάθρει P1, –εἶ P<sup>ac</sup>

### II

A.P. 7.670 [C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Πλάτωνος), P1<sup>a</sup> s.a.n. [JC] εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν Ἀστέρα τὸν μαθητὴν

ἀστήρ πρὶν μὲν ἔλαμπες ἐνὶ ζωοῖσιν ἐώιος,  
νῦν δὲ θανὼν λάμπεις ἔσπερος ἐν φθιμένοις. 587

pergit Diog. Laert. loc. cit. καὶ ἄλλο· ἀστήρ – φθιμένοις; Apul. apol. 10(1–2); Apostol. 4.12<sup>b</sup> τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν αὐτόν (1–2)

### III

To Agathon from his lover.

See Ludwig *loc. cit.* 68–72. The author assumed that his readers would identify ‘Agathon’ with the well-known Athenian tragedian,<sup>1</sup> who makes a speech about Eros in Plato’s *Symposium*; the context in Aulus Gellius refers the epigram to a time when Plato himself was writing tragedies.

The ascription to Plato is plainly false. The tragedian Agathon was about twenty years older than Plato; ‘and as it was always the older ἐραστής and not the younger ἐρώμενος who composed love-poems, Plato cannot have composed a love-poem for the tragedian Agathon’ (Ludwig 71).

A.P. 5.77 (caret P1) Πλάτωνος [J] εἰς Ἀγάθωνα τὸν μαθητὴν αὐτοῦ; Syll. S s.a.n.

τὴν ψυχὴν Ἀγάθωνα φιλῶν ἐπὶ χεῖλεσιν ἔσχον·  
ἦλθε γὰρ ἡ τλήμων ὥς διαβησομένη. 589

Diog. Laert. 3.32 καὶ εἰς Ἀγάθωνα (1–2); Aul. Gell. 19.11.1 celebrantur duo isti Graeci versiculi multorumque doctorum hominum memoria dignantur quod sint lepidissimi et venustissimae brevitatis. neque adeo pauci sunt scriptores qui quidem eos Platonis esse philosophi adfirmant, quibus ille adolescens luserit,

<sup>1</sup> For adequate refutation of the far-fetched alternatives, that Plato, though the author of the epigram, is not the lover in it, or that Agathon is not the tragedian, see Ludwig 71–2.

## ‘PLATO’

cum tragoediis quoque eodem tempore faciendis praeluderet, (1-2): hoc διστιχον amicus meus...in plures versiculos licentius liberiusque vertit (*sequuntur versiculi xvii*)

1 ἐνὶ Diog. cod. F εἶχον Diog. 2 ἡ δύσερως ὥς διαβησομένην Syll.

1 [588] The idea is that the lover's soul may rise up and pass together with his kiss into the body of the beloved. Cf. Bion *epit. Adon.* 46-7 τοσσοῦτόν με φίλησον ὅσον ζῶει τὸ φίλημα, | ἄχρῃς ἀποψυχῆς ἐξ ἐμὸν στόμα, κεῖς ἐμὸν ἦπαρ | πνεῦμα τεὸν ρεύσῃ κτλ., Meleager 5.171. 3-4 = HE 4184-5 εἴθ' ὑπ' ἐμοῖς νῦν χεῖλεσι χεῖλεα θείσῃ | ἀπνευστὶ ψυχάν τάν ἐν ἐμοὶ προπίοι, Favorinus *ap. Stob. ecl.* 4.21<sup>a</sup>.8 (4.483 W.-H.) τί γὰρ ἄλλο ποιοῦσιν οἱ στόματι ψαύοντες; συνάπτουσι τὰς ψυχὰς (what follows is relevant but seriously corrupt), Rufinus 5.14.1-4 (= *Rufinus* iii) Εὐρώπης τὸ φίλαμα...τὴν ψυχὴν ἐξ ὀνύχων ἀνάγει.

ἔσχον: 'I stayed my soul at my lips', Mackail; the translators generally (Dübner, Paton, Waltz, Beckby) read ἔσχον but translate εἶχον.

## IV and V

These two elegant epigrams,<sup>1</sup> unmistakably Hellenistic in style and spirit, may have been composed by one author as a pair of variations on a common theme, 'the apple as a love-token'; cf. I and II above, and Ludwig 75 with n. 44. IV is spoken by the lover who throws the apple, V pretends to be an inscription on the apple itself; both epigrams use the apple as a symbol representing another common motif, that beauty is short-lived. V is translated in the *Epigr. Bobiens.* 32.

The epigrams appear in the miscellany which begins *A.P.* 5, and there is therefore no way of telling whether they were included in the collection of pseudo-Platonic epigrams which was Meleager's source. If they were indeed part of that collection, the name 'Xanthippe' in V obviously referred to the wife of Socrates, and was chosen in order to make the ascription to Plato seem more plausible. It may seem to us absurd that Plato should be represented as courting Socrates' wife, about whom posterity had little to say except that she was a shrew; but it is not much more absurd than representing Plato as the lover of Agathon and Phaedrus. The alternative is to suppose that 'Xanthippe' was some other person (cf. Philodemus 5.131 = *PG* xi), and that the name prompted the ascription to Plato. If this alternative is correct, it is quite likely that the ascription was first made by Aristippus (Ludwig 76).

## IV

*A.P.* 5.79 τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Πλάτωνος), *PIA* s.a.n. [J] εἰς ἑταίραν τινὰ δυσπιθῇ

τῶι μήλῳ βάλλω σε· σὺ δ', εἰ μὲν ἐκοῦσα φιλεῖς με,      590  
δεξαμένη τῆς σῆς παρθενίης μετάδος·  
εἰ δ' ἄρ' ὃ μὴ γίγνοιτο νοεῖς, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ λαβοῦσα  
σκέψαι τὴν ὥρην ὥς ὀλιγοχρόνιος.

Diog. Laert. 3.32 καὶ ἄλλο (1-4)

<sup>1</sup> They are discussed at some length by S. Mariotti, *Studi Urbinati* 4 n.s. B n. 1-2 (1967) 1073ff.

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2 παρθενίας Diog. cod. B    3 νοεῖς Diog., Pl (= Pl<sup>pc</sup> ut vid.): μισεῖς C, μετεῖς vel μεγείς P

1 [590] μήλωι βάλλω σε: ‘the apple is a love-token...and to throw it at anyone is to make an overture’ (Gow on Theocr. 5.88, with abundant references); Ludwig 75 with n. 42.

εἰ μὲν ἐκοῦσα: word-end after the first short syllable of the fourth dactyl (except where the word in question is a prospective monosyllable) is extremely rare in Hellenistic epigrams; see Parrhasius 279 n.

3 [592] νοεῖς: Diogenes’ text may be accepted *faute de mieux* but has two defects: it leaves the reading of P unexplained, and it makes δ μὴ γίγνοιτο the direct object of the verb, whereas (as Hecker observed) such phrases as ὃ μὴ γένοιτο are as a rule parenthetical. Modern attempts to retain δ μὴ γίγνοιτο as a parenthesis and to emend P’s unintelligible text include ἐχθεῖς (Hecker), ὄνοσαι (Geel), ὀκνεῖς (M. Schmidt), and ἀμελεῖς (Stadtmüller). The Corrector’s unmetrical μισεῖς is presumably his personal contribution.

τοῦτ’ αὐτό: the apple.

## V

A.P. 5.80 τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Πλάτωνος), Pl<sup>A</sup> τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Φιλοδήμου)

μήλον ἐγὼ · βάλλει με φιλῶν σέ τις · ἄλλ’ ἐπίνευσον,  
Ξανθίππη · κάγῳ καὶ σὺ μαραινόμεθα.

595

Diog. Laert. 3.32 <καὶ ἄλλο> (1–2)

## VI

See Ludwig 69–73. Diogenes Laertius, in the paragraph preceding his quotation of the pseudo-Platonic epigrams which he found in ‘Aristippus’, gives the text of two passages concerning Plato from the Comic poet Alexis, and it is highly probable that Diogenes identified ‘Alexis’ in this epigram with that poet; it is certain that he identified ‘Phaedrus’ with the pupil of Socrates who appears as a young man in the *Symposium* and in the dialogue named after him. He was surely right; and, if so, it follows that the epigram is a deliberate forgery. Phaedrus was at least twenty years older than Plato, and cannot possibly have been his ‘boy’; when Alexis was eighteen, Plato was seventy-three. The author has chosen names connected with Plato in one way or another, without considering whether those names are appropriate to his subject.

The epigram is a lively composition from the Hellenistic period. It was taken into A.P. from Diogenes, and there is no way of telling whether it was included in the collection of pseudo-Platonic epigrams used by Meleager. It is misplaced among the sepulchral epigrams of A.P. 7; presumably somebody thought (as the Budé editor still thinks) that νῦν ὅτε μηδὲν Ἀλεξίς means ‘now that Alexis is no more’.

For the theme, Jacobs compared Ovid *AA* 1.741, *non tutum est quod ames laudare sodali*: | *cum tibi laudanti credidit, ipse subit*, and *Am.* 3.12.5–8, 3.11.19–20.

A.P. 7.100, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPl] Πλάτωνος [P] εἰς Ἀλεξίην καὶ Φαῖδρον [J] οὔτοι εἰσιν οἱ βεβηλοῦντες τὸν Πλάτωνος βίον

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νῦν, ὅτε μηδὲν Ἄλεξις ὅσον μόνον εἶφ’ ὅτι καλός,

ᾧπτται καὶ πάντῃ πᾶς τις ἐπιστρέφεται.

θυμέ, τί μηνύεις κυσὶν ὁστέον, εἴτ’ ἀνιήσῃ

ῦστερον; οὐχ οὕτω Φαῖδρον ἀπαλώσαμεν;

599

Diog. Laert. 3.31 ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀλέξιδος, φασίν, ἐρασθεὶς καὶ Φαίδρου... τοῦτον ἐποίησε τὸν τρόπον (1-4); Apul. apol. 10 (1-4)

2 post ᾧπτται, non post καλός, interpungunt PPI πᾶς τις ἐπιστρέφεται Diog.: πᾶσι περιβλέπεται CPI, παῖ περικλέπεται P ut vid. 3 ἀνιήσῃ Stephanus (-σει Apul. cod. Flor.): -σεις PPI, Diog.

1 [596] εἶφ’ = εἶπα; the meaning, misunderstood by many, from Apuleius to the Budé edition, is ‘now, when I had said nothing – merely that Alexis is handsome’.

The irregular word-order and the incoherence of μηδὲν...ὅσον μόνον are designed to create an impression of rapid writing under the stress of emotion. After μηδὲν, one expects ἀλλ’ ἢ...or πλὴν...; μηδὲν cannot be properly combined with ὅσον μόνον, which means ‘merely’, ‘only just’, or the like, as in Hdt. 2.20.1 οὐκ ἀξιῶ μνησθῆναι, εἰ μὴ ὅσον σημῆναι βουλόμενος μόνον, Thuc. 6.105.2 ὅσον σχόντας μόνον ξὺν δπλοις ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν, Plato *Rep.* 607A ὅσον μόνον ὕμνους θεοῖς καὶ ἐγκώμια τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ποιήσεως παραδεκτέον ἐς πόλιν. The incoherence, which would seem rough if the normal word-order were preserved with μηδὲν ὅσον μόνον εἶφ’ ὅτι καλός Ἀλεξίς, appears natural enough when Ἀλεξίς is brought forward to bridge the gap in the construction.

2 [597] The variants are, as often, explicable only through sheer misquotation. Diogenes has the better version, and the one less likely to be the product of carelessness; περιβλέπεται does little more than repeat the sense of ᾧπτται.

‘Everyone turns toward him’; Ludwig aptly compares Asclepiades 12.153.2 = HE 899 εἰς ἔμ’ ἐπιστρέφεται.

3-4 [598-9] θυμέ,...ὁστέον: see the note on Dioscorides 5.56.7 = HE 1469, ἀλλὰ τί μηνύω κυσὶν ὁστέα; The phrase looks proverbial, and the coincidence may be fortuitous. If one borrowed from the other, we do not know which was the owner.

Most of the editors end the question at ὁστέον, but a statement beginning εἶτα in the sense ‘and so’, ‘accordingly’, does not follow easily after an inquiry; the punctuation adopted here is that of Grotius.

ἀνιήσεις, active, is meaningless in the context; Beckby retains it at the cost of a mistranslation, ‘you will later *repent* it’.

## VII

This epigram appears in the miscellany which opens *A.P.* 9, and although there is no clue to the source from which it was taken by the anthologist (see *PG* 1. xxi ff.), there is a strong probability that it is earlier than c. A.D. 50. A relatively late date within this limit is indicated by the appearance of the surprising and indeed shocking word κοράσιον, condemned early in the third century B.C. by Philippides (*fr.* 36, ξενικόν), by Pollux (2.17, εὐτελής), and by Phrynichus (*eccl.* 73, παράλογον); thought by some to be Macedonian (schol. B Hom. *Il.* 20.404); and not found elsewhere in any poet. This ‘out-



landish, irrational, and vulgar’ word is in harmony with the colloquial style (see 3–4 nn.). Planudes put this epigram next to the one which most resembles it in form, *A.P.* 9.108 = *PG* 3510–11, ὁ Ζεὺς πρὸς τὸν Ἑρωτα· “βέλη τὰ σὰ πάντ’ ἀφελοῦμαι.” | χῶ πτανός· “βρόντα, καὶ πάλι κύκνος ἔσθι.” St Gregory may have had it in mind when he wrote *A.P.* 8.128, αἱ Χάριτες Μούσαισι· “τί ῥέξομεν...” ...χαὶ Μοῦσαι Χαρίτεσσιν “ἐπεὶ...”. Editors from Jacobs onwards refer also to Lucian *dial. deor.* 19.2. The epigram seems more likely to be a mere flight of fancy than, as Beckby thought (3.769), a description of a work of art.

Diogenes and the *Anthology* disagree about the ascription. According to Diogenes it was said to be the work of Plato, whereas the *Anthology* has the heading Μουσικίου, a name neither intelligible in itself nor attested elsewhere. The conflict of testimony cannot be resolved, whether Μουσικίου is a true reading or, as Reitzenstein ingeniously suggested, a corruption of Μουκίου, meaning Mucius Scaevola, author of *A.P.* 9.217 (see *PG* 2.405).

*A.P.* 9.39, Π<sup>A</sup> [CPI] Μουσικίου [J] εἰς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην καὶ τὰς ἑννέα Μούσας· χλευαστικόν

Ἄ Κύπρις Μούσαισι· “κοράσια, τὰν Ἀφροδίταν 600  
τιμᾶτ’, ἢ τὸν Ἑρων ὕμνιν ἐφοπλίσομαι.”  
χαὶ Μοῦσαι ποτὶ Κύπριν· “Ἄρει τὰ στωμύλα ταῦτα·  
ἀμῖν οὐ πέτεται τοῦτο τὸ παιδάριον.”

Diog. Laert. 3.33 (post xi) κάκεινο (*sc.* φασὶ τοῦ Πλάτωνος εἶναι)· (1–4)

2 Ἑρων P: Ἐρον Pl, Ἑρωτ’ Diog. 3 χαὶ Pl: χά P, αἱ Diog. Κύπρι P  
4 ἀμῖν Brunck: ἡμῖν PPl, Diog. οὐ πέτεται Diog.: δ’ οὐ πέταται PPl

1 [600] κοράσια: see Pref.

2 [601] Ἑρων: the form is suspect, and the easy course is to prefer Ἑρωτ’; ἔρων, however, is the form preserved also in Alexander Aetolus 3.12, a pentameter ending τὸν λιθόλευστον ἔρων, where ἔρον is an easy but unattractive change.

3 [602] Ἄρει...ταῦτα: *sc.* εἰπέ; the style rings colloquial. The meaning is ‘instructions of that sort would be better addressed to those who are interested, especially those accustomed to the military language which you use, such as your lover Ares’.

τὰ στωμύλα: στωμύλος is *talkative, voluble, gossipy*; Aphrodite’s speech could hardly have been more laconic. ‘Chatter’ and ‘nonsense’ are sometimes not far apart, but it is very unusual to use the word exclusively in the latter sense, as here.

4 [603] ἀμῖν οὐ πέτεται: an odd phrase, probably of a colloquial sort: ‘where we are concerned, Eros does no flying’, *i.e.* the winged god makes no flights in our direction. The dative has some affinity with the type illustrated in K.–G. 1.423, but has an emphasis here normally lacking in the *dativus ethicus*.

## VIII

On the Corinthian *hetaera* Lais.

See the Prefaces to anon. cxxx and Antipater of Sidon 7.218 = *HE* xxiii, and compare Secundus 9.260 = *PG* ii, Pompeius 7.219 = *PG* i, Julianus

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6.18, 6.20, and Agathias 7.220. The motif of the mirror recurs in both epigrams by Julianus and in Claudian in *Eutrop.* 1.94, that of her faded charms also in Epicrates *fr.* 2.3 and Secundus *loc. cit.*

The present epigram is exceptionally well-phrased; terse, picturesque, and pungent. It may come from the second century B.C., and is worthy of the third.

A.P. 6.1, P1<sup>A</sup> [PPI] Πλάτωνος [J] ἐπὶ κατόπτρῳ ἀνατεθέντι παρὰ Λαίδος;  
Syll. E 16 Πλάτωνος: Olympiod. in Alcib. 1 p. 31 (3-4)

ἡ σοβαρόν γελάσασα καθ’ Ἑλλάδος, ἡ τὸν ἔραστῶν  
ἔσμὸν ἐνὶ προθύροις Λαῖς ἔχουσα νέων, 605  
τῇ Παφίῃ τὸ κάτοπτρον· ἐπεὶ τοίη μὲν ὀρᾶσθαι  
οὐκ ἐθέλω, οἷη δ’ ἦν πάρος οὐ δύναμαι.

1 ἡ τὸν P1, Syll.: ἡ τῶν P ἑρώντων P1 4 ἐθέλει... δύναται Olymp.

1 [604] **σοβαρόν**: the word here and in Dionysius 157, not elsewhere in an epigram of the pre-Christian era; see *Rufinus* pp. 44ff.

**γελάσασα καθ’ Ἑλλάδος**: she took no lover seriously, and her clients came from every part of Hellas; cf. Propertius 2.6.1-2 *non ita complebant Ephyreae Laidos aedes*, | *ad cuius iacuit Graecia tota fores*, Aulus Gellius 1.8.3, on Lais, *conventusque ad eam ditiorum hominum ex omni Graecia celebres erant*.

2 [605] **ἔσμὸν**: imitated by the anonymous Byzantine author of *A.P.* 9.621, ἔσμὸν ἔραστῶν | ἔξει ἐπὶ προθύροις, whence Bergk conjectured ἐπὶ for ἐνὶ here, a tempting but not necessary change.

3 [606] **τῇ Παφίῃ**: *carmen hoc noviciū, quod vel τῇ Παφίῃ v. 3 arguit*, said Bergk, presumably meaning that the epigram was of Hellenistic, not Platonic, date; ἡ Παφίη often stands alone for Ἀφροδίτῃ from Asclepiades 5.158.2 = *HE* 825 onwards (cf. Hedylyus *ap.* Athen. 11.486A = *HE* 1839, Polystratus 12.91.6 = *HE* 3045, Antipater of Sidon 9.567.2 = *HE* 585).

**κάτοπτρον**: see Dover on *Ar. Nub.* 752. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* (de Gruyter 1980) 1. 477, cites only one example of κάτοπτρον, and nineteen of κάτροπτον. No doubt the mispronunciation κάτροπτον was normal in conversation, but it is rash to assume that poets sanctioned it, and so far as I have noticed it never appears in the tradition of their texts.

**τοίη μὲν**: τοίην ἔμ’ Lobel.

4 [607] **ἐθέλω, οἷη**: hiatus is particularly rare in the pentameters of epigrams, and its admission in this elegant composition is surprising.

## IX

On Archeanassa, a courtesan.

See Ludwig 63-8, and our Preface to Asclepiades 7.217 = *HE* xli. Ludwig is plainly correct in his judgement of the relation of Asclepiades to ‘Plato’: (a) Asclepiades’ epigram is sepulchral, not (as most modern editors have supposed) amatory; if the fact were not self-evident, it would be proved by the imitation in Antipater of Sidon 7.218 = *HE* xxiii (a sepulchral epigram; Λαῖδ’ ἔχω... is spoken by the grave-stone) and by the juxtaposition of Antipater and Asclepiades among the sepulchral epigrams of *A.P.* 7, surely a relic

of Meleager’s arrangement. (b) The ‘Platonic’ version is amatory, not sepulchral; ‘Aristippus’, Diogenes, and Athenaeus understood it so, and the present tense in *ἔπεστιν* ‘*Ἔρως* in Athenaeus’ version is incompatible with any other interpretation. (c) The ‘Platonic’ version is the later of the two; it is inconceivable that Asclepiades, a poet of refined language and taste and one of the most original of the Hellenistic epigrammatists, should have appropriated another man’s work and had the bad taste to convert an amatory into a sepulchral epigram. The priority of Asclepiades is indicated also by the difference in the third line: epitaphs very often describe the character of the deceased, and here the praise of Archeanassa’s beauty in youth is both natural and normal; it is both unnatural and abnormal to make the lover in possession say that her lovers in the past were consumed by much greater fires of passion. It is for this reason that the cry *ὦ δειλοί* is introduced: the incongruity is diminished if the present lover explicitly says that he is sorry for past lovers, whose sufferings were even greater than his own (*πικρὸς ἔπεστιν* ‘*Ἔρως*).

Such adaptation of an epigram, and attribution of the later version to a famous name, is not quite without a parallel in the Hellenistic period; as Ludwig observes (68 n. 26), the relation between ‘Empedocles’ 1 and ‘Simonides’ 7.508 is similar.

Athen. 13.589c ὁ δὲ καλὸς ἡμῖν Πλάτων οὐκ Ἀρχεάνασσαν τὴν Κολοφωνίαν ἑταίραν ἡγάπα; ὥς καὶ αἰδεῖν εἰς αὐτὴν τάδε·

Ἀρχεάνασσαν ἔχω, τὴν ἐκ Κολοφῶνος ἑταίρην,  
ἥς καὶ ἐπὶ ῥυτίδων πικρὸς ἔπεστιν Ἔρως·  
ὦ δειλοί, νεότητος ἀπαντήσαντες ἐκείνης  
πρωτοπλόου, δι’ ὅσης ἤλθετε πυρκαϊῆς.

610

Diog. Laert. 3.31 ἔχειν τε Ἀρχεάνασσαν (*sc.* Πλάτωνά φασιν), εἰς ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν οὕτω ποιῆσαι (1–4) cf. A.P. 7.217, Asclepiadis epigramma simillimum

2 καὶ απορρυτίδων Athen. cod. A πικρὸς ἔπεστιν Athen.: ἔζετο δριμύς Diog. 4 πρωτοπλόου Diog.: πρωτοπόρου Athen.

1 [608] Archeanassa of Colophon is not known in any other connection.

2 [609] *πικρὸς ἔπεστιν*: there was a quite different version of this in circulation, *ἔζετο δριμύς*. The latter is the closer to the model in Asclepiades, the former has the advantage in offering a present tense; if, as the ancients supposed, this epigram is amatory, *ἔζετο* in Diogenes must be interpreted as if it were *ἦστο*. Reitzenstein (*NGG* 1921.55) argues strongly in favour of the priority of Athenaeus’ version, which is preferred by Ludwig also.

3 [610] *νεότητος ἀπαντήσαντες*: Ludwig oddly describes these words as ‘abstract, colourless, and unpoetic’, ‘almost a prosaic paraphrase’ of Asclepiades. *νεότης* is quite common in Pindar, *ἀπαντᾶν* in Euripides, and the construction is anything but prosaic; *ἀπαντᾶν* does not elsewhere govern a genitive, and here takes one on the analogy of *ἀντᾶν* (so also Ludwig 66 n. 20).

*ἐκείνης*: there is no apparent reason why the author did not repeat *ἔραστοι* | *πρωτόβολοι* (to be preferred to *πρωτοβόλου*; Ludwig 63 n. 10). It is not clear why Ludwig should say that ‘the end of v. 3 has become free’, or that there is need for a pronoun referring to Archeanassa.

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4 [611] πρωτοπλόου: for the sailing-metaphor in such contexts, cf. Alcaeus 7. 306 (14) col. ii, Meleager 5.204 = *HE* lx, and other examples cited in the Preface to Rufinus 5.44 = *Rufinus* xvii.

## X

On the death of Dion, tyrant of Syracuse.

The mediocrity of this composition is not a serious argument against its ascription to Plato. That which absolutely condemns the ascription is the content of the last line, ὦ ἐμὸν ἐκμήνας θυμὸν ἔρωτι Δίῳ; ἐκμήνας θυμὸν ἔρωτι means *wholly maddened my heart with love*, and this would be understood by all Greeks at all times to signify sexual love. Now it is downright absurd (‘almost intolerable’, admitted Bowra, *Problems in Greek Poetry* (Oxford 1953) 134) to suppose that Plato at the age of seventy-five, mourning the death of the Syracusan tyrant at the age of about fifty-two, made the climax of his poem a strongly-worded reference to their homosexual relations in the very distant past (presumably some thirty-four years earlier, when Plato first met Dion in Sicily).

There are those who would like to believe that ‘here the term ἔρως recalls rather those emotions which Plato described in *Symposium* and *Phaidros* as characteristic signs of philosophical ἔρως’ (Ludwig 63), that it ‘has its special Platonic meaning’ (Bowra *loc. cit.*); this is a desperate remedy, frustrated by the violence of the verb ἐκμήνας and indeed of the phrase as a whole (μανέντος in the quite different context of *Phaedrus* 253c is not relevant to ἐκμήνας θυμὸν ἔρωτι here). The present epigram is in harmony with some of the others: amatory poems were composed in the name of Plato including names connected with him but without regard for the improbability, indeed the absurdity, of the use of these particular names in this particular connection.

Bowra (131–3) and Herter (*Rh. Mus.* 92 (1944) 298) attempt to defend the authenticity of the epigram by showing that it is closely related in its outlook and ideas to the Platonic *Epistle* 7 and other works. The objections to this line of argument are that the material for comparison offered by the epigram is very slight and purely historical, not philosophical (the death of Dion after a success and at a moment of high hopes; the respect of his townsmen), and that anybody who had read *Epistle* 7 (or even anybody who had not, but knew the elementary historical facts) could have written these lines. It is a remarkable exaggeration, indeed a travesty of the truth, to say that ‘the poem is hardly intelligible unless we interpret it in the light of Plato’s philosophy’; there are no ideas in it, Platonic or other; there is no ‘philosophy’ whatsoever from the first word to the last.

Diogenes’ statement that the lines were inscribed on Dion’s tomb at Syracuse is rightly rejected by modern editors.

A.P. 7.99, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPI] Πλάτωνος[J] φιλοσόφου [PPI]εἰς Δίωνα τὸν Συρακούσιον

δάκρυα μὲν Ἐκάβηι τε καὶ Ἰλιάδεσσι γυναιξί  
Μοῖραι ἐπέκλωσαν δὴ τότε γειναμέναις,

σοὶ δέ, Δίῳ, ῥέξαντι καλῶν ἐπινίκιον ἔργων  
δαίμονες εὐρείας ἐλπίδας ἐξέχεαν.

615

5 κεῖσαι δ' εὐρυχόρῳ ἐν πατρίδι τίμιος ἀστοῖς,  
ὦ ἔμὸν ἐκμήνας θυμὸν ἔρωτι Δίῳ.

Diog. Laert. 3.30 εἰς δὲ τὸν Δίῳνα ὤδε (1-6). τοῦτο καὶ ἐπιγεγράφαι φησὶν (sc. Ἀρίστιππος) ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ; Apul. apol. 10 (6); Suda s.v. γειναμέναις

2 δὴ τότε P, Diog. cod. F: δὴ ποτε Pl, Diog. codd. BP 3 καλὸν...ἔργον Pl  
5 ἐνι (ex ein ut vid.) Pl

1-2 [612-13] μὲν Ἑκάβη: μὲν is not to be emended (μὴν Jacobs, ἄδην Bergk, δακρυόενθ' Stadtmüller), and the prosody can only be justified by making allowance for an initial digamma. ϣεκάβη is indeed attested (Kretschmer *Gr. Vasenschriften* pp. 21 and 43), and the effect of the digamma is occasionally visible in Homer (he names Hecuba seldom, Hesiod names her not at all), as in *Il.* 16.718 αὐτοκασίγνητὸς Ἑκάβης, 24.193 ἄλοχόν Ἑκάβην, though it is neglected in 24.283 ἦλθ' Ἑκάβη, 24.747 αὐθ' Ἑκάβη. The literary epigram, however, generally ignores initial digamma (except in the third person pronoun), and the rule that it may not be used to help lengthen a preceding short syllable is almost never broken ('Meleager' 7.352.5 = *HE* 4746 Ἀρχίλοχὸς ἐπέων).

The relation of 1-2 to 3-4 is obscure. 'The mention of Hecuba and the Trojan women does not seem very relevant to Dion', said Bowra (136), 'even though the contrast is clear between those who are unhappy from birth, as they were, and others, like Dion, whose joy turned unexpectedly to sorrow... The Trojan women never had any illusions about their state, but Dion, like Croesus, may have thought that his happiness would endure.' This is a quite false picture. The Trojan women were certainly not unhappy *from birth*; an unhappy end was decreed for them (for a particular reason; Lloyd-Jones *JHS* 75 (1955) 159), but it is neither said nor true that they were miserable from birth and remained so. As Jacobs put it, *nonne etiam Trojanae mulieres ante belli initium omni felicitatis genere floruerunt?* No doubt they had some advance notice, towards the end, of their impending fate, and Dion did not; but that contrast is not made here. The only possible contrast lies in an implication that Dion's misfortune was not decreed when he was born but was caused by the wilful intervention of a divinity at a particular time despite the fact that it was not so decreed. But the phrasing is not adequate to the thought: such a contrast required not δαίμονες but δαίμων, or rather δαίμων τις (as in the relevant passage of *Epistle* 7, 336B τις δαίμων ἢ τις ἀλιτῆριος κτλ.); the plural δαίμονες does not sufficiently differentiate these agents from the Μοῖραι.

In any case the author who looked for a legendary figure to contrast with the tyrant of Syracuse could hardly have made a more far-fetched and unsuitable choice than (of all people) Hecuba and the Trojan women.

3 [614] ῥέξαντι...ἐπινίκιον: this can only mean, as Bowra said, 'having made sacrifice in honour of victory', and that is an abuse of language, for the plural ἐπινίκια was required for that sense. It is vain to plead, as Bowra did, that 'the substitution of the singular for the plural seems a legitimate device

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in poetry, and calls for no further comment’. The truth is that the singular and the plural of this word when used substantively mean quite different things and are not interchangeable. The singular always means ‘victory-song’, the plural ‘sacrifice after victory’ (or occasionally ‘prize of victory’). This author is insensitive not only to metre but also to the proper use of words.

**4 [615] εὐρείας:** the epithet is extravagant. The author would plead that if greater men said ‘wide fame’ (Hom. *Od.* 23.137, Simonides *fr.* 84.6 Bergk), he might say ‘wide hopes’; not unreasonably, but it is a pity that he put an unsuitable verb with it (‘*spilt* wide hopes’).

**ἐλπίδας ἐξέχεαν:** a ready-made phrase, available at Panticapaeum in the Kertsch peninsula, Peek 949 ἐλπίδας ἐξέχεεν, I A.D., and at Oaxos in Crete, Peek 683 ἐλπίδας ἐξέχεα, ? I A.D.

**5 [616] εὐρυχόρων:** a commonplace epithet, often for particular towns, but occasionally also, as here, for whole regions (Hellas and Lacedaemon in Homer, Asia and Libya in Pindar). For the hiatus at the masculine caesura see Zosimus 428 n.

## XI and XII

Epitaphs for Eretrians buried in Persia.

Herodotus tells the story as follows: On their return from the invasion of Hellas in 490 B.C. the Persian generals Datis and Artaphrenes took their Eretrian captives to Susa. Darius, who had special reason for animosity against the Eretrians, nevertheless did them no harm but settled them at Ardericca in Cissia, about twenty-four miles from Susa. They were still there in his time, says Herodotus, φυλάσσοντες τὴν ἀρχαίην γλῶσσαν.

And their descendants were still there half a millenium later. Apollonius of Tyana went to see them, and Philostratus (*vit. Apoll.* 1.23–4) tells the story of the visit. It is necessary to say something about his account, for it includes one of these epigrams (xii), and it has an important bearing on the question whether these epigrams are copies of inscriptional epitaphs or (as is commonly supposed; they are labelled *demonstrativa* by Preger, nos. 267, 268, with the approval of Stadtmüller, and they are ignored by Peek) mere literary exercises.

Philostratus says that the memoirs of Damis are his source for the relevant chapter (1.24; ὁ Δάμις περὶ τῶν Ἐρετριέων ἀναγέγραπεν...). Now the ‘memoirs of Damis’ are generally regarded with the deepest suspicion by students of Philostratus. They came into Philostratus’ hands by a roundabout route: a relative of Damis gave them to the wife of Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, who gave them to Philostratus with instructions to edit and publish them (*vit. Apoll.* 1.3). They are gossipy and flashy and abounding in historical and geographical errors; they have been condemned as forgery or fiction (*RE* 2.146), and the very existence of Damis has been doubted (*RE* 4.2057). It is therefore prudent to adopt a sceptical attitude towards the account of the visit of Apollonius to the Eretrians, though it is proper also to concede that it sounds realistic enough.

For eighty years, said Damis, the Eretrians continued to write Greek, and their ancient tombs were inscribed ‘X the son of Y’, ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεινός; there were also tombstones with ships carved on them, signifying that the deceased had been seafarers before their captivity. Then follows the sentence καὶ τι καὶ

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ἐλεγεῖον ἀναγνῶναι γεγραμμένον ἐπὶ ναυτῶν τε καὶ ναυκλήρων σήματι· οἶδε ποτ’ Αἰγαιοιο βαθύρροον οἶδμα πλέοντες | Ἐκβατάνων πεδίῳ κτλ. (= XII). It is not clear whether Apollonius is the subject of the infinitive ἀναγνῶναι or not, and it matters little; he read, or somebody else read, this epigram (ἐλεγεῖον = ἐπίγραμμα as often) inscribed on a tombstone. If this is a true account, XII is a copy of an inscriptional epitaph of the fifth century B.C., and the same may then be true of XI. It will be generally agreed that both epigrams exhibit the simplicity, dignity, and high poetic quality characteristic of epitaphs from the classical period.

Nevertheless there are serious objections to this belief, quite apart from the cloud which hangs over the ‘memoirs of Damis’.

(a) It is remarkable that both epigrams take the form of epitaphs for *polyandria* (or cenotaphs) commemorating men fallen in battle, referring to the deceased in the plural number and not including their names (which might be inscribed separately beside the epitaph). Both XI and XII are most naturally interpreted as commemorating the generality of Eretrians dead in captivity, and it is most highly improbable that there was ever such a common grave at Ardericca. Single burial would be the rule there, in accordance with Hellenic custom. Herein is a very strong argument in favour of the opinion that these epigrams are not inscriptional but literary exercises; if so, it is necessary to condemn this part of the account given by Damis as mere fiction.

(b) In the epigram reported by Apollonius (XII) the place of burial is described as ‘the plain of Ecbatana’. Now the Eretrian settlement visited by Apollonius was in Cissia (I.23), *i.e.* in the territory of Susa as described by Herodotus; but Ecbatana lies in a quite different region of Persia, several hundred miles north of Susa, not in Cissia at all. How could those who lived close to Susa, poor ignorant foreigners as they might be, confuse Susa (contrast XI I ἄγχι δὲ Σούσων) with remote Ecbatana? Jacobs suggested that, as Ecbatana and Susa were the two chief cities and royal residences, either might serve as a symbol for Persia (*cf.* A. *Pers.* 16 Σούσων ἥδ’ Ἀγβατάνων, 535 ἄστυ τὸ Σούσων ἥδ’ Ἀγβατάνων). It may be thought that a Hellenistic poet is much likelier than an Eretrian captive to think in such terms.

The balance of probability inclines against the opinion that XI and XII are copies of inscriptional epitaphs of the fifth century; they are presumably of Hellenistic date.

To the question why Plato should have been named as their author a plausible answer was given by Preger (p. 213): it was a consequence of the interest displayed by Plato in the fate of the captive Eretrians; he tells their tale at length in *Laus* 3.698B and *Menexenus* 240A, including the story of the σαγήνησις, to which Diogenes and the lemma to XII refer (this is not in Herodotus).

## XI

A.P. 7.259, Pl<sup>A</sup> s.a.n. (cum XII coniunctum); [C] Πλάτωνος [J] εἰς τοὺς Εὐβοεῖς τοὺς ἐν Σούσοις τελευτήσαντας

Εὐβοίης γένος ἔσμεν Ἐρετρικόν, ἄγχι δὲ Σούσων  
κειμεθα· φεῦ γαίης ὅσον ἄφ’ ἡμετέρης.

619

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Diog. Laert. 3.33 φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ εἰς τοὺς Ἑρετρίας τοὺς σαγηνευθέντας αὐτοῦ (sc. Πλάτωνος) εἶναι· (1-2); schol. Hermog. Rhet. Gr. 7.1 p. 193 W. = An. Ox. Cramer 4.154.10 ἐπίγραμμα Πλάτωνος (1-2); Suda s.v. Ἰππίας· Πλάτωνός ἐστιν ἐπίγραμμα (1-2)

1 Εὐβοέων Suda, -βοίων schol. ἤμεν Diog. codd. PF<sup>pc</sup>, εἰμὲν Diog. codd. BF<sup>ac</sup>, schol. 2 αἶας vel αἶης schol. ὅσον Diog. cod. F, τόσσον Diog. cod. P, schol., τόσσον Diog. cod. B ἡμετέρας schol.

## XII

A.P. 7.256, Pl<sup>A</sup> [CPI] Πλάτωνος [C] εἰς τοὺς Ἑρετρίεις τοὺς ἐν Ἑκβατάνοις κείμενους

οἶδε ποτ' Αἰγαίοιο βαρύβρομον οἶδμα λιπόντες 620  
Ἑκβατάνων πεδίῳ κείμεθ' ἐνὶ μεσάτῳ.  
χαῖρε κλυτὴ ποτε πατρίς Ἑρέτρια, χαίρετ' Ἀθηναί  
γείτονες Εὐβοίης, χαῖρε θάλασσα φίλη.

Philostr. vit. Apoll. 1.24 s.a.n. (1-4)

1 βαθύβροον οἶδμα πλέοντες Philostr. 2 κείμεθ' ἐνὶ P<sup>ac</sup> Pl, Philostr.: κείμεθα ἐν C

1 [620] The alternative offered by Philostratus is intrinsically neither better nor worse.

2[621] ἐνὶ μεσάτῳ: the epigrammatists avoid this device, even when there is good precedent, as e.g. in ἐνὶ μεγάροις (Peek 216). There are three or four examples of lengthening before λ-, none before μ-, in *HE* and *PG* (see *PG* 1. xlv).

3-4 [622-3] Ἀθηναί γείτονες Εὐβοίης: as Athens is conjoined with Eretria in the farewell, the conclusion was drawn that this epigram was an epitaph for Athenians as well as Eretrians (the lemmatist, J, writes beside these lines εἰς τοὺς Ἑρετρίεις καὶ Ἀθηναίους τοὺς ἐν Ἑκβατάνοις τελευτήσαντας); in-correctly, for there were no Athenian captives at Ardericca.

It is improbable that an inscriptional epitaph for Eretrians would name Athens beside Eretria, even allowing for the special circumstances of 490 B.C.; the combination may be a further sign that the epigram is an Hellenistic literary exercise.

## XIII

Sappho the tenth Muse.

This motif is included in elaborate epigrams by Dioscorides 7.407 = *HE* xviii, Antipater of Sidon 7.14 = *HE* xi, and anon. 9.571 = anon. xxxvi (b); as the sole point of a single distich, in Antipater of Sidon 9.66 = *HE* xii. Weinreich, *Studien zu Martial* 18-20, discusses the type, and compares the similar motifs of the ‘fourth Grace’ and the ‘eighth Wise Man’.<sup>1</sup>

The present epigram is well below the normal standard. As Bergk observed, ἡνίδε and τινές are inappropriate space-fillers. τινές is indeed worse than merely inappropriate. In this context, it is nonsense to say that *some people* count nine Muses; the point of the epigram is that all people do so, and the author can tell them that they are wrong – Sappho brings the number up to ten.

<sup>1</sup> XIII is discussed also by Mariotti *loc. cit.* (p. 163 n. 1 above) 1085ff.



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A.P. 9.506, P1<sup>A</sup> [PPI] Πλάτωνος [J] εἰς τὰς Μούσας

ἐννέα τὰς Μούσας φασὶν τινες· ὥς ὀλιγώρως·  
ἦνίδε καὶ Σατφῶ Λεσβόθεν ἡ δεκάτη.

625

## XIV

On Aristophanes.

The fact that this charming and highly original epigram is absent from *A.P.* is probably an indication that it was not in the collection of Platonic epigrams available to Meleager (4.1.47 = *HE* 3972); it was preserved for posterity in the *Life* of Aristophanes, and its ascription to Plato is probably mere guesswork. *vita Aristophanis* ed. van Leeuwen p. 174 ἀποθανόντα δ’ αὐτὸν Πλάτων ἐτίμησεν ἐν ἐπιγράμματι ἡρωελεγεῖω.

αἱ Χάριτες, τέμενός τι λαβεῖν ὅπερ οὐχὶ πεσεῖται  
ζητοῦσαι, ψυχὴν εὖρον Ἀριστοφάνους.

627

Olympiodorus *vit. Plat.* p. 192 Herm. = 1 xliii Bekker καὶ ἐπίγραμμα δὲ τοιοῦτον εἰς Ἀριστοφάνην αὐτὸς (sc. Πλάτων) πεποίηκεν (1–2); *Prol. in Plat. philosoph.* p. 198 Herm. (1–2)

1 ὅπερ οὐχὶ πεσεῖται *vita*: τό περ οὔτι πεσεῖται Olymp., ὅπερ ἤθελον εὐρεῖν *Prol.* 2 ζητοῦσαι *vita*: ζηλοῦσαι Olymp., διζόμεναι *Prol.*

1 [626] τέμενος... οὐχὶ πεσεῖται: the verb is surprising. A τέμενος is a piece of land, not something which might ‘fall’. LSJ *s.v.* iii cite only Choricus for the sense *temple*, which would be suitable here and is attested by Hesychius *s.v.* τέμενος... ἡ ἱερὸν καὶ βωμός, and *s.v.* τεμένη· ναοί. The variant ὅπερ ἤθελον εὐρεῖν is contemptible.

## XV

The power of Time.

A dismal distich, *omni lepore destitutum*, as Bergk said.

A.P. 9.51, P1<sup>A</sup>, Σπ [CPI Σπ] Πλάτωνος [J] ὅτι ὁ αἰὼν ἤτουν (sic) ὁ χρόνος πάντα ἐξαλλάσσει; Syll. E Πλάτωνος

αἰὼν πάντα φέρει· δολιχὸς χρόνος οἶδεν ἀμείβειν  
οὔνομα καὶ μορφὴν καὶ φύσιν ἡδὲ τύχην.

629

2 ἡδὲ τέχνην Syll. E

1 [628] αἰὼν πάντα φέρει: the editors compare Virg. *Ecl.* 9.51 *omnia fert aetas*, and Beckby thinks that Virgil is translating from the present epigram.

## XVI

Let there be silence while Pan pipes to the dancing Nymphs.

Dedications to Pan and addresses to statues of him are common in the epigrammatists; xvi is of a relatively rare type, a pastoral vignette reflecting the poet’s vision of a scene in the countryside. It has much in common with Alcaeus *A. Plan.* 226 = *HE* xx; cf. also Theocritus 9.433 = *HE* xxi and Myrinus 7.703 = *PG* iii.

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This elegant and picturesque composition may be as old as the third century B.C.; the standard is attained also by some of the epigrammatists of the following two centuries.

The ascription to Plato is unexpected but not inappropriate; Plato is one of the very few prose-authors who wrote comparable descriptions of the countryside, as *e.g.* *Phaedrus* 230B.

Σπ (= ‘A.P. 9.823’), P1<sup>A</sup> [Σπ P1] Πλάτωνος [Σπ] εἰς τὸν Πᾶνα

630

σιγάτω λάσιον Δρυάδων λέπας οἱ τ’ ἀπὸ πέτρας  
κρουνοὶ καὶ βληχὴ πουλυμιγῆς τοκάδων,  
αὐτὸς ἐπεὶ σύριγγι μελίσδεται εὐκελάδω Πάν  
ὑγρὸν εἰς ζευκτῶν χεῖλος ὑπὲρ καλάμων,  
5 αἱ δὲ περίς θαλεροῖσι χορὸν ποσὶν ἐστήσαντο  
ὑδριάδες Νύμφαι, Νύμφαι ἀμαδρυάδες. 635

2 βληχὰ P1 3 ἐπὶ Σπ μελίσδεται P1: μελίζεται Σπ

1 [630] **λάσιον**: cf. [Theocr.] 25.134–5 λασίοιο...δρυμοῖο, 26.3 and *A.P.* 9.433.5 = *HE* 3496 λασίον δρυός; the use is not uncommon in prose too.

2 [631] **πουλυμιγῆς**: the compound first in Aristotle.

3 [632] **σύριγγι...εὐκελάδωι**: cf. Alcaeus *A. Plan.* 226.3 = *HE* 130, of Pan, εὐκελάδωι σύριγγι.

**μελίσδεται**: σδ for 3 suits the bucolic theme; cf. Theocr. 1.1–2 πίτυς...μελίσδεται, *A.P.* 6.177.1 = *HE* 3398 μελίσδων (*HE* 3433, 3464, 3486 and 3505 have 3, the only other appearances of the letter in Theocritus’ epigrams), anon. 1401 below συνίσδων and 1422 μελίσδων.

**ὑγρὸν**: *soft or pliant, flexible*; LSJ *s.v.* π 1, Jebb on Bacchyl. 16.108. Cf. anon. 1411, of Pan, κυρτὸν ὑπὲρ χρυσέων χεῖλος εἰς δονάκων.

5 [634] **θαλεροῖσι**: with the bloom of youth on them; *E. El.* 20 θαλερός...ἡβης χρόνος, Alexander Aetolus 3.7 πρωθήβης, ἔαρος θαλερώτερος.

6 [635] **ὑδριάδες**: see the note on anon. 1650–1.

## XVII

A statue of Pan, piping, at a spring.

This epigram is of a familiar Hellenistic type; see the Preface to anon. LXXVI. It has much in common with anon. LXXVIII, but is of inferior quality. The unnamed speaker is Pan, as the word ἑμοῖς combined with the syrinx proves.

For the ascription to Plato, see xvi Pref.

A.Plan. [P1<sup>AB</sup>] 13 Πλάτωνος [P1<sup>A</sup>] εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ (sc. ἄγαλμα Πανός); Syll. E 27; Syll. S s.a.n.

639

ὑψίκομον παρὰ τάνδε καθίζεο φωνήεσσαν  
φρίσσουσιν πυκνοῖς κῶνον ὑπὸ ζεφύροις,  
καὶ σοὶ καχλάζουσιν ἑμοῖς παρὰ νάμασι σῦριγγ  
θελγομένων ἄξει κῶμα κατὰ βλεφάρων.

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2 πυκνοῖς P1<sup>B</sup> κῶνον Scaliger: κῶμον codd. 4 θελγομένων P1<sup>Bpc</sup>, Syll. S: -νωι P1<sup>A</sup>, Syll. E ἄξει P1<sup>AB</sup>: ἄζει Syll. S, ἔξει Syll. E

**1-2 [636-7]** The position of φρίσσουσιν, next to the epithet φωνήεσσαν and separating it from its noun, is awkward, and κῶνον (a certain emendation) is difficult. The notion that the tree is not named, and that κῶνον stands for κώνους, governed by φρίσσουσιν, is wholly unacceptable. The alternative is to take κῶνον to mean not the cone but the whole tree; this would seem very improbable, if there were not a clear example in Plutarch, *quaest. conv.* 2.6, 640c, οὔτε γὰρ κῶνον οὔτε κυπαριττόν ἢ πῖτον ἢ πεύκην κτλ. Jacobs quotes another example, from Paulus Silentiarius *ecphr.* 458, ἡ κώνοισιν ὀρειτρεφέεσσιν ὁμοῖα | δένδρεά τις καλέσειε. This interpretation must be accepted, with however bad a grace.

πυκνοῖς: as LSJ *s.v.* π 2, *frequent, numerous*.

**3 [638] καχλάζουσιν:** *cf.* Lycophron 80, of rain, καχλάζων νασμός, and Gow's note on Theocr. 6.11-12 κύματα φαίνει | ἄσυχ'α καχλάζοντος ἀπ' αἰγυ-αλοῖο.

ἐμοῖς: ἐμὰ Bergk (ἐμή Jacobs), but there is no need for change.

**4 [639] ἄξει:** *cf.* anon. 1423, of Pan, ὕπνον ἄγω. στάζει Emperius, without need.

θελγομένων...κῶμα: *cf.* 665 κῶματι θελγόμενον, 659 (Ammonius?) θέλγω...περὶ κῶματι παῖδα.

## XVIII

On a drowned man ashore robbed of his cloak.

Jacobs compared Phaedrus 4.22.9-16: a ship is wrecked, a few men swim ashore, and then *praedones adsunt, rapiunt quod quisque extulit, | nudos relinquunt*. Variations on the theme of the man drowned after shipwreck are very common in the *Anthology* (see Beckby's Index, 4.684) from Callimachus and Asclepiades onwards; the present epigram is plainly not inscriptional but a literary exercise, a type inconceivable in the time of Plato, although it may well have been included in the 'Platonic' collection used by Meleager; it occurs in a block of eleven epigrams by Meleager's authors, all variations on the same theme. There is no obvious reason why this or the following two epigrams should have been ascribed to Plato or composed in his name.

A.P. 7.268, P1<sup>A</sup> [CPI] Πλάτωνος [J] εἰς ναυηγὸν ὃν εὐρών τις ἐξέδυσε τῶν ἱματίων; Syll. E 52 Πλάτωνος

ναυηγὸν με δέδορκας, ὃν οἰκτεῖρασα θάλασσα 640

γυμῶσαι πυμάτου φάρεος ἠιδέσατο·

ἄνθρωπος παλάμησιν ἀταρβήτοις μ' ἀπέδυσε,

τόσπον ἄγος τόσπου κέρδεος ἀράμενος.

5 κεῖνό κεν ἐνδύσαιτο καὶ εἶν' Αἶδαο φοροῖτο,

καὶ μιν ἴδοι Μίνως τοῦμόν ἔχοντα ῥάκος. 645

1 οἰκτεῖρασα P: ἡ κτεῖνασα P1, Syll. 5 εἶν PPI: εἰς Syll. φοροῖτο Wakefield: φέροιτο PPI, Syll. 6 ῥάκος P: φάρος C<sup>7</sup> P1, Syll.

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**1-3 [640-2]** Most of the modern editors follow Jacobs in putting a stop after δέδορκας and treating δν...ἡδέσατο as dependent on the following main clause, ἄνθρωπός μ’ ἀπέδυσε. This is exposed to the serious objection that whereas δν θάλασσα ἡδέσατο, (τοῦτον) ἄνθρωπος ἀπέδυσε would be normal phraseology, δν θάλασσα ἡδέσατο, ἄνθρωπός μ’ ἀπέδυσε is not merely abnormal but positively bad Greek. Those who adopt Jacobs’ punctuation should adopt also Wakefield’s deletion of μ’.

P and Pl put a stop at the end of 2; it must be admitted that the consequent asyndeton of 3 is harsh (hence ἄνθρωπος παλάμησι δ’ Wakefield), but it is much less disagreeable than the alternative.

**οἰκτεῖρασα:** ἡ κτείνασα, an inferior variant (or conjecture), is unaccountably preferred by Bergk, Diehl, Waltz, and Beckby.

**πυμάτου:** not ‘his last cloak’ but ‘his cloak, the last thing he possessed’; *ex omnibus bonis suis undarum furor nihil ipsi praeter hanc unam vestem reliquerat*, Jacobs.

**4 [643] τόσσον...τόσσου:** ‘so great a pollution for so small a gain’; for τόσσου in this sense, cf. Leonidas 7.740.6 = *HE* 2440 φεῦ γαίης ὅσσης ὅσσον (‘how little’) ἔχει μόριον, Antipater of Thessalonica 7.625.5-6 = *PG* 255-6 ἄ πόσον (‘how little’) ὕδωρ | ὤλεσε τὸν τόσσῳ κεκριμένον πελάγει.

**5 [644] κεν:** καὶ Schneidewin, perhaps rightly, for the optative would be better without the modal particle.

**εἰν...φοροῖτο:** εἰς in Syll. E is surely an interpolation, designed to make φέροιτο tolerable.

## XIX

A drowned man and a farmer buried close together.

The same moral is pointed by Isidorus, 7.532 = *PG* iv, on the tomb of a farmer turned sailor.

A.P. 7.265, Pl<sup>A</sup> [CPI] Πλάτωνος [J] εἰς ἕτερον ναυηγόν

ναυηγοῦ τάφος εἰμί, ὃ δ’ ἀντίον ἐστὶ γεωργοῦ·  
ὥς ἀλλὶ καὶ γαίῃ ξυνὸς ὕπεστ’ Αἶδης.

647

1 εἶμ’, ὃ δ’ ἐναντίον Jacobs, perhaps rightly; hiatus at the feminine caesura, common in Theocritus’ *Idylls* (see Gow on 7.8), is extremely rare in the *Anthology* (no example in *PG*; in *HE*, Leonidas 9.335.1 = 2123) and was easily avoidable here; cf. Parmenon 277 n.

## XX

On the tomb of a shipwrecked man.

A.P. 7.269, Pl<sup>A</sup> [CPI] τοῦ αὐτοῦ [C] Πλάτωνος [J] εἰς ἕτερον ναυηγόν  
Syll. E 53 s.a.n.

πλωτῆρες, σώιζοισθε καὶ εἰν ἀλλὶ κατὰ γαίαν,  
ἵστε δὲ ναυηγοῦ σῆμα παρερχόμενοι.

649

2 σῶμα Syll.

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## XXI, XXII, XXIII

These three epigrams are descriptions of works of art, a type unknown before the Alexandrian period. Two such epigrams (but only single distichs) are ascribed to 'Plato the younger' (see p. 82), and 'Plato' in the heading of the present three, whether truth or guesswork, may have meant the younger Plato. Their transference to that author, however, might do him too much credit; and one of them, XXI, has quite a good claim to be recognised as belonging to the *Garland* of Meleager and therefore as being generally accepted as the work of the philosopher Plato. It is followed in *A.P.* by an Hellenistic epigram ascribed by some to Leonidas (= Leonidas *HE* xciv), and this is followed by an anonymous Hellenistic epigram (= *HE* anon. xliii), two by Antipater of Sidon (*HE* ii and xliii), another anonymous Hellenistic epigram (= *HE* anon. xxxviii), and, after interruption by four dactylic hexameters, by Simonides, anon. *HE* xlii, Simonides again, and Bacchylides.

The authority for the ascription of xxii and xxiii to Plato (older or younger) is relatively weak. They are not in P; xxii is headless in Σπ but ascribed to Plato in Planudes; both these sources agree on Plato in xxiii. On *A.P.* 9.827, given to Plato in Planudes but to Ammonius in Σπ, see xxii Pref.

## XXI

A frog's croaking guides a thirsty traveller to a spring; he dedicates a bronze figure of a frog there.

*Elegantissimis Anthologiae epigrammatis accensendum judico*, said Jacobs. That is too high praise, though it would not have been surprising if the epigram had come down under the name of one of the well-known writers of the third century B.C. The epigram is not earlier than the third century B.C., and there are one or two epigrammatists of the first half of the first century A.D. who are capable of writing as well as this.

The Budé edition refers to Th. Homolle *s.v.* *Donarium* in Daremberg and Saglio, with fig. 2538, for extant specimens of votive frogs made of metal.

A.P. 6.43 Πλάτωνος, Pl<sup>A</sup> ἄδηλον [J]εῖς βάτραχον χαλκοῦν ἀνατεθέντα  
ταῖς Νύμφαις παρὰ ὁδοιπόρου

τὸν Νυμφῶν θεράποντα φιλόμβριον ὑγρὸν αἰοδόν, 650  
 τὸν λιβάσιν κρυφαῖαις τερπόμενον βάτραχον,  
 χάλκῳ †τυπώσας† τις ὁδοιπὸρος εὖχος ἔθηκε  
 καύματος ἐχθροτάτην δίψαν ἀκεσσάμενος.  
 5 πλαζομένῳ γὰρ ἔδειξεν ὕδωρ, εὕκαιρον αἰσίας  
 κοιλάδος ἐκ δροσερῆς ἀμφιβίῳ στόματι. 655  
 φωνὴν δ' ἡγήτειραν ὁδοιπὸρος οὐκ ἀπολείπων  
 < >

2 λιβάσιν om. Pl spat. vac. relicto      κρυφαῖαι Stadtmüller: κούφαι PPI  
3 τυπώσας P: στηλώσας Pl, μορφώσας C<sup>γρ</sup>      4 ἀκεσάμενον Pl      8 versum

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om. P et spat. vac. relicto Pl; ad finem v. 7 εὔρε πόσιν γλυκερῶν ὦν ἐπόθη ναμάτων scr. C, tum γλυκερὴν C<sup>γρ</sup>

1 [650] φιλόμβριον: here only; Meleager has φίλουμβρος.

2 [651] κρυφαίαις: this clever conjecture suits the context well; κούφαις is not only an abnormal epithet in this connection but seems also quite pointless. Hor. *epod.* 16.47–8 is not a good parallel, for *levis lympa* there is not isolated but part of a carefully drawn picture, *montibus altis | levis crepante lympa desilit pede*.

3 [652] †τυπώσας†: μορφώσας is not likely to be the truth, for the occupation of the text by a gloss is a very rare phenomenon in *A.P.*, and μορφώσας needed no explanation. If μορφώσας is the Corrector’s own conjecture (as στηλώσας is certainly Planudes’), the odds against its correctness are very heavy. Hecker’s χαλκοτυπησάμενος deserves serious consideration; -τυπώσας might have replaced -τυπησάμενος after χαλκο- was corrupted to χάλκω(ι).

εὔχος = δ ἤυχετο; not so used elsewhere.

4 [653] Cf. Hom. *Il.* 22.2 ἀκέντό τε δίψαν, Pind. *Pyth.* 9.103 ἀοιδᾶν δίψαν ἀκείόμενον.

6 [655] κοιλάδος: κοιλὰς is a *hollow*, appropriate here, for many springs came to the surface in caves. Not *deep valley*, as LSJ; such a cave might be in any part of the countryside, including the hills.

ἀμφιβίωι: cf. *Batr.* 59 ἀμφίβιον γὰρ ἔδωκε νομὴν βατράχοισι Κρονίων.

7f. [656f.] The last line is omitted by P without any indication of a gap. The Corrector’s marginal supplement is presumably his own; ἐπόθει should have been ἐπόθει, and νάμάτων is a surprising lapse for so experienced a reader.

## XXII (a)

On a sculpture at a spring: a Satyr and sleeping Eros.

This epigram, certainly not earlier than the third and probably not later than the first century B.C., is nameless in Σπ but ascribed to Plato in Planudes. Σπ (= ‘A.P. 9.826’) s.a.n. εἰς Σάτυρον κρήνηι ἐφεστῶτα καὶ Ἐρωτα καθεύδοντα Pl<sup>A</sup> Πλάτωνος

τὸν Βρομίου Σάτυρον τεχνήσατο δαιδαλέῃ χεῖρ

μούνῃ θεσπεσίως πνεῦμα βαλοῦσα λίθωι.

εἰμί δὲ ταῖς Νύμφαισιν ὀμέσιος· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ πρίν

πορφυρέου μέθυσος λαρὸν ὕδωρ προχέω.

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5 εὔκηλον δ’ ἴθυνε φέρων πόδα, μὴ τάχα κούρον

κινήσεις ἀπαλῶι κώματι θελγόμενον.

1 τεχνάσατο Pl

2 μούνῃ Benndorf: μούνη codd.

3 Νύμφαις Σπ

ὀμέσιος Pl

1 [657] τὸν Βρομίου: belonging to Dionysos as a servant; not ‘son of...’ as Paton and Beckby.

2 [658] μούνῃ...λίθωι = μονολίθωι, a word as old as Herodotus; the Satyr and Eros were a single piece of sculpture. μούνῃ is defined by Jacobs as meaning *unica*, with the approval of Bergk, the Budé edition (‘mieux que tout autre’), and Beckby (‘wie nur ein Gott es vermag’), but the parallels quoted,

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such as S. *OT* 299, *OC* 261, and Philodemus 5.4.3 = *PG* 3162, are quite inadequate.

**πνεῦμα βαλοῦσα:** cf. anon. *A. Plan.* 159.1 τίς λίθον ἐψύχωσε; , Meleager 12.57.3 = *HE* 4582, of Praxiteles, ξμψυχα μαγεύων.

**3 [659] Νύμφαισιν:** Μούσαισιν in my *Epigrammata Graeca* p. 53 was an oversight.

**ὁμέψιος:** *playmate*. The word, here only, from ἐψία; see Pearson on *S. fr.* 3. Νύμφαις συνομέψιος Schneidewin.

**4 [660] μέθους:** this genitive of μέθω has an unfamiliar look, and is indeed extremely rare; Nic. *Ther.* 582.

**5 [661] κοῦρον:** Eros, according to the *lemma*.

## XXII (b)

The same sculpture is described in another of the epigrams added by Σπ at the end of *A.P.* 9, attributed to Plato in Planudes:

Σπ (= ‘*A.P.* 9.827’) Ἀμμωνίου, *PI*<sup>A</sup> τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Πλάτωνος)

εἶμι μὲν εὐκεράοιο φίλος θεράπων Διόνυσου,  
λείβω δ’ ἀργυρέων ὕδατα Ναϊάδων,  
θέλγω δ’ ἱμερόεντα νέον περὶ κώματι παῖδα 665

The fourth line is missing in the sources. The heading ‘by Ammonius’ in Σπ is to be preferred; it is likelier that Planudes has made a mistake of a kind common in his work than that the name of an otherwise unknown epigrammatist should have been introduced into the other source by error, conjecture, or corruption. The date of Ammonius is quite uncertain. J. G. Schneider’s identification of him with the author of a poem on the revolt of the Goth Gainas in A. D. 438 is approved, with or without reserve, by Jacobs, LSJ, Beckby and the Budé edition. It is a blind guess, but at least consistent with the quality of the composition, which rings rather Byzantine than Hellenistic.

## XXIII

On the ‘Cnidian Aphrodite’ of Praxiteles.

See the Preface to anon. *LXXXII*, the model for this mediocre composition (which was translated by Ausonius, *Ep.* 57).

Σπ (tertia post indicem pagina in *A.P.*) Πλάτωνος, *A. Plan.* (*PI*<sup>A</sup>) 160 Πλάτωνος εἰς τὸ αὐτό

ἡ Παφίη Κυθήρεια δι’ οἷδατος ἐς Κνίδον ἦλθε  
βουλομένη κατιδεῖν εἰκόνα τὴν ἰδίην·  
πάντῃ δ’ ἀθρήσασα περισκέπτῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ  
φθέγγατο “ποῦ γυμνὴν εἶδε με Πραξιτέλης;”  
5 Πραξιτέλης οὐκ εἶδεν ἃ μὴ θέμις, ἀλλ’ ὁ σίδηρος 670  
ἔξεσεν οἷ’ ἂν Ἄρης ἤθελε τὴν Παφίην.

5 σίδαρος Σπ 6 οἷ’ ἂν cod. rec. sec. Dübner: οἶαν Σπ *PI*

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3 [668] περισκέπτωι ἐνὶ χώρῳ: straight from Homer *Od.* 1. 426, *al.* It is not mere verbiage; Pliny *h.n.* 36.21 says that the statue was placed in an *aedicula* open all round, so as to be seen on every side.

5-6 [670-1] The point is that the statue is a perfect copy of Aphrodite’s body not because Praxiteles saw more than he ought, but because the sculptor’s instrument, being σίδηρος, the metal of her lover Ares, knew how to represent her just as Ares (who had seen all) would have wished; *nihil languidius, nihil frigidius*, said Jacobs, who thought that this couplet was a later addition by some wretched *Grammaticus*.

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See the Introductory Note, pp. 127-8. It is certain that epigrams composed long after her time were published under Sappho’s name. Of the three specimens preserved in *A.P.*, two are certainly compositions of the Hellenistic period; the third, of uncertain date (1), is not the work of Sappho. All three occur within extracts from the *Garland* of Meleager, who names her in his catalogue of poets; it is clear that he supposed the epigrams to be authentic works of Sappho.

That Sappho wrote ‘elegies’ is stated in *P.Oxy.* 1800 *fr.* 1.2.36: γέ]γραφεν δὲ βυβλ[ία | ἐννέα μὲν] λυρικά, ἐλεγείω[ν . . . . .] εν, where εν may represent ἔν, ‘one book of elegies’ and presumably other things: ἐλεγείω[ν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων] ἔν is the common supplement; the *Suda* says that Sappho wrote ‘epigrams and elegies’.

It looks as though the standard edition of Sappho inherited by Meleager from the great Alexandrian scholars appended a book of elegiac verse, including some epigrams, to the nine books of lyrical verse; as Meleager, though he thought her epigrams exquisite, included few of them (βαιὰ μὲν, ἀλλὰ ῥόδα), it is a fair guess that there were not many epigrams in the book of ‘elegies and other things’.

II and III are thoroughly conventional in style and content; I has a character of its own.

### I

Dedication to Artemis.

This interesting and unconventional epigram occurs in an extract from the *Garland* of Meleager, but in peculiar circumstances: (a) the Corrector, who describes it as ‘wholly corrupt’, says that it is an ‘extra’, not to be found in the copy of Michael the Archivist with which he is collating his text; (b) the heading is not Σαπφῶς but ὡς Σαπφῶς. This form of title,<sup>1</sup> which recurs only in *A.P.* 6.273 ὡς Νοσσίδης and 12.142 ὡς Πικανοῦ, most probably implies doubt about the ascription.<sup>2</sup> The simplest explanation is that the present epigram is a copy of an inscription which was thought to be suitable to Sappho in dialect

<sup>1</sup> It may go back as far as Meleager: Gow, *Sources and Ascriptions* 33, *HE* 2.443.

<sup>2</sup> Wifstrand, *Studien zur gr. Anth.* 59, took ὡς to mean ‘in the manner of’, as an expression of judgement by Meleager. We reject the notion of the Budé, vol. 3, p. 178, that it implies a *pastiche*, deliberate imitation of Sappho.



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and in content and was added, not without a question-mark, to the number of epigrams in circulation under her name.

The epigram’s claim to be inscriptional is probably valid. It rings very unlike the literary exercises of the Alexandrians, and it presupposes a reader who is looking at the object said to be dedicated and who therefore has no need to be told what it is; removed from its setting, the epigram is not clear on this point. The dedication is presumably of a statue or portrait; itself voiceless, it can speak through the inscription which accompanies it. It is dedicated to Artemis by Arista, a servant of the goddess; whom does it represent?

(a) Artemis, according to Dübner, followed by Beckby: the statue of Artemis, having spoken 1–2, proceeds to recite (as it were, in inverted commas) the text of a dedicatory inscription composed by (or for) Arista. This is surely wrong. It is a procedure not merely without parallel but also intrinsically improbable. Arista addresses the goddess in the vocative, as queen of ladies, and prays to her in the imperative, ‘glorify my family’; the notion that Artemis herself recites an epigram addressed to her in such terms is grotesque; what was the point of it? Moreover, the address by Artemis to ‘children’ (v.1) is unintelligible.

(b) Arista, according to Paton and the Budé edition. To the objection that it would be eccentric to make an image of Arista say ‘Arista dedicated me’ it is fair to reply that this is one way (not the best) of doing what must be done, – stating the name of the dedicator. But obstacles remain. First, the address to ‘children’ is again unexplained. Secondly, it may be doubted whether a temple-servant ever dedicated an image of herself in the shrine where she served. Dedication by a woman of her own image is not indeed quite unknown, but the *Anthology’s* examples are all of a special sort – dedications by women who are (certainly or probably) courtesans, and all but one of them are in epigrams by the Locrian poetess Nossis: 9.605 = *HE* vi, Callo dedicates a portrait of herself to Aphrodite; 9.604 = vii, 6.353 = viii, and 6.354 = ix may be of the same type (‘the custom of dedicating one’s own portrait was possibly Locrian’, *HE* 2.439). In Antipater of Thessalonica 6.208 = *PG* ix three courtesans dedicate images of themselves. I have not noticed a comparable example in inscriptional epigrams.

(c) A child of Arista, according to Dorville and Jacobs. The strongest points in favour of this interpretation are:

(1) That it makes the address to ‘children’ seem natural.

(2) That it reflects a common practice: in Pancrates 6.356 = *HE* ii Cleo, another temple-servant of Artemis, dedicates images of her two daughters (they are four years old; there is no need to suppose, as Jacobs did, that Arista’s child is new-born); in Callimachus 6.150 = *HE* xviii parents dedicate an image of their daughter to Isis; in Leonidas of Tarentum 6.355 = *HE* xxxix a mother dedicates a portrait of her son to Dionysus; in Theaetetus 6.357 = *HE* i parents dedicate an image of two children in fulfilment of a vow; *IG* 1<sup>2</sup> 452, ἰατρῆς καὶ παίδων θῆκεν ἄγαλμ’ ἐπεὶ, may be of the same type.

It may be added that the prayer εὐκλείσον γενέαν is specially appropriate if these are the words of a mother speaking of her own offspring; similarly in

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Pancrates *loc. cit.* Cleo prays that her children may be happy, and that they may become temple-servants of the goddess like their mother.

There is little if any force in the objection that, if Arista was the mother of the child portrayed, the fact should have been stated (as it could easily have been, with μάτηρ for Λατοῦς in 3; Αἰθιοπία κόρα would have been enough to identify Artemis); the fact would have been at once obvious to all in the community (if they did not know it beforehand) when they saw an image of a child accompanied by an inscription saying that the dedicator was the temple-servant Arista.

Doubt cannot be wholly resolved; but the case against Artemis seems decisive, against Arista very strong, and if there exists any alternative to Dorville's explanation it has not yet been found.

The fourth or early third century is the likeliest date for the inscription.

A.P. 6.269 (caret Pl) ὡς Σαπφoῦς [C] 3τ περισσόν ὀλόσφαλτον εἰς τὸ ἀντιβόλιον οὐ κεῖται τοῦ κυροῦ Μιχαηλοῦ· πόθεν οὖν ἐγράφη οὐκ οἶδα ἔως ὧδε ἀντεβλήθη πρὸς τὸ ἀντιβόλιον τοῦ κυροῦ Μιχαηλοῦ

παῖδες, ἄφωνος ἑοῖσα ποτεννέπω αἶ τις ἔρηται,  
 φωνάν ἀκαμάταν κατθεμένα πρὸ ποδῶν·  
 Αἰθιοπία με κόραι Λατοῦς ἀνέθηκεν Ἀρίστα,  
 † Ἑρμοκλείται † τῷ Σαυναΐδα, 675  
 5 σὰ πρόπολος, δέσποινα γυναικῶν· αἶ σὺ χαρεῖσα  
 πρόφρων ἀμετέραν εὐκλείσον γενεάν.

Suda s.v. εὐκλείσον (6)

1 ποτεννέπω Page: τετ' ἐννέπω P ἔρηται Ap.B.: ἔρητα P 4 τὼς αὖν  
 αἶδα P 5 αἶ αποgr.: α P

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 6.184; Hecker 1852.122–5; Sappho 118 Bergk, 157 Diehl.

**1 [672]** See Pref.; the address to ‘children’ is eccentric, and παῖδες has been exposed to intemperate conjecture (παιδνά, παιδνός, παιδός, παῖς περ, and even πέτρος; Dorville’s παῖς ἔτ’ would be the least unattractive if change were needed) or explanation (as in the Budé edition, ‘ce vocatif s’adresse à des jeunes filles représentées sur un bas-relief autour de Sappho’).

**ποτεννέπω**: the text is uncertain, but this remedy for τετ has some advantage over τότ’, μέγ’, λίγ’, τ’ ἔτ’, γ’ ἔτ’, τὰδ’, τόδ’, ἄπερ, περ, and ἄτε, the conjectures assembled in Stadtmüller’s note. The object of the verb is implicit in αἶ τις ἔρηται, ‘any questioner’; cf. *IG* 1<sup>8</sup> 410 (c. 500 B.C.) ὑποκρίνομαι ὅστις ἔρωτῃ.

**2 [673] ἀκαμάταν**: this extraordinary epithet for φωνάν is generally taken to imply that the voice, being recorded on stone, will endure as long as the stone itself. Diehl compares *IG* 12.3.1347 (Thera, III B.C.), πέτραι ἐν ἀκαμάτῃ; cf. also Peck 1210.5 στήλην ἀκάματον, explained in the next line, ὅστις ἔρεῖ παριοῦσι διαμπερές (διαμερές *lapis*) ἄματα πάντα.

**κατθεμένα πρὸ ποδῶν**: she has set down her words in an inscription in front of the monument. Most editors have followed Bentley in supposing that the inscription was on the base of the statue, but this is not certain; Hecker (1852. 124) showed that πρὸ ποδῶν is regularly used of objects placed in front of the

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statue-base, and understood here a *tabula votiva cum inscriptione ante basim collocata*, comparing (among others) Paus. 5.24.11 πρὸ ποδῶν τοῦ Ὀρκίου, πινάκιον χαλκοῦν, ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ ἔλεγεία ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ. It should be added that κατθεμένα suits Hecker’s interpretation better than Bentley’s.

**3 [674] Αἰθοπία:** this local name for Artemis is fully illustrated by Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 702; cf. also *RE* I. 1107 and 2.1379, and the note on Antipater of Thessalonica 7.705.3 = *PG* 345 Αἰθοπίης Βραυρωνίδος.

**Λατοῦς:** Λατῶς Hartung; the only obvious offences (apart from the accentuation) against the Aeolic dialect indicated by ἑοῖσα, ποτεννέπω *s.v.l.*, αἰ, and τῶ, are Λατοῦς here and δι for τᾱ in 5.

**Ἀρίστα:** Ἀρίσται Neue, comparing Pausanias 1.29.2 (at Athens, on the road to the Academy) περίβολός ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ξόανα Ἀρίστης καὶ Καλλίστης· ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ, καὶ ὁμολογεῖ τὰ ἔπη τὰ Σαφφοῦς, τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος εἰσιν ἐπικλήσεις αὗται. It is not certain that the present epigram (which does not mention Kallista) was the source for Pausanias; if it was, it was wrong, for the name of the dedicator is necessary here (the next line is not sufficient, and the conjectures which introduce her name into it are wild).

The name is very rare (cf. however Argentarius 5.16.3 = *PG* 1303), and Bentley conjectured Ἀριστώ.

**4 [675]** See Hecker 1843.151 and 1852.125, Meineke *Del. Epigr.* 226, Bergk *PLG* 3.128, and the assembly of conjectures in Stadtmüller’s note. The first half of the line has been emended to read ἃ Ἑρμοκλείδα (Meineke), ἃ Ἑρμοκλείτω (Hecker), Ἑρμοκλειδαῖα (Bergk, = *filia Hermoclidis*). In the second half P has disjointed a patronymic, evidently τῷ Σαυναῖδᾳ, in which Σαυ- has been interpreted as Boeotian Aeolic for Σαο- (Bechtel *Gr. Dial.* 1. 234 lists among others Σαυγένης and Σαυκράτης), and Σαυνηΐδης is said to be a patronymic of Σαυνεύς or Σαόναιος.

If the conjectures are on the right lines, it looks as though Arista gave her father’s and grandfather’s names but not her husband’s; not the only eccentricity in this epigram.

**5 [676] γυναικῶν:** on the word-end, here with pause, after spondaic fourth foot, see Dionysius 157 n.

## II

Epitaph for Timas.

This is one of a sequence of epigrams on the same theme, a girl dying before marriage, from the *Garland* of Meleager; the others are by Anyte (7.486 and 490), Mnasilces (7.488 and 491), and Perses (7.487). Both style and content of these smooth and elegant lines are in harmony with the company they keep here; they are surely of Hellenistic date, probably of the third century B.C. The contrast between classical reserve and Hellenistic elaboration may be illustrated by the difference between the present epigram and Peek 68 (Athens, c. 540 B.C.):

σῆμα Φρασικλείας· κούρη κεκλήσομαι αἰεὶ,  
ἀντὶ γάμου παρὰ θεῶν τοῦτο λαχοῦσ’ ὄνομα,

and Peek 164:

ἦ καλὸν τὸ μῆμα πατὴρ ἔστησε θανούσῃ  
Λεαρῆτι· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ζῶσαν ἔσοφόμεθα.

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Peek takes all the epigrams in this group (excepting, it is not clear why, Perses 7.487) to be inscriptional, with the present lines (Peek 599) included among epigrams of the third century B.C. The date may well be right, but the question whether this epigram (or any of the others) is a true epitaph remains open.

A.P. 7.489, P1<sup>A</sup> [PPI] Σαπφουῦς [J] εἰς Τιμάδα ὁμοίως πρὸ γάμου τελευτήσασαν

Τιμάδος ἄδε κόνις, τὰν δὴ πρὸ γάμοιο θανοῦσαν  
δέξατο Φερσεφόνας κυάνεος θάλαμος,  
ἃς καὶ ἀποφθιμένας πᾶσαι νεοθᾶγι σιδάρωι 680  
ἄλικες ἱμερτὰν κρατὸς ἔθεντο κόμαν.

3 νεοθᾶγι: -θαγεῖ P, -θῆγι P1<sup>ac</sup> ut vid.; -θηγεί χαλκῶι P1<sup>pc</sup> σιδάρωι C: σιδήρωι P

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 6.185; Sappho 119 Bergk, 158 Diehl; Peek 599.

**1 [678] Τιμάδος:** the name here only.

**πρὸ γάμοιο:** as in the parallel epigrams by Anyte (7.486), Perses (7.487), and Mnasilces (7.488).

**2 [679] Φερσεφόνας...θάλαμος:** ‘the bridal chamber of Persephone’ is a very common phrase in such contexts: ‘Simonides’ 1019, Peek 488 and 1962 (IV B.C.) Φερσεφόνης θάλαμος, 99.4 (III) ἀδύτους Φερσεφόνης θαλάμους (cf. ‘Empedocles’ 553), 945.2 (II) Μοῖρά με πρὸς θαλάμους ἄρπασε Φερσεφόνας, 106.2 (I) Φερσεφόνας κυάνεον θάλαμον, 958.6 (I–II) Φερσεφόνας ἐν νυχτίω θαλάμωι, 969.5, 1505.4, 1541.4, 1637.4, 1697.5, 1889.4, 1913.9, 1962.4.

**3–4 [680–1] νεοθᾶγι σιδάρωι:** the same phrase in Andronicus 31.

**ἔθεντο:** κρατὸς ἔθεντο κόμαν *significare non potest, quod hic requireretur, puellas capillos deposuisse*, said Hecker (1843.257), rightly. There is no tolerable conjecture (κάτ’, or κατ’ to be taken with ἔθεντο, for καὶ in 3; ἐπι- for ἀπο- in 3; worse things in Stadtmüller’s note) and it is necessary to understand ἔθεντο as *dedicated* (a common use of the uncompounded verb; e.g. A<sup>1</sup>caeus *A.Plan.* 7.8 = *HE* 61), even though it leaves the dative νεοθᾶγι σιδάρωι not properly attached to the sentence.

## III

Epitaph for a fisherman.

The fisherman is a common theme in the Hellenistic epigrammatists and their imitators, and this pseudo-epitaph is probably an early example of the type; its extreme simplicity would be out of harmony with the fashion set by Leonidas and followed by numerous imitators, concentrating on tales of strange death: Leonidas 7.504 and Apollonides 7.702 (choked by a fish), Antipater of Thessalonica 7.637 (struck by lightning), Apollonides 7.693 (swept off a rock by a wave), Laurea 7.294 (drowned, and his hands eaten by fish), Addaeus of Mytilene 7.305 (his own boat his funeral-pyre; also Antiphilus 7.635 and Etruscus 7.381); anon. 7.494 is relatively simple, and may be another early Hellenistic example.

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A.P. 7.505, P1<sup>A</sup> [PPI] Σαπφούς [C] εἰς Πελάγωνα

τῷ γριπτεῖ Πελάγωνι πατὴρ ἐπέθηκε Μενίσκος  
κύρτον καὶ κώπαν, μνᾶμα κακοζοίας.

683

1 γριπτεῖ P ἀνέθηκε P1 Μενίσκος P1: Μερίσκος P, Βερίσκος C  
2 κακοζοίας P1: κακοζωᾶς P, κακοζωίας P1<sup>sscr</sup>

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 6.184; Sappho 120 Bergk, 159 Diehl.

**1-2 [682-3] Πελάγωνι:** the name, commoner in legend than in life, was chosen to suit the subject-matter.

ἀνέθηκε (P1) is wrong. This is not a dedication; the father places a weel and an oar (upright) on his son's grave.

κύρτον: a fish-trap; see the note on Leonidas of Tarentum 7.295.1 = *HE* 2074.

κώπαν: cf. Hom. *Od.* 12.15, on Elpenor's grave, πῆξαμεν ἀκροτάτῳ τύμβῳ εὐήρες ἔρετμόν, Virg. *Aen.* 6.232, on Misenus' grave, *Aeneas ingenti mole sepulcrum | imponit suaque arma viro remumque*, both passages quoted by Brodaeus and by most editors since.

κακοζοίας: the word here only until a relatively very late era. The weel and oar symbolise the fisherman's way of life, not his miseries (as the phrasing here implies); the reader takes it for granted that all fishermen have hard lives.

## ‘SIMONIDES’<sup>1</sup>

I [131 B., 76 D.]

On a monument with statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton.

Hippias, the last tyrant of Athens, was expelled in 511/510 B.C. The glory of the liberation belonged to a great family in exile, the Alcmaeonidae. It was they who had tried to overthrow the tyrant by force of arms, suffering defeat at Leipsydrium; it was they who had spent much money at Delphi on behalf of the liberation; it was they who had induced the Spartans to drive Hippias out of Athens; and it was a member of that family, Kleisthenes, who claimed the leadership of the liberated people.

Yet in the very year of the liberation, if Pliny<sup>2</sup> is to be believed, one of the first acts of the people, or rather of their leaders, was the erection of a monument commemorating the glory not of any Alcmaeonid but of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, who, from motives of homosexual jealousy, had organised a conspiracy three years earlier and had assassinated the tyrant's brother Hipparchus. And if the present epigram accompanied that monument they were actually said to have been the liberators of Athens from the tyranny, ἰσόνομον (or the like) πατριδα γῆν ἐθέτην.

<sup>1</sup> For Simonides, I have judged it more convenient to place references to Bergk (= ‘B.’) and Diehl (= ‘D.’) adjacent to the serial numbers. The commentary in Jacobs' first edition will be found in vol. 6, 216-73.

<sup>2</sup> *h.n.* 24.17.

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The growth and popularity of the tale of Harmodius and Aristogeiton in the fifth century B.C. is a remarkable phenomenon,<sup>1</sup> intelligible only as political propaganda. Lively illustrations of its development are provided especially by pseudo-Plato's *Hipparchus* (228B), the Parian Marble (A 45), and certain Attic drinking-songs (*PMG* 893–6). It was convenient to pretend that the man whom the heroes assassinated, Hipparchus, was himself the tyrant, not merely the younger brother of the tyrant Hippias; and so Hipparchus becomes the eldest son of Peisistratus in pseudo-Plato and succeeds Peisistratus as tyrant on the Parian Marble. Two of the songs (893 and 896) actually say that they killed ‘the tyrant’, τὸν τύραννον κτανέτην, and that they liberated Athens, ἰσονόμους τ’ Ἀθήνας ἐποίησάτην. This is a big step in advance of another song (895), presumably older and certainly more accurate in its detail, which describes the occasion, Ἀθηναίης ἐν θυσίαις, and names the victim, Hipparchus, calling him not τὸν τύραννον but ἄνδρα τύραννον, a fair description of the younger brother whom public opinion associated with the elder in his tyranny and who behaved generally as if he possessed equal privileges. It was advisable also to suppress the fact that the consequence of the assassination of Hipparchus was not the liberation of Athens but three years of increased oppression<sup>2</sup> (or, more probably, a change from the benevolent to the oppressive<sup>3</sup>); the Parian Marble reflects a development of the myth in which this inconvenient interval is eliminated – the assassination and the liberation are assigned to the same year.

What is truly surprising is not that the myth grew so great but that it began so early. There is no reason to doubt that bronze figures of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, the work of a sculptor named Antenor,<sup>4</sup> were set up on a base in the Agora fairly soon after the expulsion of Hippias. Not indeed (we can be confident) in the year of the liberation, 511/10 B.C., as Pliny asserts; it is highly improbable that any rival party could have executed so quickly an act so offensive to the Alcmaeonid family, and it would appear incredible, if some did not actually believe it,<sup>5</sup> that the Alcmaeonidae should have been in so great a hurry to glorify not themselves but Harmodius and Aristogeiton. The monument was presumably erected a few years later, during the short period when the Alcmaeonid Kleisthenes was absent from Athens, driven out by his political rival Isagoras (508/7 B.C.).<sup>6</sup>

Antenor's monument was removed from Athens in 480 B.C. and taken to Persia. In 477/6 B.C. its place was taken by a new and similar monument, the work of Critius and Nesiotes; and the question arises, whether the present epigram was first composed for the later monument or is a repeat of an inscription on the earlier.

<sup>1</sup> Its popularity is attested, and its falsehoods exposed, by Thucydides 6.54ff. See especially Dover, *Commentary on Thucydides* 4.317–29 (where, however, the present inscription is not mentioned).

<sup>2</sup> Hdt. 5.55, Thuc. 6.59.2, *Ath. Pol.* 19.1.

<sup>3</sup> Thuc. 6.54.5.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. 1.8.5; named also in an Acropolis dedication, *IG* 1<sup>2</sup> 485 = Raubitschek *DAA* 197.

<sup>5</sup> Friedländer and Hoffleit *Ep. Gr.* p. 142.

<sup>6</sup> Hdt. 5.70, *Ath. Pol.* 20–1; *RE* 2.930–1.

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In 1936 Meritt published a stone from the Agora with two lines ending ]Αρμόδιος and ]πατριδα γην ἐθέτην. There is no reasonable doubt that this stone comes from the base of the second monument, and it is obviously probable<sup>1</sup> that it represents an epigram of which the first couplet is quoted by Hephaestion. Was that epigram first composed for Critius and Nesiotes, or for Antenor?

General probability favours the former alternative. The myth will then have had time to grow. In the earlier period a political rival might attempt to discredit the Alcmaeonidae by erecting a monument to the glory of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, but it is hardly credible that he would go so far as to add an inscription informing the Athenian people that a great light had dawned for them when Hipparchus was assassinated, at a time when memory of the true consequences of the assassination was fresh – memory of many citizens executed immediately, and of three years of oppression by a frightened tyrant; informing them also that Harmodius and Aristogeiton were the liberators of their land, so soon after its actual liberation by a Spartan army under the guidance of the Alcmaeonidae.<sup>2</sup>

Heph. ench. 4.6 πᾶν μέτρον εἰς τελείαν περατοῦται λέξιν· ὅθεν ἐπίληπτά ἐστι τὰ τοιαῦτα Σιμωνίδου ἐκ τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων (1–2) + lapis ed. Meritt *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 355 (2 Ἀρμόδιο[ς, 4 πα]τριδα γῆν ἐθέτην)

ἡ μέγ’ Ἀθηναίοισι φόως γένεθ’, ἥνικ’ Ἀριστο-  
 γείτων Ἱππαρχον κτεῖνε καὶ Ἀρμόδιος· 685  
 [ ]  
 [ πα]τριδα γῆν ἐθέτην.

1–2 [684–5] ἡ ... γένεθ’: see Friedländer *ad loc.* The tone is emotional, the colour Homeric. ἡ is rare at the beginning of epigrams (Peek 164, c. 500 B.C., ἡ καλὸν τὸ μνημα ...; ἡ ῥα 1537; ἡ μάλα δὴ ... 1446, 1502, 2017, all III B.C.; a small number of examples in the *Anthology*, none pre-Alexandrian), and ἡ μέγα φόως recalls the Epic ἡ μέγα θαῦμα..., ἡ μέγα πένθος. φόως γένεθ’ (where φόως was thought more colourful than φάος) confirms the impression that the act is being described in terms fit for Homeric heroes: *Il.* 15.669 φόως γένετ’, 8.282 αἶ κέν τι φόως Δαναοῖσι γένηαι, 18.102 οὐδέ τι Πατρόκλῳ γενόμην φόος. For the elision at the bucolic diaeresis, see Zeuxis 400 n.

Ἀριστο|γείτων: a remarkable breach of one of the most fundamental rules of elegiac verse. There are only two parallels until a very late period<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> It is not certain, but the probability is high. See Friedländer *SIFC* 15 (1938) 89 and *Epigrammata* 150; as he says, Ἀρμόδιος on the stone necessitates Ἀριστο|γείτων...καὶ..., and Ἱππαρχον + a verb of killing must have occurred on the stone as in Hephaestion’s couplet. There remains some room for difference, but the chances are much in favour of the identification.

<sup>2</sup> There is no advantage in assigning the first couplet to Antenor’s monument and treating the second as an addition made for Critius and Nesiotes; both couplets are alike outrageous falsehoods, easier to accept after the lapse of a third of a century.

<sup>3</sup> There are a couple of examples from II/III A.D. in Peek 278.1 (Thrace)

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Ἀπολλό|δωρος quoted from Nicomachus by Hephaestion in the same context, and Νικο|μήδης in Kaibel *ep. Add.* 805\*.5–6. See R. Kassel, *ZPE* 19 (1975) 211–18, for further remarks on the treatment given by poets to metrically recalcitrant proper names.

4 [687] πατριδα γῆν ἐθέτην: this must have been preceded by a word or phrase meaning in effect ‘free’ or ‘democratic’. ἰσόνομον, the word used in the drinking-songs (*PMG* 893 and 896), is the most obvious choice, and the fact that ἰσονομία is not attested before Herodotus is probably fortuitous. Equality before the law must have been a common topic of conversation from the day of liberation onwards, and it would be remarkable if so simple and useful a word as ἰσόνομος were not added to (if not already current in) the vocabulary.

### II [89 B., 87 D.]

Epitaph for men fallen in battle in Euboea.

The date of this epigram, which is preserved nowhere but in Planudes, is indeterminable. The heading Σιμωνίδου may be used as evidence that it was found in the collection of Simonidean epigrams available to Meleager, and as that collection included a number of inscriptions of Simonidean date, and as the style, subject, and tone of the epitaph are consistent therewith, it is a fair guess, but only a guess, that it comes from that period. If so, the battle between the Athenians and the Euboean city Chalcis in 507/6 B.C.<sup>1</sup> (see III Pref.) is the most likely occasion; but it must be frankly admitted that this, like the date of the epigram, is a guess.

Hiller von Gaertringen,<sup>2</sup> one of those<sup>3</sup> who reject or ignore the association with the battle of 507/6 B.C., says that Wilamowitz doubted that association ‘wegen des angegebenen Kampfplatzes’, *i.e.* at the alleged date an epitaph for men fallen in their homeland and buried there would not name the battlefield. This objection, if true, would have a bearing on other epitaphs in the present collection, and this is a suitable occasion to state a few facts.

It is indeed a general rule in all periods, and particularly in the archaic and classical ages, that epitaphs assume that their readers know the name of the place where they are standing, and do not tell them what it is. It follows that, if the place of death and the site of the memorial differ, the practice is as follows:

(1) The memorial on the battlefield names the home of the dead but not the battlefield (Peek 3,4,5,6).

(2) The memorial at home names the battlefield but not the home of the dead (Peek 10,12,13,15,16,18,21,27,42,73).

There exist, however, a few exceptions to the general rule.<sup>4</sup> Peek 7, 9, and

Ἀρίστων | αὐτοκασίγνητον, and 738.3 (Hermupolis Magna) ὠίχετ', | ἡ δὲ . . . An hexameter ends, καὶ | in 757.3 (Fayum, II/I B.C.).

<sup>1</sup> This is the prevalent opinion, accepted without reserve by Jacoby, *Hesperia* 14 (1945) 159–60, and in such standard works as Peek *GVI* and Diehl *ALG*.

<sup>2</sup> *Historische Gr. Epigr.* p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Preger and Geffcken are others.

<sup>4</sup> Including those which name neither the home nor the battlefield: Peek 8, 17, 26, 28, 29.



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20.9–12 are exceptional in naming both battlefield and home. The rule is absolutely broken by Peek 14, a memorial at home naming the home but not the battlefield; and by 23, a memorial on the battlefield naming the battlefield but not the home; ‘Simonides’ xx1, a memorial on the battlefield, names both the home and the battlefield.

The present epitaph is of a special type inasmuch as the place of battle and the place of burial, though not the same, are both within the home-city’s territory. The general rule requires that, if the distinction is made, the place of battle should be named but not the place of burial. There are, however, parallel examples. Peek 11, 24, and 25 are, like the present example, epitaphs for men who fell in defence of, and presumably within, their own territory; all nevertheless name the home, 11 Τεγέας, 24 Τεγέαι τε καὶ Ἀρκάσιν, 25 ἀξιά σου, Θέλφουσα... The present epitaph differs only in specifying the place of battle also; Peek 7 is a close parallel in that respect, and so is Peek 9 if indeed that inscription comes as a whole from the fifth century.

The conclusion is that there is nothing objectionable either in the naming of the battlefield (this is indeed according to rule, as the battlefield is not the same as the place of burial) or in specifying the place of burial.

The most unusual feature of 11 is the apparent admission of defeat. There is not even a palliative πατριδὰ ρυόμενοι or the like, and the verb ἐδμήθημεν is uncommonly candid. No other public epitaph for men fallen in battle states that they were ‘overpowered’, or even that they were defeated. The nearest parallel is Peek 17, an epitaph on the Athenians defeated at Coronea in 447 B.C., but there a much gentler expression is used, τις ὑμᾶς ἡμιθέων...ἔβλαψεν. The Thermopylae epigrams say merely that the men fought, or that they died, or that they are buried. ‘Simonides’ xlix, on the battle of Tanagra, gives no hint of the defeat attested by Thucydides (1.108.1). Peek 27, on the fallen at Chaeronea, says nothing about defeat, though it may be implied in the phrase σώζειν πειρώμενοι ‘Ελλάδα, ‘trying to save Hellas’; the other Chaeronea epitaph, Peek 29, actually claims success (see anon. cxxvi Pref.)

Plainly, if this epitaph refers to the events of 507/6 B.C., the men commemorated will be the defeated Euboeans, not (as is commonly supposed) the victorious Athenians (*cf.* Friedländer and Hoffleit p. 5 n. 6).

The second couplet is detachable, and many have believed it to be a later addition to the first.<sup>1</sup> In favour of this opinion it may be observed that, in the sixth century B.C., epitaphs seldom exceed two lines in any metre,<sup>2</sup> and generally state the facts (as in the first couplet) without comment (as in the second). There is, however, a close parallel, both to the length and to the comment, in an epitaph from the middle of the sixth century, Peek 1226, on a man killed in battle:

εἴτ’ ἄστος τις ἀνὴρ εἴτε ξένος ἄλλοθεν ἑλθών,  
Τέττιχον οἰκτίρας ἀνδρ’ ἀγαθὸν παρίτω,

<sup>1</sup> See especially Wilhelm *Jahresh.d.Oest.Arch.Inst.Wien* 2 (1899) 244; the second couplet is rejected by Diehl and Peek.

<sup>2</sup> For exceptions, mainly of later date, see Peek 166, 305, 1210, 1831, 2063 (unless the third line is prose); in hexameters 42, 73, 165, 216; in iambs 74. Also *SEG* 21, 551 (+ 1164), and *Abh. Ak. Berlin* 1956, fasc. 3 (publ. 1957) 66.

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ἐν πολέμῳ φθίμενον, νεαράν ἦβην ὀλέσαντα·  
ταῦτ’ ἀποδυράμενοι νείσθ’ ἐπὶ πρᾶγμ’ ἀγαθόν.

In the light of this example the objective case against the second couplet must be judged inconclusive; the verdict then depends on personal impressions, and it would be hard to give a good reason why these should be unfavourable.

A.Plan. (Pl<sup>A</sup>) 26 Σιμωνίδου

Δίρφυος ἐδμήθημεν ὑπὸ πτυχί, σῆμα δ’ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν  
ἐγγύθεν Εὐρίπου δημοσίαι κέχυνται·  
οὐκ ἀδίκως, ἐρατὴν γὰρ ἀπωλέσαμεν νεότητα 690  
τρηχεῖαν πολέμου δεξάμενοι νεφέλην.

2 fort. δημοσίη 4 τρηχεῖαν Schneidewin: -εῖην Pl

**1-2 [688-9] Δίρφυος...** Εὐρίπου: ‘near the Euripus’ presumably means ‘in Chalcis’. The battlefield is said to have been not there but ‘under the folds of Dirphys’; if this is to be taken literally, the Euboeans must have retreated some distance (perhaps as much as ten miles) to the east or north-east of Chalcis.

**3-4 [690-1]** ἐρατὴν ἀπωλέσαμεν νεότητα is conventional language (‘Simonides’ 878 ἀγλαὸν ὤλεσαν ἦβην, 987 ἐρατῇ νεότητι, 890 ὤλεσθ’ ἦβην, Peek 18.1 ἀπώλεσαν ἀγλαὸν ἦβην, 305.3 and 1226.3 νεαράν ἦβην ὀλέσαντα), but the metaphor πολέμου νεφέλην, with the unexpected epithet τρηχεῖαν, is a touch of new colour, as striking as ἄχεος νεφέλη in Hom. *Il.* 17.591 = 18.22, more so than θανάτου νέφος in ‘Simonides’ 715 and Theognis 707.

**τρηχεῖαν:** a necessary change if the epithet is of early date; see the note on Zenodotus 7.315.1 = *HE* 3640.

## III [132 B., 100 D.]

Dedication to celebrate an Athenian victory over Boeotians and Euboeans in 507/6 B.C.

Herodotus (5.74-7) describes the first great ordeal of the Athenian people after their liberation from the Peisistratid tyranny. In 507/6 B.C. a Spartan army advanced against Athens and reached Eleusis; Boeotians took the opportunity to invade northern Attica, Euboeans from Chalcis raided the coast. Internal quarrelling dissolved the Spartan army, and the Athenians were free to take vengeance on their northern enemies. They destroyed the Boeotian army, crossed over to Euboea on the same day, and defeated the Chalcidians. Many prisoners were brought to Athens and kept in chains until ransomed. From a tithe of the ransom the Athenians made a bronze four-horse chariot, the base inscribed with the present epigram. The prisoners’ chains were hung up, an unusual procedure which may attest the strength of Athenian resentment of the attack made on their northern frontiers at a time when their army was distracted by the danger from the west.

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The epigram, one of very few quoted by Herodotus,<sup>1</sup> remained well known throughout antiquity,<sup>2</sup> recurring in Diodorus, Aristides, and the *Anthology*; it was never ascribed to Simonides<sup>3</sup> or to any other author.<sup>4</sup> In 1869 it reappeared on a monument-base on the acropolis at Athens, and in 1887 on another base. The former of these, in lettering of the mid-fifth century B.C., had the hexameters in the same order as the four literary sources, 1 ἔθνεα, 3 δεσμῶι; the latter, in lettering of the late sixth century, had the hexameters in the reverse order. The natural inference is that the latter is the original inscription accompanying the monument erected in 507/6 B.C.; that this monument was destroyed or removed by the Persians in 480 B.C.; that another monument was substituted for it in 446/5, when Pericles celebrated the Athenian subjugation of Euboea;<sup>5</sup> and that the Herodotean version of the epigram was inscribed at that time. The reason for the interchange of the hexameters can only be guessed, and nobody has improved on Kirchhoff's explanation (*SBBA* 1887.112):

The chains of the Euboean prisoners were hung up in 507/6 B.C., and it was appropriate at that time that the epigram should begin with a reference to that unusual dedication. When the later monument was erected, the chains indeed still existed, ‘suspended from walls charred by the Persians’ fire’ (Hdt. 5.77.3), but they were no longer relevant to the Periclean dedication (and may not have been adjacent to it). Pericles was concerned to celebrate the conquest of Euboea, and the line ἔθνεα ... Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες was the more appropriate beginning, notwithstanding the fact that the second pentameter is less comfortably placed in the Periclean than in the original order.

Hdt. 5.77.2 s.a.n. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Εὐβοίαν συμβάλλουσι καὶ τοῖσι Χαλκιδέουσι . . . , ὅσους δὲ καὶ τούτων ἐζώγρησαν, ἅμα τοῖσι Βοιωτῶν ἐζωγρημένοισι εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ ἐν πέδαις δῆσαντες, χρόνῳ δὲ ἔλυσάν σφεας δίμνεως ἀποτιμησάμενοι. τὰς δὲ πέδας αὐτῶν, ἐν τῇσι ἐδεδέατο, ἀνεκρέμασαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ἀπὲρ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμῆς ἦσαν περιεοῦσαι, κρεμάμεναι ἐκ τείχεων περιπεφλευσμένων πυρὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μῆδου, ἀντίον δὲ τοῦ μεγάρου τοῦ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένου, καὶ τῶν λυτρῶν τὴν δεκάτην ἀνέθηκαν ποιησάμενοι τέθριπποι χάλκεον. τὸ δὲ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἔστηκε πρῶτα ἐσιόντι ἐς τὰ προπύλαια τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ οἱ τάδε·

δεσμῶι ἐν ἄχνυόεντι σιδηρέῳ ἔσβεσαν ὕβριν

παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἔργμασιν ἐν πολέμῳ

ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες·

τῶν ἵππων δεκάτην Παλλάδι τάσδ' ἔθεσαν.

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<sup>1</sup> The others are Hdt. 4.88 = ‘Simonides’ IV, 7.228 = ‘Simonides’ VI and XXII, and 5.59–61, the ‘Cadmean letters’ on tripods at Thebes.

<sup>2</sup> It has been much discussed by modern scholars, e.g. Preger no. 72, Geffcken no. 16, Hiller von Gaertringen nos. 9 and 51, Meiggs and Lewis 15, Boas *de epigr. Sim.* 92, 229, Busolt *Gr. Gesch.* 2.443, Diehl *Sim. fr.* 100, Friedländer and Hoffleit no. 145, Jeffery *LSAG* 78.43, Raubitschek *DAA* nos. 168, 173.

<sup>3</sup> Schneidewin and Bergk thought him the likely author.

<sup>4</sup> schol. Aristid. cod. Par. A p. 351 Frommel has οὕτως αἰρων ἐν ἐπιγράμματι ἐπὶ τῷ τεθρίππῳ; αἰρων is corrupt (surely not a proper-name).

<sup>5</sup> Jacoby *Hesperia* 14 (1945) 178; Busolt *Gr. Gesch.* 2.443 n. 4; Tod *GHI* 1.43.

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Diodor. 10.24.3 s.a.n. (1-4); Aristid. or. 28.64, π 164 K. s.a.n. (1 ἔθνεα - 2 παίδες Ἀθην.); A.P. 6.343 (caret Pl) ἄδηλον. in his omnibus ordo est 3,2,1,4, idem in Hdt. et IG 1 334 + 373.69 (saec. V med.), 1 ]σαν[ , 2 ες Αθηναίων ἐργμα[ , 3 ]σαν[ , 4 ον ἡπιππος δεκα[; ordo 1,2,3,4 in IG 1<sup>a</sup> 394 = IG Suppl. 334<sup>a</sup> (saec. VI fin.), 1-2 ]ριν παιδε[ , 4 ]των ἱππος δ[

1 ἀχνυόεντι Hecker: ἀχνυνθέντι P, Hdt. codd. vett. AB et (-νυθέντι) C, ἀχλυόεντι Hdt. cett., Diod. ἔσβεσεν P 2 ἐν: ἐκ P<sup>o</sup>c (εἰς P<sup>a</sup>c ut vid.), Hdt. codd. ABC πολέμωι Diod. 4 ὦν Diod.

1 [692] ἀχνυόεντι: neither ἀχνυ(ν)θέντι nor ἀχλυόεντι is possible. (a) ἀχλὺς is *mist*; its adjective is unsuitable to such a noun as ‘fettters’, and is never elsewhere so used (*‘dark, gloomy, dismal’*, LSJ, but there is no parallel, and the Supplement admits that ἀχνυόεντι is the probable reading here). (b) ἀχνυνθέντι is inadmissible for different reasons: apart from the fact that the aorist participle of ἀχνυμαι is never found, the ν is short, and the form ἀχνυνθέντι is inconceivable in a composition of this date. Moreover, the use of the participle as an epithet, ‘painful’,<sup>1</sup> is intolerable. Friedländer finds a parallel for ἀχνυνθέντι in an inscription known only from a copy made by Wheeler, published by Meritt in *Hesperia* 16 (1947) 289, beginning ἀχνυνθέν τόδε δῶρον ὑπὲρ τάφον εἴσατο μήτηρ, but (a) this is at least five or six hundred years later, and (b) Peek is probably right in suggesting that the reading should have been ἀχνυόεν (GVI 238; fully discussed in *Wiss. Z. Halle* 4 (1954/5) Heft 2.232-3).

ἀχνυόεντι, an easy change, is entirely appropriate. It presupposes a noun related to ἀχνυμαι, and ἀχνύς is actually attested in *Et. Mag. s.v.* = ἡ λύπη.

2 [693] ἐργμασιν ἐν πολέμου: ἐργμα is an old poetical noun; the order, dative noun + ἐν + adjectival genitive, is rare.

4 [695] τῶν...δεκάτην: τῶν is loose but not obscure; the writer saw no need to distinguish between the prisoners and their ransom-money. The original order of the lines has the advantage of placing τῶν next to its antecedents, the disadvantage of having an apparently self-contained first couplet without saying whose ὕβρις was extinguished.

Peek (*Wiss. Z. Halle loc. cit.*) prefers ὦν to τῶν, and suggests that the antecedent is πολέμου ἐργματα; this seems to me a less probable solution.

ἔθεσαν: τίθημι = ἀνατίθημι, *dedicate*, is common (e.g. ‘Simonides’ 783, Alcaeus *A.Plan.* 7.8 = *HE* 61); there is no need for Schneidewin’s ἀνέθεν.

## IV [carent B. et D.]

On a bridge of boats across the Bosphoros.

In about 514/13 B.C. Darius led an army (700,000 men, according to Herodotus) against the Pontic Scythians, crossing into Europe at the straits of Bosphoros (precisely where, we do not know). Herodotus, in the passage quoted below, describes a commemorative painting dedicated by the builder of the pontoon, Mandrocles, in the great temple of Hera at Samos, accompanied by an epigram of which Herodotus, contrary to his custom (see p. 192), made a copy.

<sup>1</sup> It could not possibly mean ‘covered with rust’, as Friedländer would have it (as if ἀχνυθείς could be related to ἄχνη, and as if ἄχνη could mean ‘rust’).

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No author-name was ever assigned to the epigram; the Palatine Anthology puts it together with three other anonymous inscriptions.

Hdt. 4.87 ὁ δὲ Δαρείος ὡς ἐθεήσατο τὸν Πόντον ἐπλεε ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν, τῆς ἀρχιτέκτων ἐγένετο Μανδροκλῆς Σάμιος . . . τοῦ δὲ Βοσπόρου ὁ χώρος τὸν ἐξευξε βασιλεὺς Δαρείος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν συμβαλλομένῳ, μέσον ἐστὶ Βυζαντίου τε καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι Ἰροῦ. (88) Δαρείος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἤσθεις τῇ σχεδίῃ τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτῆς Μανδροκλέα τὸν Σάμιον ἐδωρήσατο πᾶσι δέκα. ἀπ’ ὧν δὴ Μανδροκλῆς ἀπαρχήν, ζῶια γραψάμενος πᾶσαν τὴν ζεῦξιν τοῦ Βοσπόρου καὶ βασιλέα τε Δαρεῖον ἐν προεδρίῃ κατήμενον καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ διαβαίνοντα, ταῦτα γραψάμενος ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον ἐπιγράψας τάδε·

Βόσπορον ἰχθυόεντα γεφυρώσας ἀνέθηκε  
Μανδροκλῆς Ἥρῃ μνημόσυνον σχεδίσας,  
αὐτῷ μὲν στέφανον περιθείς, Σαμίοισι δὲ κύδος,  
Δαρείου βασιλέος ἐκτελέσας κατὰ νοῦν.

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ταῦτα μὲν νυν τοῦ ζεύξαντος τὴν γέφυραν μνημόσυνα ἐγένετο, Δαρείος δὲ δωρησάμενος Μανδροκλέα διέβρινε ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην.

A.P. 6.341 (caret Pl) s.a.n.

2 Μανδροκλέων P et in textu et in lemmate σχεδίας P 3 αὐτῷ μὲν Hdt.: τῷ μὲν δὴ P 4 om. P; in fine v. 3 iterumque in marg. sin. adnotat C 3ῆτε στίχον α̃

V [133 B., 143 D.]

Dedication of a statue of Pan by Miltiades.

There is an elaborate variation on the theme of this epigram in *A.Plan.* 233 by Theaetetus Scholasticus, but no other record of the dedication of a statue of Pan by Miltiades.<sup>1</sup> It is naturally, but not necessarily, connected with the introduction of the worship of Pan to Athens<sup>2</sup> after the battle of Marathon, the consequence of an incident narrated by Herodotus:<sup>3</sup> Philippides, in the course of his famous run from Athens to Sparta shortly before the Persian landing at Marathon, was accosted on Mount Parthenion by Pan, who complained that he was neglected by the Athenians despite his good will and good services to them. Accordingly, after the victory at Marathon, the Athenians built a temple to Pan below the acropolis. This temple is the subject of an anonymous epigram, *A.Plan.* 259:

πέτρης ἐκ Παρίης με πόλιν κατὰ Παλλάδος ἄκρην  
στῆσαν Ἀθηναῖοι Πᾶνα τροπαιοφόρον.

The ascription of the present epigram to Simonides is, as usual, somebody's

<sup>1</sup> Sozomen (*hist. eccles.* 2.5) and Nicephorus (8.33) tell of a statue of Pan at Constantinople dedicated by Pausanias after the Persian Wars; Bergk (*PLG* 3.479–80) suggested that this was really the statue dedicated by Miltiades.

<sup>2</sup> Wernicke, *Myth. Lex.* 3.1408, suggested that the dedication may have been made at Delphi; Beckby 4.566 asserts that it was at Marathon.

<sup>3</sup> 6.105; cf. Paus. 1.28.4, Lucian *bis accus.* 9, *dial. deor.* 2 (22).3.

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guess,<sup>1</sup> irrelevant to the principal question – whether the epigram is contemporary with its theme (as seems to be assumed by *e.g.* Jacobs, Wernicke, Beckby, and Busolt *Gr. Gesch.* 2.596.2) or a later literary exercise (so Diehl, who includes it among his *recentiora* without comment). There is some discussion of the matter in Bergk’s note on his Simonides *fr.* 133 and in Hauvette, *De l’authenticité des épigrammes de Simonide*, pp. 118–20, but no strong argument emerges on either side,<sup>2</sup> and the question remains unanswerable. The style of the epigram is consistent with any period from 490 B.C. onwards for hundreds of years,<sup>3</sup> the subject-matter is a little easier to reconcile with the opinion that the epigram is contemporary: varieties of theme in Hellenistic and later epigrammatists are indeed myriad, but a fictitious dedicatory-inscription in the name of a famous statesman or soldier of the classical period is hardly to be found among them.<sup>4</sup>

A.Plan. (Pl<sup>A</sup>) 232 Σιμωνίδου

τὸν τραγόπουν ἐμὲ Πᾶνα, τὸν Ἀρκάδα, τὸν κατὰ Μήδων, 700  
τὸν μετ’ Ἀθηναίων στήσατο Μιλτιάδης.

VI [94 B., 83 D.]

Epitaph for Megistias.

Megistias, a seer from Acarnania, was present at Thermopylae on the eve of the battle and foretold his own death on the field. Urged by Leonidas to depart, he stayed but sent away his only son. He was killed next day in the battle. See Hdt. 7.219, 221.

<sup>1</sup> Boas (*de epigr. Simon.* 189 and 222 n. 169) held that the epigram must have been included in the *Sylloge Simonidea* available to Meleager, for the reason that it is imitated by Meleager, 7.207 = *HE* lxv (so also Diehl, *Sim. fr.* 143). The imitation consists of an alleged relation between the words τὸν τραγύπουν ἐμὲ παῖδα and τὸν τραγόπουν ἐμὲ Πᾶνα, as if Meleager could not have written the first without having the second in mind. Any poet might invent either; it is not even certain that Nicodemus, who began *A.P.* 6.315 τὸν τραγόπουν ἐμὲ Πᾶνα . . . , was familiar with the present epigram.

<sup>2</sup> It has been said that, if this dedication is connected with the foundation of Pan’s temple at Athens in 490 B.C., Herodotus would not have failed to mention Miltiades when he spoke of the temple; the argument *ex silentio* is weak, and there is no particular reason to believe that Miltiades’ dedication (assuming that he made one) was made at Athens. Nobody has repeated, or at least approved, the argument which Hauvette thought decisive in favour of a later date – that the four-fold τὸν, implying a well-known person, could not have been used of Pan, a stranger to Athenian cult, at the time of his introduction to the city.

<sup>3</sup> Bergk had misgivings about the rhetoric of τὸν κατὰ Μήδων, τὸν μετ’ Ἀθηναίων, but judiciously allowed that Simonides could have written thus: *neque antitheti studium, quod hic deprehendimus, Simonidi videtur convenire, quamquam non prorsus abhorreat ab hoc poesis lumine.*

<sup>4</sup> Antiphrilos 6.97 = *PG* xxi is of a different character. Anacreon xiii might be cited, but there is no certainty that it is fictitious. On the other hand, a true contemporary inscription on behalf of Callimachus, *polemarchos* at the battle of Marathon, is preserved in *IG* 1<sup>2</sup> 609 (Meiggs and Lewis 18).

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This fine epitaph is composed in a plain style; the vocabulary is simple, the phrasing conventional. It has the peculiar distinction of being the only extant epigram whose ascription to Simonides may be accepted with fair confidence. Though Herodotus does not actually state that Simonides composed it (ἐπιγράφας is applied to the person who provides and pays for an inscription; it does not mean, or necessarily imply, that the person concerned wrote the text of the inscription), yet the implication of the context here and common sense make it virtually certain that Herodotus meant, or at least believed, that Simonides was indeed the author of the lines for whose inscription he was responsible.

Confidence in the ascription is therefore fair; it cannot be absolute. A generation had passed since the event, and Herodotus had no source but oral tradition. Some person or persons told him that Simonides was a friend of Megistias and wrote this epitaph. If Herodotus' informant were a kinsman of the poet or of one of his friends, it might seem excess of caution to withhold acceptance. In fact, however, it is plain that his source was one (or more) of the Spartans on whom he relied in his account of the battle of Thermopylae in general and in the paragraph which includes this epigram in particular, see xxii (a) Pref.

There is no particular reason to doubt this story of the friendship of the poet and the seer, or the former's authorship of the epitaph. If it was true, it was probably a truth not commonly known. Inscriptions were unsigned, and as a rule nobody in the fifth century B.C. showed curiosity about their authorship. Herodotus thought that his audience would be interested in a piece of information of a very unusual type; the naming of the author of an epitaph will not be found again in any writer for a long time.

Hdt. 7.228.3 (vid. xxii infra) Λακεδαιμονίοισι μὲν δὴ τοῦτο (sc. xxii (b)), τῷ δὲ μάντι τόδε·

μνήμα τόδε κλεινοῖο Μεγιστίᾳ, ὃν ποτε Μῆδοι  
Σπερχειὸν ποταμὸν κτεῖναν ἀμειψάμενοι,  
μάντιος, ὃς τότε Κῆρας ἐπερχομένας σάφα εἰδώς  
οὐκ ἔτλη Σπάρτης ἡγεμόνας προλιπεῖν. 705

...τὸ δὲ τοῦ μάντιος Μεγιστίῳ Σιμωνίδῃς ὁ Λεωπρέπεός ἐστι κατὰ ξεινήν ὁ ἐπιγράφας.

A.P. 7.677 (caret Pl) s.a.n. [J]εῖς τὸν τάφον Μεγιστίου τοῦ μάντιος τοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἀναιρεθέντος [C]ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Ἑροδότου

1 κλειτοῖο Hdt. codd. DRSV Μεγιστίου C (-ιστέος P<sup>o</sup> ut vid.)

**4 [705] ἡγεμόνας:** strictly speaking there was only one 'leader of Sparta' at Thermopylae, Leonidas, and Stein's ἡγεμόνα is very attractive.

## VII [95 B., 120 D.]

On men who died with Leonidas at Thermopylae.

See the Prefaces to xxii and xxiii. There is no room for an epitaph of these contents on one of the five stelae set up at the *polyandrium* at Thermopylae; and

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one would be very unwilling to assign so mediocre an epigram to that time and occasion. It is plainly a literary composition, probably from the later Hellenistic age.<sup>1</sup>

A.P. 7.301, P<sup>B</sup> [CPI] τοῦ αὐτοῦ [C] Σιμωνίδου [J] εἰς τοὺς μετὰ Λεωνίδα  
τὸν Σπαρτιάτην τελευτήσαντας

εὐκλέας αἶα κέκευθε, Λεωνίδα, οἱ μετὰ σείο  
τῆιδ' ἔθανον, Σπάρτης εὐρυχόρου βασιλεῦ,  
πλείστων δὴ τόξων τε καὶ ὠκυπόδων σθένος ἵππων  
Μηδείων ἀνδρῶν δεξάμενοι πολέμωι. 709

1 εὐκλέας αἶα P1: εὐκλεᾶ γαῖα P      2 Σπάρτας P1      βασιλεῦ P1: -λεῖς P      4 τ'  
ἀνδρῶν ... πόλεμον P1

**2 [707] Σπάρτης ... βασιλεῦ:** it is remarkable that anyone should have supposed (as *e.g.* Stadtmüller, Hauvette 76, Boas 220) that the author could not have described Leonidas thus without having in mind Simonides *PMG* fr. 531.8 Σπάρτας βασιλεύς.

**εὐρυχόρου:** so commonplace as to be virtually meaningless; 616 n.

**3-4 [708-9]** A heavy and inelegant sentence, with Μηδείων ἀνδρῶν dependent on τόξων καὶ ἵππων; it would not be less uncouth if Μηδείων ἀνδρῶν were taken with πολέμωι, ‘in the war of the Medes’. It is not surprising that Planudes’ sense of style was affronted, but his change to Μηδείων τ’ ἀνδρῶν δεξάμενοι πόλεμον is no great improvement.

**ὠκυπόδων σθένος ἵππων:** a ready-made phrase; [Hes.] *scut.* 97.

## VIII [100 B., 118 D.]

Epitaph for men fallen in battle.

The *lemmata* in *A.P.* and the scholia on Aristides describe VIII as an epigram on the dead at Thermopylae; and the *lemma* to IX repeats ‘to the same men’. These descriptions are certainly wrong. We know enough about the epitaphs inscribed at Thermopylae to be sure that these were not among them (see the Prefaces to XXII and XXIII); and if VIII and IX were Hellenistic literary exercises on Thermopylae, it is certain that they would have made it clear that this was their theme.

Neither VIII nor IX offers any answer to the questions who the dead were or whom they fought or where they are buried; and this fact is a strong argument in favour of the conclusion that they are inscriptional epitaphs for a *polyandria*, a common memorial for men fallen in battle. The place is not named, for it is assumed that the reader knows where he is standing (see II Pref.). There was no need to name the enemy (*cf.* XXII (a) and (b)), for the event was recent and known to all; but, if the memorial is on the battlefield, the home of the dead will certainly have been named in a prose-heading, ‘These men from x died...’, and it is quite likely that this went on to name the enemy, ‘...in battle against y’.

<sup>1</sup> Boas’ confidence (*de epigr. Sim.* 219-31) that this epigram is an imitation of Simonides by Mnasilces rests on very weak arguments and is intrinsically most improbable.



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As for the date of these epigrams, it is known that viii is pre-Alexandrian and that ix is not later than the second century B.C. viii is imitated in a crude epitaph from the Ceramicus dated c. 317/16 B.C. or a little earlier (Peek 1689), beginning

εἰ τὸ καλῶς ἐστὶ θανεῖν, κάμοι τοῦτ’ ἀπένειμε Τύχη,

and ix is imitated in an epitaph from Cnossos (Peek 1513; II B.C.), beginning

οὐδὲ θανὼν ἀρετᾶς ὄνυμ’ ὤλεσας, ἀλλὰ σε φάμα  
κυδαίνουσ’ ἀνάγει δώματος ἐξ Αἶδα.

Verbatim copy of older inscriptions to this extent is very uncommon; it is a fair guess that viii and ix were widely known, and that the events to which they refer were particularly famous. This guess is confirmed by the content of viii 3: there were not many occasions when men fought for the freedom of all Greece – one or two battles in the fourth century, most notably Chaeroneia; but the Persian Wars are the obvious choice.<sup>1</sup>

Now Pausanias (9.2.4), referring to the battle against the Persians at Plataea in 479 B.C., says that ‘the rest of the Hellenes have a common memorial, but there are separate tombs for the Lacedaemonians and for the Athenians who fell, and these have epitaphs by Simonides inscribed on them’; and Bergk had the brilliant idea that these epitaphs may survive in viii and ix. His theory is a guess, but not a blind one;<sup>2</sup> it would indeed be a curious coincidence if it were not true. On the one hand Pausanias describes a pair of epitaphs, ascribed to Simonides, on two participants in a battle for the freedom of Hellas – epitaphs which would therefore be expected to be much alike; on the other hand we find in viii and ix a pair of epitaphs, close together in A.P.,<sup>3</sup> both ascribed to Simonides, one of them on men fallen in battle for the freedom of Hellas, both much alike in style and thought, both having the peculiarity that the place, the dead, and the enemy are not named.

Style, tone, and contents are entirely consistent with the early date. These are fine epitaphs, worthy of a gifted poet on a great occasion; they are indeed among the best that have survived, and the ascription to Simonides, though wanting in authority, may well be true.

If one of these epitaphs is on the Athenians and the other on the Lacedaemonians, which is which? There is no clear indication, and Bergk could find only one clue worth mentioning. In viii the fallen were fighting for the freedom of Hellas, in ix for their own fatherland; and Bergk thought the claim

<sup>1</sup> Peek 28 prefers Chaeroneia. Cf. Jacoby *Hesperia* 14 (1945) 159 n. 11 (‘certainly not earlier than the 4th cent.’), Friedländer *SIFC* 15 (1938) 120. The editors generally (including Peek) do not regard ix as inscriptional.

<sup>2</sup> Jacoby, *Hesperia* 14 (1945) 159 n. 11, says that there is not ‘sufficient reason’ for it; true, but it is a pity that he did not discuss the case more fully.

<sup>3</sup> The context in A.P. suggests an extract from the *Garland* of Meleager and therefore a source in the *Sylloge Simonidea* (see p. 121). As epitaphs were unsigned, there cannot have been any authority for the ascription except oral tradition; for epitaphs on so famous an occasion there may well have been such a tradition, but there would be no means of judging whether it was true or false.

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to be defenders of all Greece more suitable to the Athenians: *Græciæ in libertatem vindicatae laudem Athenienses studiosissime expetebant, contra Lacedæmonii haud gravate Atheniensibus eiusmodi praeconium concedere soliti erant*; a shrewd judgement, likely to be true if these are indeed the epitaphs of which Pausanias writes.

A.P. 7.253 [C] Σιμωνίδου, Pl<sup>A</sup> s.a.n. [C] εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς (vid. lemma ad ix)

εἰ τὸ καλῶς θνήσκειν ἀρετῆς μέρος ἐστὶ μέγιστον, 710  
 ἡμῖν ἐκ πάντων τούτ' ἀπένειμε Τύχη·  
 Ἑλλάδι γὰρ σπεύδοντες ἐλευθερίην περιθεῖναι  
 κείμεθ' ἀγηράντωνι χρώμενοι εὐλογίῃ.

schol. Aristid. III 154-5 D. εἰς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς Πύλαις ἀποθανόντας, quibus voc. ἐπίγραμμα praefigit cod. C, Σιμωνίδης cod. D, Σιμωνίδου στίχοι cod. B

1 ἀρετᾶς C      3 σπεύσαντες schol. cod. D      ἐλευθερίην schol. codd. AC: -ίαν  
PPl, schol. codd. rell.      4 ἀγεράντωι Plan. edd. vett.: -άτωι PPl, schol.

1 [710] *el*: it is remarkable that the fact that the epigram begins with a conditional clause should have been thought an argument against its assignment to the period of the Persian Wars. No extant inscription earlier than the fourth century begins *el*... (the oldest example is Peek 1888, early IV B.C.: *el* suppl. Hermann.), but there is no conceivable reason why an author in the time of Aeschylus should not have thought and written in these terms.

**2 [711] ἐκ πάντων:** with ἡμῖν, ‘to us above all others’, Paton, and similarly the translators in general. This may be right, but it is not a normal expression, and the alternative, ἐκ πάντων τοῦτο, ‘this, of all her gifts, Fortune allotted us’, is equally possible.

τοῦτ' = τὸ μέγιστον ἀρετῆς μέρος.

**Τύχη:** *Fortune, Fate* (not *Chance*), as abundantly illustrated in LSJ s.v. II 1.

**4 [713] ἀγῥάωντι:** the form ἀγῥᾱτος appears in inscriptions as early as the middle of the fourth century B.C. (Peek 1444<sup>2</sup>, 1963.3), and may therefore be retained here by those who are confident that the epigram comes from that period; there is no need to change it in 'Euripides' 560.

## IX [59 B., 121 D.]

Epitaph on men fallen in battle.

See viii Pref.

A.P. 7.251 [C] Σιμωνίδου, Pl<sup>A</sup> s.a.n. [JPl] εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς [J] μετὰ Λεωνίδου  
πεσόντας

ἄσβεστον κλέος οἶδε φίλῃ περὶ πατρίδι θέντες  
 κυάνεον θανάτου ἀμφεβάλλοντο νέφος· 715  
 οὐδὲ τεθηᾶσι θανόντες, ἐπεὶ σφ' Ἀρετὴ καθύπερθε  
 κυδαίνουσ' ἀνάγει δώματος ἐξ Ἀΐδew.

4 'Αἶδα Pl, 'Αἶδου ut vid. PaC

**1-2 [714-15]** The phrasing is Homeric: ἀρβαστον κλέος *Od.* 4.584, 7.333, φίλην...πατρίδι *Il.* 3.244, *Od.* 24.266, κυάνεον νέφος *Il.* 23.188, ἄχρεος νεφέλη *Il.* 17.591 = 18.22.

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**θανάτου ἀμφ-**: for other examples of hiatus in mid-pentameter see my *Rufinus*, p. 31. Theognis 478 is emendable (with the help of Athenaeus): Demodocus *A.P.* 11.237.2 is of doubtful authenticity; the oldest certain example is in an inscriptional epitaph from the fourth century B.C. (Peek 339.2, Rhodian Peraea, βελτίστα, | ἀ). The phenomenon is extremely rare at all times; there is only one example in *Hellenistic Epigrams* (anon. 12.130.4 = *HE* 3765), and the only example in *The Garland of Philip* is emendable (Archias 6.181.6 = *PG* 3619). Its appearance in the early fifth century B.C. would not be more surprising than in the second century (the latest possible date for IX; see VIII Pref.); and it is therefore quite probable that the original was θανάτοι’ (Ahrens). The general belief that -οιο is never elided in elegiac verse needs modification in the light especially of Peek 145.2, where ὁδοί’, ἀγαθοῦ appears in an Athenian epitaph of the sixth century B.C.; cf. also Peek 917 (Amorgos, IV B.C.), ἀποφθιμένοι’ ἐνθάδε, and 1178 (Rhodian Peraea, II B.C.?), ἀντιθέοιο ἄλόχου. (Hiatus also in the metrically faulty Raubitschek *DAA* 147 and *IG* 1<sup>2</sup>828.)

**3-4 [716-17]** ‘Though they died, they are not dead; *Arete*, through the glory which she gives them, leads them up, from above, out of the house of Hades.’ The idea is commonplace; the expression is original and imaginative, of a type characteristic of the age of Aeschylus, Pindar, and Simonides. The thought is simply that a man’s fame confers on him a kind of life after death; so, for example, Tyrtaeus 12.31-2 οὐδέ ποτε κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἀπόλλυται οὐδ’ ὄνομ’ αὐτοῦ, | ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ γῆς περ ἑὼν γίνεται ἄθανατος, and the same idea underlies Simonides *PMG fr.* 531, on the fallen at Thermopylae, πρὸ γόων δὲ μῆστις, ὁ δ’ οἶκτος ἔπαινος, | ἐντάφιον δὲ τοιοῦτον οὔτ’ ἂν εὐρώς | οὔθ’ ὁ πανδαμάτωρ ἀμαυρῶσαι χρόνος, and later Λεωνίδας...ἀρετᾶς μέγαν λειοιπῶς | κόσμον ἀέναόν τε κλέος.

‘Αρετή is plainly personified; it is neither abstract *virtus* nor their personal heroism which performs the act of ‘leading them up’ from Hades to the living.

## X [98 B., 94 D.]

Epitaph for Adeimantos, commander of the Corinthians at the battle of Salamis.

This epigram flatly contradicts the Athenian account of the battle as recorded by Herodotus. Through Adeimantos, the reader is told here, all Hellas put on the wreath of freedom; according to Herodotus, Adeimantos fled in panic at the start of the battle, and the Corinthian fleet followed him. They all returned, but did not arrive until the fighting was over. That, says Herodotus, was what the Athenians said; he adds that the Corinthians denied the tale, claiming that they had been among the foremost in the battle; and the rest of the Greeks supported their claim.

Themistocles and Adeimantos are represented as bitter personal enemies (*Hdt.* 8.59 and 61), but it is remarkable that Athenian hostility should have gone so far as to assert that the Corinthians took no part whatsoever if in fact they were prominent in the fighting. The tale was long-lived; a hundred years after Herodotus the orator Lysurgus assumes that this is the belief of his audience (*Leocr.* 70).

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There is no doubt at all that the Athenian tale was false. The author of the treatise *de malignitate Herodoti* tears it to pieces, his trenchant criticism including at least one wholly decisive argument:<sup>1</sup> the Athenians themselves allowed the Corinthians to erect a memorial to their dead on the island of Salamis, with an inscription in their honour. That inscription survives to this day (= x1), and there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of other Corinthian inscriptions quoted by the author of the treatise, notably xii and xiii, the former on a memorial at the Isthmus for Corinthians who fell in the war, the latter a dedication by a Corinthian admiral. There are other good arguments, but these suffice; the Athenian story as told by Herodotus is fiction and falsehood from start to finish.<sup>2</sup>

It is reasonable to accept the present epigram as an inscriptional epitaph.<sup>3</sup> If Boas (53ff.) is correct in judging its ultimate source in literature to be Ephorus, it is certainly a true epitaph; pseudo-epitaphs composed as propaganda are inconceivable before his time. The text itself offers no objection.<sup>4</sup>

Adeimantos must have survived the battle for quite a long time, if it is true that he had four children to whom he gave names which reflected his glory at Salamis.<sup>5</sup>

The ascription to Simonides (in Favorinus only) is not to be taken seriously. [Plut.] *malign. Herod.* 39, 870F s.a.n. αὐτός γε μὴν ὁ Ἀδεΐμαντος, ὦι πλεῖστα λοιδορούμενος Ἡρόδοτος διατελεῖ, καὶ λέγων μούνον ἀπαίρειν τῶν στρατηγῶν ὡς φευξόμενον ἀπ’ Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ μὴ περιμενουῖντα, σκόπει τίνα δόξαν εἶχεν·

οὔτος Ἀδεϊμάντου κείνου τάφος, ὃν διὰ πᾶσα  
Ἑλλάς ἐλευθερίας ἀμφέθετο στέφανον.

719

οὔτε γὰρ τελευτήσαντι τοιαύτην εἰκὸς ἦν ἀνδρὶ δειλῶι καὶ προδοτῇ γενέσθαι τιμὴν. . .

Favorin. (ps.-Dio Prus.) or. 37.19, π 21 Arnim ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον ἐπίγραμμα Σιμωνίδῃ εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐξαίρετον· (1-2); A.P. 7.347 (caret Pl)

<sup>1</sup> Its validity is not affected by the fact that the author puts it in the context of Artemisium (Hdt. 8.5) instead of Salamis (8.94).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Busolt *Gr. Gesch.* 2<sup>2</sup>.705 n. 1, Toepffer *RE* 1.354.

<sup>3</sup> It is remarkable that most of the modern editors (Hiller von Gaertringen, Geffcken, Peek, Friedländer and Hoffleit) omit it from their collections.

<sup>4</sup> Junghahn and Kaibel found in οὔτος, where δδε is the norm, an obstacle to so early a date; but Anacreon vi and Friedländer and Hoffleit 54 f and g are earlier, and cf. ‘Simonides’ 783 σήματα ταῦτα; Peek 97 (V/IV B.C.) τοῦτο . . . τὸ σῆμα, 1785 (c. 400 B.C.) οὔτος δς ἐνθάδε κείται; Preger p. xxiii n. 1. Wilamowitz (*SS* 195) thought the epitaph fictitious: ‘Die Echtheit wird durch die dumme Renommage ausgeschlossen’; he was evidently writing in haste, for on the opposite page no objection was raised to xii, where the ‘Renommage’ is precisely the same, ‘Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ῥυσάμενοι; and xvii should not have been forgotten. Preger (pp. 4-5) had already shown that this sort of boast was just what was to be expected in the circumstances.

<sup>5</sup> *de malign. Herod.* 39.12: his glory at Salamis is proved by the fact that otherwise ‘he would not have dared to name his daughters *Nausinika*, *Akrothinion*, and *Alexibia*, and his son *Aristeus*’.

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s.a.n. [J] εἰς Ἀδείμαντον [τὸν ὑπατικόν] (τὸν ὑπ. ad Sabinum ep. praecedentis transtulit Bergk)

1 κείνου om. [Plut].     ὃν διὰ πᾶσα [Plut].: οὐ διὰ βουλᾶς (-λᾶς C) P, Fav.  
2 ἐλευθερίας P

1 [718] κείνου: the demonstrative pronoun is unnecessary, pointless, and contrary to custom. It was read by the author of *Peplos* 13 (see below), but the original may have had κλεινοῦ; epithets are not often attached to the names of the dead in early epitaphs, but cf. Peek 326 (early V B.C.) Δεινῆς δοκιμώτατος ἀστῶν, 630 (V med.) ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου.

ὃν διὰ πᾶσα: see Boas 53ff.; if, as seems probable, this reading comes from Ephorus, its authority should be preferred as both older and weightier than that of the *Anthology*. The *Peplos*, 13, has the preferred version, οὗτος Ὀδυσσεὺς κείνου τάφος, ὃν διὰ πολλὰ.

2 [719] ἀμφέθετο στέφανον: a ready-made half-line, as in e.g. the Paphian epigram for Nicocles, *JHS* 9 (1888) 239, no. 46 = *BSA* 56 (1961) 2.

## XI [96 B., 90 D.]

Epitaph for Corinthians who died in the battle of Salamis and were buried on the island.

The Corinthians, according to Panhellenic custom (see xx Pref.), buried their dead on the battlefield. The following epigram (xii) shows that the Corinthians erected also a monument at the Isthmus, not a cenotaph (for the dead were already buried elsewhere) but a war-memorial, presumably in honour of all who fell in the Persian War. This tomb at Salamis is sufficient refutation of the scandal repeated by Herodotus that the Corinthians took no part in the fighting at Salamis (see x Pref.).

The first couplet has been partly recovered on the original stone. The second couplet, generally rejected as a spurious appendage, is most probably to be accepted as authentic, for the following reasons:

(1) A. L. Boegehold, in an important article published in *GRBS* 6 (1965) 179–86, demonstrated that, although the stone is now deeply worn away below the first line, there was abundant room on its face for a second couplet above the bottom edge, which like the top edge, is ‘smoothly finished and original’. It is *prima facie* likely that the whole face between the upper and lower edge was smoothed for inscription.

(2) Internal evidence, especially the prosody of Πέρσης and the distinction between Persians and Medes, points to the early date for 3–4 (see 3–4 n.).

(3) Epitaphs for men fallen in battle normally (though not invariably) state or imply, however briefly, the cause of death, saying that the men were killed in battle, or were fighting a certain enemy, or were defending their home or Hellas, or the like. Even when the necessary information was given in a pre-ample (sometimes prefixed to a list of the dead) it was customary to repeat it or allude to it in an accompanying epigram.

The belief that the stone had nothing but the first couplet led naturally to the search for reasons why the second couplet should be condemned as a later appendage; and the search was a failure. Wilamowitz (*SS* 193–4) asserted that

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'no contemporary could say that the Corinthians overcame Phoenician ships and Persians': why not? That is precisely what they did. Moreover, 'Persians and Medes at this time were the same people': for Aeschylus (and others) they certainly were not (3–4 n.). The asyndeton between the couplets is judged offensive: it is quite mild, and easily emendable (3–4 n.). Finally, the second couplet detracts from the dignified modesty of the first: the same might be said of IV, VI, VIII, IX, XXVI (a), XLIX, Peek 1226, and many another.

[Plut.] malign. Herodot. 39, 870e s.a.n. ἐν δὲ Σαλαμῖνι παρὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς (sc. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς Κορινθίοις) θάψαι τε τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ὥς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γενομένους καὶ ἐπιγράψαι τόδε τὸ ἔλεγειον·

ὦ ξεῖν, εὐνδρόν ποκ' ἐναίομες ἄστν Κορίνθου, 720  
νῦν δ' ἅμ' Αἴαντος νᾶσος ἔχει Σαλαμίς·  
ἐνθάδε Φοινίσσας νᾶς καὶ Πέρσας ἔλδοντες  
καὶ Μήδους ἰαράν Ἑλλάδα ρυσάμεθα.

IG i<sup>2</sup> 927 i Ἰονποκεναιομεσαστυφορινθο (supra αστυ litt. ινθοολ inscr. man. post.; Boegehold 182), 2 nihil praeter Ἰντορ (sub ασ(τυ) litt. ισ add. man. post.; Boegehold 183); Favorin. (ps.-Dio Prus.) or. 37.18, π 21 Arnim Ἡροδότῳ γὰρ οὐ προσέχων ἀλλὰ τῷ τάφῳ καὶ Σιμωνιδῇ, ὃς ἐπέγραψεν ἐπὶ τοῖς νεκροῖς τῶν Κορινθίων θεθαμμένοις ἐν Σαλαμῖνι (1-4).

1 ξεῖν Fav. cod. M: ξένε Fav. codd. UB, [Plut.] Κορίνθου Fav., [Plut.],  
 φορινθο lapis 2 δ' ἄμ' Αἰάντος Bergk (δ' ἄμμ' iam Valckenaer): δὲ μετ'  
 Αἰάντος Fav., δ' ἀνάματος [Plut.] 3 ἐνθάδε [Plut.]: ῥέια δὲ Fav. νῆας  
 Boegehold: νῆας Fav. cod. B, [Plut.], ναῦς Fav. codd. MU 4 ἱερὰν  
 Boegehold: ἱερὰν codd. ῥυσάμεθα Jacobs: ῥυόμεθα [Plut.], ἱδρυσάμεθα  
 Fav.

1 [720] εὐδρον: the choice of epithet would seem surprising if Peirene were not the most famous of fountains in Greek cities.

3-4 [722-3] ἐνθ᾽ ἄδε: the asyndeton, though not of a harsh type, is so rare in inscriptional epigrams of, or before, this date, that it is reasonable to contemplate the trivial change to ἐνθα τε, = 'where', as in Hom. *Il.* 2.594, 5.305. The text of Favorinus, probably quoted from memory, shows that the need of a connective was felt.

**Φοινίσσας νᾶας:** naturally named as the most formidable component of Xerxes' naval forces; 300 ships, about a quarter of the whole fleet (Hdt. 7.89).

**Πέσσις:** see W. F. Wyatt *TAPA* 97 (1966) 617, Morpurgo Davies *Glotta* 42 (1964) 138, G. P. Edwards *The Language of Hesiod* (Oxford, Blackwell 1971) 141, West *Hesiod: Theogony* (Oxford 1966) 85, Boegehold 185. Two points are specially relevant to the present example of acc. plur. Πέσσις: (a) that in the fifth and fourth centuries the phenomenon appears only (and very rarely) in authors whose native dialects are of the West Greek family (Epicharmus, Empedocles, the Rhodian Swallow-song); and (b) that it is very rare in any later author<sup>1</sup> except Theocritus in his Doric poems. If the present couplet were

Strato *A.P.* 12.226.6 κοίτας; Peek 1571.15, δίκας in an ambitious poem, 1675.2 λύπας (both II/III A.D.).

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the work of a post-classical epigrammatist or of any person who thought fit to expand an old epigram, the use of this dialect-form would be intrinsically improbable and quite without parallel. The chances are, therefore, that this couplet is not a later appendage but an integral component of the Corinthian epitaph.

The inconsistency between Πέρσας and Μήδους has precedents in the older poets from Alcman onwards.

The dialect of the epigram is poetic Corinthian, not vernacular (which would have ξένε, not ξείνε, and ῥάστν, not ἄστν).

Πέρσας . . . καὶ Μήδους: the distinction between Persians and Medes has been thought by many to be a token of relatively late composition. The reverse is the truth. Darius and Xerxes were Persians, not Medes, and at the time of the invasions it was customary to call the enemy ‘Persians’. Aeschylus only twice (*Pers.* 236, 791) uses ‘Mede’ as a synonym for ‘Persian’; the Marathon-epigram xx (b) speaks of ‘Persians’; the early elegy represented in *P.Oxy.* 2327 fr. 27 ii 13–14 distinguishes Μήδ[ων from Περσῶν.

It was indeed quite a common practice in the same period to say ‘Medes’ instead of ‘Persians’, but the point is that subsequent generations said μηδίζειν and μηδισμός, and preferred the name ‘Medes’; the later the composition, the greater the improbability of a writer using both names in the same breath. Herodotus generally calls the invaders ‘Medes’, distinguishing them from ‘Persians’ as a rule only when it was necessary (as in 7.211, 9.31) or convenient (8.89, 9.40) to do so.

### XII [97 B., 95 D.]

On a monument at the Isthmus commemorating Corinthians who fell in the Persian War of 480/479 B.C.

The treatise *de malignitate Herodoti* and the *Anthology* quote the first couplet only; the other two are added in Aristides. It is easy to find fault with the addition (see below), and almost all modern editors<sup>1</sup> regard their work as done when they have condemned it as a later appendage. The problem defined by Preger<sup>2</sup> is ignored; yet it must be solved before the first couplet can be accepted as a complete epigram.

The treatise asserts, probably on the authority of Ephorus, that the first couplet was inscribed on a cenotaph at the Isthmus; as the Corinthian dead were buried on the battlefield (*cf.* xi), the monument was not in fact a cenotaph (see xx Pref.) but a victory-monument in honour of all who fell in the fighting and were buried in the various battlefields. To such a war-memorial, however, the verb κείμεθα, ‘we lie buried’, is not appropriate. The expression applies only, and is used only, at the actual place of burial.

Preger, who agreed that the second and third couplets are a later appendage, felt himself therefore obliged to conclude that, in the original inscription, the first couplet was followed by another, now lost, in which it was made plain that κείμεθα referred to burial elsewhere. This is not, in the circumstances, a

<sup>1</sup> Hauvette no. 26, Geffcken no. 108, Hiller von Gærtringen no. 22, Wilamowitz SS 194, Wilhelm J. *Oest. Arch. Inst. Wien* 2 (1899) 243, Diehl fr. 95, Peek no. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Inscr. Gr. Metr.* p. 6.

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persuasive answer to the question, but there is no obvious alternative except to suppose that the monument bore a legend of the type ‘in honour of the men who fell fighting the Medes’; the use of κείμεθα would then remain abnormal but no longer quite intolerable.

At first sight 5–6 might seem acceptable as the original conclusion of the epigram, giving just the information which κείμεθα calls for; but there are details in the language and content which argue against an early date. ἡμῖν might indeed be interpreted as ἄμιν (Alcman *PMG* fr. 1.89) or ἄμμιν (Hom. *Il.* 1.384), but εὐεργεσία is an unsuitable word to describe the service of men fallen on the battlefield; a memorial in the home-land would not, by custom, name its location (see π Pref.); and the compound verb ἐπέθηκε, with μνήμα or σῆμα, meaning ‘placed over the body’, applies naturally not to a memorial at home but to the actual place of burial (see 6 n.). Moreover, acceptance of 5–6 as the original continuation required by κείμεθα involves the belief either that 3–4 also are original or that they were later interpolated between original beginning and original end. The latter notion is far-fetched, the former has been generally rejected for stylistic reasons which appear persuasive. There is not indeed any force in the objection to Πέρσαις, where Μήδοις was expected (see 3 n.), but the verbosity (περὶ φρεσί, πάντα) and the phrasing (περὶ...πήματα ἥψαμεν, the disagreeable πάντα as an epithet for πήματα, the presumably intentional jingle πήματα – μνήματα, the abnormal use of μνήματα) ring very unlike true coinage of the period of the Persian wars, The Ionic dialect, better left unchanged,<sup>1</sup> is an additional token of interference.

The conclusion is that 3–6 are a later addition, but that 1–2 can only be accepted as a complete epigram if a preamble is postulated explaining, in effect, that these men fell and were buried on the field of battle; even then the use of κείμεθα was not well considered.<sup>2</sup>

[Plut.] malign. Herodot. 39, 870E s.a.n. τὸ δ’ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ κενοτάφιον ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχει ταύτην·

ἀκμᾶς ἔστακυῖαν ἐπὶ ξυροῦ Ἑλλάδα πάσαν  
ταῖς αὐτῶν ψυχαῖς κείμεθα ῥυσάμενοι  
[δουλοσύνης· Πέρσαις δὲ περὶ φρεσί πήματα πάντα  
ἥψαμεν, ἀργαλέης μνήματα ναυμαχίης.  
5 ὁστέα δ’ ἡμῖν ἔχει Σαλαμίς, πατρὶς δὲ Κόρινθος  
ἀντ’ εὐεργεσίης μνήμ’ ἐπέθηκε τόδε.]

A.P. 7.250 [C] Σιμωνίδου, Π<sup>4</sup>s.a.n. [JPI] εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς [sc. τοὺς ἐν Θερμοπύλαις πεσόντας, perperam] (1–2); schol. Aristid. III 136.22 D. s.a.n. ὅτι δεῖ βαρβάρων

<sup>1</sup> Preger p. 6 n. 1: *neque enim Dorida restituere possis, cum non liceat annominationem πήματα μνήματα tollere.*

<sup>2</sup> Jacoby *Hesperia* 14 (1945) 172 n. 57 does not consider the problem of κείμεθα, and goes much further afield in search of an explanation for this monument: he suggests that XII ‘was erected after war broke out between Athens and Corinth in 461 B.C.’, and that the reason for erecting such a ‘cenotaph’ was that their dead now lay in hostile territory, such as Salamis and Plataea (175 n. 77).



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καταφρονεῖν (1-2, quibus coniungit A.P. 7.257 = Simonides xviii); Aristid. or. 28.65, II 163 K. ἑτεροὶ δ' αὖ λέγουσι (1-6)

1 ἀκμῆς Aristid. ἔσθηκ- Pl, Aristid. 2 ταῖς ἡμῶν Pl 3-4 δουλοσύνας ... ναυμαχίας Aristid. codd. pars

1 [724] The ‘razor’s-edge’ image first in the *Doloneia*, 173.

2 [725] Though aware of the arguments for αὐτῶν (as some of the sources have it) I have never quite believed in first-person ξαυτῶν at least for the fifth century B.C.

3-4 [726-7] Πέρσαις: Μήδοις is much more conventional, but cf. xi 3 n., xv, xviii, and xx (b); Jacoby *Hesperia* 14 (1945) 185 n.107.

The double dative, Πέρσαις φρεσί, would be at home in the Epic (Ἄγαμέμνονι ἦνδανε θυμῷ) but is out of place in the laconic style of the early epigram; πάντα is an insipid epithet for πῆματα; metaphorical περιάπτω τί τινι is a sort of phrase neither expected nor found in early epitaphs; μνήματα is oddly used (‘something to remind them of the hard sea-fight’; the proper use is seen in xiii 2, where the same phrase is applied to weapons dedicated as ‘memorials of the sea-fight’); the plural μνήματα was probably used for the sake of the rhyme with πῆματα.

6 [729] ἐπέθηκε: this verb, whether with μνημα or with σῆμα, is naturally used only at the actual place of burial; e.g. Peek 216 (VI B.C. med.), 147 and 148 (VI), 140 (late VI), 151 and 152 (VI/V), 75 (V); 141 = ‘Simonides’ LXXXVI, and LXXXII below.

## XIII [134 B., 108 D.]

Dedication of weapons by Corinthian sailors after the battle of Salamis.

The dedication is made by the company of a ship commanded by Diodorus, a captain in the Corinthian fleet under the admiral Adeimantos (see x Pref.).

It is probable that this epigram, like the others in the same context of the treatise *de malignitate Herodoti* (x-xii, xiv), was quoted by Ephorus (Boas 53, 86); if so, it is surely inscriptional. Nothing else is recorded of Diodorus, and it is unlikely that his name would be known to (or, in this context, invented by) a Hellenistic composer of a literary epigram (cf. Preger p. 53).

There is no other record of a Corinthian temple of Leto.

[Plut.] malign. Herodot. 39, 870F s.a.n. Διοδώρου δέ τινος τῶν Κορινθίων τριηράρχων ἐν Ἱερῷ Λητοῦς ἀναθήμασι κειμένοις καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιγέγραπται·

ταῦτ' ἀπὸ δυσμενέων Μήδων ναῦται Διοδώρου 730  
ὅπλ' ἀνέθεν Λατοῖ, μνάματα ναυμαχίας.

A.P. 6.215 (caret Pl) τοῦ αὐτοῦ (= Σιμωνίδου) ἀνάθημα τῇ Λητοῖ παρὰ ναυτῶν

1 δυσμενέων [Plut.]: δυσαμένων P 2 ἀνέθεν Blomfield: ἀνέθεντο [Plut.], P ναυμαχίας [Plut.]

1 [730] δυσμενέων: ἀπὸ Μήδων, without qualification, is the expected phrase in so laconic an epigram; neither the adjective nor the participle is welcome, and it is hard to choose between them.

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2 [731] ἀνέθεν: the correction appears indispensable; for the form, cf. Preger 59.2, and anon. 1843, a pentameter ending καλὰ Λάκωνες ἔθεν (the preceding line is seriously corrupt, but this one, or at least this part of it, looks untouchable).

### XIV [137 B., 104 D.]

Dedication by Corinthian women to Aphrodite.

Corinthian women prayed to Aphrodite that she would inspire the Hellenes in general and the Corinthians in particular with love of battle against the Persian invaders in 480 B.C. Their prayer having been fulfilled, they made a dedication in her temple accompanied by the present epigram.

There is no doubt that this is a copy of an inscription. It was quoted by Theopompus, Timaeus, and Chamaeleon, and its position was described by the first of these, ‘on the left hand as you enter the temple’.

So much is certain. But our information comes indirectly, through much later writers, a scholiast on Pindar, pseudo-Plutarch, and Athenaeus, whose narratives differ in the detail; and these discrepancies must be discussed, not only because they affect both the phrasing and the content of the epigram, but also because the sources for this epigram provide what appears to be evidence concerning the date of the first publication of a book of epigrams under the name of Simonides.

First, there are three questions to be asked:

(1) Which is the original text, that of the scholiast, or that on which ‘Plutarch’ and Athenaeus more or less agree?

(2) What was the nature of the dedication? Bronze images, according to ‘Plutarch’; a painting, according to Athenaeus; nothing said by the scholiast.

(3) A question of less importance, who were the women? αἱ Κορινθίων γυναικες in the scholiast, αἱ Κορινθίαι in ‘Plutarch’, αἱ Κορινθίαι ἑταῖραι in Athenaeus.

These questions were discussed at length by Marcus Boas (*de epigr. Sim.* 47–66) with uncommon acuteness and ingenuity. The thread of his argument is fine-spun and of uneven quality, brittle in some places but strong in others. A few points seem to the present editor proven, and a few probabilities established.

If we had known nothing but the scholiast’s account, all would have seemed in order. The narrative, including the epigram, comes from the historian Theopompus, who flourished in the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. The statement that the inscription was on the left as you enter the temple is most naturally interpreted as the observation of an eye-witness; the epigram being (of course) anonymous in reality, there is no ascription to an author. The scholiast’s *précis* omits definition of the object dedicated, but the epigram itself gives a clue to this: the words ‘These women stand praying...’ describe something to be seen in the dedication to which the epigram refers, and this (we should have thought) is most naturally interpreted as a painting, the portrayal of a group of women in the act of prayer (the participle is in the present tense). The alternative, a number of statues of women, would hardly have occurred to the mind, and, if it had, it would have been rejected as intrinsically

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improbable. As for the identity of the women, there would have been no particular reason to doubt that they were, as stated, wives of the Corinthians who were to fight the Persians; though we should have been attracted by Wilamowitz’s conjecture<sup>1</sup> that they were really the servants of Aphrodite’s temple, *ἱερόδουλοι*.

The narratives in ‘Plutarch’ and Athenaeus introduce complications. ‘Plutarch’ names no source, but he coincides with the scholiast to such an extent<sup>2</sup> that the same authority, Theopompus, is plausibly inferred. It is certain, however, that Theopompus was not ‘Plutarch’s’ direct, or at least not his only, source, for he differs greatly from Theopompus in his text of the epigram. Moreover, he says that the dedication was of bronze statues, and this is likely to be an error. It looks as though ‘Plutarch’s’ version of the epigram reflects awareness of a difficulty: it is not probable that a number of bronze images of women (how many, to represent the wives of Corinthian warriors?) were shown in the act of prayer; so the tense is changed from present to past, *εὐξάμεναι*, ‘These are the women who prayed’ – they are not shown (as in Theopompus) praying now.<sup>3</sup> Finally, ‘Plutarch’ ascribes the epigram to an author, Simonides.<sup>4</sup> This detail is absent from the scholiast’s précis of Theopompus; he might have found it but left it out, but it is much more probable that it was not there to find, for the attribution of an inscriptional epigram to a particular author is almost without parallel in Greek writers before the Hellenistic period.

Athenaeus adds to the complications. He begins by naming Chamaeleon of Heraclea (‘in his book on Pindar’) as his source for the general statement that it was the custom in Corinth, when prayers were offered to Aphrodite on great occasions, to include in the devotions *τὰς ἑταίρας ὡς πλείστας*, as many of the *hetaerae* as possible. He then gives an example, the Persian invasion, when *hetaerae* took part in the devotions, ‘as Theopompus and Timaeus in his seventh Book relate’; and he adds that the *hetaerae* came to Aphrodite’s temple to pray for the safety of Hellas, that the Corinthians dedicated a painting of them, and that Simonides composed the epigram; his version of the epigram agrees largely with ‘Plutarch’s’, against the scholiast.

Boas gives a good reason for believing that the words ‘as Theopompus and Timaeus in his seventh Book relate’ are part of Athenaeus’ summary of

<sup>1</sup> *Comment. Grammat.* 3–7, *NGG* 1897.310. Boas (57) treated Wilamowitz with great courtesy and respect, Wilamowitz brushed Boas aside with half-a-dozen idle words in a footnote (*SS* 196); his reading of Boas must have been hasty and superficial.

<sup>2</sup> Both include the irrelevant detail that the temple of Aphrodite was the one founded by Medea (*ὅπερ ἱδρύσασθαι τὴν Μήδειαν λέγουσι* schol.; *ὃν ἱδρύσασθαι Μήδειαν λέγουσι* ‘Plutarch’). See Boas 51.

<sup>3</sup> Boas 61.

<sup>4</sup> See Boas 51: xiv is the last of five Corinthian epigrams quoted by ‘Plutarch’, the first four of them anonymous. Boas makes a good case for the use of two different sources in this section; ‘Plutarch’ had one source (‘Y’) for all five epigrams, but used an additional source (‘X’) for the fifth, because he found in it the ascription to Simonides, which strengthened his general argument.

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Chamaeleon,<sup>1</sup> not a reference to additional authorities consulted by Athenaeus; and as the text of the epigram in Chamaeleon's version is not that of Theopompus, it must be that of Timaeus – a most important conclusion (see below).

The statement in Athenaeus that the object dedicated was a painting is consistent with common sense and with the text of the epigram as quoted by Theopompus (see above); it is likely to be true. The identification of the dedicators as *hetaerae* contradicts Theopompus as quoted by both the scholiast and ‘Plutarch’, but was shown by Wilamowitz to be intrinsically probable, provided that we understand not *hetaerae*, strictly speaking, but the temple-slaves of Aphrodite, females not of the best fame. The word ἔρωτα in Theopompus (εὐξασθαι τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἔρωτα ἐμπεσεῖν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν schol., εὐξαντο ἔρωτα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐμβαλεῖν τὴν θεόν ‘Plutarch’) is then specially appropriate. There remains the problem of the different versions of the epigram.

xiv is not, in this respect, an isolated phenomenon. Other epigrams ascribed to Simonides appear differently in different sources. The differences are of two kinds, of which the second but not the first seems relevant to the present inquiry:

(1) One or more couplets have been added to older epigrams: xii, xxxiv, and (variously ascribed to Simonides) Anacreon xv; a single line has been inserted into Simonides xv. The inclusion of xi in this category appears to be erroneous, that of xvi very doubtful.

(2) Two others, xlv and (variously ascribed to Simonides) Empedocles i, resemble xiv inasmuch as striking differences of word or phrase appear in different sources within what appears nevertheless to be one and the same epigram. It is as a rule easy to distinguish, with more or less probability, the older from the younger version; and Boas explained the younger versions as deliberate changes introduced by the first maker of a collection of epigrams to be published under the name of Simonides.

However this may be, it looks as though the younger version of xiv appeared already in Timaeus; but the most important point is that Chamaeleon found in Timaeus an epigram explicitly ascribed to Simonides. No other pre-Alexandrian except Herodotus (vi, a special case) and Aristotle (xxvi (a)) ever ascribes an epigram to Simonides, indeed no other pre-Alexandrian writer ever ascribes an inscriptional epigram to a particular author. But Meleager, when he composed his *Garland* c. 100 B.C., unquestionably had at his disposal a collection of epigrams circulating under the name of Simonides; and Boas concluded that this collection, the so-called *Sylloge Simonidea*, must have been known to Timaeus – roughly, sometime in the last third of the fourth century B.C.

The conclusion is hard to refute; yet it cannot be true as stated. Meleager's extracts from the *Sylloge Simonidea* include epigrams which are obviously products not of the fourth century but of the middle of the third at the earliest. Clear examples are LIX, LX, LXV, LXVI, and LXVII; these are certainly not earlier than the time of Leonidas and may be appreciably later. Others, for example XLVII, LIV, and LXXIV, reflect the decadence of the Hellenistic epigram, and

<sup>1</sup> Boas 59: Athenaeus quotes Theopompus in about 70 places, in 60 of them with book references; it would be altogether abnormal for him to omit the reference for Theopompus while giving it for Timaeus if he was quoting from his own reading.

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are much more likely to come from the second than the third century; to assign them to the age of Timaeus would be absurd.

Where, then, is the weak link in Boas’ closely concatenated argument, or what other explanation might there be?<sup>1</sup> On the one hand it seems highly probable that the younger version of xiv, together with the ascription to Simonides, was to be read in Timaeus; on the other hand it is quite impossible to accept a number of Meleager’s *Simonidea* as work of the fourth (or early third) century. The phenomena would be saved if (a) a collection of inscriptional epigrams was made in the latter part of the fourth century and published under the name of Simonides, and (b) this collection was expanded throughout the third and second centuries.<sup>2</sup>

To return to the primary questions concerning this epigram: it appears highly probable that Theopompus’ version of the epigram is both older and better authenticated than that of ‘Plutarch’ and Athenaeus; and that the object dedicated was a painting, not statuery. It remains uncertain whether the women portrayed were Corinthian matrons or *hetaerae* or (as we are strongly inclined to believe) temple-slaves.

schol. Pind. Ol. 13.32 b τὸν Ἄρην φησὶν ἐν Κορίνθῳ λάμπειν τείνων εἰς τὰ περὶ Περσίδα, ἐν οἷς ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας ἡνδραγάθησαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι. Θεόπομπος δὲ φησὶ (*FGH* II 115 fr. 285 Jacoby) καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν εὐξασθαι τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἔρωτα ἐμπεσεῖν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν αὐτῶν μάχεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοῖς Μήδοις, εἰσελθούσας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ὅπερ ἰδρῦσασθαι τὴν Μήδειαν λέγουσιν Ἥρας προστάξασθαι. εἶναι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἀναγεγραμμένον ἐλεγείῳ εἰσιόντι εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀριστερῶς χειρὸς·

αἶδ’ ὑπὲρ Ἑλλάνων τε καὶ ἀγχεμάχων πολιατᾶν  
ἔστασαν εὐχόμεναι Κύπριδι δαιμόνιᾳ·  
οὐ γὰρ τοξοφόροιςιν ἐβούλετο δῖ’ Ἀφροδίτα  
Μήδοις Ἑλλάνων ἀκρόπολιν δόμεναι.

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[Plut.] malign. Herodot. 39, 871A-B μόναι τῶν Ἑλληνίδων αἱ Κορίνθιαι γυναῖκες εὐξάντο τὴν καλὴν ἐκείνην καὶ δαιμόνιον εὐχήν, ἔρωτα τοῖς ἀνδράσι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους μάχης ἐμβαλεῖν τὴν θεόν. . . καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἐποίησεν ἐπίγραμμα χαλκῶν εἰκόνων ἀνασταθεισῶν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ὃν ἰδρῦσασθαι Μήδειαν λέγουσιν. . . τὸ δ’ ἐπίγραμμα τοῦτό ἐστιν (1-4); Athen. 13.573C νόμιμόν ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ὡς καὶ Χαμαιλέων ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῷ περὶ Πινδάρου, ὅταν ἡ πόλις εὐχεται περὶ μεγάλων τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ, συμπαραλαμβάνεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἱκετείαν τὰς ἐταῖρας ὡς πλείστας, καὶ ταύτας προσεύχεσθαι τῇ θεῷ καὶ ὕστερον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς παρῆναι. καὶ ὅτε δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὴν στρατείαν ἦγεν ὁ Πέρσης, ὡς καὶ Θεόπομπος ἱστορεῖ καὶ Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ ἐβδόμῃ, αἱ Κορίνθιαι ἐταῖραι εὐξάντο ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας εἰς τὸν τῆς Ἀφρο-

<sup>1</sup> We are not free to say that Athenaeus’ last sentence, διὸ καὶ Σιμωνίδης. . . συνέθηκε τόδε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα is his own contribution, for that sentence includes the statement that the painting ‘remains there to this day’; this must have been said by Athenaeus’ source, for the temple of Aphrodite was destroyed in 146 B.C. (Boas 51 n.19).

<sup>2</sup> See the Introductory Note, p. 123 above.

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δίτης ἐλθοῦσαι νεών. διὸ καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἀναθέντων τῶν Κορινθίων πίνακα τῇ θεῷ, τὸν ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένοντα, καὶ τὰς ἑταίρας ἰδίαι γραψάντων τὰς τότε ποιησαμένας τὴν ἱκετείαν καὶ ὕστερον παρούσας συνέθηκε τόδε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα. (1-4)

1 Ἑλλήνων Athen., schol. codd. CEQ ἀγχεμάχων schol.: ἰθυμ- [Plut.], εὐθυμ- Athen. πολιατᾶν Preger: πολιητᾶν codd. (πολινταν Athen.)  
2 ἔστασαν schol.: ἑστάθεν seu ἑστ- [Plut.], Athen. εὐχόμεναι schol.: εὐξάμεναι [Plut.], εὐχεσθαι Athen. δαιμόνια (= δαιμονίας εὐχάς) Bernadakis: δαιμόνιαι codd. 3 ἐβούλετο schol.: ἐμήδετο [Plut.], ἐμήσατο Athen. δία θεοῖσιν Ἀφροδίτα schol. codd. CPQ 4 Μήδοις schol., [Plut.]: Πέρσαις Athen. δόμεναι schol.: προδόμεν [Plut.], Athen.

1 [732] αἰδ': the pronoun is intelligible only as referring to persons portrayed in the dedication, doubtless a painting. (See Pref.)

ἀγχεμάχων: Homeric, and Attic prose (Xen. Cyr. 1.2.13 τὰ δὲ ἀγχεμάχα δπλα καλούμενα); εὐθύμαχος 'Simonides' 904, -μάχης Pind. Ol. 7.15; ἰθύμαχος here only, but -μαχία Hdt. 4.102, 120.1. One of the two latter is a corruption of the other, but the variation with ἀγχεμάχων is inexplicable.

πολιατᾶν: the form in Doric prose, *Lex Gortyn*. 10.35.

2 [733] ἔστασαν: the perfect is the proper tense, whether the participle is present or aorist; ἑστάθεν (= ἑστάθησαν as in Pind. Nem. 10.66) is almost if not quite unintelligible and is certainly not the true text.

εὐχόμεναι: the motive for the change to the aorist is apparent (see Pref.); the infinitive was probably a deliberate change designed to explain δαιμόνιαι – they were δαιμόνιαι εὐχεσθαι Ἀφροδίτῃ, 'wonderful at praying to Aphrodite', much the same as δεινὰ εὐχεσθαι. (Boas' explanation, ἑστάθεν εὐχεσθαι = *positae sunt ut precarentur*, is not acceptable).

δαιμόνια: no deity is, or could be, described as δαιμόνιος, so dative δαιμονίαι is ruled out. Nor could the epithet possibly apply to Corinthian females, whether matrons or courtesans. The only alternative, that εὐχόμεναι δαιμόνια = εὐχόμεναι δαιμόνιον εὐχήν, has the merit, if it is one, of being 'Plutarch's' interpretation, εὐξαντο τὴν καλὴν ἐκείνην καὶ δαιμόνιον εὐχήν; an odd phrase, but there is no other possible explanation. Lobeck and Bergk conjectured δαμοσίαι, a rough change.

3-4 [734-5] τοξοφόροιςιν: of the Medes also in 110 above, 879 below, and an oracle in Herodotus, 9.43.

ἐβούλετο ... δόμεναι: ἐμήδετο ... προδόμεν is the stronger phrase, and may be a deliberate change made for that reason; the reverse change would be unaccountable.

Μήδοις: Πέρσαις may be a deliberate change made to avoid the jingle introduced by the substitution of ἐμήδετο Μήδοις for ἐβούλετο Μήδοις.

Ἑλλάνων ἀκρόπολιν: it was natural for Corinthians so to describe their state (and none had a more spectacular acropolis; though the term here is primarily metaphorical); cf. Amyntes 28, when Sparta fell, 'Hellas mourned *her acropolis*'.

## XV [140 B., 107 D.]

Dedication of an altar to Zeus at Plataea.

According to Herodotus (9.95) the Lacedaemonians, Tegeans, and Athenians were the only Hellenes who actually fought against the Persians in the final

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battle at Plataea (479 B.C.); the rest of the army held back. The three allies who fought buried their dead on the field, and so did the Megarians and Phliansians, who had suffered casualties in a chance encounter with Theban cavalry. Herodotus continues: ‘As for the rest of the graves which are to be seen at Plataea, I am told that they are empty mounds, raised for the sake of posterity by men who were ashamed of their absence from the battle; there is one, for instance, called the tomb of the Aeginetans, which I hear was built ten years later.’ These allegations are contradicted by Plutarch in his *Life of Aristides* and severely criticised by the author of the treatise *de malignitate Herodoti*; both quote the present epigram as evidence that the victory at Plataea was won by the Hellenes in general, not just by a few contingents.

The truth cannot now be determined. The statement that only the Lacedaemonians, Tegeans, and Athenians fought in the final battle may be substantially correct; the epigram, which may commemorate the whole campaign, not merely the last battle, is not a decisive witness on either side. The story of the empty tombs, however, is not to be accepted without question; the entire Hellenic army had been roughly handled by the Persians on the day before the last battle (Hdt. 9.49), and it is not likely that those absent the next day (if indeed they were absent) had no dead to bury (*cf.* Busolt *Gr. Gesch.* 2.736 n. 3).

The epigram may be confidently accepted as a copy of an inscription (anonymous, of course) on the altar of Zeus Eleutherios at Plataea; its ultimate source in literature was probably Ephorus (Boas 87). The first pentameter (see 2 n.) and the ascription to Simonides are to be rejected as later fictions. The metrical form, not found elsewhere in the fifth century or earlier,<sup>1</sup> suggests an unpractised hand;<sup>2</sup> so does the mediocrity of the composition.

Plut. vit. Aristid. 19.7 s.a.n. καὶ τὸν βωμὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐπέγραψαν οὕτως, εἰ μὴ τρεῖς πόλεις ἡγωνίσαντο τῶν ἄλλων ἀτρέμα καθεζομένων·

τόνδε ποθ' Ἑλλήνες Νίκης κράτει, ἔργῳ Ἄρης,  
[εὐτόλμῳ ψυχῆς λήματι πειθόμενοι,]  
Πέρσας ἐξελάσαντες ἐλευθεῖραι Ἑλλάδι κοινόν  
ἰδρύσαντο Διὸς βωμὸν Ἑλευθερίου.

739

[Plut.] malign. Herodot. 42, 873B s.a.n. τῷ βωμῷ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τοῦτο γράφοντες ἐνεχάραξαν· (1, 3-4); A.P. 6.50, P1<sup>A</sup> [PCPI] Σιμωνίδου [P] εἰς ναὸν ἀνατεθέντα τῷ Δί (1-4)

1 Ἑλλάνες P Νίκης (Turnebus: -ην codd.) κράτει [Plut.], Νίκας κράτει Plut.: ῥώμῃ χερὸς PPI ἔργον P1 2 carent Plut., [Plut.] λάματι P 3 ἐλευθεῖραι [Plut.], Plut. cod. S: ἐλεύθερον PPI, Plut. codd. UA κοινόν Plut., [Plut.]: κόσμον PPI

1 [736] Νίκης ... Ἄρης: ‘by the might of Nikê, by the work of Ares’; the phrase is of mediocre quality, but not so bad as to call for change; the variant in the *Anthology* remains inexplicable.

<sup>1</sup> Earliest Peek 82 (Athens, early IV B.C.); IG II/III<sup>2</sup> 3.1.4319; the form, 2 hex. + pent., recurs in a dedication by Sulla in 82 B.C. (see p. 115 above; Preger no. 116); *cf.* A.P. 13.16, Cynisca’s dedication at Olympia in 3 hex. + 1 pent.

<sup>2</sup> Wilamowitz (SS 198) thought it a proof of originality; its merit is not apparent.

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**2 [737]** The case against this line is simply that it does not appear in Plutarch's text, of which the ultimate source is believed to be Ephorus. There is no intrinsic fault, unless it is thought unsuitable in this context to add human valour to divine powers as the cause of victory. ‘Erbärmlich ist der Gemeinplatz’, said Wilamowitz (SS 198); but ‘commonplaces’ are the usual material of inscriptional epigrams, and there is nothing ‘pitiable’ about this line, in itself a strong one.

The suggestion that the *Anthology*'s source has interfered with the text here is confirmed by the evidence for its interference in 1 (ῥώμηι χερός) and 3 (κόσμον).

**3 [738] Πέρσαις:** Μήδοις as a rule; see 723 n.

**ἐλευθέραι . . . κοινόν:** Plutarch's text is obviously correct; the inferior source, having a copy in which the corruption to ἐλεύθερον had already occurred, deliberately changed κοινόν to κόσμον.

**4 [739] Διὸς βωμόν Ἑλευθερίου:** cf. Paus. 9.2.5, on Plataea, ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Διὸς ἐστὶν Ἑλευθερίου βωμός, Strabo 9.2.31 αἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δυνάμεις . . . ἰδρύσαντο . . . Ἑλευθερίου Διὸς ἱερόν.

## XVI [107 B., 96 D.]

On a memorial in Megara for citizens fallen in the Persian Wars.

Pausanias (1.43.3) says that ‘the Megarians have tombs within the city; one of them was made for the men who fell during the Persian invasion’; he says nothing about an epitaph. The ‘tomb’ was presumably a memorial; the Megarians deserved the Panhellenic rule of burial on the battlefield.

The present inscription, discovered by Fourmont and published by Boeckh in 1818, was rediscovered in 1898 by Adolf Wilhelm, whose greatly improved text, together with facsimile and commentary, was published in *Jahreshefte der Oest. Arch. Instituts Wien* 2 (1899) 236–44,<sup>1</sup> now more generally accessible in *Die Griechische Elegie*, ed. G. Pfohl (Darmstadt 1972) 311–22, which is used for reference here.

The epigram, inscribed not earlier than the fourth century A.D. (it may be much later), is of exceptional interest. A preamble states that it replaces an older epigram ‘destroyed by time’; that it was composed by Simonides; and that the new copy was made by order of the arch-priest Helladios. The text of the epigram is followed by the statement that ‘the city consecrates<sup>2</sup> a bull up to our own time’.

The work was not well done. The sixth line was altogether omitted, and a word was dropped from the ninth; the spelling is debased (ι for ει and vice versa; οι for υ in Μυκαλας; ε for αι and vice versa; εμπροσθε for εμπροσθεν; αγορη for αγοραι; mute iota is not written); the lines are not straight; the letters are far from uniform in size.

If the older inscription was ‘destroyed by time’, it is probable, as Wilhelm

<sup>1</sup> As Diehl's *ALG* has long been for many a standard work, a word of warning is appropriate: Diehl cites this essay by Wilhelm, but did not read it; he prints the antiquated pre-Wilhelm text. Hiller von Gaertringen (30), Peek (9), and Tod (*GHI* 1 no. 20) follow Wilhelm.

<sup>2</sup> The stone has ἐναγίζεν. Either ἐνήγιζεν or ἐναγίζει must have been intended; the context is much in favour of the present tense.



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suggested (320), that the new text was not dependent on laborious decipherment of more or less obliterated letters on stone but copied directly from a literary source;<sup>1</sup> the heading Σιμωνίδης ἐποίησιν, though it might have been added to an inscriptional copy made earlier in the Christian era (Wilhelm 315–16), is more likely to have come from the literary tradition – one more example of the Hellenistic practice of attributing to Simonides epigrams concerning the Persian Wars.

The ascription to Simonides must, as usual, be dismissed as fictitious, but the question remains whether this epigram represents a text actually inscribed on a monument at Megara in or about 479 B.C.<sup>2</sup> Wilhelm (321) thought the likeliest answer to be that the first couplet was indeed a contemporary epigram, but that the remainder of the epigram was a later addition, comparable with the expansions of Simonides xii and xxxiv and Anacreon xv. If this were so, the expansion would presumably have been made in the literary tradition, not on the stone, and this would be a further argument for Helladios’ use of that tradition in making his new copy.

Wilhelm does not, however, consider the primary question whether there is any obstacle to the belief that the whole epigram comes from c. 479 B.C.; and the answer is that there is not. The style, though not particularly distinguished, is quite good – as good as that of xxiv, much better than that of xv; there is nothing in the vocabulary, phrasing, or metre incompatible with the early fifth century. The length is indeed abnormal; no other ten-line epigram is to be found in or before the date in question. But the fullness is not, in principle, more remarkable than that of Peek 42 (Corcyra, early VI), six hexameters; and Peek 1210 (Eretria, VI/V) is an epitaph (uncouth enough) in seven lines. An Athenian would have been briefer; a Megarian might (for all we know) express himself more fully, reassuring his countrymen that their city had played a more notable part in the Persian War than the Hellenes generally supposed. Twenty Megarian ships served at Artemisium and again at Salamis<sup>3</sup> (Hdt. 8.1,45), not with any recorded distinction; before Plataea, their army was exposed to heavy pressure and threatened to desert unless relieved (9.21); three thousand of them were arrayed for the final battle (9.28), but took no part in it except for a chance encounter with Theban cavalry after the issue was decided; the Megarians were defeated and chased off the field (9.69). There is no other record of their presence at Mykale, and no record at all of their presence at Thermopylae.

That Megara at this time had a notable composer of epitaphs is attested by Stephanus of Byzantium, who says that the Thespians employed a Megarian to compose an epitaph for their dead at Thermopylae (see Philiadis 1).

IG VII 53 τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τῶν ἐν τῷ Περσικῷ πολέμῳ ἀποθανόντων καὶ κειμένων ἐνταῦθα ἡρώων, ἀπολόμενον δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ, Ἑλλάδος ὁ ἀρχιεὺς ἐπιγραφῆσαν ἐποίησεν εἰς τιμὴν τῶν κειμένων καὶ τῆς πόλεως. Σιμωνίδης ἐποίησιν.

<sup>1</sup> So also Wade-Gery *JHS* 53 (1933) 96.

<sup>2</sup> Jacoby *Hesperia* 14 (1945) 175 n. 77 thought it was a cenotaph erected in 460 B.C., when the Megarian dead lay in lands now hostile and inaccessible.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably, therefore, without losses at Artemisium.

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‘Ελλάδι καὶ Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐλεύθερον ἄμαρ ἀέξειν 740  
 ἰέμενοι θανάτου μοῖραν ἐδεξάμεθα,  
 τοὶ μὲν ὑπ’ Εὐβοίαι καὶ Παλίῳ, ἔνθα καλεῖται  
 ἄγν᾽ Ἀρτέμιδος τοξοφόρου τέμενος,  
 5 τοὶ δ’ ἐν ὄρει Μυκάλας, τοὶ δ’ ἔμπροσθεν Σαλαμῖνος  
 < > 745  
 τοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν πεδίῳ Βοιωτίῳ, οἵτινες ἔτλαν  
 χεῖρας ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπους ἵππομάχους ἰέναι.  
 ἄστοι δ’ ἄμμι τόδε <ξυνόν> γέρας ὀμφαλῶι ἀμφίς  
 10 Νισαίων ἔπορον λαοδόκῳ ’ν ἀγορᾷ.

μέχρις ἐφ’ ἡμῶν δὲ ἡ πόλις ταῦρον ἐνάγιζεν.

6 versum om. lapicida 9–10 ξυνόν suppl. et λαοδόκῳ ’ν distinxit Wade-Gery ἀγορᾷ Schneidewin: ἀγορῇ lapis

**3–4 [742–3]** The reference is to the battles of Artemisium, fought in the waters between Mt Pelion and Euboea, commemorated by a dedication in the temple of Artemis (see xxiv Pref.).

**Παλίῳ:** the form, familiar from Pindar, argues a West Greek poet, presumably a Megarian; it may be a token of the high antiquity of the composition.

**ἐνθα καλεῖται:** for this idiom cf. Hom. *Il.* 11.757 Ἀλῆσιος ἐνθα κολώνη | κέκληται; in Attic prose, Xen. *HG* 5.1.10 ἐνθα ἡ Τριπυργία καλεῖται.

**5 [744] ὄρει Μυκάλας:** cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.869 Μυκάλῃς τ’ αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα, Hdt. 9.107 τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Μυκάλῃς.

**6 [745]** It is a pity that the line is lost. The one major battle omitted is Thermopylae, and we might have found here a claim that the Megarians fought there (they are not in Herodotus’ list, 7.202). See further Wade-Gery *JHS* 53 (1933) 96.

There is no particular merit in Boeckh’s popular supplement ναῶν Φοινισσᾶν ἐξολέσαντες Ἀρη.

**7–8 [746–7]** This is a tactful way of describing what happened, if Herodotus is to be believed: 9.69, when news of the victory at Plataea was brought to those allies who had taken no part in the fighting, they hurried forward; the Megarians and Phliasians, advancing ‘in total disorder’, were caught by Theban cavalry who killed 600 of them and chased the rest as far as Mt Cithaeron.

**χεῖρας ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπους . . . ἰέναι:** cf. Hom. *Il.* 1.567 ὅτε κέν τοι . . . χεῖρας ἐφείω, *Od.* 20.39 μνηστῆρσιν . . . χεῖρας ἐφήσω.

**9–10 [748–9]** The tomb was ‘about the navel’, a site further defined as ‘in the *agora*’. The phrase is novel and striking, unlikely to be the work of an ‘expander’.

**Νισαίων:** on Nisaea, the seaport of Megara, see *RE* 17.710, Gow on Theocr. 12.27 Νισαῖοι Μεγαρήες.

**λαοδόκῳ:** the compound appears as a proper-name in Homer, as an adjective here only. Wade-Gery’s interpretation of λαοδοκῶν is surely correct, though the prodelision is abnormal in an epigram.

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### XVII (a) and (b) [138 B., 105 D.]

Epigrams for a dedication at Delphi commemorating the end of the Persian War of 479 B.C.

After the victory over the Persians at Plataea in 479 B.C. dedications were made from a tenth of the spoils to Apollo at Delphi, to Zeus at Olympia, and to Poseidon at the Isthmus. The offering at Delphi was a golden tripod standing on a bronze column in the shape of a three-headed snake (so Herodotus, 9.81; actually three snakes intertwined). The tripod was melted down by the Phocians in the fourth century B.C. (Paus. 10.13.9); the snake-column was removed to Constantinople by the Emperor Constantine and placed in the Hippodrome, where it is still to be seen (*IGA* 70; Fabricius *Jahresh. des deutsch. Arch. Instituts* 1 (1886) 175–91; Preger no. 84; Meiggs and Lewis no. 27; Gomme *Comment. on Thuc.* 1.434).

Among the charges brought by the Spartan Ephors against their commander-in-chief, Pausanias, in 471 B.C. was his insolence and arrogance in having xvii (a) inscribed on the Delphic dedication. The Spartans had ‘immediately erased’ the offensive lines, and instead ‘inscribed the names of all the cities which having contributed to the downfall of the barbarians had set up the dedication’ (Thuc. 1.132; text of the Ephors’ inscription, with commentary, in Tod *GHI* 1. 19, Meiggs and Lewis no. 27).

There is said to be no trace of erasure on the snake-column, where the list of cities is inscribed, and it is generally supposed that xvii (a) was inscribed on one of the three steps of the pedestal.<sup>1</sup>

The statement in Diodorus that xvii (b) was inscribed on the Delphic dedication is not confirmed by any other source and is not easy to reconcile with Thucydides, in whose account a list of cities, not a new epigram, was substituted for xvii (a). The statement is nevertheless not lightly to be rejected; as Gomme says, if it is untrue, ‘it is a remarkable instance of Diodorus’ unreliability, for anyone could see what was on so well-known a monument’.

xvii (a) is a model of conciseness and clarity. It would be perfectly suitable for a personal dedication, such as victorious commanders often made; but the Delphic dedication was a public monument representing all who fought (Thuc. 1.132.3), and the inscription on it of so personal an epigram was an act of intolerable arrogance.

The dialect of xvii (a) in Thucydides is Ionic, Doric in the *Anthology*; and the editor’s choice is not easy. Ionic is not intrinsically improbable; xxii (b) is an epitaph for Laconians, but not in the Laconian dialect. Yet one would expect so personal an epigram to be in the commander’s own language. As xvii (a) was ‘immediately erased’, neither Thucydides nor the source of the *Anthology* knew the truth; and Thucydides, who presumably had it from oral tradition, may well have heard it in Attic or Ionian circles in Ionic form, even if its original form was Doric (Wilamowitz *SS* 197 n. 1). The *Anthology*’s authority

<sup>1</sup> It seems to be taken for granted that Thucydides was not expressing himself carefully; what he says (twice) is that the inscription was *on the tripod*, not on the snake-column or on the pedestal.

counts for nothing; its ascription to Simonides is, as usual, fictitious,<sup>1</sup> and its first-person instead of third-person is too abnormal to be accepted with any confidence, even in a notably arrogant epigram, especially as there was no first-hand evidence available for it. If we accept the Doric colour, it is not because the *Anthology* offers it but because it seems intrinsically the likelier to be original.

XVII (a)

Ἑλλάνων ἀρχαγός, ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων, 750  
Παυσανίας Φοίβωι μῆα' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.

[Dem.] in Neaer. 97 s.a.n. ἐφ' οἷς φυσηθείς Πausανίας...ἐπέγραψεν ἐπὶ τὸν τρίποδα ἐν Δελφοῖς· (1-2), ὡς αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου ὄντος καὶ τοῦ ἀναθήματος; Aristodem. II A 104, 4-496 Jacoby, s.a.n. τρίποδα ἀναθεῖς τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπίγραμμα ἔγραψε πρὸς αὐτὸν τοιοῦτον· (1-2); [Plut.] malign. Herodot. 42, 873c s.a.n. Πausανίας, ὡς λέγουσιν, ἤδη τυραννικὰ φρονῶν, ἐπέγραψεν ἐν Δελφοῖς· (1-2); Apostol. 7.9d s.a.n.; Suda s.v. Πausanias; A.P. 6.197 (caret Pl) Σιμωνίδου ἀνάθημα τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι παρὰ Πausανίου (1-2); epigr. respiciunt etiam Corn. Nepos Paus. 1, Pausanias 3.8.2 (Simonidi adscriptum) et Aristid. or. 46.175, II 234 D., ἐκείνον (= Μιλτιάδην) προσῆκεν ἐπιγράφειν ὅτι στρατὸν ὥλεσε Μήδων...καὶ τό γε τοῦτο πρότερον τὸ Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἀκριβῶς ἤρωττεν αὐτῷ.

Diod. Sic. 11.33 s.a.n. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων δεκάτην ἐξελόμενοι κατεσκεύασαν χρυσοῦν τρίποδα καὶ ἀνέθηκαν ἐς Δελοῦς χαριστήριον τῷ θεῷ ἐπιγράψαντες ἑλεγείον τόδε:

Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόρου σωτῆρες τόνδ' ἀνέθηκαν  
δουλοσύνας στυγερεῶς ῥυσάμενοι πόλιας. 753

**Epitaph for Athenians who fell in battle against the Persians.**

Most scholars in the past hundred years<sup>2</sup> have regarded this epigram as a relatively late literary exercise, not as a copy of an old inscription; the choice is discussed in the Preface to *xxi* below.

<sup>1</sup> 'Simonides' also in Pausanias (3.8.2), who is demonstrably (Boas 113) using an anthology.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Hiller von Gaertringen, Preger, Geffcken, Diehl, Peek, and Jacoby *Hesperia* 14 (1945) 159 n. 11, 185 n. 107.

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A.P. 7.257 [C] ἄδηλον, Pl<sup>A</sup> ἀδέσποτον [C] εἰς τοὺς Ἀθηναίων προμάχους

παῖδες Ἀθηναίων Περσῶν στρατὸν ἐξολέσαντες  
ἤρκεσαν ἀργαλέην πατρίδι δουλοσύνην. 755

schol. Aristid.<sup>1</sup> III 154 D. τοῦ αὐτοῦ (= Σιμωνίδου, quod addit cod. D), (1-2):  
schol.<sup>2</sup> III 136 D. (perperam cum XII 1-2 supra coniunctum), (1-2)

1 ἐξελάσαντες schol.<sup>2</sup> cod. unus 2 δουλοσύνην Pl, schol.<sup>2</sup>: -ναν C, schol.<sup>1</sup>,  
-νας P, sed ut vid. primitus -ναν.

1 [754] παῖδες Ἀθηναίων: as 'Simonides' 693, 781, IG I<sup>2</sup> 609 = Meiggs  
and Lewis 18.

Περσῶν: 'Medes' as a rule; 723 n.

ἐξολέσαντες: the compound is Homeric.

## XIX [143 B., 144 D.]

Dedication by Athenian archers who fought in the Persian Wars.

It is easy to agree with the great majority in the judgement that this epigram is an Hellenistic literary exercise, not a copy of an inscription. The style rings Alexandrian, and the verbosity is against an earlier date: δακρύνοντος and στονόεντα are commonplace epithets and acceptable as such; ὑπωρόφια, though unnecessary, is not objectionable; but we see no need for both κατὰ κλόνον and ἐν δαί, or indeed for either, and φωτῶν is uncomfortable next to Περσῶν ἵππομάχων. It is doubtful whether a poet at the time of the Persian Wars would have described the bows (or even the arrows, which is what he meant) as *washed in blood*. The subject-matter is characteristically far-fetched; not much is said about Athenian archers in the Persian Wars either by Herodotus (9.22, 60) or by Aeschylus (*Pers.* 460-1).

A.P. 6.2, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPI] Σιμωνίδου [J] ἐπὶ τόξοις ἀνατεθείσιν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς  
ναῶι; Syll. E 49 Σιμωνίδου

τόξα τάδε πτολέμοιο πεπαυμένα δακρύνοντος  
νηῶι Ἀθηναίης κεῖται ὑπωρόφια,  
πολλάκι δὴ στονόεντα κατὰ κλόνον ἐν δαί φωτῶν  
Περσῶν ἵππομάχων αἵματι λουσάμενα. 759

2 νηῶι ὑπ' Ἀθ. Pl. Ἀθηναίης P<sup>sscr</sup>Pl: -αίωι P, Syll. ὑπορρόφια P, Syll.

1 [756] πτολέμοιο πεπαυμένα: bows 'at rest from war' is a phrase to be expected in an Hellenistic, not in a classical, epigrammatist.

2 [757] Hellenistic phrasing again; cf. Hegesippus 6.124.1-2 = HE 1897-8  
ἀσπίς...ἡμαι | ναῶι ὑπωροφία Παλλάδος.

3 [758] κατὰ κλόνον and ἐν δαί are Homeric.

4 [759] αἵματι λουσάμενα: Hellenistic again; cf. 'Simonides' 883, Call. *Del.*  
95 αἵματι λούσων | τόξον, Gow on Theocr. 22.171-2 αἵματι...ἐγχεα λούσαι.

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## XIX (a) [136 B., 65 D.]

On Democritus, a Naxian hero of the battle of Salamis.

This is not an ordinary epigram.<sup>1</sup> It is neither sepulchral nor dedicatory, and the opening words, Δημόκριτος τρίτος ἦρξε μάχης, seem more suitable to part of a continuous narrative than to a self-contained poem. On the other hand the contents strongly suggest that it is a complete poem: in less than two dozen words the scene of the battle, the two combatants, and the Naxian hero, are all named, and the latter's heroic deeds are described in detail. There is nothing left to say; this is the style of the epigram, not of elegy.

It was suggested in my *Epigrammata Graeca* that the lines are indeed a complete poem – a short elegiac piece, not what is usually meant by ‘elegy’, or by ‘epigram’ either – composed by a Naxian in honour of a fellow-countryman. Nobody but a Naxian would have any interest in celebrating the actions of Democritus; Herodotus mentions him honourably, but has nothing to say about him in the battle (8.46: the Naxians sent four ships to serve with the Persians; Democritus, a notable citizen and one of the the ships’ captains, diverted them to the side of the Greeks).

The poem was probably a *scolion*, a short piece designed for recitation at symposia.

[Plut.] malign. Herodot. 36, 869c ὅτι δ’ οὐκ ἐπαινέσαι βουλευθεὶς Δημόκριτον ἀλλ’ ἐπ’ αἰσχύνην Ναξίων συνέθηκε τὸ ψεῦδος δῆλός ἐστι τῷ παραλιπεῖν δλως καὶ παρασιωπῆσαι τὸ Δημοκρίτου κατόρθωμα καὶ τὴν ἀριστείαν, ἣν ἐπιγράμματι Σιμωνίδης ἐδήλωσεν·

Δημόκριτος τρίτος ἦρξε μάχης, ὅτε πὰρ Σαλαμίνα 760  
 Ἕλληνες Μήδοις σύμβalon ἐν πελάγει·  
 πέντε δὲ νῆας ἔλεν δηίων, ἐκτὴν δ’ ὑπὸ χειρός  
 ῥύσατο βαρβαρικῆς Δωρίδ’ ἄλισκομένην.

3-4 χειρός...βαρβαρικῆς Turnebus: χεῖρα...βαρβαρικὴν codd.

1 [760] τρίτος ἦρξε: it was prudent not to claim a higher place than third; the first and second must go to the Athenians and Aeginetans, who quarrelled over the priority (Hdt. 8.84).

3 [762] δηίων: on the scansion of this word see the note on Anyte *A.P.* 6.123 = *HE* 665.

## XX (a) and (b) [88 D.]

Epigrams on Athenians fallen in the Persian Wars.

There is an extensive literature on these epigrams. The present Preface briefly summarises personal opinions formed in the course of the past forty years.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bergk (*fr.* 136) thought that it was an incomplete epigram; Preger (no. 107), a complete epigram; Boas (73) and Wilamowitz (*SS* 144 n. 2) dogmatically asserted that it was not an epigram; Hiller von Gaertringen and Geffcken ignored it; Diehl includes it in Simonides’ elegies (*fr.* 65). There is rational discussion in Maas *RE* 3 A 1.191.47, and Meiggs and Lewis (no. 26).

<sup>2</sup> I am most indebted to two papers by Jacoby, hereinafter ‘Jacoby<sup>a</sup>’ =

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(1) The inscriptions appear on the base of a monument whose original character<sup>1</sup> and location<sup>2</sup> remain matters for surmise. As the lettering indicates a date about the time of the Persian war of 480/79 B.C., the subject (or subjects) must be one (or more) of the battles of that war. Περσῶν is explicit in xx (b), and Ἑλλάδα μὴ πᾶσαν δούλιον ἦμαρ ἰδεῖν in xx (a) could have no other application. The Athenians at this time, like all other Hellenic states, buried their dead on the battlefield.<sup>3</sup> It is certain that their dead at Marathon and Plataea were buried on the field; after Salamis the Corinthians buried their dead on the island (xi), and the same is to be presumed for the Athenians and others about whose burial no record survives.<sup>4</sup> It is therefore as certain as such things can be that the monument at Athens now under consideration was not a tomb. Nor is it to be called a cenotaph,<sup>5</sup> for that term should be reserved for memorials for bodies not recovered for burial, as for those who died in the Sicilian expedition<sup>6</sup> and at Arginusae.<sup>7</sup> The Athenians, like the Corinthians, could recover most of their dead at Salamis (all who fell in the land-fighting at Psytaleia or on board ship; many of those who drowned).

The present monument-base is therefore plain evidence that the Athenians erected at home a kind of war-memorial, in thanksgiving for victory and in honour of all who fell and were buried on the field (or fields).<sup>8</sup> The epigrams are not epitaphs, a term to be reserved for inscriptions at the place of burial (or the cenotaph). The memorial at home, in honour of men buried on the battlefield, has an apparent parallel in the relation between xi and xii: xi is an epitaph on Corinthians buried where they fell; xii is a general ‘war-memorial’, a votive monument at home for all who fell in the war.

(2) xx (a) commemorates the battle of Salamis, not Marathon. The phrase περὶ τε καὶ... ἐπὶ νηῶν in this context can mean nothing but ‘on foot and on *their own* ships’;<sup>9</sup> and the Athenians had no warships at Marathon. It is not, however, certain that Salamis is the only subject. The combination ‘on foot and on ship-board’ is indeed suitable to Salamis, for the land-fighting on the island of Psytaleia was thought at the time to have been an action of high

*Hesperia* 14 (1945) 157–85, and ‘Jacoby<sup>b</sup>’ = *JHS* 64 (1944) 37–66. The former paper, though rendered in part obsolete by the discovery of the copy of xx (a) in 1956, retains great value. My next heaviest debt is to W. K. Pritchett, *Marathon: Univ. of Calif. Publ. in Class. Arch.* 4.2 (1960) 160.

<sup>1</sup> Jacoby<sup>a</sup> 170. The theory that it was a Herm has enjoyed some popularity.

<sup>2</sup> Jacoby<sup>a</sup> 168, 170; it was probably either in the Agora or on the Acropolis.

<sup>3</sup> Jacoby<sup>b</sup> 42ff.; I am not moved by the doubts of Gomme, *Comm. on Thuc.* 2.94ff.

<sup>4</sup> Jacoby<sup>b</sup> 42 n. 21.

<sup>5</sup> Jacoby<sup>a</sup> 171.

<sup>6</sup> Paus. 1.29.11–12.

<sup>7</sup> Plato *Menex.* 243c; Jacoby<sup>b</sup> 40 n. 11. When (after c. 465 B.C.) the Athenians brought their dead (the bones, not the bodies; Thuc. 2.34.3; Jacoby<sup>b</sup> 37 n. 1) home for burial in the Ceramicus, they made allowance for bodies not recovered: Thuc. 2.34.3, κλίνη κενὴ ἐστρωμένη τῶν ἀφανῶν οἱ ἄν μὴ εὐρεθῶσιν εἰς ἀναίρεσιν, carried in the procession.

<sup>8</sup> Jacoby<sup>a</sup> 176 ‘a victory-monument... and for such a monument there was only one form possible in this age, – a votive offering to a god or the gods’.

<sup>9</sup> Pritchett (163) demonstrates this point; and it is absolutely decisive.

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importance.<sup>1</sup> It is equally suitable, however, to the war as a whole.<sup>2</sup> *πεζοί* may refer primarily to the battle of Plataea, and *ἐπὶ νηῶν* may include Mykale with Salamis. The latter explanation seems the likelier of the two.

(3) *xx (b)* commemorates the battle of Marathon. *ἄστν* must be the object of *πρῆσαι*, and it must have been said or implied that the Persians did *not* burn the city, for the phrase is combined with a participial clause stating that the Persians were defeated. The only occasion when the Persians intended to burn Athens (Hdt. 6.101–2) but were defeated in the attempt was in 490 B.C. In 480 B.C. they did in fact burn the acropolis, but (apart from the fact that this disaster would not be mentioned in an epigram of this type) a reference to that event, which occurred before the battle of Salamis (Hdt. 8.53.2), could not be combined with the clause ‘having defeated the Persians’.

If *xx (b)* refers to the battle of Marathon, there are two phrases which seem not quite comfortable in that context:

(a) *πρόσθε πυλῶν*: the Athenians placed their arms ‘in front of the gates’. The gates are the gates of Athens, and to say that the Athenians placed their arms in front of the gates of Athens seems an inaccurate description of men who actually formed their line of battle about thirty miles away to the north-east. They were nevertheless arrayed in defence of Athens (which the Persians had come to burn) and within their own home-land. The phrase is a very loose description of where they were standing, but a very fair description of what they were doing – standing as a barrier between their enemy and the city-gates.<sup>3</sup>

(b) *ἀγχιᾶλον*: whether *πυλῶν... ἀγχιᾶλων* or *ἀγχιᾶλον... ἄστν* is read, the adjective can only apply to Athens. It is neither a conventional epithet for Athens nor obviously significant in the context. The question must therefore be asked whether it is in any way objectionable.

*ἀγχιᾶλος*, not a common word, is surprisingly applied to islands in *H. Apoll.* 32 (Peparethos), *A. Pers.* 886 (Lemnos and others), *S. Ai.* 135 (Salamis), Geminus 9.288.3 = *PG* 2350 (Salamis), and Quintus 13.467 (Tenedos). The expected sense, of coastal places, ‘near the sea’, appears in *Hom. Il.* 2.640, of Chalcis, and 2.697, of Antron in south-eastern Thessaly. Athens was not, as Chalcis and Antron were, actually on the coast, but it was ‘near the sea’,<sup>4</sup> and the epithet is no more unsuitable here than in Bacchylides 4.14, where it qualifies Crisa, a few miles up the hill leading to Delphi.<sup>5</sup>

(4) *xx (b)* was an afterthought, not, as *xx (a)* is, an original component of the monument-base. The proof is given by Oliver:<sup>6</sup> ‘at some time later it [*sc.* the base] received a second epigram, inscribed by a different and inferior hand but in characters that could not have been chronologically far separated from the

<sup>1</sup> Pritchett 167, following Lattimore, *The poetry of Greek Tragedy* (Baltimore 1958) 29–38; the testimony of *A. Pers.* is conclusive, a point not met by Hammond *JHS* 88 (1968) 27 n. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Amand in *Θεωπία: Festschr. Schuchhardt* (1960) 4, approved by Hammond *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> The point is elaborated by Jacoby<sup>a</sup> 167 with n. 35.

<sup>4</sup> Jacoby<sup>a</sup> 167 n. 35, quoting Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.1.

<sup>5</sup> As Jebb observed (on Bacchyl. *loc. cit.*) *μυχοῖς* proves that Crisa, not the port Cirrha, is meant.

<sup>6</sup> *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 484.



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first, if at all. To receive the two additional lines, another band had to be smoothed on the rough-picked portion of the stone, and consequently the band lay at a deeper level than the rest of the surface.’ As Pritchett comments,<sup>1</sup> ‘the natural inference from these positive epigraphical facts is that the second inscription was cut later’.

The addition of an epigram commemorating the battle of Marathon to a monument designed for, and inscribed with an epigram specifically referring to, the Persian War of 480/79 B.C. (or to one of its battles, Salamis) is an extraordinary phenomenon. The explanation may be, as many have supposed, that a monument commemorating Marathon and bearing the inscription xx (*b*) was erected at Athens in 490 and destroyed by the Persians (as it certainly would have been) in 480 B.C.; and that the Athenians decided, quite soon after the erection of the monument of 480/79 B.C., to revive the memory of the destroyed monument by adding its inscription to the new monument. One would have expected that the Athenians would build a new monument for Marathon to replace an older one destroyed by the Persians, as they certainly did for Harmodius and Aristogeiton and for the victory-dedication after the battle of 506 B.C. against the Boeotians and Chalcidians (I, III); but xx (*b*) is clear evidence that, if there was a Marathon-monument destroyed, they did not replace it.<sup>2</sup> If there never was an older Marathon-monument, and consequently no older epigram to be remembered and revived, the addition of xx (*b*), as an afterthought, becomes and will remain inexplicable.<sup>3</sup>

(5) The demonstrative pronouns τῶνδε in xx (*a*) and τοῖσδε (τοῖσζ’) in xx (*b*) seem to require points of reference in something on or associated with the monument explaining who ‘these’ men are. The pronouns are characteristic of epitaphs at places of burial. They may then refer to a list of the names of the dead. If, as at Thermopylae, there was no such list,<sup>4</sup> then either the pronoun was not used (as in xxII (*a*) and (*b*)) or the epigram itself sufficed to explain the reference (as in xxIII). Now the present monument was not a tomb, and the present epigrams are not epitaphs; and it is neither attested nor probable that lists of the dead ever accompanied monuments that were neither tombs nor cenotaphs. Neither of the present epigrams offers any internal clue to the identity of ‘these’ men; what did the authors mean by these pronouns, and how would the reader interpret them?

xx (*b*) illustrates the problem clearly enough. The Athenian tomb at Marathon was surmounted by *stelae* with the names of the dead inscribed:<sup>5</sup> are we to suppose that the names were inscribed afresh at Athens, whether in association with a monument of 490 B.C. or in association with the new monument

<sup>1</sup> 162 n. 172; cf. Jacoby<sup>a</sup> 164 n. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Jacoby<sup>a</sup> 178: ‘restorations of public monuments, as opposed to buildings, were apparently the exception, not the rule’.

<sup>3</sup> Hammond (*loc. cit.* 27–8) follows Amandry in the opinion that xx (*b*) was added (as late as 464–462 B.C.) ‘in a spirit of rivalry vis-à-vis the campaigns of 480–479 B.C.’; the act would be unparalleled, and seems intrinsically most improbable.

<sup>4</sup> Jacoby<sup>b</sup> 43 n. 23.

<sup>5</sup> Paus. 1.32.3 τάφος δὲ ἐν πεδίῳ Ἀθηναίων ἐστίν, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ στηλαὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀποθανόντων κατὰ φυλὰς ἐκάστων ἔχουσαι.

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which was not originally designed for Marathon? It seems a very improbable supposition; but, if not to a list of names, to what does the pronoun refer? There seems to be one plausible explanation:

(a) that the present monument bore a legend of the type Ἀθηναῖοι τῇ θεᾷ ἀκροθίνια ἀπὸ τῶν Μήδων ἀνέθεσαν;<sup>1</sup> intended to refer to the war of 480/79 B.C., it would serve as well for Marathon; and

(b) that, as the memorial was known by all to stand in honour of the dead in a certain war, the author of the epigram felt himself free to compose in the manner of the epitaph, and would assume that his readers would need no particular explanation of the conventional pronoun.

(6) The style of xx (a) is lucid and dignified, perfectly suited to its purpose. It is composed of conventional phrases, with no trace of an individual's touch. ‘Home-grown wine’, Jacoby calls it.

xx (b) is harder to judge, as nearly half of it is lost. So far as it goes, it looks more interesting and original than xx (a); it compresses the essence of the battle of Marathon into four short phrases in which choice seems to have played a larger part than convention.

(7) According to the *Vita Aeschyli* (*Aeschyli Tragoediae* p. 332.5–10 Page) the reason why Aeschylus left Athens for Sicily was, according to some, his defeat in the theatre by the rising star Sophocles; according to others, the reason was ‘his defeat by Sophocles over the ἐλεγείον for those who died at Marathon’. It would be a waste of time to do more than comment that this tale is likely to be mere gossip of a later age, the fourth century B.C. at earliest; and we refer to Jacoby's lengthy diatribe<sup>2</sup> against those who believe that any glimmer of truth is now, or ever was, discernible.

- (a) ἀνδρῶν τῶνδ' ἀρετῇ[ς ἔσται κλέ]ος ἄφθι[τον] αἰεῖ  
[.....]ρ[ ] νέμωσι θεοί· 765  
ἔσχον γὰρ πεζοί τε [καί] ὠκυπόρων ἐπὶ νηῶν  
ἔλλα[δα μ]ὴ πᾶσαν δούλιον ἤμαρ ἰδεῖν.
- (b) ἦν ἄρα τοῖσζ' ἀδάμ[αντος ὑπέρβιον ἦτορ,] ὅτ' αἰχμήν  
στήσαν πρόσθε πυλῶν αν[  
ἀγχίαλον πρῆσαι ρ[ c. xix litt. ] 770  
ἄστν, βίαι Περσῶν κλινάμενο[ι προμάχους.

est monumenti basis, cuius fragmenta duo: alterum prim. ed. Rhangabé *Antiquités Helléniques* II (1855) p. 597 no. 784<sup>b</sup> = IG I<sup>2</sup> 763, alterum prim. ed. Oliver *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 480.

inscriptions in basi duae: (a) superior duabus lineis, in utraque dact. hex. + pent. στοιχηδόν, c. 480–479 B.C.; (b) inferior, litteris eiusdem fere temporis, monumento iam erecto addita est in spatio duarum linearum levato; in utraque linea dact. hex. + pent. non στοιχηδόν.

<sup>1</sup> Jacoby<sup>a</sup> 171 n. 53 makes a similar suggestion based on the prose thank-offering for Marathon = Meiggs and Lewis 19.

<sup>2</sup> Jacoby<sup>a</sup> 178 n. 86 and 179–85.

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inscriptioni superiori, = (a), accedit lapidis recentioris (saec. IV fin.) fragmentum, prim. ed. Meritt *The Aegean and the Near East: Studies presented to Hetty Goldman* (New York 1956) 268; eiusdem ut vid. epigrammatis apographon. cum vetustiore inscr. tantum litteras ν in fine v. 3 et secundum ο in v. 4 communes habet, nova praebet 2 νέμωσι θεοί et quae iamdudum suppleverant Wilhelm, Hiller von Gaertringen, et Kirchhoff 1 κλέ]ος ἀφθι[τον, 3 ὠκυπόρων ἐπὶ νηών, 4 ]ον ἡμαρ ἰδεῖν.

(b) 1 ὑπέρβιον ἦτορ, 4 προμάχους supplevi exempli gratia, reliqua edd-priorēs.

(a) On the relation of the fourth-century inscription to the fifth-century one, it suffices to repeat the judgement of Pritchett (160 n. 163): ‘that Meritt’s arguments in favor of identifying the fourth-century inscription as a copy of the fifth-century poem are, if not conclusive, at least reasonable, although we must point out that the extant parts of the two stones have only two letters in common’.

The obviously probable supplements in 1, 3, and 4, already proposed by Wilhelm, Hiller, and Kirchhoff, all appear on the fourth-century stone; the chances against fortuitous coincidence seem infinitely great.

**2 [765]** The general sense may have been something like ‘(their fame will last for ever), so long as the gods grant glory to heroic men’. Not, as Meritt, οἷς ἄν ὑπὲρ χσυνῶν σκληρὰ νέμωσι θεοί, for the generic οἷς ἄν is incompatible with the specific ἀνδρῶν τῶνδε.

**3 [766] πεζοί ... ἐπὶ νηών:** repeated in ‘Simonides’ 880.

**4 [767] δούλιον ἡμαρ:** a constant theme in epigrams concerning the Persian Wars; loss of freedom is what the Hellenes feared most. Cf. ‘Simonides’ 702 (ἐλευθερίην), 719 (ἐλευθερίας), 738 (ἐλευθέραι Ἑλλάδι), 740 (ἐλεύθερον ἄμαρ), 755 (δουλοσύνην).

(b) **1-2 [768-9]** The sense must have been as in *e.g.* Wilhelm’s restoration, ἀδάμαντος ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμός, but this is by my reckoning one letter-space too long, and I have substituted a similar phrase which fits exactly and is suggested by Hes. *op.* 147 ἀδάμαντος ἔχον κρατερόφρονα θυμόν.

**αἰχμὴν στήσαν:** illustrated by Jacoby\* 184 n. 105; cf. S. *Ant.* 146 λόγχας στήσαντε; the meaning is the same as in the much commoner phrase (cf. anon. cxxvi 1-2 n.) ὀπλὰ θέσθαι.

**πρόσθε πυλῶν:** see Pref.

**3-4 [770-1] ἀγχιάλον:** if ἀγχιάλων is read, it is practically certain that it refers backward (presumably agreeing with πυλῶν). Then πρῆσαι, which must govern ἄστυ, will be the first word of its clause. There are two very serious objections to this. First, sentence-end or at least clause-end almost always coincides with pentameter-end in early epigrams; of the few exceptions, none is comparable with the alleged carry-over of a single relatively unimportant word into the hexameter. Secondly, if πρῆσαι ρ[ begins a new clause, that clause was either in asyndeton or had a postponed connective; both alternatives are quite alien to the style of the epigram in the sixth and fifth centuries.

ἀγχιάλον is to be preferred, and it seems impossible to avoid taking it with ἄστυ. A third-person verb saying in effect that the Athenians (the subjects of the participle κλινάμενοι) prevented the burning of the city seems indispensable,

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and a connective between *στήσαν* and the missing verb is then needed. As there is no place in 3 for the connective (except one monstrously postponed within the lacuna in 3), it must have occurred in the lacuna in 2. That involves a run-over from pentameter to hexameter, but of a type much more acceptable than the carry-over of a single adjective; it would be very like *Inscr. von Olympia* 266.2–3 καὶ Καμαριναῖος· †προσθαρε† (πρόσθα δὲ Dittenberger) Μαντινέαι | Κρίνιος υἱὸς ἔναϊεν κτλ.<sup>1</sup> As for the missing verb, *ῥί* in this context strongly suggests *ῥύσαντο* (Peek), ‘they stopped (as in LSJ *s.v.* “ἔρύω B” 4) men intent on burning the city’, e.g. ἀντία δ’ ἱεμένους | ἀγχίαλον πρῆσαι ῥύσαντ’ ἐρικυδὲς Ἀθηνᾶς | ἄστν, βίαι κτλ.

**κλινάμενοι**: the verb in this sense is Homeric, e.g. *Il.* 5.37 Τρῶας δ’ ἔκλιναν Δαναοί. I have not noticed the middle voice elsewhere so used, and there is no other example in LSJ.

**προμάχους**: the range of plausible possibilities is very narrow, and this is the likeliest of them; cf. ‘Simonides’ 879 μαρνάμενοι Μήδων... προμάχοις. δύναμιν, suggested by ‘Simonides’ 773, is the standard supplement, but *κλίνω* in this sense governs a concrete, not an abstract, object; στρατιάν Wilhelm.

## XXI [90 B., 88 D.]

The epitaph for the Athenians who fell at Marathon.

The most self-confident of poets might feel some misgiving when invited, or instructed, to compose a verse-epitaph for the Athenians who fell in battle against the Persians at Marathon in 490 B.C.; was there ever such an epitaph?

The orator Lysurgus, addressing an Athenian audience c. 330 B.C., refers to the valour of the Athenians at Marathon and of the Spartans at Thermopylae, and quotes two epigrams ‘inscribed for all Hellenes to see, true witnesses to their manliness’. The first of these epigrams is xxii (b):

ὦ ξεῖν’, ἄγγειλον Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῆιδε  
κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων πειθόμενοι νομίμοις,

and the second is

Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες Ἀθηναῖοι Μαραθῶνι  
χρυσοφόρων Μήδων ἐστόρεσαν δύναμιν.

That is to say, there existed an inscription for the Athenians who fell at Marathon, and it ran thus, ‘in defence of Hellenes, the Athenians at Marathon laid low the power of the Persians’. The plain strong style is lit up by a flash of colour in the brilliant and unexpected<sup>2</sup> epithet χρυσοφόρων: the Athenians were deeply impressed by the Persians’ display of gold: πολύχρυσος twice in the first nine lines of Aeschylus’ *Persians*; cf. Herodotus 9.80, on the spoils taken at Plataea, ‘tents fitted with gold...gilded couches...golden bowls and cups and other drinking-vessels...golden cauldrons...golden bangles and torques and daggers’.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Peek 16.6–7, 17.6–7, 20.10–11.

<sup>2</sup> The standard epithets were τοξοφόρων and ἵππομάχων (cf. Aristoteles 110, ‘Simonides’ 734, 879, 747, 759).

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No Greek epitaph is more famous than the first of the pair quoted by Lycurgus, the epitaph for the Spartan dead at Thermopylae. And the epitaph for the Athenian dead at Marathon, a composition not less restrained, lucid, and memorable – is there some reason why it is not equally famous? Why is it not so much as mentioned by numerous historians and literary critics? Why is this, of all epitaphs, missing from Professor Peek’s standard and invaluable collection, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften 1: Grab-Epigramme*?

There are two problems, of which the first is much the more serious.

I. The primary question is whether the Athenian epigram quoted by Lycurgus represents an inscription actually to be read on the battlefield of Marathon. The case in favour rests almost wholly on common-sense. Lycurgus quotes two epigrams commemorating the heroism of men who died fighting against Persians, one on the Spartans at Thermopylae, the other on the Athenians at Marathon. Both are said to have been ‘inscribed for all Hellenes to see’. The Spartan epitaph is the one actually on the battlefield, and it is natural to suppose that the same is true of the Athenian epigram. The point would be proved if ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡρώεσσιν, ‘on the tombs’, were written instead of the nonsensical ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις τοῦ βίου in the text of Lycurgus. The conjecture is obviously attractive and probably correct; but it is a weakness if the proof of the point at issue must rest not on the text but on a change made in it.

The case in favour would be strengthened if it could be shown that there is no real alternative to Marathon – no monument at Athens to which Lycurgus’ Athenian epigram could be referred. We are now certain that there was a monument at Athens with a verse-inscription commemorating Marathon (xx (b)); but its inscription is not that of Lycurgus. What other possibility at Athens might there be? There is one, for which an entry in the *Suda* has sometimes been used as evidence: *s.v.* Ποικίλη· στοὰ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐνθα ἐγράφησαν οἱ ἐν Μαραθῶνι πολεμήσαντες, εἰς οὓς ἔστιν ἐπιγράμμα τόδε· Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες κτλ. This entry does not explicitly state that the epigram was inscribed on the painting in the Stoa. It was first used by Goettling in 1859<sup>1</sup> as evidence to that effect – that the epigram quoted by Lycurgus was inscribed not on the Soros at Marathon but on the painting in the Stoa, a caption to enlighten the tourist. It is not known that the scenes in this famous painting were accompanied by verse-inscriptions, though it seems likely that some names were appended: how else could the spectator have recognised that the first scene represented ‘the Athenians arrayed against the Lacedaemonians at Oenoe’ (Paus. 1.15.2), an event of the utmost obscurity? And an anecdote in Aeschines (3.186) suggests that, although the name of Miltiades was not appended in the Marathon-painting, it might have been if the Demos had been in a better temper. It does seem improbable, however, that a verse-inscription accompanying the Stoa-painting would have taken the form of the epigram quoted by Lycurgus, especially with its tense in the past. Verse-epigrams accompanying paintings were likely to take a quite different form; the best model is Polygnotus’ signature on his ‘Sack of Troy’ at Delphi (= XLVIII):

<sup>1</sup> See Jacoby *Hesperia* 14 (1945) 160 n.17; all references to Jacoby in this section are to this article.

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γράφε Πολύγνωτος, Θάσιος γένος, Ἀγλαοφῶντος  
υἱός, περθομένην Ἰλίου ἀκρόπολιν.

However this may be, it seems most improbable that Lycurgus would quote, as a Marathon-counterpart to the famous Thermopylae-epitaph, not an actual epitaph or even an inscription on some commemorative monument, but a caption from a much later painting.

So far, so good; a robust faith in the authenticity of our epigram as the actual Athenian inscription at Marathon has not yet felt much if any impact of assault. But now comes Felix Jacoby, of unsurpassed authority in such matters, with a catalogue of doubts and denials. He doubted whether our epigram ‘was ever engraved on a stone’; he asserted that it is ‘certainly not an epitaph’, and that ‘even in Lycurgan times, it can hardly have stood on a *stèle* on the Soros in the Marathonian plain’. He went further: ‘*there was no epitaph on the Soros at Marathon*’. Reasons are given with the customary clarity and scholarship; they must not go unanswered.

Jacoby’s principal reason for denying that our epigram is an inscriptional epitaph is that it does not conform to the rules customary in the fifth century B.C.:

- (a) The epigram says nothing about death or burial.
- (b) The epigram is not spoken by the dead or by the burying community.
- (c) The names of the Athenians buried at Marathon were inscribed on stelae (Paus.1.32.3), and an accompanying epigram should make a direct connection between itself and the casualty-lists by using the pronoun οἷδε; Ἀθηναῖοι is, in the circumstances, superfluous.

To these points a fourth should have been added:

- (d) It is a general rule that an epitaph on the battlefield names the dead men’s home but not the battlefield (it is presumed that the reader of the inscription has no need to be told the name of the place where he is standing); the explicit naming of Marathon is therefore anomalous.

These observations are fair comment so far as they go. It is true that inscriptional epitaphs always refer, directly or indirectly, to death or burial or both; that οἷδε would have seemed more suitable than Ἀθηναῖοι; that there was no need to mention the name of Marathon; and that there is no obvious answer to the question, who is the speaker of the epigram?

It must, however, be admitted with equal candour that the whole truth has not been told; and it is particularly to be stressed that we have no right to apply to this epigram the rules which become customary in the near future. The casualty-lists at Marathon are probably the first of their kind in Athenian history (Jacoby 173 n. 64), and there is no precedent for the form to be taken by an accompanying epigram. Moreover, the epitaph at Marathon (if there was one) was, so far as we know, the first public epitaph in Athenian history. These considerations detract greatly from the force of the objections raised by Jacoby; to whom additional answers may thus be briefly given:

- (a) This is *prima facie* the most serious objection to the classification of our epigram as an epitaph and therefore to its being accepted as an inscription posted at Marathon. There is no other exception to the rule that an

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inscriptional epitaph (especially a public one) always refers to death or burial or both. Taken by itself, our epigram resembles another very early inscription on a battlefield, one of those quoted by Herodotus (7.228):

μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῇιδε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο  
ἐκ Πελοποννήσου χιλιάδες τέτορες.

That has neither the form nor the substance of an epitaph. There is nothing about death or burial. The epigram refers to all who came and fought here, including those (the great majority) who returned safely home. It merely marks a battlefield, stating that four thousand Peloponnesians fought three million Persians. Plainly our epigram has as much right as this one to be accepted as an inscriptional marker of a battlefield; but in truth it is more than that. It stood, and is still to be seen in the mind's eye, in the company of the casualty-lists; and it tells in summary the achievement of the men whose names are on those lists. An epigram which stands on the tomb, and takes its colour from the casualty-lists whose tale it tells, may without the least impropriety be described as an epitaph.

(b) This is not a serious objection. The speaker of our epigram is not more impersonal than in e.g. Peek 3, 10, 13, 16, and 17.

(c) A later poet would have used the pronoun οἶδε to make direct connection between his epigram and the casualty-lists; but οἶδε, after all, would have meant nothing but οἶδε οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, and Ἀθηναῖοι serves just as well as οἶδε. The poet may have thought that the solemn ring of the names – Ἑλλήνων, Ἀθηναῖοι Μαραθῶνι, Μήδων – was a beauty, not a blemish.

(d) The naming of the battlefield, if the epigram is actually at Marathon, would be highly abnormal later in the fifth century. The only exact parallel is an epitaph about a decade earlier than Marathon, Peek 23. Strictly comparable is Peek 14, a memorial at home which names the home but not the battlefield – an equally abrupt breach of the reverse rule that, if home-land and battlefield differ, a memorial at home names the battlefield but not the home (see II Pref.).

Jacoby's reason for the further statement that there never was an epitaph on the Soros at Marathon (neither the one quoted by Lycurgus nor any other) is given on p.176 n.79. He naturally does not consider the silence of Herodotus and of Pausanias as an argument of any value whatsoever. Nor does he stress the fact that his opinion 'is in accordance with the almost complete absence of older Athenian epitaphs' (meaning of course public epitaphs); there had to be a first time (there had already been one in Jacoby's opinion, for he believed, as I do not, that Δίρφος ἐδμήθημεν κτλ. (II) is an Athenian epitaph). His reason is the very unexpected one that 'if there had been a poetical epitaph, we should find it either in one of the authors of the fourth century (Lycurgus for choice...) or at least in one of the later collections'. The answer to this is brief and conclusive: we do find a poetical epigram on Marathon in one of the authors of the fourth century, and Lycurgus is indeed the choice. Jacoby was required to prove, and he has failed to do so, that the epigram quoted by Lycurgus could not have served as an epitaph, standing on the Soros beside the casualty-lists.

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II. Half a millennium after Lycurgus the epigram reappears with a totally different pentameter. Aristides has the same hexameter, but his pentameter runs

ἐκτεῖναν Μήδων ἑννέα μυριάδας,

and one of the commentators<sup>1</sup> on him repeats this, but with εἴκοσι for ἑννέα, and ‘twenty’ is the figure in the Suda’s version. The substitution of a spurious pentameter in so famous an epigram is inexplicable; but surely the fault cannot lie with Lycurgus. He would not offer to an Athenian audience in the fourth century B.C. a bogus version in place of the true one; and it would be perverse to reject his authority in favour of Aristides, whose source is unknown.<sup>2</sup>

Fortunately there is a more objective argument, and a decisive one, in favour of Lycurgus: that a public inscription on such a subject as this could not possibly have said what everybody knew to be not merely false but also downright ridiculous. The number of Persians present at a battle might be grandly exaggerated: it could be said, for example, as in xxii (a), that three million Persians fought at Thermopylae; and detailed analysis roughly confirmed this total in the time of Herodotus (7.185). But the count of the dead is a quite different matter. It was said at the time, or soon after, that 6,400 Persians were killed at Marathon (Herodotus 6.117). No doubt the bodies were actually counted; Busolt (*Gr. Gesch.* II<sup>2</sup> 595 n. 1) quotes Xenophon, *Anab.* 3.2.12, as evidence that the number was quite definite. It is inconceivable that an epigram current in Athens in the time of Lycurgus should have said that the number was not 6,400 but 90,000, let alone 200,000.

I continue, therefore, to believe that the epigram quoted by Lycurgus, and his particular version of it, is a copy of an inscription posted beside the casualty-lists on the Soros at Marathon in 490 B.C. I conclude by asking whether there is any rival claimant for that position; and here ‘Simonides’ xviii deserves a moment’s attention:

παῖδες Ἀθηναίων Περσῶν στρατὸν ἐξολέσαντες  
ἤρκεσαν ἀργαλέην πατρίδι δουλοσύνην.

<sup>1</sup> The entry is not in any of the four MSS used by Dindorf and is known only from Frommel’s ‘cod. Paris. D’; *ea res arguere mihi videtur hoc scholion non ad Scholiorum Aristideorum archetypum recurrere, sed deberi Scholiastae recentiori* said Marcus Boas (*de epigr. Simon.* 101).

<sup>2</sup> The epigram is (surprisingly) not found in the *Anthology*, though it was still common knowledge as late as the third or fourth century A.D.: Peek 994, an Athenian epitaph at Gythium in Laconia, ‘Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες Ἀθηναίων πολεμητοὶ (neither version of the pentameter is imitated).

Boas’ theory (*op. cit.* 103-4) that the later-attested pentameter had its ultimate literary source in Ephorus would deepen the darkness (how could both versions of this famous epitaph have been current at the same time in the fourth century?) and rests on very shaky foundations. Briefly: Justinus (2.9.20) says that 200,000 Persians were killed at Marathon; he is therefore presumed to be the source of this figure in the scholiast and in the Suda (Aristides’ 90,000 is dismissed as a lapse of memory). Where did Justinus get his figure? – Ephorus was one of his sources, and Ephorus often quoted inscriptions (Boas 54 n. 28); so Justinus may have found this epigram, with the alternative pentameter, quoted verbatim in Ephorus.



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Most scholars in the past hundred years have regarded this epigram as a mere literary exercise, not a copy of an old inscription; the choice is not, however, so easy as they have thought.

On the one hand, a single distich in so plain and conventional a style on the theme of the Persian Wars would have no parallel in the Hellenistic or early Imperial period; as a literary exercise the lines seem pointless. Moreover both its anonymity in the *Anthology* and its ascription to Simonides in the *Aristides-scholia* may be (here as elsewhere) tokens that the source of the epigram was inscriptional. Finally, the absence of any indication of place is characteristic of inscriptions but not of literary exercises. If the epigram was posted on a battlefield, there was no need to tell the reader where he is standing; but the reader of a literary exercise needs to be informed, having no other help, what battle is being referred to. There is no such information here.

On the other hand, if the epigram is inscriptional, it is hard to find a secure historical context for it. The destruction of the Persian army is attributed exclusively to the Athenians; and there is only one occasion when this claim could properly be stated in a public inscription – after the battle of Marathon. But if it refers to Marathon, where was it inscribed? Not on the memorial at Athens (xx (b)); not on the Soros at Marathon, if we are right about Lycurgus’ epigram. Where, then? On the painting in the Stoa Poikile (see above)?

The truth may be that we have started from a false premise. The starting-point was the observation that the destruction of the Persian army is attributed exclusively to the Athenians, and that seemed to apply only to Marathon. But this inference may be mistaken. In xxiv the Athenians claim exclusive credit for the successes of the allied fleet at Artemisium and associate none of their allies with themselves in their dedication to Artemis; and in xii the Corinthians claim exclusive credit for the saving of the whole of Hellas at Salamis. So it may be here; this couplet may refer to some battle in the war against Xerxes, exaggerating the part played by the Athenians. It would be interesting to know its historical context; but I do not regard it as a serious claimant to a place on the Soros at Marathon.

Lycurg. in Leocr. 108–9 s.a.n. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρόγονοι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνίκησαν, οἱ πρῶτοι τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπέβησαν, καὶ καταφανῇ ἐποίησαν τὴν ἀνδρείαν... Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ’ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις παραταξάμενοι ταῖς μὲν τύχαις οὐχ ὁμοίαις ἐχρήσαντο, τῇ δ’ ἀνδρείᾳ πολὺ πάντων διήνεγκαν. τοιγαροῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς ῥόλοις τοῦ βίου μαρτύριά ἐστιν ἰδεῖν τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτῶν ἀναγεγραμμένα ἀληθῆ πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐκείνοις μὲν (xxii (b)), τοῖς δ’ ὑμετέροις προγόνοις·

Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες Ἀθηναῖοι Μαραθῶνι

χρυσόφρων Μῆδων ἐστόρεσαν δύναμιν.

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Aristid. or. 28.63, π 162 K. s.a.n. ἄρά σοι καὶ τὰ τοιάδε δόξει ἀλαζονεῖα τις εἶναι (1–2); schol. in Aristid. or. 46.118, p. 289 Frommel, s.a.n. ἐπίγραμμα... εἰς Ἀθηναίους (1–2); Suda s.v. Ποικίλη· στοὰ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐνθα ἐγράφησαν οἱ ἐν Μαραθῶνι πολεμήσαντες, εἰς οὓς ἐστιν ἐπίγραμμα τόδε· (1–2)

2 ita Lycurg.: ἐκτειναν Μῆδων ἐννέα μυριάδας Aristid., eadem nisi εἴκοσι pro ἐννέα schol. et Suda

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2 [773] χρυσοφόρων: see Pref.

ἑστώρεσαν: a noteworthy use. From Homer (*Od.* 3.158) onwards the metaphorical implication is ‘lay to rest’, ‘calm down’, ‘soothe’, as in [A.] *PV* 190 στορέσας ὀργήν, E. *Held.* 702 λήμα μὲν οὐπω στόρνυσι χρόνος. The association of the present epigram with these examples in LSJ is plainly erroneous, for the sense required here is in effect ‘destroyed’, ‘laid low (with violence)’; the only apt parallels quoted are Thuc. 6.18.4 ἵνα... στορέσωμεν τὸ φρόνημα, and Philip 9.247.1–2 = *PG* 2925–6 πλάτανόν με νότου βαρυλαίλαπες αὔραι | ρίζης ἐξ αὐτῆς ἑστώρεσαν δαπέδοις.

The norm here would have been κατεστώρεσαν (*Hdt.* 9.69.2 κατεστώρεσαν αὐτῶν ἐξακοσίους); στρώννυμι, which in some of its forms and senses is hard to distinguish from στορέννυμι, is similarly used in compound (e.g. E. *HF* 1000) but not in uncompounded form.

### XXII (a) and (b) [91–92 B., D.]

Epigrams on men who fought at Thermopylae.

Having quoted these two epigrams and the epitaph on Megistias (= Simonides vi), Herodotus proceeds: ‘The persons who adorned them with inscriptions and *stelae*, except the inscription for Megistias, were the Amphictyones. It was Simonides the son of Leoprepes who inscribed the one for Megistias, being a friend of his.’

The meaning of these words is plain.<sup>1</sup> The Amphictyones were responsible for all three *stelae* and for the inscriptions on xxii (a) and (b); for the tomb of Megistias they provided the *stèle* but not the inscription, for which Simonides was responsible.

The statement that the Amphictyones provided the first two inscriptions does not imply that a member or members of that august body actually composed the epigrams; and the word ἐπιγράψας does not state or necessarily imply that Simonides himself composed the epitaph on Megistias. As in ‘Simonides’ iv, where the same word is applied to Mandrocles the Samian engineer,<sup>2</sup> the meaning is that the subject made arrangement for, and paid the cost of, the composition and the inscribing.

That Simonides personally composed the epitaph for his friend, though not stated, is an inference dictated by common-sense<sup>3</sup> and universally accepted. That he composed the other two epigrams, xxii (a) and (b), is not merely not stated or implied; it is quite ruled out by the context. The contrast between the contribution of the Amphictyones (three *stelae* and two inscriptions) and that of Simonides (one inscription) makes it plain that Herodotus did not suppose that Simonides had anything to do with the two inscriptions provided by the Amphictyones.<sup>4</sup> The truth remains as Kaibel stated it: either Herodotus

<sup>1</sup> See Kaibel *Rh. Mus.* 28 (1873) 436 and *GGA* 1892 p. 89; Boas *de epigr. Sim.* 3–13.

<sup>2</sup> Boas 9.

<sup>3</sup> Boas 12.

<sup>4</sup> Boas (12–13) thought that he had found a loop-hole: the contrast in Herodotus refers only to *payment*; Simonides composed all three epigrams and was paid for the first two but waived payment for the third and personally paid for its inscribing. There is not a word about all this in Herodotus.

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knew that Simonides did not compose those two inscriptions, or at least he did not envisage the possibility that Simonides might have composed them; *Herodoto autem de hac re plus scire nec veteres potuerunt nec nos opinor possumus*. It is not to the credit of modern scholarship that the great majority have yielded to the temptation to ascribe a most famous epigram (ὦ ξείν', ἀγγέλλειν...) to a most famous poet who happens to be named in the context, notwithstanding the fact that the ascription is not merely inconsistent with the text of Herodotus but also implicitly denied by it.

xxii (a) is a strange sort of epigram. It is not an epitaph. It refers not to the men who died and were buried here, but to all who came and fought here, including those (the great majority) who returned home. The expression is terse and colourless: ‘four thousand men from the Peloponnese once fought three million here’. The dialect is Ionic, not Laconian (ποκά τεῖδε τριακστίαις ... Πελοποννάσω χηλιάδες τέσσαρες); the employment of an Ionian epigrammatist is not surprising, for there was no such person as a Spartan poet at this time, and it was not their custom to put verse-epitaphs on tombs either public or private (see anon. cxxxι Pref.).

If the epigram had been preserved without context, there would be no need for further comment. The figure for the Persian army, three million, is a round number representing popular belief; detailed analysis a generation later produced a total of 2,641,610 fighting-men (Hdt. 7.185.3). And although the figure for the Peloponnesians, four thousand, is considerably higher than the later computation (3,100; Hdt. 7.202), there is no particular reason to believe that it is the farther from the truth.<sup>1</sup>

The actual context in Herodotus is informative and interesting. Leonidas made his last stand with 300 Spartans, 400 Thebans, and 700 Thespians (or rather with as many of these, probably the great majority, as had survived the previous fighting); the remainder of his army he sent home, except 1,000 Phocians assigned to block the Anopaea path. Having described the last stand, Herodotus gives the names of the principal heroes in the battle – the Spartans Dianekes, Alpheus, and Maron; the Thespian Dithyrambos, son of Harmatidas – and he proceeds to say that ‘for them, buried just where they fell, and for the men who died before the departure of those whom Leonidas sent away, letters were inscribed saying this, “four thousand from the Peloponnese once fought three million here”’.

Now it is plain that Herodotus has not stopped to think what he is saying, and that he has seriously misled his audience. The epigram which he quotes as an epitaph on Thespians, Spartans, and other Peloponnesians, is not an epitaph on anybody; it simply states how many Peloponnesians came to fight at Thermopylae, including those who departed before the last stand. Moreover, if it were an epitaph, as he says, ‘inscribed for the men buried just where they fell’, the Thespians at least (to say nothing of other non-Peloponnesians killed ‘before the departure of those whom Leonidas sent away’) must be among those commemorated. But they are not. The inscription explicitly says

<sup>1</sup> Ephorus *ap.* Diod. Sic. 11.4 added 1,000 ‘Lacedaemonians’ to the 300 Spartans of Herodotus; there may well have been some *perioikoi*, though this proportion seems much too high (Hignett, *Xerxes’ Invasion of Greece* (Oxford 1963) 116).

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that the men commemorated are those ‘from the Peloponnese’. We are asked to believe that the Amphictyones approved, as a memorial designed to include the heroic Thespians, whose entire fighting-force<sup>1</sup> was destroyed in the battle, an epigram which does not even mention them. We should refuse to believe anything of the sort, if the epigram were an epitaph; and plainly it is not.<sup>2</sup>

Almost the whole of Herodotus’ account of the battle of Thermopylae, both the facts and the fictions, comes to him from Spartan sources; and the present paragraph, of which the inscriptional texts are an integral part, represents what he was told by his highly prejudiced informants. They did not suppress the fact that the Thespians fought and died in the last stand, but the inscriptions which they quoted to Herodotus were those which commemorated Peloponnesians and Spartans only. And Herodotus has naively repeated what he was told, not noticing that this inscription is not what he says it is, an epitaph; or that, if it were an epitaph, it could not include, as he says it does, the Thespian dead.

It was not Herodotus’ custom to read and copy inscriptions,<sup>3</sup> and it is not known whether he ever saw the actual epigrams at Thermopylae. If he did see them, it appears improbable that he made copies of them for use in his *History*.<sup>4</sup>

xxii (b) is an epigram of extreme simplicity in both content and style. Emotion is wholly suppressed. The enemy is not named. There is no hint that the battle was lost. The words, the word-order, and the phrasing are as they would be in prose.<sup>5</sup> Simplicity, clarity, and restraint combine to create the most memorable of ancient epitaphs.

The dialect is again Ionic.<sup>6</sup>

The choice between ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι and πειθόμενοι νομίμοις is made by common consent in favour of the former. That the latter has the better claim is quite strongly indicated by the following observations:

(1) That νομίμοις is intrinsically much superior to ῥήμασι. ῥήματα are merely *words*,<sup>7</sup> and the phrase ‘obedient to their *words*’, meaning words of some sort spoken by the Lacedaemonian people, is weak in this context; it is not as if ῥήματα could mean *commands*. *Customs* or *traditions*, on the other hand, makes a strong phrase.

<sup>1</sup> If the figure 700 is to be believed; Boas (19) argues well for 200.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wade-Gery *JHS* 53 (1933) 72.

<sup>3</sup> See ‘Simonides’ III Pref.

<sup>4</sup> His account in 7.228 is certainly not that of a man who had seen five *stelae* on the *polyandria* at Thermopylae; see xxiii Pref.

<sup>5</sup> Beauties of word-choice (‘the great resounding word Λακεδαιμόνιοι’), of word-order (‘the final πειθόμενοι shows this heroic death is an example to all men of obedience’), of grammar (the imperative-infinitive ἀγγέλλειν is said, mistakenly, to be a ‘military’ use, even specifically Spartan), and of euphony (the alliterative effect of κείμεθα . . . κείνων; the four-fold ει), exist nowhere but in the mind of the modern critic.

<sup>6</sup> ξεῖνε would presumably have been ξένε in Laconian (Page *Alcman: the Parthenion* 109); the rest could be respelt as Laconian.

<sup>7</sup> LSJ *s.v.* say that the equation ῥήματα = ῥήτρα is ‘perhaps’ correct; there is no evidence whatsoever for this. Even Jacoby<sup>a</sup> 158 n. 9 speaks of the ‘military report in ἀγγέλλειν and ῥήμασι’.

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(2) That this, the superior phrase, was the version familiar to Ephorus and Lycurgus in the fourth century B.C. and to Cicero in the first (*dum sanctis patriae legibus obsequimur*). It has therefore a strong claim (and the other version has no claim at all) to be recognised as the generally accepted text; and that is likely to be the true text.

(3) That the alternative version was almost certainly taken by Herodotus at second hand, orally, from his Spartan informants; its authority is therefore the inferior.

Hdt. 7.227–228 μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον (sc. τὸν Διηνέκεα) ἀριστεῦσαι λέγονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι δύο ἀδελφοὶ Ἀλφεὸς τε καὶ Μάρων, Ὀρσιφάντου παῖδες, Θεσπιέων δὲ εὐδοκίμει μάλιστα τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Διθύραμβος Ἀρματίδew. θαφθεῖσι δὲ σφι αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ τῇ περ ἔπεσον καὶ τοῖσι πρότερον τελευτήσασσι ἢ <τούς> ὑπὸ Λεωνίδew ἀποπεμφθέντας οἰχεσθαι, ἐπιγέγραπται γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε·

(a)                   μυριάσιν ποτὲ τῇδε τριηκοσίαις ἐμάχοντο  
                              ἐκ Πελοποννήσου χιλιάδες τέτορες. 775

ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι πᾶσι ἐπιγέγραπται, τοῖσι δὲ Σπαρτιήτησι ἰδίῃ·

(b)                   ὦ ξεῖν', ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε  
                              κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων πειθόμενοι νομίμοις. 777

Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν δὴ τοῦτο, τῷ δὲ μάντι τόδε· μνημα τόδε κλεινοῖο Μεγιστία κτλ. (= Simonides VI). ἐπιγράμμασι μὲν νυν καὶ στήλησι, ἔξω ἢ τὸ τοῦ μάντιος ἐπίγραμμα, Ἀμφικτυόνες εἰσὶ σφας οἱ ἐπικοσμήσαντες, τὸ δὲ τοῦ μάντιος Μεγιστίew Σιμωνίδης ὁ Λεωπρέπεός ἐστι κατὰ ξεινὴν ὁ ἐπιγράφας.

(a) Diod. Sic. 11.33 s.a.n. ἐπέγραψαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἀποθανοῦσι κοινήι μὲν ᾗπασι τάδε· (1–2); Aristid. or. 28.65, II 162 K. s.a.n.; A.P. 7.248 [C] Σιμωνίδου [J] εἰς τοὺς μετὰ Λεωνίδην (sic) μαχεσαμένους πρὸς Πέρσας [C] ἐν Θερμοπύλαις; Pl<sup>A</sup> s.a.n.; Suda s.v. Λεωνίδης (1–2)

1 διηκοσίαις (διακ- codd. pars) Diod.   2 Πελοποννήσου P, Hdt. cod. B

(b) Lycurg. in Leocr. 109 s.a.n. μαρτύριά ἐστιν ἰδεῖν τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἀποθανόντων) ἀναγεγραμμένα ἀληθῆ πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐκείνοις μὲν· (1–2); Diod. Sic. 11.33.2 s.a.n. (1–2); Strabo 9.4.16 s.a.n. καὶ νῦν τὸ πολυάνδριον ἐκείνων ἐστὶ καὶ στήλαι καὶ ἡ θρυλουμένη ἐπιγραφὴ τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων στήλῃ, οὕτως ἔχουσα (1–2); A.P. 7.249 [C] Σιμωνίδου; Pl<sup>A</sup> s.a.n.; Suda s.v. Λεωνίδης (1–2); vertit Simonidique adscribit Cicero Tusc. 1.101 ‘dic, hospes, Sparta nos te hic vidisse iacentes, | dum sanctis patriae legibus obsequimur’

1 ἀγγέλλειν Hdt.: ἀγγειλον fere rell. (ἀγγελλε Suda, ὦ ξέν' ἀπάγγειλον Strabo)   2 πειθόμενοι νομίμοις Lycurg., Diod., Strabo: ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι Hdt., PPl, Suda

(a) 2 [775] **Πελοποννήσου**: -νάσου would be surprising in an Ionic epitaph of this period, and the authority for it is not impressive.

(b) 1 [776] **ἀγγέλλειν**: it may be judged perverse to accept this on no better authority than that of Herodotus while rejecting his ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι; but it is just possible that his informants had the truth here, and that ἀγγειλον in the later sources is a vulgarisation of a common sort.

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### XXIII [93 B., D.]

Epitaph on Locrians who fell at Thermopylae.

According to Herodotus (7.202-3) the army of Leonidas before Thermopylae consisted of 3,100 men from the Peloponnese and 1,100 from Thebes and Thespieae; ‘in addition to these’, he adds, ‘the Opuntian Locrians with their entire fighting-force and a thousand Phocians were summoned’. The arguments contained in the summons are stated at length; and the conclusion was that the Locrians and Phocians came to Trachis to offer their services. As no Locrians were present at the last stand, the men commemorated here must have been killed in the fighting which preceded.

It is not clear what Strabo means by saying that the Locrian epitaph was ‘on the *first* of the five *stelae* at Thermopylae’;<sup>1</sup> the most natural interpretation is that the five *stelae* on the *polyandron* were arranged in a line, and that the Locrian stele was the one on the extreme left as you faced them. This detail (whatever its interpretation may be) strongly suggests that the statement in Strabo about the five *stelae* comes from somebody who actually saw them. The fact that Herodotus quotes three, not five epigrams, is not an obstacle to belief in Strabo;<sup>2</sup> Herodotus’ account is second-hand (see xxii Pref.) and manifestly confused and erroneous. There remain, however, two matters for consideration. First, as the Locrians joined the enemy immediately after the battle of Thermopylae (Hdt. 8.66), one would expect that their claim to the honour of a *stèle* on the *polyandron* would be dismissed with contempt. Secondly, it would be remarkable if *stelae* set up on the *polyandron* soon after the battle survived such disturbances as (for example) the second great battle of Thermopylae, in 279 B.C., when the Greeks manned the pass against the Gauls of Brennus. It is therefore suggested (*e.g.* by Preger p.18) that Strabo’s five *stelae* were relatively modern memorials, set up after the destruction of the originals; after the lapse of a couple of centuries the shame of the Locrians might be forgotten and their claim to a *stèle* allowed.

The doubts cannot be resolved. If Strabo’s five *stelae* were erected soon after the battle, two of them are to be identified with the Peloponnesian and Spartan memorials quoted by Herodotus. The *stèle* for Megistias may have been one of the five; it is indeed for a person, not for a people, but still it was one of the memorials formally approved by the Amphictyones. A fourth was certainly for the Thespians, whose claim was as strong as that of the Spartans and stronger than any other’s (see Philiadas 1 Pref.). The subject of the fifth remains conjectural. The strongest claimant, if justice was to be done, was the band of Thebans who stayed with Leonidas after the departure of his main army; but the charge, almost certainly false, that they deserted during the last stand, and the general detestation of their unpatriotic mother-city,

<sup>1</sup> Boas (24) suggested changing πρώτῃ to μιᾷ, the sequence of corruption being ἐπὶ μιᾷ to ἐπὶ α’ to ἐπὶ πρώτῃ.

<sup>2</sup> Boas (23) tried to reconcile the accounts: he conjectured that Strabo’s source (Apollodorus) was in error; knowing a Locrian epitaph, and knowing that there were five *stelae* at Thermopylae, the source assumed, without warrant, that the Locrian epitaph was on one of these.

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presumably put them beyond the pale. The only other states with a claim are Locris and Phocis. It is not known that either had any losses, and both had the blackest of marks against them: the Locrians joined the enemy after the battle; the Phocians fled, without fighting, before the Persian advance along the Anopaea path, allowing the out-flanking of the heroes of the last stand.

Plainly there is some advantage in the alternative, that Strabo's five *stelae* include at least one set up long after the event. Two will then be the Peloponnesian and Spartan memorials (or replicas of them); one will be for the Thespians; one will be the present epigram on the Locrians; if Megistias is not included, there is room for the Phocians too.

The high quality of the composition is not more consistent with a classical than with an Hellenistic date. Much is said neatly in few words – seven to tell the reader that the men died, that the city yearns for them, and whom they were defending and whom they fought; four to add that the city is Opos, that it is the cradle of the Locrian race, and that it is proud of its judicial system.

The dialect, like that of the Peloponnesian and Spartan inscriptions, is Ionic.

Strabo 9.4.2 s.a.n. ὁ δ' Ὀποῦς ἐστι μητρόπολις, καθάπερ καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν πέντε στηλῶν τῶν περὶ Θερμοπύλας ἐπιγεγραμμένον πρὸς τῷ πολυανδρίῳ.

τούσδε ποθεῖ φθιμένους ὑπὲρ Ἑλλάδος ἀντία Μήδων  
μητρόπολις Λοκρῶν εὐθυνόμων Ὀπόεις.

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1 ποθεῖ Meineke: ποτὲ codd.      2 εὐθυνόμων cod. A: varie corruptum in codd. ceteris

1 [778] ποθεῖ: a verb is indispensable, and this is a good one; cf. Peek 20.9 (432 B.C.) ἄνδρας μὲν πόλις ἦδε ποθεῖ, 1532.1 (IV/III B.C.) πόλις ἦδε ποθῆν ἔχει; much later (II A.D.), 1548.1 Σπάρτα μὲν σε ποθεῖ.

2 [779] εὐθυνόμων: the compound here only. The description is not conventional; evidently the Opuntian Locrians were proud of their laws.

Ὀπόεις: the natives called their city Ὀποῦς or Ὀποῦς.

## XXIV [135 B., 109 D.]

Dedication to Artemis.

This epigram is a copy of an inscription on a *stèle* accompanying a dedication<sup>1</sup> made in the temple of Artemis Προσηώια, overlooking the north coast of Euboea in the district called Artemisium, after the sea-fighting against the Persians in 480 B.C. described by Herodotus (7.175f., 8.8ff.). See Wade-Gery *JHS* 53 (1933) 73, Jacoby *Hesperia* 14 (1945) 157 n. 3 and *JHS* 64 (1944) 43 n. 24.

The contents are remarkable. The Athenian fleet at Artemisium was indeed almost as large as that of all the other allies together (Hdt. 8.1; 127 ships out of 267), and the Athenians greatly distinguished themselves both in the first

<sup>1</sup> So Jacoby *Hesperia* 14 (1945) 157 n. 3 'it is neither an epitaph nor a "monument of the fallen"...nor does it "mark a battle-site and honour the living not the dead"...It is a dedicatory inscription.'

battle (Hdt. 8.11.2, an Athenian won the prize of valour, τὸ ἀριστήριον) and in the second (8.17, the Athenians ἡρίστευσαν); but it is remarkable that they should have claimed all the credit, to the exclusion of nine allied states, in a public inscription in an Euboean temple. Moreover the phrase ναυμαχίαι δαμάσαντες exaggerates greatly. The outcome of the two sea-battles at Artemisium was indecisive (Hdt. 8.11 and 16), and though it is understandable that the Greeks should claim to have had the better of either or both, the verb is much too strong, even if it takes account of the fortuitous destruction of two hundred Persian ships in a storm off south-west Euboea (Hdt. 8.13–14), remote from the fighting.

The editors appear to impute a vastly greater exaggeration by putting a comma after ἐπεὶ στρατὸς ὤλετο Μήδων, as if this clause referred backwards; but to say that ‘the Persian host perished’ at Artemisium would be a ridiculous untruth, hollow gasconade of a type alien to early inscriptions. The clause looks forward, ‘they made these dedications after the destruction of the Persian army’, *i.e.* after the final expulsion of the Persians from Hellas.

Plut. vit. Themist. 8.4 s.a.n. ἔχει δὲ (Ἀρτεμίσιον) ναὸν οὐ μέγαν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπὶ κλησιν Προσηώας, καὶ δένδρα περὶ αὐτὸν πέφυκε καὶ στήλαι κύκλῳ λίθου λευκοῦ πεπηγασιν. . . ἐν μιᾷ δὲ τῶν στηλῶν ἐλεγείον ἦν τότε γεγραμμένον.

παντοδαπῶν ἀνδρῶν γενεὰς Ἀσίας ἀπὸ χώρας 780  
παῖδες Ἀθηναίων τῶιδέ ποτ’ ἐν πελάγει  
ναυμαχίαι δαμάσαντες, ἐπεὶ στρατὸς ὤλετο Μήδων  
σήματα ταῦτ’ ἔθεσαν παρθένῳ Ἀρτέμιδι.

[Plut.] malign. Herod. 34, 867F s.a.n. εἶτα πιστεύειν ἄξιον τούτῳ γράφοντι περὶ ἀνδρὸς ἢ πόλεως μιᾶς ὅς ἐνὶ ῥήματι τὸ νίκημα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀφαιρεῖται καὶ τὸ τρόπαιον καθαιρεῖ καὶ τὰς ἐπιγραφὰς ἃς ἔθεντο παρὰ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ Προσηώϊαι κόμπῳ ἀποφαίνει καὶ ἀλαζόνειαν; ἔχει δὲ οὕτω τὸ ἐπίγραμμα· (1–4)

1 Ἀσίης vita 3 ναυμαχίῃ vita

1 [780] παντοδαπῶν . . . γενεὰς: the Greeks were deeply impressed by, and remarkably well informed about, the variety of ‘races of all sorts of men’ in the huge army of Xerxes; vivid illustrations in Aeschylus, *Pers.* 1–60, and especially in the muster-roll at Doriscus as described by Herodotus, 7.59ff.

Ἀσίας: the Ionic forms ought perhaps to be preferred here (adding χώρας) and in 3, even though the inscription was for Athenians.

2 [781] παῖδες Ἀθηναίων: see 754 n.

3 [782] ἐπεὶ: see Pref.

4 [783] σήματα: the use of this word to describe the objects of a dedication (ἔθεσαν = ἀνέθεσαν; 695 n.) is highly abnormal, a fact noticed by Bergk (*fr.* 135) but ignored by Hauvette (no. 69), Preger (no. 103), Hiller von Gaertringen (no. 14), and Diehl (*fr.* 109). Bergk’s explanation (anticipated by Jacobs, *adesp.* clx), that it signifies the tablet with its inscription, is unacceptable, for the noun is unsuitable and is never elsewhere so applied. The answer is that σήματα is being used in its simplest sense, *signs, tokens*, referring the spectator to the objects which have been dedicated as tokens of victory in the sea-battle.



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Blakeway *ap.* Wade-Gery *loc. cit.* 99 suggested that the objects may have been ἄφλαστα.

ταῦτ’: τάδε is the norm, but see x Pref. n. 4 (p. 201).

## XXV [156 B., 153 D.]

For a statue of Milo the celebrated wrestler.

This epigram appears nowhere but in Planudes, with the heading ‘by the same author’, following a similar distich ascribed to Simonides. The ascription may well be relatively ancient, another instance of the attachment of Simonides’ name to an apparently inscriptional epigram on a subject within his lifetime.

Milo of Croton was the most famous of ancient athletes. He won six victories in the wrestling at Olympia, six at Delphi, nine at Nemea, and ten at the Isthmus (Paus. 6.14.5, Jul. Afric. *ap.* Euseb. *Chron.* 1.202 Sch.); this unparalleled record extended from (probably) 540 B.C. over a period of about thirty years. His career, and fabulous anecdotes about his physical strength, are summarised in *RE* 15.1672–6; Pausanias *loc. cit.* is the principal ancient source.

xxv is at variance with the testimony of Pausanias and Julius Africanus, who say that Milo won six, not seven, victories at Olympia; according to Pausanias he came to Olympia a seventh time but was defeated by a fellow-countryman named Timasitheus. It is possible that the present epigram’s seventh victory takes account of an anecdote related in *A.P.* 11.316<sup>1</sup> (anonymous in P but ascribed to Lucillius in Planudes): Milo came to Olympia to wrestle, but found no competitor; the President at once awarded him the crown; as Milo came forward he slipped,<sup>2</sup> and the crowd shouted that the crown should be withheld, as he had fallen even though he had no adversary; Milo retorted ‘It is only one fall, not three; let someone try to put me down for the other two.’

This explanation of ἑπτάκι sounds frivolous, but it has the merit of accounting for an otherwise inexplicable mistake about an athlete whose record was common knowledge. If it is true, the epigram may nevertheless be much older<sup>3</sup> than *A.P.* 11.316, for the story was probably one of the well-known anecdotes about Milo; but it is certainly not inscriptional.

A.Plan. (Pl<sup>A</sup>) 24 τοῦ αὐτοῦ (= Σιμωνίδου)

Μίλωνος τόδ’ ἄγαλμα καλοῦ καλόν, ὃς ποτε Πίσσι

ἑπτάκι νικήσας ἐς γόνατ’ οὐκ ἔπεσεν.

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1 [784] Μίλωνος: the first syllable is long here and in Theocr. 4.6 and Dorieus 1, the oldest authorities; *A.P.* 11.316 has it short, and so have Ovid *Ibis* 609, *metam.* 15.229, and Christodorus *A.P.* 2.230.

<sup>1</sup> See the Budé edition vol. 10 pp. 182, 277.

<sup>2</sup> He fell ἐπ’ ἰσχίον: perhaps ἐς γόνατ’ οὐκ ἔπεσεν takes account of this detail in the anecdote.

<sup>3</sup> Boas (137 n.103) guessed that the ascription was originally (Ἀντιπάτρου) Σιδωνίου.

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**2 [785] ἐπτάκι:** ἑξάκι Siebelis, but the corruption would be unaccountable see Pref.

### XXVI (a) [111 B., 85 D.]

Epitaph for Archedike.

This fine epitaph and its context in Thucydides provide all that is known about Archedike, daughter of the last Peisistratid tyrant, Hippias. Her father-in-law, Hippoklos, tyrant of Lampsakos, was one of many who opposed Miltiades' proposal to destroy the bridge built for Darius to cross the Danube, and who accompanied the king in the crossing (Hdt. 4.138.1). Of her husband Aiantides, who succeeded his father as tyrant of Lampsakos, nothing else is known. Of her brothers, nothing except that one, Peisistratos, became archon at Athens (xxvi (b)). Of her children and their 'tyrannies' there is no other record whatsoever.

Friedländer (no. 138) and Hiller von Gaertringen (no. 35) judge the tone and content of the epigram, and the omission of Aiantides' name, to be almost or even quite 'unthinkable' if Lampsakos was still governed by a tyrant; the present editor finds that the high praise of the Athenian tyrant Hippias – 'the greatest man in Hellas of his time' – and the lady's pride in the tyrannies of husband, brothers, and children, point clearly in the opposite direction.

The likeliest tyranny for a child of Archedike and Aiantides is that of Lampsakos; it may well be that this epitaph was ordered by a son who was tyrant there when she died.

Aristotle is the first author since Herodotus (vi) to ascribe an epigram to Simonides, and the ascription has naturally played a part in discussion of the date of origin of a *Sylloge Simonidea* (see xiv Pref.). The evidence is of little if any value. No doubt it was becoming a fairly common practice in the second half of the fourth century to assume that Simonides was the author of distinguished epigrams composed in his time, and Aristotle (like Timaeus; xiv Pref.) may be making such an assumption or merely repeating common talk. One certain ascription, and one not certain, are poor evidence for the existence of an anthology ascribed to Simonides.

Thuc. 6.59.2 s.a.n. ὁ Ἰππίας διὰ φόβου ἤδη μᾶλλον ὦν τῶν τε πολιτῶν πολλοὺς ἔκτεινε καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἔξω ἅμα διεσκοπεῖτο, εἴ ποθεν ἀσφάλειάν τινα ὁρώη μεταβολῆς γενομένης ὑπάρχουσάν οἱ. Ἰππόκλου γοῦν τοῦ Λαμψακηνοῦ τυράννου Αἰαντίδῃ τῷ παιδί τὴν θυγατέρα ἑαυτοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀρχεδίκην Ἀθηναῖος ὦν Λαμψακηνῶι ἔδωκεν, αἰσθανόμενος αὐτοὺς μέγα παρὰ βασιλεῖ Δαρείῳ δύνασθαι. καὶ αὐτῆς σῆμα ἐν Λαμψάκῳ ἐστὶν ἐπίγραμμα ἔχον τόδε·

ἀνδρὸς ἀριστεύσαντος ἐν Ἑλλάδι τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ

Ἰππίου Ἀρχεδίκην ἦδε κέκευθε κόνις,

ῆ πατρός τε καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀδελφῶν τ' οὔσα τυράννων

παίδων τ' οὐκ ἤρθη νοῦν ἐς ἀτασθαλίην.

789

τυραννέουσας δὲ ἔτη τρία Ἰππίας ἔτι Ἀθηναίων καὶ παυθεῖς ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀλκμεωνιδῶν τῶν φευγόντων ἐχώρει ὑπόσπονδος ἐς τε Σίγειον καὶ παρ' Αἰαντίδην ἐς Λάμψακον, ἐκείθεν δὲ ὡς βασιλέα Δαρείον.

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Aristot. rhet. 1.9.20, 1367b καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σιμωνίδου· (3); Isidor. Pelusiot. ep. 3.224 τὸ ἐπιτάφιον ἐπίγραμμα ἀπήγγελλε λέγον· Ἀρχεδίκη πατὴρ ἀνδρὸς ἀδελφῶν τ’ οὕσα – ἀτασθαλίην.

**2 [787] ἦδε κέκευθε κόνις:** this became, if it was not already, a ready-made phrase: ‘Simonides’ 885, Antipater of Sidon 7.6.4. = *HE* 227, Peek 748.1 (IV B.C.), 755.2 (c. 100 B.C.), 778.2 (II A.D.), 521.2 (III A.D.).

**3 [788] ἀδελφῶν:** on the metre, see Dionysius 157 n.

## XXVI (b) [carent B. et D.]

Dedication of an altar by Peisistratus, son of Hippias.

Peisistratus, son of Hippias, was archon at Athens in 522/1 B.C., if the obvious supplement in the archon-list of *SEG* 10.352.6 Πεισιστρατ[ος] is accepted. He celebrated his year of office by dedicating one of the most famous of Athenian monuments, the Altar of the Twelve Gods (now a notable sight in the north-west angle of the *Agora*-excavation), with an inscription later obliterated from sight; and by the dedication also of an altar in the temple of Apollo Pythios (south-west of the Olympieion, on the right bank of the Ilissos; I.T. Hill *The ancient city of Athens* (London 1953) 214, with references 249 n.13); the inscription quoted by Thucydides exists to this day (*IG* 1<sup>2</sup> 761; Jeffery *LSAG* p. 75, facsimile Plate 4.37; Hansen no. 322). There is no other mention of this interesting person.

The date of the inscription is the subject of controversy in which none but the experienced epigraphist can participate. See Meritt *Hesperia* 8 (1939) 62, W. B. Dinsmoor ‘Studies in the history of culture’ in *Essays in Honour of Waldo Leland* (Wisconsin 1942) 195, Meiggs and Lewis no. 11, Jeffery *loc. cit.*, and Gomme–Andrewes–Dover *Hist. Comm. on Thuc.* 4.331–2. The script is said to be very difficult to reconcile with a date c. 520 B.C., and indeed to have ‘stronger affinities with the Athenian documents of the 480s or even later’ (*Comm. on Thuc.* 4.332). The layman who refuses to believe that a son of Hippias was elected archon after the expulsion of his father in 511/10 B.C. must take what comfort he can find in the special pleading of some of the experts (Jeffery, Jacoby *Hesperia* 14 (1945) 173 n.62, and *Comm. on Thuc. loc. cit.*) that it is not quite impossible, however difficult, to reconcile the script with a date fairly close to that of the altar, which is confidently dated c. 520 B.C.

Thucydides’ statement that the inscription in his time was ‘in dim lettering’ is not immediately reconciled with the actual state of the letters. The common explanation is that the paint with which the letters were filled was faded in his day (Preger no. 71, Hiller von Gaertringen no. 8, Tod *GHI* 1. no. 8, Hill *op. cit.* 214, Friedländer and Hoffleit no. 100 n. 1, *Comm. on Thuc.* 4.331).

Thuc. 6.54.5 s.a.n. καὶ ἐπετῆδευσαν ἐπὶ πλείστον δὴ τύραννοι οὗτοι ἀρετὴν καὶ ξύνησιν. . . τὰ δὲ ἄλλα αὐτῇ ἢ πόλιν τοῖς πρὶν κειμένοις νόμοις ἐχρῆτο, πλὴν καθ’ ὅσον αἰεὶ τινα ἐπεμέλοντο σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς εἶναι. καὶ ἄλλοι τε αὐτῶν ἥρξαν τὴν ἐνιαύσιον Ἀθηναίοις ἀρχὴν καὶ Πεισίστρατος ὁ Ἰππίου τοῦ τυραννεύσαντος υἱός, τοῦ πάππου ἔχων τοῦνομα, ὃς τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν βωμὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀρχῶν ἀνέθηκε καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Πυθίου. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ προσοικοδομήσας ὕστερον ὁ δῆμος Ἀθηναίων μείζον μῆκος τοῦ

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βωμοῦ ἠφάνισε τοῦπίγραμμα· τοῦ δ’ ἐν Πυθίου ἔτι καὶ νῦν δῆλόν ἐστιν ἀμυδροῖς  
γράμμασι λέγον τάδε·

790

μνῆμα τόδ’ ἦς ἀρχῆς Πεισίστρατος Ἰππίου υἱός  
θῆκεν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου ἐν τεμένει.

IG 1<sup>2</sup> 761 μνεματοδεησαρχεσπεισιστ[ρατοσηιππιο]υιοσθεκεναπολλονοστυθιο-  
εντεμενε[1]

### XXVII [145 B., 79 D.]

On Simonides’ fifty-seventh victory in Dithyrambic contests.

See xxviii Pref.; this epigram was probably composed by an author who had xxviii in front of him.

A.P. 6.213 (caret Pl) ἀνάθημα τοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. Σιμωνίδου)

795

ἔξ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα, Σιμωνίδη, ἦραο ταύρους  
καὶ τρίποδας πρὶν τόνδ’ ἀνθέμεναι πίνακα,  
τοσσάκι δ’ ἱμερόεντα διδασκόμενος χορὸν ἀνδρῶν  
εὐδόξου Νίκας ἀγλαὸν ἄρμ’ ἐπέβης.

Tzetz. chil.<sup>1</sup> 1.636 (1–4),<sup>2</sup> 4.487 ὁ Σιμωνίδης νίκαις δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ πέντε  
1 πέντ’ ἐπὶ Tzetz.<sup>2</sup> ut vid. Σιμωνίδη Tzetz.<sup>1</sup>: -δης P ἦρατο C ταύ-  
ρους P: νίκας Tzetz.<sup>1</sup> 2–4 καὶ τρίποδας, θνήσκεις δ’ ἐν Σικελῶι πεδίωι | Κεῖωι  
δὲ μνήμην λείπεις, Ἑλλήσι δ’ ἔπαινον | εὐξυνέτου ψυχῆς σῆς ἐπιγεινομένοις Tzetz.<sup>1</sup>

**1–2 [792–3]** The prizes were, for the victorious tribe a tripod, for the poet a bull; Pickard-Cambridge *DTC*<sup>2</sup> 36.

τόνδ’ . . . πίνακα: see xxviii Pref.; the reference is probably to that epigram, imagined as on a tablet.

**3 [794] ἀνδρῶν:** see xxviii Pref.; probably copied from xxviii 4, where the reference is to a specific occasion; it is improbable that Simonides won so many victories with the men’s choirs only, not also with the boys’.

**4 [795]** On the ‘chariot of Victory’, see the note on Antigenes 41–2.

Νίκης Bergk, perhaps rightly.

### XXVIII [147 B., 77 D.]

On a victory in the Dithyrambic contest at Athens by Simonides in 477/6 B.C.

The conventional beliefs that Simonides himself composed this epigram and that he was, as stated here, eighty years old in the archonship of Adeimantos, 477/6 B.C., were challenged by L. Stella in *Riv. Fil. Class* n.s. 24 (1946) 1–24.<sup>1</sup>

The epigram is preserved only in relatively late authors. Valerius Maximus paraphrases the third couplet. Plutarch quotes the third couplet and implies that he knows the other two. Syrianus in the fifth century A.D. is the earliest extant source for the epigram as a whole. The source or sources of these writers cannot be traced or even plausibly guessed; and there is no help in Tzetzes, who copies out the text. It is remarkable that so interesting and important an

<sup>1</sup> These beliefs were held by all without question; see the list of authorities in Stella 5 n. 1.

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epigram never found its way into the *Anthology*.<sup>1</sup> Neither Plutarch nor Syrianus says that Simonides was the author; both have the phrase τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ in contexts where δηλοῖ (*sc.* Σιμωνίδης) ἐν τῷ ἐπιγράμματι would have seemed more natural.

The obscurity of the epigram’s pedigree and its anonymity<sup>2</sup> are not serious obstacles to belief in its authenticity; but there is a single word<sup>3</sup> in the third line which is absolutely irreconcilable with the notion that this epigram is a copy of an inscription from the time of Simonides – the indefinite pronoun τις. The official records of Dithyrambic victories at the Dionysia in the fifth and fourth centuries name the tribe and the *choregos*; the name of the poet, and in the fourth century that of the flute-player, were recorded on tribal and private memorials but not in the official records (Pickard-Cambridge *DTC*<sup>3</sup> 36). The *choregos* is, of all individuals, the first in importance. He is responsible for the cost and organisation of the performance, and, if victorious, for the dedication of a tripod with appropriate monumental setting. He is a wealthy and well-known citizen; he has just won a much-coveted victory, and his name is on all men’s lips. It is inconceivable that an inscription recording his victory, whether on the official monument or on a tribal or private one, should refer to him in these terms, Ζεινοφίλου τις υἱός; and there is no way of eliminating the objectionable pronoun.<sup>4</sup> The notion that Simonides (or anyone else concerned in the victory) should write of his *choregos* in such an off-hand and indeed insulting manner is simply (as Stella says) ridiculous.

Stella drew the inevitable conclusion that xxviii was composed at a time when the absurdity of this stop-gap pronoun was no longer apparent; the latter part of the Hellenistic period is a likely time. The age of Simonides, eighty, was adopted by the author from the standard chronologies of his time, which gave the poet’s life-span as 556–468 B.C.<sup>5</sup>

There is probably a close relationship between xxviii and xxvii. The reader of xxviii naturally assumes that it represents an inscription on a tablet (hence τόνδε πῖνακκα in xxvii attached to a monument commemorating

<sup>1</sup> Boas (177–8) thought that it must have been there, and proposed a place for it following *A.P.* 6.213 (= xxvii).

<sup>2</sup> Valerius Maximus, in his brief allusion, assumes that Simonides was the author.

<sup>3</sup> Stella has other objections, unpersuasive to the present editor. The style is not particularly ‘elaborate and artificial’; it is not true that choregic dedications in Simonides’ time were always in prose (see Antigenes 1); the addition of the archon’s name is normal in Tragic didascaliae of this period, and need therefore cause no great surprise here.

<sup>4</sup> τόθ’ Bergk, a rough change and mere padding; τοι Hemsterhuys, quite out of place; δ’ ἐὺς Hecker and Schneidewin, *quod omnino improbandum*, as Bergk said.

<sup>5</sup> The remainder of Stella’s article is an attempt to prove that these figures are erroneous, and that the alternative birthdate in the *Suda*, 532/529 B.C., is much nearer the truth. The question has been examined in the largest and most important work written on Simonides, an unpublished doctoral dissertation by Dr J. Molyneux of Sheffield University.

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Simonides’ victory in 476 B.C.; and the author of xxvii adds the information that that victory was Simonides’ fifty-seventh).

The fact that xxvii is addressed to Simonides proves that it is a literary exercise, and the fact that its author supposes xxviii to be an authentic document proves that it was composed relatively late in the Hellenistic period.

Pickard-Cambridge (*DTC*<sup>2</sup> 16) drew attention to two peculiarities in xxvii: (i) ‘It is remarkable that...fifty-six victories are all stated to have been won with a chorus of men; this suggests (though it does not answer) the question whether the chorus of boys may not have been a later institution’; it suggests at least as readily that a relatively late composer copied the word ἀνδρῶν from his model, xxviii, without noticing that it is unsuitable to his own context. (ii) It is not easy to accept so high a figure as fifty-six victories: ‘it is not stated that all these victories were won at Athens and it is doubtful whether this can have been the case, even when all possible occasions of dithyrambic performance are taken into the reckoning’; we must again allow for the possibility that a figure given by a relatively late Hellenistic author may misrepresent the truth.

Syrian. in Hermog. p. 86 R. s.a.n. πάσης γὰρ ἐπιστήμων ἀνὴρ ποιητικῆς τε καὶ μουσικῆς ὑπῆρχεν (sc. ὁ Σιμωνίδης), ὡς ἐκ νεότητος μέχρις ὀγδοήκοντα ἐτῶν νικᾷν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν Ἀθήνησιν, ὡς καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ·

	ἦρχεν Ἀδείμαντος μὲν Ἀθηναίοις ὅτ’ ἐνίκα Ἀντιοχίς φυλὴ δαιδάλεον τρίποδα· Ζεινοφίλου δὲ τις υἱὸς Ἀριστείδης ἐχορήγει πεντήκοντ’ ἀνδρῶν καλὰ μαθόντι χορῶι· 5      ἀμφὶ διδασκαλίῃ δὲ Σιμωνίδῃ ἔσπετο κύδος      800 ὀγδωκοντάετι παιδὶ Λεωπρέπεος.	
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φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν νίκην πλεῦσαι πρὸς Ἰέρωνα καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγον ἐν Σικελίαι τελευτῆσαι.

Plut. an seni 3, 785A Σιμωνίδης μὲν ἐν γῆραι χοροῖς ἐνίκα, ὡς τοῦπίγραμμα δηλοῖ τοῖς τελευταίοις ἔπεσιν (5–6); Val. Max. 8.7.13 poeta octagesimo anno et docuisse se carmina et in eorum certamen descendisse ipse gloriatur; Tzetz. ap. An. Ox. Cramer 3.353 (fere eadem ac Syrianus; 1–6)

## XXIX [152 B., 148 D.]

On a statue of Philon of Corcyra, twice victor in the boxing at Olympia.

This athlete is generally identified with the Κορκυραῖος Φίλων of Pausanias 6.14.13,<sup>1</sup> whose statue at Olympia recorded a victory in the boys’ foot-race, presumably in 504 or 500 B.C. (Raubitschek *RE* 19.2528); there is no reasonable doubt that his victories in the boxing at Olympia occurred in 492 and 488 B.C. (Raubitschek 2529 with literature). The statue commemorating the boxing

<sup>1</sup> The identification first in Preger, no. 124. His further identification with the Philon of Christodorus *ecphr.* (= *A.P.* 2) 229, though accepted by Hitzig and Blümner and not rejected even by Raubitschek, is certainly wrong; *that* Philon is a wrestler, not a boxer.

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victories was the work of Glaucias of Aegina, who was in his prime in the early decades of the fifth century B.C. (Robert *RE* 7.1400).

The lapidary style rings authentic (*cf.* Hecker 1852.25); this is one of the athlete-inscriptions ascribed (as a matter of course) to Simonides which may well come from his time.

Paus. 6.9.9 παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Γέλωνος τὸ ἄρμα ἀνάκειται Φίλων, τέχνη τοῦ Αἰγινήτου Γλαυκίου. τούτῳ τῷ Φίλωνι Σιμωνίδης ὁ Λεωπρέπους ἐλεγείον δεξιώτατον ἐποίησε·

πατρίς μὲν Κόρκυρα, Φίλων δ' ὄνομ', εἰμὶ δὲ Γλαύκου  
υἱός, καὶ νικῶ πύξ δὺ' Ὀλυμπιάδας. 803

1 [802] ὄνομ': for the elision at the bucolic diaeresis, see Zeuxis 400 n.

## XXX [149 B., 111 D.]

On a statue of Theognetus, victor in the boys' wrestling at Olympia.

Pindar's eighth Pythian ode celebrates a victory by Aristomenes of Aegina in the wrestling at Delphi, and praises him as worthy of his uncles Theognetus and Cleitomachus, 35ff.: παλαισμάτεσσι γὰρ ἰχνεύων ματραδελφεούς | Οὐλύμπια τε Θεόγνητον οὐ κατελέγχεις | οὐδὲ Κλειτομάχοιο νίκαν Ἴσθμοι θρασύγυιον· | αὔξων δὲ πάτρην Μειδυλιδᾶν λόγον φέρεις. Pausanias (6.9.1) repeats that Theognetus won the boys' wrestling and adds that he had a statue made by his countryman Ptolichus. The victor-list in *P. Oxy.* 222.15 has [.....] νητης παιδ(ων) παλῆν for the year 476 B.C., and the first editors' supplement [Θεόγνητος Αἰγι]νήτης κτλ. is obviously attractive, though the gap is not large enough for all those letters, and we must suppose that Θεογνη<sup>7</sup> was thus compendiously written.

The colour of the dialect is Doric in Ὀλυμπιονίκαν, Ionic the rest (Pl has παλαισμοσύνης, not -ας as all editors except Beckby). Whether and in what direction change should be made, we have as usual no means of knowing.

The style is florid, and the absence of the name of the home-land would be surprising in a contemporary epigram (*cf.* Wilamowitz *Pindaros* 440 n. 1); these lines may well be the work of a learned Alexandrian.

A.Plan. (Pl<sup>B</sup>) 2 Σιμωνίδου

γνώθι Θεόγνητον προσιδῶν τὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκαν  
παῖδα, παλαισμοσύνης δεξιὸν ἡνίοχον, 805  
κάλλιστον μὲν ἰδεῖν, ἀθλεῖν δ' οὐ χείρονα μορφῆς,  
ὅς πατέρων ἀγαθῶν ἐστεφάνωσε πόλιν.

1 Θεόγνητον Schneidewin c Pausania: Θεόκριτον Pl

2 [805] ἡνίοχον: see anon. 1571 n.

3 [806] *cf.* Pind. *Isthm.* 7.22 ἀγει τ' ἀρετὰν οὐκ αἴσχιον φυᾶς.

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## XXXI [154 B., 149 D.]

On a statue of Casmylus, a Rhodian, victorious boxer at the Pythian Games.

The only other information about Casmylus of Rhodes is that he won the boxing at the Isthmus also, an event celebrated by Pindar in an epinician ode (= *frr.* 2,3 Snell, *frr.* 5,6 Turyn: ἐν ᾧδῇ τῶν Ἰσθμιονικῶν τῇ εἰς Κάσμυλον [τὴν εἰς Κάσμηλον codd.: corr. Rohde] ‘Ρόδιον πυκτὴν), one of those now missing from our MSS after *Isthm.* 8 and the beginning of *Isthm.* 9; the continuation of the *Isthmians* beyond the eighth in *P. Oxy.* 2439 throws no light on Casmylus.

It is a curious coincidence, and may be more than coincidence (Wilamowitz *Pindaros* 368), that the subject of our only information about Pindar’s *Isthmian* ode for Casmylus is a Pythian story – the tale of Apollo rewarding the builders of his temple, Trophonius and Agamedes, with an early death; it looks as though the *Isthmian* ode referred back to the Pythian victory recorded in the present epigram.

This neat and clever couplet may possibly be a copy of a contemporary inscription. The alternative, that it is a product of Alexandrian ingenuity, is not less probable, perhaps the likelier in view of the dialogue-form. The author (whoever he was) probably regretted that he found himself compelled to answer the last two questions in reverse order.

A.Plan. (Pl<sup>A</sup>) 23 Σιμωνίδου

– εἶπον τίς, τίνος ἑσσί, τίνος πατρίδος, τί δ’ ἐνίκης;  
– Κάσμυλος, Εὐαγόρου, Πύθια πύξ, ‘Ρόδιος. 809

1 δὲ νικῆς Pl, corr. Bergk 2 Κάσμου- Pl, accent. corr. Jacobs

## XXXII (a) and (b) [161 B., 154 D.]

Signatures of Iphion of Corinth, a painter.

Iphion is not mentioned elsewhere; see Lippold *RE* 9.2023. xxxii (a) is an inscription designed to advertise the artist’s work, a type common in competitions (see the Preface to Parrhasius); xxxii (b) is an ordinary artist’s signature. The date of Iphion is roughly given as c. 500 B.C. by the relation of xxxii (a) to xxxiii (a). The fact that this artist was quite unknown to posterity is a strong argument in favour of the authenticity of the epigrams; they were presumably still extant and legible in the age of that collection of ancient inscriptions which formed the basis of the *Sylloge Simonidea*.

(a) A.P. 9.757 s.a.n., Pl<sup>A</sup> Σιμωνίδου

Ἰφίων τόδ’ ἔγραψε Κορίνθιος· οὐκ ἐνὶ μῶμος 810  
χερσίν, ἐπεὶ δόξας ἔργα πολὺ προφέρει.

1-2 [810-11] See xxxiii Pref.

(b) A.P. 13.17 (caret Pl) s.a.n.

Ἰφίων ἔγραψεν ἑῶι χερσί, τόν ποκα ὕδωρ 813  
ἔθρεψε Πειράνας ἄπο.



## ‘SIMONIDES’

2 ἔθρεψε Πειράνας Meineke: θρέψε Πειρήνης P

1-2 [812-13] μ’ ἔγραψεν Meineke, plausibly; τάδ’ ἔγραψεν Jacobs.

ποκα ὕδωρ: the hiatus is most disagreeable, but we must remember that this is a *graffito*, not a poem.

Πειράνας: if this is an authentic inscription, it is hard to see why a Corinthian (or anyone on his behalf) should have mixed Ionic with the Doric colour.

The whole of the relative clause is merely a substitute for ‘Corinthian’.

### XXXIII (a) and (b) [162 B., 163 D.]

Signatures of Cimon of Cleonae, a painter.

Cimon, unlike Iphion, was long remembered. He plays an important part in Pliny’s history of painting in the second half (apparently) of the sixth century B.C., *h.n.* 35.56 (see Lippold *RE* 11.454-5 and K. Jex-Blake and E. Sellers *The Elder Pliny’s chapters on the History of Art* (London 1896), introd. xxviii ff.): ‘Cimon of Cleonae developed the inventions of Eumaros. He devised *catagrapha*, that is to say oblique representations, and portrayed faces in a variety of shapes, looking up or back or down. He distinguished limbs by their joints, gave prominence to veins, and invented wrinkles and folds in drapery.’ The attentive reader will remember that it is not long since he was told that it was Pythagoras of Rhegium who *primus venas expressit*, and it is certain that Cimon was not the first to paint wrinkles and folds in drapery. Nevertheless Cimon must have made a great impression on his contemporaries; it is a fair guess (Lippold 454) that he flourished c. 500 B.C.

xxxiii (a) seems obviously related to xxxii (a), and is best interpreted as a reply to it; the pair are a parallel to the rival epigrams of Parrhasius and Zeuxis discussed in the Preface to the former. Iphion and Cimon are rivals in a competition: Iphion advertises his work with a boastful epigram, ‘No fault is to be found with my hand; my work far surpasses my reputation’; to which Cimon temperately replies ‘I am no inexperienced painter, yet there never was a work with which fault could not be found – not even Daedalus escaped criticism.’

xxxiii (b) is an ordinary signature-epigram. ‘Cimon painted the door on the right, Dionysius the one on the right as you leave’, presumably the left-hand flange as you enter; the epigram is oddly phrased; but we must again remember that such inscriptions are mere *graffiti*. The identity of Dionysius is not known (probably not the Colophonian Dionysius, despite the assurance of Diehl, the Budé, and Beckby; see Lippold 455).

(a) A.Plan. (Pl<sup>B</sup>) 84 s.a.n.

οὐκ ἀδαῆς ἔγραψε Κίμων τάδε· παντὶ δ’ ἐπ’ ἔργῳ  
μῶμος, ὃν οὐδ’ ἦρως Δαίδαλος ἐξέφυγεν. 815

(b) A.P. 9.758 τοῦ αὐτοῦ (post xxxii (a), s.a.n.), Pl<sup>A</sup> Σιμωνίδου

Κίμων ἔγραψε τὴν θύραν τὴν δεξιάν,  
τὴν δ’ ἐξιόντων δεξιάν Διονύσιος. 817

XXXIV [141 B., 106 D.]

Dedication by Gelon and his brothers at Delphi.

When an elegiac couplet, apparently inscriptional, appears in two sources with quite different second couplets, it is generally supposed that the first couplet is indeed a copy of an old inscription, to which various appendages have become attached in the course of time. xxxiv is almost certainly not of this kind; it presents problems which remain unsolved:

I. *The archaeological problem*

Excavation by Th. Homolle at Delphi in 1894, published in *BCH* 21 (1898) 588ff. and *Mélanges Weil* (1898) 207ff., revealed the following facts:

(a) A tripod dedicated by Gelon and a tripod dedicated by his brother Hieron stood close to the front of Apollo's temple at Delphi. The relics of the monument consist of a quadrangular base surmounted by a high step on which stood two pedestals (a metre apart) each supporting a metal tripod (represented by cavities for the feet). One of the pedestals is inscribed Γέλων ὁ Δεινομέν[ε]ος ἀνέθηκε τῷπόλλωνι Συρακόσιος· τὸν τρίποδα καὶ τὴν Νίκην ἐργάσατο Βίων Διοδώρου Μιλήσιος. The other pedestal's inscription is mutilated; it was restored by Homolle as [Ἡιάρων ὁ Δεινομέ]νεος ἀνέθηκε ἡέλ[κε δὲ τάλαντα δεκα]ῖη πτῶ μναί. Homolle believed that the monument was originally designed for Gelon's dedication only, afterwards enlarged to include Hieron's.

(b) In the same area Homolle found two smaller pedestals, of the same peculiar shape as the above pair. These pedestals, which were not inscribed, supported tripods (one of them has cavities for the feet; the upper surface of the other is wanting).

These archaeological facts are not easy to reconcile with the opinion that xxxiv, or least its first couplet, is a copy of an inscription which accompanied Gelon's dedication at Delphi. Hieron's dedication was not put beside Gelon's for at least a couple of years (see below); as all four brothers are named in xxxiv, it is necessary to suppose either that Gelon had excluded Hieron from his monument while allowing the younger brothers a monument of their own, or that when Hieron added his own dedication he permitted the erection of the secondary monument for the younger brothers at (more or less) the same time. These are not attractive hypotheses; and we have still to ask where xxxiv 1-2 may have been inscribed. Certainly not (where one would expect) on the principal monument; the pedestals for the dedications of Gelon and Hieron already have their own inscriptions. And the secondary monument, reserved for the younger brothers, was an unsuitable place for this comprehensive description. Moreover, who or what is the speaker of φημί?

Homolle supposed the sequence of events to be as follows: Gelon dedicated his tripod and Victory; Hieron later enlarged the base and erected his own tripod and Victory; Gelon therefore thought it proper that the younger brothers also should be associated, and erected the secondary monument. Jebb, who thought this an unlikely account, insisted that Hieron must have become ruler of Syracuse (in 478, after Gelon's death) before he asserted himself at Delphi in this way. Jebb was right on this point (see below); but it does not

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help us to answer the questions why and when the secondary monument for the younger brothers was erected, or whereabouts xxxiv, which includes all four brothers, could have been inscribed, or who the speaker is in the first line.

(c) Literary evidence is scanty. Diodorus of Sicily (11.26, following Timaeus) refers only to Gelon's dedication at Delphi after the battle of Himera, 'a golden tripod of sixteen talents'. Athenaeus (6.231E – 232C), drawing on Phainias of Eresos (a pupil of Aristotle) and Theopompus' *Philippica* (second half of the fourth century B.C.), agrees with the inscription on Gelon's pedestal that the dedication consisted of a golden Victory as well as a golden tripod, and adds that Hieron's dedication was similar. Theopompus adds the important point that Hieron had great difficulty in accumulating enough refined gold; succeeded only after long and widespread search; and rewarded his supplier with princely gifts. This is proof, beyond reasonable doubt, of Jebb's contention that Hieron was already ruler of Syracuse when he had his dedication fashioned and placed beside that of Gelon at Delphi.

In summary, the archaeological evidence appears to provide neither a speaker for the first couplet<sup>1</sup> nor a suitable place for the inscription of that couplet. Plainly we must reckon with the alternative (often latent in Jebb's treatment and once overt: 456, 'if the epigram of Simonides was really used at Delphi'), that xxxiv 1–2 is not inscriptional but a relatively late literary exercise prompted by the sight of the famous monument bearing Gelon's and Hieron's golden dedications and of two adjacent tripods believed to have been dedicated by the two younger brothers.<sup>2</sup>

### II. *The problem of the second couplets*

(a) The couplet added in the Pindaric scholia would present no problem if the epigram is a literary exercise, and if the rival couplet of *A.P.* did not exist. The author of xxxiv 1–2 might very well go on to say that the Sicilians provided the Hellenes with a strong hand to fight beside them in the cause of liberty. It was commonly said that Gelon's first thought after his defeat of the Carthaginians at Himera was to rush to the aid of the Hellenes against the Persians (*RE* 7.1010); Himera and Salamis were won on the same day, and Hellenes and Sicilians were essentially brothers-in-arms against a universal barbarian threat to freedom. Not that such a thought was likely to find a place in an inscription on Gelon's thanksgiving-monument at Delphi immediately after the victory; but it might well find a place in an Hellenistic epigram.

(b) The couplet added in *A.P.*, on the other hand, is downright unintelligible both in itself and as a rival to the other version, and in the first pentameter the author, while retaining the names of all four brothers, reduces the plural tripods to a single one. The statement that the four brothers dedicated one

<sup>1</sup> Not one of the figures of Victory; it would be absurd to make a golden Victory draw attention merely to the tripods, without a mention of herself.

<sup>2</sup> The most valuable discussion of the archaeological aspect of the problem is that of Jebb in his edition of Bacchylides (1905) 452–7. This is characteristically ignored by Wilamowitz in *SS* 199–200, a useless reprint of an obsolete paper; it is of course to Wilamowitz, not to Jebb, that Diehl refers his readers. See also *SIG* 35 with Pantow's commentary; Tod *GHI* 1 p. 20; Gentili, *Parola del Pass.* 30 (1953) 199ff., with Peek's comment in *Philol.* 102 (1958) 55 n. 1.

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tripod is false; it is sufficient proof that the author was ignorant of the nature of the monument which is the subject of his lines; this version is plainly a relatively late literary exercise.

The author now informs us that ‘the tripod was of 100 *litrae* and 50 talents of “daretian” gold’, and that this was ‘a tithe of the tithe’. No part of this is intelligible. The epithet for the gold is *vox nihili*. Bentley in his wonderful chapter on Sicilian money in *Phalaris* conjectured Δαμαρετίου, with metrical licence;<sup>1</sup> ‘Damaretian gold’ will then refer to the crown of 100 talents of gold given to Damareta, the wife of Gelon, by the Carthaginians after their defeat at Himera in gratitude for her kindly treatment of them.<sup>2</sup> There is no other evidence that a dedicatory tripod was made out of Damareta’s crown;<sup>3</sup> we should not believe in so unlikely a transaction without high authority, and we should still not know what could be meant by calling the tripod ‘a tithe of the tithe’.

The pentameter remains wholly incomprehensible; and the hexameter seems worthy of it. The gold of which the tripod was made is said to have consisted ‘of 100 *litrae* and 50 talents’. A *litra* is a Sicilian ‘pound’ (0.87 gr) of copper or bronze, or its equivalent silver coin. The author who begins with a Sicilian term should (if anyone is to understand him) continue with a Sicilian term: the ‘talent’ is presumably a Sicilian talent, and 1 such gold talent = 120 gold *litrae*. The total is therefore 50 talents +  $\frac{5}{6}$  of a talent, and it would be extraordinary if the composer of a dedicatory inscription (real or fictitious) thought it necessary, or even tolerable, to express himself with such exactitude. ‘50 talents’ is a good round figure; whatever induced him to specify that it was 20 *litrae* short of 51 talents?

We suspect that the author hardly knows what he is talking about, and have much sympathy with the final word on this topic of a leading metrologist:<sup>4</sup> ‘it can only be a waste of time to ascribe to Simonides this playing with figures of 100 *litrae* and 50 talents and “a tithe of a tithe”, or to try to calculate the weight of the tripod and the sum of the spoils from data which may have been first invented two or three hundred years after that poet’s lifetime’ – data, it should be added, which are altogether unintelligible to us.

<sup>1</sup> He even contemplated Δαρετίου as a form of Δα(μ)ρετίου.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. Sic. 11.26.3 οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι . . . στέφανον χρυσοῦν τῇ γυναικὶ τοῦ Γέλωνος Δαμαρέτῃ προσωμολόγησαν. αὕτη γὰρ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ὀξιωθεῖσα συνήργησε πλείστον εἰς τὴν σύνθεσιν τῆς εἰρήνης, καὶ στεφανωθείσα ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἑκατὸν ταλάντοις χρυσοῦ, νόμισμα ἐξέκοψε τὸ κληθὲν ἀπ’ ἐκείνης Δαμαρέτειον.

<sup>3</sup> What Diodorus says is quite different: the golden crown was used for coining the famous ‘Damareteia’; as these were of silver, not gold, we should have to suppose that the silver came from the trading of the crown for its silver equivalent; a most improbable transaction. Pollux (9.85; cf. Hesych. s.v. Δημαρέτειον) gives a likelier account: the silver for the *Damareteia* came from ornaments sacrificed to their country’s cause by Syracusan ladies following Damareta’s example. Neither of these accounts is any way relevant to the epigram.

<sup>4</sup> Hultsch *RE* 4.2031; see also G. F. Hill *Historical Greek coins* (London 1906) xi and 37ff.; A. J. Evans *Syracusan ‘Medallions’* (London 1892) 124ff.; Busolt *Gr. Gesch.* 2.797 n. 1.

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In summary: (a) the archaeological evidence seems to exclude the possibility that xxxiv is (in part or in whole) inscriptional; (b) the version in the Pindaric scholia is easily interpreted as a literary exercise; but (c) the second couplet offered by *A.P.* is unintelligible both in itself and as an alternative to the scholia's second couplet.

As the epigram is not a copy of a contemporary inscription, there is no reason to follow Schneidewin in removing the Ionic colour from the dialect.

schol. Pind. Pyth. 1.152 s.a.n. φασὶ δὲ τὸν Γέλωνα τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς φιλοφρονούμενον ἀναθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ χρυσοὺς τρίποδας ἐπιγράψαντα ταῦτα·

φημὶ Γέλων', 'Ιέρωνα, Πολύζηλον, Θρασύβουλον,  
παῖδας Δεινομένους, τοὺς τρίποδας θέμεναι,  
βάρβαρα νικήσαντας ἔθνη, πολλὴν δὲ παρασχεῖν      820  
σύμμαχον Ἑλλησιν χεῖρ' ἐς ἐλευθερίην.

*A.P.* 6.214 (caret Pl) [P] ἀνάθημα τοῦ αὐτοῦ [C] Σιμωνίδου; *Suda* s.v. δαρετίου (2 τὸν τρίποδ' ἀνθεμ. – δεκάταν)

2 Διομένης P τὸν τρίποδ' ἀνθέμεναι P *Suda* 3–4 haec in schol. Pind. tantum; aliud distichon hoc loco habent P *Suda*, ἐξ ἑκατὸν λιτρῶν καὶ πεντήκοντα ταλάντων | δαρετίου χρυσοῦ τὰς (sic) δεκάτας δεκάταν

## XXXV [125 B., 98 D.]

Epitaph for Dandis of Argos, a successful athlete.

The records preserved in *P. Oxy.* 222.8 and 20 show that Dandis of Argos won at Olympia in the *diaulos* in 476 and in the *stadion* in 472 B.C.; cf. *Diod. Sic.* 11.53.1, Africanus *ap. Euseb. chron.* 1.204 Sch. Nothing more is known about him, and so obscure a person is not likely to have been the subject of a fictitious epitaph in the Hellenistic period. The present epigram is generally and rightly regarded as a copy of the actual epitaph of Dandis' tomb (= Peek 417); it was presumably included among inscriptions later collected and circulated under the name of Simonides.

The lines are conventional, almost perfunctory, in vocabulary and style. There is no obvious reason for the eccentricity of the metre, unless it be that the composer found iambics easier for his colourless enumeration of victories at the four Great Games.

*A.P.* 13.14 (caret Pl) Σιμωνίδου

'Αργεῖος Δάνδης σταδιδόδρομος ἐνθάδε κεῖται  
νίκαις ἵππόβοτον πατρίδ' ἐπευκλείσας  
'Ολυμπίαι δῖς, ἐν δὲ Πυθῶνι τρία,  
δύω δ' ἐν Ἴσθμῳ, πεντεκαίδεκ' ἐν Νεμέαι.      825  
5 τὰς δ' ἄλλας νίκας οὐκ εὖμαρές ἐστ' ἀριθμῆσαι.

1–4 σταδιάδρ-, Ολυμπια, Ἴσθμοι, πεντακ-, Νεμαίαι P, corr. edd.

1 [882] Δάνδης: so his name is spelt in *P. Oxy.* 222, in the oldest of the MSS of Diodorus at 11.53.1, and in the Palatine; nevertheless all editors spell him Δάνδης as in the rest of Diodorus' MSS.

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2 [823] ἱππόβοτον is a conventional epithet for Argos, and πατρίδ’ ἐπευκλείσας is a ready-made phrase (= anon. 1535, Peek 1019.2; many parallels assembled by Geffcken, *Gr. Epigr.* no. 86).

4 [825] Fifteen is a remarkably large number for one of the major festivals; it is a pity that the details are not given.

5 [826] τὰς ἄλλας νίκας: at the minor festivals; see XLIII Pref. Hecker’s suggestion (1852.91) that a pentameter originally followed this hexameter is altogether unpersuasive.

The summary ending became (if it was not already) formular in this type of epigram; parallels are assembled by Peek *Wiss. Z. d. Univ. Halle* 9 (1960) 2.198, e.g. *Fouilles de Delphes* 3.331.5 τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους ἀπορον στεφάνους ἐπιδείξει ἀριθμόν.

### XXXVI [112 B., 86 D.]

Epitaph for Xanthippe.

This epigram is certainly authentic, a copy of the inscription on Xanthippe’s tomb (= Peek 1187). No Hellenistic or later author would recall, or invent, such a person as a great-grand-daughter of the Corinthian tyrant Periander, for the sake of a literary exercise. There is no other mention of Xanthippe or of her husband Archenautes.

The ascription to Simonides is, as usual, a guess. It was natural that the collector of ancient epigrams should assign this one to him, for a great-grand-daughter of Periander (*ob.* 585 B.C.) will have lived in the latter part of the sixth century when the poet was in his prime; and the verses have an antique ring. The metre, adopted in order to accommodate the name *Archenautes* beside *Xanthippe*, had already been used by Archilochus (*fr.* 188–92); it appears nowhere else in Greek, but is revived by Horace, *carm.* 1.4. See *Wiener Studien* n.s. 10 (1976) 165ff.

Style and content are unconventional, and there is no easy answer to the two questions raised by Wilamowitz, *SS* 216:

(1) Who is the subject of μνήσομαι? Wilamowitz’ suggestion, that the speaker is the figure of a Siren or Sphinx on the tomb, is not persuasive; neither custom in general nor the content of this inscription in particular recommends it. The simplest explanation is that the speaker is the *stèle* on which the verses are inscribed, as in Peek 52 (Corcyra, *c.* 600 B.C.) and elsewhere in the early period (see Friedländer and Hoffleit p. 10).

(2) What is the implication of οὐ γὰρ ἔοικεν ἀνώνυμον κεῖσθαι? According to Wilamowitz the poet is alluding sympathetically to a contrast between the splendour of Xanthippe’s ancestry and the relative lowliness of her life (‘die von der Höhe ihrer Ahnen tief herabgestiegen war’). Certainly whether Xanthippe was of high or low rank in her society, her name will have been inscribed on her tomb, either alone or together with her husband’s name (as in e.g. Peek 421, 894), and plainly ἀνώνυμον cannot mean literally *unnamed*; the sense here must be in effect *inglorious* (as in e.g. *E. Hipp.* 1, *Hel.* 16f.; cf. *νώνυμος* at *S. El.* 1084). But the full implication may be that Xanthippe is not properly named unless her descent from Periander is recorded; and so no inference about her condition in life is permissible. Ladies in the sixth century B.C. were not as a rule famous in their own right; Xanthippe might be the wife of a man

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of high estate, yet descent from Periander will remain her principal (indeed her only) claim to glory, and must not go unmentioned.

A.P. 13.26 (caret Pl) Σιμωνίδου ἐπιτύμβιον·

μνήσομαι, οὐ γὰρ ἔοικεν ἀνώνυμον ἐνθάδ’ Ἀρχεναύτεω

κείσθαι θανοῦσαν ἀγλαὰν ἄκοιτιν

Ξανθίππην, Περιάνδρου ἀπέκγονον, ὅς ποθ’ ὑπιπύργου

σήμαινε λαοῖς τέρμ’ ἔχων Κορίνθου.

830

**2 [828] ἀγλαάν:** rarely applied to persons in the Epic except in the formulas ἀγλαὸς υἱός and ἀγλαὰ τέκνα; nor commonly in lyric poetry, as in Pind. *Ol.* 14.7, ἀγλαὸς ἀνὴρ, and Bacchylides 17.2, ἀγλαοὺς κούρους (the adjective is extremely rare in Tragedy). The meaning here is ‘glorious’, referring to her descent from Periander.

ἀγλαήν (Hiller) may be right.

**3 [829] ἀπέκγονον:** the word (here only) should mean, and was anciently defined as meaning, *great-grandchild* (see *Thesaurus s.v.* ἀπέγγονος, a form not recognised by LSJ).

**4 [830] σήμαινε λαοῖς:** *used to give orders to the people*, in effect = ‘was ruler of the people’. σημάντωρ in the Epic quite often means *commander*, *chieftain*, and the present phrase is plainly of Epic type, though the only extant example of it is Hom. *Il.* 17.248ff. Ἀργείων ἡγήτορες...οἷτε...σημαίνουσιν...λαοῖς.

**τέρμ’ ἔχων:** τέρμα here first (and seldom hereafter) has the sense in which τέλος is often used, of *final authority*; closest are E. *Suppl.* 616 θεοὶ...πάντων τέρμ’ ἔχοντες, and Dioscorides 12.170.2 = *HE* 1520 δαίμονες οἱ φιλήεις τέρματ’ ἐμῆς ἔχετε; cf. also E. *Or.* 1343 σωτηρίας γὰρ τέρμ’ ἔχεις ἡμῖν μόνη.

## XXXVII [167 B., 99 D.]

Satirical epitaph for Timocreon.

This epigram is anonymous in both sources, Athenaeus and the *Anthology*; in the latter, the Corrector has added the heading ‘by Simonides the Cean’, but as he proceeds to assign the following epigram also to Simonides (7.349; a ridiculous ascription), he cannot complain if his reliability in this context is questioned or even denied.

The date of the epigram, like the authorship, is unknown. The context in *A.P.* offers no indication of the source from which 7.348 was taken into the *Anthology*; and Athenaeus, who explicitly gives his sources both for what precedes and for what follows, names no authority for the sentence about Timocreon, including the epigram.

Timocreon was a colourful person. He was remembered as the friend, later the bitter enemy, of Themistocles; as poet; and also as competitor in the pentathlon, a most unusual combination of talents. The only traces of his work to be found in the later world are one short poem and small fragments of half a dozen others (*PMG* 727ff.); it is clear that little if anything of his survived much beyond his lifetime<sup>1</sup> except through the media of anecdote and biography, most

<sup>1</sup> It is far from certain that Aristophanes had Timocreon in mind at *Vesp.* 1063; and very unlikely that Plato echoes him at *Gorg.* 493A (see Dodds *ad loc.*).

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notably through the tradition which culminates for us in Plutarch’s *Life of Themistocles*. It is quite likely that the ultimate source of the present epigram is of this early anecdotal kind; a date within the lifetime of Timocreon cannot be ruled out *a priori*. If it is so early, it will have been first delivered (and no doubt often repeated) as a *scolion* at the symposium.

There are two odd features in P’s text of this epigram:

(1) The *lemma* εἰς Τιμοκρέοντα τὸν Ῥόδιον is followed by the observation οὗτινος τὴν γνώμην πᾶσαν καὶ τὴν συνήθειαν (this word is a likely but not certain interpretation of an uncommon compendium) εἶχεν ὁ θεὸς μου: *lepidum lemma hominis avunculum obiter sugillantis*, said Jacobs; *ridicula hominis propinqui cavillatio*, Stadtmüller. I do not recall a stranger note in the *Anthology*.

(2) The following epigram, 7.349, βαῖά φαγὼν καὶ βαῖά πιὼν καὶ πολλὰ νοσήσας (νοήσας Pl) | ὁψὲ μὲν ἄλλ’ ἔθανον· ἔρρετε πάντες ὁμοῦ, was united with 7.348 by P, separated from it and absurdly furnished with the heading Σιμωνίδου (cramped and partly in the margin) by the Corrector.

A.P. 7.348, Pl<sup>B</sup> [CPl] Σιμωνίδου[C] τοῦ Κηρίου [J] εἰς Τιμοκρέοντα τὸν Ῥόδιον

πολλὰ πιὼν καὶ πολλὰ φαγὼν καὶ πολλὰ κάκ’ εἰπὼν  
ἀνθρώπους κείμεν Τιμοκρέων Ῥόδιος. 832

Athen. 10.415F s.a.n. καὶ Τιμοκρέων δ’ ὁ Ῥόδιος ποιητὴς καὶ ἀθλητὴς πένταθλος ἄδην ἔφαγε καὶ ἔπιεν, ὡς τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ· (1–2)

1 π. φαγὼν καὶ π. πιὼν Pl      2 ἀνθρώποις P

## XXXVIII [104 B., 89 D.]

Epitaph for men fallen in battle at Byzantium.

This is one of six pieces quoted by Aristides to illustrate the thesis that ancient poets and their clients were often vainglorious. Though Simonides is named both before and after the series of quotations (= ‘Simonides’ xxi, xxxviii, xlv, iii, xxii (a), and xii in the present collection), the context shows plainly (Boas 92–6) that Aristides did not suppose any of the six in this series to be by Simonides; for Aristides, as for us, they are anonymous inscriptional epigrams from the early classical period.

Historians have disputed whether the occasion of the epigram is the capture of Byzantium by Pausanias in 478/7 B.C. or his expulsion from there by Cimon; most have favoured the latter campaign, arguing only about its date (*cf.* Swoboda in *RE* 11.444, *IG* 1<sup>2</sup> p. 277.76). All are wrong. It has not been noticed that this is an epitaph for men who died in defence of Byzantium, not in assault upon it; χώραν (or the like) ῥύεσθαι is always used of *defence* (Peek 8, 10, 25, 31, 33, *al.*). The historical occasion remains a matter for unverifiable, and therefore idle, speculation. Only one thing can be said for certain: τε proves that Byzantium was not the only theatre of war named in the epitaph; presumably it resembled (more or less) *e.g.* *IG* 1<sup>2</sup> 929 (= Meiggs and Lewis 33) in commemorating the fallen in various campaigns over a period of time.

Aristid. or. 28.63, π 162 K., s.a.n. ἄρά σοι καὶ τὰ τοιάδε δόξει ἀλαζονεῖα τις εἶναι· (xxi), καί·



ἀμφὶ τε Βυζάντειαν ὅσοι θάνον ἰχθυόεσσιν  
 ῥυόμενοι χώραν ἄνδρες ἀρηίθοοι.

834

1 Βυζάντειαν Bergk: -τιον codd.

1 [833] **Βυζάντειαν**: Bergk's correction was based on Steph. Byz. *s.v.* ἔστι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας Βυζάντεια διὰ διφθόγγου. Scaliger's Βυζάντειον, a monstrous form, was retained by Preger (no. 7) on the ground that an epitaph should refer to a city, not to a territory (as if the text did not say explicitly χώραν), and is still in Diehl's text.

2 [834] **ἄνδρες ἀρηίθοοι**: this is the phrase which Aristides thought relevant to his tedious and trivial discourse; of his other quotations, only xxii (a) and xlv are not altogether unsuitable.

### XXXIX [3 p. 516 B.]

Dedication by Pausanias.

Herodotus (4.81) tells the story of an enormous bronze bowl at Exampaeus, somewhere between the rivers Bug and Dnieper: made from arrowheads dropped there by Scythians to facilitate a population-count, it would hold six hundred *amphoreis* (the same as the great silver bowl of Croesus at Delphi, Hdt. 1.51.2; well over 5,000 gallons) and was 'six times as big as the one at the mouth of the Euxine dedicated by Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus'.

Nymphis (early third century B.C.), as quoted by Athenaeus in the passage given here, says that Pausanias' claim to be the dedicator was false; he found the bowl already there and vaingloriously added the dedicatory inscription. The evidence of Herodotus on such a point is not of much weight, and that of Nymphis is lighter still; it is very improbable that he had at his disposal an account based on a true contemporary record of the facts. The arrogance of Pausanias was notorious; malice, envy, and affronted virtue had much to do with the picture of him drawn, and sometimes distorted, for posterity.

Though there is nothing here quite so ostentatiously arrogant as the statement about Pausanias in xvii that 'he destroyed the Persian army', yet xxxix is in other respects the more offensive of the two. There is a difference between the phrases 'commander-in-chief of Hellenes' in xvii and 'commanding Hellas' in xxxix; the former is a precise description of fact, the latter a vainglorious exaggeration. Moreover the phrase 'a memorial to his virtues' rings boastful, and so does the full description of his pedigree.

Athen. 12.536a s.a.n. Νύμφης δ' ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἐν ἔκτῳ τῶν περὶ τῆς πατρίδος "Παυσανίας" φησὶν "ὁ περὶ Πλαταιᾶς νικήσας Μαρδόνιον, τὰ τῆς Σπάρτης ἐξεληθὼν νόμιμα καὶ εἰς ὑπερφηανίαν ἐπιδούς περὶ Βυζάντιον διατρίβων τὸν χαλκοῦν κρατῆρα τὸν ἀνακείμενον τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος ἰδρυμένοις, ὃν ἔτι καὶ νῦν εἶναι συμβαίνει, ἐτόλμησεν ἐπιγράψαι ὡς αὐτὸς ἀναθείη, ὑποθεὶς τότε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, διὰ τὴν τρυφὴν καὶ ὑπερφηανίαν ἐπιλαθόμενος αὐτοῦ·

μᾶμ' ἀρετᾶς ἀνέθηκε Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι  
 Παυσανίας ἄρχων Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόρου  
 πόντου ἐπ' Εὐξείνου, Λακεδαιμόνιος γένος, υἱός  
 Κλεομβρότου, ἀρχαίας Ἡρακλέος γενεᾶς."

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**1 [835] Ποσειδάωνι:** Pausanias was in command of the allied fleet which took Byzantium in 478 B.C., and the dedication is made to the sea-god.

**2 [836] Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόρου:** ‘Hellenes’ as in ‘Simonides’ 750 would have been more appropriate than ‘Hellas’ here, and the epithet εὐρυχόρου, purely conventional in itself, makes the use of ‘Hellas’ all the more noticeable.

**4 [838] Κλεομβρότου:** younger brother of Leonidas, who became Agiad king of Sparta in 488/7 B.C., his elder brother Dorieus and his step-brother Cleomenes I having died without male issue. On the death of Leonidas at Thermopylae in 480 B.C. the kingship passed to his son Pleistarchus. As Pleistarchus was still a child at the time, Cleombrotus acted as regent. He died within a year, and the regency passed to his son Pausanias.

### XL [3 p. 518 B.]

Epigrams on three Herms in the Athenian *Agora* commemorating the capture of Eion from the Persians in 475 B.C.

A few pockets of resistance remained in Thrace after the withdrawal of the main Persian forces in 479 B.C. The most memorable of these was the town of Eion at the mouth of the river Strymon, held for the Persian king by a governor named Boges. Besieged by an Athenian force under the command of Cimon, Boges refused to evacuate Eion on honourable terms, fought to the last, and ended an heroic resistance by killing his entire family and himself (Hdt. 7.107).

Aeschines (3.183) says that when Cimon’s army returned to Athens they (meaning especially the generals) asked for a reward, and the *demoi* granted them what was thought at the time to be a great honour – the erection of three Herms, on condition that they did not inscribe their own names upon them, ‘so that the inscription should appear to belong to the *demoi*, not to the generals’. As proof of this statement he quotes three epigrams: XL (b), he says was on the first of the Herms, XL (c) on the second, and XL (a) on the third. Demosthenes (*Lept.* 112) alludes to the same story, calling it a λόγος πρόχειρος; the Athenian generals, he says, had to be content with the reward of ‘an epigram on the Herms’. The story is much the same in Plutarch’s *Life of Cimon*, where the three epigrams are quoted in the same order as in Aeschines, with XL (b) explicitly described as on the first Herm, XL (c) on the second, and XL (a) on the third.

The nature of the controversy provoked by these epigrams, and by their alleged relation to XLV (in bipartite form; see XLV Pref.) is most readily comprehended by comparing the different attitudes adopted by Wade-Gery in *JHS* 53 (1933) 82ff. and by Jacoby in *Hesperia* 15 (1944) 185ff.

For Jacoby, with whom the present editor agrees, the story told by Aeschines and confirmed by Demosthenes is exposed to no objection except that the three epigrams are put in the wrong order. Both orators were aware that the three really constituted a single epigram,<sup>1</sup> but it is plain that XL (a) was the first, not the last, of its components.<sup>2</sup> The mythological example of an Athenian

<sup>1</sup> Aeschin. 3.183 *fin.* τὸ ἐπιγράμμα, Dem. *Lept.* 112 τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος; it was, however, a tripartite epigram spread over three Herms, and the term τὰ ποιήματα (Aeschin. 3.184 *init.*) is natural in its context.

<sup>2</sup> See especially Jacoby 203.

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expedition overseas naturally comes first; it ‘serves as the background for the historical feat of arms’;<sup>1</sup> and καὶ in κἀκεῖνοι, otherwise unintelligible, is the natural sequel: ‘these heroes *also*, like the mythological ones, were of steadfast courage’. The connective δέ now joins XL (c) to XL (b), and the last component of the epigram, XL (c), ends with the assurance, in logical sequence, that the Athenians in the future (XL (c)), like those in the present (XL (b)), and those in the past (XL (a)), will fight for their liberties and rights.<sup>2</sup> Jacoby could ‘assert with the utmost confidence that our evidence is perfectly credible as far as it goes: there were three “epigrams” on three Herms in the *Agora*, praising the generals who had wrenched Eion from the Persians’; there is no need whatever for the rough handling of the evidence required to produce, from a combination of XL and XLV, a group or series of Herms in honour of three different victories by Cimon over the Persians, XL (b) for Eion, XLV 1–4 for Eurymedon, and XLV 5–8 for Cyprus. XL relates wholly to Eion, XLV wholly to Cyprus (see XLV Pref.).

There remains nevertheless a question to which Jacoby thought it his duty to give an answer: how is the wrong sequence of the epigrams in our sources to be explained?<sup>3</sup>

Jacoby’s explanation depends on a theory which few have found persuasive: that XL (a) 5–6 are spurious. ‘There is only one explanation [for the false order], but it is in my opinion a perfect one: *the explanation not from an error but from the purpose of the moralizing orator who first made use of the Eion epigram.* I suggest that for him the obnoxious distich<sup>4</sup> was the most important one, and I suggest further that it was of his own making. It drove home the moral which he wished to draw from the poem, which did not even give the names of the generals, because it openly and clearly heaped all glory on “the Athenians” who had a right to be called κοσμηταὶ μάχης on account of what they had achieved at different times and under different leadership... Of course only the Menestheus-epigram allowed of an addition, and, equally of course, he had to quote it in the last place; he simply could not conclude with the praise of the generals.’

The obvious weakness here is the notion that an orator added two lines of

<sup>1</sup> Jacoby *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> The proper order of the three epigram-components was first proposed, but not adopted, by Goettling *Ges. Abh.* 2 (1863) 141; it was adopted by E. A. Richter in *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 93 (1866) 30ff.; see Jacoby 200 n. 152.

<sup>3</sup> As the same false order appears in both Aeschines and Plutarch, both of whom refer to the ‘first Herm’, ‘second Herm’, and ‘third Herm’, a common source seems obvious – probably the oration of Leptines to which Demosthenes refers (Jacoby 187 n. 109); but Demosthenes calls it a ‘commonplace’, perhaps implying that others had used it.

<sup>4</sup> XL (a) 5–6 is ‘obnoxious’ because (a) it makes six lines instead of four; (b) it is ‘faulty and poor in itself’: the statement that ‘Menestheus came to Troy as a κοσμητῆς μάχης ἔξοχος, therefore it is nothing strange for the Athenians to be called κοσμηταὶ μάχης’ is called ‘faulty logic’ (we have heard worse) and ‘banal’ (as so many sentiments in epigrams are); (c) ἀμφὶ καὶ ἡγορέης is condemned as a space-filler, which it is hard, if not impossible, to connect grammatically with κοσμηταί. See the note.

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his own to a public inscription, a well-known one, according to Demosthenes, inviting the charge of forgery from his opponent in court. It is more prudent to admit that we do not know, and do not expect to know, why Leptines (or another) quoted the first epigram as if it were the third. We may note that his argument (like that of Aeschines) depended very much more on XL (b) and XL (c) than on XL (a); they had no obvious reason to quote XL (a) at all except for the sake of completeness.

There is general agreement (Jacoby 187 n. 109) that Plutarch has the better text, whatever his source may have been (Ephorus, according to Boas; according to Jacoby, an Hellenistic *Life of Cimon* which corrected the epigrams either from inspection of the Herms or – more probably – by collation with Leptines). The quality of the composition is mediocre. The epigrams are anonymous in both sources, and never found their way into the *Anthology*; they were presumably not included in the *Sylloge Simonidea*.

Aeschin. in Ctes. 183 s.a.n. ἦσαν τινες . . . κατὰ τοὺς τότε καιροὺς οἱ πολὺν πόνον ὑπομείναντες καὶ μεγάλους κινδύνους ἐπὶ τῷ Στρυμόνι ποταμῷ ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι Μήδους. οὗτοι δεῦρο ἀφικόμενοι τὸν δῆμον ἤτησαν δωρεάν, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ δῆμος τιμὰς μεγάλας, ὥς τότε ἔδοκει, τρεῖς λιθίνους Ἑρμᾶς στήσαι ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῶν Ἑρμῶν, ἐφ’ ὧστε μὴ ἐπιγράψειν τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἐαυτῶν, ἵνα μὴ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀλλὰ τοῦ δήμου δοκῇ εἶναι τὸ ἐπίγραμμα. ὅτι δ’ ἀληθὴ λέγω, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ποιημάτων γινώσσεσθε . . .

- (a) ἔκ ποτε τῆσδε πόλης ἅμ’ Ἀτρεΐδῃσι Μενεσθεύς  
 ἤγειτο ζαθεὸν Τρωϊκὸν ἐς πεδίον, 840  
 ὃν ποθ’ Ὀμηρος ἔφη Δαναῶν πύκα θωρηκτῶν  
 κοσμητῆρα μάχης ἔξοχον ὄντα μολεῖν.  
 5 οὕτως οὐδὲν ἀεικὲς Ἀθηναίοισι καλεῖσθαι  
 κοσμητὰς πολέμου τ’ ἀμφὶ καὶ ἡνορέης.
- (b) ἦν ἄρα κάκεῖνοι ταλακάρδιοι, οἳ ποτε Μήδων 845  
 παισὶν ἐπ’ Ἡϊόνι Στρυμόνος ἀμφὶ ῥοᾶς  
 λιμόν τ’ αἰθωνα κρueρόν τ’ ἐπάγοντες Ἄρηα  
 πρῶτοι δυσμενέων εὖρον ἀμυχανίην.
- (c) ἡγεμόνεσσι δὲ μισθὸν Ἀθηναῖοι τάδ’ ἔδωκαν  
 αὐτ’ εὐεργεσίης καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν. 850  
 μᾶλλον τις τάδ’ ἰδὼν καὶ ἐπεσσομένων ἐθελήσει  
 ἀμφὶ περὶ ξυνοῖς πράγμασι δῆριν ἔχειν.

ἔστι που τὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὄνομα; οὐδαμοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δήμου.

(b) praefixum est ἐπιγέγραπται γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ τῶν Ἑρμῶν, (c) ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ, (a) ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ ἐπιγέγραπται Ἑρμῇ

Plut. vit. Cim. 7 s.a.n. καὶ τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς αὐτῷ (τῷ Κίμωνι) τοὺς λιθίνους ὁ δῆμος ἀναθεῖναι συνεχώρησεν, ὧν ἐπιγέγραπται τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ ((b) 1–4), τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ ((c) 1–4), τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ ((a) 1–6); cf. Demosth. *Lept.* 112 ἔστιν τοίνυν τις πρόχειρος λόγος, ὥς ἄρα καὶ παρ’ ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων

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πόλλ’ ἀγὰθ’ εἰργασμένοι τινὲς οὐδενὸς ἤξιουντο τοιούτου, ἀλλ’ ἀγαπητῶς ἐπιγράμματος ἐν τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς ἔτυχον. καὶ ἴσως τοῦθ’ ὑμῖν ἀναγνώσεται τὸ ἐπίγραμμα.

(a) 2 ἐξ Plut., Aesch. codd. hklP: ἄμ Aesch. codd. rell. 3 θωρηκτῶν Plut.: χαλκοχιτῶνων Aesch., sed θωρ. sscr. codd. ghm 4 ὄντα Plut.: ἄνδρα Aesch. 6 κοσμηταῖς Plut.: -τάς Aesch.

(b) 3 κρυερὸν Plut.: κρατερὸν Aesch.

(c) 1 ἔδωκαν Aesch.: ἐπέδωκαν Plut. 2 μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν Plut.: μεγάλης ἀρετῆς Aesch. 4 ἀμφὶ ξυνοῖσι πράγμασι μόχθον ἔχειν Aesch.

(a) 1 [839] **Μενεσθεύς**: his first appearance since Homer. See my *History and the Homeric Iliad* 145 with 173 n. 79. Nothing was known about him except what the *Iliad* tells – that the Athenians at Troy were led by ‘Menestheus the son of Peteos’; his exploits are few and inglorious. The epigram exaggerates his importance by coupling him as leader with Agamemnon and Menelaus.

2 [840] **ζαθεόν**: neither Troy nor its plain is so described in Homer.

*Cf.* Hom. *Il.* 23.464 Τρωϊκὸν ἄμ πεδῖον.

3–4 [841–2] Something like this was indeed said about Menestheus, but only in the Catalogue, and in lines which Zenodotus athetised (as well he might) *Il.* 2.553–4 τῶι δ’ οὐ πῶ τις ὁμοῖος ἐπιχθόνιος γένετ’ ἀνὴρ | κοσμησάι ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἀσπιδιώτας.

**πύκα θωρηκτῶν**: Plutarch’s phrase is Homeric (though never applied to Greeks), Aeschines’ is not.

5–6 [843–4] **οὐδὲν ἀεικές**: as Hdt. 3.33, 6.98.2, [A.] *PV* 1042.

**πολέμου τ’ ἀμφὶ καὶ ἡνорέης**: there is no lack of clarity, though ἀμφὶ in this sense (‘in the sphere of...’) regularly governs the dative (LSJ *s.v.* B III), not the genitive.

(b) 1–2 [845–6] ἦν and ἔστι at the beginning of a sentence may be followed by a plural subject; *cf.* S. *Tr.* 520, E. *Ion* 1146, Plat. *Rep.* 463A, and other passages quoted by K.–G. 1.68 and West on Hes. *Theog.* 321.

**κάκεινοι**: καὶ links the legendary heroes of XL (a) with today’s heroes of XL (b). It is a very strong argument in favour of the order of epigrams adopted here. In ‘Aeschylus’ 472, κυανὴ καὶ τοῦσδε μενεγχεῖας ὤλεσεν ἀνδρας | Μοῖρα, καὶ implies ‘like other fighters before them’ (Jacoby 198 n.148 is surely mistaken in rejecting this example on the ground that it is ‘certainly not an epigram’), but it is not a good parallel to the present passage. There is a big difference between saying ‘these men died for their country (as many have done)’ and – of men who survived and are being honoured – ‘these men *too* were steadfast’.

**ταλακάρδιοι**: evidently ‘of enduring heart’, as in [Hes.] *scut.* 424, of Heracles. The compound is very rare; Bacchyl. *fr.* 62 (a) 3, without context; S. *OC* 540, of Oedipus, apparently ‘miserable’.

**Μήδων παισίν**: the Athenians in battle against the Medes are often called παῖδες Ἀθηναίων (754 n.), their opponents are not normally so described.

3–4 [847–8] See Jacoby 205 n.172. The author is making the most of things, but his words are quite carefully chosen. Cimon may fairly be said to be the first to reduce Persians to ἀμυχανία, a state of helplessness. The defeated invaders could withdraw from Salamis and Plataea, and remained a formidable

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force. Boges and his Persian garrison were surrounded in Eion and reduced by starvation (λιμόν αἰθωνα recalls Herodotus 7.107.2 οὐδὲν ἔτι φορβῆς ἔνῃν ἐν τῷ τείχει) to the choice of surrender or death. Boges chose the latter; he saw no way out, and the whole garrison perished in a city totally destroyed. ‘What the men of Eion did was, in fact, something new in the history of warfare with the barbarians’ (Jacoby *loc. cit.*).

αἰθωνα is an unexpected epithet for ‘hunger’ at this date (Call. *Cer.* 66–7 λιμόν | αἰθωνα κρατερόν) unless αἰθονα λιμόν (Bergk, for αἰθοπα) is correct in Hes. *op.* 363.

κρατερόν . . . Ἀρηα: not Homeric, but *cf.* *H. Hymn.* 8.15 φυλόπιδος κρυερῆς. κρατερόν indicates a debased text in Aeschines.

πρώτοι . . . εὖρον: the phrase is illustrated, and defended in this context, by Jacoby 205 n. 172.

(c) 1 [849] ἡγεμόνεσσιν: see the context in Aeschines. Though the honours were paid specifically to ‘the generals’ they were not to be named. The use of the plural may have been part of the agreement; the singular would have been almost equivalent to naming Cimon.

τάδε: here and in 3 = the inscribed Herms.

2 [850] ἀντ’ εὐεργεσίας: the phrase was copied by the continuator in xii 6 above (see n. there), but unsuitably; it is more appropriate to speak of ‘benefaction’ conferred by victorious generals than by men fallen on the field.

Dem. *Lept.* 112, πῶλλ’ ἀγὰθ’ εἰργασμένοι, supports Plutarch’s text against Aeschines’.

4 [852] ἀμφὶ περὶ: as Hom. *Il.* 2.305; see Gow on Theocr. 7. 142. Aeschines’ text is again debased, as also in the substitution of μόχθον for δῆριν.

## XLI [163 B., 110 D.]

On an Olympic victor.

This couplet comes from an epigram of unconventional content. It is well that Aristotle is the source; otherwise it would probably have been regarded as a literary exercise, possibly of a satirical type, from the Hellenistic period. The speaker contrasts his rough and humble trade in the past with his Olympic splendours in the present; one more couplet would be enough for the latter theme, but it would not be surprising if the author had more to say about his interesting subject.

The speaker ‘used to carry fish from Argos to Tegea, with a yoke round the shoulders’. The road over the mountains from Argos to Tegea is a long day’s walk by the modern road, forty miles or more; anciently it will have been a good deal shorter but much of it relatively steep and rough walking, a hard day’s work for a man carrying enough fish to make the journey worth while. Presumably he would stay overnight in Tegea.

The epigram is anonymous in Aristotle, and the fact that his second quotation of it is followed by the words καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σιμωνίδου shows that he had no notion that anyone ascribed these lines to Simonides. By the time of Aristophanes of Byzantium (*ob. c.* 180 B.C.) it had long been customary to attach the name of Simonides to ancient inscriptions on Olympic victors; and it is

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probable that the *Sylloge Simonidea*, Meleager’s primary source, was already in circulation by the end of the third century.

Aristot. rhet.<sup>1</sup> 1.7, 1365a 24 s.a.n. ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τῷ Ὀλυμπιονίκῃ.

πρόσθε μὲν ἄμφ’ ὥμοισιν ἔχων τραχείαν ἄσιλλαν  
ἰχθύς ἐξ Ἀργους εἰς Τεγέαν ἔφερον.

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ibid.<sup>2</sup> 1.9, 1367 b 18 τοιοῦτον δὲ τὸ τοῦ Ἰφικράτους, ἐξ οἷων εἰς οἶα, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ὀλυμπιονίκου (1), καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σιμωνίδου (xxvi<sup>3</sup>); Eust. Od. 1761.25 ὁ δὲ τὸν σάνναν τοῦτον παρασημηνάμενος Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ γραμματικὸς καὶ ἄλλας ἐκτίθεται καινοφώνους λέξεις, οἷον ἄσιλλαν, σκεῦός τι ἰχθυηρόν, οὐ χρήσις παρὰ Σιμωνίδῃ ἐν τῷ· (1-2)

1 πρόσθεν μὲν τραχείαν ἔχων ὥμοισιν ἄσιλλαν Aristot.<sup>1</sup> cod. A<sup>7</sup>P τρηχείαν Eust. 2 Τεγέην ἔφερε Eust.

1 [853] ἄσιλλαν: the word offers itself here only, but was most ingeniously recreated by Hemsterhuys out of corruptions in (a) Alciphron 1.1.4, of fishermen, τὰς ἀσίλλας (ύλλας, εἰλλας or εἴλλας codd.) ἐπωμίους ἀνελόμενοι καὶ τὰς ἐκατέρωθεν σπυρίδας ἐξαρτήσαντες: this passage shows clearly what is meant – a yoke set on the shoulders, with baskets dependent left and right; (b) Et. Mag. s.v. ἀστυπορεῖ· ἀσιλλοφορεῖ (σιλλοφόνει cod.); and (c) Hesych. s.v. φέρμια· ἄς ἐνιοι ἀσίλλας (ἀστήλλας cod.).

It is remarkable that RE (2.1580) gives this rare word the privilege of a separate article, albeit a bad one.

2 [854] ἰχθύς: ἰχθύς would have served as well.

## XLII [153 B., 151 D.]

On a winner in the pentathlon.

Nothing else is known about an athlete named Diophon son of Philon, and the only clue to the date of this epigram is the ascription to Simonides in the Planudean manuscript (the sole source); this may be an indication that the epigram is one of the numerous ancient inscriptions on distinguished athletes which came into the *Anthology* under the name of Simonides, most of them through the *Sylloge Simonidea*.

At first sight the detail, ‘at the Isthmus and Pytho’, and the addition of the father’s name seem to favour the conclusion that this is an authentic inscription; but there are difficulties.

The statement that Diophon won all five events makes no sense to us. An Hellenistic (or later) poet might amuse himself and his audience by putting the five events of the pentathlon in their proper order (if it is the proper order) in a neat pentameter. What is stated here, however, is not that these were the five events of the pentathlon but that Diophon won all of them in certain competitions; and we do not understand how he could have done so. The wrestling was the last of the five events (Bacchylides 9.36, Xen. Hell. 7.4.29; implied by Hdt. 9.33.2 also); now we do not know how the competition for the pentathlon was organised, but whatever the detail of the arrangements may have been we do not understand how they could have included competition in the last event by a winner of the first four. If one man wins the first four

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events, there will be nobody with a claim to be his competitor in the fifth event, the wrestling; and in any case he has already won the pentathlon when he has won *three* events, whether the first three or three of the first four.<sup>1</sup>

The details are not recorded; but it seems obvious that there is one, and only one, simple plan:

(a) All competitors took part in each of the first four events, *viz.* the jump, the foot-race, the discus, and the javelin; if a competitor won three of these, he was victor in the pentathlon, and the competition ended with his third victory.

(b) If the competition continued beyond the fourth event (no individual having won three of the first four), only winners in the first four events were qualified for the final event, the wrestling.

(c) These winners must emerge in one of three categories:

(i) *A* and *B* have each two wins; they now wrestle for the championship.

(ii) *A* has two wins, *C* and *D* have each one win. One would expect that *C* and *D* will wrestle, and the winner will meet *A* for the championship. But Merkelbach (*ZPE* 11 (1973) 264 n. 8) seems justified in inferring from Bacchylides 9.38 that a two-event winner might have to wrestle against both of the one-event winners, the arrangements for the final event being presumably made by drawing lots.

The outcome in this category might be that two competitors might end with two victories each, for the one-event winner might beat the two-event winner in the wrestling; the result will then be that the winner in the wrestling is the winner of the pentathlon, but (at least at some periods and in some places) the unlucky two-event winner who was nevertheless loser of the competition might have some special recognition; see Merkelbach 265 n. 9 on *SEG* 3.335: Albinus came out winner, but Psychicus shares the honours, as he had been leading two-to-one before the wrestling and was still two-all after losing it.

(iii) *A*, *B*, *C*, and *D* have each one win. It would seem most natural now that *A* should wrestle *B*, *C* should wrestle *D*, and that the two winners should meet for the championship. Merkelbach, however, suggests that Philostratus *gymn.* 3 (p. 136 Jüthner) is an *aition* for the historical pentathlon, and if that is so the arrangements were more complex. The result of the Argonautic competition was that each of the first four events was won by a different person, while Peleus was second in all of these four events. Peleus was qualified for the fifth event, the wrestling, and as he won this he was winner of the pentathlon.

Merkelbach (264) infers that if the first four events were won by different persons, then *all* winners of second places would be eligible to compete in the fifth event; this goes far beyond the evidence of Philostratus and seems intrinsically improbable. It seems most likely that the winner of four second-places (conceivably of three, or even of two) might be eligible for the fifth event, if nobody had won more than one first-place.<sup>2</sup>

It is now clear that this epigram is not an inscriptional record; it must be a

<sup>1</sup> Evidence from schol. Aristid. *Panathen.* p. 339 D. and inscr. from Lydian Philadelphia, *JRS* 37 (1917) 88f., as set out by Merkelbach *ZPE* 11 (1973) 262–6.

<sup>2</sup> The whole subject is discussed with great ingenuity by J. Ebert, ‘Zum Pentathlon in der Antike’, *Abh. sächs. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Leipzig*, phil.-hist. Klasse 56.1, 2–34; criticised in detail by Merkelbach, with whom I agree.



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literary exercise, with its point in the neat pentameter, which gives the five events of the pentathlon in their proper order.<sup>1</sup>

A.Plan. (PI<sup>B</sup>) 3 τοῦ αὐτοῦ (= Σιμωνίδου)

Ἰσθμια καὶ Πυθοῖ Διοφῶν ὁ Φίλωνος ἐνίκα  
ἄλμα ποδωκείην δίσκον ἄκοντα πάλην.

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XLIII [155 B., 147 D.]

On a successful athlete. (See J. Ebert *Gr. Epigr. auf Sieger an gymnischen u. hippischen Agonen* (Leipzig 1972) no. 26.)

There is no other epigram much like this one. It is longer than most epigrams for athletes; it offers much more information than is customary; it is composed in a combination of metrical units not found elsewhere (dactylic hexameter + hipponactean, the latter for the sake of the name Νικολαίδας; see *Wiener Studien* n.s. 10 (1976) 166); and its literary model is the epinician catalogue of a type common enough in Pindar, e.g. *Ol.* 7.81ff.:

τῶν ἀνθεσι Διαγόρας  
ἔστεφανώσατο δῖς, κλεινᾷ τ' ἐν Ἰσθμῷ τετράκις εὐτυχέων,  
Νεμέαι τ' ἄλλαν ἐπ' ἄλλαι καὶ κρανααῖς ἐν Ἀθήναις,  
ὁ τ' ἐν Ἀργεῖ χαλκὸς ἔγνω νιν τὰ τ' ἐν Ἀρκαδίαι  
ἔργα καὶ Θήβαις ἀγῶνές τ' ἔννομοι  
Βοιωτίων  
Πέλλανά τ', Αἰγίνοι τε νικῶνθ'  
ἐξάκις ἐν Μεγάροισιν τ' οὐχ ἕτερον λιθίνα  
ψᾶφος ἔχει λόγον,

and *Ol.* 13.107ff.:

τὰ δ' ὑπ' ὄφρ' ὕϊ Παρνασσίαι  
ἔξ, Ἀργεῖ θ' ὅσσα καὶ ἐν Θήβαις ὅσα τ' Ἀρκασίν ( )  
μαρτυρήσει Λυκαίου βωμὸς ἄναξ  
Πέλλανά τε καὶ Σικυῶν καὶ Μέγαρ' Αἰακιδᾶν τ' εὐεργὲς ἄλσος  
ἃ τ' Ἐλευσίς καὶ λιπαρὰ Μαραθῶν  
ταί θ' ὑπ' Αἴτνας ὑψίλοφον καλλίπλουτοι  
πόλιες ἃ τ' Εὐβοία κτλ.

Cf. also *Ol.* 9.83ff. and *Nem.* 10.41ff.

The epigram is certainly inscriptional, and the heading ‘by Simonides’ may be an indication that it is relatively old, one of the numerous athlete-inscriptions of the late archaic and classical periods<sup>2</sup> which came into the *Anthology* mostly through the *Sylloge Simonidea*.

<sup>1</sup> The epigram is our only good evidence of this. It was certain that the wrestling came last (Bacchylides 9.36) in the early period, and likely (though this has been disputed) that discus and javelin were third and fourth (Bacchylides 9.32–6, discus, javelin, and wrestling mentioned in that order); the question whether the jump preceded the foot-race has been much debated.

The order in Philostratus *loc. cit.* is discus, javelin, foot-race, jump, and wrestling; in Eustathius *Il.* 1320, jump, discus, javelin, foot-race, wrestling; the lines in Cougny 4.99 are worthless. See Jüthner *RE* 19.524ff.

<sup>2</sup> If the narrative had been in the first person, a late Hellenistic date would have been presumable; see Peek *Wiss. Z. d. Univ. Halle* 9 (1960) 2. 199ff.

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There is no other information about Nicolaidas. The record shows him victor at three of the four major festivals, Delphi, the Isthmus, and Nemea, but not in the greatest of them, Olympia. Like Pindar's clients in the passages quoted above, Nicolaidas often competed in the minor festivals (for useful information in brief on these, see Farnell on Pind. *Ol.* 7.83ff.): he was victor at Athens, Pallene, the Lycaean Games in Arcadia, Aegina, Epidauros, Thebes, Megara, Phleious, and one other place lost in the corruption of v. 9.

The epigram does not, for most of these, specify the events won by Nicolaidas; at Phleious he won both the stadion and the pentathlon, and it is almost certain that the pentathlon was the event which he won at Athens (see 3-4 n.).

The text is incurably corrupt in three places (vv. 4, 5-6, and 9). The dialect is conventional ‘Doric’, not Corinthian (which would have ποκά, Παναθαν-, ἐνίκασεν).

A.P. 13.19 (caret Pl) Σιμωνίδου

ἄνθηκεν τόδ’ ἄγαλμα Κορίνθιος, ὅσπερ ἐνίκα  
 ἐν Δελφοῖς ποτε, Νικολαΐδας,  
 καὶ Παναθηναίοις στεφάνους λάβε πέντ’ ἐπ’ ἀέθλοις,  
 ἐξήκοντα †ἀμφιφορεῖς† ἐλαίου 860  
 5 Ἴσθμῳ δ’ ἐν ζαθέαι τρις ἐπισχερῶ †οὐδ’ ἐγένοντο  
 ὀκτίνων τομίδων ποταθμοὶ †  
 καὶ Νεμέαι τρις ἐνίκησεν καὶ τετράκις ἄλλα  
 Πελλάναι, δύο δ’ ἐν Λυκαίῳ,  
 καὶ †Νεμέαι† καὶ ἐν Αἰγίναι κρατερᾷ τ’ Ἐπιδαύρῳ 865  
 10 καὶ Θήβαι Μεγάρων τε δάμῳ·  
 ἐν δὲ Φλειοῦντι στάδιον τά τε πέντε κρατήσας  
 ἠΰφρανεν μεγάλαν Κόρινθον.

1 ἐν νίκαι P    5 ἐν: ἐγ P    11 Φλιοῦντι P    στάδιον Hermann: -δίω P

1 [857] τόδ’ ἄγαλμα: presumably a statue of Nicolaidas.

2 [858] ποτε: ποκά Schneidewin, ποσί Bergk (*nam plane dicendum erat, quo certamine Nicolaidas Pythiam victoriam nactus sit*).

3-4 [859-60] See Ziehen in *RE* 18.2.474ff. It is generally agreed (and seems to me certain; for objections, see Ziehen 475) that the Games belong exclusively to the Great Panathenaea, held every fourth year (in the third year of each Olympiad), not also to the Little Panathenaea, held annually. It is therefore very probable that πέντ’ ἐπ’ ἀέθλοις = ἐπὶ πενταέθλῳ, ‘in the pentathlon’, as Beckby and the Budé render it, not ‘in five contests’, as Paton; for five contests involve a span of twenty years, and (although similar careers could be quoted) it is not likely that Nicolaidas was dominant in the Athenian Games for so long a period.

στεφάνους must be understood metaphorically, *reward of victory*, in apposition to what follows in the next line; the actual prize for all events at the Athenian Games was a measure of oil (*IG* II/III<sup>2</sup> 2311; Ziehen 476-7). The winner of the boys’ pentathlon received 30 *amphoreis*, the winner of the youths’ 40; the number

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for the winner of the men’s pentathlon is not recorded elsewhere, but the evidence of the present epigram, that it was 60, is acceptable.

Metre proves v. 4 corrupt. The fault can hardly lie in the numeral (it must be greater than the youths’ 40, and only πεντήκοντα or ἐξήκοντα will scan here). It must therefore lie in ἀμφορεῖς, and the only plausible suggestion is that of Blinkenberg, *Herm.* 64 (1929) 272, that ἀμφορεῖς is a gloss which has replaced κάδους; he compared Pollux 10.71, Φιλόχορος δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς φησι τὸν ἀμφορέα καλεῖσθαι κάδον καὶ τὸ ἡμισφύριον ἡμικάδιον.

**5–6 [861–2] Ἴσθμῳ δ’ ἐν ζαθέαι:** cf. Pind. *Isthm.* 1.32 Ἴσθμῳ τε ζαθέαι. ‘Der Isthmus ist kein Femininum’, said Wilamowitz (*SS* 217), and therefore proceeded to alter the text; an extraordinary aberration.

Jacobs’ creation of Ποντομέδοντος ἄθλον (in his edition of 1798; π. ἄθλα in 1817) out ofωντομιδωνποταθμοι has been approved by most editors (by Dübner, Bergk, Wilamowitz, Paton, the Budé, and Beckby; not by Geffcken or Diehl). It is a rough change, and οὐδ’ ἐγένοντο has to be subjected to equally harsh treatment: ἀλλ’ ἐγένοντο | ἀκτῇ Ποντομέδοντος ἄθλα Jacobs (1817), an unlikely change, but not so rough as the modern vulgate, οἶδεν (or εἶδεν) ἐλόντα | ἀκτὰ (Pflugk and Schneidewin) Ποντομέδοντος ἄθλον (or ἄθλα). In so succinct a catalogue the superfluity of Ποντομέδοντος ἀκτὰ, following Ἴσθμῳ ἐν ζαθέαι, though tolerable if it had been transmitted, is unpersuasive as the outcome of a modern rewriting of the last five words.

**9 [865] †ἐν Νεμέαι†:** presumably a careless repetition of the beginning of 7. ἐν Τεγέαι (Brunck; cf. Pind. *Nem.* 10.47 with schol.) has the merit of sitting comfortably in the space. The most surprising omission from the minor festivals is Argos, but it will not fit easily here.

**κρατερᾶι:** the epithet has been much disliked (κραναᾶι Schneidewin), but there is no good reason why a city should not be called *strong*; cf. Thuc. 4.3.2 χωρίον... φύσει καρτερόν, 4.131.1, 5.10.6.

**10 [866] Θήβαι:** the dative singular as in Pind. *Pyth.* 4.299 (Θήβας Bergk, Θήβας Wilamowitz).

**11 [867] τὰ... πέντε:** in the pentathlon; Nicolaidas, like Xenophon of Corinth at Olympia (Pind. *Ol.* 13), won the stadion and the pentathlon at the same contest. Wilamowitz’ conjecture, σταδίωι δὲ τὰ πάντα κρατήσας, meaning that Nicolaidas won the stadion at all the above-mentioned Games, is certainly wrong, and inconsistent with his own admission that the event named for the Panathenaea in 3–4 is the pentathlon.

## XLIV [159 B., 113 D.]

Dedication of a Herm.

Trypho begins his section on Transposition (Ὑπερβατόν) with an example of the transposed word, as λάινον in Hom. *Il.* 12.177–8, περὶ τεῖχος ὀρώρει θεσπιδαῆς πῦρ λάινον, and a similar example involving tmesis (*Od.* 1.8 κατὰ βούς... ἥσθιον). His second category is the transposed phrase, as in *Il.* 2.333–5, where a substantial parenthesis separates a verbal clause from its participial clause. And then he adds a third category, ‘transposition in syllables’, illustrated by a quotation from ‘the epigrams of Simonides’.

There is only one sense possible for ‘transposition in syllables’ in this context:

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it must mean that a syllable may be detached from a word, just as a word or a clause was detached from what belongs to it in the two preceding categories; and Headlam (*J. Phil.* 26 (1889) 93, *CR* 14 (1900) 9) seemed to have solved the problem by restoring the verse-text to ‘Ερμῆν τόνδ’ ἀνέθη- Δημήτριος Ὀρθιάδου -κεν | ἐν προθύροις – a true example of ‘transposition of syllables’, and a model for *saxo cere comminuit brum*.

It must be admitted, however, that if this is the truth, it is a truth buried deep beneath layers of rubbish in our text of Trypho. The mediaeval manuscripts present the actual quotation from Simonides as ‘Ερμῆν τόνδ’ ἀνέθηκεν Δημήτριος ὄρθια δ’ οὐκ ἐν προθύροις, followed at once by the comment ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐκ ὄρθια δέ; neither text nor comment is intelligible, but it is at least plain that there is no question of ‘transposition of syllable’, only of ‘transposition of word’ as in Trypho’s first category.

West’s edition of what remains of this passage in a papyrus of (probably) the fourth century A.D. showed that the vulgate was at fault in one most important respect: what it offers as the actual quotation from Simonides is not in fact that; it is the grammarian’s explanation of the quotation, which has dropped out of the mediaeval tradition. The words ‘Ερμῆν – προθύροις are introduced in the papyrus by the phrase τὸ γὰρ ἐξῆς οὕτως ἀποδίδοται, which is here as elsewhere Trypho’s way of telling us how the words would run if there were no eccentricity in their order. Unfortunately the papyrus-text does not extend as far back as the actual quotation from Simonides; it begins with traces of comment of which nothing can be made with the important exception of the words Δήμητρος τὴν τελευταίαν; this most obviously refers to ‘the last syllable of the word Δήμητρος’, and what follows the rearranged quotation (‘Ερμῆν – προθύροις) is not the comment found in the vulgate but this same word, Δήμητρος (followed by a few unintelligible traces).

How ‘the last syllable of Δήμητρος’ can have been relevant to the theme of ‘hyperbaton in syllables’ remains deeply obscure; nor do we understand what place there could be for the genitive case of ‘Demeter’ in Simonides’ text. Demetrius might (though it would be an odd thing to do) put his statue of Hermes ἐν προθύροις Δήμητρος, and there might be some play with his name Δημήτριος, but we cannot imagine how any question of ‘hyperbaton in syllables’ could arise in such a context.

The truth is that nothing but Headlam’s solution is ever going to make sense of the heading ‘transposition of syllables’;<sup>1</sup> and yet that solution is quite incompatible with Trypho’s comment. It is hard to imagine what explanation there could be except that Trypho inherited his example ‘from the epigrams of Simonides’ from an earlier writing on the same subject; that the quotation was already corrupt there, and no commentary given; and that Trypho made a great muddle of it.

A very high percentage of Trypho’s verse-quotations come from the fifth century B.C. or earlier (West p. 232); New Comedy and Callimachus are represented, but the odds are much in favour of a pre-Alexandrian date for the

<sup>1</sup> West in his note on the passage offers an obscure and unconvincing explanation which does not illustrate ‘hyperbaton in syllables’.

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present epigram. Its ascription to Simonides may be an indication that it was included in the *Sylloge Simonidea*.

Trypho περί τρόπων e codicibus necnon e P. Vindob. 29332 ed. West CQ 15 (1965) 239 ξῖνοι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς συλλαβαῖς ὑπερβατὰ πεποιήκασιν, ὡς καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἐν ἐπιγράμμασιν (hucusque codd., e quibus excidit quod ex epigrammatis Simonideis laudatum erat; hic incipit P. Vindob., non habent codd.) . . . λοθε. ἔστυπερβ[.] . . . [.] . . . [.] οὐ Δημήτρος τὴν τ[ε]λευταίαν [.] . . . τὸ γὰρ ἐξῆς οὐτω[ς ἀπ]οδίδοται (his omissis pergunt. codd., quibuscum P. Vindob. non sine lacunis consentit).

Ἑρμῆν τόνδε ἀνέθηκεν Δημήτριος ὄρθια δ’ οὐκ ἐν προθύροις, 869  
post haec ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐκ ὄρθια δέ codd., Δημήτρος ρ. [.] . κ. ιμαθ. [ P. Vindob.

## XLV [142 B., 103 D.]

On the battle of Cyprus, 450/49 B.C.

These lines, together with XL and XLVI, have been the subject of elaborate discussion.<sup>1</sup> The present Preface briefly summarises personal impressions formed while editing the text for publication in *Epigrammata Graeca* (1975) and confirmed by renewed study of the controversy.

The historical background is the defeat of the Persians and their allies by the Athenians and their allies under the command of Cimon, son of Miltiades, on three occasions:

(1) The capture of Eion, defended by a Persian garrison, at the mouth of the river Strymon, in 475 B.C. (Thuc. 1.98).

(2) The defeat of the Persians by land and sea at the mouth of the river Eurymedon in Pamphylia in 468 B.C. (Thuc. 1.100).

(3) The defeat of Persians and their allies by land and sea at Cyprus in 449 B.C. (Thuc. 1.112).

The contents of XL (b) and XLVI prove that the former relates to the battle of Eion, the latter to the battle of Eurymedon. Nor is there any serious doubt that XLV 5–8 relates to the battle of Cyprus; it is generally agreed that the authority for Κύπρῳ in XLV 5 is superior to that for γαίῃ, but the decisive argument against γαίῃ is that it leaves the epigram without any indication of the site of the battle commemorated.

To these hard facts must be added another: that XLV is a complete and indivisible epigram. Some have divided it into two epigrams, referring 1–4 to the Eurymedon and 5–8 to Cyprus;<sup>2</sup> but this is impossible for two reasons. First, οἷδε γάρ in XLV 5 links 5–8 indissolubly with 1–4, and γάρ has resisted all attacks. Wade-Gery (87) rightly rejects Domaszewski’s change of γάρ to καὶ

<sup>1</sup> The scene is set by Busolt *Gr. Gesch.* 3. 1.146 with n. 5. Bibliography in Wade-Gery *JHS* 53 (1933) 72ff., Jacoby *Hesperia* 14 (1945) 185 n.108, Gomme *Comm. on Thuc.* 1 (1945) 284ff., Peek *GVI* (1955) no.16, Pritchett ‘Marathon’, *Univ. of Calif. Publ. in Class. Arch.* 4.2 (1960) 164ff.

<sup>2</sup> Thus a series of Herms in honour of Cimon’s three Persian victories is created: XL (b) for Eion (XL (a) and (c) can be sent to the furniture-removers), XLV 1–4 for Eurymedon, and XLV 5–8 for Cyprus. It was Jacoby’s purpose totally to destroy this creation.

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as ‘impossible’, but confesses that he himself ‘can suggest no correction’. It is useless, however, to build theories on the hope that ‘the truth is still to be found’ about γάρ; no truth has yet been found except that γάρ is present in the text and has resisted all attempts to remove it. Secondly, it is manifest that XLV 1–4 are not an independent epigram. It is inconceivable that an epigram of this period should say no more than that ‘the greatest action in the history of the world has taken place by land and sea’, without indicating what the action was, who took part in it, and where it occurred.

The acceptance of XLV as a complete epigram on the battle of Cyprus is absolutely necessary; but it has a disagreeable consequence. For it is actually quoted by Diodorus in connection with the battle of Eurymedon. He ends his description of that battle with the statement that the Athenians dedicated a tithe of the spoils to the god, and that XLV was the epigram which accompanied the dedication.<sup>1</sup> It is a very uncomfortable conclusion, yet it has to be accepted. The narrative in Diodorus confuses the two campaigns, including (not without some obvious absurdity<sup>2</sup>) the Cyprus-battle of 449 in the Eurymedon-battle of 468 B.C. The two battles had indeed quite a lot in common. On both occasions Cimon was the Athenian commander-in-chief; in both, the Athenians and their allies won signal victories over the Persians and their allies both by land and at sea (Thuc. I.100.1, I.112.4). It would be a comfort to impute the whole blame to Diodorus and to acquit his source, but the historians will not allow this. Wade-Gery (83) expresses the opinion of the majority when he writes that ‘poem and narrative are inseparable, and both without doubt go back to Ephoros’.

Boas (*de epigr. Simon.* 104–8) makes a strong case for the conclusion that Diodorus took his text from Ephorus, and that he is (except for a few trivial corruptions) a more reliable source than either Aristides or the *Anthology*.

The epigram is distinguished by its length and its bombast. Where ‘never’ would have sufficed, two lines are taken to say ‘not since the sea separated Europe from Asia, and the War-god controlled the cities of men’. Two more lines say not simply that a great battle was won, but that it was such a work as was never yet done by mortal man. All that was needed is said in the third couplet: ‘these men killed many Persians and captured one hundred Phoenician ships at sea’. It was thought important to add that the ships were taken with their crews; and that left a gap for more bombast, about the loud groans of Asia, followed by the pitiable phrase ‘smitten by both hands by the force of war’. It would seem (*cf.* XL) that Cimon’s circle had no poet of talent at their disposal.

Diod. Sic. II.62.3 s.a.n. ὁ δὲ δῆμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων δεκάτην ἐξελόμενος ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ἀνέθηκε τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἐπὶ τὸ κατασκευασθὲν ἀνάθημα ἐπέγραψε τήνδε·

ἐξ οὗ τ’ Εὐρώπην Ἀσίας δίχρα πόντος ἔνειμεν      870  
καὶ πόλιας θνητῶν θοῦρος Ἄρης ἐπέχει,

<sup>1</sup> This is further evidence of confusion: οἶδε in XLV 5 implies an epitaph; nor is there any hint of a dedication in the text.

<sup>2</sup> See Busolt *loc. cit.*, especially p. 147 n. 5, and Preger p. 215.

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οὐδέν πω τοιοῦτον ἐπιχθονίων γένητ’ ἀνδρῶν  
 ἔργον ἐν ἡπείρῳ καὶ κατὰ πόντον ἅμα·  
 5 οἶδε γάρ ἐν Κύπρῳ Μήδους πολλοὺς ὀλέσαντες  
 Φοινίκων ἑκατὸν ναῦς ἔλον ἐν πελάγει 875  
 ἀνδρῶν πληθούσας. μέγα δ’ ἔστενεν Ἀσίς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν  
 πληγείσ’ ἀμφοτέραις χερσὶ κράτει πολέμου.

Aristid. or. 28.64, II 162 K s.a.n. (1-8); idem or. pro quatt. II 209 D s.a.n. (1-8); ibid. II 210 s.a.n. (3-4); schol. Aristid. III 209 D. εἰς τὰς αὐθημερὸν ταύτας νίκας Σιμωνίδης ὕμνησε λέγων· (1-8); A.P. 7.296 (caret Pl) [C] Σιμωνίδου τοῦ Κηίου [J] εἰς τοὺς μετὰ Κίμωνος στρατευσαμένους ἐν Κύπρῳ Ἀθηναίους ὅτε τὰς ἑκατὸν ναῦς τῶν Φοινίκων ἔλαβεν (1-8); Apostol. 7.57<sup>a</sup> (1-8) Σιμωνίδου ἔλεγεία περὶ Ἀθηναίων

1 τ’ Arist.: γ’ P, Diod. Εὐρώπαν Ἀσίης P ἐνειμε(ν) P, Diod.: ἔκρινε Arist. 2 πόλις θνητῶν Arist.: πολέας θνητῶν Diod., πόλεμον λαῶν P ἐπέχει Diod.: ἐφίπει P, Arist. 3 οὐδέν (οὐδέ codd. AF) πω τοιοῦτον Diod.: οὐδενί πω κάλλιον Arist., οὐδάμα πω καλλίων P 4 ἅμα P, Diod.: ὁμοῦ Arist. 5 Κύπρῳ P, Diod.: γαίῃ Arist. Μήδους Diod.: Μήδων P, Arist. 7 αὐτῶν Arist.: αὐτῷ Diod. (ἔσταν’, tum nil scriptum in P).

1 [870] Imitated in an inscription at Xanthus in Lycia, *Tit. As. Min.* 1.44.1 (= Kaibel *ep.* 768, Geffcken *Gr. Ep.* no. 98; prob. V fin.) ἐξ οὗ τ’ Εὐρώπην Ἀσίας δίχα πόντος ἐνειμεν | οὐδεὶς πω Λυκίων στήλην τοιάνδ’ ἀνέθηκεν; *IG* II/III 1141 (= Kaibel *ep.* 844, Athens 375 B.C.) has much less in common (ἐξ οὐ..., οὐδεὶς... μείζονα... ἔδρασ’ ἀγαθά).

ἐξ οὗ τε: the use of τε is Homeric; it is much likelier than γε, a particle sparingly used by the early epigrammatists.

2 [871] ἐπέχει: presumably as in LSJ s.v. vi, *have power over*.

4 [873] ἐν ἡπείρῳ: see Wade-Gery 84f. It is an integral part of his argument that ἡπειρος cannot signify Cyprus; and indeed it is true that ‘by the fifth century, ἡπειρος is never used of an island, but always of some part of some of the three “Continents”, Europe, Asia, Libya’. There is no doubt, however, that the original distinction between πόντος and ἡπειρος is between ‘sea’ and ‘shore’, and the fact that Homer uses ἡπειρος of islands (*Od.* 5.56, 10.56) is sufficient precedent for later poets. It is not as if there were any obscurity in the use here; ἐν ἡπείρῳ καὶ κατὰ πόντον is a clear poetic equivalent to κατὰ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν. It is an additional indictment of γαίῃ in 5 (see Pref.) that it would offer a dismal repetition of ἐν ἡπείρῳ καὶ κατὰ πόντον in ἐν γαίῃ... ἐν πελάγει.

7-8 [876-7] ὑπ’ αὐτῶν with πληγείσα, ‘smitten by the Athenians’. The juxtaposition of the unconnected datives, χερσὶ κράτει, is downright clumsy; ἀμφοτέραις χερσὶ κραταιπολέμοις would have done very well.

## XLVI [105 B., 115 D.]

On the dead at the battle of the Eurymedon.

See the Prefaces to XL and XLV.

## ‘SIMONIDES’

In 468 B.C. an allied force, mainly Athenian, commanded by Cimon, defeated the Persians by land and sea at the mouth of the river Eurymedon in Pamphylia. Pausanias (10.15.4) saw at Delphi a bronze palm-tree and a gilt image of Athena dedicated by the Athenians from the two victories won on the same day on the Eurymedon; the same author (1.29.14) mentions the graves in the Ceramicus ‘of the men whom Cimon led to the great victory by sea and land’. There is no other record of an Athenian epigram, either dedicatory or sepulchral, except *A.P.* 7.443, which is surely Hellenistic (see XLVII Pref.), but there exist two epigrams celebrating the ἀριστεία in the sea-battle of a Samian, Maiandrios; these are dated c. 250 B.C. and are presumably ‘a re-shaping of a monument...contemporary with the battle’.<sup>1</sup>

It is hard to answer the question whether XLVI is a copy of a contemporary inscription or a later literary exercise. There are obstacles to the belief that it is inscriptional, but none of them is quite insurmountable.<sup>2</sup>

(1) It was Panhellenic custom to bury the dead in *polyandria* on the battlefield. The Athenians were exceptions to the rule, bringing the bones of the fallen to Athens for burial in the Ceramicus; and Pausanias says that the first of such public burials at home was that of the fallen at Drabescus in 465/4 B.C. Now the phrasing of XLVI, οἶδε παρ’ Εὐρυμέδοντα, naming the battlefield but not the nationality of the dead, is plain proof that the inscription (if it is one) was at Athens, not in Pamphylia. It is therefore apparently an example of the Athenian practice a few years earlier than Drabescus. Jacoby makes short work of this objection: Cimon may have acted on his own authority, and his action may have been a precedent for those who, a few years later, instituted the law that the dead must always be brought back to Athens for burial.

(2) The language of XLVI seems more than usually stereotyped. In particular, it has been condemned (see Keil *Herm.* 20 (1885) 342) as an imitation of an inscription at Athens dated 440/39 B.C. (*IG* 1<sup>2</sup> 943 = Peek 18, Meiggs and Lewis 48), in which lists of names are recorded under the preambles ἐν Χερρονήσῳ Ἀθηναίων οἶδε ἀπέθανον, ἐν Βυζαντίῳ Ἀθηναίων οἶδε ἀπέθανον, οἶδε ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις πολέμοις ἀπέθανον. The lists are accompanied by an epigram:

οἶδε παρ’ Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπώλεσαν ἀγλαὸν ἦβην  
 βαρνάμενοι, σφετέραν δ’ εὐκλείσαμ πατρίδα,  
 ὥστ’ ἐχθροὺς στενάχειμ πολέμου θέρος ἐκκομίσαντας,  
 αὐτοὶς δ’ ἀθάνατον μνῆμ’ ἀρετῆς ἔθεσαν.

Now that it is known that the phrase πεζοὶ τε καὶ ὠκυπόρων ἐπὶ νηῶν in XLVI 3 repeats the Salamis-epigram (XX (a) 3), it must be admitted that XLVI seems a more than usually perfunctory concatenation of stock phrases (Pritchett 166); but it should be remembered that conventional phrasing is a characteristic of classical epitaphs; and it is even possible that the author of the above epigram had XLVI in mind. It may be added that Cimon had no very talented poet at his disposal for the celebration of his other two great victories, those at Eion and Cyprus.

<sup>1</sup> Wade-Gery *JHS* 53 (1933) 97ff., with texts and commentary.

<sup>2</sup> See Wade-Gery *loc. cit.* 79–82, Jacoby *JHS* 64 (1944) 48 and 52, Pritchett ‘Marathon’, *Univ. of Calif. Publ. in Class. Arch.* 4.2 (1960) 164–7, with bibliography especially in Wade-Gery and Pritchett.



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(3) Particular offence is given by the word ποτε in XLVI 1 (see Wade-Gery *loc. cit.* 71–82). Some have absolutely refused to believe that the position of this enclitic following the feminine caesura is acceptable in a public inscription of the fifth century. It is indeed very surprising, but two points are to be made in its defence. First, the phenomenon has no direct bearing on the date of the epigram. It would be irrational to demote the epigram, for this reason, from the fifth to any later century B.C. The rules become stricter, not laxer, and the phenomenon would be equally surprising in an Hellenistic or early Imperial epigram.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, there is an exact parallel, observed by Wade-Gery himself, in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, 53 ἄλλος δ’ οὐ τις σεῖο | ποθ’ ἔψεται. Wade-Gery says that the standards ‘are, of course, sensibly stricter for elegiacs than for hexameter verse’; but this is not so. In this respect, the standards are equally strict for both, and what we find is a single exception in one writer of each kind, just as we find (what we should otherwise have judged impossible) a similar enormity in Tragedy, whose standards are not less strict – in the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 1085, a line beginning with the enclitic ποτε.

It is necessary to consider also the meaning of ποτε, both here and in epitaphs generally. Wade-Gery’s opinion was, in essence, that ποτε relates to the lapse of time between the incident commemorated and the publication of the epigram. Thus in ‘Simonides’ xxii (a), μυριάσιν ποτε τῇδε..., ποτε is justified by the fact that some time elapsed – perhaps eighteen months, perhaps even longer – between the battle of Thermopylae and the erection of the *stèle* with its inscription. xxiv informs the reader that it was not published until after the destruction of the Persian army, perhaps as much as a year or two after the event commemorated. XLIX is believed to have been inscribed some years after the battle of Tanagra. In ‘Aeschylus’ 1 ποτε is said to be explicable (it is not quite clear how) in the same way; and the obviously recalcitrant example of Simonides vi is said to be an *exceptio probans regulam*.

To the present editor this interpretation of ποτε appears incredible, and Simonides vi is an exception which proves the rule wrong. ποτε means ‘once upon a time...’, ‘there was a time when...’, and it is not to be believed that when the Amphictyones set up a *stèle* a year (or two) after the battle of Thermopylae beginning ‘Here *once upon a time* four hundred Peloponnesians fought three millions’, they included the word ποτε to remind the reader that a couple of years (at most) had passed since that memorable occasion.

The meaning of ποτε in epitaphs (and other types of inscription) is quite different. The composer of an epitaph assumes that his inscription will be read for many generations.<sup>2</sup> Simonides was thinking of the generations to come when he wrote that the Medes ‘*once upon a time* crossed the Spercheios and killed Megistias’; the marking of the battlefield in xxii (a) is intended for all posterity to read; ‘This marks the spot where, *once upon a time*, four hundred Peloponnesians fought three millions.’

The practice is common enough in private memorials to assure us that the

<sup>1</sup> For a few parallel anomalies in relatively late epigrams, see Leonides of Alexandria, Introductory Note, p. 513.

<sup>2</sup> This is quite often explicitly stated in inscriptional epitaphs; e.g. Peek 174, 175, 552, 1210.5–6.

## ‘SIMONIDES’

composer was not including the word ποτε in order to take account of some lapse of time between death and burial. Apart from such public monuments as ‘Simonides’ vi, xv xxii (a), xxiv, xl (b), xlv, xlix, ‘Aeschylus’ i, anon. c, and Peek 46 εὐρύχοροι ποτ’ ἔθαψαν Ἀθηναί τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα, there are numerous examples on private monuments such as Peek 111 Σιμία εἰμὶ τάφος τοῦ Ἰάσιος, ὃς ποτ’ ἀδήλωι | μοίρῃ αἰστωθεὶς δῶμ’ ἐπέρασ’ Αἶδα, 321 Φάνης φίλος [ἐνθάδε κεῖται], | ὃς ποτ’ ἀριστεύων ἐν προμάχοις [ἔπεσεν], 548 ἄ ποθ’ ὑπ’ ὠδίνων στονόνεντι κατέφθιτο πότμωι, 1224 Κροίσου παρὰ σῆμα θάνοντος | ὃν ποτ’ ἐνὶ προμάχοις ὤλεσε θυῖρος Ἀρης, 1257 Πλουτίδα ἐξ Ὀδασοῦ δέρκευ, ξένε, τάμ ποκα Βῶρμος | κηδεύσας ὑπὸ γᾶν τάνδε κατεκτέρισε. That the word was purely conventional is indicated also by its use in such imaginary inscriptions as A. Ag. 577 Τροίαν ἐλόντες δὴ ποτ’ Ἀργείων στόλος κτλ. and E. Tro. 1190 τὸν παῖδα τόνδ’ ἔκτειναν Ἀργεῖοι ποτε | δέισαντες – αἰσχρὸν τοῦπί-γραμμά γ’ Ἑλλάδι.

There is no thought in the mind of these composers that they must say ποτε because of some lapse of time between death and burial. They say ‘once upon a time...’ because they know that their inscriptions will be read for hundreds of years; their message, and their memorial, are designed to last for ever, conferring a sort of immortality upon the deceased.

(4) Pritchett (166) adds a further charge: ‘the *a priori* improbability of an epigram commemorating only a selected group of spearmen’ (xlv 3 αἰχμηταί).<sup>1</sup> It is not easy to judge the strength of this argument. It is not clearly established that αἰχμηταί here are a ‘selected group’. The contrast between Greek spearman and Persian archer (cf. xlv 2) is quite common, and ‘spearmen’ here may cover all who actually fought, as apparently in ‘Simonides’ 906 and Tyrtæus 5.6, 19.13.

The only positive argument on the other side is of no greater strength; it is nevertheless worth stating, for it may be the truth. xlv is preserved nowhere but in the *Anthology*, where it is ascribed to Simonides within an extract from the *Garland* of Meleager. It was therefore presumably taken by Meleager from his *Sylloge Simonidea*, and there is no doubt that that collection included numerous copies of inscriptions of (roughly) Simonidean date. So far as it goes, this evidence of its transmission is rather in favour of its being inscriptional, and this is confirmed by the fact that its style is more like that of a fifth-century inscription than that of an Hellenistic literary exercise (contrast xlvii).

The doubts cannot be resolved. The present editor inclines to the belief that xlv is a copy of a contemporary inscription at Athens commemorating the battle of Eurymedon.

A.P. 7.258, Pl<sup>A</sup> [CPI] Σιμωνίδου [J] εἰς τοὺς μετὰ Κίμωνος ἐν Εὐρυμέδοντι ἀριστεύσαντας

οἶδε παρ’ Εὐρυμέδοντά ποτ’ ἀγλαὸν ὤλεσαν ἦβην  
μαρνάμενοι Μήδων τοξοφόρων προμάχοις

<sup>1</sup> Pritchett adds ‘and that, too, without addition of an ethnic’; but this is an inscription (if it is one) at Athens, and the omission of the ethnic would be normal practice (as in the Hellespontine epigram quoted in this Preface above).

αἰχμηταί, πεζοί τε καὶ ὠκυπύρων ἐπὶ νηῶν· 880  
 κάλλιστον δ’ ἄρετῆς μνημ’ ἔλιπον φθίμενοι.

1 Εὐρυμέδοντι P1 ἀγλαὰν P ἦβαν C 3 αἰχμηταί P1: -ταῖς P  
 2 [879] Cf. 708–9 τόξων...Μηδείων ἀνδρῶν, 734–5 τοξοφόροισιν...  
 Μήδοις, orac. *ap.* Hdt. 9.43 τοξοφόρων Μήδων.

3 [880] πεζοί τε καὶ ... ἐπὶ νηῶν: the victory at Eurymedon was won both  
 at sea and on land; see Thuc. 1.100.1 and other authorities assembled by  
 Pritchett 164ff.

XLVII [106 B., 116 D.]

Epitaph for men killed in battle.

This epigram is plainly Hellenistic, not of the best period. No fifth-century epigrammatist ever thought in such terms as these, that ‘Ares washed his arrows in red drops in these men’s breasts’; Pindar or Aeschylus, but not the composer of a public epitaph, might use such a phrase as φοίνισσα ψακάς. The first couplet is too highly coloured, the second is incompetently constructed. Its sentiments are conventional. It was commonplace to say that the mourner is left with the urn or the tomb instead of the living person: A. *Ag.* 434–6 ἀντὶ δὲ φωτῶν | τεύχη καὶ σποδὸς εἰς ἑκάσ | του δόμους ἀφικνεῖται, S. *El.* 1158–9 ἀντὶ φιλτάτης | μορφῆς σποδὸν τε καὶ σκίαν ἀνωφελῆ, Antipater of Sidon 7.467.7 = *HE* 538 ἀντὶ δὲ σείο | στάλα καὶ κωφὰ λείπεται ἄμμι κόνις;<sup>1</sup> and so here, ‘instead of the men, memorials of the dead are hidden by the earth here’; the word μνημεῖα, ‘reminders’, is fairly common in such contexts.<sup>2</sup> So far, so good, or at least not so bad. But now the author incorporates a second conventional notion: that the dead hero is not truly dead: ‘Simonides’ 716 οὐδὲ τεθναῖσι θανόντες, ἐπεὶ σφ’ Ἀρετῇ καθύπερθεν | κυδαίνουσ’ ἀνάγει δώματος ἐξ Ἀΐδεω, ‘Aeschylus’ 474 ζῶν δὲ φθιμένων πέλεται κλέος; in effect, their glory is undying, and so, in that sense, are they. And now the author has inserted what he thought a pearl of great price, the phrase ἄψυχ’ ἐμψύχων. In another context this might have done very well, but here the closeness of θανόντων to ἐμψύχων and the absence of anything to explain what is meant by ‘reminders of the dead, *the lifeless of the living*’, substitutes chaos for clarity and makes a heavy and graceless phrase.

The lines are the worse for the addition of ἀκοντοδόκων, apparently a new compound, hard to interpret here.<sup>3</sup> The expected meaning is ‘receivers of javelins’, implying ‘struck by javelins’; but it is only a moment since the author told us that they were struck by arrows, and we seem to have no alternative but to accuse him of not knowing the difference between a javelin and an arrow, or at least of being unconscious of, or indifferent to, his carelessness.

<sup>1</sup> This last quoted with other passages by Hecker 1852.291. The notion that the motif ἀντὶ δέ... is in itself Hellenistic (Boas 215, Wade-Gery 81 n. 40) is refuted by A. *Ag.* *loc. cit.* and S. *El.* *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> LSJ *s.v.* 2 [–which wrongly includes S. *El.* 933, where the μνημεῖα are offerings at a tomb. The whole idea of *memorials being hidden by earth* is surely not what the author of these lines intended, but it is certainly what he has written. – R.D.D.]  
<sup>3</sup> See 3–4 n.

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The epigram mentions no names. It does not say who the dead men are or whom or where they fought or where they are buried. The Lemmatist says that it is an epigram for the Hellenes (‘Athenians’, we should have expected, as Boas says) who fell in the battle of the Eurymedon; and we must ask what if any authority he had for a statement unsupported by anything in the text. *Lemmata* giving information not derived directly from their texts are extremely rare in the *Anthology*; and the best parallels are viii and ix above. There we find two epitaphs which, like xlvii, do not say who fought whom or where. Now the *lemmata* to viii and ix refer them to the battle of Thermopylae. They are plainly wrong (see viii Pref.), mistaken guesses propounded in the absence of internal evidence from the epigrams. They justify the suspicion that the *lemma* to xlvii is of the same kind, merely a guess. It is not possible to say why the lemmatist picked Eurymedon. One can only comment that there was not much choice; Eurymedon was one of very few obvious occasions for an epitaph of this type believed to come from the time of Simonides; Thermopylae and Plataea were the others (the contents were less likely to suggest Salamis or Marathon). Moreover, xlvii, though of Hellenistic date, appears (from its ascription to Simonides in *A.P.*) to have been included in the *Sylloge Simonidea* used by Meleager, and it may have stood in close association with xlvii, which is obviously an epitaph on the Eurymedon-battle.<sup>1</sup>

A.P. 7.443 (caret Pl) [C] Σιμωνίδου [J] εἰς τοὺς πεσόντας παρ’ Εὐρυμέδοντα ποταμὸν Ἑλλήνας

τῶνδε ποτ’ ἐν στέρνοισι τανυγλώχινας ὀιστοῦς  
 λούσεν φοινίσσαι θοῦρος Ἄρης ψακάδι.  
 ἀντὶ δ’ ἀκοντοδόκων ἀνδρῶν μνημεῖα θανόντων  
 ἄψυχ’ ἐμψύχων ἄδε κέκευθε κόνις.

885

1 ποτ’ ἐν Meineke: ποτε P

1-2 [882-3] See Simonides *PMG* fr. 636. The grammarians, evidently not with reference to xlvii, said that Simonides used the nominative form τριγλώχιν, of ὀιστός. τανυγλώχινας ὀιστοῦς once in Homer, *Il.* 8.297.

ὀιστοῦς λούσεν: ‘Simonides’ 756-9 τόξα... αἵματι λουσάμενα, Call. *Del.* 95 αἵματι λούσον | τόξον ἑμόν.

φοινίσσαι: this feminine of φοῖνιξ first in Pind. *Pyth.* 1.24, 4.205.

ψακάδι: of blood in A. *Ag.* 1390 ἐρεμνῇ ψακάδι φοινίς δρόσου.

3-4 [884-5] ἀκοντοδόκων: *Et. Mag.* 50.56 ἀκοντοδόκος δοκιμάζειν λέγεται τὸ ἐπιτηρεῖν καὶ δοκεῖν τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ δοκεῖν. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀκοντοδόκος ὁ ἐπιτηρῶν μὴ πού ἀκοντίῳ βληθῇ; he is a man who is looking for, and seeking to avoid, a javelin-thrust. A modified version of this appears in a scholion (not of the best quality) on Hom. *Il.* 16.361 σκέπτετ’ ὀιστῶν τε ῥοῖζον καὶ δοῦπον ἀκόντων· τοῦτον ἀκοντοδόκον φασίν; he is a man confronting an enemy armed

<sup>1</sup> Peek (32) surprisingly includes xlvii as inscriptional (‘Polyandrión. Hellenistisch?’); Preger does not. See Jacobs *Sim.* xlii; Hecker 1843.225 and 1852.291; Bergk *Sim.* 106; Hauvette no. 33; Boas p. 213; Wade-Gery *JHS* 53 (1933) 81. The standard editions (Dübner, Stadtmüller, Paton, Waltz, Diehl, and Beckby) add nothing new. There have been many emendations of xlvii 3-4, not one of them worth repeating.

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with ἄκοντες and on his guard against them, not a man who has yet *received* them. Bergk accepted this, *vir fortis, qui telorum ictus recipere non dubitat*. Neither *receiver* nor *awaiter* of javelins is a pleasing epithet here (quite apart from the confusion between javelins and arrows), but nobody has found a plausible alternative. Boas (214) understood ἄκοντοδόκος *de viro hasta instructo, armato, igitur de αἰχμητῇ*, thus providing the conventional contrast between the Persian archer and the Greek spearman; this was a clever idea, but it is impossible to believe that the author used ἄκοντοδόκος of a man who ‘received’ a javelin in the sense that he was ‘issued with’ one (from army stores).

**ἄψυχ’ ἐμψύχων:** the editors compare, without obvious profit, Aristotle *Rhet.* 1411 b 9 καὶ Λυκολέων ὑπὲρ Χαβρίου “οὐδὲ τὴν ἱκετηρίαν αἰσχυνοθέντες αὐτοῦ, τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν χαλκῆν”, μεταφορὰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ἀλλ’ οὐκ αἰεὶ, ἀλλὰ πρὸ ὁμμάτων· κινδυνεύοντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἱκετεύει ἡ εἰκὼν, τὸ ἄψυχον δὲ ἐμψυχον, τὸ ὑπόμνημα τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἔργων.

**ἄδε κέκευθε κόνις:** a ready-made phrase; ‘Simonides’ 787 n.

## XLVIII [160 B., 112 D.]

Polygnotus signs his painting of ‘The Sack of Troy’.

This painting, in the Hall of the Cnidians at Delphi, is described in great detail by Pausanias (10.25–7); it was the masterpiece of one of the greatest of Greek painters, Polygnotus, who flourished *c.* 475–445 B.C. See Lippold *RE* 21.1632–4.

The epigram is surely contemporary, and it is likely enough that Polygnotus himself composed this simple couplet. The ascription to Simonides is, as usual, the guesswork of a later age.

· Paus. 10.27.4 κάθηται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ὄνου παιδίον μικρόν· κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς γραφῆς καὶ ἐλεγείον ἐστὶ Σιμωνίδου·

γράψε Πολύγνωτος, Θάσιος γένος, Ἀγλαοφώντος  
υἱός, περθομένην Ἰλίου ἀκρόπολιν.

887

A.P. 9.700 (caret Pl) Σιμωνίδου (1–2); Plut. *def. orac.* 47, 436A s.a.n. τῶν γε μιμημάτων τούτων καὶ εἰδώλων ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ δημιουργὸς ἐπιγέγραπται· (1–2); schol. Plat. *Gorg.* 448b Πολύγνωτος...οὗ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἡ θαυμαστὴ γραφὴ ἦν ἐπιγέγραπται· (1–2); Hesych. s.v. Θάσιος παῖς Ἀγλαοφώντος (*haec tantum*)  
1 γράψεν Ἀρίγνωτος P    2 περθομένην Plut.    ἡλίου P

## XLIX [108 B., 117 D.]

Epitaph on Athenians fallen in battle.

The epigram is probably a copy of an inscription commemorating the Athenian dead in the battle of Tanagra, 457 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The inscription *IG* 1<sup>2</sup> 946 was identified with *A.P.* 7.254 and referred to the battle of Tanagra by Wilhelm *Jahres. d. Oest. Arch. Inst. Wien* 2 (1899) 222; Tanagra was accepted by Geffcken no. 85, with a query-mark by Gomme 1.316, Peek 14, more doubtfully by Wade-Gery *JHS* 53 (1933) 79 and Hiller von Gaertringen no. 47; cf. Hansen 4. The stone is lost, and we depend on a

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See Thuc. 1.107f. with Busolt *Gr. Gesch* III 1.311ff. and Gomme *Comm. on Thuc.* 1.313–16. The battle was fought at Tanagra between the Athenians supported by Argives and other allies<sup>1</sup> against the Spartan League. Thessaly sent a force of cavalry to assist the Athenians, but these went over to the Spartan side during the battle. The numbers engaged were large, and the losses heavy on both sides. The Peloponnesians claimed the victory, and set up a golden *φιάλη* in the temple of Zeus at Olympia with an inscription recorded by Pausanias (5.10.4) and still partly extant (Meiggs and Lewis 36, Jeffery *LSAG* pl. 21.38, Hansen 366 with bibliography):

ναὸς μὲν φιάλαν χρυσέαν ἔχει, ἐκ δὲ Τανάγρας  
τοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι συμμαχία τ’ ἀνέθεν,  
δῶρον ἅπ’ Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἴανων  
τὴν δεκάταν νίκας εἵνεκα τοῦ πολέμου.

The Athenian epigram is composed in a plain style, highly conventional in phrasing. The Peloponnesians claimed victory in their epigram; there is (as usual) no admission of defeat in the Athenian counterpart.<sup>2</sup>

A.P. 7.254, Pl<sup>A</sup> [CPI] Σιμωνίδου [J] εἰς τοὺς Ἀθηναίων προμάχους

χαίρετ’ ἀριστῆες πολέμου μέγα κῦδος ἔχοντες,  
κοῦροι Ἀθηναίων ἔξοχοι ἵπποσύναι,  
οἳ ποτε καλλιχόρου περὶ πατρίδος ὠλέσαθ’ ἦβαν 890  
πλείστοις Ἑλλάνων ἀντία μαρνάμενοι.

IG 1<sup>a</sup> 946 = π 3.1677 s.a.n. 1 ]κυδο[, 2 ]οσσνα[, 3 ]ριδοσσωλ[, 4 ]αρναμε[  
2 Ἀθηναίων Kalinka: Ἀθην- PPI ἵπποσύναι lapis: -νηι PPI 3 ἦβαν  
Kalinka: ἦβην PPI 4 Ἑλλάνων P, Ἑλλήνων Pl μαχόμενοι P, verum P<sup>270</sup>  
2 [889] κοῦροι: παῖδες Ἀθηναίων is the norm; 754 n.

**Ἀθηναίων:** the Doric alpha, to which the stone testifies in ἵπποσύναι and P in Ἑλλάνων, should presumably be restored throughout, odd though it seems in an Athenian epitaph.

**ἵπποσύναι:** the demands made upon the Athenian cavalry must have been particularly heavy after the defection of the Thessalians.

The noun is Homeric.

copy made by Postolakkos which shows a four-stroke sigma; whether this is compatible with reference to the battle of Tanagra is a question which must be left to the epigraphists. The suggestion that the occasion of the epigram is a skirmish in 431 B.C. (Thuc. 2.22.2) makes the last line, *πλείστοις Ἑλλάνων ἀντία μαρνάμενοι*, a gross exaggeration of a type uncharacteristic of classical epitaphs (Wilhelm *loc. cit.*).

<sup>1</sup> The fallen allies too were buried in the Ceramicus: IG 1<sup>a</sup> 931–2 = Meiggs and Lewis 35.

<sup>2</sup> ‘The issue was doubtful according to later Athenian tradition. . . But though there is no doubt that the Peloponnesians remained masters of the field. . . strategically the victory lay with Athens. The Peloponnesians could only go home; the conspiracy at Athens came to naught; and the Athenians were able two months later to invade and conquer Boeotia’, Gomme 1.316; true, but the Athenians at the time of burying their dead would not yet be thinking in these terms.

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3 [890] καλλιχόρου: purely conventional; of Athens, also E. *Held.* 359.

ώλεσαθ’ ἤβαν: variation of a common formula, e.g. 690 ἀπωλέσαμεν νεότητα, 878 ἀγλαὸν ὤλεσαν ἤβην.

4 [891] πλείστοις . . . μαρνάμενοι: the fact that they are said to have ‘fought’ them, not ‘conquered’ them, may be a tacit admission of defeat.

L [187 B., 166 D.]

On an image dedicated by Dorieus.

This epigram is unconventional not only in metre (see below) but also in form and content. The developed dialogue-form suggests a date not much, if at all, earlier than the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. (the earliest examples in *HE* are Anyte *A.Plan.* 231 = *HE* xix and the elaborate conversation in Phalaeccus 13.5 = *HE* ii). The epigram is plainly not inscriptional; it is a literary exercise, representing a conversation between the image dedicated and a spectator; the image is not (as might seem likely at first glance) a statue of Dorieus, for he is referred to in the third person (2). The content of the third line is most curious, not merely because it expresses, or at least implies, disapproval of the epigram’s subject, Dorieus, but mainly because it concentrates wholly on a brief and disastrous episode in the colourful career of that famous man – his vain attempt to liberate Rhodes from Athenian control; that is why he had to ‘fly from his fatherland’ (2), ‘his dreaded hand having done many violent deeds’ (3).

It is remarkable that this, and only this, should be said in an epigram about Dorieus. Whoever wrote it must have been an Athenian, or at least one who had read some strongly prejudiced pro-Athenian account of Dorieus’ revolt against Athenian control of Rhodes; the most obvious source is the *Atthis* of Androton (used by Pausanias in his biographical sketch of Dorieus, 6.7.6).

The reader of the epigram is not told that its subject, Dorieus the son of Diagoras, was one of the most celebrated athletes of his time. He won the pancration at Olympia in three successive contests (432, 428, and 424 B.C.), a remarkable record in this most brutal of sports;<sup>1</sup> he won eight victories at the Isthmus, seven at Nemea, and one (unopposed) at Delphi. It is naturally supposed that his athletic career was finished (probably soon after his last Olympic victory in 424 B.C.) before his emergence into the political limelight in Rhodes as leader of a party devoted to liberation of the island from Athenian domination. That party was crushed, and Dorieus with all his family was condemned to death. He fled to Thurii in southern Italy, became a citizen there, and in 412/11 B.C. was appointed commander of a squadron of ten ships sent by the Thurians to help the Spartan fleet against the Athenians. For the next four or five years he served in the Spartan fleet with varying fortunes, not altogether beneath the notice of Thucydides (8.35, 84). In 407 B.C. an Athenian admiral, Phanosthenes, met by chance a couple of Thurian ships and captured them: ‘All the prisoners were put in bonds except their commander, Dorieus,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the remarkable record of Astyanax of Miletus (Sandbach on Menander *Colax* 100).

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a Rhodian, long since exiled from both Athens and Rhodes, condemned to death with all his family by the Athenians, and now a citizen of Thurii. The Athenians were moved to compassion, and set him free without even exacting ransom’ (Xen. *Hell.* 1.5.19). Dorieus is said to have been executed by Spartans c. 395 B.C.

The present epigram suppresses almost the whole of what most people knew about this celebrated man; his career is tersely and well outlined by Swoboda in *RE* 5.1560–1.

The metre is described in the source as ‘a hyporchematic pentameter’, a definition meaningless to us. The first line consists of the familiar metron  $\underline{\text{—}}\text{—}\text{—}\text{—}\text{—}\text{—}$  followed by a lecythion. The second line is the same if a syllable is supplied (as it surely must be) at the beginning. The third line needs only the transposition of two letters to form an iambic tetrameter catalectic. The combination of metra is unique.

A.P. (caret Pl) 13.11 Σιμωνίδου

– τίς εἰκόνα τάνδ’ ἀνέθηκεν; – Δωριεὺς ὁ Θούριος.  
– <ἄρ’> οὐ ῥόδιος γένος ἦν; – ναί, πρὶν φυγεῖν γε πατρίδα,  
δεινᾷ γε χειρὶ πολλὰ ῥέξας ἔργα καὶ βίαια. 894

2 suppl. Page γε Bergk: τε P 3 γε Bergk: τε P πολλά ῥέξας Jacobs: πόλλ’ ἔρξας P

LI [180 B., 127 D.]

On the death of Sophocles.

The ascription of this mediocre couplet to Simonides is most probably not the deliberate act of any person, but a mistake made in the course of transmission; the Corrector’s ‘author unknown’ is probably the true tradition.

A.P. 7.20, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPI] Σιμωνίδου εἰς Σοφοκλέα (-κλήν Pl); denuo C in marg. inf. post 7.37.5 [C] ἀδέσποτον; Suda s.v. οἶνον (2)

ἐσβέσθη, γηραιὸ Σοφόκλεες, ἄνθος αἰοιδῶν, 895  
οἰνωπὸν Βάκχου βότρυν ἑρεπτόμενος.

1 [895] ἐσβέσθη: in effect = ἀπέθανε; see Gow on Theocr. 4.39, Leonidas 7.295.8 = *HE* 2081, Dionysius 7.78.2 = *HE* 1442, Samius 6.116.4 = *HE* 3259; the use is quite common in inscriptional epitaphs (e.g. Peck 1483.2, 1552.6, 2000.2).

2 οἰνώπος Stadtmüller, plausibly.

βότρυν: the story that Sophocles died by choking on a grape goes back at least as far as the middle of the third century B.C. (Sotades *fr.* 11.14 Diehl, ῥᾶγα φαγὼν σταφυλῆς πνιγὲς τέθνηκε), at least a generation earlier if Neanthes, one of the sources for the *Life of Sophocles* 14, is the elder writer of that name.

ἑρεπτόμενος: everybody knew Homer’s tale of the Lotus-eaters, including *Od.* 9.97 λωτὸν ἑρεπτόμενοι; there was no other excuse for using this verb, which should apply only to animals.



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### LII [188 B., 152 D.]

Inscription for the statue of Aristodamus, an Olympic victor.

The statue of Aristodamus of Elis, son of Thrasyas, was seen, and its inscription read, by Pausanias (6.3.4, quoted below). His Olympic victory in the wrestling is dated 388 B.C. by Africanus *ap. Euseb. chron.* 1.206 Sch. There is no other mention of him.

Hephaest.<sup>1</sup> π. ποιημ. 4 p. 60 Consbr., denuoque<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* p. 65, utroque loco τὸ Σιμωνίδειον ἐπίγραμμα·

Πύθια δῖς, Νεμέαι δῖς, Ὀλυμπίαι ἐστεφανώθην,  
οὐ πλάττει νικῶν σώματος ἀλλὰ τέχναι,  
Ἀριστόδαμος Θράσους Ἀλείος πάλαι.

899

Paus. 6.3.4. ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἥλιδος παλαιστής ἀνὴρ Ἀριστόδημος Θράσιδος· γεγόνاسι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ Πυθοῖ δύο νίκαι (καὶ Νεμέαι).

1 Πύθια Brunck: Ἰσθμια Heph. 3 Ἀριστόδαμος Scaliger: -δάμας Heph.<sup>1</sup>, -δημος Heph.<sup>2</sup> Θράσους Wilamowitz: θρασὺς Heph.<sup>1,2</sup>, Θράσιδος Paus. ἄλιος Heph.<sup>1</sup>, Heph.<sup>2</sup> cod. I

1 [897] Πύθια: Ἰσθμια in Hephaestion is a slip; no Elean was permitted to take part in the Isthmian Games (see anon. cxliv Pref.), and Pausanias evidently saw Πύθια in the inscription.

2 [898] The lengthening in πλάττει νικῶν is a very rare sort of licence, surprising in an Olympic inscription of this date.

### LIII [102 B., 122 D.]

Epitaph for men fallen in defence of Tegea.

The occasion is not known, and only one certain observation can be made about it: when the author of an epitaph, whether inscriptional or literary, says that ‘because of these men’s valour, smoke did not reach the sky from a Tegea in flames’, he has in mind a battle in which Tegea was in danger of burning but was saved from it. It follows that the reference is not (*pace* Bergk) to the battle of Plataea in 479 or (*pace* Wilamowitz and others) to the battle of Mantinea in 362 B.C.; the Tegeates who fell at Plataea did not die in the act of saving Tegea from the flames, and it does not appear from Xenophon’s account at the end of his *Hellenica* that there was ever an occasion in the campaign of 362 when Tegea was in danger of burning or when Tegeates fought and died to save their city from such a doom. It would indeed be absurd to apply the terms of this epigram to the part (small enough) played by Tegeates at a distance from their city, whether a long distance as at Plataea or a short one as at Mantinea.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *IG* v 2.173: the actual epitaphs for the Tegeates who fell at Mantinea in 362 B.C. strike a quite different note. The first one (Peek 24.1–4) couples the Tegeates with their Arcadian allies and says only that the men who fell upheld the high tradition of their ancestors; of the second one (Peek 24.5–7) nothing intelligible remains except a mention of the chief adversary, Sparta.

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A favourite alternative<sup>1</sup> is the campaign known only from Herodotus, 9.35: one of the five μέγιστοι ὄγῳνες survived by Sparta with the help of the Elean prophet Tisamenus was a battle against Tegeates and Argives, its date not precisely definable but between Plataea and Dipaea, probably about 473–470 B.C. This speculation has no particular merit except immunity from positive criticism, nothing whatsoever being known either in its favour or against it.

LIII is one of a series of epigrams taken *en bloc* from the *Sylloge Simonidea*; it is of good quality, and rings inscriptional. If it is a true epitaph, it must come from Tegea, and it is not likely that the Ionic colour of the dialect in *A.P.* is original. Its authorship is of course unknown, and its date definable only within very broad limits; we do not even know whether it belongs to the fifth century or the fourth. The phrasing has an old-fashioned dignity.

The *lemmata* to this and the following epigram (LIV) are problematic. LIH has εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας τοὺς τὴν Τεγέαν ἐλευθέραν ποιήσαντας: there is no knowing why the Lemmatist dragged the Hellenes into the picture; if he had read the epigram more carefully he would have noticed that the reference to the children in 3-4 is alone enough to prove that only Tegeates, not Hellenes in general, are relevant here. LIV has εἰς τοὺς ἐν Τεγείᾳ πεσόντας ἀριστῆς Ἀθηναίους: the last two words are obviously an appendage, perhaps originally at home in the *lemma* to the epigram which follows in *A.P.*, = ‘Simonides’ XLVII (see Boas 219).

A.P. 7.512 [C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (= Σιμωνίδου), Pl<sup>B</sup> s.a.n. (antecedit Simonideum)  
[J] εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας τοὺς τὴν Τεγέαν ἐλευθέραν ποιήσαντας

τῶνδε δι' ἀνθρώπων ἀρετὰν οὐχ ἴκετο καπνὸς  
αἰθέρα δαιομένης εὐρυχόρου Τεγέας,  
οἱ βούλοντο πόλιν μὲν ἐλευθερίαι τεθαλυῖαν  
παισὶ λιπεῖν, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐν προμάχοισι θανεῖν.

2 δαιομένας Hiller: -νης PPI      Τεγέας Schneidewin: -έης PPI

1-2 [900-1] οὐχ ἴκετο καπνὸς αἰθέρα: the tone is Homeric, *Il.* 18.207 καπνὸς ἰὼν ἐξ ἄσπερος αἰθέρ' ἴκηται.

**εὐρυχόρου:** purely conventional, as from Homer onwards; Anyte 6.153.2 = *HE* 669 εὐρύχορος Τεγέα.

**4 [903]** Cf. Hom. *Il.* 15.522 ἐνὶ προμάχοισι δαμῆναι, Tyrt. 10.1, 12.23, Peek 20, 10.

## LIV [103 B., 123 D.]

Epitaph for men fallen in defence of Tegea.

See LIII Pref. As LIII and LIV are the only epitaphs on Tegeates in the *Anthology*, and as the subject – the saving of Tegea from destruction – is the same in both, it is natural that the two epigrams should as a rule have been discussed together, and that the conclusion should be that LIII is a copy of an ancient inscription, whereas LIV is a relatively late literary exercise inspired by it. This is quite a likely guess; but the most important point to be made about LIV is that it is an exceptionally poor composition, far below the standard of

<sup>1</sup> First in Schneidewin; Busolt *Gr. Gesch.* 3.121.1 n.; cf. Peek 11 with bibliography.

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Alexandrian epigrammatists of the third and second centuries B.C. It pretends to be an epitaph, but its author loses no time in revealing his ignorance of the customary rules: tomb or *stele*, or carved or painted figure, may speak in the first person, as in ‘Simonides’ xxxvi ι μνήσομαι, but an exhortation in the first person plural, μνησώμεθα, *let us commemorate...*, belongs to the style of the funeral oration or elegy; it is obviously inappropriate to the inscriptional epitaph, a fact of which the Alexandrian composers of fictitious epitaphs are as a rule well aware.

Much worse is to come. The last clause runs ‘*in order that Hellas may not strip freedom from their dead heads*’.<sup>1</sup> Planudes found this unintelligible, as well he might, and rewrote it; not successfully, for his κάρτος ἐλευθερίας is not a pleasing, perhaps not even a permissible, phrase. Bergk conjectured ἀποφθιμένη, but then the sense will be ‘that Hellas might not perish and have freedom stripped from her head’, as if there was ever an occasion in Greek history when the freedom of all Greece depended on the defence of Tegea; Bergk actually referred the epigram to the battle of Plataea. Schneidewin (following Jacobs in 1817) made μνησώμεθα the antecedent to ἵνα, as if the meaning could be ‘let us commemorate them, otherwise Hellas will despise them as slaves (*ne Graecia a capite defunctorum deripiat libertatem, h.e. ne eos... tamquam servilis animi homines patriaeque incuriosos proculcet*)’.<sup>2</sup> This is plainly impossible, and the fact remains that nobody has ever made sense of the words.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps, after all, Bergk’s conjecture should be accepted, despite the absurdity of writing in such terms of the battle of Plataea; and if σφίσι is left in the air, that too is the author’s fault, not his commentator’s.

A.P. 7.442, P1<sup>B</sup> [CPI] Σιμωνίδου [J] εἰς τοὺς ἐν Τεγέαι πεσόντας [ἀριστῆς Ἀθηναίους]

εὐθυμάχων ἀνδρῶν μνησώμεθα, τῶν ὁδε τύμβος,  
οἱ θάνον εὐμηλον ῥυόμενοι Τεγέαν, 905  
αἰχμηταὶ πρὸ πόλης, ἵνα σφίσι μὴ καθέληται  
Ἑλλάς ἀποφθιμένου κρατὸς ἐλευθερίαν.

4 ἀποφθιμένοις κάρτος ἐλευθερίας P1

LV [186 B., 155 D.]

Epigram for a statue of Neoptolemus.

The little that is known about Neoptolemus (son of Anticles, of the deme Melite) is assembled by Kirchner *PA* 10652 and Reincke *RE* 16.2462. A man of great wealth (Dem. *Meid.* 215), responsible for many public works (Dem. *cor.*

<sup>1</sup> The translators cannot be accused of lack of candour; the Loeb, the Budé, and Beckby render accurately, but only the Budé says what it is supposed to mean.

<sup>2</sup> Not even Boas, whose version (218) runs thus: ‘*ne Graecia iis a capite suo extincto coronam libertatis deriperet*’, *qua sententia contorte significatur* ‘*ne Graecia iis in servitutem redigeretur*’; the contortion is indeed great (though not so great as that of the Budé commentator *ad loc.*), and Boas does not ask on what occasion the freedom of Hellas depended on the defence of Tegea.

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114), he was honoured by the people with a στέφανος (Dem. *ibid.*, *vit. dec. orat.* 843F; before 330 B.C.) and a statue (*vit. dec. orat. loc. cit.*). A Delphic inscription names him with nine others as ἱεροποιοὺς ὁ τὴν Πυθιάδα ἀγαγών (BCH 20.676).

Σπ (prima post indicem in A.P. pagina) Σιμωνίδου; Syll. E 12

δῆμος Ἀθηναίων σε, Νεοπτόλεμ', εἰκόνι τῇδε  
τίμησ' εὐνοίης εὐσεβίης θ' ἔνεκα.

909

**1 [908] Νεοπτόλεμ'**: elision at the bucolic diaeresis is very rare; see Zeuxis 400 n.

LVI [2 p. 323 B., 1 p. 135 D.]

On the statue of Eros by Praxiteles.

The subject of this epigram (not more absurdly ascribed to Praxiteles by Athenaeus than to Simonides in Pl) has been treated at sufficient length in *HE* 2.68 (on Antipater of Sidon *A.Plan.* 167), 388 (on Leonidas, whom we now believe to be Leonides of Alexandria, *A.Plan.* 206), 664–5 (on Meleager 12.56 and 57) and especially in *PG* 2.298–9 (on Geminus 6.260 and *A.Plan.* 205). The theme of the present epigram is the same as that of Geminus 6.260, imitated by Julianus *A.Plan.* 203: ‘Praxiteles’ model for his statue of Love was the love in his soul for Phryne, and he gave the statue to Phryne in return for the love which she had given him.’ The end of this epigram does not recur in the others.

A.Plan. (Pl<sup>A</sup>) 204 Σιμωνίδου

Πραξιτέλης ὃν ἔπασχε διηκρίβωσεν Ἔρωτα  
ἔξ ἰδίης ἔλκων ἀρχέτυπον κραδίης,  
Φρύνῃ μισθὸν ἐμείο διδούς ἐμέ· φίλτρα δὲ τίκτω  
οὐκέτι τοξεύων ἀλλ' ἀτενιζόμενος.

910

Athen. 13.591A Πραξιτέλης δὲ ὁ ἀγαλματοποιὸς ἐρῶν αὐτῆς (τῆς Φρύνης) τὴν Κνιδίαν Ἀφροδίτην ἐπλάσσατο ἅπ' αὐτῆς καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἔρωτος βάσει τῇ ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ θεάτρου ἐπέγραψε (1–4)

3 τίκτω Pl: βάλλω Athen. 4 τοξεύων Pl: ὀιστεύων Athen.

**3–4 [912–13]** There is no knowing which of the sources has the better text.

**ἀτενιζόμενος**: *being stared at*. Eros makes people fall in love by shooting his darts into them; Praxiteles' statue has just as great an effect on people who merely stare at it.

LVII [185<sup>A</sup> B., 164 D.]

On a statue of a Bacchanal by Scopas.

See the Preface to Glaucus 9.774 = *PG* i, a superior epigram on the same subject.

A.Plan. (Pl<sup>A</sup>) 60, Σπ (quarta post indicem in A.P. pagina) [Pl Σπ] Σιμωνίδου

τίς ἄδε; – Βάκχα. – τίς δέ νιν ξέσε; – Σκόπας.  
– τίς δ' ἐξέμηνε, Βάκχος ἢ Σκόπας; – Σκόπας.

915

# ‘SIMONIDES’

LVIII [185<sup>B</sup> B., 165 D.]

On the Colossus of Rhodes.

This epigram was published in *HE* as anon. LVIII B; see the Preface there (*HE* 2.588).

A.Plan. (Pl<sup>A</sup>) 82 Σιμωνίδου

τὸν ἐν Ῥόδῳ κολοσσὸν ὀκτάκις δέκα  
Χάρης ἐποίει πηχέων ὁ Λίνδιος.

917

Strabo 14.2.5 s.a.n. (1 ἑπτάκις δέκα – 2); Constant. Porphyrog. de admin. imp. 21, 3.99.9 Bonn. s.a.n. (1–2)

1 ἑπτάκις Strabo 2 Χάρης Strabo: Λάχης Pl, Constant.

LIX [179 B., 158 D.]

Dedication by a Gallus who puts a lion to flight by beating his timbrel.

LIX, LX, LXV, LXVI, and LXVII were selected by Mr Gow for inclusion in *Hellenistic Epigrams* as specimens of a particularly interesting class of epigrams ascribed to Simonides – those which, although accepted by Meleager as authentic, are nevertheless plainly Hellenistic compositions, certainly not older than the third century B.C and probably from the second half of that century. Mr Gow was aware (*HE* 2.517) that a number of other epigrams ascribed to Simonides have almost or even quite as good a claim to inclusion in this peculiar category; the inferior quality of some of them strongly suggests that Meleager's collection of Simonidean epigrams included some composed not long before his own lifetime.

As we have already edited these five epigrams with Prefaces and Commentaries in *HE* 2.516–20, the texts alone are repeated here. They are of high importance, as being irrefutable evidence that epigrams composed by Alexandrian authors of much experience and ability were published under the name of Simonides and accepted as authentic by Meleager.

A.P. 6.217 (caret Pl) ἀνάθημα τοῦ αὐτοῦ (= Σιμωνίδου) [C] ἐπὶ Γάλλῳ λάτριδι τῆς Κυβέλης; Suda s.vv. κατήλυσιν (1–2), ἀπεμορξάμην, βουφάγος (3–4), ἥρασσον (5–6), λάτρης (9–10), ὀρεῖα (9 ὅς – 10), ἐνδυτά (10)

χειμερίην νιφετοῖο κατήλυσιν ἥνικ' ἀλύξας

Γάλλος ἐρημαίην ἤλυθ' ὑπὸ σπιλάδα

ὑέτον ἄρτι κόμης ἀπεμόρξατο, τοῦ δὲ κατ' ἶχνος

920

βουφάγος εἰς κοίλῃν ἀτραπὸν ἴκτο λέων.

5 αὐτὰρ ὁ πεπταμένῃ μέγα τύμπανον ὁ σχέθε χειρὶ

ἥραξεν, καναχῇ δ' ἴαχεν ἄντρον ἄπαν,

οὐδ' ἔτλη Κυβέλης ἱερὸν βρόμον ὕλονόμος θήρ

μεῖναι, ἄν' ὕλῃεν δ' ὠκύς ἔθυνεν ὄρος

925

δείσας ἡμιγύναικα θεῆς λάτριν, ὃς τὰδε Ῥεῖαι

10

ἐνδυτὰ καὶ ξανθοὺς ἐκρέμασεν πλοκάμους.

# ‘SIMONIDES’

2 ἦλθεν Suda 5 ὁ σχέθε C<sup>7ρ</sup> in marg.: ἔσχεθε C in textu, ἔσχεν P, ἔσχετο Suda 9 τάδ’ ὄρεια Suda

## LX [178 B., 157 D.]

Dedication by two hetaerae.

See LIX Pref.; Preface and Commentary in *HE* 2.517.

A.P. 5.158, P1<sup>A</sup> [PPI] Σιμωνίδου [C] εἰς Βοίδιον τὴν αὐλητρίδα

Βοίδιον ἡύλητρίς καὶ Πυθιάς, αἱ ποτ’ ἔρασταί,  
σοί, Κύπρι, τὰς ζώνας τὰς τε γραφὰς ἔθεσαν.  
ἔμπορε καὶ φορτηγέ, τὸ σὸν βαλλάντιον οἶδεν 930  
καὶ πόθεν αἱ ζῶναι καὶ πόθεν οἱ πίνακες.

1 αὐλητρίς P1

## LXI [144 B., 145 D.]

On a spear dedicated after long service.

This epigram is plainly Hellenistic, in the style of *e.g.* Anyte 6.123 = *HE* i or (especially) Mnasalces 6.128 = *HE* v. The dedicator is not named, contrary to both ancient and Hellenistic custom. The direct address to the object dedicated is quite common from Anyte onwards (*e.g.* Moero 6.119, Nicias 6.122, Mnasalces *loc. cit.*). The style is a blend of Alexandrian sentiment and Homeric phrase; no author earlier than Anyte would have indulged in the sentimental touch of 3–4 – ‘your bronze is full of years, and you yourself are worn out by frequent brandishing in battle’. The epigram is of good quality, and may well be a work of the earliest generation of Hellenistic poets. Its incorporation into the *Sylloge Simonidea* in the course of time would be more easily intelligible if it were in circulation anonymously; but it may be (like LIX; see Pref. there) a deliberate forgery.

A.P. 6.52, P1<sup>A</sup> [PPI] Σιμωνίδου [P] ἀνάθημα τῷ Διὶ παρὰ στρατιώτου;  
Suda s.vv. ἦσο, μελία (1–2), ταναή (1–2 ἦσο), τετρῦσθαι (3)

οὕτω τοι, μελία ταναά, ποτὶ κίονα μακρόν  
ἦσο πανομφαίωι Ζηνὶ μένουσ’ ἱερά·  
ἦδη γὰρ χαλκός τε γέρων αὐτὰ τε τέτρυσαι  
πυκνὰ κραδαινομένα δαίωι ἐν πολέμωι. 935

1 μοι P<sup>ac</sup> μελίη ταναή P1 3 αὐτὰ Schneidewin: αὐτὴ PPI Suda 4  
κραδαινομένη P1 δαίωι C: δηίωι PPI

1 [932] It is a token of the individuality of this author’s style that no other epigram in Greek literature begins οὕτω τοι..., and that the obsolete word for spear, μελία (Page *History and the Homeric Iliad* 240ff.) is here revived; it does not occur in *HE*.

τανανά: of a spear, Hom. *Il.* 16.589.

ποτὶ κίονα μακρόν: Hom. *Od.* 17.29 ἐγγχος μὲν ῥ’ ἔστησε φέρων πρὸς κίονα μακρήν.

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**2 [933]** ἦσο: in similar contexts Anyte 6.123.3 = *HE* 666 ἡμένα, Mnasalces 6.128.1 = *HE* 2617 ἦσο, Hegesippus 6.124.1 = *HE* 1897 ἡμαι; *cf.* anon. 1636.

**πανομφαίωι:** this very seldom used epithet for Zeus was known to posterity only from Hom. *Il.* 8.250, πανομφαίωι Ζηνί as here. The meaning is uncertain (generally taken as in Ebeling = *qui omnia omina habet mittitque*; the adjective is the subject of over-elaborate and questionable articles by Hoefer and Eisele in *Myth. Lex.* 3.1537–8 and by Kruse in *RE* 18.3.635).

**3 [934] χαλκός . . . γέρων:** *cf.* Hom. *Od.* 22.184 σάκος . . . γέρον, an unique use in Homer.

**4 [935]** κραδαινομένη, of a spear, is Homeric (*Il.* 13.504), and so is δηῖωι ἐν πολέμωι (5.117).

## LXII [164 B., 146 D.]

Address to Cyton, who has made an offering to Apollo.

See Anacr. xiv, xv Pref., where reasons for transferring this epigram from ‘Simonides’ to ‘Anacreon’ are stated but not accepted; and Anacr. xiv Pref., on the relative merits of LXII and the similarly-starting Anacr. xiv.

Though all but the last four words of LXII are easily understood, certain problems remain: (1) What sort of man is Cyton, and what is the occasion of his dedication to Apollo? (2) Who is the speaker of the epigram? (3) How are the last four words to be understood?

(1) The background to LXII was correctly described by Jacobs in his first edition.<sup>1</sup> Cyton has won victories (hence the ‘crowns’ of 4) which have conferred great distinction on Corinth. Though Jacobs does not say so, the implication is plainly that Cyton is a Corinthian who has been crowned at the local Games, the *Isthmia*; and the distinction between foreigners and residents in Corinth (3) is particularly well suited to the occasion of the Games. In the *agora* at Corinth stood a statue of Apollo (Paus. 2.2.8), and Cyton has made a gift to it (1).

(2) First-person address in a dedicatory epigram may be made by the dedicator or by the deity or by the object dedicated; there seems no other possibility (see Anacr. xv Pref.). εὖχεο in Anacr. xiv 1 is addressed by the object dedicated to the spectator; here it is addressed to the dedicator – by whom? The circumstances are evidently exceptional: the speaker here can be nobody but the composer of the epigram. Cyton’s dedication will be accompanied by a prayer to Apollo; the poet writes an epigram, presumably an inscription designed to accompany the dedication, using the prayer as a vehicle for flattery of his patron.

(3) The last four words are difficult. δέσποτα is normally addressed either by man to god or by slave to master. The Budé commentator explained it in the light of Pind. *Ol.* 6.18, ἀνδρὶ κώμου δεσπότηι, of a triumphant athlete.

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* the Budé edition, vol. 3 p.174. Nothing could be more grotesque than the theory of Wilamowitz (*SS* 217; astonishingly approved by Boas 155), that Cyton erected the statue of a slave in the market-place of Corinth (so that it may be a slave who says δέσποτα). The notion that a slave might stand in bronze or marble in the *agora* is hardly more absurd than the notion that the slave’s statue should proceed to instruct his master to pray that the god will rejoice greatly in such a gift.

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This parallel hardly warrants the absolute use alleged in the epigram, but it suggests a simple solution to the problem – that χαρίτων δέσποτα should be taken together, ‘lord and master of delights’ (χαρίτες *sunt victoriae, quemadmodum passim apud Pindarum*, said Bergk on this passage; not exactly *victoriae*, but the gratification conferred by victory, or, as Rumpel said, *gloria, praecipue ex victoriis parta*). If this was the author’s meaning, the rest is easy; αἶνον ἔχεις ὑπὸ ξείνων κτλ. is a much simpler phrase than αἶνον ἔχεις χαρίτων ὑπὸ ξείνων κτλ., which the editors have naturally much disliked (‘praise consisting in thanks’, or the like); and the causal dative τοῖς στεφάνοις at the end seems to run a little less awkwardly. The meaning is ‘may Apollo’s pleasure in your gifts be as great as the praise you receive from all in Corinth, lord and master of victory’s delights, by reason of the crowns you have won’.

The style and tone of the whole, the peculiarity of the address by the poet to the dedicator, and the abnormality of the particle τοι at the start of the epigram (see 1 n.), argue against an early date for this quatrain; it is a work of the Hellenistic period, not early within it.

A.P. 6.212 (caret Pl) Σιμωνίδου ἀνάθημα

εὐχέοι τοι δώροισι, Κύτῳ, θεὸν ὧδε χαρῆναι  
Λητοῖδην, ἀγορῆς καλλιχόρου πρύτανιν,  
ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ξείνων τε καὶ οἱ ναίουσι Κόρινθον  
αἶνον ἔχεις, χαρίτων δέσποτα, τοῖς στεφάνοις. 939

3 Κόρινθον P

**1 [936] τοι:** see *Wiener Studien* n.s. 10 (1976) 174 for some facts about the use of this particle at the start of epigrams. It is very rare at all times, and I do not know another example of imperative + τοι at the start. Neither τοῖς (Salmasius) nor σοῖς (Bergk) is attractive.

**Κύτῳ:** the name is novel and unconvincing; Bergk’s Κύλων ought perhaps to be printed.

**2 [937] καλλιχόρου:** cf. 890; this epithet, like εὐρύχορος, is purely conventional.

**3–4 [938–9]** See Pref. The older editors mostly thought 4 corrupt, but there is no comfort to be found in their conjectures, which are assembled by Hecker (1852.239) and Stadtmüller. Hecker’s μεστοτάτοις στεφάνοις disposed of the difficulty of δέσποτα, but at heavy cost (he supposed the χαρίτων μεστοτάτοις στεφάνοις to signify a gold crown made by the artist Cyton for Apollo’s statue; Paton, who accepted Hecker’s text, rendered quite differently: ‘the gifts to thee of crowns loaded with gratitude from strangers and citizens’).

## LXIII [157 B., 114 D.]

On a statue of Artemis.

There is no other mention of the sculptor Arcesilaus, and his epigram has some odd features:

(1) It was not customary to begin with a sentence limited to defining which divinity the image represents; it is, however, occasionally done (*e.g.* IG 1<sup>2</sup> 472, mid-sixth century B.C., Φοίβου μὲν εἰμ’ ἄγαλμα Λατοῖδα καλόν), so that there is



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no absolute need to follow Bergk in joining Ἀρτέμιδος τόδ’ ἄγαλμα with ἀσκητῶς (om. δ’) ἐποίησεν, leaving the intervening words parenthetical.

(2) As a rule the dedicator is named and the act of dedication stated (as in e.g. *BCH* 29 (1905) 214 Ἀρτέμιδος τόδ’ ἄγαλμ’, ἀνέθηκε δέ μ’ Εὐπολῖς κτλ., *IG* xii 5.216 Ἀρτεμι, σοὶ τόδ’ ἄγαλμα Τελεστοδί[κη ἀνέθηκε κτλ., *IG* xii 5.215 Δημοκύδης τόδ’ ἄγαλμα Τελεστοδίκη τε...στήσαν παρθένωι Ἀρτέμιδι); the name of the sculptor is not often given, and if it is given it is of secondary importance. There are, however, exceptions comparable with *LXIII* (e.g. anon. xcix, civ, cv (b), cvii (b)), so that it is not necessary to follow Preger (no. 105) in marking a lacuna before 1–2.

(3) It is most abnormal to state, in a dedicatory inscription, what fee was paid to the sculptor, and it was really extraordinary to go on to inform the natives (for the statue is presumably erected in Paros) what device their coinage bore. If Arcesilaus was a Naxian (see 4 n.), he cannot possibly have thought this worth mentioning; the native of a remote town in Crete might talk in such terms.

This epigram might be of any date between 200 B.C. (it is surely not much earlier) and A.D. 200. The fact that Diogenes ascribes it to Simonides may be an indication that he found it in the *Anthology* (see Boas 119), and, if so, the heading may be due to Meleager’s *Sylloge Simonidea*.

Diog. Laert. 4.45 γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τρεῖς Ἀρκεσίλαοι... ἕτερος ἄγαλματοποιός, εἰς ὃν καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἐποίησεν ἐπίγραμμα τοῦτ’

Ἀρτέμιδος τόδ’ ἄγαλμα. διηκόσται δ’ ἄρ’ ὁ μισθός 940  
δραχμαὶ ταὶ Πάριαι, τῶν ἐπίσημα τράγος.  
ἀσκητῶς δ’ ἐποίησεν Ἀθηναίης παλάμησιν  
Ἄξιος Ἀρκεσίλας, υἱὸς Ἀριστοδίκου.

1 δ’ ἄρ’ cod. F: γὰρ codd. CPB<sup>pc</sup> (om. B<sup>ac</sup>) 2 ἐπίσημα τράγος Heyne: ἐπίσημ’ ἄρατος codd. 3 ἀσκητῶς Bergk: -τὸς codd. BP, -τῆς cod. F 4 Ἀριστοδόκου cod. F

1 [940] δ’ ἄρ’: γὰρ, printed by Bergk, Preger, and Diehl, is meaningless. Preger alone had some excuse, for he thought it might be related to something in his lacuna before 1–2.

3 [942] Bergk and Preger understood that Ἀθηναίης παλάμησιν must go with ἐποίησεν and cannot be joined to ἀσκητός; ἀσκητῶς is a necessary change.

4 [943] Ἄξιος: there is no apparent reason why a man born in the enchanting region of Cretan Axos should not become a sculptor; the change to Νάξιος (M. Schmidt) is not necessary, and in view of v. 2 (see Pref.) not at all likely.

## LXIV [151 B., 159 D.]

Dedication by a lover to Aphrodite at Athens.

Opis, to commemorate his love for Bryson, made a specially fine flute and dedicated it to Aphrodite; he boasts of his work, which was accomplished with the help of Hephaestus and which adds glory to the holy city of Athens.

The epigram is manifestly Hellenistic. The style is florid, the content pompous. There is nothing more to be said about it except that the mixed metre

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argues for a date not (or not much) later than the third century B.C. (see *Wiener Studien* n.s. 10 (1976) 166; there is no other example of this combination, dact. hex. + ia. trim. catal.).

A.P. 13.20 (caret Pl) Σιμωνίδου

πατρίδα κυδαίνων ἱερὴν πόλιν ὤπις Ἀθηνᾶς  
 †τέκνον μελαίνης γῆς χαρίεντας† αὐλούς 945  
 τούσδε σὺν Ἠφαίστῳ τελέσας ἀνέθηκ' Ἀφροδίτῃ  
 καλοῦ δαμασθεῖς ἱμέρω Βρύσωνος.

1 Ἀθηνᾶς Bergk: Ἀθανᾶς P

**1 [944]** Ὠπις: *nomen sane virile mirum*, said Diehl; it was borne by an Iapygian king who had a statue at Delphi, Paus. 10.13.10.

**2 [945]** The corruption is deep. χαρίεντας is rejected by the metre, and it would be nonsense to call either Opis or the flutes (especially in the plural) ‘child of the dark earth’. The only intelligent suggestion is Hartung’s τέκνον Μελαίνης καὶ Χάρητος, giving the parentage of Opis. ‘Melaina’ is a very uncommon proper-name; but so was Opis. The change is rough, but not more so than will be necessary to restore the truth (whatever that may be).

αὐλούς: the plural here presumably signifies, as so often, the double-flute, of which the two pipes, laterally pierced, were held together by the φορβεία.

**4 [947]** Βρύσωνος: not a common name; Kirchner (2931) has one Attic example.

LXV [182 B., 124 D.]

On the battle of Thyrea.

See LIX Pref.; Preface and Commentary in *HE* 2.519–20.

A.P. 7.431 [C] ἄδηλον, οἱ δὲ Σιμωνίδου, Pl<sup>B</sup> s.a.n. [J] ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τῶν τριακοσίων Σπαρτιατῶν τῶν μετὰ Ὀθρυάδου πεσόντων ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀργείους πολέμῳ ἐπὶ τῇ Θυρεάτῃ [C] ταῦτα ἐν τῇ <δ> βίβλῳ τοῦ συγγραφέως Θουκυδίδου τρανώτερον

οἶδε τριακόσιοι, Σπάρτα πατρί, τοῖς συναρίθμοις  
 Ἰναχίδαις Θυρέαν ἀμφὶ μαχεσσάμενοι,  
 αὐχένας οὐ στρέψαντες, ὅπαι ποδὸς ἴχνια πρᾶτον 950  
 ἀρμόσαμεν, ταῦται καὶ λίπομεν βιοτάν·  
 5 ἄρσενι δ' Ὀθρυάδαο φόνῳ κεκαλυμμένον ὄπλον  
 καρύσσει “Θυρέα, Ζεῦ, Λακεδαιμονίων”.  
 αἱ δὲ τις Ἀργείων ἔφυγεν μόρον, ἧς ἀπ' Ἀδράστου·  
 Σπάρται δ' οὐ τὸ θανεῖν ἀλλὰ φυγεῖν θάνατος. 955

1 τριακόσιοι Bergk: τριηκ- PPl 2 Ἰναχίδας Θυρεάν. P 3 ἴχνια πρᾶτον: ἴχνος ἄπρατον P, ἴχνια πρῶτον Pl

LXVI [183 B., 125 D.]

On Anacreon.

See LIX Pref.; Preface and Commentary in *HE* 518–19.

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A.P. 7.24, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PJPI] Σιμωνίδου [P] εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν [J] εἰς Ἀνακρέοντα τὸν Τήιον ποιητὴν Σιμωνίδου [C] ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς Σιμωνίδης Τήιος ἦν ὄθεν καὶ Ἀνακρέων; Suda s.vv. ἡμερίς (1–2), λαρόν (9–10), γεραίος (9 ἤς – 10).

ἡμερὶ πανθέλκτειρα μεθυτρόφε μήτερ ὀπώρης,  
οὔλης ἢ σκολιὸν πλέγμα φύεις ἔλικος,  
Τηίου ἡβήσειας Ἀνακρείοντος ἐπ’ ἄκρη  
στήλῃ καὶ λεπτῶι χῶματι τοῦδε τάφου,  
5 ὥς ὁ φιλάκρητός τε καὶ οἶνοβαρὴς φιλόκωμος 960  
παννύχιος κρούων τὴν φιλόπαιδα χέλυν  
κῆν χθονὶ πεπτηῶς κεφαλῆς ἐφύπερθε φέροιτο  
ἀγλαὸν ὠραίων βότρυν ἀπ’ ἀκρεμόνων,  
καὶ μιν αἰεὶ τέγγοι νοτερὴ δρόσος, ἥς ὁ γεραίος  
10 λαρότερον μαλακῶν ἔπνεεν ἐκ στομάτων. 965

1 ὀπώρης CPl: -ρας P Suda 2 οὔλης ἢ σκολιὸν C et (ῆι) Pl: οὔλητις κολιὸν  
P, οὐ λήγῃ σκολιὸν Suda φύεις Küster: φύσεις PPl, φύης Suda 5  
φιλάκρητός CPl: φιλάκ\*\*ρητός P -βαρίς P<sup>ac</sup> φιλόκωμος Pl: φίλα κώμωι P  
6 κρούσι Pl<sup>pc</sup> 7 καὶ χθονὶ C<sup>vp</sup> 8 ὠραίων Lascaris: ὠραῖον PPl  
9 μιν Pl Suda: φιν P, σφιν C τέγγει P ἥς ὁ CPl Suda: ἡ σε P ut vid.

## LXVII [184 B., 126 D.]

On Anacreon.

See LIX Pref.; Preface and Commentary in *HE* 2.519.  
A.P. 7.25, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPI] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (= Σιμωνίδου) εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν [J] Ἀνακρέοντα τὸν Τήιον, ἔστιν δ’ ἡ πόλις αὕτη οὐχ ἡ Ποντικὴ ἀλλ’ ἡ πρὸς Ἐφεσον κειμένη μία τῶν Ἰάδων πόλεων [C] ὅτι νῆσός ἐστιν ἡ Τέως μία τῶν Κυκλάδων; Suda s.v. μολπή (9 μολπῆς – μελιτερπέος)

οὗτος Ἀνακρέιοντα τὸν ἄφθιτον εἵνεκα Μουσέων  
ὑμνοπόλον πάτρης τύμβος ἔδεκτο Τέω,  
ὃς Χαρίτων πνεῖοντα μέλη πνεῖοντα δ’ Ἐρώτων  
τὸν γλυκύν ἐς παίδων ἱμερον ἡρμόσατο.  
5 μοῦνον δ’ εἶν Ἀχέροντι βαρύνεται, οὐχ ὅτι λείπων 970  
ἥλιον Λήθης ἐνθάδ’ ἔκυρσε δόμων,  
ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὸν χαρίεντα μετ’ ἡϊθέοισι Μεγιστέα  
καὶ τὸν Σμερδίεω Θρηϊκα λέλοιπε πόθον.  
μολπῆς δ’ οὐ λήγει μελιτερπέος, ἀλλ’ ἐτ’ ἐκείνον  
10 βάρβριτον οὐδὲ θανῶν εὐνασεν εἶν Αἴδιι. 975

1 Μουσέων P: -σῶν CPl 3 μέλη CPl: μελαν P 5 μοῦνον Bothe: μούνος P  
Pl 6 δόμωι Pl 9 λήγει Porson: λήγεν Suda, λήθει PPl ἐκεῖνο Pl

## LXVIII [114 B., 80 D.]

On a cenotaph for a man lost at sea.

This interesting epigram owes something of its charm to the mystery which

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veils its outline as well as some of its features. It is plainly a literary epitaph, the work of an experienced poet. It does not at once follow that it is non-inscriptional; but it must be said that it would be most unusual for a professional poet, whether his epitaph be designed for inscription or not, to omit the name of the deceased as here.

The epigram devotes its first two couplets to malediction of a particular landscape; the reader has no idea what offence it has given until he is told in the third couplet. The description of the landscape is given in uncommon detail, partly obscure now. The district which the poet would like to consign to remotest Scythia, looking down on the Danube or the Don, is Geraneia, the mountain-barrier which reaches from sea to sea between the Megarid and the Corinthian isthmus. Geraneia is held responsible for the calamity which is the subject of the third couplet: a man has drowned, presumably as a result of shipwreck off this dangerous stretch of coast. The wreck occurred in an area where the sea took its name from one of Geraneia's most spectacular cliffs, the ‘Scironian rocks’. We are now in no doubt about the location; but this is further defined as ‘round the glens of snowy Methurias’, and this is not intelligible to us. Androton wrote of *Methouriades*, ‘islands between Aegina and Attica not far from Trozen’ (Steph. Byz. *s.v.*), a position irrelevant to LXVIII. Pliny *h.n.* 4.57 tells of *Methurides*, small islands off the Megarian coast; the location is suitable, but ‘glens’ and ‘snowfall’ indicate a mountain, not low and insignificant islets. We must assume that ‘Methurias’ is the name of a mountain or range within the Geraneia-massif, close to the Scironian cliffs (its name presumably connected with that of Pliny's islets); or else we must alter the text. As it is known (from Pausanias 1.44.7 and other sources) that a cliff near the Scironian rocks was called *Molourias*, the change to *Molouriados*, or better still to *Melouriados* (the spelling in schol. Pind. *Isthm. proem.*), has a good claim to acceptance (it is adopted by Jacobs, Dübner, Bergk, and Mackail; not by Stadtmüller, Paton, Wilamowitz, the Budé, Diehl, or Beckby, though none of these can explain what they print).

It remains to try to decide whether LXVIII is inscriptional (it is not so taken by Peek) or a mere literary exercise. The latter alternative is strongly indicated by the fact that, of all the variations on this common theme in the Hellenistic and early Imperial periods, this is the only one which does not even pretend that it is talking about a real person; there is no mention of name, parentage, or home-land; and this is quite contrary to custom, both in actual inscriptions on cenotaphs (*e.g.* Peek 163, 633, 1175) and in the *Anthology*: contrast Asclepiades 7.500, Callimachus 7.271, Leonidas 7.273 and 7.654, Damagetus 7.497, Pancrates 7.653, Phanias 7.537, Heraclides 7.392, Honestus 7.274, Xenocritus 7.291, ‘Flaccus’ 13.27, and Gaetulicus 7.275; of the two Byzantine examples, one names the deceased (Julianus 7.592), the other does not (Agathias 7.569). The impression of unreality given by the omission of the name is confirmed by the plan of the epigram as a whole: malediction of a landscape is the real theme; the deceased is introduced late and curtly, and quickly put out of sight; he is of no great interest to the poet or his reader.

Some have thought there are significant similarities between LXVIII and Callimachus 7.271 = *HE* xlv, one of the above-mentioned Hellenistic vari-

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ations on the same theme.<sup>1</sup> The similarities are in fact confined to the use (but not the construction) of the verb ὠφελον and to the resemblance between LXXVIII 3 and the third line of Callimachus, νῦν δ’ ὁ μὲν εἰν ἀλί που φέρεται νέκυς (followed by a reference, quite different in content and phrase from LXXVIII, to a cenotaph). This resemblance may be fortuitous; if one copied the other, we have no means of telling which is the earlier.

A.P. 7.496 (caret Pl) [C] Σιμωνίδου [J] εἰς τινα ναυηγὸν ἐν Γερανείαι καὶ ταῖς Σκιρωνίσι πέτραις ναυαγήσαντα

ἡερίῃ Γεράνεια, κακὸν λέπας, ὠφελὲς Ἴστρον  
τῆλε καὶ ἐς Σκυθέων μακρὸν ὄρᾶν Τάναϊν,  
μηδὲ πέλας ναίειν Σκειρωνικὸν οἶδμα θαλάσσης  
ἄγκεα νειφομένης ἀμφὶ Μεθουριάδος.  
5 νῦν δ’ ὁ μὲν ἐν πόντῳ κρυερὸς νέκυς, οἱ δὲ βαρεῖαν 980  
ναυτιλίῃν κενεοὶ τῆιδε βοῶσι τάφοι.

1 ὠφελὲς Salmasius: -λεν P Ἴστρον C 2 ἐς Heringa: ἐκ P 4 ἄγκεα Salmasius: ἀγνέα P νειφομένης P

1-2 [976-7] ὠφελὲς: Jacobs, Hecker (1852.220), and Mackail of course accept this, and one is almost tempted to say that nobody who prints ὠφελεν here is fit to edit Greek epigrams; unfortunately that would exclude almost everyone else who has ever done so.

ἐς: ‘look upon the Scythians’ Don’ is much better suited to the context than ‘look, from the Scythians, upon the Don’; one might say ἐκ Σκυθίας, but hardly ἐκ Σκυθέων, in this place.

3-4 [978-9] πέλας ναίειν . . . οἶδμα: editors are content to quote Hom. *Il.* 2.626, νήσων αἱ ναίουσι πέρην ἁλός, and S. *Ai.* 596 Σαλαμῖς, σὺ μὲν που ναίεις ἀλίπληκτος, but ναίειν is intransitive in both those places, whereas here it must govern οἶδμα, with πέλας adverbial; and although it is easy to say that an island dwells in the sea, it seems very odd to say of the Geraneia mountain-range that it ‘dwells in the Scironian sea nearby’ (not ‘*dwells near* the waves of the Scironian sea’, with Paton (and similarly Mackail), as if πέλας could govern an accusative).

Μεθουριάδος: nothing but Pliny’s attestation of the name *Methurides* in the vicinity justifies the preference of this to Μελουριάδος (see Pref.).

5-6 [980-1] τῆιδε: presumably = the home-land, where the next of kin make a cenotaph.

τάφοι: the plural is as unnatural as it is unconventional in a context explicitly referring to the death of one man only. It looks as though momentary metrical convenience has played a large part here, though it would have been easy to say the same thing without the plurals.

<sup>1</sup> This alleged relation plays an important part in Wilamowitz’ treatment of LXXVIII. In *SS* 212 n. 2 he shows himself aggrieved that later editors ignored his paper in *Herm.* 14 (1879) 163; ‘sie haben vorgezogen, nichts zu verstehen’. The truth may be that it was thought more tactful to suppress comment. Diehl (*fr.* 80) is of course dependable, and even resurrects the lamentable conjecture τῆλε βοῶσι at the end.

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## LXIX [130 B., 142 D.]

Epitaph for a hound.

For epitaphs on animals, especially on dogs, see anon. cxlvi Pref. with literature quoted there. There is no reason to suppose that this charming epigram is not a copy of an actual inscription; it is so taken by Peek (1489), though his date for it (V B.C.) is quite out of the question. See 1-2 nn.; ἴσκω and ἄγρωσσα are alone enough to remove LXIX a very long way from the fifth century; it is manifestly Hellenistic in tone as in language.

Pollux 5.47 ἐνδοξον δὲ καὶ Λυκάδα τὴν Θετταλὴν Σιμωνίδης ἐποίησε γράψας τοῦτ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ γράμμα ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τῆς κυνός.

ἦ σεῦ καὶ φθιμένας λεύκ' ὁστέα τῷδ' ἐνὶ τύμβῳ  
 ἴσκω ἔτι τρομέειν θήρας, ἄγρωσσα Λυκάς·  
 τὰν δ' ἄρετὰν οἶδεν μέγα Πήλιον ἅ τ' ἀρίδηλος  
 Ὅσσα Κιθαिरῶνός τ' οἰονόμοι σκοπταί.

985

1 ἦ σεῦ H. Stephanus: ἦς αὐ codd. AS, εἰς αὐ cod. F 3 οἶδεν codd. SF, οἶ δὲ cod. A.

1-2 [982-3] The idea presumably is that the animals will know who is buried here, and will tremble when they come near.

ἴσκω = ἔισκω, twice in the *Iliad*, 11.799 and 16.41, meaning *liken* (one person to another); thrice in the *Odyssey*, 4.279 and 19.203, essentially *make resemble* (one thing to another), and 22.31, ἴσκειν ἕκαστος ἀνὴρ, an odd use, apparently = 'each man *was imagining*' (i.e. guessing).

This rare and obsolete form was revived (though not often) by the Alexandrians, and its presence in LXIX is a token of Hellenistic date. The construction here diverges widely from the Epic model; the meaning, on the other hand, *suppose*, is not far from the model, whereas the Alexandrians generally took the verb (wrongly) to mean *speak, say*. See Gow on Theocr. 22.167.

ἄγρωσσα: the regular formations ἀγρώστis and (E. *Ba.* 564, *Rhes.* 266 codd. VL) ἀγρώτis would have suggested to most authors feminine ἀγρώστis or ἀγρώτis, of which the vocatives would suit here (and indeed Schneider conjectured ἀγρώστis). ἄγρωσσα is an incomprehensible form; the earlier Alexandrian scholar-poets would have disapproved of it.

Λυκάς: 'wolf'-names for hunting-hounds were common; this one among others in Keller's list, *Antike Tierwelt* 1.135.

4 [985] οἰονόμοι: see the note on Leonidas *A. Plan.* 230.1 = *HE* 2498. There, as in Anyte *A. Plan.* 291.2 = *HE* 673 and Archias 7.213.4 = *PG* 3719, oio- probably comes from οἷς, *sheep*, not from οἶος, solitary; the latter seems preferable here; cf. οἰόφρων at *A. Suppl.* 795.

## LXX [117 B., 130 D.]

Epitaph for a young man.

This competent but unambitious epigram is more likely to have been written for inscription (= Peek 1565) than as a rhetorical exercise. It is one of a series

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taken *en bloc* from the *Sylloge Simonidea*; its date may be as early as the fourth century, or as late as the second.

A.P. 7.515, Pl<sup>A</sup> [CPI] Σιμωνίδου [J] εἰς Τίμαρχον νεώτερον ἐν νόσῳ τελευτήσαντα

αἰαῖ, νοῦσε βαρεῖα, τί δὴ ψυχαῖσι μεγάρις  
 ἀνθρώπων ἐρατῇι πᾶρ νεότητι μένειν;  
 ἦ καὶ Τίμαρχον γλυκερῆς αἰῶνος ἄμερσας  
 ἤϊθρον, πρὶν ἰδεῖν κουριδίην ἄλοχον.

989

2 ἐρατῇι Jacobs: ἀρετᾷ (sic) P ante quod ras. 1–2 litt., ἐρατᾷ Pl

1 [986] αἰαῖ: there are only three Hellenistic examples of this beginning in the *Anthology* (two of them in Mnasalces), and only two in Peek's collection, the earlier of them fourth century B.C (332), the later II/III A.D. (1678).

2 [987] The phrasing is borrowed from the Epic; [Hes.] *scut.* 331 εὖτ' ἂν δὴ Κύκνον γλυκερῆς αἰῶνος ἀμέρσης.

## LXXI [120 B., 136 D.]

On Cleodemus, killed in ambush by Thracians.

This epigram is oddly phrased at the beginning. It is not the thought, only its expression in this form, that is strange. The sentiment is indeed familiar enough: Hom. *Il.* 6.442 αἰδέομαι Τρῶας... αἶ κε κακὸς ὥς νόσφιν ἄλυσκάζω πολέμοιο. 'Shame of retreat' (Paton), the respect owed to his family's honour, drove Cleodemus to his death; the sentiment seems less appropriate to a man who happened to be caught in an ambush.

It is not clear whether this is a copy of an inscription (it is not so taken by Peek). If the body of Cleodemus was recovered from the field and given proper burial, this might be an epitaph despite its unusual beginning. Wilamowitz (*Pindaros* 518) thought that it was specially composed for the comfort and honour of the father and delivered privately in appropriate company. The truth is that we are wholly ignorant of the background, the date, and the circumstances of composition of the epigram. We cannot place it geographically (see 1–2 n.) or in time; it might be of any date between the early fourth century and its adoption by the *Sylloge Simonidea* (possibly as late as the second century B.C.).

The style is ponderous, the product of an unpractised hand.

A.P. 7.514 (caret Pl) [C] Σιμωνίδου [J] εἰς Κλεόδημον ὑπὸ Θραϊκῶν ἀναρρεθέντα καὶ Κλέεννον Διφίλου υἱόν

Αἰδῶς καὶ Κλεόδημον ἐπὶ προχοῇσι Θεαίρου  
 ἀενάου στονόεντ' ἤγαγεν εἰς θάνατον  
 Θρηϊκίῳ κύρσαντα λόχῳ· πατρός δὲ κλεεννόν  
 Διφίλου αἰχμητῆς υἱὸς ἔθηκ' ὄνομα.

990

1 [990] Αἰδῶς: this was too much for some of the earliest editors, who substituted Ἀιδης.

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**Θεαίρου:** it seems idle to speculate whether this is an alternative form of Τέαιρος, the Thracian river about which Herodotus has so much to say in 4.89–91. If they are the same, we still have no idea when Cleodemus was there or what he was doing.

**2 [991] ἀενάου σπονόεντ’:** a dull and heavy half-line.

**3 [992] κλεεννόν:** this is not a proper form for the epigrammatic style; it led the Lemmatist badly astray.

### LXXII [119 B., 135 D.]

On a cenotaph for Cleisthenes, drowned in the Euxine.

The first couplet is clear and simple in an old-fashioned style, the second is very bad. There was no need for πλαζόμενον; γλυκεροῦ and μελίφρονος are a dull couple; and the man who composes an epitaph for a native of Chios ought to have known, or to have been told, how to pronounce the name of that island.

The epigram (= Peek 1743) is one of a block taken direct from the *Sylloge Simonidea*, probably one of its later components.

A.P. 7.510 [C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (= Σιμωνίδου), P1<sup>B</sup> Σιμωνίδου [J] εἰς Κλεισθένην ναυηγὸν Χίον

σῶμα μὲν ἄλλοδαπῇ κεύθει κόνις, ἐν δέ σε πόντῳ,  
Κλείσθενης, Εὐξείνῳ μοῖρ’ ἔκιχεν θανάτου 995  
πλαζόμενον· γλυκεροῦ δὲ μελίφρονος οἴκαδε νόστου  
ἤμπλακες, οὐδ’ ἴκευ Χίον ἐπ’ ἀμφιρύτην.

1 σῶμα P1: σῆμα P 4 ἡμβροτες P1 accent. Χίον P P1

**1 [994] ἄλλοδαπῇ:** so the cenotaph was not made in the home-land but somewhere on the shore of the Euxine, one wonders by whom.

**4 [997] Χίον:** the place-name is Χίος, the adjective Χίος. The confusion occurs elsewhere only, so far as I know, in Kaibel *ep.* 88 = Peek 1987.6 (IV B.C., from Athens, but for a Chian) Χίος ἀγαλλομένη Συμμάχῳ ἐστὶ πατρίς.

### LXXIII [123 B., 134 D.]

Epitaph for Pythonax and his brother.

This epigram, taken by Meleager from his *Sylloge Simonidea*, is composed in a plain dignified style, none the worse for the trope at the end, ἀθάνατον θνητοῖς. It rings inscriptional (= Peek 551), and might come from any time in the fifth to second centuries B.C.

A.P. 7.300, P1<sup>A</sup> [CPI] Σιμωνίδου [J] εἰς Πυθώνακτα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ

ἐνθάδε Πυθώνακτα κασίγνητόν τε κέκευθε  
γαῖ’ ἐρατῆς ἥβης πρὶν τέλος ἄκρον ἰδεῖν.  
μῆμα δ’ ἀποφθιμένοισι πατὴρ Μεγάριστος ἔθηκεν 1000  
ἀθάνατον θνητοῖς παισὶ χαριζόμενος.



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1 κασίγνητόν: lectio incerta. κασίγνητον J in marg., ubi probat C, γρ addito; idem in textu sscr. J, ubi in -την corr. C; κασιγην primitus P ut vid.; κασιγνήτην Pl κέκευθε C marg.: κέκεύθει PPl 2 γᾶ Pl 3 Μεγάριστος Grotius: μέγ’ ἄριστος P, μέγ’ ἄριστον Pl 4 χαριζόμενον P, verum sscr. C

1 [998] κασίγνητόν: the manuscript is messy, and the choice between brother and sister remains quite uncertain. The Corrector’s inconsistent behaviour suggests that he is guessing, not using an independent source; whether J too was merely guessing, we cannot tell.

3 [1000] Μεγάριστος: the name is attested at Athens, Kirchner 9706.

4 [1001] Cf. Peek 1128 (Melos, III B.C.) ἐπεὶ γέ με κάποθανοῦσαν | Ζήλων ἀθανάταις ἡγλάισεν χάρισιν, Kaibel. *ep.* 70.3 μνημοσύνην θνητοῦ σώματος ἀθάνατον.

## LXXIV [115 B., 128 D.]

The last words of a dying son to his father.

Peek (1206) accepts this wretched epigram as inscriptional, an appendage to a relief-sculpture, and this is not quite out of the question; the date will be the second century B.C. – later, one might have hoped, but it was already in the *Sylloge Simonidea* in Meleager’s time. For insipid sentimentality (not noticeable to Mackail, *Select Epigrams* xi 40, Wilamowitz, *SS* 226 n. 2, or Bowra, *Early Greek Elegists* 184–5) LXXIV has few rivals in the Hellenistic period. The author may have been familiar with a beautiful sixth-century epitaph at Athens (Peek 157), σῆμα πατὴρ Κλειβουλος ἀποφθιμένωι Ξενοφάντωι | θῆκε τόδ’ ἀντ’ ἀρετῆς ἥδὲ σαοφροσύνης, but if so he was not capable of appreciating the difference between the very good and the very bad. The last words of the dying are a rare theme in epitaphs, and one which requires careful handling. Peek has no inscriptional example from the pagan era; the few that occur in the *Anthology* are infinitely superior to LXXIV: cf. Anyte 7.646 = *HE* vii, Simias 7.647 = *HE* vii, Leonidas 7.648 = *HE* x, Damagetus 7.735 = *HE* x, Antipater of Thessalonica 9.96 = *PG* xxi and 9.23 = *PG* lxxi.

A.P. 7.513, Pl<sup>B</sup> [CPl] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (= Σιμωνίδου) [J] εἰς Πρόμαχον [C] υἱὸν Τιμόνορος

φῆ ποτε Πρωτόμαχος, πατρός περὶ χεῖρας ἔχοντος,  
 ἡνίκ’ ἄφ’ ἱμερτὴν ἔπνεεν ἡλικίην,  
 “ὦ Τιμηνορίδη, παιδὸς φίλου οὔποτε λήσῃ  
 οὔτ’ ἀρετὴν ποθέων οὔτε σαοφροσύνην.”

1005

1 Πρωτόμαχος Hecker: Πρόμαχος P, Τίμαρχος Pl

1 [1002] Πρωτόμαχος: not a certain conjecture but more than adequate in an unimportant context. Planudes imported Τιμαρχος from LXX. The lemmatist J evidently saw nothing amiss in the text; the Corrector made things worse by adding that ‘Promachus’ was son of Timenor (it is ‘Promachus’ father, not himself, who is son of Timenor, according to the third line).

3–4 [1004–5] λήσῃ: λήξεις (Hecker) would save the construction but is rather a big change and it is doubtful whether any measures are necessary; the author may have written carelessly, continuing in 4 as if οὐ λήξεις were implicit in 3.

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LXXV [113 B., 84 D.]

Sympathy for Callias on the death of Megacles.

*Manifesto mutilatum*, said Bergk; and it was an extraordinary aberration of Wilamowitz to assert the opposite (without reason given, SS 212, ‘it is of course not a fragment’, and, as if there were no imaginable objection, ‘I have no cause to doubt it’). As a complete poem, this would be wholly without parallel in any period. The couplet is plainly the beginning of a longer poem, and the only point worth discussing is whether it comes from an epitaph or (as Schneidewin first suggested) an elegy. The latter is the more probable; one may look through a couple of thousand of epitaphs of all periods without finding anything comparable with this anonymous first-person address to the bereaved, combined with the curious phrase ‘*whenever I see his tomb*’. The consolatory elegy, which is as old as Archilochus, *frs.* 11 and 13, is a genre of which we have not much knowledge.

LXXV is one of a series taken *en bloc* from the *Sylloge Simonidea*; the names Megacles and Callias, borne by noble and famous persons at Athens in the sixth and fifth centuries, seemed to the originator of the *Sylloge* to justify the ascription to Simonides. There is no particular reason for the approval given by modern scholars (with varying degrees of confidence) for that ascription.

A.P. 7.511 (caret Pl) [C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (= Σιμωνίδου) [J] εἰς Μεγακλέα

σῆμα καταφθιμένοιο Μεγακλέος εὖτ’ ἂν ἴδωμαι,  
οἰκτεῖρω σε, τάλαν Καλλία, οἷ’ ἔπαθες.

1007

2 οἰκτεῖρω P

LXXVI (a) and (b) [109 B., 97 D.]

Epitaphs for men lost at sea.

A. Wifstrand, *Studien zur griechischen Anthologie* (1926) 70, made the following observations on these epigrams:

(1) That they occur separately in *A.P.* in two different sequences from the *Garland* of Meleager; it is therefore probable that Meleager included both, regarding them as two different epigrams, not as textually divergent versions of one and the same epigram.

(2) That Callicter’s satire on the doctor whose patients all died (*A.P.* 11.122) ends in a deliberate parody of LXXVI:

καὶ πᾶσιν μία νύξ, ἐν φάρμακον, εἰς σοροπηγός,  
εἰς τάφος, εἰς Ἀΐδης, εἰς κοπετὸς γέγονεν.

The parody is not, however, as Wifstrand supposed, ‘a witness to the readings νύξ and τάφος in 7.270’: 7.270 has νύξ and σκάφος, of which the first but not the second is suitable to Callicter, whereas 7.650<sup>b</sup> has ναῦς and τάφος, of which the second but not the first is suitable; he knows both epigrams, and takes from each what he needs.

Proper comparison of these two epigrams was first made by Boas, *de epigr. Simon.* 243: 7.270 is a careful composition, 7.650<sup>b</sup> is the reverse. It makes good sense to say (as in 7.270), of men whose boat was their tomb in shipwreck by

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night, that ‘one sea, one night, one boat buried them’; but to say (as in 7.650<sup>b</sup>) that ‘one sea, *one ship, one grave*, buried them’, is the utterance of a muddled mind. The substitution of ‘ship and grave’ for ‘night and boat’ not only eliminates the night, an important part of the picture, but does so at the cost of introducing an offensive tautology: for the ‘ship’ and the ‘grave’ of 7.650<sup>b</sup> are really one and the same thing; it was (as 7.270 said) their boat which proved to be their tomb (σκάφος ἐκτέρισεν).

The evidence of context in *A.P.* plainly favours the conclusion that both epigrams were in circulation in the *Sylloge Simonidea*, whence Meleager adopted them; they may therefore both be copies of relatively old inscriptions. If so, 7.270 is (as Boas showed) the original, 7.650<sup>b</sup> an inferior but not necessarily much younger copy.<sup>1</sup>

(a) A.P. 7.270, P<sup>A</sup> [CPI] Σιμωνίδου [J] εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ναυαγῆσαντας

τούσδε ποτ’ ἐκ Σπάρτας ἀκροθίνια Φοῖβωι ἄγοντας  
ἐν πέλαγος, μία νύξ, ἐν σκάφος ἐκτέρισεν. 1009

1 ἀκροθίνια Φοῖβ’ ἀγαγόντας P

(b) A.P. 7.650<sup>b</sup> (i.e. inter 650 et 651; caret Pl) [C] Σιμωνίδου [J] εἰς ναυηγούς τινας ἐν Τυρρηνίαι ναυαγῆσαντας

τούσδ’ ἀπὸ Τυρρηνῶν ἀκροθίνια Φοῖβωι ἄγοντας 1010  
ἐν πέλαγος, μία ναῦς, εἰς τάφος ἐκτέρισεν.

1 ἀκροθίνια P

## LXXVII [121 B., 137 D.]

Epitaph for Nicodicus.

This epigram rings inscriptional, and is so taken by Peek (914, with the curious note that it may come from the sixth century B.C.). The context in *A.P.* favours, but not decisively, the opinion that Meleager found this couplet in his *Sylloge Simonidea*.

A.P. 7.302, P<sup>B</sup> [CPI] Σιμωνίδου [J] εἰς Νικόδικον

τῶν αὐτοῦ τις ἕκαστος ἀπολλυμένων ἀνιάται,  
Νικοδίκου δὲ φίλοι καὶ πόλις ἦδε γ’ ὄλη. 1013

2 Νικοδίκου Salmasius: -ον PPI γ’ ὄλη Fettes: πόλη P, πολλή C; post ἦδε nil nisi lineolam ~ scr. Pl

1-2 [1012-13] Νικοδίκου: sc. ἀπολλυμένου. The accusative would have to be governed by ἀνιάται, contrary both to this context and to the known uses of the verb.

<sup>1</sup> Modern editors generally have not clarified in their minds the basic question, which is ‘Are these two separate epigrams, or a single epigram which happens to exhibit extraordinary textual variants?’ Boas (p. 243) demonstrated that 7.270 is the original. Those who prefer 7.650<sup>b</sup> as the original either wrote before Boas or do not refer to him and presumably did not read him, as Wade-Gery *JHS* 53 (1933) 78 n. 25, Diehl *Sim. fr.* 97. The recent practice (Waltz, Beckby) of printing 7.650<sup>b</sup> separately is a great improvement on Stadtmüller, who ran everything together under 7.270.

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The contrast between 1 and 2 is much the better for δλη: as a rule a death is mourned by family and friends; Nicodocus is mourned not only by his friends but by the whole city.

The emendation γ’ δλη is due to the Oxford University Press Reader of my *Epigrammata Graeca*. Hartung had already thought of δλη, but had absurdly combined it with ἡδεθ’ – ‘the whole city rejoiced at the death of Nicodocus’. This notion, that the epigram is satirical, reappears in the Budé edition with a text of which the less said the better.

### LXXVIII [127 B., 138 D.]

Epitaph for a Cretan trader.

This epigram is taken to be inscriptional by Peek (349, grouped with epigrams of III B.C.); it is at least as likely to be (as Stadtmüller thought) an Hellenistic *jeu d’esprit*,

‘Here Cretan Brotachus of Gortyn’s laid,  
Who not for this came hither, but for trade.’

A.P. 7.254<sup>b</sup> (carent PPl: addidit C in marg. sup.<sup>1</sup>) [C] Σιμωνίδου εἰς Βρότ-  
αχον

Κρής γενεάν Βρόταχος Γορτύνιος ἐνθάδε κείμεναι,  
οὐ κατὰ τοῦτ’ ἐλθὼν, ἀλλὰ κατ’ ἐμπορίην. 1015

**2 [1015]** ἐμπορίαν Schneidewin, a change to be accepted by those who believe that the epigram is inscriptional.

### LXXIX [122 B., 139 D.]

Epitaph for Theodorus.

This has something in common with an anonymous epigram in *A.P.*, 7.342 (= Peek 1662)

κάτθανον, ἀλλὰ μένω σε· μενεῖς δέ τε καὶ σύ τιν’ ἄλλον·  
πάντας ὁμῶς θνητοὺς εἰς ’Αἴδης δέχεται.

but the commonplace thought, *omnes eodem cogimur*..., οὗ σοι πάντες ὀφειλόμεθα; (Peek 1589.2), is not well adapted in LXXIX; the fact that all men must die has no connection with what precedes – the notion that some person will be pleased to hear of Theodorus’ death, and some other person will be pleased by that person’s death, and so forth.

The context in *A.P.* throws no light on the source of this epigram or on the reason for its ascription to Simonides. It may well be inscriptional, and may fall beyond the date-limit of the present collection; ἄδηλον in Planudes is likely to be the true tradition.

A.P. 10.105 Σιμωνίδου, Π<sup>1</sup> ἄδηλον

χαίρει τις, Θεόδωρος ἐπεὶ θάνον· ἄλλος ἐπ’ αὐτῷ  
χαιρήσει. θανάτῳ πάντες ὀφειλόμεθα. 1017

<sup>1</sup> The epigram was first published by Jacobs in his edition of 1813–1817, in a footnote, vol. iii p. 279.

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LXXX [124<sup>A</sup> B., 140 D.]

(*Vacat*; see Alexander 1)

LXXXI [124<sup>B</sup> B., 131 D.]

Epitaph for a young man.

See Alexander 1 Pref.; this epigram is the first of a series taken *en bloc* from the *Sylloge Simonidea*. It is presumably inscriptional (so conventional a distich would appear pointless as a literary exercise); Peek (926) assigns it to the fifth century B.C, but the Hellenistic period seems at least as likely.

A.P. 7.507<sup>b</sup> (caret Pl) [C] Σιμωνίδου [J] εἰς Γόργιππον ἐπιτύμβιον

οὐκ ἐπιδὼν νυμφεῖα λέχη κατέβην τὸν ἄφυκτον

Γόργιππος ξανθῆς Φερσεφόνης θάλαμον.

1019

1 ἐπιδὼν C κατέβην C: -βη P 2 θάλαμον Salmasius: -μος P

LXXXII [118 B., 132 D.]

Epitaph by Glaucus for his friend Theognis.

This epigram is one of a series taken *en bloc* from the *Sylloge Simonidea*. It is almost certainly inscriptional (= Peek 76). The plain style and the perfect phrasing of the second line are worthy of Simonidean times, but it must be remembered that epigrammatists went on writing as well as this in this style for a very long time.

A.P. 7.509 (caret Pl) [C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (= Σιμωνίδου) [J] εἰς Θεόγνιν τὸν Σινωπέα

σῆμα Θεόγνιδός εἰμι Σινωπέος, ὦι μ' ἐπέθηκεν

1020

Γλαῦκος ἐταιρείης ἀντὶ πολυχρονίου.

LXXXIII (a) and (b) [110 B., 141 D.]

Lions sculptured on tombs.

Opinions have differed whether (a) and (b) constitute one epigram or two. The tradition offers them as two. In Planudes, (b) follows (a) without interval, each epigram having its own heading, ‘by Simonides’ for (a) and ‘by the same author’ for (b). In the Palatine the arrangement is not so simple: (a) is ascribed to Simonides and furnished with a *lemma*; it is followed by a repeat of 7.187, then by six more epigrams (7.345–50); and then, on the last two lines of the same page, (b) is written, ascribed to Callimachus, and furnished with a *lemma* of its own. A good case can be made (Boas 163ff.) for the contention that (b) originally followed (a) without interval in P as it does in Pl; but it is quite clear that neither source has any notion that (a) and (b) are, or might be, parts of one and the same epigram. They are not even by the same author, according to the headings in P.

There is no very strong argument on either side of the debate. (a) is self-sufficient, and is most naturally taken as an Hellenistic literary exercise on the

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subject of the lion which stood on the tomb of Leonidas at Thermopylae.<sup>1</sup> The king of beasts stands guard over the mightiest of men; and we have no need to be told who that was, if we are accustomed to reading Hellenistic epigrams and remember that the names ‘lion’ and ‘Leonidas’ are much alike. On the other hand, surely (*b*) cannot be an independent epigram, for what epigram ever began with the word ἀλλά? This is the only apparently strong point in favour of the great majority (including Peek, 1173; the two distichs combined and actually accepted as inscriptional), who have believed that (*a*) and (*b*) constitute a single epigram.

The strength of the point is, however, only apparent. (*b*) may be a relatively late epigram, and a good parallel to the beginning would then be forthcoming in Diogenes Laertius *A.P.* 7.101, ἀλλ’ εἰ μὴ Σπεύσιππον... However that may be, it is particularly to be stressed that (*b*) may be not a continuation of (*a*) but a comment on it – an epigram prompted by it and intended to be read in conjunction with it in a collection of epigrams. This seems the likeliest explanation. It may be added that (*b*) is in itself a poor thing,<sup>2</sup> particularly feeble in relation to (*a*), whose lion talks good sense in a good laconic style.

Lions on tombs are not rare (see Antipater of Sidon 7.426 = *HE* xxxi Pref.; Peek 34, 1843), nor is the proper-name ‘Leon’. If (*b*) is, after all, an independent epigram, various identifications are available for consideration (see Bergk, Stadtmüller, and Waltz *ad loc.*).

(*a*) *A.P.* 7.344, P<sup>B</sup> [CPI] Σιμωνίδου [J] εἰς Λέοντά τινα ὃν ἐφρούρει λέων μαρμάρινος

θηρῶν μὲν κάρτιστος ἐγώ, θνατῶν δ’ ὃν ἐγὼ νῦν  
φρουρῶ τῷδε τάφῳ λαίνος ἐμβεβαῶς. 1023

2 λαίνος Meineke: λαίνῳ PPI

(*b*) *A.P.* 7.344<sup>b</sup> (post 7.350 scriptum), P<sup>B</sup> [C] Καλλιμάχου, [PI] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (= Σιμωνίδου) [J] εἰς Λέοντά τινα, ὃν λέων ἐπὶ τοῦ λάρνακος ἔσκεπε λίθινος

ἀλλ’ εἰ μὴ θυμὸν γε Λέων ἐμὸν οὖνομα τ’ εἶχεν,  
οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ τύμβῳ τῷδ’ ἐπέθηκα πόδας. 1025

1 ἐμὸν ὡς ὄνομ’ εἶχεν PI

LXXXIV and LXXXV [128–9 B., 81–2 D.]

A grateful ghost.

These are good examples of the fictitious epigram specially composed to add colour and verisimilitude to an anecdote about a famous man.

<sup>1</sup> So Schneidewin, though he thought the epigram Simonidean, comparing *Hdt.* 7.225; cf. Bassus 7.243 = *PG* ii Pref.; Hauvette (no. 23) rightly took the epigram to be ‘demonstrative’.

<sup>2</sup> A lion stands on a man’s tomb. The lion is made to say ‘Of course, if the man’s name had not been “Leon”, and if he had not been as brave as I am, I would never have come near the place.’

## ‘SIMONIDES’

The story<sup>1</sup> was, in brief, that Simonides, ashore during a journey overseas, found a corpse on the beach and gave it burial, adding the epitaph LXXXIV: ‘May those who killed me suffer the same fate; may those who buried me have joy of life.’ Now the ghost of the buried man appeared to Simonides in a dream and warned him not to continue his sea-voyage the next day. His companions sailed nevertheless and were drowned; Simonides, who had obeyed the ghost, expressed his gratitude by adding a second epitaph, LXXXV: ‘This man is the saviour of Simonides; though dead, he paid his debt of gratitude to the living.’

This type of anecdotal writing is not likely to be earlier than the Hellenistic period. The context in *A.P.* indicates that Meleager found 7.516 (= LXXXIV) in circulation in his time and accepted it as authentic. It is remarkable that LXXXIV should have travelled as far as Panticapaeum before the end of the first century B.C. (Peek 1362, οἱ μὲν ἐμὲ κτείναντες ὁμοίων ἀντιτυχοῖσαν, | Ζεῦ ξένιε, οἱ δὲ γονεῖς θέντες θναιντο βίου).

### LXXXIV

A.P. 7.516 [C<sup>1</sup>] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (= Σιμωνίδου), denuo exscripsit C<sup>2</sup> in marg. sup. ad 7.77 (= LXXXV) cum lemmate, Pl<sup>A</sup> Σιμωνίδου [J] εἰς τινα ὑπὸ ληιστῶν ἀναιρεθέντα [C<sup>2</sup>] Σιμωνίδης εὐρὼν νεκρὸν ἐν νήσῳ τινὶ θάψας ἐπέγραψεν·

οἱ μὲν ἐμὲ κτείναντες ὁμοίων ἀντιτύχοιεν,  
Ζεῦ ξένι', οἱ δ' ὑπὸ γᾶν θέντες θναιντο βίου. 1027

2 βίου C<sup>2</sup>Pl: βίον P

1 [1026] ὁμοίων: a metrical fault; see Dionysius 157 n.

### LXXXV

A.P. 7.77 (caret Pl) [P] Σιμωνίδου εἰς Σιμωνίδην denuo exscripsit C<sup>2</sup> in marg. sup. [C<sup>2</sup>] ὁ ταφὴς νεκρὸς τῷ Σιμωνίδῃ ἐπιφανεῖς ἐκώλυσε πλεῖν· διὸ τῶν συμπλεόντων μὴ πεισθέντων αὐτὸς μείνας σώζεται καὶ ἐπιγράφει τόδε τὸ ἐλεγείον τῷ τάφῳ·

οὗτος ὁ τοῦ Κεῖοιο Σιμωνίδου ἐστὶ σωτήρ,  
ὃς καὶ τεθνηδὺς ζῶντι παρέσχε χάριν. 1029

1-2 Simonidi adscr. etiam schol. Aristid. iii 533 D., Tzetz. chil. 1.632

1 ὁ τοῦ Κεῖοιο P, C<sup>2</sup>: ὁ Κίου schol., ὁ Κείου Tz. Σιμωνίδου P, C<sup>2</sup>: -δεω schol., Tz. 2 τεθνηδὺς P, τεθνεῖως C<sup>2</sup>, schol. cod. B, Tz. ζῶντι παρέσχε schol., Tz.: ζῶντ' ἀπέδωκε P, C<sup>2</sup>

2 [1029] ζῶντ' ἀπέδωκε according to the *Anthology*, but the elision has no parallel in the literary epigram of the Hellenistic period. It is of a type ex-

<sup>1</sup> Best discussed by Boas 98ff.; he shows that the four extant versions of the story – Cicero *de div.* 1.56, Val. Max. 1.7 ext. 3, schol. Aristid. iii 533 D., and pseudo-Libanius viii p. 42 F. – have a common source in Stoic writings. Preger (nos. 255, 256) treats the epigrams at some length and with good judgement.

# ‘SIMONIDES’

tremely rare in inscriptional epigrams, even the least literate of them, throughout the period covered by the present collection: Peek 630.3 (V B.C.), σώματ(ι), but this is a particularly incompetent writer; 890.1 (c. 360 B.C.) γυναικ(ι); 1249.27 (II/I B.C.) πατριδ(ι); it remains very uncommon in the Christian era (Peek 1015, I/II A.D., φροντιδ(ι), 1086, II, Κίλιξ(ι), 925, III+, παιδ(ι)). (Dr Hansen adds Raubitschek *D.A.A.* 290 (late VI B.C.), Kaibel 772, 785.)

## LXXXVI [126 B., 133 D.]

A father's epitaph for his son.

The *Anthology* assumed that a pentameter was missing, and left space for one. It is much more probable that this is an early single-hexameter epigram of the type illustrated by Friedländer and Hoffleit, *Epigrammata* pp. 9ff. and Peek 52–66. It was not to be expected that this primitive and artless type would be represented in anthologies of the Hellenistic or any later period, but it looks as though a few were included among the early inscriptional epigrams which formed the core of the *Sylloge Simonidea*.

A.P. 7.177 (caret Pl) [C] Σιμωνίδου

σᾶμα τόδε Σπίνθηρι πατήρ ἐπέθηκε θανόντι. 1030

1 accent. Σπινθῆρι P ἔθηκε P<sup>ac</sup> ut vid., corr. ipse

## LXXXVII [158 B., 150 D.]

Dedication by a successful athlete.

Alcon of Crete, winner in the boxing at the Isthmian Games, dedicates a wreath to Apollo. There is no other information about him. The epigram is certainly inscriptional, and the single-hexameter form (*cf.* LXXXVI) argues for an early date, the sixth century likelier than the fifth. The ultimate literary source was presumably the *Sylloge Simonidea*.

Σπ (quinta post indicem in A.P. pagina) Σιμωνίδου

Κρῆς Ἀλκων Διδύμου Φοίβωι στέφος Ἴσθμι' ἑλὼν πύξ. 1031

1 suppl. Bergk

## LXXXVIII [167 B., 67 D.]

On a snow-cellar in Thessaly.

According to Athenaeus, Callistratus in his *Miscellanies* told an anecdote about Simonides, illustrated by an epigram which (he says) was improvised. We have already seen comparable examples in LXXXIV and LXXXV – fictitious epigrams designed by the author of an anecdotal biography to add substance and colour to his narrative.

The story was that, while drinking in company on a hot day, Simonides noticed that he was neglected while others were served with snow to cool their wine; he therefore extemporised this epigram. Some have supposed that the author of this lively composition had Callimachus in mind, as 2–3 have something in common with Call. *Dian.* 114–15 Βορέαο κατ᾽αἶξ | ἔρχεται ἀχλαίνουσι δυσσεᾶ κρυμὸν ἄγουσα; but the resemblance may be fortuitous.



## ‘SIMONIDES’

I do not know, and the editors do not quote, any other reference to the preservation of snow or ice in underground cellars. Wilamowitz (*SS* 143 n.) observes that such luxury means that Simonides was staying (or, rather, was said in the anecdote to have been staying) at the court of one of the great Thessalian princes.

Athen. 3.125c Καλλίστρατος ἐν ᾧ Συμμηκτῶν φησιν ὡς ἐστιώμενος παρά τισι Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιητῆς “κραταιοῦ καύματος ὥραι” καὶ τῶν οἰνοχόων τοῖς ἄλλοις μισγόντων εἰς τὸ ποτὸν χιόνος, αὐτῷ δὲ οὐ, ἀπεσχεδίασε τόδε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα·

τῇ ῥά ποτ’ Οὐλύμποιο περὶ πλευρὰς ἐκάλυψεν  
ὥκὺς ἀπὸ Θρήικης ὀρνύμενος Βορέης,  
ἀνδρῶν δ’ ἀχλαίνων ἔδακεν φρένας, αὐτὰρ †ἐκάμφθη†  
ζωῇ Πιερῖν γῆν ἐπιεσσαμένη, 1035  
5 ἐν τις ἐμοὶ καὶ τῆς χεάτω μέρος· οὐ γὰρ ἔοικε  
θερμὴν βασιτάζειν ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ πρόποσιν.

1 τῇ Casaubon: τὴν A    2 Βορρέης A, corr. CE    5 χεάτω Bergk: χεέτω A  
1 [1032] τῇ: this is picked up by τῆς in 5: ‘(the snow) *in which* the North wind enveloped Olympus...*of that* (snow) let someone pour me a share’.

2 [1033] ὥκὺς: ὀξύς (Valckenaer), with which ὥκὺς is occasionally confused by scribes, may be the right reading here.

3 [1034] ἐκάμφθη: no known use, or reasonable extension of a use, of κάμπτωμαι is applicable here; Wilamowitz (*SS* 143 n.) criticised scholars ‘whose Greek was not good enough’ for this epigram, but his own allowed him to translate ἐκάμφθη as ‘schmiegsam zusammengebacken’. Either ἐκρύφθη (Brunck) or ἐθάφθη (Porson) would serve very well, but neither is a likely change. Kaibel (in his text of Athenaeus), Diehl (*Sim. fr.* 67), and West (*IEG* 2.114) keep ἐκάμφθη in the text, but they do not say what it means. Oberhummer (*RE* 18.1.271) adopts ἐθάφθη.

4 [1035] ζωή: the snow is *alive*, not yet dissolved; it retains its form and quality while buried underground (here ‘having cloaked itself in earth’).

Πιερῖν: the Thessalians obtained their snow and ice from Mt Olympus. ‘Pieria’ is strictly the hill-country from Olympus northwards.

5 [1036] χεάτω: the better tense, and χεέτω should have been χείτω.

## LXXXIX [176 B., 75 D.]

This corrupt fragment, despite the heading in the source, looks as though it comes from an elegy, not an epigram. It is printed by West in *IEG* 2.116, *incertum an ex epigrammatis*.

Stob. ecl. 1.8.22 Σιμωνίδου ἐπιγραμμάτων

ὁ τοι Χρόνος ὀξύς ὀδόντας  
†καὶ πάντα ψύχει† καὶ τὰ βιαιότατα. 1039

1 ο τοι cod. F: οἱ τοι cod. P    2 ψύχει cod. F: ψύχη cod. P

2 [1039] Pierson conjectured καὶ πάντα ψήχει καὶ τὰ βεβαιοτάτα, Bergk πάντα καταψήχει, but not even the general sense can be determined.

## ‘SOPHOCLES’

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### I

A reply by Sophocles to Euripides.

Sophocles made love to a boy, using his cloak as a blanket; afterwards the boy stole the cloak. Euripides made malicious fun of the incident; he had, he said, made love to the same boy, but had kept his cloak on; Sophocles had only himself to blame for being so shameless as to undress.

‘If anybody should think this anecdote fictitious, and the epigram a forgery, I should not argue against him’, said Bergk, too cautiously; recent editors have expressed no opinion. That Sophocles and Euripides indulged in such literary antics seems to the present editor inconceivable.

The sense of the first two and a half lines is clear. As the source says, Sophocles alludes to the fable of Helios and Boreas: Avianus *fab.* 4, ‘savage Boreas and gentle Phoebus’ had a contest to determine which of them could more quickly strip a man of his cloak. The North Wind tried violence, but this had the opposite of the effect desired; the traveller doubled his cloak and drew it more tightly around him. The Sun applied gentler treatment and was successful; it gradually increased the warmth until the traveller removed his cloak voluntarily. So here, Sophocles says that it was not uncontrollable passion (ἀκολασία in the source; παῖς in the epigram) which drove him to undress, but simply the warmth of a sunny day; if Euripides did not remove his cloak on a similar occasion (he continues), it must have been because he was making love in an icy wind. Euripides corresponds to the man in the fable when attacked by Boreas, Sophocles to the man when more agreeably treated by the Sun.

The last sentence, literally ‘but you are unwise, arresting Eros as a cloak-stealer while impregnating another’s wife’, is cryptically phrased. The meaning is as follows: Euripides had said (so the source tells us) that Sophocles would not have lost his cloak if his passions had not driven him to take it off; the boy who stole it represents Love, and it is therefore Love against whom Euripides is bringing a criminal charge (ἀπάγεις as in LSJ *s.v.* iv 2). And this is unwise, for Euripides himself is engaged in criminal intercourse,<sup>1</sup> and would have done better to make a friend, not an enemy, of Love.<sup>2</sup>

Athen.13.604D Ἰερώνυμος δὲ ὁ Ῥόδιος ἐν τοῖς ἱστορικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν (fr. 35 Wehrli) φησιν ὅτι Σοφοκλῆς εὐπρεπῇ παῖδα ἔξω τείχους ἀπήγαγε χρῆσόμενος αὐτῷ. ὁ μὲν οὖν παῖς τὸ ἴδιον ἱμάτιον ἐπὶ τῇ πόρᾳ ὑπέστρωσεν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους χλαῖδα περιεβάλλοντο. μετ’ οὖν τὴν ὁμιλίαν ὁ παῖς ἀρπάσας τὸ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> μοιχεία was a serious criminal offence; the laws of Draco and Solon granted immunity to the injured husband if he killed the adulterer taken in the act; Lipsius *Attische Recht* 1.429ff.

<sup>2</sup> West (*Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* 183) explains: ‘you indulge in adultery, and then arraign Love for the minor crime of misappropriating a cloak’: but this does not suit the words σὺ δ’ οὐ σοφός ‘you are *unwise*’, and the cloak-stealer was not a ‘minor’ criminal; his offence carried the death-penalty (Demosth. 4.47).

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Σοφοκλέους χλανίδιον ὤχετο, καταλιπὼν τῷ Σοφοκλεῖ τὸ παιδικὸν ἱμάτιον. οἷα δὲ εἰκὸς διαλαληθέντος τοῦ συμβεβηκότος Εὐριπίδης πυθόμενος καὶ ἐπιτωθάζων τὸ γεγονός καὶ αὐτὸς ποτε ἔφη τούτῳ κεχρησθαι τῷ παιδί, ἀλλὰ μὴδὲν προεθῆναι (West: προσθεῖναι A), τὸν δὲ Σοφοκλέα διὰ τὴν ἀκολασίαν καταφρονηθῆναι. καὶ ὁ Σοφοκλῆς ἀκούσας ἐποίησεν εἰς αὐτὸν τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπίγραμμα, χρησάμενος τῷ περὶ τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ Βορέου λόγῳ, καὶ τι πρὸς μοιχείαν αὐτοῦ παραινιττόμενος

ἥλιος ἦν, οὐ παῖς, Εὐριπίδη, ὅς με χλαιίνων 1040  
 γυμνὸν ἐποίησεν· σοὶ δὲ φιλοῦντι †ἐταίραν†  
 Βορρᾶς ὠμίλησε. σὺ δ' οὐ σοφός, ὅς τὸν Ἔρωτα,  
 ἄλλοτριαν σπείρων, λωποδύτην ἀπάγεις.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 6.318, <sup>b</sup>App. 90; Hecker 1852.20; 2 p. 244 Bergk; 1 p. 79 Diehl.

**2 [1041]** The corruption is incurable. ἐτάραν (Musurus) and κόρην (Headlam) are impossible; the object of φιλοῦντι (whether expressed or not) is the boy (we are still dealing with the question why Sophocles took his cloak off and Euripides did not, while making love to the same boy, and we are still within the fable of Helios and Boreas and its application to those circumstances). τάλαν (West) would serve well.

## II

From Sophocles to Herodotus.

The questions suggested by these lines are considered at length by Jacoby in his *Herodotos* (RE Suppl. 2) 233f.:

(a) Jacoby begins with the statement that ‘there is not the slightest reason to doubt the authenticity of the epigram’. It is therefore necessary to emphasise that there is at least one good reason: fictitious epigrams embedded in anecdotes about famous men of the pre-Hellenistic era were not rare, and the burden of proof in such a case as this must rest on the defence. That burden cannot be discharged, for Plutarch’s source is unknown, and there is nothing in the context of the quotation to help. A doubt plainly exists, and there is no way of confirming or dispelling it. The epigram remains suspect.

(b) Jacoby observes that the general assumption that ‘Herodotus’ in the epigram is the historian is not indisputably correct. The name, though not attested for Athenians in the fifth and fourth centuries, is common in Ionia and the islands, and Jacoby states a case for the theory that the ode to which the epigram refers is addressed to a handsome Ionian boy; he even contemplates identification with the boy who is the subject of the foregoing epigram. ‘He who is fond of fantasies’, as Jacoby says, may contemplate this; the rest of us will agree with Jacoby’s final conclusion that the identification with the historian, though not certain, is intrinsically probable.

(c) The lines, which begin with the statement that Sophocles has composed an ‘ode’, are called by Plutarch ‘this little epigram’. Jacoby reconciles the facts by suggesting that what Sophocles sent to Herodotus was indeed an ode, and that it was accompanied by a prefatory epigram. The difference between the two terms certainly requires explanation, and Jacoby’s is at least possible.

(d) The epigram says that Sophocles was 55 years old when the ode was

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written. This is not, to us, a statement of any interest. The date of Sophocles’ birth may indeed be inferred from anecdotes; if he was 90 when he died about the end of 406 B.C., he was born about 496 B.C.; the date of the ode will then be 441/40 B.C., the year of his election as *strategos*. Jacoby justly censures those who, assuming that Herodotus is the historian, supplement the second line (*e.g.* πέντ’ ἐπὶ πεντήκονθ’ ἑξάκις ἐπταετεί Gomperz); there is no reliable evidence for the birth-date of Herodotus, and though the middle or later 480s are likely there remains a quite large margin of error.

In summary: (a) not knowing the source, we cannot judge the authenticity of the epigram, which therefore remains suspect; (b) Herodotus may well be the historian, though this is not certain; (c) we can only guess at the relation of the ‘ode’ which Sophocles wrote to the ‘little epigram’ in which he announces its making; and (d) the statement made about the age of Sophocles offers no clue to the age of Herodotus.

As Jacoby says, ‘What is preserved is a clear and plain statement that Sophocles wrote an ode in his 55th year for some one named Herodotus’; so much is known, and nothing more. It is not even certain that the epigram was in the elegiac metre.

Plut. an seni 3, 785B τοῦτ’ ὁ μολογουμένως Σοφοκλέους ἐστὶ τὸ ἐπιγραμματικόν·

ὠιδὴν Ἡροδότῳ τεύξεν Σοφοκλῆς ἐτέων ὦν  
πέντ’ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα

1045

Not in Jacobs; Hecker 1852.347; 2 p. 245 Bergk; 1 p. 79 Diehl.

## ‘SPEUSIPPUS’

### I

Epitaph for Plato.

Diogenes Laertius gives the text of two epitaphs which he says were inscribed on Plato’s tomb, and a third which he describes as ‘another, more recent’. All three reappear, together and in the same order, in *A.P.*, 7.60–2. The second epitaph runs as follows:

(a) *A.P.* 7.61, Pl<sup>A</sup>, Diog. Laert. 3.44, omnes s.a.n. [P] εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν  
[JC] Πλάτωνα τὸν φιλόσοφον [Pl] εἰς Πλάτωνα

γαῖα μὲν ἐν κόλποις κρύπτει τόδε σῶμα Πλάτωνος,  
ψυχὴ δ’ ἀθάνατον τάξιν ἔχει μακάρων,  
υἱοῦ Ἀρίστωνος, τὸν τις καὶ τηλόθι ναίων  
τιμᾷ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς θεῖον ἰδόντα βίον.

1049

1 κόλπωι Diog. 2 ἀθάνατον P<sup>pc</sup>, Diog. cod. B: ἀθανάτων Pl, Diog. codd. rell. (incertum quid fuerit in P<sup>pc</sup>, fort. ἀθανάτην)

Jacobs 12.172 (= *adesp.* dxliv); Preger 11; 2 p. 329 Bergk.

The above epitaph is not ascribed to an author in any of the sources; it would therefore have been consigned to the *anonyma* without further ado, if a version of the first distich had not been preserved in *A.Plan.* as follows:

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(b) A.Plan. (PI<sup>B</sup>) 31 Σπευσίππου, Syll. E 56 s.a.n.

σῶμα μὲν ἐν κόλποις κατέχει τόδε γαῖα Πλάτωνος, 1050  
 ψυχὴ δ’ ἰσόθεον τάξιν ἔχει μακάρων.

1 κόλπωι Syll. E 2 ἰσόθεον Syll. E: ἰσοθέων PI

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 6.361; Preger 12; Peek 1756; 2 p. 329 Bergk; 1 p. 114 Diehl.

It is quite likely that (b) is the older epigram, expanded in (a) as ‘Anacreon’ xv and ‘Simonides’ xii were expanded; the second distich in (a) is obscure and ill-phrased (see (a) 4 n.) and looks like something tacked on.

The ascription of (b) to Speusippus depends wholly on the heading in A.Plan. 31; his name is not associated with (a) in any source, or with (b) in Syll. E. If (b) was an inscriptional epitaph, it was of course unsigned; it might nevertheless have been remembered that the author was Speusippus, nephew of Plato and his successor as head of the Academy, but there is not in fact any trace of such a tradition except the heading in PI<sup>B</sup>, whose reliability is often enough questionable in other places and cannot be assessed one way or the other in this place. To say that the evidence for the ascription to Speusippus is insufficient is certainly not an overstatement of the case against it.

There are remarkable textual differences between (a) and (b), as there are between Diogenes and A.P. in the other epitaph which Diogenes says was inscribed on the tomb (= A.P. 7.60; see HE 2.515). The difference in the first line may be explained as the kind of variation apt to be introduced into a much-quoted verse. The version in (a) is the inferior: σῶμα μὲν... is a standard beginning in epitaphs, and so it stands in (b); but here it involves putting γαῖα Πλάτωνος together, a less agreeable word-order than σῶμα Πλάτωνος, with γαῖα transferred to the beginning; and so it stands in (a). But what the antithesis demands is σῶμα μὲν, ψυχὴ δέ, not γαῖα μὲν, ψυχὴ δέ.

The variation in the second line is most easily explained as a deliberate change (therefore an argument for the priority of (b)). The author of (b) put a very bad epithet before τάξιν; it is futile to say that the gods are equal to the gods (ἰσοθέων), and the absurdity is just as great, only a shade less obtrusive, if their rank is called equal to the gods (ἰσόθεον; the adjective qualifies μακάρων τάξιν, and cannot be referred to Plato’s attainment of that rank). Bergk’s ἰσόθεος avoids this foolishness, but ψυχὴ is better without any adjective (as the contrasted σῶμα was), and this one has the defect of saying too much; τάξιν ἔχει μακάρων adds nothing of interest if ἰσόθεος is already there. The tradition, however, had ἰσόθεον or ἰσοθέων, and it is not surprising that the expander altered the absurd epithet into something simple and blameless, whether ‘stands in the immortal ranks of the Blest’ (with ἀθάνατον) or ‘stands in the ranks of the immortal Blest’ (or ‘of the blest Immortals’, with ἀθανάτων; both ἀθάνατοι and μάκαρες, used as substantives, may be qualified by adjectives; LSJ s. vv.).

The quality of both epigrams is mediocre; they are commonplace in thought and undistinguished in expression. If an epitaph for Plato, actually inscribed on his tomb, is represented here, it is plain that the author put himself to very little trouble.

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(a) and (b) **1 [1046 and 1050]**: the beginning is conventional; Peek 1782 (Piraeus, IV B.C.) σῶμα μὲν ἐν κόλποις, Καλλιστοί, γὰρ καλύπτει, 1781 (Athens, IV B.C.) σῶμα μὲν ἐν κόλποις..., anon. *A.P.* 7.619.2 κόλποις... γῆ Περικλῆδον ἔχει.

**2 [1047 and 1051]**: τάξιν ἔχειν is to hold a position in a rank (Xen. *Anab.* 4.3.29), metaphorically to be of a certain status; the general sense is that Plato’s soul keeps company with the gods.

(a) **4 [1049] θεῖον ἰδόντα βίον**: one expected ἰδὼν βίον, not ἰδόντα βίον, ‘good men honour Plato, seeing that his life was god-like’. What is said is that they honour Plato ‘because *he saw life divine*’, whatever that may mean. Waltz and Beckby refer it to his life on earth, but ἰδόντα is then an ill-chosen verb, and the first distich, which said that Plato has attained to the company of the gods, leads us to expect that the reference will be the same here, *i.e.* to his life among the gods after death. Nevertheless I think it quite likely that the author meant ‘because he saw that (man’s) life has some god-like quality’; if he did mean this, he should have taken the trouble to choose a more suitable expression (it would not have been difficult; τιμᾷ ἀνὴρ, ἀγαθῶν θεῶν ἐνιδόντα βίῳ would have been neat and clear, ‘because he saw elements of the divine in the good man’s life’).

## ‘THUCYDIDES’ OR ‘TIMOTHEUS’

### I

Euripides was buried in Macedonia (see the Preface to ‘Ion’). The statement in the *Life*, that there was also a cenotaph for him at Athens, is proved true by Pausanias, 1.2.2: the tomb of Menander and the cenotaph for Euripides stood beside the road on the way up from Piraeus. Though Pausanias says nothing about an inscription, it is reasonable to accept the *Life’s* assertion that the present epitaph was on the monument; falsehood on such a matter in such a place would be too easily exposed. The date of this fine epitaph should then be early in the fourth century.

It was not known who composed the epitaph, which was of course unsigned. A famous Athenian name was needed, and some guessed it might be Thucydides, others Timotheus the friend of Euripides. Athenaeus found it under the former name, which prevailed in the *Anthology*, though perhaps not wholly, for Planudes has no heading at all.

*A.P.* 7.45 Θουκυδίδου τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ, Pl<sup>A</sup> s.a.n. [PPI] εἰς τὸν αὐτόν

μνημα μὲν ‘Ελλάς ἅπασ’ Εὐριπίδου, ὅστέα δ’ ἴσχει

γῆ Μακεδῶν, ἥπερ δέξατο τέρμα βίου.

πατρίς δ’ ‘Ελλάδος ‘Ελλάς, ‘Αθῆναι· πλεῖστα δὲ Μούσαις

τέρψας ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ τὸν ἔπαινον ἔχει.

1055

vita Eur., p. 3 Schwartz ἐτάφη δ’ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, κενοτάφιον δ’ αὐτοῦ ‘Αθήνησιν ἐγένετο καὶ ἐπιγραμμα ἐπεγέγραπτο Θουκυδίδου τοῦ ἱστοριογράφου ποιήσαντος ἢ Τιμοθέου τοῦ μελοποιοῦ (1-4); cf. Athen. 5.187D τὴν ‘Αθηναίων

# ‘THUCYDIDES’ OR ‘TIMOTHEUS’

πόλιν, τὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος μουσεῖον, ἣν ὁ μὲν Πίνδαρος (fr. 76) Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα ἔφη, Θουκυδίδης δ' ἐν τῷ εἰς Εὐριπίδην ἐπιγράμματι Ἑλλάδος Ἑλλάδα, ὁ δὲ Πύθιος ἐστὶν καὶ πρυτανεῖον τῶν Ἑλλήνων; cf. Eust. *Il.* 284.6

In reporting the readings of the *Vita*, I have omitted trivia.

1 μνημα vita: μνᾶμα PPI    2 ἥϊπερ vita: ἥ γάρ PPI, ἥ γάρ C    3 πάτρη vel πάτρα fere vita    πολλὰ δὲ vitae cod. P    Μούσαις P, vitae cod. P: Μούσας PI, vitae codd. rell.

Jacobs\* 6.335; Preger 259; 2 p. 267 Bergk; 1 p. 133 Diehl.

1-2 [1052-3] Jacobs quotes Geminus 7.73.1 = *PG* 2342, on Themistocles' tomb, ἀντὶ τάφου λιτοῖο θεῆς Ἑλλάδα (where a statue of Hellas is meant, but the idea is the same).

ἥϊπερ: the text is doubtful. This clause is in any case superfluous and uninteresting (Euripides would not have been buried in Macedonia if he had not died there), but seems a shade less so if there is a change of subject at δέξατο; τῇ γάρ Bergk, for the same reason.

Preger denied that the epitaph is real, on the ground that these lines do not tell us whether the monument is in Macedonia or in Athens, or that it is a cenotaph. This is a mistake: as a rule, epitaphs do not say where they are (they assume that the reader knows the name of the place where he is standing); the naming of Macedonia as the place of burial means that the monument is *not* in Macedonia, and the statement that his bones are not here but in Macedonia tells us that this is a cenotaph.

3-4 [1054-5] πάτρη or πάτρα may be the true reading.

Ἑλλάδος Ἑλλάς: *i.e.* Athens is to Hellas as Hellas is to the world at large. This goes far beyond the phrases to which Athenaeus and modern scholars compare it, Meleager 7.417.2 = *HE* 3985 'Gadara, the Attica of Syria', and Bianor 9.423.2 = *PG* 1732, 'Sardis, an Anatolian Persia'. The expression is not less striking than the idea; there is no exact parallel to it before Meleager's ψυχὴν τῆς ψυχῆς (5.155.2 = *HE* 4245, 'Heliodora is my soul's soul').

Ἀθῆναι: on word-end after spondaic fourth foot, see Dionysius 157 n. The pause makes it an extreme example; cf. 'Sappho' 676.

Μούσαις: the dative, necessary to the sense, seems lonely; given more room, a prepositional phrase would have been used.

SECTION II

PART I

ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS FROM THE  
PALATINE AND PLANUDEAN  
ANTHOLOGIES



Introductory note	
I–XV	Amatory epigrams
XVI–XXI	Dedications
XXII–XXIX	Epitaphs
XXX–XLV	Famous poets, statesmen, and others
XLVI–LXVII	Other epideictic epigrams
LXVIII–LXXXIX	Statues and paintings
XC–XCI	Philosophical epigrams

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

486 anonymous elegiac epigrams appear in Books 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 16 (= *A. Plan.*) of the *Anthology*; the other Books contain nothing relevant to the present collection, which comprises epigrams composed earlier, in my opinion, than A.D. 50, and not included in *Hellenistic Epigrams* or *The Garland of Philip*. As styles and subjects are much alike in different periods, and as many anonymous epigrams are very brief and undistinguished, there is a fairly large limbo of doubtful cases; a few of these have been deliberately included.

To give the reasons for rejecting each of more than 320 epigrams would be insufferably tedious; I offer brief comment on the *anonyma* in each Book:

Book 5: 23 anonymous elegiac epigrams, of which 6 are in *MG* or *PG* and 3 are to be assigned to named authors (2 to Rufinus, 1 to Dionysius); 11 are included here. The 3 rejected are 99, which would be at home among the satirical authors; 303, probably from the period of the *Cycle* of Agathias; and 304, probably later than A.D. 50.

Book 6: 20 anonymous elegiac epigrams, of which 17 are in *MG* or the present collection. The 3 rejected are 42 and 87, for which the *Cycle* is at least as likely a source as the *Garlands*, and 24, a satirical epigram assigned to Lucillius by Stadtmüller.

Book 7: 105 anonymous elegiac epigrams, of which 41 are in *MG*, *PG*, or the present collection. The decision to include 2<sup>a</sup>, 28, 41, 46, and 139 was half-hearted; they represent the more respectable members of a quite large class of brief epigrams, mostly nondescript and all undatable, on persons celebrated in life or legend. The only one rejected without equanimity is 338 (= Peek 1433, grouped there with epigrams dated II–III A.D.).

Book 9: 120 anonymous elegiac epigrams, not counting the series on baths, 606–40, or the *anonyma* in the series on Myron's Cow, 713–42, or the Byzantine series, 799–822. Of the 120, 45 are in *MG*, *PG*, or the present collection. Of the rejected, many are plainly and many more are probably, Byzantine; the limbo of doubtful cases is not very large.

Book 10: 16 anonymous elegiac epigrams, of which 4 are in the present collection. Of the rest, 10 are single-distich moralisings, 2 are of the same type but not so short; they are undatable, excluded mainly because their type is not characteristic of any part of the period covered by the present collection.

Book 11: 48 anonymous elegiac epigrams, of which 1 is included here. 34 come from satirical authors and 8 from the moralisers; 1 (52) may come from the circle of Strato; 2 (270, 411) are certainly, 2 (271, 297, both ecphrastic) are probably, Byzantine.

Book 12: 34 anonymous elegiac epigrams, all in *MG* except one (19), which probably comes from the circle of Strato.

Book 13: I have not thought it worth while to include the 3 dactylic or partly dactylic *anonyma* from this Book (13: hex. + pent. + ia.; 15: 2 hex. + pent.; 16: 3 hex. + pent.).

Book 16: 1–334 include 117 anonymous elegiac epigrams, of which 15 are included in *MG*, *PG*, or the present collection. Of the other 102, a third is

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

certainly, and a high proportion of the rest probably, Byzantine; but it is particularly difficult to distinguish the imitation from the model in this genre (descriptions of works of art), and the margin of error is probably wider than I have supposed.

## AMATORY EPIGRAMS

### I

The lover's conduct excused by the example of the gods.

This is an old and very common theme: Theognis 1345-6 ἐπεὶ ποτε καὶ Γανυμήδους | ἦρατο καὶ Κρονίδης, Ar. *Nub.* 1080-2 εἴτ' ἐς τὸν Δί' ἐπαυνευγκεῖν, | κάκεινος ὡς ἤττων ἔρωτός ἐστι..., | καίτοι σὺ θνητὸς ὢν θεοῦ πῶς μείζον ἄν δύναιο;, Theocr. 8.59-60 ὦ Ζεῦ, | οὐ μόνος ἡράσθην· καὶ τὺ γυναικοφίλας, Asclepiades 5.64.5-6 = *HE* 858-9, 5.167.6 = 875 Ζεῦ φίλε, σίγησον· καὐτὸς ἐρᾶν ἔμαθες, Callimachus 12.230.4 = 1070 (Ζεῦ) καὶ σὺ ποτ' ἡράσθης, Secundus *A.Plan.* 214.7-8 = *PG* 3402-3, Philip *A.Plan.* 215.7-8 = *PG* 3124-5.

Amatory epigrams are much commoner in Meleager's than in Philip's *Garland* (see *PG* 1. xxxiii), and these neatly phrased lines are not below the level of several of Meleager's authors; there is nothing to suggest any particular author, and the context in *A.P.* offers no clue to the source.

*A.P.* 5.100, P<sup>1A</sup> [PPI] ἀδηλον [J] πρὸς τὸν μεμφόμενον ὅτι ἐρᾷ

εἴ μοί τις μέμψαιτο, δαεῖς ὅτι λάτρης Ἔρωτος  
φοιτῶ, θηρευτὴν ὄμμασιν ἰξὼν ἔχων,  
εἰδείη καὶ Ζῆνα καὶ Ἄϊδα τὸν τε θαλάσσης  
σκηπτοῦχον μαλερῶν δοῦλον ἐόντα Πόθων.  
5 εἰ δὲ θεοὶ τοιοῖδε, θεοῖς δ' ἐνέπουσιν ἔπεσθαι 1060  
ἀνθρώπους, τί θεῶν ἔργα μαθὼν ἀδίκῳ;

1 μέμψαιτο Stadtmüller: μέμφοιτο PPI 3 Ἄϊδι P<sup>ac</sup> 4 δοῦλων P<sup>ac</sup>  
Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* lii.

**1 [1056] μέμψαιτο:** the future optative of PPI, though contrary to rule, was retained by all editors up to and including Brunck (and therefore by Jacobs too in his first edition). Bothe conjectured μέμφοιτο, and this, accepted by Jacobs (in his second edition), Dübner, and Paton, may be right. Stadtmüller printed μέμψαιτο, presumably (though he does not say so) his own conjecture, and this is accepted by Waltz (who erroneously attributes it to Lascaris) and by Beckby.

λάτρης Ἔρωτος: see Rufinus 5.22.1 = *Rufinus* viii 1 n.

**2 [1057] φοιτῶ:** *friget vocabulum*, said Jacobs; on the contrary, it is a lively touch – 'je vais et viens', as the Budé translator has it; 'I go restlessly to and fro, hunting for a victim'.

θηρευτὴν...ἰξὼν: Eros is, as Plato said (*Symp.* 203D), a skilful hunter, θηρευτὴς δεινός, and often uses ἰξός, *bird-lime*: Rhianus 12.93.1-2 = *HE* 3208-9 ἦ γὰρ ἄν ὄμμα | ῥίψῃς, ὡς ἰξῶι τοῦτο προσαμπέχεται, Meleager

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

12.132<sup>a</sup>.2 = *HE* 4105 (ψυχὴ) ἰξῶι πυκνὰ προσιπταμένη, 5.96.1 = 4296 ἰξὸν ἔχεις τὸ φίλημα, and especially 12.92.1-2 = 4620-1, where as here the eyes of the hunter are covered with the bird-lime of Aphrodite, ἐν ἰξῶι | Κύπριδος ὀφθαλμοὶ βλέμματα χριόμενοι.

**4 [1059] μαλερῶν ... Πόθων:** the not very common adjective μαλερός (nowhere in *HE*) stands with πόθος also in *A. Pers.* 62 (of violent yearning). On the Πόθοι, see the notes on Meleager 5.140.3 = *HE* 4145 and 12.56.6 = 4577; Philodemus 9.570.2 = *PG* 3241.

**5 [1060] ἐνέπουσιν ἑπεσθαί:** for ἐνέπω, *tell*, in the sense *command*, with an infinitive, cf. *E. Alc.* 1154-5, *Ba.* 625-6.

## II

A compliment to a royal lady.

This is an uncommon sort of epigram. "Ἀνασσα is a *queen*, or at least a lady of royal or imperial family (see 1-2 n.). All other epigrams addressed to such persons are formal and respectful, *de bas en haut*; this one refers to the queen's habit of dyeing her hair and says how easy it will always be to fall in love with her. The matter and the tone imply an extraordinary degree of familiarity between the poet and the queen, and it is regrettable that the background is unknown.

Neither the style nor the context in *A.P.* offers any clue to the identity of author; the first half of the first century A.D. is a likely date.

*A.P.* 5.25 ἀδέσποτον, *Pl*<sup>A</sup> ἄδηνον [J] εἰς κόρην εὐμορφον

εἶτε σε κυανέησιν ἀπροσίλβουσιν ἑθείραις  
εἶτε πάλιν ξανθαῖς εἶδον, ἀνασσα, κόμαις,  
ἴση ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων λάμπει χάρις. ἥ ῥά γε ταύταις  
θριξὶ συνοικήσει καὶ πολιῆσιν Ἑρως.

1065

3 ἐπ' P: ἀπ' *Pl*.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* lxii.

**1-2 [1062-3] ἑθείραις:** on this word for *hair*, very rare in the epigrammatists, see Rufinus 5.103 = *Rufinus* xxxvii 3 n.

**κυανέησιν ... ξανθαῖς:** the queen's hair is sometimes dark, sometimes fair. Jacobs thought a wig likelier than dye, but the Budé translator rightly infers from ταύταις θριξὶ that the hair is her own, whatever the colour; dye is therefore to be preferred, both to

(a) the fringe of false hair: this is first attested in Aristophanes *fr.* 320.2 προκόμιον; cf. [Aristot.] *oec.* 2.14, Men. *Aspis* 377 (as a disguise), Athen. 12.523A προκόμια περίθετα; the fringe is presumably meant in Menander *fr.* 229 K. and Amphis *fr.* 2, περίθετον sc. κόμην, Polybius 3.78.2 περίθεται τρίχες, Aelian *v.h.* 1.26 περίθετον κόμην; but κόμαις περιθέτοις in Dio Cass. 61.19 corresponds to *galero* in Suet. *Nero* 26 and means a wig.

Or (b) a wig (πηνήκη or φενάκη; Pollux 2.30 adds ἑντριχον, which is not found elsewhere; Latin *capillamentum* or *galerum*). In *Ar. Thesm.* 258 κεφαλὴ περίθετος probably means a kind of wig put on to avoid recognition, as in

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

Suet. *Gai.* 11 (Caligula puts on a *capillamentum* to avoid recognition in disreputable places) and *Nero* 26 (Nero wears a *galerum* for the same purpose); in Juvenal 6.120 Messalina wears a *galerum* to the brothel; in Myrinus 6.254 = *PG* ii a male wears a wig in order to masquerade as a female; in Petronius 109-10 Giton is adorned with a *capillamentum* of the type called *corymbium* to make him look girlish; in Lucian *dial. meretr.* 5.3 a female wears a *πηνήκη* in order to masquerade as a male when she takes it off; the aim is to disguise baldness in Lucian *dial. meretr.* 12.5 (*πηνήκη*) and *Alex.* 59 (*φενάκη*); to disguise age in Lucian *dial. meretr.* 11 (11.3 *πηνήκη*, 11.4 *φενάκη*), in Rufinus 5.76, presumably in Lucilius 11.68, and presumably also in Martial 6.12.

I have not noticed any clear example earlier than the late second century A.D. of the use of the wig by respectable and relatively young women merely to enhance or vary their charms. The lexicographers (Pollux 2.30, 10.170, Phot., Suda) and scholia (on Ar. *Thesm.* 258, *Plut.* 271, Juv. 6.120) add no information of much interest.

The dyeing of hair is attested by Aristophanes *Ecol.* 736; cf. Menander *fr.* 363.4 K. It was quite common in the late Republican and early Imperial periods: Tib. 1.8.43-4, Ovid *am.* 1.14.1-2, Myrinus 11.67.4 = *PG* 2577, Antiphilus 11.66.3 = *PG* 1097, Lucilius 11.68 and 69, Nicarchus 11.398, Martial 3.43, Lucianus 11.408.

**ἄνασσα:** a lady so addressed is not merely *κόρη* (the lemmatist), *matrona* (Jacobs), *domina* (Dübner), or 'Herrin' (Beckby); she is, or may be addressed as if she were, a *queen*: Asclepiades 9.752 = *HE* xliv, of Cleopatra, probably Alexander's sister, queen of Epirus; Crinagoras 9.235 = *PG* xxv, *ἀνάκτων* of King Juba and his queen; Diodorus 9.776 = *PG* xviii, of Arsinoe, queen of Cyprus; Philip 9.778 = *PG* vi, of Kypros, queen of Judaea; Antiphilus 6.252 = *PG* ii, of a queen whose identity is not known. (The only misuse of the term known to me is Peek 728, an uncouth Armenian rock-inscription of the second or third century A.D.)

It is likely that the subject here, as in the parallels above, is a member of a foreign royal house; a member of the Roman Imperial family would not as a rule be addressed by a title which represents *regina*.

### III

Love of boys and of girls contrasted.

This is an original variation on a common theme illustrated in the Prefaces to Meleager 5.208 = *HE* ix and Rufinus 5.19 = *Rufinus* vi. The context in *A.P.* offers no clue to the source of the epigram; theme and style suggest a date not later than the period of Philip's *Garland*.

A.P. 5.64 ἀδέσποτον, ΠΙ<sup>Α</sup> ἀδηλον

αἰετὸς ὁ Ζεὺς ἦλθεν ἐπ' ἀντίθεον Γανυμήδην,  
κύνος ἐπὶ ξανθὴν μητέρα τὴν Ἑλένης·  
οὕτως ἀμφοτέρ' ἔστιν ἀσύγκριτα. τῶν δύο δ' αὐτῶν  
ἄλλοις ἄλλο δοκεῖ κρεῖσσον, ἐμοὶ τὰ δύο.

1069

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

2 τήν P: τῆς Pl      4 post δοκεῖ punctum C

Jacobs\* *adesp.* iv.

**1-2 [1066-7]** Ganymede appears often in the *Anthology*, with Zeus in the form of an eagle also in Nicarchus 11.407.3-4 and Strato 12.221 and 194; Leda appears seldom, with Zeus in the form of a swan also in Antiphilus 5.307 = *PG* xiii, Palladas 11.353.3-4, and anon. 9.48.

**3 [1068] οὕτως . . . ἀσύγκριτα**: *so different are the two things*, lit. 'not comparable (the one with the other)'. The meaning is that love of the male and love of the female are two very different things, and the difference is symbolised by the difference in the disguises adopted by Zeus, eagle for Ganymede and swan for Leda. ἀσύγκριτος, a rare word, elsewhere only in prose except Peek 297 (II-III A.D.), can mean *incomparable*, as in Peek *loc. cit.* and Plut. *Dio* 47 ἀρετὴ ἀσύγκριτος, but the link-word οὕτως rules out that possibility here (Grotius rendered *haec suprema putans duo gaudia*, but οὕτως here cannot imply *putans*).

### IV

The lighter of a lamp is told to borrow flame from the poet's soul, which is on fire.

The Lemmatist's statement that this epigram is 'not epideictic but erotic' is at first sight surprising, for there is *prima facie* no doubt about the matter; and indeed the context in a papyrus, *Berliner Klassikertexte* 5.1.75,<sup>1</sup> shows that this epigram was transmitted among *erotica*. When we consider its relation to *A.Plan.* 209 = v, however, we understand the reason for dispute. The latter epigram is preserved among *ecphrastica*, and if it is a description of a work of art, the very close relation between the two may suggest (as Benndorf observed, with the approval of Paton and the Budé edition) that iv also is ecphrastic. The evidence of the papyrus seems decisive in favour of the Lemmatist's opinion that iv was amatory, and it is then most reasonable to include v in the same category.

iv had a heading in the papyrus; only two letters remain, identified by Wilamowitz, the first editor, as ΛΕ. Wifstrand, who was the first to identify the papyrus-text with *A.P.* 9.15, correctly interpreted the remains as ΔΕ, = ἀ[δ]έ[σποτον] as in *A.P.* (*Studien zur gr. Anthologie* pp.10ff.).

The shorter version, v, is superior to the longer, iv, which says the same thing twice in πῦρ καῦσαι διζήμενος and ἱμείρων λύχνον ἀναφλογίσαι, and has a tedious and rather disagreeable epithet for the lamp in καλόν.

The beginning of a Latin rendering of one of these epigrams appears on a wall at Pompeii: *Anth. Lat.* no. 48 Buecheler and Riese, *tu qui lucernam cogitas accendere* | *cal[ens] adest os*].

*A.P.* 9.15 [C] ἀδέσποτον, [P1<sup>A</sup>] ἀδηλον [J] τοῦτο οὐκ ἐπιδεικτικὸν ἀλλὰ ἐρωτικόν ἐστι τὸ ἐπίγραμμα Π = B.K.T. 5.1.75

οὗτος ὁ πῦρ καῦσαι διζήμενος, οὗτος ὁ νύκτωρ      1070  
τὸν καλὸν ἱμείρων λύχνον ἀναφλογίσαι,

<sup>1</sup> P. 10571, apparently first century A.D.

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

δεῦρ' ἀπ' ἐμῆς ψυχῆς ἄψον σέλας· ἔνδοθι γάρ μου  
καίόμενον πολλήν ἐξανήσι φλόγα.

1 οὔτος ὁ πῦρ Scaliger: αὐτὸ τὸ πῦρ PPI et dubio procul Π καῦσαι Her-  
werden: καύσειν PPI (deficit Π) 3 μου PI: μοι Π, μιν P

Jacobs\* *adesp.* xlv.

**1 [1070] οὔτος ὁ πῦρ:** the change is necessary for two reasons: (a) because of the sense: αὐτὸ τὸ πῦρ καῦσαι means 'to set fire to fire itself'; there are contexts in which this makes good sense ('kindling what is already ablaze', as in anon. *A.Plan.* 251.6 φλέξει τις πυρὶ πῦρ, and other passages cited on Oenomaus 272), but this is not one of them. The subject here is simply lighting a lamp. (b) Style demands οὔτος ὁ at the beginning of the line: where οὔτος ὁ is preceded by a parallel clause having the same subject, that clause inevitably begins οὔτος ὁ, as in Gallus 227 οὔτος ὁ πρὶν μακάρεσσι συνέστιος, οὔτος ὁ νηδύν κτλ., Philostratus *A.Plan.* 110.1 οὔτος ὁ Τευθρανίας πρόμος ἄσχετος, οὔτος ὁ τὸ πρὶν κτλ., Lucilius 11.155.1 οὔτος ὁ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀδάμας βάρος, οὔτος ὁ πάντη κτλ.; cf. Bianor 11.364.1 = *PG* 1761.

The corruption is surprising, and there is no doubt that οὔτος ὁ πῦρ was not the reading in the papyrus. The first editor surprisingly failed to identify *A.P.* 9.15 in his text, and made serious mistakes in the decipherment of the letters at several points. He read the beginning of the first line as ΔΥΣΞΕΤΟ; Schubart later thought ΔΥΟΨΤΟ likelier, but the reading should almost certainly be ΑΥΤΟΤΟ as in P and PI.

**καῦσαι:** another surprising corruption, but the future καύσειν is impossible with διζήμενος, and the aorist is a better correction than the present infinitive; καῦσαι διζήμενος parallel to ἱμείρων ἀναφλογίσαι.

**3-4 [1062-3]** Casaubon compared this with Theocr. 14.23, of Cynisca blushing, κηφλέγεται· εὐμαρέως κεν ἀπ' αὐτᾶς καὶ λύχνον ἄψας.

### V

On the same subject; see iv Pref.

*A.Plan.* (PI<sup>A</sup>) 209 s.a.n.; Syll. S

οὔτος ὁ τὸν δαλὸν φυσῶν ἵνα λύχνον ἀνάψῃς,  
δεῦρ' ἀπ' ἐμῆς ψυχῆς ἄψον· ὅλος φλέγομαι.

1075

1 τῶν δαλῶν Syll.

Jacobs\* *adesp.* xlv.

### VI

Dialogue in the street between a man and a girl.

It is a fair guess that this epigram comes from the period of Philip's *Garland* as the only parallels are Philodemus 5.46 = *PG* iv and Antiphrilos 5.308 = *PG* xiv. The plot of the present scene differs from these: in Philodemus and Antiphrilos a man meets a street-girl and invites her to go to bed with him; here the girl is not a street-girl but a servant following her mistress (whom the

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editors all suppose to be a *meretrix*). The mistress is the theme of the first couplet, and when the man asks the girl whether there is any hope of a night, he means a night with her mistress, not with herself. The servant is merely a go-between, and that explains why this epigram differs from the other two in not making the man ask the girl what her name is.

A.P. 5.101 ἀδέσποτον, P1<sup>A</sup> ἀδελον [J] κατὰ πεύσιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν

– χαῖρε, κόρη. – καὶ δὴ σύ. – τίς ἢ προῖοῦσα; – τί πρὸς σέ;  
– οὐκ ἀλόγως ζητῶ. – δεσπότης ἡμετέρη.  
– ἐλπίζειν ἔξεστι; – θέλεις δὲ τί; – νύκτα. – φέρεις τι  
χρυσίον; – εὐθύμει καὶ τὸ σόν. – εὖ· δύνασαι. 1079

1 προῖοῦσα Jacobs: προσιοῦσα PPI 3 θέλεις Reiske: ζητεῖς PPI 4 καὶ  
τὸ σόν. – εὖ· δύνασαι Dawe: καὶ τόσον οὐ δύνασαι PPI

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* lxxv.

**3-4 [1078-9] ἔξεστι; – θέλεις:** the reading is uncertain. Jacobs conjectured *ἔστι*; – *ζητεῖς*, perhaps rightly; the *scholia Wecheliana* (in the margin of the edition of *Epigrammata Graeca* printed by A. Wechel in 1600 with notes mainly by Brodaeus and Opsopoeus, p. 628) say that *ἔξεστιν*; – *αἰτεῖς* was an alternative reading and emend this to *ἔξεστ'*; – *αἰτεῖς*. Reiske's *θέλεις* assumes that *ζητεῖς* has come from *ζητῶ* just above.

[Adopting *φέρεις τι*; | – *χρυσίον*. – *εὐθύμει*. – *καὶ τόσον*. – *οὐ δύνασαι*, Paton renders, *What have you for her? – Gold. – Then take heart. – So much* (showing the amount). – *You can't*. This hardly rings true, and in particular the *καὶ* is hard to justify. Matters are only slightly improved by assigning *φέρεις τι* | *χρυσίον*; all to the girl, and *εὐθύμει καὶ τόσον* all to the man. (*Do you bring her gold? – Don't be anxious about that; actually as much as this. – You cannot*, i.e. it's not enough.) Jacobs conjectured *φέρεις τι* | *χρυσίον*; – *εὐφήμει μὴ τόσον*. *οὐ δύνασαι*: 'neatly as usual' wrote D.L.P., 'but the changes in the text are not convincing'. The version adopted above is intended to mean that to the question 'have you got any money?' the man replies that he has, and that the servant may herself look forward to a tip. (*I'll see you're all right too*, in the English vernacular.) She expresses satisfaction at this (*εὖ* for *εὖ γε*; the punctuation after *εὖ* I owe to Dr Diggle: a possible parallel is *Lyr. Adesp.* Powell 20.11, p. 192), and says that the man can indeed spend a night with her mistress. – R.D.D.]

## VII

A prayer to Aphrodite; as she saves the seafarer, so may she save the 'shipwrecked' lover.

For Aphrodite as protectress of sea-farers, see Gaetulicus 1 Pref. The epigram cannot be dated; it rings more like something from the period of the *Garlands* than any later time.

A.P. 5.11 ἀδέσποτον, P1<sup>A</sup> s.a.n.

εἰ τοὺς ἐν πελάγει σώζεις, Κύπρι, κάμει τὸν ἐν γαῖ  
ναυαγόν, φιλία, σῶσον ἀπολλύμενον. 1080



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2 ναυηγόν Pl φίλια Jacobs: φίλη P, φίλης Pl

Jacobs\* *adesp.* lxvi.

### VIII

A successful lover.

The second line of this epigram (which cannot be dated) is obscure. It is natural enough for the ecstatic lover to say that nobody but Aphrodite could tell how it all happened (*cf.* Philodemus 5.131.3-4 = *PG* 3226-7 τὸ δ' ἐκ τίνος ἢ πότε καὶ πῶς | οὐκ οἶδα), but it is not clear what he means by saying that the goddess alone knows *who I am or whom I love*. Jacobs explained ἧς as implying merely that he did not know the girl's name; but that is unlikely in the context, and no explanation of τίς is offered (the Budé translator quietly omits it). The implication may perhaps be that the lovers' ecstasy is so great that they seem quite different from their normal selves; but a more convincing explanation would be welcome.

A.P. 5.50 ἀδέσποτον, Pl<sup>A</sup> s.a.n.

ἡράσθην, ἐφίλουν, ἔτυχον, κατέπραξ', ἀγαπῶμαι·  
τίς δὲ καὶ ἧς καὶ πῶς ἡ θεὸς οἶδε μόνη. 1083

Jacobs\* *adesp.* lxx.

1 [1082] κατέπραξ': not a poetic word; presumably colloquial, 'I did my business'.

### IX

The date of the charming epigrams ix and x cannot be determined. The oldest examples of the type are to be found in the collection of Attic drinking-songs preserved by Athenaeus 15.694 c ff.:

*PMG* 900 εἴθε λύρα καλὴ γενοίμην ἔλεφαντίνῃ,  
καὶ με καλοὶ παῖδες φέροισιν Διονύσιον ἐς χορόν,

and *PMG* 901 εἴθ' ἄπυρον καλὸν γενοίμην μέγα χρύσιον,  
καὶ με καλὴ γυνὴ φοροίῃ καθαρὸν θεμένη νόον.

The type reappears in other kinds of poetry in the Hellenistic period, *e.g.*

Theocr. 3.12 αἶθε γενοίμαν  
ἀ βομβεῦσα μέλισσα καὶ ἐς τεὸν ἄντρον ἰκοίμαν,

and Rhianus 12.142.5-6 = *HE* 3254-5

εἶην καὶ κίχλη καὶ κόσσυφος, ὥς ἂν ἐκείνου  
ἐν χερὶ καὶ φθογῇ καὶ γλυκὺ δάκρυ βάλω;

*cf.* Meleager 12.52.5-6 = *HE* 4436-7

εἴθ' εἶην δελφίς, ἴν' ἐμοῖς βαστακτὸς ἐπ' ὤμοις  
πορθμευθεὶς ἐσίδῃ τὸν γλυκύπαιδα ῥόδον.

It remains popular in much later periods, as in Strato 12.190, and in the *Anacreontea* 22:

ἐγὼ δ' ἔσοπτρον εἶην,  
ὅπως αἰὲ βλέπτῃς με·  
ἐγὼ χιτῶν γενοίμην,

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ὅπως ἀεὶ φορῆς με·  
 ὕδωρ θέλω γενέσθαι,  
 ὅπως σε χρώτα λούσω·  
 μύρον, γύναι, γενοίμην,  
 ὅπως ἐγὼ σ' ἀλείψω·  
 καὶ ταινίη δὲ μαστῶν  
 καὶ μάργαρον τραχήλῳι,  
 καὶ σάνδαλον γενοίμην·  
 μόνον ποσὶν πάτει με.

Its last appearance in the *Anthology* is in Theophanes, 15.35 (eighth century A.D.):

εἴθε κρίνον γενόμεν ἄργένναον, ὄφρα με χερσίν  
 ἀραμένη μᾶλλον σῆς χροτιῆς κορέσις.

*A.P.* is surely right in offering ix and x as separate epigrams. Planudes combines them and ascribes them to the author of the epigram which precedes in Pl, 5.81, by Dionysius Sophista; his heading for his combined epigram, 'by the same author', is probably an addition, whether careless or wilful, devoid of manuscript authority.

*A.P.* 5.83 ἀδέσποτον, Pl<sup>A</sup> τοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. Διονυσίου Σοφιστοῦ) [J] εἰς ἔρωμένην schol. Dio Chrys. 2.65

εἴθ' ἄνεμος γενόμεν, σὺ δὲ (δὴ) στείχουσα παρ' αὐγᾶς  
 στήθεα γυμνώσας καὶ με πνέοντα λάβοις. 1085

1 σὺ δὲ δὴ Jacobs: σὺ δὲ P, σὺ δὲ γε Pl, καὶ σὺ schol. στίχουσα P παρ' αὐλᾶς Pl 2 πνέοντα P

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* lviii 1-2; Hecker 1843.45.

1 [1084] παρ' αὐγᾶς has been judged corrupt and replaced by conjectures either bad (παρ' αὐλᾶς Planudes, παρ' ἀγᾶς, *to the shore*, Schneidewin, approved by Stadtmüller, Dübner, and Paton, παρ' ἄκτας Meineke, παραυτά Hecker, παρ' αὐλᾶς Desrousseaux, 'en te rendant à ta maison de campagne', approved by Waltz) or meaning much the same thing as the text, so that nothing is gained by the change (πρὸς αὐγᾶς Hermann, παρ' αὐρᾶς Ludwig). It is not, however, certain that there is any fault in the text. A verb of motion + παρά c. *accus.* means *go to*, as in Hom. *Il.* 1.34 βῆ... παρὰ θῖνα, 18.143 εἰμι παρ' Ἥφαιστον, Thuc. 2.51.5 εἰσιόντες παρὰ τοὺς φίλους, and αὐγαί, with ἡλίου left to the understanding, quite often means *sunlight* or *daylight*, as in *A. Ag.* 254 ξύνορθρον αὐγαῖς, 1182 κλύζειν πρὸς αὐγᾶς, *E. Alc.* 667 αὐγᾶς εἰσορῶ, *Hec.* 1154 ὑπ' αὐγαῖς ταῖσδε λεύσσομαι πέπλους, Plato *Phaedr.* 268A ταῦτα δὲ ὑπ' αὐγᾶς μᾶλλον ὁρώμεν. στείχειν παρ' αὐγᾶς, sc. ἡλίου, *go into the sunlight*, means simply 'go out of doors' (where the wind may be felt).

## X

See ix Pref.

*A.P.* 5.84 ἀδέσποτον, Pl<sup>A</sup> cum 5.83 coniunctum [J] ὁμοίως schol. Dio Chrys. 2.65

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εἶθε ῥόδον γενόμην ὑποπόρφυρον, ὄφρα με χερσίν  
ἀραμένη χάρισθι στήθεσι χιονέοις.

1087

2 ἀραμένη Pl, schol.: ἀρσαμένη P et Theophranes A.P. 15.35.2      χάρισθι P,  
schol.: κομίσας Pl

Jacobs\* *adesp.* lviii 3–4.

**2 [1087] ἀραμένη:** *take up*, in effect *pluck*. All modern editions, from Jacobs to Beckby, read ἀρσαμένη, a middle aorist of ἀραρίσκω found only in [Hes.] *scut.* 320 ἀρσάμενος (*sc.* σάκος), where its meaning is ‘having constructed’. Both the rarity of the verb-form and the obscurity of the sense are against ἀρσαμένη here; ἀραρίσκω cannot mean *pluck* (Dübner, Paton, and Beckby) or *take* (the Budé); it may, in a suitable context, mean *fasten* (Mackail), but it is not an appropriate verb for pinning on a rose.

## XI

This epigram and the following are rival compositions, like iv and v, ix and x, and *PMG* 900 and 901; one of each pair (and it is never possible to say which one) takes the other as a model, retains its theme and so far as possible its form and phrasing, but tries to surpass it in cleverness or charm. An elaborate species of the genus is the ‘Three Hunters’ series illustrated in the Preface to *Satyrius*. That example proves that the imitations may be spread over a very long period of time, but these pairs of single-couplet epigrams are rather more likely to come from the same circle at the same time – from a symposium, perhaps, the result of rivalry between poets composing *ex tempore*; specimens of their wit might circulate orally, and their authors’ names might be forgotten before they found their way into anthologies.

A.P. 5.90 ἀδέσποτον, Pl<sup>A</sup> τοῦ αὐτοῦ (*sc.* ‘Ρουφίνου)

πέμπω σοι μύρον ἡδύ, μύρῳ τὸ μύρον θεραπεύων,  
ὥς Βρομίῳ σπένδων νᾶμα τὸ τοῦ Βρομίου.

1089

Jacobs\* *adesp.* lxviii

**1 [1088] τὸ μύρον:** *lulus hic inde pendet, quod vocabulum* μύρον *inter blanditias amantium est*, said Jacobs\* (*Delectus* v 98), comparing Bion 1.78 τὸ σὸν μύρον ὦλετ’ Ἀδωνις, *Argentarius* 5.113.2 = *PG* 1341 σε καλεῖσα μύρον καὶ τερπνὸν Ἀδωνιν.

## XII

See xi Pref.

This epigram has something in common with anon. 5.142 = *HE* xxiii, Meleager 5.143 = *HE* xlv, Philostr. *epist. amat.* 1 (29) and 2 (30) πέμποφά σοι στέφανον ῥόδων, οὐ σὲ τιμῶν...ἀλλ’ αὐτοῖς τι χαριζόμενος τοῖς ῥόδοις, Cougny 3.252 τί, κόσμος, εἶπέ, δακτύλοις ἡ σφενδόνη, | ἡ μᾶλλον οἱ σοὶ δάκτυλοι τῇ σφενδόνη;

A.P. 5.91 ἀδέσποτον, Pl<sup>A</sup> s.a.n.

πέμπω σοι μύρον ἡδύ, μύρῳ παρέχων χάριν, οὐ σοί·  
αὐτὴ γὰρ μυρίσαι καὶ τὸ μύρον δύνασαι.

1090

Jacobs\* *adesp.* lxvii.

# ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

## XIII

This epigram and the next are variations on a common theme, of which the earliest example is Callimachus 5.146 = *HE* xv:

τέσσαρες αἱ Χάριτες, ποτὶ γὰρ μία ταῖς τρισὶ κείναις  
ἄρτι ποτεπλάσθη κῆτι μύροισι νοτεῖ  
εὐαίων ἐν πᾶσιν ἀρίζηλος Βερενίκᾳ,  
ἃς ἄτερ οὐδ' αὐταὶ ταὶ Χάριτες Χάριτες.

xiv is closely related to this. xiii is more elaborate, combining the Graces with the Muses and Aphrodite; cf. Meleager 9.16 = *HE* lxxiv, beginning τρισσαὶ μὲν Χάριτες and continuing with *Horai* and *Pothoi*; 5.140 = xxx, Muses, *Logos*, Eros, *Pothoi*, ending ἐπεὶ σοὶ | αἱ τρισσαὶ Χάριτες τρεῖς ἔδωσαν Χάριτας; 5.195 = xxxix, beginning αἱ τρισσαὶ Χάριτες and continuing with Aphrodite, *Peitho*, and Eros; Rufinus 5.70 = *Rufinus* xxvi is still more elaborate, ending σὺν σοὶ δ' αἱ Χάριτες τέσσαρές εἰσι, φίλῃ. Last in the series is Leontius *A.Plan.* 283.

The dates of these two epigrams cannot be determined; they are not likely to be later than the middle of the first century A.D. and may be much earlier.

A.P. 5.94 ἀδέσποτον, P1<sup>a</sup> τοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. 'Ρουφίνου) [C] ὥραϊον

τέσσαρες αἱ Χάριτες, Παφίαι δύο, καὶ δέκα Μοῦσαι·  
Δερκυλὶς ἐν πάσαις, Μοῦσα, Χάρις, Παφίη.

1093

1 δέκα P<sup>no</sup> P1<sup>no</sup>: δύο P<sup>ac</sup> P1<sup>ac</sup>

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* li.

2 [1093] Δερκυλὶς: not elsewhere, but Δερκύλος and Δερκυλίδας are common.

**Μοῦσα, Χάρις, Παφίη:** a similar line-end recurs in a very different context in Agathias 7.593.3-4 αἱ δ' ἐπὶ τύμβῳ | κείραντο πλοκάμους Μοῦσα, Θέμις, Παφίη. The words αἱ δ' ἐπὶ τύμβοις... Παφίη are largely preserved in an inscription, Peek 2082; the date given for the inscription, 'I A.D.?', is surprising, but it cannot be checked, for the stone disappeared long ago.

## XIV

See xiii Pref.

This epigram is closely related both to Callimachus *loc. cit.* and to Meleager 5.149 = *HE* xxix τίς μίαν ἐκ τρισσῶν ἡγαγέ μοι Χάρिता; | ...δῶρα διδούς καυτὰν τὰν Χάριν ἐν χάριτι.

A.P. 9.515, P1<sup>a</sup> [JPI] ἀδελον; Syll. E 11 [Syll.] εἰς γυναῖκα λεγομένην Χάρिता

τρεῖς εἰς' αἱ Χάριτες, σὺ δὲ <δὴ> μία ταῖς τρισὶ ταύταις  
γεννήθης ἴν' ἔχῳσ' αἱ Χάριτες χάριτα.

1095

1 εἰς' Schneidewin: εἰσὶν P; αἱ Χάριτες τρεῖς εἰσι P1 δὴ suppl. Jacobs  
τάς P<sup>ac</sup>

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* i

1 [1094] εἰς' αἱ: or εἰσὶν (omitting αἱ), Jacobs.

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**2 [1095] χάριτα:** taken as a proper-name by all the editors except Dübner, who rejects the idea scornfully (*somnium grammatici*); Χάρις as a proper-name is almost unheard-of, and the sense 'you were born to add grace to the Graces' is perfectly appropriate.

**χάριτα:** this form of the accusative is as early as E. *El.* 61; see Denniston's note there.

### XV

*Syll. S* adds this couplet, with καὶ ῥόδον instead of τὸ ῥόδον, to Alcaeus 12.29 = *HE* vii. Mr Gow thought that 'the addition of this commonplace seems a considerable enfeeblement of the sentiment', but observed nevertheless that 'the majority of the epigrams...from *A.P.* 12.24-41 are about the growth of hair, and the couplet would fit the quatrain to its context'. I have some doubt whether the sentiment is enfeebled, and incline to agree with Meineke (*Anal. Alex.* 397) that *Syll. S* has the truth. I should now therefore add the couplet to Alcaeus. *A.P.* 11.53, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPI] ἄδηλον; *Syll. S* s.a.n. cum *A.P.* 12.29 coniunctum

καὶ ῥόδον ἀκμάζει βαιὸν χρόνον· ἦν δὲ παρέλθῃ,  
ζητῶν εὐρήσεις οὐ ῥόδον ἀλλὰ βάτον. 11097

1 καὶ *Syll. S*: τὸ PPI  
Jacobs\* *adesp.* xxxix.

**1 [1096]** The *Suda* has the proverb ῥόδον παρελθὼν μηκέτι ζήτει πάλιν, whence Dübner conjectured παρέλθῃς here, perhaps rightly.

**2 [1097]** Cf. *Rufinus* 5.28 (= *Rufinus* x) 6, in a similar context, ἀντὶ ῥόδου γὰρ ἐγὼ τὴν βάτον οὐ δέχομαι; *Ovid AA* 2.116.

## DEDICATIONS

### XVI

Dedication of a statue to Aphrodite by Glycera.

The simple style and the severe Doric of πλατίον point to an early date, and von Radinger's suggestion that the author is none other than Anyte deserves consideration; both style and subject recall Anyte 9.144 = *HE* xv, also about a ξόανον of Aphrodite. It may be doubted, however, whether Anyte would have called the sea-shore πορφυρέα.

*A.Plan.* (Pl<sup>B</sup>) 249 s.a.n.

δερκόμενος ξόανον καλὸν τόδε, τὰν Ἀφροδίταν  
ὦνθρωφ', ἱλάσκει πλατίον ἐξόμενος,  
αἶνει δὲ Γλυκέραν Διονυσίου, ἃ μ' ἀνέθηκε 11100  
πορφυρέας ἀπαλὸν κῦμα παρ' ἡϊόνος.

Jacobs\* *adesp.* cclxv.

**1 [1098] ξόανον:** presumably a wooden statue; see 1377 n., and cf. Anyte 9.144.4 = *HE* 725 δερκόμενος ξόανον.

**3 [1100] Γλυκέραν:** the fact that the dedication is made to Aphrodite suggests that this Glycera, like several others of the name, was a courtesan; but respectable ladies also were so called (*Kirchner* 3038, *Peek* 190, 473, 543, 890).

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**4 [1101]** For temples of Aphrodite by the sea, see Gaetulicus 1 Pref.

**πορφυρέας...ἀπαλόν:** both epithets are very unusual with the nouns to which they are applied, and each would suit the other's noun much better; *permutatione ubiuis obvia*, said Jacobs, but one would welcome a single comparable example. Taken alone, however, πορφυρέας...ἡϊόνος is not harsher than ῥοθίαισι...κροκάλαισι at 1308 below.

## XVII

Dedication to Hermes by a fisherman.

See the Preface to Archias 6.192 = *PG* x, with which this epigram has in common the words λείψανον and κύρτος, the phrase σαγηνάιοιο λίνου, the 'trap for fish', the 'horse-hair line with hooks', and the whole of the sixth line. Plagiarism on this scale is extremely rare; Stadtmüller suggested that the same author (Archias) composed both epigrams, *variandi studio*. There are two remarkable differences: in the present epigram the fisherman makes his offerings to Hermes, a surprising choice (elsewhere in the *Anthology* as recipient of offerings from fishermen only Philip 6.5 = *PG* viii and Julianus 6.28); and neither the name of the dedicator nor the cause or occasion of the dedication is stated. The omissions are so irregular that Jacobs was inclined to suppose that a final couplet has been lost; but it is likely that this epigram was of the same length, eight lines, as the one which it copies so closely.

The epigram is ambitious in its vocabulary (εὐστιβής, περιδινής, and λιμοφυής are new, ἀλίκτυπος is very rare) and is well composed; it is not inferior to 6.192 or to similar epigrams from the best Hellenistic period.

A.P. 6.23, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPI] s.a.n.; Suda s.vv. λέπας (1 ὅς - 2), εὐστιβής (2), βολίς (6)

Ἑρμείη, σήραγγος ἀλίκτύπου ὃς τόδε ναίεις  
 εὐστιβὲς αἰθυίαις ἰχθυβόλοισι λέπας,  
 δέξο σαγηνάιοιο λίνου τετριμμένον ἄλμη  
 λείψανον αὐχμηρῶν ξανθὲν ἐπ' ἡϊόνων, 1105  
 5 γρίπους τε πλωτῶν τε πάγην, περιδινέα κύρτον,  
 καὶ φελλόν, κρυφίων σῆμα λαχόντα βόλων,  
 καὶ βαθὺν ἵππείης πεπεδημένον ἄμματι χαίτης  
 οὐκ ἄτερ ἀγκίστρων λιμοφυῇ δόνακα.

1 Ἑρμείη P ἀλίκτύπου Waltz: ἀλίκτυπον PPI 2 αἰθυίας P<sup>ac</sup> 3  
 λίνου Brodaeus: λίνον PPI ἄλμη CPI: incertum quid fuerit in P 4  
 λειψάνων P<sup>ac</sup> αὐχμηρῶν PPI: -ρὸν C ξανθὲν Tourp: ξανθῶν P, ξανθὸν  
 Pl 5 περιδινέα P 6 φελλόν Sud. codd. pars: φελλῶν PPI λαχόντα  
 P, Suda: λαβόντα Pl βόλων Suda: βόλον P, βῶλον in βόλον corr. Pl 7  
 ἱππείην P<sup>ac</sup> 8 λιμοφυῇ P  
 Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* cxviii.

**1 [1102] Ἑρμείη:** Ἑρμεία Jacobs, perhaps rightly.

**σήραγγος:** σῆραγξ, not a common word, means a rock hollowed by the sea, or rather the cave so formed: Plato *Phaedo* 110A, S.*fr.* 549, Lyc. *Alex.* 122, oracle *ap.* Paus. 8.42.4; a lion's cave in Theocr. 25.223. Cf. E. *Hel.* 358 (cj.).

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**ἀλικτύπου:** style imperatively demands an adjective for σήραγγος, and the change is easy. ἀλίκτυπος also *S. Ant.* 953, *E. Hipp.* 754.

**2 [1103] ιχθυβόλοισι:** -βόροισι Scaliger, as in Leonidas 7.652.5 = *HE* 2044 ιχθυβόροις λαρίδεσσι, and others have thought -βόλοισι, which they take to mean *fish-spearing*, too bold a metaphor. But ιχθυβόλος, -βολέω in literature at large normally mean *fisher, fishing*, in general, without special reference to fish-spearing: so in [*Hes.*] *fr.* 372, *Call. H. Del.* 15, *Nic. Ther.* 793, Leonidas 7.295.10 = *HE* 2083 and 7.504.2 = 2372, *Etruscus* 7.381.3 = *PG* 2292, *Antiphilus* 7.635.3 = *PG* 955, anon. 6.24.3, 10.9.1, *Opp. Hal.* 3.18. In *Bianor* 9.227.2 = *PG* 1684 the sense *fish-spearing* is appropriate but not necessary. *Fish-spearing* gulls may be doubtful, but *fishing* gulls are not.

**3 [1104] σαγηνάλοιο λίνου:** see the note on *Archias* 6.192.1 = *PG* 3638.

**4 [1105] αὐχμηρῶν:** *squalid* shores, as *squalid* ground in *E. Alc.* 947; in effect = *rough*.

**ξανθέν:** *cf.* *Antipater of Sidon* 6.223.1-3 = *HE* 502-4 λείψανον...ξανθέν ὑπὸ σπιλάδι.

**5 [1106] γρίπους:** elsewhere γρίφ-, a kind of net, very like the σαγήνη (*Mair*, Introduction to the Loeb *Oppian* p. xxxix; not, as *LSJ*, a fishing-basket or creel) *cf.* *Opp. Hal.* 3.79 δίκτυα δ' αὐτ' ἄλλοισι μέλει πλέον ἐντύνεσθαι | τῶν τὰ μὲν ἀμφίβληστρα, τὰ δὲ γρίφοι καλέονται, *Plut. tranqu.* 12, 471D τῷ γρίφοις καὶ σαγήναις ἐλάφους μὴ λαμβάνοντι, *Artemid.* 2.14 σαγήνη καὶ γρίπος καὶ ἀμφίβληστρον καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐκ λίνων πλέκεται ἐπιτήδεια πρὸς ἀλείαν; in *Diog. Laert.* 1.32 a *netful* of fish, *Λεβεδίῳ τινῶν αὐτόθι γρίπον ὠνησαμένων*.

**πλωτῶν:** as in *Antipater of Sidon* 6.14.3 = *HE* 170 and Leonidas 6.296.4 = *HE* 2274; *cf.* *Archias* 6.180.6 = *PG* 3613 πλωταῖς, *sc.* ἄγραις, meaning *fish*; *S. fr.* 941.9 πλωτὸν ιχθύων γένος, [*Arion*] *PMG* 939.4-5 πλωτοὶ θῆρες.

**κύρτον:** see the note on Leonidas 7.295.1 = *HE* 2074; a *weel*, trap for fish.

**6 [1107]** See the note on *Archias* 6.192.6 = *PG* 3643; σῆμα λαχόντα βόλων = σημαίνοντα βόλους, *indicating the catch*.

**7-8 [1108-9] βαθύν:** a lively epithet; the reed is *deep* because its line explores the sea.

**ἱππείης...χαίτης:** *cf.* *Opp. Hal.* 3.74-5 δονάκεσσιν ἀναψάμενοι δολιχοῖσιν | ὀρμιῇν ἱππειῶν.

**οὐκ ἄτερ ἀγκίστρων:** *cf.* *Opp. Hal.* 3.78 πολυαγκίστροισιν ἀγάλλεται ὀρμιῇσιν.

## XVIII

Dedication to Priapus by a gardener.

This epigram follows three by Julianus, from the *Cycle* of Agathias, and precedes one by Zonas, from Philip's *Garland*. It certainly comes from either the *Cycle* or one of the *Garlands*, and two matters of accentuation indicate the proper choice:

(a) Two of the five hexameters end in proparoxytone words; this is contrary to the rule of the *Cycle* (*Rufinus* p. 28).

(b) One of the pentameters ends in an accented syllable; this also is contrary to rule in the *Cycle* (*Rufinus* p. 30).

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The *Garlands* must therefore be preferred as the likelier source. The style, more Leonidean than that of Leonidas himself, recalls Philip and some other contributors to his *Garland*.

On Priapus as custodian of gardens, see the Prefaces to Leonidas of Tarentum *A.Plan.* 236 = *HE* lxxxiii, *A.Plan.* 261 = *HE* lxxxiv, and Tymnes *A.Plan.* 237 = *HE* vii.

A.P. 6.21, Pl<sup>a</sup> [PPI] s.a.n. [P] ἀνάθημα τῷ Πανί (sic) παρὰ κηπουροῦ

1110

σκάπτειραν κήποιο φιλυδρήλοιο δίκελλαν  
καὶ δρεπάνην καυλῶν †ἄσκυλον† ἐκτομίδα  
τὴν τ' ἐπινωτίδιον βροχετῶν ρακόεσσαν ἄρωγόν  
καὶ τὰς ἀρρήκτους ἐμβάδας ὠμοβοεῖς  
5 τόν τε δι' εὐτρήτοιο πέδου δύνοντα κατ' ἰθύ  
ἄρτιφουὺς κράμβης πάσσαλον ἐμβολέα  
καὶ σκάφος ἐξ ὀχετῶν πρασιὴν διψεῦσαν ἐγείρειν  
αὐχμηροῖο θέρευσ οὐ ποτε παυσάμενον  
σοὶ τῷ κηπουρῷ Ποτάμων ἀνέθηκε, Πρίηπτε,  
10 κτησάμενος ταύτης ὄλβον ἅπ' ἐργασίης.

1115

3 τὴν Pl: τόν P 6 ἄρτιφουὺς C: -φάους P, -φονῦς Pl et C<sup>yp</sup> κράμβης P  
7 διψῶσαν Pl et C<sup>yp</sup> 9 τῷ κηπουρῷ Jacobs: τῷ κηπουρὸς P, τοὶ κηπωρὸς Pl  
10 ὄλβον ταύτης P<sup>ac</sup>  
Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* clxxvi.

**1 [1110]** σκάπτειρα and φιλυδρήλος here only.

**2 [1111]** †ἄσκυλον†: the word, not recognised by the *Thesaurus* or LSJ, is retained by Waltz, who takes δρεπάνη to signify a pruning-instrument, used 'sans écorcher la tige de ses plantes'. But even if ἀσκύλος were acceptable in this sense, it would still be very odd that a gardener should think of praising his pruning-knife for not mutilating the stems of his plants. Moreover καυλῶν is urgently needed by ἐκτομίδα; Waltz has to take it with ἄσκυλον, leaving ἐκτομίδα without further definition. The καυλοί, *stems*, must be those which the pruning-knife severs, not those which it spares while cutting.

**ἐκτομίδα:** this 'peculiar feminine of ἐκτομεύς' (LSJ) recurs only in Athen. 3.101A.

**3 [1112]** His cloak is his 'ragged helper, on his back, against rain'; for ἄρωγός *c. gen.* in this sense *cf.* Antiphanes *fr.* 150 δῖφους ἄρωγόν, Lucian *Trag.* 54 πόνων ἄρωγόν. With τὴν, understand χλαῖναν.

ἐπινωτίδιος and βροχετός here only.

**5 [1114]** 'That goes straight down through the easily-pierced ground'.

**6 [1115]** 'The dibble, inserter of young cabbages'; πάσσαλος in a horticultural context also Theophrastus *H.P.* 2.5.5.

**7-8 [1116-17]** σκάφος: here only equivalent to σκαφεῖον, 'that which digs'; it 'never ceased, during the dry summer, to arouse his thirsty garden-plot by means of the channels which it dug'; ἐξ of instrument or means, as in LSJ s.v. III 6.



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**9 [1118]** The reading of Planudes is unobjectionable in itself but looks like conjecture.

**10 [1119]** ὄλβον: a surprising term; the gardener with the ragged cloak and raw-hide shoes was not expected to speak of his 'prosperity'.

### XIX

Dedication of a hedgehog to Dionysus by Comaulus.

See the Preface to anon. 6.45 = *HE* anon. xliii, another dedication of a hedgehog to Dionysus by Comaulus. The name 'Comaulus' occurs nowhere except in these two epigrams, which are in other respects also closely related. It is never possible to decide whether such rival compositions are the work of one poet *variandi* or different poets *aemulandi studio*. Though neither epigram can be proved to belong to the *Garland* of Meleager, the second century B.C. is the likeliest time for both of them.

xix is the less elaborate of the pair, and this fact may be an indication that it was the model for, rather than a copy of, *A.P.* 6.45. There is very little resemblance between the two in vocabulary or phrasing; the hedgehog is dedicated alive in the one but dead in the other, and the motif of xix 4 does not reappear in *A.P.* 6.45.

*A.P.* 6.169 ἄδηλον, P1<sup>A</sup> ἀδέσποτον [P] ἀνάθημα τῷ Διονύσῳ παρὰ Κωμαύλῳ; *Suda* s.vv. ἐχῖνος, Κώμαυλος (1-2), αὐήνας (3-4)

Κώμαυλος τὸν ἐχῖνον ἰδὼν ἐπὶ νῶτα φέροντα 1120  
 ῥᾶγας ἀπέκτεινεν τῷιδ' ἐπὶ θειλοπέδῳ,  
 αὐήνας δ' ἀνέθηκε φιλακρήτῳ Διονύσῳ  
 τὸν τὰ Διωνύσου δῶρα λείζόμενον.

2 θειλοπέδῳ *Suda*: θηλο- PPI      3 φιλακράτῳ C  
 Jacobs\* *adesp.* cxxx.

**1-2 [1120-1]** ἐπὶ νῶτα φέροντα ῥᾶγας: = ῥαγολόγον in the rival epigram; the hedgehog rolled on the grapes in order to carry them away impaled on its spines. *Tantum esse herinacei sollertiam non credebat Buffon*, said Boissonade. See Gow on anon. 6.45.3 = *HE* 3844.

**θειλοπέδῳ**: the sense is the same in the rival epigram but the phrasing there is much more elaborate, γλυκερῶν σίντορα θειλοπέδων.

**3 [1122]** αὐήνας: in the rival epigram the hedgehog is still alive, ζῶν ἀνεκρέμασεν (where ζῶιον would be below the level of the style).

**φιλακρήτῳ**: the word in 'Simonides' 7.24.5 = *HE* 3318, of Anacreon; also in Antipater of Sidon and Meleager.

### XX

Dedication to Dionysus by a Bacchante.

This epigram has no heading in either P or PI (Paton's ἄδηλον has no authority). Stephanus (1600, p. 417) entitled it τοῦ αὐτοῦ, meaning Agathias; this was adopted without question by Brunck and by Jacobs in his first edition; in his second edition Jacobs bracketed the heading Ἀγαθίου, but noted that it

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was probably correct. Stadtmüller was the first to present the facts correctly (yet the ascription to Agathias lingers on in LSJ *s.v.* δῖθυρσον).

The epigram is certainly not of the period of the *Cycle*; contrast the elaboration of Agathias 6.74, on the same subject, with the extreme simplicity of xx, which calls a wreath στέμμα and an anklet περισφύριον without periphrasis, indeed without even an epithet, and describes dressing in a fawnskin as simply νεβρίδ' ἀναπτομένη. The style is similar to that of some of the earlier authors in Meleager's *Garland*, and the context in *A.P.* is not against that source (6.172 stands between two Hellenistic epigrams, one anonymous (= *HE* anon. lviii\*) and the other by Rhianus).

The theme is not common. Dedications by Bacchantes appear elsewhere only in 'Anacreon' v, 'Flaccus' 1, and Agathias 6.74; epigrams on works of art representing Bacchantes appear in Antipater of Sidon 9.603 = *HE* lxii, Glaucus 9.774 = *PG* i, Paulus *A.Plan.* 57, and Agathias *A.Plan.* 59.

*A.P.* 6.172, *PIA* [PPI] *s.a.n.* [P] ἀνάθημα τῷ Διονύσῳ παρὰ Πορφυρίδος; *Suda* *s.vv.* ἀνέδην (1 τὸ – 3), περισφύριον (1 καὶ – 2), νεβρίς (4), ἡιωρημένῳ (5–6 ταῦτά σοι ὦ Διόν. πρὸ π. ἡιώρησε τὰ κάλλευσ κ.κ. μανίης)

Πορφυρίς ἡ Κνιδίη τὰ στέμματα καὶ τὸ δῖθυρσον  
τοῦτο τὸ λογχωτόν καὶ τὸ περισφύριον, 1125  
οἷς ἀνέδην βράκχευεν ὅτ' ἐξ Διόνυσον ἐφοίτα  
κισσωτή, στέρνοις νεβρίδ' ἀναπτομένη,  
5 αὐτῷ σοί, Διόνυσε, πρὸ παστάδος ἡιώρησε  
ταῦτα τὰ <καὶ> κάλλευσ κόσμια καὶ μανίης.

4 κισσωτή Page: -τὴν PPI      5 αὐτῷ σοι P: ἀβροκόμη Pl, ταῦτά σοι ὦ *Suda*  
6 καὶ suppl. Jacobs, τοῦ Pl      κάλλους Pl  
Jacobs\* 11.73 (= *Agathias* xxxi).

**1 [1124] Πορφυρίς:** the proper-name here only.

**στέμματα:** the ivy-wreaths of the Bacchante.

**τὸ δῖθυρσον:** an obscure word. The analogy of διδραχμον, 'a double-drachma', διλήκυθον, 'a double-lecythus', shows that δῖθυρσον should be 'a double-thyrus', whatever that may mean. It should not mean *two thyrsi*, as Jacobs thought; Grotius rendered *gemina cum cuspidē thyrsum*, but a δῖθυρσον λογχωτόν is a pointed double-thyrus, not a doubly-pointed thyrus.

**2 [1125] λογχωτόν:** *lance-headed*. For the thyrus as a weapon cf. *E. Ba.* 733 θύροις... ὠπλισμέναι, Callixenus *ap.* Athen. 5.200D (Διόνυσος) εἶχε... ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ θυρσόλοχον χρυσοῦν, Strabo 1.2.8, 119 θυρσόλοχα τῶν θεῶν ὅπλα.

**περισφύριον:** a surprising item in the list. The ivy-wreath, the thyrus, the fawnskin (or panther-skin), and certain musical instruments (tambourine, drum, cymbals; not mentioned here) were characteristic of the Bacchante, but not her anklet.

**4 [1127] κισσωτή:** this seems an indispensable change. The Bacchante wore an ivy-wreath on her head and a fawnskin on her body; there is no such thing as an 'ivied fawnskin'.

**νεβρίδ' :** see Dodds on *E. Ba.* 111.

**5 [1128] αὐτῷ σοί:** Planudes was evidently copying from a different exem-

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plar which had ταῦτά σοι, ὦ Διόνυσε, as the Suda has; recognising that ταῦτα must be corrupt either here or at the beginning of the next line, he has resorted (*more suo*) to surgery and grafting, cutting out ταῦτά σοι, ὦ and putting ἀβροκόμη in its place.

**παστάδος**: porch of a temple, as in Hegesippus 6.178.2 = *HE* 1902, Leonidas 9.322.7 = *HE* 2119.

**6 [1129] κόσμια** = *insignia*, elsewhere only in prose, from the first century B.C. onwards.

### XXI

Request by Priapus for offerings by fishermen.

Theme, style, and vocabulary are consistent with a date in the period of Philip's *Garland* or perhaps a little earlier. Two epigrams ascribed to Archias precede and one by him follows; the tradition has resisted the temptation to ascribe this one also to Archias, and so should we.

The author shows some independence: (a) normally, in this common type of epigram, the fisherman makes a humble offering to the god, often hoping to be rewarded with a bigger catch; here it is the god who does the begging, asking for a small offering from a big catch. (b) The structure is unusual, the god's name, Πρίηπον, standing at the beginning, awaiting a governing verb, τίετε, near the end. (c) The phrasing is odd in one or two places. The general effect is of breathless haste: he is only a little god (τὸν βραχύν), he needs only a morsel (βαίον), but his need is urgent.

A.P. 10.9 (caret Pl) s.a.n.

τὸν βραχύν, ἰχθυβολῆς, ὑπὸ σχίνωι με Πρίηπον, 1130  
 στείλαμενοι κώπαις τὰν ὀλίγαν ἄκατον, –  
 δίκτυα δ' ἀπλώσασθε, πολύν γ' ὀλινηχέα βῶκα  
 καὶ σκάρων οὐ θρίσσης νόσφιν ἀρυσσάμενοι –  
 5 γλαυκὸν ἐνιδρυθέντα νάπηι σημάντορα θήρης  
 τίετ', ἀπ' οὐκ ὀλίγων βαίον ἀπαρχόμενοι. 1135

1 σχίνωι Paton: σχοίνωι P    2 ἄκατον Huschke: ἀκάταν P    3 δ' Jacobs: τ' P    γ' Page: δ' P    4 ἀρυσά- P    5 ἐνιδρυθέντα P  
 prim. ed. Huschke *anal. crit.* (1800) p. 228; Jacobs\* *paralipomena* 1.104.

**1 [1130] ἰχθυβολῆς**: generic, for *fishermen*; anon. xvii 2 n. above.

**σχίνωι**: this emendation is in Paton's text; neither Beckby nor I have found any other source for it. The standard texts from Huschke to Dübner read σχοίνωι, but *sub arundine* is absurd. σχίνος is *mastich* (*lentiscus*); it usually stands about five feet high, adequate to give shade and shelter to a small statue (τὸν βραχύν).

**Πρίηπον**: for Priapus as patron of fishermen, see the Preface to Archias 10.7 = *PG* xxvii.

**2 [1131] στείλαμενοι**: the verb is normally used in such contexts of *taking in* sail; here, with κώπαις ἄκατον, it must mean generally *check, restrain*, as in *E. Ba.* 669, not a common use.

**3-4 [1132-3] δίκτυα... ἀρυσσάμενοι**: the text is intelligible only if the whole of the second couplet is parenthetical. στείλαμενοι ἄκατον means in effect

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'having brought your boat to rest on shore', and δίκτυα ἀπλοῦσθαι means 'spread your nets for fishing' (Zosimus 422 n.). The sequence 'having come ashore, spread your nets for fishing, having caught many fish' is nonsensical, and Dübner's popular conjecture, δίκτυ' ἄγ' ἀπλώσσασθε (as a parenthesis by itself), is no improvement, for the sequence 'come ashore (spread your nets for fishing) having caught many fish' is incoherent.

The whole must be a parenthesis: 'having come ashore (for you spread your nets just now, and caught many fish) honour me with a gift'. It is then necessary to eliminate δ' after πολύν, and γ', often used to stress adjectives of quality or size, is the obvious remedy. The relation of the participle ἀρυσσάμενοι to the main verb ἀπλώσσασθε is as described in the note on Gaetulicus 199; ἀπλώσσασθε ἀρυσσάμενοι = ἀπλώσσασθε καὶ ἀρύσασθε.

**ἀλινηχέα:** a new compound; also in Julianus 6.29.1 ἀλινηχέος ὄργανα τέχνης; Gaetulicus 185 has ἀλινήκτειρα.

**βῶκα...σκάρον...θρίσσης:** according to Thompson *Greek Fishes s.vv.* βῶξ is *bogue*, σκάρος *parrot-wrasse*, θρίσσα a variously identifiable member of the herring family. Cf. Agathias 10.14.10 ἡ σκάρον ἡ βῶκας.

**οὐ θρίσσης νόσφιν** = οὐκ ἄνευ θρίσσης, an abnormal use of νόσφιν; how easily it might develop is seen in Hes. *op.* 91 and 113, *scut.* 15, νόσφιν ἄτερ.

**ἀρυσσάμενοι:** properly of drawing water, here abnormally but not unnaturally of drawing fishes from the water.

**5 [1134] γλαυκόν:** *signa non minio tantum sed caeruleo quoque colore tincta fuisse videri debent, sed vereor ut lectio sincera sit*, said Jacobs. γλαυκός is indeed a strange adjective for Priapus, and one would have preferred an epithet for νάπη. γλαυκός is a common epithet for certain trees, notably olive and elder, and a νάπη might be called γλαυκή from the colour of its trees; but the truth may be that γλαυκόν describes the colour of the wooden figure representing Priapus.

**ἐνιδρυθέντα:** the spelling in P, ἐνιδρυθέντα, is a common form in MSS.

**σημάντορα θήρης:** one who shows where the catch is to be found, as in Theaetetus 6.27.3 παγίδων σημάντορα φελλόν, the cork which shows where the traps are. Cf. φελλόν, κρυφίων σῆμα λαχόντα βόλων at xvii 6 (= 1107 above).

## EPITAPHS

### XXII

This epigram is plainly a copy of an epitaph. The Budé translator judges it to be 'de bon style Attique', and suggests the Persian Wars as its period; it is not, however, at all like the epitaphs preserved from that period, and an appreciably later date would be more suitable to its neat and picturesque sophistication.

A.P. 9.65 [C] ἀδέσποτον, P<sup>A</sup> ἄδηλον [J] εἰς τινας ἐπαινέτους ἄνδρας ἐξ ἐπαινουμένης πατρίδος

γῆι μὲν ἔαρ κόσμος πολυδένδρεον, αἰθέρι δ' ἄστρα,  
'Ελλάδι δ' ἦδε χθών, οἶδε δὲ τῇι πόλει.

1137

1 πολυδένδρεον P1: -δρεος P 2 τῇδε πόλει man. rec. in P1  
Jacobs *adesp.* dcliv.

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### XXIII

Epitaph for Pronomus, the Theban flute-player.

Pronomus of Thebes, son of Oeniades, is immortalised by his portrait on a volute-crater at Naples (Beazley *ARFVP*<sup>2</sup> 1336). He was one of the most celebrated of all flute-players in historical times; remembered especially for his invention of a flute on which the Dorian, Lydian, and Phrygian modes could all be played (Paus. 9.12.5, Athen. 14.631E); for the histrionic manner of his performance (Paus. *ibid.*); and for the fact that he taught Alcibiades to play the flute (Athen. 4.184D). He composed for the city of Chalkis a processional hymn to be sung at Delos (*PMG* 767); and the celebrations of the founding of the new Messene by Epaminondas included competition between his melodies and those of Sacadas (Paus. 4.27.7). His family continued the tradition: *IG* II/III<sup>2</sup> 3064 Ολινιάδης Προνόμου ἡῦλει (385/4 B.C.), 3083 Πρόνομος Οἰνιάδου ἐδίδασκε (271/0 B.C.?).

A statue of Pronomus stood in Thebes next to that of Epaminondas (Paus. 9.12.5), and there was also a Herm bearing the present inscription: 'after the destruction of Thebes' (by Alexander in 335 B.C.) 'the Thebans cared nothing for the many temples, *stelae*, and inscriptions which had vanished, but they searched for that Herm and set it up again – the one with the inscription about flute-playing, 'Ελλάς μὲν Θήβας κτλ.; it stands today among the ruins in the market-place' (Dio Chrys. *or.* 7.121).

Though some of the details may be fictitious, we should have guessed, if it had not been recorded, that the Thebans commemorated their great musician with a sculpture and an inscription. If his memorial did not survive the destruction of Thebes, it is likely to have been restored soon afterwards. It is not probable that special measures would have been taken to commemorate him (whether with a real or an epideictic inscription) later than (say) the middle of the third century B.C.; the likeliest date for the present epigram is the fourth century.

A.Plan. (PI<sup>A</sup>) 28 ἀδέσποτον εἰς ἀνδρίαντα Προνόμου τοῦ Θηβαίου αὐλητοῦ  
Dio Chrys. *or.* 7.121

Ἑλλάς μὲν Θήβας προτέρας προύκρινεν ἐν αὐλοῖς,  
Θῆβαι δὲ Πρόνομον παῖδα τὸν Οἰνιάδου.

1139

1 προτέρας PI: νικᾶν Dio ἐν om. Dio  
Jacobs\* *adesp.* ccxii; Preger 162.

### XXIV

Epitaph for Derxias, killed by bandits.

This impressive epigram (*optimae notae*, as Jacobs said) is presumably inscriptional (= Peek 1356) and probably of Hellenistic date. In *A.P.* the anonymous 7.543–4 are preceded by seven Meleagrian epigrams and followed by one.

Derxias was killed near the starting-point of his long journey to Sparta. The δρυμὸς Μαλεασιὸς lies a little to the west of a line drawn from Pharsalos to

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Lamia, not far from Thaumakia. W.M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece* (London 1835) 1.461, describes the δρυμός as one 'which, not long ago, was as dangerous as it seems to have been in ancient times [quoting the present epigram], but which now, thanks to the strong arm of Alý Pashá, is acknowledged to be free even from suspicion'.

The circumstances may be partly conjectured: whoever found and buried the body recognised Derxias and knew that he was on his way to Sparta; perhaps he was a friend from Thaumakia who travelled the same road soon after Derxias. He (or the family, on hearing his report) employed a good poet, and went to the trouble of conveying the stone with the epitaph to the lonely place where Derxias died.

A.P. 7.544 (caret Pl) [C] ἀδέσποτον [J] εἰς Δερξίαν τὸν Λάμπωνος τοῦ Φθιώτου [C] ὑπὸ ληιστῶν ἀναιρεθέντα

1140

εἰπέ, ποτὶ Φθίαν εὐάμπελον ἦν ποθ' ἵκηαι  
καὶ πόλιν ἀρχαίαν, ὦ ξένε, Θαυμακίαν,  
ὡς δρυμὸν Μαλεαῖον ἀναστείβων ποτ' ἔρημον  
εἶδες Λάμπωνος τόνδ' ἐπὶ παιδὶ τάφον  
5 Δερξίαι, ὃν ποτε μοῦνον ἔλον δόλωι οὐδ' ἀναφανδόν  
κλῶπες, ἐπὶ Σπάρταν δῖαν ἐπειγόμενον. 1145

2 Θαυμακίαν Berkel: -κίδαν P  
Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* dcxlv; Peek 1356.

1 [1140] εὐάμπελον: Homer calls Phthia ἐριβόλακα, μητέρα μήλων, and βωπιάνειραν; we must take it from the present epigram that it grew good vines.

The adjective is very rare except in Strabo; E. *fr.* 530.3 (of Salamis), Pollux 1.228 (γηλόφοι), and the late composition A.P. 9.524.6 (of Dionysus).

2 [1141] ἀρχαίαν: Thaumakia is named in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships, *Il.* 2.716.

On Thaumakia (Thaumáki, Dhómoko) see especially Leake *op. cit.* 1.457.

3 [1142] δρυμὸν Μαλεαῖον: see Pref.

5 [1144] Δερξίαι: the name apparently not elsewhere.

δόλωι οὐδ' ἀναφανδόν: cf. Hom. *Od.* 11.455 κρύβδην μηδ' ἀναφανδά.

## XXV

Epitaph for Manes, a Persian slave.

This epigram has something in common with its immediate neighbours in A.P., 7.178 by Dioscorides (= *HE* xxxviii) and 7.180 by Apollonides (= *PG* iv); still more with Dioscorides 7.162 = *HE* xxviii, which also has the expression ναὶ δέσποτα.

The epigram is likely to be a real epitaph (= Peek 1194); it is hard (as Gow said of Dioscorides 7.162) to think of any other occasion for it. The style points to the Hellenistic or early Imperial period. Epitaphs for slaves appear also in Crinagoras 7.643 and 371 = *PG* xix and xv, Peek 213 (II–III A.D.); cf. Lucilius xxii 579–80 Marx, *servus neque infidus domino...hic situs Metrophanes*.

The Budé translator comments appropriately: 'elle est écrite non pas à

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la louange du défunt [I should say rather, not *only* in his praise]... mais à celle de son maître, qui a fait élever le monument et graver l'inscription. C'est un encouragement adressé aux autres esclaves pour les engager à bien servir un tel maître; ce dernier est plein de bonté pour ses serviteurs: il les soigne quand ils sont malades et, à leur mort, il les donne une sépulture enviable.'

A.P. 7.179 [C] ἀδελον, Π<sup>Α</sup> ἀδέσποτον [J] εἰς ἕτερον δοῦλον Μάνην Περσογενῇ

σοὶ καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ γῆν, ναὶ δέσποτα, πιστὸς ὑπάρχω  
ὥς πάρος, εὐνοίης οὐκ ἐπιληθόμενος,  
ὥς με τότ' ἐκ νούσου τρὶς ἐπ' ἀσφαλὲς ἡγαγες ἵχνος,  
καὶ νῦν ἀρκούσῃ τῇιδ' ὑπέθου καλύβηι,  
5 Μάνην ἀγγείλας Πέρσῃν γένος. εὐ δέ με ῥέξας 1150  
ἔξεις ἐν χρεΐῃ δμῶας ἐτοιμοτέρους.

2 ἐπιλαθ- P 3 ὅς με ΠΙ τότ' Brunck: τὸν PPI ἐπ' ἀσφαλὲς ΠΙ:  
ἐπισφαλὲς P 6 δμῶας PPI<sup>no</sup>: ἄμμες ΠΙ

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* dclxxvi; Hecker 1852.276; Peek 1194.

2 [1147] εὐνοίης: cf. Peek 213 σῆμα Φιλίνωι τοῦτο φίλωι δεῖμεν θεράποντι | Ἴπποκράτης πάσης εἵνεκεν εὐνοίης.

4 [1149] καλύβηι: the word should denote some structure of a relatively simple kind, a *hut* or *cabin*, but occasionally seems to mean something more solid, as in Ap.Rhod. 1.775 and apparently also Philodemus 7.222.3 = *PG* 3322 and perhaps Dioscorides 5.53.2 = *HE* 1476. Here perhaps of a roofed tomb such as the slave builds for his master in Apollonides 7.180 = *PG* iv; but the use of the word may be an indication that the structure was of a simple kind, good enough (ἀρκούσῃ) for a slave.

5 [1150] Μάνην: a common slave-name; see the note on Anyte 7.538.1 = *HE* 758.

ἀγγείλας: by having the name inscribed on the tomb.

## XXVI

Epitaph for Callicrateia, who died at the age of 105; all her twenty-nine children were still alive.

The context in *A.P.* is not a safe guide to the source of this epigram, and its date depends partly on the view taken of its relation to Antipater (of Thessalonica?) 7.743 = *PG* lxvii: the first couplet is almost identical in both, except that Antipater has εἰκοσιν Ἑρμοκράτεια in 1 and αὐγασάμην for ἔδρακόμην in 2; the sequel is very different in the two. If one copied from the other, it is rather more likely that the writer of this epitaph was familiar with the famous Antipater than that Antipater was familiar with the epitaph.

The date remains indeterminable. The epigram (which was translated by Ausonius, *ep.* 34) is probably inscriptional; Peek, however, omits it.

A.P. 7.224 s.a.n., Π<sup>Α</sup> ἀδέσποτον [J] εἰς Καλλικράτειαν τὴν τεκοῦσαν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑννέα τέκνα [C] καὶ ζήσασαν ῥῆ ἑνιαυτοῦς

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εἴκοσι Καλλικράτεια καὶ ἑννέα τέκνα τεκνύσα  
οὐδ' ἑνὸς οὐδὲ μιῆς ἔδρακόμην θάνατον,  
ἀλλ' ἑκατὸν καὶ πέντε διηνυσάμην ἑνιαυτούς  
σκήπτωνι τρομερὰν οὐκ ἐπιθεῖσα χέρα.

1155

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* dcxlix.

1 [1152] Cf. Pliny *h.n.* 7.3.34 *Eutychis a xx liberis rogo illata, Trallibus enixa xxx partus*; he continues, *Alcipphe elephantum, quamquam id inter ostenta est.*

## XXVII

Epitaph for a faithful wife.

This epigram is presumably inscriptional (= Peek 460); it is hard to think what other occasion for it there might be. The lady's name, not given in the text (possibly because it would not fit the metre) will have been inscribed above or below these lines.

Peek includes the epigram among inscriptions dated 'I-II A.D.'; it is in fact undatable, and II-I B.C. is at least as likely.

A.P. 7.324 s.a.n., P1<sup>a</sup> ἀδέσποτον [J] εἰς τινα γυναῖκα σώφρονα καὶ μόν-  
ανδρον

ἄδ' ἐγὼ ἅ περιβωτος ὑπὸ πλακί τᾶιδε τέθαμμαι  
μούνῳι ἐνὶ ζώναν ἀνέρι λυσαμένα.

1157

1 ἅ P: ἡ P1 τᾶιδε Dübner: τῆιδε PPl 2 λυσαμένη P<sup>a</sup>c

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* dcxlix vv. 5-6; Peek 460.

1 [1156] ἅ περιβωτος: this is a surprising epithet. Virtuous wives were very seldom 'celebrated'; only the most eminent persons describe themselves so, and most of them add the reason for their fame. Dübner suggested that the reason was given *in titulo* together with her name, but that would be most unusual. The epithet must have been intelligible to the lady's fellow-citizens; it is not so to us; cf. Peek 1938.3 ἡ πάνσοφος, ἡ περιβωτος (where the context explains that the lady, 'Petronia Musa' by name, was a famous singer).

ὑπο πλακί: the πλαξ is the stone on which the epithet is inscribed, as in *e.g.* Apollonides 7.378.3 = PG 1151 ὑπὸ πλακί τυμβεύονται.

## XXVIII

Epitaph for Abrotonon, mother of Themistocles.

This epigram is quoted by Athenaeus from a book *On Celebrated Men* by Amphicrates, a contemporary of the dictator Sulla; and the questions arise, how much older it may be and whether it is inscriptional. The brevity and the plain style reflect the oldest conventions of the elegiac epitaph; but I do not know how likely it is that Themistocles' mother, being as she was not the wife but a mistress of his father Neocles, would be honoured in this way: she was εταῖρα according to Athenaeus, ἐξ ἀγορᾶς according to Plutarch *amator.* 9.

If it is not a true epitaph, it is not easy to say what occasion there might have been for its composition at some later date; possibly it was designed to assert



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the claim of Abrotonon against others in the context of the general debate about Themistocles' parentage. That is not a very likely supposition; but neither is it likely that the identity of the great man's mother should have become a matter for dispute if a genuine epitaph was preserved.

According to Nepos (*Them.* 1) the mother of Themistocles was an Acarnanian; according to Phainias (c. 300 B.C.; *Plut. Them.* 1; *RE* 19.1565) and Neanthes (c. 300 or 200 B.C.; *Plut. ibid.* and *Athenaeus* 13.576c; *RE* 16.2108) she was a Carian (from Halicarnassus, said Neanthes) named Euterpe. *Plutarch amator.* 9 and *Aelian v.h.* 12.43 agree with the epigram that she was a Thracian named Abrotonon. See *Busolt Gr. Gesch.* 2.640 n. 1.

*Abrotonon* (the normal Greek word for *wormwood*) is very seldom attested as a proper-name. It is not likely to have been borne by respectable women, but was no doubt suitable for a Thracian girl ἐξ ἀγορᾶς, as for the sympathetic *psaltria* in Menander's *Epitrepontes* and the lower-grade flute-player in his *Perikeiromene*. The Corrector gives the name an aspirate, the other sources generally agree in denying one.

A.P. 7.306 (caret Pl) [C] ἀδέσποτον [J] εἰς Ἀβρότονον τὴν μητέρα Θεμιστοκλέους;

Ἀβρότονον Θρήισσα γυνὴ πέλον· ἀλλὰ τεκέσθαι  
τὸν μέγαν Ἑλληνσὶν φημι Θεμιστοκλέα. 1159

1 Ἀβρό- P, *Plut.*, *Athen.*: Ἀβρό- C πέλον P: γένος *Plut.*, *Athen.* 2  
φασι *Athen.*

Jacobs\* *adesp.* dcxxiii; Hecker 1852.155

## XXIX

On a killer who hid his victim's body by burying it.

A.P. 7.310, 356–60, and 580–1 are variations on the same theme. All are anonymous except the last two, which are ascribed to Julianus, a member of the *Cycle* of Agathias. All say either 'may the same thing happen to you' or 'the eye of Justice will observe you'; except that 7.359, the only one with four lines instead of two, has room to include both these motifs (Julianus' two epigrams include both, one in each).

The theme, though of a type characteristic of the *Garlands*, is not actually found in them. It would however be surprising if so popular a topic had no model earlier than A.D. 50, and the neatest of the series is included here to represent the model.

A.P. 7.356, Pl<sup>A</sup>, s.a.n. [J] εἰς τινὰ ὑπὸ ληιστοῦ ἀναιρεθέντα καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
πάλιν θαπτόμενον [Pl] εἰς τὸ αὐτό

ζωὴν συλήσας δωρῇι τάφον· ἀλλὰ με κρύπτεις, 1160  
οὐ θάπτεις. τοίου καὶ τὸς θναῖο τάφου.

Jacobs\* *adesp.* cdlxxiii.

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

### ON FAMOUS POETS, STATESMEN AND OTHERS

#### XXX

Fictitious epitaph for Homer.

This is the third of eight epigrams by miscellaneous authors on the same subject at the beginning of *A.P.* 7. The epigram was added in the margin by the Corrector, and long overlooked by modern editors; it was first published by Huschke in his *Analecta Critica* (1800). Several of the subsequent editors suppose that the Corrector supplied it merely as a parallel to the last couplet of the preceding epigram (εἰ δ' ὀλίγα κρύπτω τὸν ταλίκον...), but that would be contrary to the Corrector's normal practice, and it is more probable that he took it (together with the variant in 3) from his independent manuscript source for the *Anthology*.

The epigram is undatable. It may fall outside the limits of the present collection, though there is no particular reason to suppose that it does.

A.P. 7.2<sup>b</sup> (C; carent PPI) s.a.n. εἰς τὸν Ὅμηρον

εἰ καὶ βαιὸς ὁ τύμβος, ὁδοιπόρε, μὴ με παρέλθῃς,

ἀλλὰ †κατὰ στίχας† Ἴσα θεοῖσι σέβου.

τὸν γὰρ Πιερῖσιν τιμώμενον ἔξοχα Μούσαις

ποιητὴν ἑπέων θεῖον Ὅμηρον ἔχω.

1165

3 Πιερίδεσσι τετιμμένον CYP

Huschke *anal. crit.* 208 (not included in Jacobs' first edition); Hecker 1843.174.

1 [1162] Cf. Leonidas 7.198.1-2 = *HE* 2084-5 εἰ καὶ μικρὸς ἰδεῖν... | λᾶας ὁ τυμβίτης.

2 [1163] †κατὰ στίχας†: καταστείψας Huschke, not a likely corruption; καταστείψας Hecker, perhaps rightly, *huc a via descendens*. καταστείχω is very rare: *return* in Nonn. *paraphr.* 4.230 καὶ οἱ τηλεπόροιο καταστείχοντι κελεύθου, *descend* in Antiphilus 9.298.5 = *PG* 1027 εἰς ἄστν κατέστιχον, contrasted with πρὸς νηὸν ἀνήγαγεν; probably corrupt in Pollux 6.154. The form -στείψας would not be tolerated if περιστείψας did not appear in Hom. *Od.* 4.277.

3 [1164] One would prefer the alternative reading in C (when correctly spelled) but the reading of the text would be inexplicable as a substitute for it.

#### XXXI

On the death of Orpheus.

This epigram is similar in style and equal in elegance to the two with which it is associated in *A.P.*, Antipater of Sidon 7.8 = *HE* x and Damagetus 7.9 = *HE* ii. It is plainly of Hellenistic date, and probably by one of Meleager's authors; *optimae notae*, as Jacobs said.

For the general background, see the brilliant poem of Phanocles, *fr.* 1.

A.P. 7.10, 11<sup>A</sup> [PPI] s.a.n. [P] εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν [J] Ὀρφέα τὸν Οἰάγρου καὶ Καλλιόπης

Καλλιόπης Ὀρφεῖα καὶ Οἰάγροιο θανόντα

ἔκλαυσαν ξανθαὶ μυρία Βιστονίδες,

στικτοὺς δ' ἡμιάξαντο βραχίονας ἀμφιμελαίνῃ

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δευόμεναι σποδιῇ Ὀρηίκιον πλόκαμον.  
 5 καὶ δ' αὐταὶ στοναχεῦντι σὺν εὐφόρμιγγι Λυκείῳ 1170  
 ἔρρηξαν Μοῦσαι δάκρυα Πιερίδες  
 μυρόμεναι τὸν αἰιδόν, ἐπωδύραντο δὲ πέτραι  
 καὶ δρύες ἄς ἔρατῇ τὸ πρὶν ἔθελγε λύρηι.

3 χίονας P<sup>ac</sup> ἀμφιμελαίνῃ(1) P: ἀμφὶ μελαίνῃ CPI 5 καὶ δ' Pl<sup>pc</sup>: καὶ PPl<sup>ac</sup>  
 Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* cdlxxxii.

**1 [1166] Καλλιόπης...καὶ Οἰάγοιο:** on the parentage of Orpheus, see *RE* 18.1217; his father is sometimes said to be Apollo.

**2 [1167] μυρία:** adverbial thus elsewhere in *HE*, Antipater of Sidon 7.241. 1-2 = *HE* 338-9, Callimachus 12.118.1 = 1075, Dioscorides 12.169.3-4 = 1505-6, Leonidas 9.326.4 = 1981, Rhianus 12.146.1-2 = 3226-7.

**Βιστονίδες** = *Thracian*, as Βιστονίαν in Antipater of Sidon 7.172.2 = *HE* 313 (the only appearance of Βιστον- in *HE*); Βιστονίδες Phanocles *fr.* 1.7 in a similar context.

**3-4 [1168-9] στυκτοῦς:** *tattooed*. See Plut. *ser.num.vind.* 12, 557D, and especially Phanocles *fr.* 1.23ff.: when the Thracian men heard what their women had done to Orpheus, they tattooed them, ἄς ἀλόχους ἔστιζον. See further Barns and Lloyd-Jones *SIFC* 35 (1963) 205.

**ἀμφιμελαίνῃ...σποδιῇ:** *cf.* Theodoridas 7.738.3 = *HE* 3556 κόνιν... ἀμφιμέλαιναν. Most of the editors have preferred the division ἀμφὶ μελαίνῃ.

**δευόμεναι:** dust is spoken of as if it were a liquid, as in Hom. *Il.* 11.282 ῥαίνοντο...κονίῃ, 18.23-4 κόνιν...χεύατο; *cf.* Catullus 64.224 *infuso pulvere*.

**Ὀρηίκιον πλόκαμον:** on the barbaric hair-style of the Thracian *cf.* Antipater of Sidon 7.27.6 = *HE* 265 Κίκονα Ὀρηικός Σμερδίεω πλόκαμον.

**5 [1170] καὶ δ' αὐταί:** Crinagoras, a rough composer, might begin a line καὶ αὐτῇ... (7.633.1 = *PG* 1867), but the hiatus is not to be tolerated in this elegant epigram; καὶ δ' αὐτὰ... also in Antipater of Sidon 7.241.7 = *HE* 344.

**εὐφόρμιγγι:** a surprisingly rare compound; not earlier, and not again until Tryphon 380, Opp. *Hal.* 5.618.

**Λυκείῳ** = Ἀπόλλωνι as in Call. *fr.* 261.2-3; the appellation does not occur in *HE*.

**6 [1171] ἔρρηξαν...δάκρυα:** for this odd expression *cf.* S. *Tr.* 919 δακρύων ῥήξασα...νάματα, where Jebb compares Plut. *Per.* 36 κλαυθμόν τε ῥήξαι; add Dioscorides 7.434.3 = *HE* 1669 δάκρυα δ' οὐκ ἔρρηξ'. *Cf.* 1351 n.

**7-8 [1172-3] πέτραι καὶ δρύες:** both rocks and trees recur in the associated epigrams by Antipater and Damagetus, who add the beasts of the field and (Antipater only) the storms of the sky. See the note on Antipater of Sidon 7.8.3-4 = *HE* 230-1.

## XXXII

Preface to the poetry of Archilochus.

Epigrams on poets are very numerous, and some of them contain phrases which suggest that they accompanied a copy of the work of the author named; the verses presumably stood at the head of the first column of the papyrus. Examples are Asclepiades 7.11 = *HE* xxviii Ἡρίωνος πόνος οὔτος, Calli-

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machus 9.507 = *HE* lvi 'Ἡσιόδου τό τ' αἶσμα καὶ ὁ τρόπος...χαίρετε λεπτὰι ῥήσιες Ἀρήτου, Leonidas 9.25 = *HE* ci γράμμα τόδ' Ἀρήτου, Artemidorus 9.205, announcing an assembly of bucolic poems, anon. 9.189 τόδε κηρίον, of Erinna's *Distaff*, Antipater of Sidon 7.713 = *HE* lviii, of Erinna, τοῦτο τὸ βασιὼν ἔπος, anon. 9.191 λαβέμ' ἐσχέρας, of Lycophron's *Alexandra*, and Antipater of Thessalonica 9.186 = *PG* ciii βίβλοι Ἀριστοφάνους...ἡνιδ' ὅσον Διόνυσον ἔχει σελῖς; perhaps also Antiphilus 9.192 = *PG* xxxvi. There are numerous examples of such prefatory epigrams by relatively late authors in the present context (*A.P.* 9.184–214), but none of these has one of the old poets for its subject, and it is a fair guess that a preface to an edition of Archilochus should be assigned rather to an early than to a later epigrammatist; it is quite possible that the present epigram is not later than the middle of the first century A.D. *A.P.* 9.185 [C] ἀδέσποτον, *PI*<sup>A</sup> s.a.n. [C] εἰς Ἀρχιλόχον

Ἀρχιλόχου τάδε μέτρα καὶ ἡχήμεντες ἱαμβοί,  
θυμοῦ καὶ φοβερῆς ἰὸς ἐπεσβολίης.

1175

Jacobs\* *adesp.* diii.

1 [1174] **μέτρα**: it would be convenient if μέτρα could mean simply verse, without any thought of metres; and so it is translated by Dübner, Paton, Waltz, and Beckby, *versus*, 'verses', 'vers', and 'Verse', apparently unaware of the abnormality. The Thesaurus and LSJ (*s.v.* π 2) have no knowledge of such a use except in Plato *Lysis* 205A οὐ τι τῶν μέτρων δέομαι ἀκούσαι οὐδὲ μέλος, where τῶν μέτρων = *metrical compositions*, i.e. simply *poetical works*. The use must be accepted here, though there is no example of it in Hellenistic poetry or indeed anywhere except Plato *loc. cit.*

**ἡχήμεντες**: Stadtmüller, followed by Waltz, takes this with θυμοῦ, *resonant of rage*; a parallel to the construction would be welcome but is not offered.

2 [1175] **ἐπεσβολίης**: *scurrility*. The word appears in Hom. *Od.* 4.159, and not again until relatively late authors (Quintus of Smyrna, Manetho, Julianus) unless the present epigram and anon. 9.177.2 are exceptions. The word is so rare that it is reasonable to suppose a direct relation between the present epigram and Julianus 7.70, on the same subject, ending φεύγων τάρβος ἐπεσβολίης.

## XXXIII

Praise of Sappho.

The plan of this epigram is unconventional and imaginative. It takes the form of an invitation to ladies of Lesbos to dance in a sanctuary of Hera, where Sappho herself shall be their leader and shall sing to the lyre. The portrayal is vivid, as if the author were a contemporary of Sappho, one who had personal knowledge of the scene. He is aware that the ladies of Lesbos danced in a precinct of Hera, as it is stated by schol. Hom. *Il.* 9.129, παρὰ Λεσβίοις ἁγῶν ἄγεται κάλλους γυναικῶν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἥρας τεμένει λεγόμενος καλλιστεῖα, cf. Hesychius *s.v.* Πυλαίδες, αἱ ἐν κάλλει κρινόμεναι τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ νικῶσαι; on the site of the sanctuary, see Fr. J.D. Quinn *AJA* 65 (1961) 391. The scene recalls Alcaeus *fr.* 130, speaking of a sanctuary of the gods

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ὄππαι Λεσβιάδες κριννόμεναι φύαν  
πῶλεντ' ἔλκεσίπεπλοι, περὶ δὲ βρέμει  
ἄχῳ θεσπεσία γυναίκων  
ἱρας ὁλολύγας ἐνιαυσίας.

The epigram is manifestly Alexandrian in style and spirit, and may be as early as some of Meleager's authors; *optimae notae epigramma*, as Jacobs said. Waltz suggests that it may have been inspired by a work of art.

A.P. 9.189 [C] ἄδηλον, P<sup>A</sup> ἄδηλον, P<sup>B</sup> s.a.n. [C] εἰς Σαπφῶ τὴν Μυτιληναίαν μελοποιόν

ἔλθετε πρὸς τέμενος γλαυκώπιδος ἀγλαὸν Ἥρης,  
Λεσβίδες, ἀβρὰ ποδῶν βήμαθ' ἐλίσσόμεναι·  
ἔνθα καλὸν στήσασθε θεῇι χορόν, ὕμμι δ' ἀπάρξει  
Σαπφῶ χρυσεῖην χερσὶν ἔχουσα λύρην.  
5 ὀλβιαὶ ὀρχηθμοῦ πολυγηθέος· ἡ γλυκὺν ὕμνον 1180  
εἰσαΐειν αὐτῇς δόξετε Καλλιόπης.

2 ἀβρὰ ποδῶν P<sup>B</sup>: ἀβροπόδων P, αὐροπόδων P<sup>A</sup> βήματ' P P<sup>A</sup>.<sup>B</sup>  
ἐρεισάμεναι P<sup>A</sup>.<sup>B</sup> 3 καλὸν στήσασθε θεῇι χορόν P<sup>A</sup>: καλὸν στήσασθε ἡ  
χορόν P, χορόν καλὸν στήσασθ' P<sup>B</sup> 4 χερσὶν om. P, spat. vac. relicto  
Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* dxxi; Hecker 1852.192.

1 [1176] γλαυκώπιδος: in Homer nobody but Athena is γλαυκῶπις; Hera is βοῶπις, and Hecker conjectured ταυρώπιδος (*cf.* P. Schubart 7.7, with Carden in *BICS* 16 (1969) 29, ταυρώπιδος Ἥρης, perhaps from Euphorion), with the approval of Dübner, Paton, Waltz, and Beckby. This is a bold measure, and the objection to γλαυκώπιδος Ἥρης seems somewhat pedantic. The transference of γλαυκώπις from Athena to Hera is not more remarkable than the transference of βοῶπις from Hera to Artemis in Bacchylides 11.99, or to Amphitrite in 17.110, or to Harmonia in Pind. *Pyth.* 3.91; it is less surprising than the transference of Ἀργεῖφόντης from Hermes to Apollo in Sophocles *fr.* 1024.

2 [1177] ἐλίσσόμεναι: the reading in Planudes is probably not conjectural (he was not likely to object that the tense should be future, ἐλίσσόμεναι, as Hecker did), and may be correct; even P has βήματ', not βήμαθ'.

3 [1178] ἀπάρξει: *shall lead off*. The active form of this verb is very rare; in the same sense probably A. *Ag.* 1289 ἰοῦσ' ἀπάρξω.

4 [1179] χρυσεῖην...λύρην: Sappho will sing like a goddess (*cf.* 6), χρυσολύρας like Apollo or Orpheus.

5 [1180] ὀλβιαὶ ὀρχηθμοῦ: for the genitive, LSJ quote only this place and Peek 2040.16 (Pergamon, I-II A.D.); *cf.* also Hes. *op.* 826 τάων εὐδαίμων τε καὶ ὀλβιος, Plato *Phaed.* 58E εὐδαίμων... τοῦ τρόπου καὶ τῶν λόγων.

## XXXIV

On Peisistratus.

This famous epigram is unfortunately undatable. Style and subject are suitable to the Hellenistic period, but there is no denying that it may be either earlier or later.

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The *Life of Homer* (p. 249 Allen) says that the epigram was inscribed on a statue of Peisistratus at Athens, but it is doubtful whether such a statue, if it survived the Persian invasion, would have been spared by Athenian democracy.

The statement in 3-4, that Peisistratus 'assembled Homer, formerly sung in a scattered way', reflects common belief in the time of Cicero: *de orat.* 3.137 *Pisistrati, qui primus Homeri libros confusos antea sic disposuisse dicitur ut nunc habemus.* On the Peisistratean recension of Homer, see especially Merkelbach *Rh. Mus.* 95 (1952) 23; in the words of Rhys Carpenter, 'if antiquity had neglected to record for us the Peisistratean recension, we should have had to invent it for ourselves as a hypothesis essential to the facts.' Our text of Homer is an Athenian version, as Wackernagel demonstrated in *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer*; it is the outcome of Peisistratus' editorial work. The epigram and Cicero say the same thing quite plainly: before Peisistratus, Homer was recited in lays incoherently; Peisistratus assembled the lays and put them into a coherent order. It is theoretically possible that the scattered lays represented a previous continuum; there is not, and never will be, any evidence about that.

The end of the eleventh Book of the *Anthology* is a very odd place for this epigram; the matter is discussed by A. D. Skiadas, *Homer im griechischen Epigramm* (Athens 1965) 170.

Σπ (= A.P. 11.442), Π<sup>A</sup> [Σπ Π] s.a.n. [Π] εἰς εἰκόνα Πισιστράτου vit.  
Hom.<sup>1</sup> p. 246 Allen,<sup>2</sup> p. 249; An. Bekker 768; Tzetz. II. Exeg. p. 8

τρίς με τυραννήσαντα τοσαυτάκις ἐξεδίωξε  
 δῆμος Ἐρεχθίδος καὶ τρίς ἐπηγάγετο,  
 τὸν μέγαν ἐν βουλῇ Πεισίστρατον, ὃς τὸν Ὅμηρον  
 ἥθροισα, σποράδην τὸ πρὶν ἀειδόμενον ·  
 5 ἡμέτερος γὰρ κείνος ὁ χρύσεος ἦν πολιήτης,  
 εἵπερ Ἀθηναῖοι Σμύρναν ἀπωϊκίσαμεν.

1 ἐξεκύλισε vita<sup>2</sup> 2 Ἐρεχθειδῶν Π, vita<sup>1</sup>, Ἀθηναίων An. Bekk. 3 βουλαῖς  
 vita<sup>1, 2</sup> 5 ἐκεῖνος Π, vita<sup>1, 2</sup> codd. nonnulli 6 ἐπωικ- vita<sup>1, 2</sup>  
 Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* ccviii.

**1 [1182]** Rhetoric prevails over history. Peisistratus was indeed thrice Tyrant (Hdt. 1.64), but he was expelled twice, not thrice.

**5 [1186] χρύσεος:** Skiadas (*op. cit.* in Pref.) 172 n. 1 quotes vit. Hes. p. 223 (Allen) Ὅμηρος γὰρ ὁ χρυσοῦς, Plato *Phaedr.* 235E φίλτατος εἰ καὶ ... χρυσοῦς, ὦ Φαῖδρε, Diog. Laert. 10.8 Πλάτωνα χρυσοῦν; many more examples in the Thesaurus, s.v. 1721.

**6 [1187] Σμύρναν:** on Smyrna as Homer's birthplace, see Skiadas 24.

## XXXVA

Fictitious epitaph for Anacreon.

This is one of a group of twelve epigrams on the same subject by miscellaneous authors.

'Qu' est-ce au juste que ce distique?', asks the Budé translator, and replies: 'presque certainement une note agréablement tournée, qu' avait inspirée à un

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lettré le vers 1 du numéro 26, à moitié reproduit.' It does indeed look as though this epigram owes its first sentence to *A.P.* 7.26 (= Antipater of Sidon *HE* 252-4), ξείνε, τάφον πάρα λιτὸν Ἀνακρείοντος ἀμείβων | ...σπείσον, and was composed for the sake of the jocular point which follows – the ghost of the tippler is particularly appreciative of offerings of wine.

The close relation to Antipater argues, though not very cogently, for a date within the limits of the present collection.

*A.P.* 7.28 ἀδέσποτον, *Pl<sup>A</sup>* s.a.n. [P] εἰς τὸν αὐτόν; *Suda* s.v. οἰνοπότης

ὦ ξένε, τόνδε τάφον τὸν Ἀνακρείοντος ἀμείβων,  
σπείσόν μοι παριών· εἰμὶ γὰρ οἰνοπότης. 1189

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* dxxvi.

### XXXVB

Fictitious epitaph for Epicharmus.

*A.P.* 7.82 pretends to be an epitaph for Epicharmus; the present epigram, like 9.600 = Theocritus *HE* xvii, is described as an inscription for a statue; all three are probably literary exercises.

The plays of Epicharmus were still widely circulated in the second and third centuries A.D. (*P.Oxy.* 2426, 2427, 2429); the present epigram is included here (as 7.82 might have been) merely as a specimen of a type which cannot be dated without a margin of error of almost half a millenium.

*A.P.* 7.125, *Pl<sup>A</sup>*, [*PPI*] s.a.n. εἰς Ἐπίχαρμον [*J*] τὸν Συρακούσιον

εἴ τι παραλλάσσει φαέθων μέγας ἄλιος ἄστρον 1190  
καὶ πόντος ποταμῶν μείζον' ἔχει δύναμιν,  
φαμὶ τοσοῦτον ἐγὼ σοφίαι προέχειν Ἐπίχαρμον,  
ὃν πατρὶς ἔστεφάνωσ' ὅδε Συρακοσίων.

*Diog. Laert.* 8.78 καὶ αὐτῷ (τῷ Ἐπιχάρμῳ) ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος ἐπιγέγραπται τόδε· εἴ τι κτλ.

1 ἥλιος *Pl*

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* dxxix; Preger 170.

1 [1190] παραλλάσσει... ἄστρον: Aristotle *mete.* 342 a 33 writes τῷ τάχει παραλλάττειν τὰ ἄστρα, and the accusative is the normal case with this verb when it means *surpass*; when it means *differ*, the genitive follows, as in Plato *Laus* 957b ὅσα παραλλάττει τῶν πολλῶν.

4 [1193] Συρακόσιον Boissonade, approved by Waltz, perhaps rightly; Epicharmus was born in Cos but was taken to Sicily 'when he was three months old' (*Diog. Laert.* 8.78), and it would be natural for the Syracusans to insist that he was truly one of themselves.

### XXXVI (a) and (b)

On the nine Lyric Poets.

xxxvi (a) is a list of the nine lyric poets of archaic and classical Greece who were collected and edited by Alexandrian scholars; xxxvi (b) is not simply a list, but is written for the sake of the point in its last couplet – that Sappho is not

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a ninth lyrical poet but a tenth Muse. xxxvi (b) concentrates on this point, and uses only vague and perfunctory phrases to describe the other eight poets. xxxvi (a) is more elaborate and specific in its description of Stesichorus, Ibycus, and Alcaeus, but its phrases for the poetry of Pindar, Sappho, and Alcman are perfunctory, for Bacchylides, Anacreon, and Simonides very feeble.

There is no clue to the date of either of these epigrams. Such lists appear from the one Antipater to the other: a list of the Seven Sages occurs in the Sidonian 7.81 = *HE* xxxiv; of nine female poets, and of the Seven Wonders of the World, in the Thessalonican 9.26 and 9.58 = *PG* xix and xci; and Sappho as the tenth Muse is a notion familiar from the Sidonian 9.66 = *HE* xii (cf. also the note on 7.14.1-2 = *HE* 236-7; 'Plato' xiii). There is nothing in either epigram to suggest a period later than that covered by Philip's *Garland*.

The exclusion of Corinna from both lists is not significant. Corinna was indeed well known in Rome in the late Republican and early Imperial periods (*Prop.* 2.3.21; *Stat. silv.* 5.3.158), but she had not been edited by the great Alexandrian scholars as the *novem lyri*ci were, and she was never received into the canon. Nobody but Tzetzes ever said that the canon was of ten instead of nine, though a couple of late writers (*schol. Dio. Thrac.* 21.18 *Hilg.*, and an addition to the text of the very late Byzantine edited by Drachmann *Pind. schol.* 1.11) say that some people added Corinna to the canonical nine.

(a) A.P. 9.184 [C] ἀδέσποτον, ΠΙ<sup>Α</sup> ἄδηλον [C] εἰς Πίνδαρον τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ εἰς τοὺς λοιποὺς λυρικοὺς. εἰσὶ δὲ λυρικοὶ τόσοι· Πίνδαρος Βακχυλίδης Σαπφῶ Ἀνακρέων Στησίχορος Σιμωνίδης Ἴβυκος Ἀλκαῖος Ἀλκμάν. ὁμοῦ θ

Πίνδαρε, Μουσᾶων ἱερὸν στόμα, καὶ λάλε Σειρήν,  
 Βακχυλίδη, Σαπφοῦς τ' Αἰολίδες χάριτες, 1195  
 γράμμα τ' Ἀνακρείοντος, Ὀμηρικὸν δς τ' ἀπὸ ρεῦμα  
 ἔσπασας οἰκέοις, Στησίχορ', ἐν καμάτοις,  
 5 ἧ τε Σιμωνίδεω γλυκερὴ σελῖς, ἡδὺ τε Πειθοῦς  
 Ἰβυκε καὶ παιδῶν ἄνθος ἀμησάμενε,  
 καὶ ξίφος Ἀλκαῖοιο, τὸ πολλὰκις αἶμα τυράννων 1200  
 ἔσπεισεν πάτρης θέσμια ῥυόμενον,  
 θηλυμελεῖς τ' Ἀλκμᾶνος ἀηδόνες, ἴλατε, πάσης  
 10 ἀρχὴν οἱ λυρικῆς καὶ πέρας ἐστάσατε.

10 oi P: τῆς ΠΙ ἐστάσατε Meineke: ἐσπάσατε PPI  
 Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* dxix; Hecker 1852.189.

1 [1194] Μουσᾶων...στόμα: cf. Paulus 7.4.1, of Homer, Πιερίδων τὸ σοφὸν στόμα.

λάλε Σειρήν: *talkative Siren* is a feeble phrase.

3-4 [1196-7] γράμμα: of a poet's *written work*, as in Leonidas 9.25.1 = *HE* 2573 γράμμα τόδ' Ἀρήτοιο, anon. 9.522.1-2 Ὀδυσσεῖς τε τὸ σῶφρον γράμμα. As the writer has not left himself room for an adjective, the phrase is weak; conjecture (αἶσμα, κῆμα, κροῦμα) has failed.

ἀπὸ...ἔσπασας: cf. Theodoridas 13.21.4 = *HE* 3565 ἀποσπάραγμα (of Mnasalces' alleged imitation of Simonides).



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‘Ομηρικόν: this was, and is, the obvious thing to say about Stesichorus; Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.62 *epici carminis onera lyra sustinentem...videtur aemulari proximus Homerum potuisse.*

5 [1198] σελῖς: cf. Antipater of Thessalonica 9.26.8 = PG 182, of the female poets, ἀενάων ἐργατίδας σελίδων; 9.186.3 = PG 655, of an edition of Aristophanes; Posidippus *ap.* Athen.13.596c = HE 3147, of Sappho, φθεγγόμεναι σελίδες; Simias 7.21.6 = HE 3285, of Sophocles, ἀθανάτοις...ἐν σελίσιν.

6 [1199] παίδων: a conventional thing to say about Ibycus; Cic. *Tusc.* 4.71 *maxime vero omnium flagrasse amore Rheginum Ibycum apparet ex scriptis.* Cf. PMG *fr.* 286-9.

7-8 [1200-1201] ξίφος...ῥυόμενον: again the obvious thing to say; Hor. *carm.* 2.13.26 *sonantem...dura navis, | dura fugae mala, dura belli...pugnans et exactos tyrannos...* The phrase πάτρης θέσμια ῥυόμενον probably does Alcaeus more than justice; see Page *Sappho and Alcaeus* 243.

9 [1202] θηλυμελείς: here only; very like θηλύγλωσσος, of Nossis, in Antipater of Thessalonica 9.26.7 = PG 181. Both adjectives mean *femineum et molle sonans*; the reference here is probably to the *Partheneia* of Alcman.

Ἰατε: normally said to divinities; the writer begs the ‘divine’ poets to look kindly upon a humble fellow-author.

10 [1203] λυρικής: sc. ποιήσεως. λυρικοί = ‘lyric poets’ appears first in Cicero, *orat.* 55.183; of ἡ λυρική, *lyric poetry*, the lexica say nothing, and no other example comes to mind.

ἐστάσατε: ἐσπάσατε is meaningless, and this is the only possible correction of it. The form, ἐστᾶσατε, is not a sign of late composition; see the note on Philip 9.708.6 = PG 3020, ἐστᾶσε for ἐστησε.

(b) A.P. 9.571, P1<sup>A</sup> [PPI] s.a.n. [J] εἰς τοὺς ἑννέα λυρικούς

ἔκλαγεν ἐκ Θηβῶν μέγα Πίνδαρος, ἔπνεε τερπινά  
 ἡδυμελιφθόγου Μοῦσα Σιμωνίδεω, 1205  
 λάμπει Στησίχορος τε καὶ Ἴβυκος, ἦν γλυκὺς Ἀλκμάν,  
 λαρὰ δ’ ἀπὸ στομάτων φθέγξατο Βακχυλίδης,  
 5 Πειθῶ Ἀνακρέοντι συνέσπετο, ποικίλα δ’ αὐδᾶι  
 Ἀλκαῖος †κύκνω Λέσβιος Αἰολίδι†.  
 ἀνδρῶν δ’ οὐκ ἐνάτη Σαπφῶ πέλεν, ἀλλ’ ἐρατειναῖς 1210  
 ἐν Μούσαις δεκάτη Μοῦσα καταγράφεται.

2 ἡδυμελιφθόγου P1: ἡδὺ μελιφθόγου P 3 Ἀλκμάν P1: ἄλκαρ P  
 5 Ἀνακρέοντι P 6 κύκνω P1 7 ἄνδρα P in lin. ἐνατα P  
 Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* dxx.

1 [1204] ἐκλαγεν: *aquilam tibi finge* κλάζοντα, said Jacobs, comparing Pind. *Ol.* 2.88.

2 [1205] ἡδυμελιφθόγου: there is no need for change (ἡδυμελεῖ φθόγγω Piccolos, accepted by Dübner, Paton, the Budé, and Beckby).

4 [1207] λαρά: cf. Alcaeus *A.Plan.* 226.1 = HE 128 ἔμπνει Πάν λαροῖσιν ὀρειβάτα χεῖλεσι μοῦσαν, ‘Simonides’ 7.24.10 = HE 3323 λαρότερον μαλακῶν ἔπνεεν ἐκ στομάτων (of Anacreon).

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**5 [1208]** ποικίλα δ' αὐδαῖ: a more inadequate description of the poetry of Alcaeus does not readily come to mind.

**6 [1209]** This looks, but has not proved, emendable. Jacobs in his first edition suggested κώμῳ Λέσβιος Αἰολίδῃ, and Dübner accepted this. Jacobs in his second edition obelised, and so did Paton. Beckby and the Budé edition read κύκνος (Stephanus; also 'cod. Athous' according to Dübner) Λέσβιος Αἰολίδι, but αὐδαῖ is surely the verb, and then Αἰολίδι is too isolated (Beckby's paraphrase does not make it clear how he takes it; 'in the Aeolic dialect' Lumb *Notes on the Greek Anthology* p. 81, an unattractive result; 'to (the land of) Aeolia' may be just tolerable). κύκνος Λέσβῳ ἐν Αἰολίδι Piccolos, too big a change.

### XXXVII

Fictitious epitaph for Euripides.

One of a group of nine epigrams on the same subject by miscellaneous authors. There is no clue to the date; the type is particularly common in the late Hellenistic and early Imperial periods.

A.P. 7.46, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPI] s.a.n. [P] εἰς τὸν αὐτόν

οὐ σὸν μνημα τόδ' ἔστ', Εὐριπίδῃ, ἀλλὰ σὺ τοῦδε·

τῇ σῇ γὰρ δόξῃ μνημα τόδ' ἀμπέχεται.

1213

1 τόδ' ἔστ', Εὐριπίδῃ Pl: τόδ' Εὐριπίδῃ, ξφν P      2 μνᾶμα C

Jacobs\* *adesp.* dxxxvi.

**1 [1212]** Planudes' text is accepted for want of a better; it cannot be reconciled with P, and inspires no confidence. Stadtmüller corrected its worst fault – the ignoring of P's ξφν – by conjecturing οὐ τόδ' ξφν σὸν μνημ', Εὐριπίδῃ, but this does too much violence to the transmitted word-order.

The motif of the epigram is (as Dübner observed) familiar from amatory contexts, *e.g.* anon. 5.142 = *HE* xxiii.

### XXXVIII

Praise of Erinna.

See *HE* 2.281–2 and the Prefaces to (a) Antipater of Sidon 7.713 = *HE* lviii, (b) Asclepiades 7.11 = *HE* xxviii, (c) Leonidas of Tarentum 7.13 = *HE* xcvi, and (d) the epigram which follows here, xxxix.

xxxviii (a conventional sort of epigram, competently phrased in Alexandrian style) says that Erinna wrote 300 hexameters (there is no other authority for the length, or for the metre except the word ἐποποιός in the Suda); that she was nineteen years of age at the time (this also in (b) above; the Suda says that she died at this age; (c) and xxxix state or imply that she died young); and that she spent much time at the loom and distaff 'in fear of her mother' (that her poem was actually entitled 'The Distaff' is stated in the Suda). On the problems of her birthplace and date see *HE* 2.281ff.

The papyrus-fragments of Erinna's *Distaff* in *PSI* 1090 add little to this small sum of knowledge, and throw no light either on the reason for the poem's title or on the phrase μητρὸς φόβῳ in xxxviii. That the poem was a lament for the early death, very soon after marriage, of a female friend named Baucis, was a

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certain inference from two epigrams ascribed to Erinna herself (7.710 and 712 = *HE* i and ii); this inference is confirmed by the papyrus, which tells of children's games played by Erinna and Baucis, and continues as follows:

- 21 δαγύ[δ]ων τεχ[ ]ιδες ἐν θαλάμοισι  
 νύμ[φ]αι γ[ ]έες· ἅ τε πὸτ ὄρθρον  
 μάτηρ ἀε[ ]ουσιν ἐρίθοις  
 τήγας ἦλθ[ ]να ἀμφ' ἀλίπαστον·  
 25 αἱ μικραῖςπ[ ]ν φόβον ἔγαγε Μορ[μ]ώ·  
 τᾷς ἐν μὲν κο[ρυφαί] ῥάατα, ποσσὶ δ' ἐφοίτη  
 τέ]τρασιν, ἐκ δ' [ἐτέρας ἐτέραν] μετεβάλλετ' ὀπωπᾶν·  
 ἀνίκα δ' ἐς λέχος [ἀνδρὸς ἔβας, τ]όκα πάντ' ἐέλασο  
 δσσ' ἔτι νηπιασ...τ. [ ] ματρός ἀκουσας,  
 30 Βαῦκι φίλα...<sup>1</sup>

'...of dolls...in bedrooms...young wives, and towards dawn the mother... to the servants...came...about the...sprinkled with salt. ...terror the Bogy brought us when we were small; on its head it had...ears, and it walked on all fours, and kept changing its appearance. But when you married you forgot all that you heard from Mother in childhood, dear Baucis...'

Three things are to be remarked:

(1) That nothing is said in this passage about spinning or weaving. ἐρίθοι are day-labourers, servants of the household; reference to weaving may be introduced by way of supplement or inference,<sup>2</sup> but is not in the text.

(2) That though a reference to 'fear' follows a reference to 'mother', there is no connection between the two, and therefore no explanation of μητρὸς φόβωι in xxxviii. What they fear is not the mother but the Bogy, and it was certainly not said in the papyrus-text that the mother frightened them with threats of the Bogy.

(3) That the reference to 'the mother' in 22-3 follows immediately after talk of 'dolls' and 'young wives', and is connected by ἅ τε, not ἅ δέ. It is clear that 'the mother' is one of the children playing the part of Mother in a game, with dolls for children. Erinna evidently took the part of 'Mother'; when she says 'You forgot all you heard from Mother when you were a child' she plainly means 'all you heard from *me*': she can have no interest in the question whether Baucis forgets things said to her by her real mother in the past.

<sup>1</sup> The text takes account of the new edition by P. J. Parsons and M. L. West, published by the latter in *ZPE* 25 (1977) 98. An extremely speculative reconstruction is offered on pp. 112-13, followed by the suggestion that 'Erinna' is a fiction and the *Distaff* a 'pseudepigraphon'. My disagreement is total in principle and wide-reaching in the detail. What actually survives of the poem, discounting what modern editors write into the gaps, looks pretty simple in style and in content.

<sup>2</sup> Thus West (*loc. cit.* 105-6) infers that wool-workers are meant here from the fact that 'the commonest use of the word after Homer is of female wool-workers', with references in n. 19. But if ]ουσιν is, as he believes, the right reading before ἐρίθοις, the workers are male, not female; no way out is offered except the invention of such implausible adjectives as 'cow-like' and 'gap-toothed' in order to assert the femininity of these ἐρίθοι.

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As for the distaff, there is indeed mention of one in a later context:

- 37 ἔννεα[καί]δέκατος τ[  
 ηρινν[. . .]ε φίλᾱ πα[  
 ἀλακάταν ἐσόρει[σ-  
 40 γνῶθ' ὅτι τοι κ[

It remains quite uncertain, however, what was said in these lines. It looks as though 37–8 were the source for the statement (see above) that Erinna<sup>1</sup> was nineteen years old when she wrote her poem; but what was said about the distaff in this context is a matter for mere speculation – the general sense, let alone the detail, will depend on what the modern editor writes into the gaps.

The words τόδε κηρίον at the beginning of xxxviii suggest that this epigram was written as a preface to an edition of Erinna's poem; so also Asclepiades 7.11 = *HE* xxviii, and cf. anon. xxxii Pref.

A.P. 9.190 [C] ἀδηλον, Pl s.a.n. [C] εἰς Ἡρινναν τὴν Λεσβίδα καὶ εἰς τὸ ποιημάτων αὐτῆς τὸ θανμάσιον; Eust. II. 2.711

- 1215
- 1220
- 5 ἡ καὶ ἐπ' ἡλακάτηι μητρὸς φόβωι, ἡ καὶ ἐφ' ἰστῶι  
 ἐστίκει Μουσέων λάτρεις ἐφαπτομένη.  
 Σαπφῶ δ' Ἡρίννης ὅσπον μελέεσσιν ἀμείνων,  
 Ἡρινν' αὖ Σαπφοῦς τόσσον ἐν ἑξαμέτροις.

1 εἰ δέ τι Jacobs: ἀδύ τοι P, ἀδύ τι Pl, ἀδύ τὸ Eust. 3 οἱ δέ P: οὐδὲ Pl 4  
 -δεκάτευσ P, Eust. 5 ἡ καὶ...ἡ καὶ P ἡλεκ- P ἐπ' ἰστῶι Pl 8  
 Ἡρινν' αὖ Malzowius: Ἡριννα PPl

Jacobs\* *adesp.* dxxiii; Hecker 1852.188–9.

1 [1214] Λέσβιον: τὴν Λεσβίδα in the *lemma* and the alternative ἡ Λεσβίδα in the *Suda*. It is probable that Erinna was a native of Telos; see *HE* 2.281–2, *RE* 6.455.

κηρίον: *honeycomb*. Cf. Meleager 4.1.10 = *HE* 3935 Νοσσίδος ἥς δέλοις κηρὸν ἔτηξεν Ἐρως; Aulus Gellius (*Praef.* 6) includes κηρία in a list of *festivitates inscriptionum* applied to books.

εἰ δέ τι: ἀλλά cannot stand between ἀδύ and κιννάμενον μέλιτι (it is useless to punctuate ἀδύ τι, μικρόν, ἀλλά...); and ἀδύ for ἡδύ is at variance with the dialect of the rest. εἰ δέ, though not an easy change, is surely right.

3 [1216] ἴσοι Ὀμήρωι: cf. *A.P.* 7.713 (*lemma*) ἥς οἱ τριακόσιοι στίχοι παραβάλλονται Ὀμήρωι, *Suda* s.v. οἱ δέ <τ'> στίχοι αὐτῆς ἐκρίθησαν ἴσοι Ὀμήρωι.

4 [1217] καί: stressing παρθενικῆς ἔννεακαιδεκάτευσ; the author had in mind

<sup>1</sup> The reading at the beginning of 38 is shown in the Parsons–West edition, as in the accompanying photograph, to be far from certain; *ηρινν* is rather inference than reading.

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

Asclepiades 7.11.2 = *HE* 943, on the same subject, ὡς ἂν παρθενικᾶς ἔνεακαὶ-δεκέτευς.

**5 [1218] ἡλακάτῃ:** ἡλεκ- (P) is a spelling found in inscriptions from the second century B.C. onwards (Peek 758.4), and may be right here and in 1225 below.

**6 [1219] Μουσέων λάτρῃς ἐφαπτομένη:** the Budé translator alone has this right. The meaning is 'though employed in a humble occupation (λάτρῃς), she has attained to poesy'; ἐφάπτομαι *c. gen.* as in LSJ *s.v.* π 2. Terseness is achieved at the expense of clarity; the reader has an irresistible impulse to take Μουσέων λάτρῃς together (*cf.* 'Ion of Chios' 574-5 λάτρῃς Πιερίδων), and then finds that ἐφαπτομένη makes this impossible.

**8 [1221]** The text is uncertain, but if the epigram is of Hellenistic or early Imperial date the author is very unlikely to have scanned \*Ηριννᾶ Σα- or to have admitted the solecistic \*Ηρίννα. Schneidewin conjectured Ψαπφούς; this is Sappho's own spelling of her name, but Σαπφ- is universal in later literature.

**ἐξαμέτροις:** Erinna's poem was in dactylic hexameters, a metre used by Sappho in some of her *Epithalamia*.

## XXXIX

On Erinna.

See xxxviii Pref. The present epigram has little in common with the others cited there, and is peculiar inasmuch as it omits both the conventional things said about Erinna, – that she wrote little, and that she died young.

The epigram is beautifully phrased, and may confidently be assigned to an Hellenistic author of the period 250-150 B.C.

A.P. 7.12 ἄδηλον, Pl<sup>A</sup> ἀδέσποτον [P] εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν [J] εἰς \*Ηρινναν τὴν Μιτυληναίαν

ἄρτι λοχευομένην σε μελισσοτόκων ἔαρ ὕμνων,  
ἄρτι δὲ κυκνείῳ φθεγγομένην στόματι,  
ἤλασεν εἰς Ἀχέροντα διὰ πλατὺ κῦμα καμώντων  
Μοῖρα λινοκλώστου δεσπότης ἡλακάτης. 1225

5 σὸς δ' ἐπέων, \*Ηριννα, καλὸς πόνος οὗ σε γεγωνεῖ  
φθίσθαι, ἔχειν δὲ χοροὺς ἄμμιγα Πιερίσιν.

4 ἡλακάτης: ἡλεκάτης P, ἡλεκάτας C, ἡλακάτας Pl 5 οὗ σε γεγωνεῖ Pl:  
οὗ σ' ἐγεγωνεῖ P 6 φθεῖσθαι P  
Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* dxxiv.

**1 [1222] μελισσοτόκων:** here only.

**ἔαρ ὕμνων:** *the springtime of your songs*; for parallels to the metaphor see LSJ *s.v.* ἔαρ, and add Antipater of Sidon 7.29.3 = *HE* 272 Σμέρδης, τὸ Πόθων ἔαρ, Julianus 7.599.2 Χαρίτων ἐξαπόλωλεν ἔαρ.

**2 [1223] κυκνείῳ:** *cf.* Antipater of Sidon 7.713.7 = *HE* 566, also of Erinna, κ'ίκνου μικρὸς θρόος.

**3-4 [1224-5] ἤλασεν...Μοῖρα:** *cf.* Ap. Rhod. 2.815 ἤλασε Μοῖρα.

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

**διὰ πλατὺ κῦμα:** not a common phrase; Philodemus 6.349.5 = *PG* 3278, Gaetulicus 177.

**λινοκλώστου:** here only.

**ἡλακάτης:** the distaff of Destiny is a commonplace image needing no special explanation, but the fact that Ἡλακάτη was the title given to Erinna's poem has been thought by many (following Jacobs) to be relevant here. So most recently West *ZPE* 25 (1977) 96, the author 'may have taken the association from Erinna herself... From speaking of her life of spinning she might have gone on to reflect that the Fates were spinning meanwhile, and her youth passing by.' The idea that Erinna thought anything of the kind seems to the present editor far-fetched and intrinsically improbable; if she did, the alleged allusion to it here would be of uncharacteristic obscurity.

On the spelling ἡλεκάτη, see 1218 n.

**5 [1226] καλὸς πόνος:** cf. Asclepiades 7.111.1 = *HE* 942, on the same subject, ὁ γλυκὺς Ἡρίνης οὗτος πόνος.

**6 [1227] ἔχειν:** χορὸν ἔχειν, the common technical term for 'obtain a chorus' in the Athenian theatre (Ar. *Pax* 803 and 807), is not altogether satisfactory here, and Blomfield's ἄγειν is a tempting conjecture.

## XL

Pella perishes when Alexander dies.

Pella is not named elsewhere in the *Anthology* except in the adjective Πελλαῖος (7.44, 7.524, *A. Plan.* 121), and though references to Alexander (especially to his shield; first in Mnasalces 6.128 = *HE* v) are not rare, there are very few epigrams composed in his praise: Adaeus 7.240 = *PG* v, Parmenion 7.239 = *PG* v. Subject-matter and style suggest, but are far from proving, a date within the period of Philip's *Garland*.

The epigram was carelessly included in *A.P.* within a small group in praise of Hector.

*A.P.* 7.139, P1<sup>A</sup> [PPI] s.a.n. [P] εἰς τὸν αὐτόν (sc. Ἑκτορα) [J] καὶ εἰς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα

Ἑκτορι μὲν Τροίῃ συγκάθηνεν, οὐδ' ἔτι χεῖρας  
ἀντήρην Δαναῶν παισὶν ἐπερχομένοις·

Πέλλα δ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συναπώλετο. πατρίδες ἄρα 1230  
ἀνδράσιν, οὐ πάτραις ἄνδρες ἀγαλλόμεθα.

1 Τροία P

Jacobs\* 8.272 (= Archias xxxv).

**1-4 [1228-31]** The parallel between Troy and Pella is not very close. Troy declined when Hector was killed and fell in the same year; Pella did not 'perish together with Alexander' but remained an important capital city up to the time of its capture by the Romans after the battle of Pydna (168 B.C.); its decline begins from that time.

Stadtmüller notes that the rhetorical figure at the end, πατρίδες... ἀγαλλόμεθα, recalls Antipater of Thessalonica 6.241.3-4 = *PG* 305-6 ἔπρεπεν ἄλλαις | οὔτε κόρυς χαίταις οὔτε κόμαι κόρυθι, and *A. Plan.* 184.3-4 = *PG* 241-2 ἔπρεπεν ἄμφω, | καὶ μέγαρον Βάκχῳ καὶ Βρόμιος μεγάρῳ.

# ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

## XLI

On Diogenes.

Epigrams on Diogenes from the *Garland*-periods are quite common (Leonidas 7.67 = *HE* lix, Antipater of Thessalonica 7.65 and 11.158 = *PG* lxxvii and xcvi, Archias 7.68 = *PG* xiv, Honestus 7.66 = *PG* ii, Antiphilus *A. Plan.* 333 and 334 = *PG* xlv and xlvi), later very rare (anon. 7.63, an undatable distich; 7.64, relatively late; 7.116, a distich in resolved anapaests). The context of the present epigram is indecisive, but the style suggests the period (roughly 150 B.C.–A.D. 50).

There was no end of anecdotes about Diogenes, and it is surprising that the present one does not recur elsewhere.

The epigram is imitated by pseudo-Ausonius *epit.* 35, p. 435 Peiper.

A.P. 9.145 [C] ἀδέσποτον, P1<sup>A</sup> ἀδηλον [J] εἰς Διογένην τὸν κύνα καὶ Κροῖσον τὸν Λυδὸν· γνῶμη θαυμάσιος

ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἀίδην ὅτε δὴ σοφὸν ἦνυσε γῆρας  
 Διογένης ὁ κύων Κροῖσον ἰδὼν ἐγέλα,  
 καὶ στρώσας ὁ γέρων τὸ τριβώνιον ἐγγὺς ἐκείνου  
 τοῦ πολλὴν ἐκ ποταμοῦ χρυσὸν ἀφυσσαμένου 1235  
 5 εἶπεν “ἐμοὶ καὶ νῦν πλείων τόπος· ὅσσα γὰρ εἶχον  
 πάντα φέρω σὺν ἐμοί, Κροῖσε, σὺ δ’ οὐδὲν ἔχεις.”

5 πλείω P

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* cdlviii.

**4 [1235] ποταμοῦ:** the Pactolus; see the note on Bianor 9.423.4 = *PG* 1734.

**5–6 [1236–7]** The poet is at fault (as Jacobs thought likely), for καὶ νῦν ought to imply ‘in death as in life’, and that makes no sense in a comparison of Diogenes with Croesus. καί, if it has any true part to play, must simply underline νῦν.

## XLII

Praise of Menander.

There is no Hellenistic epigram on Menander (unless this is one), but he is remembered in all periods from the *Garland* of Philip onwards: Crinagoras 9.513 = *PG* xlix, Diodorus 7.370 = *PG* xv, Peek 681 (I A.D.), Kaibel *ep.* 1085, Fronto *A.P.* 12.233, Palladas 10.52, 11.263, Agathias 5.218.

Uncertainty about the text makes it difficult to judge the style, and so to guess the date, of the present epigram. Planudes had an independent and to some extent more authentic source (see 5–6 n.). If ἀνηρεΐσαντο in 1 is corrupt, there is nothing in the lines inconsistent with the style of an average author in the *Garland* of Philip.

A.P. 9.187 [C] ἀδέσποτον, P1<sup>A</sup> ἀδηλον [C] εἰς Μένανδρον τὸν κωμικόν

αὐταῖ σου στομάτεσσιν ἐνερῆσαντο μέλισσαι  
 ποικίλα Μουσάων ἄνθεα δρεψάμεναι·  
 αὐταῖ καὶ Χάριτές σοι ἐδωρήσαντο, Μένανδρε, 1240

# ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

5            στωμύλον εὔστοχίην, δράμασιν ἐνθέμεναι.  
               ζώεις εἰς αἰῶνα, τὸ δὲ κλέος ἐστὶν Ἀθήναις  
               τοῦκ σέθεν οὐρανίων ἀπτόμενον περάτων.

1 σου Page: σοι PPI            ἐνρήψαντο Reiske: ἀνηρείψαντο PPI            4 εὔστοχίην  
 Pl: εὔτυχίην P            5 δ' εἰς Pl            ἐστὶν Pl: ἔστ' ἐν C (incertum quid fuerit in P)  
 6 τοῦκ Pl: ἐκ P            περάτων Pl: νεφέων P  
 Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* dlx; Hecker 1852.190.

**1-2 [1238-9]** The story was that a poet's verses were honey-sweet because bees settled on his lips (as a rule, when he was asleep) and made their honey there: so *e.g.* of Pindar, Paus. 9.23.2, Antipater of Thessalonica *A. Plan.* 305.3-4 = *PG* 489-90; of Plato, Aelian *v.h.* 10.21; of Homer, Christodorus *ephr.* 342. See Frazer on Pausanias *loc. cit.* and Gow on Theocr. 7.80-2, where the picture is essentially the same: the Muses have poured nectar on the poet's lips, and the bees bring flowers to make honey there (bees were generally thought to bring flowers to the hive).

All the editors (except Jacobs<sup>a</sup>, *Delectus* iv 70) understand these lines in this sense; but there are fatal objections to the text:

(1) ἀνηρείψαντο makes no sense suitable to the required context; the word is indeed misrepresented by all who translate it: *sustulerunt* Jacobs, *extulerunt* Dübner, 'bore off' Paton, 'ont...porté' the Budé, 'haben...gelegt' Beckby. All ignore the fact that ἀνηρείψαντο (or ἀνρήψαντο; for the spelling see West on Hes. *Theog.* 990) means *snatch up*, and connotes a degree of violence incompatible with this context: Hom. *Il.* 20.234, of the rape of Ganymede; *Od.* 1.241, 14.371, 20.77 Ἀρπυιαὶ ἀνηρείψαντο; 4.727 παῖδα...ἀνηρείψαντο θύελλαι; Hes. *Theog.* 990, of the rape of Phaethon; Pind. *Pae.* 6.136, of the rape of Aegina; Ap. Rhod. 1.214, of the rape of Oreithuia; 2.503, of the rape of Cyrene; 4.918, of Cypris snatching Butes from the grasp of the Sirens; Lyc. *Alex.* 1293, of the kidnapping of Io. The only exception is very much later, in Quintus of Smyrna (who uses the word properly in four other places) 2.553, where the winds ἀνηρείψαντο the body of Memnon, presumably as gently as possible.

(2) ἀνηρείψαντο has no object expressed, and it is hard to supply one. ἄνθεα will not serve, for Μουσάων ἄνθεα δρεψάμεναι is obviously a self-contained clause, as in Leonidas 7.13.2 = *HE* 2564 Μουσέων ἄνθεα δρεπτομένην; cf. Pompeius 7.219.2 = *PG* 3962 Χαρίτων λείρια δρεψαμένη.

(3) There is no proper reference for the dative στομάτεσσιν. If ἀνηρείψαντο could mean simply 'took up', its connection with στομάτεσσιν, 'for your mouth', would be disagreeably loose.

If the vulgate is correct, this epigram is the work of a bad poet in a late era. But with σου for σοι and ἐνρήψαντο for ἀνηρείψαντο the picture is changed: 'the bees made themselves a home on your lips'. That is exactly the sense required; no object for the verb is now needed, and the dative στομάτεσσιν is coherent. The verb ἐρέφομαι is not so used elsewhere but would be readily intelligible applied to bees making a home or hive (which is what they are said to do on the poet's lips according to the common story).



# ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

3 [1240] On correction of σοῖ, see Herodicus 234 n.

4 [1241] Hecker took ἐνθέμεναι as infinitive, governed by ἐδωρήσαντο, and most of the editors have approved; it seems better to take ἐνθέμεναι as a participle, εὐστοχίην going jointly with both clauses.

στωμύλον εὐστοχίην: a novel and lively phrase. στωμυλία is used in a kindly sense, as in Philodemus 7.222.3-4 = PG 3322-3 φιλοπαίγμων | στωμυλία, and Alciphron 3.29 (65) 3 τὴν Πειθῶ τῶι στόματι ἐπικαθῆσθαι εἰποις ἄν· προσπαίζειν τε γλαφυρὸς καὶ λαλήσαι στωμύλος.

Planudes had no obvious motive for altering εὐτυχίην, if that was in his source, to εὐστοχίην. Neither word is normally used of literary style; there is no objection to εὐστοχία, and εὐτυχία is as natural in Greek as *felicitas*, of Horace, in Petronius 118; *fluent felicity*, as Paton renders. The choice between the words cannot be made on merit; εὐστοχίην is preferred on the ground that Planudes had a source which in at least one other place is the more authentic.

5-6 [1242-3] εἰς αἰῶνα: δι' αἰῶνος was the commoner phrase in the classical period; εἰς αἰῶνα is the norm from the first century B.C. onwards. The phrase εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα in Isocr. *encom. Hel.* 62 and Lycurg. *Leocr.* 106 is more closely woven into the contexts.

τὸ δὲ κλέος . . . περάτων: περάτων is an unexpected word here, but readily intelligible: glory reaches to the *extreme limits* of the sky. The more conventional νεφέων might have been substituted for περάτων, the reverse substitution would be inexplicable. Plainly Planudes had the more authentic source, and it is logical to prefer his text in 4 εὐστοχίην and 6 τοῦκ σέθεν (neither reading is at all likely to be conjectural, for Planudes would have found no fault with εὐτυχίην and ἐκ σέθεν).

Ἀθήναις is a dative of advantage, and ἐστὶν . . . ἀπτόμενον = ἀπτεται (K.-G. 1.38-9); the phrase means 'For Athens, the glory that proceeds from you touches the limits of the sky.'

'Le dernier distique est particulièrement faible', said the Budé translator: and so it would be, if it had to be rendered 'la gloire appartient à Athènes, et, de toi, touche aux nuées célestes'.

## XLIII

Fictitious epitaph for Callimachus.

These undistinguished lines (unaccountably selected by Jacobs and Mackail for their Anthologies) are at least as likely to fall within as beyond the limits of the present collection.

Contrast the amusing epigram on Callimachus to which the lemmatist refers.

A.P. 7.41 (cum 7.42 cohaerens), Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPI] s.a.n. εἰς Καλλίμαχον [J] τὸν ποιητὴν ὃν ἔσκωπεν Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Ῥοδῖος ὁ γράψας τὰ Ἀργοναυτικά εἰπὼν· Καλλίμαχος τὸ κάθαρμα κτλ. (= A.P. 11.275)

ἄ μάκαρ, ἀμβροσίησι συνέστιε φίλτατε Μούσαις,  
χαῖρε καὶ εἶν Ἀίδεω δώμασι, Καλλίμαχε.

1245

1 & P: ὦ Pl ἀμβροσίη P

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

Jacobs\* *adesp.* dlxvi.

**1 [1244] ἀμβροσίησι:** the word is rare in the Hellenistic epigrammatists; only Dioscorides 7.31.6 = *HE* 1580, of nectar, Hedylus 6.292.4 = *HE* 1828, θάλος, of a girl, Moero 6.189.2 = *HE* 2680, of Nymphs.

**συνέστιε:** cf. Gallus 227 ὁ πρὶν μακάρεσσι συνέστιος.

**2 [1245]** From Hom. *Il.* 23.19 χαῖρέ μοι, ὦ Πάτροκλε, καὶ εἰν Ἀῖδαο δόμοισιν.

### XLIV

Praise of Nicander.

This epigram is the last of a group of three on the same subject; the other two (both anonymous) are in dactylic hexameters.

The phrasing is strong and ambitious; the contents do their subject much honour. The epigram may or may not be prefatory to an edition of Nicander (see anon. xxix Pref.). There is no clue to the date; the style proves a practised hand.

A.P. 9.213, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPI] s.a.n. [P] εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν [C] ὁμοίως

καὶ Κολοφῶν ἀρίδηλος ἐνὶ πτολίεσσι τέτυκται  
δοιοὺς θρεψαμένη παῖδας ἀριστονόους,  
πρωτότοκον μὲν Ὀμηρον, ἀτὰρ Νίκανδρον ἔπειτα,  
ἀμφοτέρους Μούσαις οὐρανίησι φίλους.

1249

**1** ἐνὶ πτολέμοισι P

Jacobs\* *adesp.* dlxvii.

**1 [1246] Κολοφῶν** see the Preface to Antipater of Thessalonica *A. Plan.* 296 = *PG* lxxii.

**πτολίεσσι** may well be Planudes' own conjecture; πτολέμοισι is obviously unacceptable.

**2 [1247] ἀριστονόους:** the lexica have no other example except *IG* v (2) 156 (Tegea, III-IV A.D.).

**3 [1248] πρωτότοκον:** not earlier than the Septuagint according to LSJ, but πρωτοτόκος is in Plato, Aristotle, and Theocritus.

### XLV

Fictitious epitaph for Meleager.

See *HE* 2.591ff. This epigram is one of five epitaphs for Meleager, the other four (= Meleager π-v in *HE*) being relatively long. Meleager himself is the author of these other four, and the Corrector may be right in ascribing this one also to him (the question was left open in *HE* 2.606). If it is not by Meleager, its date is indeterminable, but rather likelier to fall within than beyond the limits of the present collection.

A.P. 7.416 (caret Pl) [C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ Μελεάγρου [J] εἰς τὸν σοφὸν Μελεάγρον  
τὸν τοὺς στεφάνους ἐπιγραμμάτων πλέξαντα τὸν υἱὸν Εὐκράτεος τοῦ Γαδαρηνοῦ

Εὐκράτεω Μελεάγρον ἔχω, ξένε, τὸν σὺν Ἑρωτι  
καὶ Μούσαις κέρασανθ' ἡδυλόγους Χάριτας.

1250

**2** κέρασαντ' P

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

Jacobs\* *adesp.* dlxxiii.

**1-2 [1250-1]** There is no knowing whether the poet is repeating himself or somebody else is copying him: cf. Meleager 7.421.13-14 = *HE* 4020-1 Μούσαν Ἐρωτι | καὶ Χάριτας σοφίαν εἰς μίαν ἡρμόσας, and the phrasing is similar in 7.417.3-4 = 3986-7, 7.418.5-6 = 3998-9, and 7.419.3-4 = 4002-3 Ἐρωτα | καὶ Μούσας Ἰλαραῖς συστολίσας Χάρισιν. Εὐκράτew Μελέαγρος recurs in three of the other four epigrams, and ἡδυλόγους Χάριτας recalls Meleager 5.137.2 = *HE* 4229 ἀδυλόγου Χάριτος (the adjective in *HE* elsewhere only Nicarchus 7.159.2 = *HE* 2748, γλώσσης ἡδυλόγου σοφίῃ).

## OTHER EPIDEICTIC EPIGRAMS

### XLVI

Epitaph for Ariston, a poor man.

*Optimae notae epigramma*, as Jacobs said. The type is common in the Hellenistic period and remains popular in Philip's *Garland*. The context in *A.P.* offers no reliable indication of its source, and the date cannot be defined more closely than the period from Leonidas to Antiphras.

A.P. 7.546 [C] ἀδέσποτον, P<sup>B</sup> s.a.n. [J] εἰς Ἀρίστωνά πένητα χῆνας ἀγρεύοντα

εἶχε κορωνοβόλον πενίης λιμηρόν Ἀρίστων  
 ὄργανον, ὦι πτηνὰς ἠκροβόλιζε χένας  
 ἦκα παραστείων δολίην ὁδόν, οἷος ἐκεῖνος  
 ψεύσασθαι λοξοῖς ὁμμασι φερβομένας. 1255  
 5 νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν εἰν Ἀίδει, τὸ δέ οἱ βέλος ὀρφανὸν ἦχον  
 ἐκ χερὸς, ἡ δ' ἄγρη τύμβον ὑπερπέταται.

1 κόρων ὀβολὸν PPI 2 πταν- P<sup>ao</sup> χένας Scaliger: χίνας P, χῆνας P  
 3 -στίχων P ἐκεῖνος PPI<sup>pc</sup>: ἐκεῖνον P<sup>ao</sup> 5 ἦχον P: ἦχον P 6 ἐκ Page:  
 καὶ PPI -πέτεται P

Jacobs\* *adesp.* dclxvii.

**1 [1252] κορωνοβόλον**: the word (not found elsewhere) presumably means a sling for throwing stones at crows. Ariston is portrayed neither as farmer nor as fowler but simply as a pauper who catches geese and has no better instrument than a crow-sling to help him.

**λιμηρόν**: the adjective is rather loosely applied 'to states or occupations which threaten starvation', as Gow says on Theocr. 10.57. Cf. Antipater of Sidon 6.47.2 = *HE* 459 and anon. 6.48.2 = *HE* 3813 ἀνθεμα λιμηρῆς ἄρμενον ἐργασίης, 'an occupation which brings a starvation-wage', as also in Nicarchus 6.285.5-6 = *HE* 2741-2, κακῶν λιμηρὰ γυναικῶν | ἐργα, 'starvation-wage works of wretched women', and so here 'poverty's instrument associated with starvation'; Alciphron 1.9.1 τὸ μὲν γὰρ λεπτῶν κεμάτων ἀποδίδοσθαι καὶ ὠνεῖσθαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια λιμηρὰν φέρει τὴν παραμυθίαν, 'such comfort as starving men may feel'.

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**2 [1253] ἡκροβόλιζε:** cf. Hesych. ἡκροβολίζει· ἀκοντίζει; elsewhere only in prose and only middle -ίζομαι. ἡκροβολέω Meleager *A. Plan.* 213.2 = *HE* 4739, Zonas 6.106.4 = *PG* 3455.

**χένας:** χήν χένα as αὐχὴν αὐχένα. This extraordinary aberration is not evidence of a late date; the eloquent and learned Antiphilus has βοσὶν (βούς βοσὶν as πούς ποσὶν), 7.622.3 = *PG* 891.

**3-4 [1254-5] ἦκα παραστείχων:** Epic phrasing, Hom. *Od.* 20.301 ἦκα παρακλίνας. ἦκα is not found elsewhere in the Hellenistic epigrammatists.

**οἶος ... ψεύσασθαι:** the construction as in *LSJ* s.v. οἶος III 1 a, lit. 'the right sort of man to deceive them', even though they are on the alert, 'glancing sideways as they feed'.

The editors generally accept Scaliger's ἐκείνας, but this change has no clear advantage over the text, which means 'a fit man to deceive them, this fellow'.

**λοξοῖς ὄμμασι:** cf. Antipater of Thessalonica 7.531.6 = *PG* 206 λοξαῖς... κόραις, Damagetus *A. Plan.* 95.3-4 = *HE* 1433-4 ὄμμα βαλόντες | λοξόν.

**5-6 [1256-7] ὀρφανὸν ... χερός:** καὶ χερός PPI, but 'his missile is bereft of noise and hand' is a most disagreeable phrase, far below the level of this elegant composer.

**ὑπερπέταται:** this is the normal form in *A.P.* at all periods (see Sternbach *Appendix Barberino-Vaticana* p. 32), and there is no particular reason to prefer Planudes' spelling.

## XLVII

For Amyntichus, buried in the land on which he worked.

This and the next three epigrams are included here on their merits, though their context in *A.P.* is not in favour of a relatively early date for them. *A.P.* 7.321-43 are miscellaneous epigrams, all anonymous except 326, ascribed to Crates of Thebes, and 341, to Proclus. At least 14 of the 23 in this block come from periods far beyond the limits of the present collection, and there is a natural presumption that all of them are relatively late. On the other hand it must be said that 321, 329, and 336 are very like the work of certain authors in the *Garlands* and unlike those of the *Cycle* (329 and 336 have proparoxytone hexameter-ends, contrary to the rule in the *Cycle*); 323 and 324 (= xxvii above) would suit any period from the third century B.C. onwards.

The elegant style and vocabulary of the present epigram (which is highly praised by the Budé translator, and was included by Jacobs (*Delectus* viii 23) and Mackail in their Anthologies) point to the period of the *Garlands*. Stadtmüller suggested Leonidas as the author, but his parallels are even more than usually unconvincing.

The epigram might possibly be a real epitaph (= Peek 1583).

*A.P.* 7.321 [C] ἀδέσποτον, P1<sup>a</sup> s.a.n. [J] εἰς πρεσβύτην Ἀμύντιχον γεωργὸν ἢ φυτοκόμον

γαῖα φίλη, τὸν πρέσβυν Ἀμύντιχον ἔνθεο κόλποις  
πολλῶν μνησαμένη τῶν ἐπὶ σοὶ καμάτων·  
καὶ γὰρ αἶψά πρέμνον σοὶ ἀνεστήριξεν ἑλαίης,  
πολλάκι καὶ Βρομίου κλήμασιν ἡγλάισεν,

1260

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5 καὶ Δημοῦς ἐπλησε, καὶ ὕδατος αὐλάκακας ἔλκων  
 θῆκε μὲν εὐλάχανον, θῆκε δ' ὀπωροφόρον.  
 ἀνθ' ὧν σὺ πρηνεὶα κατὰ κροτάφων πολιοῖο  
 κείσο καὶ εἰαρινὰς ἀνθοκόμει βοτάνας. 1265

1 ἐνθετο Pac 3 πρέμνον C<sup>γ</sup>PI: πέπλον P ελαίνης Pac 7 κροτάφων  
 Page: -φου PPI

Jacobs\* *adesp.* dcl; Peek 1583.

1 [1258] Ἀμύντιχος: the name of a fisherman in Philip 6.38 = PG x and Macedonius Consul 6.30.

3 [1260] ἀεὶ ... ἐλαίης: there is no difficulty in the text of C and PI, in effect 'he never ceased to set up, to your advantage, the stock of the olive', i.e. he continually planted olives; nevertheless Kaibel's ἀείπρεμνον ἐλαίην is tempting.

Hecker thought that P's πέπλον concealed πέταλον, and conjectured ἀειπέταλον...ἐλαίην.

ἀναστρήζω here only; ἐνεστ- Scaliger, without need.

Mackail comments on πρέμνον: 'the olive was propagated from long pieces of the trunk sawn off and stuck in the ground, Latin *caudices*', and compares Virg. *Geo.* 2.30-1 *caudicibus sectis... | truditur e sicco radix oleagina ligno*; for the ancient literature on the subject see *RE* 17.2006.

On the corruption of σοῖ, see Herodicus 234 n.

4 [1261] ἡγλάισεν: *made it splendid*, the normal transitive sense; LSJ needlessly make a special category for PMG 851 (b) 1 σοὶ...μοῦσαν ἀγλαίζομεν ('we make our song splendid in your honour') and Theocritus 6.336.4 = *HE* 3395 Δελφίς ἐπεὶ πέτρα τοῦτό τοι ἀγλάισεν ('Delphi has made it splendid in your honour').

κλήμασί σ' ἡγλ. Toup, but the pronoun is better understood from σοι than repeated here.

6 [1263] εὐλάχανος and ὀπωροφόρος (-φορέω only Antiphrilos 6.252.6 = PG 796) here before the *Geoponica*.

7 [1264] κροτάφων: the plural is normal in all periods, and the singular, though it appears once in an Hellenistic epigram (Antipater of Sidon 6.276.2 = *HE* 511) would be unnatural here; no doubt κροτάφων was assimilated to πολιοῖο under the easy but mistaken impression that the latter was its adjective.

8 [1265] ἀνθοκόμει βοτάνας: the verb, which occurs here only, should mean *tend flowers*, as φυτηκομεῖν means *tend plants*, and one would not expect it to govern an accusative beyond the one latent in ἀνθο-. There is not, however, any obscurity in the phrase. Antiphrilos uses a further accusative with a -κομεῖν verb much more boldly; see the note on *A. Plan.* 147.6 = PG 1092 νυμφοκομεῖ τὸ γέρας.

## XLVIII

On a field which passes through many hands.

The ascription to Lucian in Planudes is probably due to the name 'Menippus' in the first line, possibly combined with somebody's memory of Lucian *Nigrinus* 26 τοῦτων μὲν φύσει οὐδενὸς ἔσμεν κύριοι... παραλαβὼν ἄλλος

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

ἀπολαύει. Cf. Hor. *serm.* 2.2.133 *nunc ager Umbreni sub nomine, nuper Ofelli | dictus, erit nulli proprius, sed cedit in usum | nunc mihi, nunc alii*. The likeliest period for a composition on this subject in this style is that covered by the *Garland* of Philip and the context in *A.P.*, where Antiphilus precedes and Euenus and Antipater follow, is consistent with this conclusion.

A.P. 9.74 [C] ἀδέσποτον, [P<sup>A</sup>] Λουκιανοῦ [J] εἰς τινα ἀγρὸν Ἀχαιμενίδου  
ἀπ' ἄλλου εἰς ἄλλον μετερχόμενον

ἀγρὸς Ἀχαιμενίδου γενόμεν ποτέ, νῦν δὲ Μενίππου,  
καὶ πάλιν ἐξ ἑτέρου βήσομαι εἰς ἕτερον ·  
καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἔχειν με τότε ὤιετο, καὶ πάλιν οὗτος  
οἶεται · εἰμὶ δ' ὅλως οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ Τύχης. 1269

3 τότε Stadt Müller: ποτ' PPI

Jacobs\* *adesp.* cdx.

1 [1266] Ἀχαιμενίδου: an extraordinary choice of name; it belongs to Persian royalty, and we should expect a Greek name here. Mackail (ix 32) says that the two names here distinguish rich from poor, but that would be irrelevant to the point of the epigram.

## XLIX

Epitaph for a poor and old man who went to a grave and died there.

For the context, see XLVII Pref. This epigram would be at home in the *Garland* of Philip; it may be a little earlier but is surely not later. There is no close parallel to the theme, but it is a species of a quite common genus; the phrasing is worthy of Antiphilus.

The man (who is not named; an uncommon omission in this type of epigram) went to his death deliberately; there was no one to help him (2), so he walked to a place of burial (3), and died there (4); *in fossam sepulchri, in quam vivus descenderat, animam reddidit*, Jacobs.

A.P. 7.336, P<sup>A</sup> [PPI] s.a.n. [J] εἰς τινα γέροντα διὰ πενίαν ζῶν ἐν τάφῳ  
τεθέντα ὥ τῆς ἀπανθρωπίας [PI] ἐπὶ τῷ ἑαυτὸν θάψαντι πρὸ τελευτῆς

γῆραί καὶ πενίῃ τετρυμένος, οὐδ' ὀρέγοντος 1270  
οὐδενός ἀνθρώπου δυστυχίης ἔρανον,  
τοῖς τρομεροῖς κῶλοισιν ὑπήλυθον ἡρέμα τύμβον,  
εὐρών οἰζυροῦ τέρμα μόλις βιότου.

5 ἡλλάχθη δ' ἐπ' ἐμοὶ νεκύων νόμος· οὐ γὰρ ἔθνησκον  
πρῶτον ἔπειτ' ἐτάφην, ἀλλὰ ταφεὶς ἔθανον. 1275

1 τετρυμένος P 4 εὐρών οἰζυροῦ Jacobs: εὐρον οἰζυροῦ PPI 6 ἐτάφην  
C<sup>7P</sup> PI: ἔπαφον P, ἔθαπτον C

Jacobs\* *adesp.* dclxxix.

1 [1270] The phrasing resembles Adaeus 6.228.1 = PG 1 αὐλακὶ καὶ  
γῆραι τετρυμένον.

οὐδ': οὐκ Meineke, without need.

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**2 [1271] δυστυχίης ἔρανον:** the genitive is used to match the implication ('relief') rather than the meaning of ἔρανον (*loan, contribution*). The word ἔρανος is not found in the Hellenistic epigrammatists.

**4 [1273] εὐρών:** better than Jacobs' other conjecture, εὐρον δ' οἰζυροῦ. Waltz, followed by Beckby, starts a new sentence with εὐρον οἰζυροῦ, with a comma after βίοντον; a much inferior result.

**5 [1274]** The phrasing recalls Apollonides 7.180.1 = *PG* 1143 ἡλλάχθη θανάτοιο τεὸς μόρος.

**6 [1275] ταφείς ἔθανον:** *cf.* Antiphilus 9.14.7 = *PG* 971 εἶλε δ' ἀλούς, Isidorus 9.94.5 = *PG* 3907 ἀγρευθεὶς ἤγρευσεν.

### L

On twins who died on the same day.

For the context, see XLVII Pref. This epigram may be inscriptional (= Peek 1716); whether it is or not, its date is indeterminable.

A.P. 7.323 [C] ἀδέσποτον, Pl<sup>B</sup> s.a.n. [J] εἰς δύο ἀδελφούς ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ τελευτήσαντας

εἰς δὺ' ἀδελφείους ἐπέχει τάφος· ἐν γὰρ ἐπέσπον  
ἡμαρ καὶ γενεῆς οἱ δύο καὶ θανάτου.

1277

1 εἰς P: Δις Pl ἐπέσπον Stadtmüller: ἐπέσχον CPI: ἑπασχον ?P  
Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* dclvii; Peek 1716.

**1 [1276] ἐπέσπον:** as in Hom. *Il.* 7.52 πότμον ἐπισπεῖν, 19.294 ὀλέθριον ἡμαρ ἐπέσπον. This is a certain correction; nobody can make sense of ἐπέσχον in this context. Paton, the Budé, and Beckby ignore the verb and paraphrase loosely.

**2 [1277] γενεῆς:** *birth*, a most unusual sense; there is no parallel except the distant one of ἐκ γενεῆς and ἀπὸ γενεᾶς, *from the time of birth*, in Hdt. 3.33 and Xen. *Cyr* 1.2.8. Brunck's γενετῆς (compare the tradition in Hdt. 4.23.2) is no improvement.

### L I

Epitaph for Myrtas, a bibulous woman buried under a wine-cask.

For the context see XLVII Pref. This epigram was assigned to the *Cycle* by Dilthey, but the proparoxytone ending to the second hexameter makes this very improbable (see *Rufinus* p. 28). The style, and especially the subject-matter, *anus vinoso*, suggest the period from Leonidas to Philip. Compare Leonidas 7.455 = *HE* lxviii and Antipater of Sidon 7.353 = *HE* xxvii (a wine-cup carved on the tomb of Maronis), Dioscorides 7.456 = *HE* xxix (Silenis buried near the wine-vats), Ariston 7.457 = *HE* ii (Ampelis drowned in a wine-vat); for other variations on the theme, Argentarius 7.384 = *PG* xxxi and Antipater of Thessalonica 6.291 = *PG* ci. The subject was long popular in Comedy, Mime, and art. The heyday of its popularity in the epigram is 250 to 150 B.C., and the present lines may come from that period or from the period of Philip's authors.

A.P. 7.329 [C] ἀδέσποτον, Pl<sup>A</sup> ἄδηλον [J] εἰς Μυρτάδα τὴν μέθυσον ἐν πίθῳ ταφείσαν

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Μυρτάδα τὴν ἱεραῖς με Διωνύσου παρὰ ληνοῖς  
 ἄφθονον ἀκρήτου σπασσαμένην κύλικα  
 οὐ κεύθει φθιμένην βαιὴ κόνις, ἀλλὰ πίθος μοι, 1280  
 σύμβολον εὐφροσύνης, τερπνὸς ἔπεστι τάφος.

1 Μορτάδα P1 2 σπασά- P κύλικος P1 3 μοι GPI: με P  
 Jacobs\* *adesp.* dclxviii; Hecker 1852.14.

**1-2 [1278-9] Μυρτάδα:** this unique name is not so transparent as Μαρωνίς, Ἀμπελίς, Σιληνίς, and Βακχυλίς in the parallel epigrams cited above; in that respect Ἀριστομάχη in Argentarius resembles it. The connection generally made with the myrtle-branch carried by singers at symposia seems far-fetched.

**Διωνύσου παρὰ ληνοῖς...κύλικα:** cf. Ariston *loc. cit.* 3-4 Βάκχοιο...ἀπὸ ληνοῦ | ...πλησασμένη κύλικα; *ex ipso torculari mustum petebat*, Jacobs.

**σπασσαμένην:** to *snatch* a drink is to gulp it, to drink greedily; E. *Cycl.* 417 ἔσπασεν ἄμυστιν ἑλκύσας, 571 (τὸ πῶμα) σπῶντα, Alexis *fr.* 5.1 μεστήν ἀκράτου Θηρίκλειον ἔσπασεν.

**3-4 [1280-1] βαιή:** this adjective seems pointless, but the phrasing is not improved by γαίης κόνις (Polak).

**πίθος...εὐφροσύνης:** it looks as though this epigram, and especially this part of it, was in the mind of Macedonius Consul, 11.63.3-4 ἐμοὶ κρητὴρ μὲν ξοὶ δέπας, ἄγχι δὲ ληνός | ἀντὶ πίθου, λιπαρῆς ἔνδιον εὐφροσύνης.

**πίθος...ἔπεστι τάφος:** the meaning is not, as the lemmatist says, that she was buried in a πίθος, but that she had a πίθος for tombstone; *sub dolio sepulta*, Jacobs.

## LII

On the tomb of a shipwrecked man.

The context of this epigram in *A.P.* is indecisive. The plain and good style point to the period of Philip's *Garland* at latest. Cf. 'Plato' xx.

*A.P.* 7.350, P1<sup>B</sup> [PPI] s.a.n. [J] ἄδηλον ἐπὶ τίνι

ναυτίλε, μὴ πεύθου τίνος ἐνθάδε τύμβος ὅδ' εἰμί,  
 ἀλλ' αὐτὸς πόντου τύγχανε χρηστοτέρου. 1283

1 ὠνθάδε P1<sup>o</sup>  
 Jacobs\* *adesp.* dclxxii.

**1-2 [1282-3]** The implication is that this is the unadorned burial-place of an unidentified corpse brought ashore by the sea.

## LIII

On the tomb of a shipwrecked man.

An original variation on a common theme. The epigram is surrounded in *A.P.* by numerous *Garland*-authors and their contemporaries; if this author does not belong to that company, he is the odd man out in a large gathering. There is nothing in the style or vocabulary to suggest a later date.

*A.P.* 7.279 [C] ἄδηλον, P1<sup>A</sup> ἀδέσποτον [C] ὁμοίως [J] εἰς ναυηγὸν ἀνώνυμον



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παῦσαι νηὸς ἔρετμὰ καὶ ἔμβολα τῶιδ' ἐπὶ τύμβωι  
αἰὲν ἐπὶ ψυχρῇ ζωγραφέων σποδιῇ. 1285  
ναυηγοῦ τὸ μνήμα. τί τῆς ἐν κύμασι λώβης  
αὐθις ἀναμνηῖσαι τὸν κατὰ γῆς ἐθέλεις;

3 ναυηγοῖο Pl ἐνὶ Pl  
Jacobs\* *adesp.* dclxx; Hecker 1852.97.

**1-2 [1284-5]** The phrasing is unsatisfactory:

(a) αἰὲν is almost if not quite meaningless. ἃ ξέν' (Hecker *loc. cit.*) will not do; ὧ ξένη is conventionally said to the passer-by, not to the stonemason. αἰαῖ (Jacobs) is both literally and metaphorically out of place.

(b) The repetition ἐπὶ τύμβωι...ἐπὶ σποδιῇ within the same clause is unstylish. αἰὲν ἔτι Waltz ('encore et toujours'), accepted by Beckby ('stets...noch'), makes matters worse. αἰὲν is bad, but αἰὲν ἔτι is intolerable. αἰὲν might be acceptable if the reference were to sailors' tombs in general, but the tomb in this sentence is a particular one, τῶιδ' ἐπὶ τύμβωι.

Either αἰὲν (ἐπὶ) is corrupt, or it will be necessary to diagnose incompetence in the writer.

**3 [1286] ἐν:** Sternbach, *Appendix Barberino-Vaticana* 101ff., discusses at prodigious length the choice between ἐν and ἐνὶ in this position, having collected all examples of it from Homer to Nonnus. He makes a good case for the rule that ἐν is preferred whenever it precedes all that it governs, but ἐνὶ whenever it is preceded by the whole or part of what it governs, as in anastrophe or where ἐνὶ stands between adjective and noun governed by it. So ἐν here, not ἐνὶ.

**4 [1287] αὐθις:** αὐτῆς Brunck; in *HE*, P has eight examples of αὐθις, none of αὐτῆς. Pl's testimony is available in only three of these eight places; in two of them it has αὐτῆς where P has αὐθις.

## LIV

For Theogenes, drowned when his ship was sunk by cranes.

This interesting epigram precedes xxiv in *A.P.* in a context generally of *Garland*-authors; subject and style point to a date not later than Philip.

The epigram, whether written as a literary exercise or not, presumably reflects actual experience of an event of the type described by Pliny *h.n.* 10.65: quails often upset ships by flying in vast numbers into their sails, *coturnices...advolant...non sine periculo navigantium cum adpropinquavere terris: quippe velis saepe insidunt, et hoc semper noctu, merguntque navigia*; cf. 32.6 *Trebius Niger...lorigines evolare ex aqua tradit tanta multitudine ut navigia demergant.*

κεῖνο in v. 4 implies a particular occasion and supports the opinion that the epigram reports an actual experience.

A.P. 7.543, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPI] ἀδέσποτον [J] εἰς Θεογένην ναυαγὸν ἐν τῶι Λιβυκῶι  
πελάγει ναυαγήσαντα

πάντα τις ἀρήσαιο φυγεῖν πλόον, ὅππότε καὶ σύ,  
Θεύγενης, ἐν Λιβυκῶι τύμβον ἔθει πελάγει,

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ἡνίκα σοι κεκμηὸς ἐπέπτατο φορτίδι νηί  
οὔλον ἀνηρίθμων κείνο νέφος γεράνων.

1290

1 ἀρνήσαιο P

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* dclxxi.

1 [1288] The phrasing resembles Antipater of Thessalonica 7.639.5 = *PG* 395 νόστιμον εὐπλοῖην ἀρῶιτό τις.

ὁπότε: for the use, *in view of the fact that*, see the note on Antiphilus 7.176.5 = *PG* 939.

3 [1290] *κεκμηὸς*: a picturesque touch; the cranes were tired.

4 [1291] *οὔλον... νέφος γεράνων*: the phrasing recalls especially Hom. *Il.* 17.755–6 ψαρῶν νέφος... | οὔλον κεκλήγοντες; cf. also Ar. *Av.* 578 στρουθῶν νέφος, Antipater of Sidon 7.745.3 = *HE* 288 γεράνων νέφος, 7.172.4 = *HE* 315 πτανῶν νέφος.

## LV

On the tomb of an old man.

This epigram appears within a long sequence from Meleager's *Garland* (*A.P.* 7.707–40) and presumably comes from that source. It was deliberately omitted from *HE* (see 2.560).

It is most unusual for P to present a text so severely corrupt as in the first of these couplets; the state of chaos can neither be explained nor remedied.

If the first line began ὦ ξέν', then the beginning of the second couplet would prove that the epigram was in dialogue-form. It is taken to be inscriptional by Hecker (1843.300) and by Peek (1848); if it is, the fact would not explain the corruption; epigrams in the *Garland* come from published books, not from the stones.

A.P. 7.734 (caret Pl) [C] ἀδηλον [J] εἰς πρεσβύτου τινὸς τάφον ἀνώνυμον

† ἡ ξεν ὁ λατι τυτεῖ δεστί· γὰρ νέκυς ὦι ποτὶ παίδων

τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἢ δ' ἦν ἀρχιγέρων ὁ γέρων.†

ἀλλὰ, φίλος γ' ὦ πρέσβυ, γένοιτό τευ δλβια τέκνα

ἐλθεῖν καὶ λευκῆς ἐς δρόμον ἡλικίης.

1295

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *paralipomena* 1.40; Hecker 1852.339; Peek 1848.

1–2 [1292–3] There is general agreement

(a) that ξεν ολατι stands for ξέν' ὀδίτα: it seems indeed probable that ξέν' is correct, but ὀδίτα (normally an alternative to ξένε, not a companion to it) is not a likely change.

(b) That ἀρχιγέρων is, or conceals (\*Ἀρχις ἐγών Peek), a proper-name: but there never was a name Ἀρχιγέρων; if one is concealed, Ἀρχιγένης is quite likely.

For the rest, nothing but arbitrary rewriting is feasible, and as the general sense will depend upon the restorations it is unprofitable to spend further time on these lines. The conjectures in Stadtmüller's note contain nothing worth repeating; the only one of them which has had some lasting popularity is Jacobs' drastic rewriting of the beginning, μὴ, ξέν' ὀδίτα, σπεῦθε· τί γάρ; In 2 ἡ δ' ἦν has been altered to πόλλ' ἦν (Waltz), τὺ τίς; ἦν (Beckby), and τὰ φίλ' ἦν (Peek).

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**3 [1294]** τευ: τοι Reiske.

**4 [1295]** δρόμον: an unusual word in such contexts, but the meaning is clear; some very bad conjectures may be found in Stadtmüller's note.

### LVI

On the death of one of three girls who drew lots to see who should be the first to die.

An improbable anecdote of a type attested as early as Leonidas (7.504 = *HE* lxvi) and especially common in Philip's *Garland*. The style is plainer than usual. The context in *A.P.* is uninformative; style and subject point to the period covered by Philip's *Garland* or perhaps a little earlier.

*A.P.* 9.158 [C] ἀδέσποτον, Pl<sup>a</sup> ἀδηλον [C] εἰς κόρας τρεῖς κλήρωι λαχούσας ποία πρώτη τεθνήσκειται

αἱ τρισσαί ποτε παῖδες ἐν ἀλλήλαισιν ἔπαιζον  
κλήρωι, τίς προτέρη βήσεται εἰς Ἀίδην·  
καὶ τρεῖς μὲν χειρῶν ἔβαλον κύβον, ἦλθε δὲ πασῶν  
ἐς μίαν, ἥ δ' ἐγέλα κλῆρον ὀφειλόμενον.  
5 ἔκ τέγεος δ' ἄρ' ἀελπτον ἔπειτ' ὥλισθε πέσημα 1300  
δύσμορος, ἐς δ' Ἀίδην ἤλυθεν ὡς ἔλαχεν.  
ἀψευδὴς ὁ κλῆρος ὅτῳ κακόν, ἐς δὲ τὸ λῶιον  
οὐτ' εὐχαὶ θνητοῖς εὖστοχοι οὔτε χέρες.

1 ἀλλήλαισιν Brunck: -λοισιν P, -ληισιν Pl 3 τρεῖς Lascaris: τρεῖς PPl  
χειρῶν Cyn<sup>o</sup> Pl: χρεῖων P πασέων Pl 4 ἀγέλα P 5 δ' ἄρ' Pl: γὰρ P  
ἔπειτ' ὥλισθε Hecker: εἰ πῶλισθε C, αἱ τῶλισθε P ut vid., ἀπωλίσθησε Pl 6  
δ' Ἀίδην P: Ἀίδην δ' Pl ἤλυθον C

Jacobs' *adesp.* cdlxiii; Hecker 1843.315.

**1 [1296]** αἱ: Dübner inferred from the definite article that specific persons are referred to, and suggested that a work of art is being described; later editors have agreed, but it seems improbable that the story told here was ever represented in a painting (let alone any other medium).

**3-4 [1298-9]** ἦλθε ... μίαν: *omnium iactus unam eandemque designabant*, Jacobs; an odd thing to say, and an odd way of saying it: when all had thrown, the result pointed to one of them as winner (or loser).

**5 [1300]** ἔπειτ' ὥλισθε: the text remains uncertain, but Hecker's conjecture, approved by Dübner and Paton, should be preferred to Planudes, approved by Jacobs, Waltz, and Beckby; the aorist-form ὥλισθησα is easily emendable in Nicander *fr.* 74.51, and is elsewhere relatively late in verse (pseudo-Demodocus *fr.* 5.6 Bergk, [Opp.] *Cyn.* 4.451, anon. *A.P.* 9.125.4; it is very rare in prose; Strabo 3 p. 476 Kramer).

**8 [1303]** χέρες: *ad talorum iactum referendum*, Jacobs.

# ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

## LVII

Stepmothers dangerous even after death.

The heading in Planudes has been generally rejected; the epigram, clear in thought and plain in style, seems unlike, and below the level of, Callimachus.

The context in *A.P.* offers no clue to the source; the period of Philip's *Garland* is likelier than others for an epigram in this style describing an extraordinary occurrence and ending with a moral.

A.P. 9.67 [C] ἀδέσποτον, Π<sup>1</sup> Καλλιμάχου [J] εἰς τάφον μητρο(ι)ᾶς ὃν ὁ πρόγονος στέφων ( ) συμπεσοῦσα τοῦτον ἀπέκτεινεν

στήλην μητριῆς, μικρὰν λίθον, ἔστεφε κοῦρος,  
ὥς βίον ἡλλάχθαι, καὶ τρόπον οἰόμενος. 1305  
ἡ δὲ τάφῳ κλινθέντα κατέκτανε παῖδα πεσοῦσα.  
φεύγετε μητριῆς καὶ τάφον οἱ πρόγονοι.

3 κλινθέντα Τουρ: κλινθεῖσα P<sup>1</sup> 4 φεύγε P<sup>ac</sup>  
Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* cdxxxii.

1 [1304] μικρὰν: this seems odd, and μακρὰν (Blomfield), μιᾶν (Bentley), or πικρὰν (Stadtmüller) may appear more attractive at first sight. Jacobs, however, shrewdly observed of Bentley's conjecture *si μιᾶν scripsisset, historiae catastrophæ parum apte in primo versu prodidisset*; and the truth may be as the Budé translator has it, 'c'est précisément parce que la stèle était de dimensions modestes qu'il semblait qu'on ne put rien redoubter d'elle. Pourtant sa chute suffit à écraser le jeune garçon'.

2 [1305] 'Thinking that in changing life for death she had changed her character' (Paton) gives the sense; the construction is οἰόμενος ἡλλάχθαι, ὥς τὸν βίον, οὕτω καὶ τὸν τρόπον.

3 [1306] κλινθέντα: it is obviously the boy, not the *stèle*, who is *bending* over the tomb; the corruption was very easy after ἡ δέ...

[If ἔστεφε in v. 1 means 'garlanded', in what activity was the child engaged when *bending over* the tomb in v. 3? The child's bending could be explained on the assumption that he was pouring a libation to the dead through the so-called 'cup-stone' ('Schalenstein') for the purpose of providing a *refrigerium* for the dead – so Dr Marc Waelkens has suggested in a letter to R.D.D. accompanied by a very copious bibliography on the practice and the physical evidence for it. Since the poet has otherwise provided no bridge between ἔστεφε and κλινθέντα, it would be tempting to take ἔστεφε not as 'garlanded' but as 'honoured with libations' – see LSJ *s.v.* π 3. There remains however some difficulty in στήλη, if the poet is being precise in his terminology, since the cup-stone would rather be in the τάφος than the στήλη. – R.D.D.]

## LVIII

On a ship destroyed by the sea before launching.

A popular subject; see the Preface to Bianor 11.248 = *PG* xx, and *cf.* Antiphilus 9.35 = *PG* 1, Cyllenius 11. The style is unmistakably Alexandrian, probably of the period from Antipater of Sidon to Antiphilus.

# ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

A.P. 9.32 [C] ἄδηλον, Pl<sup>A</sup> ἀδέσποτον [J] εἰς ναῦν ἄρτι κατασκευασθεῖσαν  
 ἦν ἐκ τῶν αἰγιαλῶν ἤρπασε θάλασσα μήπω τῆς κατασκευῆς δεξαμένην τὸ  
 τέλος

ἀρτιπαγῇ ῥοθίαισιν ἐπὶ κροκάλαισί με νῆα  
 καὶ μήπω χαροποῦ κύματος ἀψαμέναν  
 οὐδ' ἀνέμεινε θάλασσα, τὸ δ' ἄγριον ἐπλήμυρεν 1310  
 χεῦμα, καὶ ἐκ σταθερῶν ἤρπασεν ἡϊόνων  
 5 ὀλκάδα τὰν δειλαίων αἰεὶ κλόνος. ἦ τά γε πόντου  
 χεῦματα κῆν χέρσῳ λοίγια κῆν πελάγει.

1 ῥοθίαισιν Pl 2 ἀψαμένην Pl 3 ἐπλήμυρε Pl 5 τὰν δειλαίων  
 Hermann: τὰν δειλαίαν P, τῇ δειλαίῳ Pl ἦ P: ἦι Pl τὰ γε Page: γε  
 τὰ PPl

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* cdxxxiv; Hecker 1843.52.

**1 [1308] ἀρτιπαγῇ:** a rare compound; of στάλικες Theocritus 9.338.2 =  
 HE 3468, of ἀλίτυρος Philodemus 9.412.3 = PG 3282.

**ῥοθίαισιν:** *rushing* beaches are beaches on which the waves rush. The adjective  
 is used of rapid and especially of tumultuous motion; in HE, only Antipater of  
 Sidon 10.2.1 = 438 ῥοθίῃ νηί, Leonidas P. Oxy 662.4 = 2280 ῥοθίους...  
 πόδας.

**κροκάλαισι:** plural as usual in the epigrammatists, Euphorion 7.651.4 =  
 HE 1808, Phanias 6.299.8 = HE 3001, Theodoridas 7.479.3 = HE 3572,  
 Diocles 6.186.3 = PG 2086; singular probably in Laureia 7.294.4 = PG 3920.

**2 [1309] χαροποῦ κύματος:** a common formula illustrated in the note on  
 Meleager 5.154.1 = HE 4314.

**3 [1310] χεῦμα:** as χεῦματα appears in 6, Stadtmüller suggested ῥεῦμα  
 here to avoid the repetition, comparing Antiphilus 9.73.2 = PG 810, ῥεύμασιν  
 followed by χεῦμα. The conjecture is attractive.

**4 [1311] σταθερῶν:** the word not in HE, in PG only substantival, *firm*  
*ground*, Diocles 7.393.6 = 2083, Antiphilus 10.17.2 = 850.

**5 [1312] τὰν δειλαίων:** this seems a better correction than τὰν δειλὰν αἰεὶ  
 (Hecker) or δειλαίαν αἰεὶ, omitting τὰν (Jacobs). The run of 3–4 leads one to  
 expect that καὶ will join ἐπλήμυρεν and ἤρπασεν, with a pause after ἡϊόνων;  
 hence such conjectures as ὀλκάδα δειλαίαν τ' ἀνάγει (Luck), and in favour of  
 this approach it may be added that αἰεὶ (which must qualify δειλαίον) is not  
 very suitable to the context. The fact remains, however, that there is no certain  
 fault in the text after δειλαίαν has been corrected to δειλαίον. [ὀλκάδα τ'  
 εἰναλίαν ἀνάγει κλόνος? – R.D.D.]

**κλόνος:** Homeric, thereafter rare and almost always used with reference to  
 warfare, as in the only example in HE, Mnasalces 6.9.3 = 2609. The metaphori-  
 cal sense here has a parallel in Ar. *Nub.* 387, (γαστέρος) κλόνος; cf. Theon  
 Alex. 9.41.3.

**ἦ:** all the editors accept ἦι from Planudes, but convention calls for a *sententia*  
 here, of the type often introduced by

(α) ἦ ῥα: Alcaeus A. *Plan.* 196.5 = HE 126, Carphylides 9.52.5 = HE 1361,  
 Diotimus A. *Plan.* 158.3 = HE 1767, Leonidas 7.13.3 = HE 2565, Meleager

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5.149.3 = *HE* 4164, Antipater of Thessalonica 9.421.5 and 9.417.5 = *PG* 235 and 463, Antiphilus 9.156.5 = *PG* 1001, Bianor 9.308.5 = *PG* 1729, Diodorus 7.701.5 = *PG* 2158, Secundus 9.301.5 = *PG* 3394, Archias 9.343.5 = *PG* 3742; or

(b) ἡ γάρ: Zenodotus 7.315.5 = *HE* 3644, Meleager 12.54.3 = *HE* 4440, Antipater of Thessalonica 9.3.5 = *PG* 673, Argentarius 5.105.3 = *PG* 1331, Bassus 9.236.5 = *PG* 1615, Archias 10.8.7 = *PG* 3764; or

(c) ἀρα alone: Antipater of Thessalonica 9.309.3 = *PG* 421, 9.76.5 = 519, 7.168.5 = 651, Antiphilus 9.310.6 = *PG* 1042; or

(d) ἡ alone: Callimachus 7.522.3 = *HE* 1229, Meleager 12.109.3 = *HE* 4310, Argentarius 5.113.5 = *PG* 1343, and probably Crinagoras 6.244.6 = *PG* 1834.

τά γε: this change is necessary if P's ἡ is accepted; it is strongly supported by Antipater of Thessalonica 7.639.5-6 = *PG* 395-6 ὡς τά γε πόντου | πόντος.

**6 [1313] λοίγια:** Homeric, and rare thereafter; not in *HE*.

## LIX

On a ship made of timber felled by the wind.

The theme recurs in Bassus 9.30 = *PG* xi, Zelotus 1, anon. 9.105 and 376. The epigram is neatly and tersely phrased; the vocabulary in the first line is ambitious; most probably of the period covered by Philip's *Garland*.

A.P. 9.131 [C] ἀδελον, P1<sup>a</sup> ἀδέσποτον [J] εἰς πεύκην ὑπὸ ἀνέμου κλασθεῖσαν  
ἐν ὄρεσιν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ναῦν γεγонуῖαν

οὔρεσιν ἐν δολιχοῖς βλωθρὴν πίτυν ὑέτιός με  
πρόρριζον γαίης ἐξεκύλισε νότος ·  
ἐνθεν ναῦς γενόμην, ἀνέμοις πάλιν ὄφρα μάχωμαι ·  
ὠνθρωποι τόλμης οὔποτε φειδόμενοι.

1315

2 -κύλισσε P 4 ὠνθρωποι Stadtmüller: ἀνθ- PPI  
Jacobs<sup>a</sup> adesp. ccclxxxiv.

**1 [1314] οὔρεσιν ἐν δολιχοῖς:** no editor comments on this, but Stadtmüller shows himself aware of its oddness by conjecturing ἐν δρυόχοις or ξυλόχοις. *Long mountains* is a strange expression in Greek, and the epithet has no relevance here. Paton translates 'mountain ridge', the Budé 'montagnes aux longues chaînes'.

**βλωθρή:** a word of uncertain origin and meaning, nearly extinct already in the Homeric Epic (*Il.* 13.390 and 16.483 πίτυς βλωθρή, *Od.* 24.234 βλωθρὴν δγχνην); for its rare appearances thereafter see the note on Erucius 7.174.1-2 = *PG* 2238-9, and add Opp. *Hal.* 4.293. Cf. Hesych. s.v. βλωθρή· εὐανξής.

**ὑέτιος:** cf. Perses 7.539.1-2 = *HE* 2895-6 ὑέτιοιο | Ἀρκτούρου, Antipater of Thessalonica 7.398.6 = *PG* 428 ἀτραπὸν ὑετίν.

**2 [1315]** The phrasing resembles, but is more ambitious than, Zelotus 9.31.2, ἐξ ὀρέων ῥίζαν ἔλυσε νότος.

# ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

## LX

On the same theme.

A.P. 9.105, Pl<sup>A</sup> [CPI] ἀδέσποτον [J] εἰς πῖτον κλασθεῖσαν ὑπ' ἀνέμων ἐν  
δρεσι, μέλλουσιν δὲ κατασκευάζεσθαι ναῦν

ἐκλάσθην ἀνέμοισι πῖτυς· τί με τεύχετε νῆα,  
ναυηγῶν ἀνέμων χερσὸθι γευσαμέναν;

1319

2 γευσαμένην Pl

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* ccclxxxiii.

**2 [1319] ναυηγῶν:** there seems to be no parallel to the use of this word in the sense which is to be expected of it, *ship-wrecking*, as *navifragus* in Virg. *Aen.* 3.553, Ovid *met.* 14.6, Stat. *Theb.* 5.415; the irrational use as *shipwrecked* is the norm. It is regularly used as a substantive; adjectival as here also Dioscorides 7.76.6 = *HE* 1676, Antiphanes 9.84.5 = *PG* 733.

## LXI (a) and (b)

On a champion race-horse, turning a millstone in old age.

These two epigrams are closely related to each other and to Archias 9.19 = *PG* xix; see the Preface there. All three are probably literary exercises, not descriptions of real horses.

The source for epigrams in this style and on this sort of topic is almost certainly either the *Cycle* of Agathias or one of the two *Garlands*, and there is a particular reason for preferring the latter: they appear within the long miscellaneous collection which opens *A.P.* 9, and the first 114 epigrams of that miscellany include not a single one from the *Cycle*; the great majority come from *Garland*-authors or their contemporaries, and there are only three which are certainly later than the first century A.D. One of the *Garlands*, probably Philip's, is therefore the likelier source for these two; and the occurrence of a proparoxytone hexameter-end in (b) is a further argument against the *Cycle*.

Both epigrams display an ambitious style with elaborate vocabulary.

The ascription of *A.P.* 9.20 to 'Leonteus' by Planudes is inscrutable. The name is rare, and no epigrammatist so called is known. Reiske conjectured Λεοντίου (one of the *Cycle*-poets), Ilgen Λεωνίδου; but Λεοντέως is not easily understood as the product of error or of fancy, and it may be that Planudes has, after all, preserved the truth. If there were any sort of heading in P, one would hesitate to reject it in favour of Planudes; but there is not.

(a) A.P. 9.20 s.a.n., Pl<sup>A</sup> Λεοντέως [J] ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀλφειῷ ἡγωνίζοντο καὶ ἐν  
τῇ Νεμέῃ καὶ παρὰ Κασταλίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ καὶ ἐν Πυθοὶ καὶ ἐν Πίσαι  
καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πολυθρόλλητα Ὀλύμπια οἱ πωλοδάμναι [C] εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ὁμοίως

ὁ πρὶν ἐπ' Ἀλφειῷ στεφανηφόρος, ὦνερ, ὁ τὸ πρὶν 1320  
δισσάκι κηρυχθεὶς Κασταλίνης παρ' ὕδωρ,  
ὁ πρὶν ἐγὼ Νεμέῃ βεβοημένος, ὁ πρὶν ἐπ' Ἰσθμῷ

# ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

πῶλος, ὃ πρὶν πτηνοῖς ἴσα δραμῶν ἀνέμοις,  
 5 νῦν, ὅτε γηραιός, γυρόδρομον ἡνίδε πέτρον  
 δινεύω, στεφέων ὕβρις, ἐλαυνόμενος. 1325

1 ὃ τὸ πρὶν Pl et manus recentior in P: ὃ πρὶν δίσσ P 5 πέτρην Pl 6  
 στεφάνων ὕβριν Pl

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> 8.265 (= Archias xxv).

**2 [1321] διισάκι:** neither of the other horses (in 9.19 and 20) asserts two victories in one place, a feat accomplished by Pheidolas' horse Lycus (anon. xcvi Pref.) and by Hieron's Pherenikos.

**3 [1322] βεβοημένος:** equivalent to κηρυχθεῖς, 'proclaimed (victor)'.

**4 [1323]** Jacobs quoted Hes. *Theog.* 268, αἱ δ' ἀνέμων πνοιῆσι καὶ οἴωνοις ἄμ' ἔπονται, and conjectured δραμῶν <τ'> ἀνέμοις to provide the same double comparison. He might have supported his conjecture by the observation that 'winged winds', though common in other languages (Psalm 18.10, 104.3; often in Latin), and in Greek art (Boreas often has wings), are almost if not quite unknown to the Greek poets; see Pearson on Soph. *fr.* 23.3, where αὔρης... πτερόν may be an example.

**5 [1324] γυρόδρομον:** here only; γυρόν... δρόμον in a similar context, Secundus 9.301.2 = PG 3391.

πέτρον: πέτρην (Pl) may be right; cf. (b) 5 below.

**6 [1325] στεφέων ὕβρις:** ὕβριν is a little easier and may be right (internal accusative of the type discussed by Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 752-7), but the author may have preferred to describe the horse itself in its present condition as an 'outrage against its former glory'.

(b) A.P. 9.21 [C] ἀδέσποτον, Pl<sup>a</sup> ἀδηλον [C] εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ ἵππου· φεῦ τῆς ὕβρεως

σοί, πατρὶ Θεσσαλίῃ πωλοτρόφε, μέμψιν ἀνάπτω  
 Πήγασος, ὥς ἀδίκου τέματος ἡντίασα,  
 ὃς Πυθοὶ κῆν Ἰσθμῷ ἐκώμασα, κῆπὶ Νέμειον  
 Ζᾶνα καὶ Ἀρκαδικούς ἤλυθον ἀκρεμόνας·  
 5 νῦν δὲ βάρος πέτρης Νισυρίτιδος ἔγκυκλον ἔλκω 1330  
 λεπτύνων Διοῦς καρπὸν ἄπ' ἀσταχύων.

3 Ἰσθμόν P κηπεινέμειον P 4 Ζῆνα Pl<sup>ac</sup> Ἀρκαδικᾶς P 5 Νισυρί-  
 τιδος Brunck: -ρήτιδος PPl 6 Διοῦς P

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* cdxx; Hecker 1852.326.

**1 [1326] πωλοτρόφε:** here only (except Aelian once in a different sense).

μέμψιν ἀνάπτω: Hom. *Od.* 2.86 μῶμον ἀνάγει. μέμψις is a rare word; most of the examples are in Drama.

**2 [1327] Πήγασος:** a common name for horses.

**3-4 [1328-9] ἐκώμασα:** on the use of κωμάζειν to denote celebration of victory at the Games, see LSJ II 1. On Ἰσθμῷ, see Herodicus 234 n.

κῆπὶ Νέμειον Ζᾶνα: he means not simply that he came to Nemea but that he came there and won; the turn of the following phrase leaves the idea of 'victory' at Nemea unexpressed, but the incoherence is not disturbing.



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Ζῆνα is expected, but its change to the Doric form would be inexplicable.

**Ἀρκαδικούς... ἀκρεμόνας:** both 9.19 and 9.20 assert victories at Olympia, Delphi, Isthmus, and Nemea, and here, after Delphi, Isthmus, and Nemea, Olympia is confidently expected. It remains, however, impossible to explain why Ἀρκαδικούς is written instead of Ἠλείους; to speak of Arcadia when you mean Elis is as odd as to speak of Boeotia when you mean Thessaly; Jacobs' explanation that the river of Elis, the Alpheus, rises in Arcadia, is too far-fetched. Hecker thought the equation quite impossible, and therefore took Ἀρκαδικούς to refer to strictly Arcadian Games, such as Pindar describes in *Nem.* 10.45, χαλκὸν μυρίον οὐ δυνατὸν | ἐξελέγγχειν... | ὃν τε Κλείτωρ καὶ Τεγέα καὶ Ἀχαιῶν | ὑψίβατοι πόλεις | καὶ Λύκαιον παρ Διὸς θῆκε δρόμῳ | σὺν ποδῶν χειρῶν τε νικῶντι σθένει.

The fact is that the other two epigrams, and the general tenor of this one, lead to an expectation of Olympia which urgently demands fulfilment, a demand which can only be satisfied by taking 'Arcadia' to stand for 'Elis'.

**5 [1330] Νισυρίτιδος:** Νισυρίδος L. Dindorf (in the *Thesaurus*), and indeed Νισϋ- is the scansion in Homer (*Il.* 2.676); that it is the true scansion is attested by two Nisyrian inscriptions of the second or third century A.D. (Peek, *Wiss. Z. Univ. Halle* 16 (1967) 377, hexameters ending κλυτὴ Νείσυρος αἶδει and beginning Ζεῦ μεδῶν Νείσυρον ἀπήμονα...), but Antipater of Thessalonica has Νισϋ-, 9.418.6 = *PG* 532, and there may have been some doubt in some minds about the scansion, as there was about the spelling, of the first syllable (see the note on Antipater *loc. cit.*).

On the fame of Nisyros for its millstones, see Strabo 10.516, c 488.

**ἐγκυκλον:** the adjective is extremely rare.

**6 [1331] λεπτύνων:** elsewhere in prose only.

**Δηοῦς... ἀσταχῶν:** LSJ *s.v.* λεπτύνω 3 take the meaning here to be 'threshing, winnowing', and so the editors and translators generally, ignoring or misunderstanding Hecker's observation that this horse is turning a millstone to grind grain, not stamping corn-ears in an *area* to separate grain from husk. The meaning is therefore not 'thinning from the ears the grain of Demeter' but 'making fine the grain that has come from Demeter's corn-ears'.

## LXII

A man throws a stone at a skull; the stone rebounds, and blinds him.

The theme is unique, but a lost epigram which may have been the model may be inferred from Ausonius *ep.* 24: *de eo qui testam hominis immisericorditer dissipare voluit*,

*abieci in triviis inhumati glabra iacebat  
testa hominis, nudum iam cute calvitium.  
fleverunt alii: fletu non motus Achilles:  
insuper et silicis verberare dissicuit.  
eminus ergo icto rediit lapis ultor ab osse  
auctorisque sui frontem oculosque petit.  
sic utinam certos manus impia dirigat ictus,  
auctorem ut feriant tela retorta suum.*

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This is plainly not, what the editors call it, a rendering of the present Greek epigram. The model of Ausonius named the agent, Achilles, and told the story in a quite different way. The Latin has very little except the theme in common with the Greek; it is a translation of a lost Greek epigram telling the same story as the present epigram.

For variations on the theme of the wayside skull, see the Preface to Crinagoras 9.439 = *PG* xlvii. This sort of anecdotal epigram is common in the period of Philip's *Garland*, rare thereafter. The quality is mediocre; the second couplet is poor stuff, the rest quite competently phrased.

A.P. 9.159 [C] ἀδέσποτον, Π<sup>A</sup> ἀδηλον [C] ἐπὶ κρανίῳ ἀνθρώπου ριφέντι (ριφθέντι P<sup>ac</sup>) παρὰ τινος καὶ τὸν ρίψαντα ἀπὸ τινος τύχης τυφλώσαντα (-αντι debuerat)

κρανίον ἐν τριόδοισι κατοικομένου τις ἔσαθρῶν  
εἰκόνα τὴν κοινὴν οὐκ ἔδακρυσεν βίου,  
δεξιτερὴν δ' ἔρριπεν ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ λίθον ἤκειν  
κωφὸν μὲν δοκέοντ', ἀλλὰ πνέοντα δίκης · 1335  
5 ὁστέον ὡς γὰρ ἐπληξεν, ἀφήλατο, καὶ τὸν ἀφέντα  
πήρωσεν γλυκεροῦ βλέμματος ὀρφανίσας.  
†καὶ πάλιν εἰς Αἶδην κωλάζετο†, τὴν ἰδίην δέ  
ἔκλαυσεν χειρῶν εὐστοχὸν ἀφροσύνην.

4 δοκέων P    6 πήρωσε Pl    7 ἐκολάζετο Pl  
Jacobs\* *adesp.* cdlxii.

**1 [1332]** ἐν τριόδοισι: *in triviis* Ausonius, almost the only point of contact between the Latin and the Greek. For the plural, meaning a single *trivium*, cf. Theocr. 2.36.

**κατοικομένου:** so οἱ κατοικόμενοι, of the dead, in [Dem.] 43.67, 60.8; the verb is rare, and this use of it extremely rare in poetry.

**ἔσαθρῶν:** ἀθρήσας would have seemed more natural.

**2 [1333]** εἰκόνα . . . βίου: cf. Antipater of Thessalonica 7.216.2 = *PG* 164, of a dead dolphin, ξείνοις κοινὸν δράμα τύχης.

**3 [1334]** δεξιτερὴν . . . χθόνα: *flung his hand to the ground*, presumably meaning that he put his hand quickly to the ground, is an odd expression but there is no possibility of altering it; Antiphanes 9.84.3 = *PG* 731 χεῖρα δ' ἐπέρριπεν, quoted by the editors, is wholly irrelevant.

**4 [1335]** This lamentable line tells us that the stone, to all appearances insensate, was redolent of Justice. Among Philip's authors, only Bassus and Alpheus sink to these depths.

**6 [1337]** γλυκεροῦ βλέμματος: the same phrase sits more comfortably in Asclepiades 5.153.4 = *HE* 823.

**7 [1338]** †καὶ . . . κωλάζετο†: all four words are suspect:

(a) καὶ is hardly tolerable, as the subject changes from the stone to the thrower at this point; perhaps χά.

(b) πάλιν may perhaps be *in vicem* (Hecker 1843.316, comparing αὐτίς in Antipater of Sidon 7.423.8 = *HE* 369), but only if the following words can be altered suitably.

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(c) εἰς Ἀΐδην cannot be right; the man is blinded, not killed, and there is no place in this context for 'going to Hades'.

(d) κωλάζετο is nonsense, and ὀκλάζετο (Scaliger) is no help; the man is blind, not lame. ἐκολάζετο, whether transmitted or conjectural, looks promising, and a phrase well above the level of the rest was created by Lobeck, καὶ πάλιν ὡς ἀλίτῃσ' ἐκολάζετο. πάλιν goes well with this, *ut peccavit, ita in vicem punitus est*. The change is bold, and ἀλίτῃσε, for ἤλιτε, appears only at a late era (*Orph. Arg.* 644); but there is nothing else worth consideration among the conjectures assembled by Stadtmüller.

ἰδίην: ἰδίῳν (Luck) is not necessary, or indeed an improvement.

**8 [1339]** εὖστοχον ἀφροσύνην: a typically Alexandrian sort of phrase; the desire to display such virtuosity was the primary reason for writing this kind of epigram.

## LXIII

On a pen.

The style of this lively epigram is unmistakably Alexandrian; it might be of any date from Antipater of Sidon to Philip.

Cf. Crinagoras 6.227 = *PG* iii, a description of a pen.

A.P. 9.162 [C] ἀδέσποτον, P<sup>B</sup> s.a.n. [C] εἰς κάλαμον γραφέα

1340

ἤμην ἀχρεῖον κάλαμος φυτόν, ἐκ γὰρ ἐμεῖο  
οὐ σῦκ', οὐ μῆλον φύεται, οὐ σταφυλή.  
ἀλλὰ μ' ἀνὴρ ἐμύησ' Ἑλικώνια, λεπτὰ τορῆσας  
χείλεα καὶ στεῖνὸν ῥοῦν ὀχρευσάμενος.

5 ἐκ δὲ τοῦ εὔτε πίοιμι μέλαν ποτόν, ἔνθεος οἶα  
πᾶν ἔπος ἀφθέγκτωι τῷδε λαλῶ στόματι. 1345

2 σύκον P    3 Ἑλικώνια Reiske: -νίδα P<sup>P</sup>    5 ἔνθεον P    6 λαλῶ P:  
λέγω P<sup>I</sup>

Jacobs\* *adesp.* ccclxxxvii.

**1 [1340]** ἤμην: so Antiphilus begins 9.415.1 = *PG* 1051; the form was current from the third century B.C. onwards, but the poets generally avoid it.

**3 [1342]** μ'...ἐμύησ' Ἑλικώνια: *initiated me into the Heliconian mysteries*. All the editors retain Ἑλικωνίδα (though Paton and the Budé translate as if Ἑλικώνια were in their texts); Ἑλικωνίδα can only mean a *Heliconian* (Muse) so the phrase would have to mean (as LSJ take it, 'sc. εἶναι') *taught me (to be) a Muse*. The use of μνέω, *teach*, has a parallel in Philip 7.385.1-2 = *PG* 2853-4, but the ellipse of εἶναι is most disagreeable, and this elegant composer is much likelier to say 'initiated me into the Muses' mysteries' than 'taught me (to be) a Muse'.

**4 [1343]** ὀχρευσάμενος: middle for active *metri gratia*. The construction is normal; Hdt. 2.99.2 τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν ὀχρεῦσαι.

**5 [1344]** ἐκ δὲ τοῦ: *from that time*; the phrase already in Homer, *Il.* 8.296. μέλαν ποτόν: the ink; see the note on Phanias 6.295.6 = *HE* 2983.

**6 [1345]** ἀφθέγκτωι...στόματι: cf. Antiphilus 7.641.2 = *PG* 884, of a

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clock, ἀγλώσσωι φθεγγόμενον στόματι, Antipater of Sidon 7.427.13-14 = *HE* 408-9 τὸ κυβευθέν | πνεῦμα δι' ἀφθέγκτων (= ἀφθόγγων, as here) εἶπέ τις ἀστραγάλων.

### LXIV

On an olive oppressed by a vine.

A variation on the same general theme as Philip 11.33 = PG lviii, where a vine is choked by ivy. One of a conglomeration of mainly anonymous epigrams in *A.P.* 124-42: 130, 131, and 142 differ from the rest in subject-matter and style; their date remains uncertain, but they are much like the products of some of Philip's authors.

*A.P.* 9.130 [C] ἀδηλον, *PI*<sup>A</sup> ἀδέσποτον [J] εἰς ἐλαίαν βαστάζουσαν ἄμπελον καὶ θλιβομένην

Παλλάδος εἰμὶ φυτὸν· Βρομίου τί με θλίβετε κλῶνες;  
ἄρατε τοὺς βότρυας· παρθένος οὐ μεθύω.

1347

2 αἶρετε *PI*

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* ccclxxxī.

1 [1346] For the planting of vines and olives close together cf. *Marianus* 9.668.9-10 λιπαρῆς εὐβοτρυν ἀν' ὀργάδα καρπὸς ἐλαίης | θάλλει ἐρισταφύλων πάντοσε θειλοπέδων, *Cometas* 9.586.1-2 τίνος εἰσὶ φυτῶν στίχες; - αἱ μὲν ἐλαῖαι | Παλλάδος, αἱ δὲ πέριξ ἡμερίδες Βρομίου.

### LXV

A Spartan mother kills her son who has escaped from battle.

A popular theme: *Asclepiades P. Tebt.* 3 = *HE* xlvi, *Tymnes* 7.433 = *HE* vi, *Erucius* 7.230 = *PG* xii, *Antipater of Thessalonica* 7.531 = *PG* xxiii, *Plutarch Lac. apophth.* 240f, *Palladas* 9.397, *Julianus* 9.447; see the discussion in *HE* 2.556. The present epigram is much more like the *Garland* than the *Cycle* poets. It has little in common with its models except in 5-6, where ἔρρε πρὸς Ἀιδαν, | ἔρρε is taken from *Tymnes*. *Tymnes*, *Erucius*, and *Antipater* name the Spartan warrior, 'Damatrios' (his mother is 'Damatria' in *Plutarch*); hence the *lemma* in C<sup>2</sup> here.

*A.P.* 9.61<sup>1</sup>, *denuoque*<sup>2</sup> C post 7.223.4 (marg. inf.), *PI*<sup>A</sup> [C<sup>1</sup>] ἀδέσποτον, [C<sup>2</sup>PI] ἀδηλον [C<sup>1</sup>] εἰς γυναικα Λάκαιναν τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν κτείναςαν [J] ὅτι Λάκαινα γυνή τὸν υἱὸν θεασαμένη ἐκ τῆς μάχης φεύγοντα τὴν λόγχην σπασαμένη ὡς δειλὸν ἀπέκτεινεν [C<sup>2</sup>] εἰς Δημήτριον Λάκωνα

γυμνὸν ἰδοῦσα Λάκαινα παλίντροπον ἐκ πολέμοιο  
παῖδ' ἐὼν ἐς πάτραν ὥκυν ἰέντα πόδα,  
ἀντία αἶξασα δι' ἥπατος ἤλασε λόγχαν  
ἄρρενα ῥηξαμένα φθόγγον ἐπὶ κταμένωι·

1350

5 “ἄλλότριον Σπάρτας” εἶπεν “γένος, ἔρρε πρὸς Ἀιδαν,  
ἔρρ', ἐπεὶ ἐψεύσω πατρίδα καὶ γενέταν.”

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2 *λέντα* Pl<sup>Pac</sup>: *λέντα* C<sup>2</sup>, *έόντα* P<sup>pc</sup>      3 *άντία* Stadtmüller: *άντίη* P<sup>1</sup>C<sup>2</sup>Pl      4  
*ρήξαμένα* C<sup>2</sup>: *-νη* P<sup>1</sup>Pl      6 *γενέταν* Pl: *-την* P<sup>1</sup>C<sup>2</sup>  
 Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* cdlv.

**1-2 [1348-9] γυμνόν:** without his weapons, as in Theodoridas 9.743.4 = *HE* 3579; much more fully in Erucius, πάντα τὸν ὀπλίταν κόσμον ὀλωλεκότα.

**έκ πολέμοιο:** ἀπὸ πτολέμου in Erucius.

**παῖδ' έόν:** παιδὸς έοῦ in Antipater.

**παλίντροπον... ὤκυν *λέντα* πόδα:** his running away from battle is described as ἀπὸ πτολέμου τρέσσαντα in Erucius, τρέσσαντι παρὰ χρέος in Antipater; Tymnes differently, παραβάντα νόμους.

**3 [1350] δι' ἡπατος:** διὰ λαγόνων in Erucius, ἐντὸς λαγόνων in Antipater; no such detail in Tymnes.

**λόγχαν:** as in Erucius; a sword in Tymnes, σίδαρον in Antipater and Asclepiades.

**4 [1351] *ρήξαμένα:*** middle for active *metri gratia*, as often in the epigrammatists; cf. Agathias 5.222.3 *ρήξατο* φωνήν, Julianus 7.597.1-2 *θρόον* αὐδῆς | ... *ρήξαμένην*. The nearest parallel in *HE* is Dioscorides 7.434.3 = 1669 *δάκρυα* δ' οὐκ ἔρρηξε. Cf. 1171 n.

**5-6 [1352-3]** The other authors make her say much the same thing, but each has his own variation.

## LXVI

On a goat suckling a wolf.

The context in *A.P.* is much in favour of a date for this epigram within the limits of the present collection; see LXI Pref.

For the theme, cf. Theocr. 5.37, *ἰδ' ἃ χάρις ἐς τί ποχ' ἔρπει* | *θρέψαι καὶ λυκιδεῖς, θρέψαι κύνας, ὥς τυ φαγῶντι*.

Jacobs is probably right in supposing that the epigram describes a work of art.

*A.P.* 9.47, Pl [C<sup>a</sup>Pl] *ἀδέσποτον*      [J] *εἰς αἶγα θηλάζουσαν λύκον ὃς αὐξη-  
 θεις τήν τροφὸν καταβέβρωκεν*

τὸν λύκον ἐξ ἰδίων μαζῶν τρέφω οὐκ ἐθέλουσα,  
           ἀλλὰ μ' ἀναγκάζει ποιμένος ἀφροσύνη ·      1355  
*αὐξηθεῖς δ' ὑπ' ἔμοῦ κατ' ἔμοῦ πάλι θηρίον ἔσται* ·  
           ἡ χάρις ἀλλάξαι τήν φύσιν οὐ δύναται.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* cdxxii.

**2 [1355]** We are left to guess why the shepherd compelled the goat to suckle a wolf.

## LXVII

The metamorphoses of Zeus.

The context in *A.P.* favours inclusion here; see LXI Pref. For the theme, cf. Lucian *Dial. Deor.* 2.1, οὐδέν ἐστιν ὃ μὴ πεποίηκάς με, Σάτυρον, ταῦρον, χρυσόν, κύκνον, ἀετόν.

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A.P. 9.48, Pl<sup>A</sup> [CPI] ἀδέσποτον [J] εἰς τὰς δι' ἀσέλγειαν μεταμορφώσει  
τοῦ Διός

Ζεὺς κύκνος, ταῦρος, σάτυρος, χρυσός, δι' ἔρωτα  
Λήδης, Εὐρώπης, Ἀντιόπης, Δανάης.

1359

Apostol. cent. 8.30<sup>a</sup> [1-2]

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* liii.

## STATUES AND PAINTINGS

### LXVIII

On a statue of a cow on a promontory overlooking the Bosporos, erected over the grave of Boidion, wife or mistress of the Athenian admiral Chares during his expedition of 340 B.C. to relieve the siege of Byzantium by Philip II.

The epigram is problematic. Near Chrysopolis, on the Asiatic coast of the Bosporos opposite Byzantium, stood a pillar crowned with the statue of a cow. According to Arrian (*ap.* Eust. on Dion. Per. 140) the statue was of bronze, and commemorated the crossing of the strait by the legendary Argive princess Io: μνημα τοῦ πόρου τούτου ἔστηκε βοῦς χαλκῇ, ὑστέρωι ποτὲ χρόνῳ ὑπὸ Χαλκηδονίων ἰδρυθεῖσα, καὶ τάχα ἐκ ταύτης καί τις ἐκεῖ τόπος καλεῖται Δάμαλις. Now the statue with which the present epigram is concerned is said by Dionysius of Byzantium (? II-III A.D.) and Hesychius of Miletus (VI A.D.) to have been not of bronze but of stone (λίθου λευκοῦ Dionysius, ἐκ ξεστοῦ λίθου Hesychius); this is repeated by the scholia on Dionysius (80, p. 40 Güngerich, λιθίνης βοός) and by Constantinus Porphyrogenitus (*de them.* 2.12, μαρμαρίνη). Almost all the editors have therefore supposed that Arrian, who says that bronze was the material, must be referring to some other statue. It is, however, fair comment (Preger *Inscr. Gr. Metr.* p. 151) that none of those who describe this area ever says anything about *two* statues of cows, but all speak as if there was only one in this part of Chalcedon.

It looks as though Arrian may be one of those to whom Dionysius refers when he says that some persons rejected the reference of the statue in the present epigram to the mistress of Chares as a 'rash and careless story', and referred it to the legendary Io instead: (ἐν τῷ Βοὶ καλουμένῳ ἀκρωτηρίῳ ἔστι) καὶ κίων λίθου λευκοῦ, καθ' ἧς βοῦς Χάρητος Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῦ παλλακὴν Βοιδίον ἐνταῦθα καμουῖσαν ἀποκηδεύσαντος· σημαίνει δ' ἡ ἐπιγραφή τοῦ λόγου τάληθές· οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰκαίαν καὶ ἀταλαίπωρον ποιούμενοι τὴν ἱστορίαν οἶονται τῆς ἀρχαίας λήξεως εἶναι τὴν εἰκόνα πλείστον ἀποπλανώμενοι τάληθους. Hesychius of Miletus refers the epigram to the wife (or mistress) of Chares without mention of the alternative; he describes the monument as an altar, pillar, and statue: τὴν ἐπομένην αὐτῷ γυναικῇ νόσῳ βληθεῖσαν ἀποβαλὼν κατέθηκεν ἐν τάφῳ ἀναστήσας αὐτῇ βωμὸν καὶ κίονα σύνθετον ἐν ᾧ δάμαλις δεικνύται ἐκ ξεστοῦ λίθου ἀνακειμένη· οὕτω γὰρ ἐκείνη τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἐκέκλητο, ἥτις διὰ τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων στίχων μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς διασώζεται χρόνων. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ στίχοι οὗτοι [1-8]. The much later writers Codinus and Constantinus add nothing of importance.

The difference of opinion is puzzling. If the epigram naming Boidion, wife of Chares, accompanied the monument, how could people have dismissed the

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identification of the cow-statue with her as a 'rash and careless story'? Yet Dionysius says that 'some persons' did so dismiss it. There is no very obvious answer, except that 'some persons' expressed opinions about the statue in ignorance of the epigram.

The alternative opinion, that the statue did represent Io, and that the epigram is a relatively late fiction (Preger *op. cit.* 152-3), is surely to be rejected. It would be necessary to believe that somebody circulated a bogus epigram, long after the event, treating a long-standing and well-known statue of Io as if it represented the obscure mistress of a minor Athenian admiral engaged in an expedition of little interest to posterity.

A late origin for the identification with Boidion is supported, according to Preger, by signs of lateness in the composition of the epigram. These are illusory:

(a) 'Traces of Epic dialect': these are not specified, and would not be significant.

(b) The *inferior Graecitas* of εὐνέτις and Βοιῖδιον: but Euripides has εὐνέτης and Apollonius of Rhodes has εὐνέτις; βοῖῖδιον, for βοῖδιον (Hermippus *fr.* 35.2 as given by Athen. 12.551B), is a poetic licence of a type freely granted.

(c) 'The inconsequence of γάρ in 3': but γάρ is not inconsequent; it gives the reason why she is not to be identified with Io – because Io belongs to olden times, τὸ πάροιθε, and has nothing to do with the present statue, which commemorates an Athenian woman.

(d) '*Inepta loquacitas*': the charge is not specified further, and apart from the repetition of Χάρητος εὐνέτις (see 5 n.) would be hard to sustain.

An early date for the epigram may be supported by two arguments. First, an epigram commemorating an obscure historical person is more likely to be contemporary than the fiction of a late era. Secondly, the context of this epigram in *A.P.* is consistent with the opinion that it was included in the *Garland of Meleager*. The ten preceding and the nine following (quite probably the thirty-one following) epigrams in *A.P.* come from the *Garlands* of Meleager and Philip, and there is a strong presumption that 7.169 is not an isolated intruder (Weisshäupl *Grabged.* 58).

The general conclusions are that the identification of the cow-statue at Chrysopolis with Boidion should be accepted; that the epigram is contemporary with what it describes; and that it was probably included in the *Garland of Meleager*.

A.P. 7.169, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPI] s.a.n. [J] εἰς τὴν δάμαλιν τὴν ἱσταμένην πέραν τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἐν Χρυσοπόλει· ἐπὶ τοῦ κίονος; Dionys. Byz. *anapl.* Bosp. 34.112 Güngerich (epigramma addit schol. *ibid.* p. 40 G.); Gillius Bosp. Thrac. 3. 9, p. 92; Hesych. Miles. *FGH* III B 390.1.30, p. 271; Codinus orig. Const. 1.28; Constant. Porph. *de them.* 2.12; Sud. s.v. ἀντωπεῖ (1 οὐδ' – 2), βοῖδιον (7-8 εὐνέτις); cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Βόσπορος

1360

Ἰναχίης οὐκ εἰμι βοὸς τύπος, οὐδ' ἄπ' ἐμεῖο  
κλήζεται ἀντωπὸν Βοσπόριον πέλαγος·  
κείνην γὰρ τὸ πάροιθε βαρὺς χόλος ἤλασεν Ἥρης  
ἐς Φάρον, ἥδε δ' ἐγὼ Κεκροπίς εἰμι νέκυς.

- 5 εὐνέτις ἦν δὲ Χάρητος, ἔπλων δ' ὅτ' ἔπλων ἐκείνος  
 τῇδε Φιλippeίων ἀντίπαλος σκαφέων· 1365  
 Βοίδιον δὲ καλεῖμαι ἐγὼ τότε. νῦν δὲ Χάρητος  
 εὐνέτις ἡπεῖροις τέρπομαι ἀμφοτέραις.

3 ἦγαγεν P: verum C s.l. 4 ἔξ Πάφον Hesych., Constant. cod. A ἦδε δ' ἐγὼ Dion., Hesych. cod. Par., Pl: ἄδε δ' ἐγὼ C, ἄδ' ἐγὼ P (ceterorum nugas omitto) 5 ἦν δὲ C marg. et rell.: ἄδε P, ἄδε C 6 τῇσδε P et C marg. (τῇδε C text.) 7 Βοίδιον...τότε P: eadem sed καλεῖμαι C, Const., Suda; Βοίδιον οὖνομα δ' ἦεν ἔμοι τότε Dion., Hesych.; Βοίδιον δ' ἤκουον ἐγὼ τότε Gillius, Codinus, Pl.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* clxxxv; Hecker 1852.76f. Peek 1802.

1 [1360] Ἰναχίδης...βοός: of Io, daughter of Inachus, transformed into a cow.

4 [1363] Φάρον: Pharos here represents Egypt, the destination of Io.

5 [1364] εὐνέτις...Χάρητος: Dionysius of Byzantium calls her παλλακὴν, the Latin translation of him (generally referred to as 'Gyllius' or 'Gillius', = the French priest Gilles, discoverer of the manuscript, which has long been lost; *RE* 5.971) renders *coniugem*; Hesychius of Miletus, τὴν ἐπομένην αὐτῷ γυναῖκα. εὐνέτις should normally mean *wife*, and should not have been used if she was *mistress*; but a man writing an epitaph is not on oath, and εὐνέτις is, after all, not quite explicit. It may be doubted whether Tithonus was formally married to Eos, but she is called his εὐνέτις in Antipater of Thessalonica 5.3.5 = *PG* 113 (*Tithonia coniunx* in Virgil; he is called her πόσις in *E. Tro.* 854).

Wives did not normally accompany Athenian admirals, mistresses sometimes did: the fact is recorded of Chares by Theopompus *ap. Athen.* 12.532c, περιήγετο στρατευόμενος αὐλητρίδας καὶ ψαλτρίδας καὶ πεζὰς ἑταίρας; it is therefore likely that Dionysius is correct, and that εὐνέτις here is a polite term for παλλακὴ.

6 [1365] On the expedition of Chares to relieve the siege of Byzantium by Philip in the autumn of 340 B.C. see *RE* 3.2127, Goodwin on *Dem. de cor.* p. 282 n. 3; *Plut. Phoc.* 14, *reg. et imp. apophth.*, *Phoc.* 8, 188B.

7-8 [1366-7] Βοίδιον: the name of disreputable females in 'Simonides' 5.159.1 = *HE* 3300 and Asclepiades 5.161.1 = *HE* 996, but also Kirchner 2896.

Βοίδιον...τότε: the choice between the three versions of this phrase in our sources cannot be made with certainty; that of *A.P.* (but with βοῖδ-) seems the least likely to be a substitute. The present tense καλεῖμαι was sure to give offence (as it obviously did to the Corrector); hence perhaps δ' ἤκουον in the version represented by Codinus, Planudes, and Gillius. The author of the rewriting in Hesychius (and schol. Dion.) either failed to recognise that Βοίδιον is quadrisyllabic or wished to restore the normal form.

Χάρητος εὐνέτις: the repetition of these words (*cf.* 5) may be due to corruption or to indifference or to special circumstances. Corruption seems unlikely: Heyne (χαραχθέν | βοίδιον) and Peek (καὶ εἶδος | βοίδιον) compose afresh; Stadtmüller conjectured εὔνης ἔπ' for εὐνέτις, but dead ladies do not call themselves widows, and ἔπ' is unconvincing. Indifference is a possible explanation; the repetition is not really very offensive. But it remains quite likely



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that the repetition is intentional: the author, aware that his subject was a *πολλοκή*, exalts her in mid-epigram and reminds us again at the end that her status was virtually that of a wife. She was indeed buried as a wife might be, with altar, pillar, statue, and epigram.

**τότε. νῦν δέ:** the relation of *νῦν* to *τότε* is not immediately clear. If the two clauses were simply contrasted as *then* and *now*, it would be hard to say what the contrast is. But they are not simply contrasted. The *νῦν* to which *τότε* is related is not the *νῦν* which follows but a *νῦν* implicit in the *τότε*-clause – ‘*Βοιῖδιον then* (by name) as *βοιῖδιον now* (by statue)’; the point is made more clearly by the conjecture *ἔθ’ ὥς* for *ἐγώ* (Hecker), but the corruption is not probable. The following *νῦν* introduces a new point (*novum quid affert*, as Jacobs said); ‘and now, as the wife of Chares, I enjoy the view of both continents’.

On the correction of *καλεῦμαι* at the caesura, see Herodicus 234 n.

## LXIX

Epigram for an altar marking a frontier in the Thracian Chersonese.

The primary source is the speech *περὶ Ἀλοννήσου* attributed to Demosthenes in the manuscript tradition but commonly believed both in ancient and in modern times (*RE* 5.184) to be the work of the Mecenian Hegesippus (not later than the third century B.C. and perhaps a little earlier; *RE* 7.2611).

The epigram is omitted by the Demosthenic manuscript S (and also by L), and is said to be a later addition to the other early manuscripts; but, although it may not be an integral part of our text, it is not likely to be fictitious (and still less likely to be a fiction beyond the limits of the present edition).

The boundary to which the altar refers is presumably a frontier between the peninsula generally called ‘the Thracian Chersonese’ and mainland Thrace; it was probably not far from, and north of, the *μακρὸν τεῖχος* built by Miltiades across the neck of the peninsula from Cardia to Pactya (*Hdt.* 6.36). The exact locations of ‘Leuké (Akté)’ and ‘Pteleon’ are unknown. The former, named by Herodotus (7.25) and by Lysias (*Alcib.* 1.27), was placed by later geographers on the Propontid side of the Chersonese; we must take it from the present epigram that Pteleon (not recorded elsewhere; it is not in Herodotus, named in *RE* 3.2248 as the earliest authority) lay immediately north of Leuké Akté.<sup>1</sup>

A.P. 9.786 (caret Pl) ὁδέσποτον; ps.-Demosth. *περὶ Ἀλοννήσου* 7.39 Χερρονήσου οἱ ὅροι εἰσὶν οὐκ ἄγορά ἀλλὰ βωμός τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ὀρίου, ὃς ἐστὶ μετὰ Πτελεῦ καὶ Λευκῆς Ἀκτῆς, ἥ ἡ διωρυχὴ ἔμελλε Χερρονήσου ἐσεσθαι, ὥς γε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ὀρίου δηλοῖ. ἐστὶ δὲ τουτί·

τόνδε καθιδρύσαντο Διὸς περικαλλέα βωμόν

Λευκῆς καὶ Πτελεῦ μέσσον ὄρον θέμενοι

ἐνναέται, χώρης σημήιον· ἀμμορίης δέ

1370

αὐτὸς ἄναξ μακάρων ἐστὶ μέσος Κρονίδης.

<sup>1</sup> In the speech the orator refers to a canal planned across the peninsula from Leuké Akté; *RE* s.v. ‘Chersonesus’ has no mention of this, and I know nothing about it.

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prim. ed. Huschke *anal. crit.* p. 269; Jacobs *paralipomena* 1.93; Preger 99.

**2-3 [1369-70] ἀμμορίης:** P has no breathing; ἀμμορίη (ps.-Dem.) appears elsewhere only in Hom. *Od.* 20.75-6 (Ζεύς) εὖ οἶδεν ἅπαντα, | μοῖρην τ' ἀμμορίην τε καταθητῶν ἀνθρώπων, and in Crinagoras 9.284.2 = PG 1982 φεῦ μεγάλης Ἑλλάδος ἀμμορίης. In Crinagoras it means *misfortune*. In Homer μοῖρα and ἀμμορίη are contrasted, 'what is predestined and *what is not predestined*': the context does not suggest, let alone require, what some editors make of it (with the approval of LSJ), 'their good fortune and their bad', as if μοῖρα could mean *good fortune*; the meaning is simply 'Zeus knows all things, both what is predestined and what is not'.

Neither of these meanings, *misfortune* or *what is not predestined*, is possible here; desperate remedies are needed, and have been applied:

(a) Blass (followed by Beckby) proposed ἐνναέται, μοῖρης σημήιον ἀμμορίης τε, 'a sign of what is one's share and of what is not one's share'. This is satisfactory in itself, but the alleged corruption of μοῖρης to χώρης is in the highest degree improbable, and the asyndeton of the following line is disagreeable.

(b) The scholia on Demosthenes understand ἀμμορίη, *metri gratia* for ἀμμορίη, a compound of ἀμα and ὁρι-, *joint boundary*; *quod per linguam non licet*, as Preger said, yet it gives the sense required by the context and was accepted by LSJ, not without second and even third thoughts: (i) In the Lexicon 'ἀμμορία (B)' is distinguished from 'ἀμμορία (A)' (Homer and Crinagoras) for the sake of the present epigram, and is said to be equivalent to ὁμορία, a word for which there is no entry in the Lexicon; (ii) The Addenda s.v. 'ἀμμορία (B)' report Blass' conjecture, whose acceptance would of course lead to deletion of 'ἀμμορία (B)'. (iii) The Addenda have also, in deference to the present epigram, a new entry, ὁμορία, to be taken as a substantival adjective, 'sc. γῆ, dub. in form ἀμμορία (B)', as if ἀμμορία could be a 'form' of ὁμορία.

The truth is that 'joint boundary' is the only thing possible here. The writer might defend ἀμμορίη by pointing to Homer's ἀμα-τροχίη; the philologist may reject his analogy and condemn ὁμορία as a deplorable formation, but he has no alternative except ὁμορίης (with lengthened first syllable).

## LXX

On a statue of Zeus Ourios set up by Philon, son of Antipater, in thanksgiving for a safe voyage.

This epigram is inscribed on a stone statue-pedestal found by Spon and Wheler on the site of Chalcedon. The temple of Zeus Ourios stood not at Chalcedon but at the eastern end of the Thracian Bosporos, on the Asiatic shore near the entrance to the strait as one approaches from the Black Sea; the stone must therefore have been carried to Chalcedon, perhaps as ballast. See Sandys on Dem. *Lept.* 36, referring to *The Illustrated London News* for 12 December 1863 p. 593, an illustration of what is supposed to be part of the temple, 'a portal of Parian marble with upright columns 18 feet high and a richly decorated lintel 12 feet 6 inches long and 6 feet broad'. On Zeus Ourios, see Farnell *Cults* 1.44-7 with the note on p. 148, Boeckh in *CIG* 2.975, and Sandys *loc. cit.*

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The date of the inscription is uncertain. Kaibel (repeated by Geffcken) loosely gave it as 'about the time of Leonidas or the Sidonian Antipater', which should mean somewhere between 250 and 150 B.C.; *B. Mus. Inscr.* gives '1 B.C./1 A.D.'. The epigram is of good quality; it would be at home in any part of the Hellenistic period.

Οὐριον ἐκ πρύμνης τις ὀδηγητῆρα καλείτω  
 Ζῆνα κατὰ προτόνων ἰστίον ἐκπετάσας,  
 εἴτ' ἐπὶ Κυανέας δίνας δρόμον, ἔνθα Ποσειδῶν  
 καμπύλον εἰλίσσει κῦμα παρὰ ψαμάθοις, 1375  
 5 εἴτε κατ' Αἰγαῖν πόντου πλάκα νόστον ἐρευνᾶι,  
 νεῖσθω τῶιδε βαλὼν ψαιστὰ παρὰ ξοάνωι·  
 ὧδε τὸν εὐάντητον ἀεὶ θεὸν Ἀντιπάτρου παῖς  
 στῆσε Φίλων, ἀγαθῆς σύμβολον εὐπλοΐης.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* cciii; *CIG* 3797; Kaibel *ep.* 779; *B. Mus. Inscr.* 1012.

1 [1372] ὀδηγητῆρα: elsewhere only *Orph. H.* 41.6.

2 [1373] κατὰ προτόνων: πρότονοι are *forestays* (Ebeling *s.v.*, Torr *Ancient Ships* 80; not *shrouds*, as Morrison and Williams *Gk Oared Ships* 55), reaching from mast-head to prow, by which the mast was raised and lowered: Hom. *Il.* 1.434 ἰστόν δ' ἰστοδόκηι πέλασαν προτόνοισιν ὑφέντες, *Od.* 2.424-5 ἰστόν... | στῆσαν ἀείραντες, κατὰ δὲ προτόνοισιν ἔδησαν.

'Spreading the sail against the forestays' describes the filling of the sail so that it swells as far as possible forward in the direction of the forestays.

3-4 [1374-5] The phrasing is ambitious. Κυανέας πέτρας was the obvious thing to say, and παρ' ἡῖσιν would have suited the facts better than παρὰ ψαμάθοις. The author has preferred Κυανέας δίνας, the treacherous waters about the rocks. The reference is to the *Symplegades*, Clashing Rocks, through which the Argo sailed. There are twelve of these rocks lying off the lighthouse on the extreme easterly point of the Bosphoros on the European side.

καμπύλον, of a wave, is an original touch, and the description of the breakers at the rock-foot, 'Poseidon rolls the curving wave on the sands', is novel and picturesque.

5 [1376] πόντου πλάκα: as in Pind. *Pyth.* 1.24; cf. *E. fr.* 578.4 N. ποντίας ὑπὲρ πλακός, Ar. *Ran.* 1438 (Euripides speaks) πελαγίαν ὑπὲρ πλάκα, anon. ('Arion') *PMG* 939.15 ἄλοκα Νηρείας πλακός.

νόστον ἐρευνᾶι: seeks his homecoming, a lively phrase.

6 [1377] ψαιστὰ: small honey-cakes (Longus 248 n.), the poor man's offering, suitable for a mere ξοάνον.

ξοάνωι: this word implies that the stone pedestal on which the epigram is inscribed supported a wooden image. In Hesychius *s.v.* ξοάνα... κυρίως δὲ τὰ ἐκ ξύλων ἐξεσμένα, ἢ λίθων, the last two words are an afterthought, applicable only to relatively late usage. LSJ *s.v.* begin correctly, 'image, carved of wood', but proceed obscurely, 'then, generally, image, statue', as if the following citations referred to images not of wood; in fact all of them down to and including Pausanias refer to images which are or may be of wood, and I have not

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noticed any place in literature earlier than Rufinus 5.36.8 where ξόανον is certainly or probably used of a carving in stone. The word is not common in poetry, and the following passages from *HE* are worth adding to the lexica: Anyte 9.144.4 = 725 (wood possible), Theocritus 9.437.2 = 3475 (wood), Moero 6.189.4 = 2682 (wood), Leonidas 9.326.2 = 1979 (wood), anon. 12.40.2 = 3699 (wood; ἀκρολίθου means that the extremities – hands, feet, facial features – were added in stone, as in Pausanias 2.4.1 and 7.23.5); also anon. *A. Plan.* 249.1 (where, as in Anyte, wood is possible).

**7 [1378] ὦδε:** oddly used, apparently in effect = *ad hunc finem*, as Kaibel says.

**εὐάντητον:** a very rare word; of the Μήτηρ θεῶν in *IG II/III<sup>2</sup> 4760*; *Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex.* n.s. 4 (1914) 188 (II B.C.).

## LXXI

On the famous statue of Nemesis at Rhamnus, made from a stone taken there by the Persians in order to set up a trophy of their success in 480 B.C.

See the Preface to Parmenion *A. Plan.* 222 = *PG* xv, quoting the story as told by Pausanias 1.33.2; the theme is elaborately treated by Theaetetus Scholasticus *A. Plan.* 221. The style suggests the Hellenistic or at latest the early Imperial period.

*A. Plan.* (PI<sup>B</sup>) 263 s.a.n.

πρίν με λίθον Πέρσαι δεῦρ' ἤγαγον ὄφρα τρόπαιον      1380  
στήσωνται νίκας, εἰμὶ δὲ νῦν Νέμεσις.  
ἀμφοτέροις δ' ἔστηκα, καὶ Ἑλλήνεσσι τρόπαιον  
νίκας καὶ Πέρσαις τοῦ πολέμου νέμεσις.

1 πρίν Benndorf: καὶ PI

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* cclvii.

**1 [1380] πρίν:** the change of καὶ is intrinsically improbable but irresistible in view of the facts (a) that καὶ is meaningless, and (b) that Ausonius, who translated this epigram (*ep.* 42), renders *quondam*; it may be added that νῦν in 2 is much the better for πρίν in 1.

**2 [1381] στήσωνται:** the editors all prefer στήσονται (which comes from the *apographa*); Jacobs recommended it *ut doctius*, but rightly added that it has no other advantage over the text.

**4 [1383] πολέμου νέμεσις:** *superbiae, qua bellum in Graeciam susceperant, vindex*, Jacobs.

## LXXII

On a statue of Alexander the Great.

The subject is presumably one of the numerous bronze statues of Alexander made by Lysippus, as in Asclepiades (or Archelaus) *A. Plan.* 120 = *HE* xliii and Posidippus *A. Plan.* 119 = *HE* xviii; see the Prefaces there. The present epigram is not much inferior to those two, and may well be Hellenistic.

*A. Plan.* (PI<sup>A</sup>) 121 ἀδηλον      εἰς τὸ αὐτό

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αὐτόν Ἀλέξανδρον τεκμαίρεο· ὧδε τὰ κείνου  
 ὄμματα καὶ ζῶν θάρσος ὁ χαλκὸς ἔχει· 1385  
 ὃς μόνος, ἦν ἐφορῶσιν ἅπ' αἰθέρος αἱ Διὸς αὐγαί,  
 πᾶσαν Πελλαίῳ γῇν ὑπέταξε θρόνῳ.

Jacobs\* *adesp.* cccix.

1 [1384] τεκμαίρεο· ὧδε: hiatus at the bucolic diaeresis is very rare in the *Garlands*, but is admitted (with pause, as here) by the most fastidious authors: Erucius 7.230.3 = *PG* 2270, Philip 9.254.3 = *PG* 2821 and 9.240.5 = 2923; cf. Amyntes 15 and 19, Plato Junior 307, anon. 1448. Jacobs' conjecture τεκμαίρεαι may, however, be right; cf. anon. *A.Plan.* 122.1–2 τοῦτον Ἀλέξανδρον... | δέρκεαι. [It may be felt however that αὐτόν, as opposed to τοῦτον which would suit either the imperative or the indicative, favours the imperative. 'You are inferring that Alexander himself looked like this' is scarcely defensible. – R.D.D.]

2 [1385] Cf. Posidippus *loc. cit.* (Pref.) πῦρ τοι ὁ χαλκὸς ὄραϊ, Asclepiades *loc. cit.* τίν' ὄδῳ χαλκὸς ἔχει δύναμιν;

## LXXIII

On a statue of Hermes beside a spring.

See the Preface to Anyte 9.314 = *HE* xvii, another epigram on a statue of Hermes Ἐνόδιος beside a spring. Such epigrams are presumably literary exercises, variations on the theme of actual inscriptions (which would probably not often exceed the length of one or at the most two distichs) such as Kaibel *ep.* 813, on a stone from Athens, Ἑρμῆν Ναϊάδων συνοπάονα θῆκέ με τῇδε | ἐσθλὸς ἀνὴρ κρήνης κρατὸς ἐπ' ἀνάνου.

Phrasing and vocabulary are simple, the style is not elaborate; this epigram may be of quite early Hellenistic date.

A.P. 10.12 (caret Pl) ἀδέσποτον

τᾶιδ' ὑπὸ τὰν ἄρκευθον ἴτ' ἀμπαύοντες, ὀδῖται,  
 γυῖα παρ' Ἑρμείαι σμικρὸν ὁδοῦ φύλακι,  
 μὴ φύρδαν, ὅσσοι δὲ βαρεῖ γόνυ κάμνετε μόχθῳ 1390  
 καὶ δίψαι, δολιχὰν οἶμον ἀνυσσάμενοι·  
 5 πνοιὰ γὰρ καὶ θῶκος εὐσκίος, ἃ θ' ὑπὸ πέτραι  
 πίδαξ εὐνήσει γυιοβαρῇ κάματον·  
 ἐνδιον δὲ φυγόντες ὀπωρινοῦ κυνὸς ἄσθμα  
 ὥς θέμις Ἑρμείην εἰνόδιον τίετε. 1395

3 ὅσσοι... βαρεῖ Huschke: ὅσσον... βάρη P 4 ἀνυσά- P 5 πνοιὰ Page:  
 πνοιῇ P εὐσκίος Jacobs: σύσκιος P ἃ Huschke: αἱ P  
 prim. ed. Huschke *anal. crit.* p. 232; Jacobs\* *paralipomena* 1.106.

5–6 [1392–3] Closely related to Leonidas 6.334.1–2 = *HE* 1966–7 αἱ θ' ὑπὸ πέτρῃ | πίδακες.

ἃ θ': ἃ δ' Jacobs, perhaps rightly.

εὐνήσει: perhaps εὐνάσει.

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γυιοβαρῆ: the author may have thought this his own, but it occurs in A. Ag.  
63.

7 [1394] φυγόντες ὀπωρινοῦ κυνὸς ἄσθμα: closely related to the seventh line of the following epigram (LXXIV).

ἐνδι- is normal prosody; see the note on Myrinus 7.703.3 = *PG* 2570.  
 δπαρῖν- always in Homer (*cf.* δρθῖνος, Antipater of Sidon 6.160.1 = *PG* 182 n.), δπαρῖν- Hes. *op.* 415, 674, and Attic.

## LXXIV

On a statue of Hermes in the country.

This epigram is similar to the preceding (LXXIII), but more elaborate and picturesque. The model is Anyte 9.313 = *HE* xvi and *A. Plan.* 228 = xviii. The style is Hellenistic; *boni poetae epigramma* as Jacobs said.

A. Plan. (Pl<sup>A</sup>) 227 s.a.n.      εἰς τὸ αὐτό; Syll. E 28

τᾷδε κατὰ χλοεροῖο ῥιφεῖς λειμῶνος, ὀδίτα,  
 ἄμπανσον μογεροῦ μαλθακὰ γυῖα κόπου,  
 ἦχι σε καὶ Ζεφύριοι τινασσομένη πίσυς αὔραις  
 θέλξει τεττίγων εἰσαίνοντα μέλος  
 5 χῶ ποιμὴν ἐν ὄρεσσι μεσαμβρινὸν ἀγχόθι παγᾶς 1400  
 συρίσδων λασίας θάμνῳ ὑπὸ πλατάνου·  
 καῦμα δ' ὀπωρινοῖο φυγῶν κυνὸς †ἄλμα δ'† ἀμείψεις  
 †αὔριον†· Ἑρμείη τοῦτ' ἐνέποντι πιθοῦ.

2 κόπου Syll.: καμάτου Pl     7 καῦμα δ' Syll: καύματ' Pl     ἄλμα δ' Pl:  
αἶας Syll.     8 αὔριον Pl: αἶπ' Syll.     Ἑρμείη τοῦτ' ἐνέσποντι Pl<sup>sscr</sup> alio  
atramento: εὗ τόδε σοι Πανὶ λέγοντι πιθοῦ Pl, ἐρημίη τοῦ ἐνέσποντι πιθοῦ  
Syll.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* cclx.

5-6 [1400-1] μεσαμβρινόν...συρλιδων: the author has forgotten that shepherds ought not to pipe at noontide; Theocr. 1.15-17 οὐ θέμις, ὦ ποιμήν, τὸ μεσαμβρινόν, οὐ θέμις ἄμμιν | συρλιδεν. τὸν Πᾶνα δεδοίκαμες. ἡ γὰρ ἀπ' ἄγρας | τανίκα κεμακῶς ἀμπαύεται. On -σδ- for -z-, see 'Plato' 632 n.

7-8 [1402-3] καὶ μα... κυνός: cf. LXXIV 7 n.

The text following *κυνός* is bewildering. Syll. E has some bad corruptions in 1-6, but also some uncorrupted readings, *κόπου* and *καῦμα δ'*, and it has preserved, slightly corrupted, the true text in *Ἐρμεῖνι . . . πιθοῦ*, where Planudes, evidently unable to make sense of his source, has substituted something of his own composition, *εὔ τόδε σοι κτλ.*; the truth being discovered later and added above the line. The problems of the preceding clause are insoluble. When Planudes substitutes his own composition, it is very seldom nonsense, and *ἄλμα δ'* is therefore more likely to be the best he could make of his source than free invention. That the source was gravely corrupt in Syll. E is shown by the unintelligible *ἄσας* in this place. *ἀόριον*, on the other hand, may be part of the same stop-gap as *εὔ τόδε σοι κτλ.* If Planudes' source for this line was anything

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like Syll. E's, with ἀπ' ἐρημίῃ, Planudes would be likely to substitute a whole line of his own.

What the context calls for is 'you will exchange heat for coolness', e.g. αἶθρον ἀμείψεις | ἥπιον.

### LXXV

On a statue of Hermes in lonely mountain-country.

A lively and original variation on the theme of the two preceding epigrams. The phrasing is terse and picturesque; *elegans epigramma et optima aetate dignum*, Jacobs.

A. Plan. (P<sup>1B</sup>) 256 s.a.n.

ὄχθηρὸν τὸν χῶρον ἔχω καὶ ἔρημον, ὀδῖτα·  
οὐκ ἐγώ, ὁ στήσας δ' αἴτιος Ἀρχέλοχος. 1405  
οὐ γὰρ ὄρειοχαρὴς ὠρμᾶς οὐδ' ἀκρολοφίτας,  
τὸ πλεῦν δ' ἀτραπιτοῖς, ὤνερ, ἀρεσκόμενος.  
5 Ἀρχέλοχος δ' ὥς αὐτὸς ἐρημοφίλας καὶ ἀγείτων,  
ὦ παριῶν, τοῖον κάμῃ παρωικίσσατο.

Jacobs\* *adesp.* ccxxxvi.

**2 [1405] Ἀρχέλοχος:** this form of the name elsewhere only of a Trojan, son of Antenor, in the *Iliad*, perhaps therefore not fictitious here. The epigram, if not inscriptional, may have been inspired by an actual statue of Hermes in the hills – a most unusual place for him, as the epigram says.

**3 [1406] ὄρειοχαρὴς:** here only. ἀκρολοφίτας elsewhere only Leonidas 6.221.9 = *HE* 2299.

**5 [1408] ἐρημοφίλας:** elsewhere only Paulus 9.396.4.

**6 [1409] κάμῃ παρωικίσσατο:** the same line-end in Callimachus 9.336.4 = *HE* 1320.

### LXXVI

On a statue of Pan.

The type is common: 'Simonides' *A. Plan.* 232 = v, Alcaeus *A. Plan.* 226 = *HE* xx, Anyte *A. Plan.* 231 = *HE* xix, Nicarchus 9.330 = *HE* i, Nicias *A. Plan.* 189 = *HE* viii, 'Plato' *A. Plan.* 13, Philip 6.99 = *PG* xv, Archias 10.10 = *PG* xxix, Apollonius of Smyrna *A. Plan.* 235 = *PG* i p. 146, anon. 9.142, *A. Plan.* 12, 258–9, 262, Arabius *A. Plan.* 225, Theaetetus Scholasticus *A. Plan.* 233; cf. Meleager 7.535 = *HE* cxxvi, Maccius 9.249 = *PG* ix. The present example is elaborately composed and highly polished in the Alexandrian style; *elegans et optima notae epigramma*, as Jacobs said. The phrases ἱερὰν φάτιν ἄπυε, of Pan's piping, and χρυσέων δονάκων, of his reeds, may seem more Byzantine than Hellenistic, but are more Pindaric than either.

A. Plan. (P<sup>1B</sup>) 17 s.a.n. εἰς Πανὸς ἀγαλμα

ὦ Πάν, φερβομέναις ἱερὰν φάτιν ἄπυε ποίμναις 1410  
κυρτὸν ὑπὲρ χρυσέων χεῖλος ἰεῖς δονάκων,  
ὄφρ' αἱ μὲν λευκοῖο βεβριθόσι δῶρα γάλακτος

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οὐθασιν ἐς Κλυμένου πυκνά φέρωσι δόμον,  
 5 σοὶ δὲ καλῶς βωμοῖσι παριστάμενος πόσις αἰγῶν  
 φοίνιον ἐκ λασίου στήθεος αἶμ' ἐρύγηι. 1415

3 βεβριθόσι Brunck: -θότα Pl  
 Jacobs\* *adesp.* ccxxx.

2 [1411] κυρτόν: *bulging*; with χεῖλος, an original and lively epithet.

χρυσέων...δονάκων: χρύσεος, apparently = *bright, splendid*, is an extraordinary epithet for δόνας; perhaps the author was an admirer of Pindar, cf. *Ol.* 11.13 χρυσέας ἐλαίας, *Pyth.* 10.40 δάφναι...χρυσέαι, *Nem.* 1.17 φύλλοις ἐλαϊᾶν χρυσοῖς.

The line has something in common with 'Plato' 633, ὕγρὸν λείς ζευκτῶν χεῖλος ὑπὲρ καλάμων.

3 [1412] βεβριθόσι: the *enallage* of βεβριθότα δῶρα is awkward, and the interlacing of the adjectives λευκοῖο βεβριθόσι...πυκνά is better suited to the style of this elaborate epigram.

4 [1413] Κλυμένου: very rare as a proper-name except in legend; not elsewhere in the *Anthology*.

5 [1414] πόσις αἰγῶν: a commonplace; Leonidas 9.99.1 = *HE* 2161 αἰγὸς πόσις, 'Theocr.' 8.49 αἰγῶν ἀνερ, *Virg. ecl.* 7.7 *vir gregis*.

## LXXVII

On a wooden image for Pan.

The subject of this elegant epigram is obscure. Herdsmen have made something of wood and placed it by the roadside. The phrasing would seem to suggest that it is not an image of Pan but something carved *for* Pan; not a statue of him, ἀγάλμα, but a plaything for him, ἄθυρμα. Jacobs suggested that it was a club, offered to Pan for his use; Waltz, less probably, an 'objet en miniature, servant d'*ex voto*', perhaps a phallus. It remains possible, despite the apparent implications of the wording, that the object is a rough image of Pan; they carved it 'for Pan', *i.e.* in his honour, or to be his property; and it was something in which he would take pleasure, ἄθυρμα.

The style strongly suggests that the author was of relatively early date. He might be a contemporary of Nicias in the Hellenistic or of Erucius in the late Republican period; *optimae notae epigramma, quod ab antiquo poeta profectum puto*, Jacobs.

A.P. 6.37 (caret Pl) [C] ἀδηλον [P] ἀνάθημα τῷ Πανὶ παρὰ ποιμένων;  
 Suda s.vv. ἄθυρμα (3-4 κάτθ.), ῥυτῆρα (3-4)

γῆραϊ δὴ καὶ τόνδε κεκυφότα φήγινον ὄζον  
 οὔρεσιν ἀγρῶσται βουκόλοι ἐξέταμον,  
 Πανὶ δέ μιν ξέσσαντες ὁδῶι ἔπι καλὸν ἄθυρμα  
 κάτθεσαν ὠραίων ῥύτορι βουκολίων. 1419

2 ἀγρῶσται P<sup>ac</sup> et corrector nescioquis: ἀγρῶται P<sup>bc</sup> 3 ξέσσαντες Suda:  
 ξέσαντες P

Jacobs\* *adesp.* cxxy.



## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

**1 [1416] καί:** it would be hard to say exactly what καί means here, but it is not necessarily corrupt; κατά Reiske, *in tmesi* with κεκυφότα.

**φήγινον ὄζον:** the same line-end in Callimachus 6.351.1 = *HE* 1151. The experts say that φηγός is not *beech* (despite Latin *fagus*), but some kind of oak; *RE* 3.972, 5.2030.

**3 [1418] ἄθυρμα:** ἀντί τοῦ ἀγαλμα, *Suda*. The Budé edition denies that ἄθυρμα is ever equivalent to ἀγαλμα, *statue*, and the silence of *LSJ* implies assent. But anon. 7.154.1 = *LXXVII.1* is clear proof to the contrary: κοινὸν ἐγὼ Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ Ἰναχίδαισιν ἄθυρμα | ἱδρῦμαι, of a statue of Ποινή over the grave of Coroebus in a context which absolutely excludes all notion of ‘plaything’, ‘object of delight’ or the like. The reference here therefore may be to a statue, as in anon. *loc. cit.*, and the meaning may be ‘something for Pan to take pleasure in’; cf. *Pind. Pyth.* 5.23, where a chorus of men is called Ἀπολλώνιον ἄθυρμα, ‘something for Apollo to take pleasure in’.

**4 [1419] ὠραίων:** a very unusual epithet for cattle, but cf. *Theodoridas* 6.157.4 = *HE* 3519 ὠραίους ἄρνας; οὐρέων *Salmasius*.

## LXXVIII

On a statue of Pan beside a spring.

This elegant and picturesque epigram is undatable. It is not possible to include it within the limits of the present collection with confidence; but the alternative, the period of the *Cycle* of Agathias, appears the less probable, for the headings in Σπ and Syll. E suggest that it may have been included in the collection of epigrams ascribed to Plato.

A. Plan. (P<sup>A</sup>, P<sup>B</sup>) 12 s.a.n., Σπ Πλάτωνος, Syll. E 26 Πλάτω(νος) [P<sup>A</sup>] ὡς ἀπὸ Πανός [P<sup>B</sup>] εἰς ἀγαλμα Πανός ἐπὶ πηγῆς ἱσταμένου [Syll.] ἀπὸ Πανός εἰς ὁδοιπόρους

1420

ἔρχεν καὶ κατ' ἑμὰν ἴζευ πítυν, ἃ τὸ μελιχρόν  
πρὸς μαλακοὺς ἤχεϊ κεκλιμένα ζεφύρους.  
ἦνίδε καὶ κρούνισμα μελίσταγές, ἐνθα μελίσδων  
ἄδὺν ἐρημαίοις ὕπνον ἄγω καλάμοις.

1 ἔρχεο P<sup>A</sup>    & P<sup>A</sup>: ἡ rell.    2 κεκλιμένη P<sup>B</sup>    4 ἄδὺν Page: ἡδὺν codd.  
Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* cclix.

**2 [1421] κεκλιμένα:** *aslant*. A πítυν normally stands upright, not sloping, and one would have expected κλινομένα here, *bending* to the wind. Jacobs compared *Alciphron* 2.9 (3.12) *init.* φιλήνεμόν τινα...πίτυν καὶ πρὸς τὰς αὔρας ἐκκειμένην, but that is quite a different verb, and the meaning is simply ‘exposed to the winds’.

**3 [1422] κρούνισμα:** *gush*. The word (here only) is formed after κρουníζω, which appears first in the comedian *Epinicus* (*fr.* 2.3) and is elsewhere rare, late and in prose only. The word may be an indication of a relatively late date for the epigram, but κρούνισμα is not intrinsically more remarkable than πηγάζω which occurs in *Antiphilus* 9.404.6 = *PG* 1048.

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

**μελισταγές:** first in Ap. Rhod. 2.1272 μελισταγέας χέε λοιβάς, Leontius 5.295.1 μελισταγέων στομάτων, of honey-sweet lips.

**μελίσδων:** see 'Plato' 632 n.

**4 [1423] ἐρημαίοις...καλάμοις:** of music in a lonely place as in Meleager 7.196.2 = *HE* 4067 μέλπεις μοῦσαν ἐρημολάλον.

### LXXIX

For a statue of Pan at a spring.

This epigram may well lie outside the date-limits of the present collection. In taking the form of an address by wayfarers, in the plural, and in making the address a prayer that Pan should be generally well-disposed towards those who drink at the spring, it departs from convention. Moreover the use of ἄζομαι with the infinitive is a fault and the phrasing of the rest of the second line is incompetent. There remains the possibility that the abnormalities and poor quality attest not a late but an unpractised hand, and neither the style nor the content suggests the period of the *Cycle* of Agathias.

The context in *A.P.* is not helpful. Two epigrams by *Garland*-authors follow, two by Claudian and one anonymous (in the manner of *Palladas*) precede.

*A.P.* 9.142 [C] ἀδέσποτον, Pl<sup>B</sup> s.a.n. [J] εἰς Πᾶνα παρὰ ὁδοιπόρων ἐστῶτα ἐπὶ τινὶ πηγῇ

κρημνοβάταν δίκερων Νυμφῶν ἡγήτορα Πᾶνα  
 ἀζόμεθ', ὃς πέτρινον τόνδε κέκευθε δόμον, 1425  
 Ἴλαον ἔμμεναι ἄμμιν, ὅσοι λίβα τήνδε μολόντες  
 ἀενάου πόματος δίψαν ἀπωσάμεθα.

3 ἄμμι P

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* cclxi; Hecker 1852.195.

**1 [1424] κρημνοβάταν:** here only, but Strabo has the verb -βατεῖν.

**δίκερων Νυμφῶν ἡγήτορα:** cf. *H. Hom.* 19.2-3 (Πᾶνα) δικάρωτα..., ὃς... ἄμυδις φοιτᾷ χοροήθεσι Νύμφαις.

**2 [1425] ἀζόμεθ':** this is naturally taken to mean 'revere', but the reader is then unable to understand ἔμμεναι when he comes to it, for ἄζομαι is not used with the infinitive except in the sense 'fear to...'. The reader must therefore look back from ἔμμεναι to ἀζόμεθ' and either re-interpret it as if 'revere' could mean 'pray' or supply something of his own, as Paton does, 'worship..., *praying him to be...*'.

**ὃς ... δόμον:** the words are unemendable. Brunck (λέλογχε), Jacobs (γέγηθε), Ludwich (ὃς πετρίνου τοῦδε κέκηδε δόμου) and Stadtmüller (ὃν πέτρινος τῇδε κέκευθε δόμος) merely compose afresh. The Budé translator offers an explanation which involves taking τόνδε κέκευθε δόμον to mean 'demeure invisible dans cette demeure aquatique'.

The author evidently thought that κέκευθε δόμον was a permissible poetical way of saying κρυπτὸν ἔχει δόμον.

**4 [1427] δίψαν ἀπωσάμεθα:** conventional phrasing; Leonidas of Tarentum 9.326.5-6 = *HE* 1982-3 ἀπῶσα δίψαν.

# ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

## LXXX

On a spring.

Planudes is mistaken in saying that this epigram refers to the notorious *Salmacis*, whose waters made the drinker effeminate (see the note on Philodemus 7.222.2 = *PG* 3321). The present waters are not 'effeminate' but 'manly'; the effeminate man cannot blame this spring, as he could that of *Salmacis*, for his weakness. The third line could not possibly be spoken by *Salmacis*.

The epigram is presumably inscriptional. It is undatable, and as likely to be beyond as within the limits of the present collection.

A.P. 9.38 [C] ἀδέσποτον, Π<sup>1</sup> ἀδηλον [J] εἰς ἑτέραν πηγὴν ἄρρεν ὕδωρ  
φέρουσιν καὶ τοὺς μαλακοὺς ἀπελέγχουσιν [Π] εἰς τὴν Σαλμακίδα

εἰ μὲν ἀνὴρ ἦκεις, ἄρυσαι, ξένε, τῆσδ' ἀπὸ πηγῆς·  
εἰ δὲ φύσει μαλακός, μὴ με πίηις πρόφασιν.  
ἄρρεν ἐγὼ ποτόν εἰμι καὶ ἀνδράσι μοῦνον ἄρέσκω· 1430  
τοῖς δὲ φύσει μαλακοῖς ἡ φύσις ἐστὶν ὕδωρ.

Jacobs\* *adesp.* cxcvii.

2 [1429] **πρόφασιν**: 'do not drink me as your excuse', a crabbed way of saying 'do not make drinking me your excuse (as you might if you were drinking *Salmacis*)'.

4 [1431] An obscure line. The sense should be, as Jacobs said, *non aqua sed ipsius natura in culpa est*, but it is hard to get anything like that out of the words. The rendering 'their own nature is water' (Paton; similarly the Budé and Beckby) seems incoherent if not nonsensical.

It is just possible that we are expected to understand 'their water is their nature' to mean 'their water is as their nature is', i.e. it is 'effeminate' water only for those who are already effeminate; but a more convincing explanation would be welcome.

## LXXXI

On a spring in the island of Taphos.

The scholiast on Dionysius of Thrace quotes this epigram among proofs that the art of writing was practised by Greeks in the remotest past; he supposed that an inscribed dedication in the name of Pterelaos, legendary king of the Taphians, was good evidence to this effect, especially as Pterelaos was connected with Amphitryon, from whom also a dedication was forthcoming. Putting this nonsense aside, Preger says 'not earlier than the fourth century B.C.'; that is safe enough, but it may be much later.

A.P. 9.684, Π<sup>B</sup>, s.a.n. [P] εἰς τὴν ἐν Τάφῳ [Πάφῳ codd.] τῇ νήσῳ  
κρήνην

ὥκεανοῦ θυγάτηρ καὶ Τηθύος εἰμι Νύχεια  
κρήνη· Τηλεβόαι γάρ με τόδ' ὠνόμασαν.  
Νύμφαις μὲν προχέω λουτρόν, θνητοῖσι δ' ὕγειν,  
θῆκε δὲ με Πτερέλας, υἱὸς Ἐνυαλίου.

1435

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

schol. Dion. Thrac. ap. An. Bekker 2.784 = An. Cramer 4.320

1 ὤκεσιν ὦ An. Bekker      3 προχέων An. Cramer      θνητοῖσι δ' ὑγείην P:  
θνητῶι δ' ὑγείην An. Cramer, θνητοῖς δ' ὑγείην An. Bekker

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* ccclxiv; Preger 214.

1 [1432] Νύχεια: name of a Nymph in Theocr. 13.45 also; not elsewhere.

2 [1433] γάρ: the monosyllabic particle immediately after the pentameter-caesura has few parallels (Peek 1420.8, 1873.20), but even an enclitic may stand in this position, Philodemus 5.107.4 = *PG* 3191 βαρυσοργήτους | σοι, Philip *A. Plan.* 137.4 = *PG* 3099 Γλαύκη | τις.

3 [1434] ὑγείην: the form ὑγεία appears first in inscriptions of II B.C. On the reappearance of this line (almost) in an inscription from Naupactus (Kaibel *ep.* 1071 = *IG* ix 1.3.611) see the Budé edition, vol. 8 p. 264.

4 [1435] Πτερέλας ... 'Ενυαλίου: the parentage of Pterelaos, and his relation to Taphios and Teleboas, are variously given; Frazer *Apollodorus* 1.167 n. 4, *Myth. Lex.* 3.3261.

### LXXXII

On the Cnidian Aphrodite, one of the two most famous sculptures of Praxiteles.

See the Prefaces to Antipater of Sidon *A. Plan.* 167 = *HE* xlv and Hermodorus *A. Plan.* 170 = *HE* i, both from the series in Planudes 159–70, on the same subject; of the other nine, two each are ascribed to Plato, Euenus, and Lucianus, and three are anonymous.

The motif of the present epigram, ποῦ γυμνὴν εἶδε με Πραξιτέλης;, recurs in the same words in the inferior epigram ascribed to Plato, 669 above, and in anon. *A. Plan.* 168 in the form γυμνὴν εἶδε Πάρις με... | Πραξιτέλης δὲ πόθεν;. If, as seems likely (though not to Benndorf and Beckby), 'Plato' is the borrower, and if, as seems also likely, the collection of epigrams under the name of Plato falls within the Hellenistic period, the present epigram is safely assigned to an Hellenistic poet. It is much the best of the series, a neat and clever composition.

*A. Plan.* (Pl<sup>A</sup>) 162 s.a.n.      ἄλλως

ἃ Κύπρις τὰν Κύπριν ἐνὶ Κνίδωι εἶπεν ἰδοῦσα

“φεῦ φεῦ, ποῦ γυμνὴν εἶδε με Πραξιτέλης;”

1437

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* ccxli.

### LXXXIII

For a statue of Aphrodite, protectress of sailors.

The epigram's claim to inclusion rests on the company it keeps (three by Theocritus precede and four by *Garland*-authors follow) and on its subject and style, which would not have seemed out of place in Philip's *Garland*.

*A.P.* 9.601 (caret Pl) s.a.n.      εἰς ἄγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης

τὸ ξόανον τὸ περισσὸν Ἀεξιμένης Ἀφροδίται

εἶσατο, τῇ πάσης ναυτιλίας φύλακι.

χαῖρ', ὦ πότνια Κύπρι· διδοῦσα δὲ κέρδεα, πλοῦτον      1440

ἄρμενον εἰδήσεις ναῦς <θ'> ὅτι κοινότατον.

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

2 τῆς Jacobs: τῆς P ναυτιλίας Salmasius: ναυπηγίης P φύλακι Jacobs:  
-κα P 3 χάρις ὦ Jacobs: χάριω P 4 θ' suppl. Page  
Jacobs\* *adesp.* cxxvii.

1 [1438] **ξόανον**: presumably a wooden statue (see 1377 n.), such as a seafarer might erect.

**περισσόν**: the statue was in some sense 'extraordinary'; the wooden figure might be much more than life-size, and that would suit the meaning of the adjective best (*ingens hoc simulacrum*, Jacobs).

**Ἀεξιμένης**: the name here only, but there is not much advantage in changing it to Ἀλεξιμένης (Brunck): Ἀλεξιμένης and Ἀλεξαμένης are very rare names.

2 [1439] For Aphrodite as protectress of sailors, see Gaetulicus 1 Pref.

**φύλακι**: φυλακῆς Preisendanz, a doubtful use of φυλακή, too hastily adopted by Waltz and Beckby. The text has φύλακα in apposition to ξόανον, and Jacobs contemplates the possibility that this may be right.

3-4 [1440-1] The editors take πλοῦτον ἄρμενον in apposition to κέρδεα, 'if you give profits, suitable wealth, you will learn that the ship is common to both of us (*i.e.* that it works for you as well as for me)'. But πλοῦτον ἄρμενον is awkwardly placed and superfluous with κέρδεα, and ἄρμενον is not an appropriate adjective. The sense is 'if you give me profits, you will experience wealth suitable to a goddess'. The supplement of θ' is not absolutely necessary, but it restores the style to a normal level, giving εἰδήσεις a double sense ('be acquainted with' and 'be aware that') and a double construction.

## LXXXIV

On a statue of Eros breaking a thunderbolt.

This concise, lucid, and picturesque epigram – a mere dozen words to describe and comment on a complex statue – would have been admired by Meleager himself. It is at least as likely to be within as beyond the limits of the present collection.

There is no other reference to a statue of Eros breaking a thunderbolt; Eros brandishing one was depicted on the shield of Alcibiades (Satyrus *ap.* Athen. 12.534E ἀσπίδα...ἐφ' ἧς ἦν ἐπίσημον Ἔρως κεραυνὸν ἡγκυλημένος; cf. Plut. *Alcib.* 16 ἐπίσημον...Ἔρωτα κεραυνοφόρον), and Eros holding one, a sculpture by Scopas or Praxiteles, stood in the *curia* of Octavia: Pliny *h.n.* 36.28 in *curia Octaviae quaeritur* (sc. *Scopas an Praxiteles fecerit*) de *Cupidine fulmen tenente*; see Jex-Blake and Sellers *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art* 198-9.

A. Plan. (P<sup>B</sup>) 250 s.a.n.

ὁ πτανὸς τὸν πτανὸν ἴδ' ὥς ἄγνυσι κεραυνόν,  
δεικνὺς ὥς κρεῖσσον πῦρ πυρός ἐστιν, Ἔρως. 1443

Jacobs\* *adesp.* cclxvi.

## LXXXV

Eros, sword in hand, gloats over the corpses of a mother and child and of a man executed by stoning.

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

This unconventional and interesting epigram is intelligible only as a description of a painting: 'a pu être faite à propos d'une oeuvre d'art', said the Budé translator, too cautiously; there is no alternative.

The reader is invited to look at a representation of Eros sword in hand. Eros is to be held responsible for a murderous killing (4); the dead are mother and child (5); together with them is a man executed by stoning (6; stones must have been shown in the picture).

The natural interpretation is that the man killed the woman and child and was executed. The cause was love, and a jealous lover seems at least as likely as a wronged or (as the Budé translator suggests) merely wicked husband.

The claim of this epigram to a place in the present collection is not strong. It is one of four *adespota* which stand between epigrams by Antiphilus and Argentarius in a miscellaneous context. Two proparoxytone hexameter-ends exclude it from the *Cycle*, and a date in the time of Antiphilus and Philip would not be surprising.

A.P. 9.157 [C] ἀδέσποτον, P1<sup>A</sup> ἄδηλον [C] εἰς τὸν Ἑρωτα, ὅτι οὐ θεὸς ἀλλὰ πάθος μανίας ἐμπλεον

τίς θεὸν εἶπεν Ἑρωτα; θεοῦ κακὸν οὐδὲν ὀρώμεν  
 ἔργον· ὁ δ' ἀνθρώπων αἵματι μειδιάει. 1445  
 οὐ θεὸν ἐν παλάμαις κατέχει ξίφος; ἡνίδ' ἄπιστα  
 τῆς θειοδμήτου σκῦλα μαιφονίης.  
 5 μήτηρ μὲν σὺν παιδί κατέφθιτο, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς  
 ποίνιμος ἔκτεινεν φῶτα λιθοκτονίη·  
 καὶ ταῦτ' οὗτ' Ἀιδὸς οὗτ' Ἄρεος, ἔργα δ' Ἑρωτος 1450  
 λεύσσομεν, οἷς παίζει κείνος ὁ νηπίαχος.

1 ὀρώμαι P1<sup>ac</sup> 4 θειοδμήτου C: θεοδμήτου P, θεοδηλήτου P1 μαιφονίης  
 CPI: -ίας P 5 αὐταῖς P1<sup>pc</sup> 6 ποίνιμος P1: ποιμένος P 8 λεύσσομεν P  
 Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* cdlxv.

**1-2 [1444-5] θεοῦ . . . ἔργον:** *of a god, we see no evil deed*; the phrasing seems less than perfect, and Stadtmüller's conjecture θεῶι κακὸν οὐκ ἐνορώμεν deserves consideration.

**4 [1447] θειοδμήτου:** the author may have thought that θεόδμητος could stand for θεῖος, as Rumpel thinks it can in Pindar, *Ol.* 3.7 and *Isthm.* 6.11, θεόδματον χρέος and θεοδμάτους ἀρετάς. θεοδηλήτου, the reading (or conjecture) in Planudes, must be forced to mean 'involving destruction by a god' (not as LSJ, 'by which the gods are injured').

**5 [1448] κατέφθιτο, αὐτὰρ:** for the hiatus, see 1384 n.; it is not a token of late composition.

**6 [1449] λιθοκτονίη:** here only.

**7 [1450] Ἀιδὸς οὗτ':** *brevi in longo* within the verse is not allowed in the *Garlands*; the closest parallel is 'Meleager' 7.352.5 = *HE* 4746 Ἀρχίλοχός· ἐπέων. There is nothing comparable in the present collection, unless πόθος is read in Metrodorus 267.

**8 [1451] λεύσσομεν:** we are *looking at* it; it is a picture.

# ANONMYOUS EPIGRAMS

## LXXXVI

On Timomachus' painting of Medea.

On this famous picture, see the Preface to Antipater of Thessalonica *A. Plan.* 143 = *PG* xxix and Page (largely the work of Beazley) *Euripides: Medea* lxvi–lxviii.

The epigram is first in a series (*A. Plan.* 135–43) which includes three authors from Philip's *Garland* (Antipater, Antiphilus, and Philip) and one from the *Cycle* (Julianus). The other three anonymous epigrams in this series, and also *A. Plan.* 83 (on the same subject), look closer to the date of Julianus; this one, well phrased in a plain style, may be contemporary with some of Philip's later authors.

*A. Plan.* (Pl<sup>A</sup>) 135 s.a.n. εἰς εἰκόνα τῆς Μηδείας ἐν τῇ 'Ρώμῃ; Syll. E 65

τέχνη Τιμομάχου στοργὴν καὶ ζῆλον ἔδειξε  
Μηδείης, τέκνων εἰς μόρον ἔλκομένων·  
τῇ μὲν γὰρ συνένευσεν ἐπὶ ξίφος, ἥ δ' ἀνανεύει,  
σώζειν καὶ κτείνειν βουλομένη τέκεα.

1455

3 ἥ δ' Ascensius: ἥ δ' Pl, ἡ δ' Syll. 4 βουλομένην Syll.

Jacobs\* *adesp.* ccxcix.

**3 [1454]** Quite closely related to Antiphilus *A. Plan.* 136.4 = *PG* 1082  
τὸ μὲν εἰς ὄργαν νεύει, τὸ δ' εἰς ἔλεον.

## LXXXVII

On a statue of Retribution, erected over the tomb of Coroebus at Megara.

The story of Coroebus and Psamathe is told succinctly by Pausanias, 1.43.7: Psamathe, daughter of Crotopus, king of Argos, bore a son to Apollo. In dread of her father she exposed the infant, who was devoured by hounds. Apollo sent Retribution to punish the Argives by taking children from their mothers, but Retribution was slain by Coroebus. Apollo now sent a plague; and Coroebus went to Delphi to submit to punishment for the killing of Retribution. The oracle forbade him to return to Argos, and ordered him to take a tripod from the sanctuary, to build a temple on the spot where the tripod should slip to the ground, and to make his home there. The tripod fell to the ground in the region of Mt Geranea in the Megarid, and Coroebus founded a village, Tripodiscus, on the spot.

Pausanias concludes: 'The tomb of Coroebus is at Megara, in the *agora*; elegiacs are written on it, those concerning Psamathe and those concerning Coroebus. Placed on the tomb is a figure of Coroebus killing Retribution; these are the oldest stone statues made by Greeks known to me from my own observation.'

The question whether the present epigram is one of the two mentioned by Pausanias ('the one concerning Coroebus') was answered in the affirmative by Hecker (1843.194–204), in the negative by Huschke (*anal. crit.* (1800)

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

189-98), by Heyne (in a letter to Huschke reproduced *ibid.* 197-8), and by Jacobs (*paralipomena* 1.33); of later editors of the *Anthology* only Dübner and the Budé translator express an opinion, the former inclining to agree with Hecker, the latter agreeing with Huschke. The principal editors of Pausanias, Frazer (2.537) and Hitzig and Blümner (1.373), agree with Hecker, and so does Pfeiffer on Call. *fr.* 1.29.

It seems as certain as such things can be that Huschke was right. In Pausanias, the monument represents Coroebus in the act of killing Retribution. In the epigram, the statue which speaks is that of Retribution, who says that Coroebus lies buried below her; and it is highly improbable that the figure which says this is one which is in the act of being killed by Coroebus. If the epigrammatist envisages two figures on the monument, one killing the other, it will be the triumphant killer, not the one *in articulo mortis*, who offers the onlooker this summary of the legend.

I find no argument on the other side, and can think of only one. If (as the supporters of Huschke must suppose) the epigrammatist envisages a monument on which Retribution stands alone, above the tomb of Coroebus, it would be more natural to say κείται ὧδε than κείται δ' ὧδε; as it stands, the first line of this couplet seems better suited to a monument on which both figures are represented, the second line adding some information about one of them. But it is not less true that the actual expression in the first line is well suited to what is essentially a narration of a sequence of events (ιστορίη, 6); that the speaker should say κτείνων, not κτείνας, if Coroebus is present; and that it would be absurd to call Retribution τυμβοῦχος if the true occupant of the tomb is not only buried in it but also the dominant figure above it, in the act of killing her.

This conclusion may be necessary; it is anything but welcome. The composer has gone out of his way (for the legend is not a common one) to write about the tomb of Coroebus. If he had seen the tomb, with its portrayal of Coroebus killing Retribution, he would presumably not have written as though Retribution stood alone and in a condition to describe events, calling herself 'possessor of the tomb'. If on the other hand he had not seen the tomb, it is still not easy to imagine why he should choose to write as if he had.

Some have looked for his source of inspiration in a quite different region, the First Book of the *Aetia* of Callimachus (*fr.* 26-31; later accounts and allusions, including especially Stat. *Theb.* 1.570ff. and Conon *narr.* 19, are assembled by Huschke and Hecker *loc. cit.*, by Stoll in *Myth. Lex.* 2.1384, and by Eitrem in *RE* 11.1419). It is not possible to discern any special relation between the two; the remains of Callimachus' account are exiguous, and the epigram seems to say nothing that is not in the common story. There remains, however, one point worth brief mention.

In the last line of the epigram Psamathe is called ἡ κείνου νύμφη. κείνου has no obvious antecedent except Κόροιβος in 3, and the natural inference is that the epigram follows a version of the story in which Psamathe was, or was to be, the bride of Coroebus. No such version is known, but Jacobs (13.645) suggested that Callimachus might be the source: *fortasse apud Callimachum Psamathe Coroebo desponsata fuisse tradebatur*. The only possible alternative is



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awkward: κείνου must be referred to Apollo, whose name must be understood from that of his oracle, Δελφίς φάμα at the beginning of the sentence; and it will be necessary to allow that a woman seduced by a god may be called his 'bride', for whereas νύμφη unqualified may mean simply 'young woman', νύμφη τινός can only mean 'somebody's bride'.

The last point would be a serious obstacle if Callimachus himself did not come to the rescue. It is indeed most unusual to call a god's mortal paramour his 'bride', but if this epigrammatist wanted authority he could have found it in Callimachus: *H. Apoll.* 90, Cyrene is Apollo's bride, ἔηι νύμφη; *fr.* 66.2 νύμφα Ποσειδάωνος, of Amymone; perhaps also *fr.* 110.59 νύμφης Μινωίδος, 'the Minoan bride (of Dionysus)', as in *S. Ant.* 1115 Καδμείας νύμφας, 'the Cadmean bride (of Zeus)', though in these two places the god is not named and the meaning may be 'young woman, daughter of Minos' and 'of Cadmus'. The word νύμφης, presumably referring to Psamathe, occurs in Callimachus' version of her story, *fr.* 26.10, but there is nothing to show whether 'young woman' or 'bride' is the meaning.

The problem remains unsolved. It is possible that a misunderstanding of Callimachus led the author of this epigram to misrepresent a monument which he had not seen; but it is still not easy to imagine why, if he was dependent on Callimachus, he should choose to tell the story as if he were describing the monument in the market-place at Megara.

The date of this mediocre composition is indeterminable; there is no particular reason to suppose that it is later than c. 50 A.D.

A.P. 7.154 (caret Pl) s.a.n. εἰς Κόρυβον οὐ μένηται Καλλίμαχος ἐν ᾧ Αἰτίων; Suda s.vv. Κῆρ (3), Δελφοί (5-6)

κοινὸν ἐγὼ Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ Ἰναχίδαισιν ἄθυρμα  
 ἱδρυμαὶ Ψαμάθης ἔκδικον οὐλομένης.  
 εἰμὶ δὲ Κῆρ τυμβοῦχος, ὃ δὲ κτείνας με Κόροιβος,  
 κεῖται δ' ὦδ' ὑπ' ἑμοῖς ποσσὶ διὰ τρίποδα.  
 5      Δελφίς γὰρ φάμα τόδ' ἐθέσπισεν, ὄφρα γενοίμαν      1460  
 τᾶς κείνου νύμφας σῆμα καὶ ἱστορίης.

1 Μεγαρεῦσι καὶ Ἰναχίδαισιν Ruhnken: Μαγ- καὶ -δεσσιν P      6 ἱστορίη Suda prim. ed. Huschke *anal. crit.* p. 189; Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *paralipomena* 1.33.

1 [1456] ἄθυρμα: see 1418 n.; these are the only places in literature where ἄθυρμα = ἀγαλμα.

Ἰναχίδαισιν: or Ἰναχίδησιν (Jacobs). Not Ἰναχίδεσσιν; the women at Argos were indeed the principal sufferers, but the meaning here is simply that the story was the same in both Megara and Argos. Cf. Paus. 1.43.7, the stories told about Coroebus at Megara were κοινὰ τοῖς Ἀργείων.

2 [1457] ἐκδικον: with ἄθυρμα; it is the figure of one 'who took revenge for Psamathe's death'. It seems more artificial to take Ψαμάθης οὐλομένης as genitive absolute, with ἐκδικον adverbial, *cum Psamathe contra ius erierit* (Jacobs).

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In Pausanias' summary account the sending of Retribution appears to be Apollo's reaction to the killing of his infant son, not of his paramour Psamathe; in Stat. *Theb.* 1.596ff., as here, the sending of the *dira lues* is expressly said to be the direct consequence of the killing of Psamathe.

**3 [1458] Κήρ:** = Ποινή in Pausanias; *monstrum* and *dira lues* in Statius.

**τυμβούχος:** the word here only. The implication is that she stands alone upon the tomb; she may then be said to 'possess the tomb', even though another is buried there.

**4 [1459] διὰ τρίποδα:** closely with ὤδε; he is buried here (and not elsewhere) because of the tripod – because the oracle ordered him to spend the rest of his life where the tripod fell, in the Megarid.

**6 [1461] ὄφρα:** if the composer means what he says, he is stating that the Delphic oracle is responsible for the placing of a figure of Retribution on the tomb of Coroebus. It would then be inconceivable that he should have envisaged a monument in which Coroebus is killing Retribution; she will be there to remind the world of his punishment, not of his service to Argos.

**νύμφας σῆμα καὶ ἱστορίης:** the avenger of Psamathe's death calls herself 'a token of the bride and of the story', an odd phrase:

(a) σῆμα, which in a sepulchral context is expected to mean *tomb*, here means *sign*, as in Leonides of Alexandria 6.325.4, where the poet calls his epigram φιλῆς σῆμα, a sign of friendship (σῆμα a synonym of σύμβολον, as in 6.328.2 σύμβολον εὐεπίης) and Gaetulicus 196, where the quiver dedicated is called σῆμα εὐστοχίης.

(b) The coupling of 'bride' and 'story' is uncomfortable, not at all as in Leonides and Gaetulicus *loc. cit.*, φιλῆς σῆμα καὶ εὐμαθίης and σῆμα καὶ εὐτυχίης θῆκε καὶ εὐστοχίης. ἱστορίη (preferred by Huschke, and accepted by Waltz alone among modern editors) is not less disagreeable ('I am the bride's symbol and the story').

## LXXXVIII

Aeneas rescues his father Anchises from the flames of Troy.

Anchises is never named in epigrams earlier than the *Cycle*, and Aeneas appears very seldom (Bassus 9.236 = *PG* vi). There is no parallel in the *Anthology* to the present theme, and the date of the epigram must remain uncertain; it is not much like any of this type datable later than the *Garland* of Philip. It is quite likely, but not certain, that a work of art is being described.

A.P. 9.163 [C] ἀδέσποτον, Pl<sup>A</sup> ἄδηλον [C] εἰς Αἰνεῖαν τὸν ἥρωα ὅτε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα ἐβάστασεν

ἐκ πυρὸς Ἰλίουκοῦ δорάτων μέσον ἥρπασεν ἥρωας  
Αἰνεΐας, ὅσιον παιδὶ βάρος, πατέρα,  
ἐκλαγε δ' Ἀργείοις "μὴ ψαύετε. μικρὸν ἐξ Ἄρης  
κέρδος ὁ γηραλέος, τῷ δὲ φέροντι μέγα." 1465

1 ἥρων P<sup>ac</sup> 2 Αἰνεΐαν Pl<sup>ac</sup>

Jacobs\* *adesp.* cdxxxviii.

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### LXXXIX

Against stepmothers.

This neatly phrased epigram is a companion-piece to Parmenion 9.69 = PG vii:

μητρειῆς δύσμηνης αἰὲ χόλος, οὐδ' ἐν ἔρωτι  
ἥπιος· οἶδα πάθῃ σὺ φρονος Ἰππολύτου.

They may be rival compositions by contemporaries.

The theme is commonplace: *de novercalibus odiis omnia plena*, said Jacobs; Hes. *op.* 825, Antipater of Thessalonica 9.23.7 = PG 471. Jacobs thought the epigrams pointless unless they had some special source of inspiration, and suggested a painting of Hippolytus. This may be right, though it remains possible that the lines were composed for the sake of the novel observation that even a loving stepmother may be dangerous.

A.P. 9.68 [C] ὀδέσποτον, Pl<sup>A</sup> ἀδηλον; Syll. E 7

μητρυσὶ προγόνοισιν αἰὲ κακόν, οὐδὲ φιλοῦσαι  
σῶζουσιν· Φαίδρην γινῶθι καὶ Ἰππόλυτον. 1467

2 Φαίδραν Pl

Jacobs\* *adesp.* cdxxxi.

2 [1467] γινῶθι: οἶδα in Parmenion may mean *I know about*, which is adequate, though οἶσθα (Herwerden) would have been more natural. γινῶθι is harder to define. It should mean not 'remember' (as Paton and the Budé render; Beckby has nothing corresponding to the word) but 'recognise', and this would be specially apt if the epigram describes a painting.

## PHILOSOPHICAL EPIGRAMS

### XC

*Facilis descensus Averno.*

This elegant epigram is undatable. Philosophical epigrams of this type are very rare in the period covered by the two *Garlands*. Leonidas, quoted below, is similar; Argentarius 11.28 = PG xxx, Bassus 10.102 = PG ix, Antipater of Thessalonica 11.23 = PG xxxviii, and Alpheus 9.110 = PG iv may be compared but are not much like the present epigram in tone or style.

Mackail said that these lines are 'probably an epitaph on an Athenian who had died at Meroë'; but the person addressed in 1-3 is obviously not one particular corpse, and Meroë is merely a symbol of remoteness.

The sentiment is common: Aeschylus *fr.* 239 N. ἀπλῇ γὰρ οἶμος εἰς Ἄιδου φέροι; Anaxagoras *ap.* Diog. Laert. 2.11 πρὸς τὸν δυσφοροῦντα ὅτι ἐπὶ ξένης τελευτᾷ "πανταχόθεν" ἔφη "ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ εἰς Ἄιδου κατάρβασις"; Aristippus *ap.* Stob. *eccl.* 3.40.8 (3. p. 746 W.-H.) "ἡ οὐ πανταχόθεν" φησὶν ὁ Ἀρίστιππος "ἴση καὶ ὁμοία ἡ εἰς Ἄιδου ὁδός;"; Bion *ap.* Diog. Laert. 4.49 εὐκόλον ἔφασκε τὴν εἰς Ἄιδου ὁδόν; Tymnes 7.477.3-4 = HE 3606-7 ἔστι γὰρ ἴση | πάντοθεν εἰς Ἄιδην ἐρχομένοισιν ὁδός; Leonidas *ap.* Stob. *eccl.* 4.52.28 = HE

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2465-9 εὐθυμος ὦν ἔρεσσε τήν ἐπ' Ἄιδος | ἀταρπὸν ἔρπων, οὐ γάρ ἐστι δύσ-  
βατος | ... | ἰθεῖα δ' ἦι μάλιστα καὶ κατακλινῆς | ἅπασα; Arcesilaus (aboue)  
61-2 εἰς Ἀχέροντα...ἰσα κέλευθα, | ὥς Αἴνος ἀνδρῶν, πάντοθεν μετρούμενα.

A.P. 10.3, P1<sup>A</sup> [PPI] ἄδηλον

εἰς Ἀἶδην ἰθεῖα κατήλυσις, εἴτ' ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν  
στείχοις εἴτε νέκυς νίσειαι ἐκ Μερόης.  
μή σέ γ' ἀνιάτω πάτρης ἀποτῆλε θανόντα·  
πάντοθεν εἰς ὃ φέρων εἰς Ἀἶδην ἀνεμος.

1470

2 στείχεις P1

Jacobs\* *adesp.* cdxliii.

**1-2 [1468-9] ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν:** this does not necessarily imply that the author speaks from Athens or that he is addressing a particular person who died at a distance from Athens; Athens stands for the centre of the world as Meroe stands for its remotest extremity.

Meroe was the later capital of Ethiopia. For its site and remains, see *RE* 15.1049. Herodotus knew of it (2.29.6; How and Wells *ad loc.*), and it could have served at any time thereafter as a symbol of extreme remoteness. The place-name is so used in Greek only here and in Paulus 5.301.1, εἰ καὶ τηλοτέρῳ Μερόης τεὸν ἶχνος ἐρείσεις; it is likely to have been in the minds of authors within the period of Philip's *Garland* (cf. Ovid *Fast.* 4.570 with Frazer's note) because of the remarkable expedition of C. Petronius to Meroe c. 25 B.C. (*RE* 19.1198). Meroe was visited again in the time of Nero: Pliny *h.n.* 6.35 *certe solitudines* (sc. those surrounding Meroe) *nuper renuntiavere principi Neroni; missi ab eo milites praetoriani cum tribuno ad explorandum*. No Roman ever went further south in Africa.

**3 [1470] ἀποτῆλε:** or ἀπο τῆλε, which Jacobs thought rhythmically better. ἀποτῆλε occurs elsewhere only in anon. *A. Plan.* 86.1, adverbial, and *c. gen.* as here in Antipater of Thessalonica 7.637.3 = *PG* 403 ἡϊόνων ἀποτῆλε.

**θανόντα:** the tense implies that the subject is likely to complain even after death; as he very often does in Greek epitaphs.

**4 [1471] ἀνεμος:** a variation for the conventional ὁδός or synonym; ἀτραπός Wakefield, but that is just what the author was deliberately avoiding.

## XCI

The sundial's advice.

The discovery of this ingenious epigram on a sundial at Herculaneum gives it a terminal date-limit, A.D. 79; it may be appreciably earlier.

The point of the epigram is correctly explained by Eust. *Il.* 554.46 and by Planudes in a note here: the seventh to tenth hours on the dial are represented in the Greek numerical system by the letters ζ, η, θ, ι = ζῆθι, *make the best of life*.

A.P. 10.43, P1<sup>A</sup> [PPI] ἄδηλον Kaibel ep. 1122 (Herculanei: in horologio solari)

ἐξ ὥραι μόχθοις ἱκανώταται, αἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτάς  
γράμμασι δεικνύμεναι "ζῆθι" λέγουσι βροτοῖς.

1473

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

Jacobs\* *adesp.* ccxlii.

**2 [1473] γράμμασι δεικνύμεναι:** Rehm in *RE* 8.2424 inferred from this epigram that the actual number-letters were inscribed on the sundial, instead of the usual lines ('*Stundenlinien*'); the point of the phrase is more probably 'the following hours, if shown in letters, spell ζῆθι'.

**ζῆθι:** not merely *live* but *enjoy life*, as in *e.g.* anon. 10.63.1–2, Dio Cass. 69.19 καὶ ἐπὶ γε τὸ μνημα αὐτοῦ τοῦτο ἐπέγραψεν, ὅτι Σίμιλις ἐνταῦθα κεῖται βιοῦς μὲν ἔτη τόσσα, ζήσας δὲ ἔτη ἑπτὰ; Ellis on Catullus 5.1 *vivamus mea Lesbia atque amemus*.

The author of this epigram must have regretted that the message ζῆθι begins with the seventh hour; the sixth would have more suitable: Martial 4.8.1–4 *prima salutantes atque altera conterit hora | ... in quintam varios extendit Roma labores, | sexta quies lassus*; this is still true in Alciphron 3.1 (4). 2 Θεοχάρης δὲ οὐ πρότερον καταλαμβάνει τὴν στιβάδα πρὶν αὐτῷ τὸν οἰκέτην δραμόντα φράσαι τὴν ἕκτην ἑστάναι.

SECTION II

PART 2

ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS PRESERVED  
IN LITERARY SOURCES OTHER  
THAN THE PALATINE AND  
PLANUDEAN ANTHOLOGIES



# ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

XCII

Early VI B.C.; before 582

On a golden statue dedicated in the temple of Hera at Olympia by a tyrant of Corinth.

Plato attests not only the reality of the statue but also, by using the word σφυρήλατος, his familiarity with the inscription; this must therefore be recognised as one of the oldest extant inscriptions in elegiac verse.<sup>1</sup> It is not later than the year of the expulsion of the last Cypselid tyrant from Corinth, traditionally 582 B.C.

The version of Apollas, (b) below, was recognised by Cobet as satirical parody: if the statue was in fact gold-plated (and so Apollas evidently understood σφυρήλατος; see 1 n.), the substitution of 'solid golden' makes the assertion implied in the first line false; the second line will then promote, instead of averting, the doom of the Cypselids.

There are numerous references to this golden statue: Plato *Phaedr.* 236B; Aristot. *Pol.* 1313B; Ephorus *ap.* Diog. Laert. 1.96; Strabo 8.3.30, c 353; Plut. *Pyth. orac.* 13; Paus. 5.2.3; in addition to the authors quoted by Photius—Theophrastus, Apollas (of uncertain date; III/II B.C. likely), Didymus, and Agaclytus (of whom nothing else is known). Various reasons for making the statue are given (see Busolt *Gr. Gesch.* 1.641, Hitzig and Blümner *Paus.* 2.1.287), and various guesses were made about the identity of the donor: the inscription used the word Κυψελιδῶν, and Plato and Aristotle are content with this; Cypselus is chosen by Strabo, Plutarch, Agaclytus, and Pausanias, Periander by Ephorus, Didymus, and the scholia on Plato.

The statue was not to be seen in the time of Pausanias, who has no mention of it in his description of the temple of Hera, but merely refers to it in a digression. Preger suggests that it may have disappeared before the time of Strabo, who refers to it in a past tense, ὧν ἦν καὶ ὁ χρυσοῦς σφυρήλατος Ζεὺς, ἀνάθημα Κυψέλου; it would indeed be surprising if it survived so long, but the inference from this context is unsafe. Strabo was evidently familiar at least with the inscription.

Plato *Phaedr.* 236B s.a.n. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἕτερα πλείω καὶ πλείονος ἄξια εἰπὼν τῶν Λυσίου παρὰ τὸ Κυψελιδῶν ἀνάθημα σφυρήλατος ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι στήθητι; Phot. lex. (et sim. Suda) s.v. Κυψελιδῶν ἀνάθημα ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι· ἐν Φαίδρωι· παρὰ τὸ Κυψ. — στήθητι· ἄλλ' οὐ Κυψελιδῶν, Κυψέλου δὲ φασὶ τὸ ἀνάθημα, ὡς Ἀγάκλυτος ἐν τῷ περὶ Ὀλυμπίας φησίν, οὕτως· ναὸς τῆς Ἥρας παλαιός, ἀνάθημα Σκιλλουντίων, οὗτοι δὲ εἰσιν Ἥλείων. ἔνεστι δ' ἐν αὐτῷ χρυσοῦς κολοσσός, ἀνάθημα Κυψέλου τοῦ Κορινθίου... Δίδυμος δὲ κατασκευάσαι τὸν κολοσσόν φησι Περίανδρον... καὶ γὰρ Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ περὶ Καιρῶν β' λέγει οὕτως... φέρεται δὲ τι καὶ ἐπιγραμμα τοῦ κολοσσού·

- |     |   |      |
|-----|---|------|
| (a) | εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ χρύσεος σφυρήλατός εἰμι κολοσσός, | 1474 |
|     | ἑξῶλης εἴη Κυψελιδῶν γενεά.                 | 1475 |

<sup>1</sup> xcii has a claim to a similar date; otherwise so far as I know the nearest rival is the couplet from Phleious listed by Miss Jeffery *LSAG* p.150, with Plate 24.5, Ἀριστὶς μ' ἀνέθηκε Διὶ Κρονίῳ φάνακτι | παγκράτιον νικῶν τετράκις ἐν Νεμέαι, c.560 B.C., unless μεγάλῃς ἀντὶ φιλημ[σοσύνης, *ibid.* p. 341, with Plate 63.1, implies an elegiac couplet; it is dated '?650-600'.



# ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

ὅπερ Ἀπολλᾶς ὁ Πόντιος οὕτω προφέρεται·

(b) εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ Ζανὸς παγχρύσεός εἰμι κολοσσός, 1474<sup>a</sup>  
ἐξώλης εἴη Κυπελιδᾶν γενεά. 1475<sup>b</sup>

(a) 1 εἰ μὴ Cobet: εἰμι Phot., αὐτὸς Suda χρύσεος Preger: χρυσοῦς codd.  
2 Κυπελιδᾶν Preger: -δῶν codd.

(b) 1 εἰ μὴ (Cobet) ἐγὼ Ζανὸς Page: εἰμι ἐγὼ νάξος Phot., Νάξιός εἰμι ἐγὼ Suda  
2 Κυπελιδᾶν Preger: -δῶν codd.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* cxci, <sup>b</sup>App. 135; Preger 53; Hecker 1852.261.

(a) 1 [1474] χρύσεος σφυρήλατος: see Gow on Theocr. 22.47. It is not certain whether σφυρήλατος, which is often applied to work in gold, distinguishes generally the solid from the cast (LSJ *s.v.*), or (as Gow suggests) the harder from the less hard material, or (as Hitzig and Blümner *Paus.* 2.1.286 and many others) gold plating from solid gold.

*Cf.* anon. *A.P.* 14.2.1 Παλλὰς ἐγὼ χρυσοῦ σφυρήλατος.

κολοσσός: at this date simply 'statue', without any suggestion of extraordinary size; see Fraenkel on *A. Agam.* 416.

2 [1475] *Cf.* Theognis 894 ὥς δὴ Κυπελιδᾶν Ζεὺς δλέσειε γένος.

(b) 1 [1474<sup>a</sup>] Ζανός: Strabo and Pausanias say that the statue was of Zeus, and there is hardly any other possibility here than Ζανός for νάξος, no doubt by way of νάξος.

The non-Doric forms χρυσοῦς and Κυπελιδῶν, expelled by Preger, cannot have stood in a Corinthian epigram of the seventh century, and consistency would demand αἰ μὴ (Bechtel *Gr. Dial.* 2.269).

## XCIII

588 B.C.?

On a Samian boxer named Pythagoras.

See the Preface to Theaetetus *ap.* Diog. Laert. 8.48 = *HE* vi, on the same subject. Eratosthenes related that Pythagoras came to box at the 48th Olympiad (= 588 B.C.) with long hair and a purple cloak; being excluded with ridicule from the boys' contest, he entered the men's, and won. This adventure is implied in Theaetetus, τὰ δ' ἔργα μου εἴ τιν' ἔροιο | Ἥλεις, φήσεις αὐτὸν ἄπιστα λέγειν, and was probably the subject of a following distich in the present epigram; the preserved lines do not say, what must have been stated, that Pythagoras won a victory.

The style is plain, and has an antique ring; this may be a copy of an inscription on a statue set up for Pythagoras at Olympia in his time.

Diog. Laert. 8.49 s.a.n. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀθλητοῦ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τοῦτ' ἐλέγετο τὸ ἐπίγραμμα·

οὗτος πυκτεύσων ἐς Ὀλύμπια παισὶν ἄνηβος  
ἦλυθε Πυθαγόρης ὁ Κράτεω Σάμιος. 1477

1 οὗτος P<sup>ret</sup>: οὕτω B<sup>FP</sup><sup>ac</sup> 2 ὁ Κράτεω P<sup>ret</sup>: ὁ Κρότεω F<sup>FP</sup><sup>ac</sup>; ὁ Κροτῶνιος B<sup>pc</sup>  
Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* dcx, <sup>b</sup>App. 284; not in Preger.

# ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

XCIV

First half of VI B.C.

Dedication of a statue of Apollo (or Artemis) at Naxos by Euergos.

Pausanias has misunderstood this epigram, taking Εὐεργος to be an adjective and supposing that the εὐεργος παῖς Βύζεω was himself named Βύζης; moreover, he quotes the opinion that statues in Naxos inscribed with this epigram were the work of his 'Byzes', whereas the epigram refers to him as the dedicator and says nothing about any sculptor. Pausanias' informants were misled by the word ΕΥΕΡΓΟΣ, not recognising it as a proper-name.

The addition 'who first made tiles of stone' might refer either to Euergos or to Byzes. As a rule the relative pronoun in such contexts refers to the principal subject (here Euergos), but in this example it is almost certainly not so; of a number of Naxian tiles found on the Athenian acropolis, one has the inscription BY, presumably representing ΒΥΖΗΣ. Pausanias' date for him, the first half of the sixth century B.C., will then be not quite accurate, if it is true that the tile is not later than the seventh century (Sauer *Ath. Mitt.* 17.41, Robert *RE* 3.1160; Jeffery *LSAG* p. 304 n. 7, says '7th c.?').

That Naxos was indeed the earliest source of stone tiles is shown to be probable by Lepsius *Gr. Marmorstudien* 123ff., 132ff.

The context in Pausanias is concerned with the temple of Zeus at Olympia; its tiles were originally of Parian or possibly Naxian marble, later replaced by Pentelic (Frazer *Paus.* 3.496-7).

Paus. 5.10.3 s.a.n. κέραμος δὲ οὐ γῆς ὀπτῆς ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ κέραμου τρόπον λίθος ὁ Πεντέλῃσιν εἰργασμένος· τὸ δὲ εὕρημα ἀνδρὸς Ναξίου λέγουσιν εἶναι Βύζου, οὐ φασιν ἐν Νάξῳ τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐφ' ὧν ἐπίγραμμα εἶναι·

Νάξιος Εὐεργός με γένει Λητοῦς πόρε, Βύζεω

παῖς, ὃς πρῶτιστος τεῦξε λίθου κέραμον.

1479

ἡλικίαν δὲ ὁ Βύζης οὗτος κατὰ Ἀλυάττην ἦν τὸν Λυδὸν καὶ Ἀστυάγην τὸν Κναξάρου βασιλεύοντα ἐν Μήδοις.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* ccvii, <sup>b</sup>App. 254; Preger 106.

1 [1478] γένει: 'offspring, even of a single descendant', LSJ II 1, a very rare use.

XCV

516 B.C.

On a monument commemorating the victory of Cleosthenes in the chariot-race at Olympia in 516 B.C.

There is no other information about Cleosthenes. On the sculptor Hageladas see Pfuhl *RE* 7.2189 (on the present epigram, 2192).

Paus. 6.10.6 s.a.n. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Παντάρκει Κλεοσθένους ἐστὶν ἄρμα ἀνδρὸς Ἐπιδαμνίου. τοῦτο ἔργον μὲν ἐστὶν Ἀγελάδα. . . ἐνίκα μὲν δὴ τὴν ἑκτὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ ἐξηκοστὴν ὁ Κλεοσθένης, ἀνέθηκε δὲ ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἵπποις αὐτοῦ τε εἰκόνα καὶ τὸν ἡνίοχον. ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ καὶ τῶν ἵππων τὰ ὀνόματα Φοῖνιξ καὶ Κόραξ. ἑκατέρωθεν δὲ οἱ παρὰ τὸ ζυγόν, κατὰ μὲν τὰ δεξιὰ Κνακίας, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστερᾷ Σᾶμος. καὶ ἔλεγείον τόδε ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄρματι·

# ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

Κλεοσθένης μ' ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Πόντιος ἐξ Ἐπιδάμνου 1480  
νικήσας ἵπποις καλὸν ἀγῶνα Διός.

τῶν δὲ ἵπποτροφησάντων ἐν Ἑλλάδι πρῶτος ἐξ Ὀλυμπίαν εἰκόνα ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Κλεοσθένης οὗτος.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* cxl, <sup>b</sup>App. 227; Preger 125; Moretti no. 141; Ebert no. 4.

**1 [1480] Κλεοσθένης:** Κλεο- monosyllabic; the resultant cretic proper-name is freely accommodated at the beginning of an inscriptional hexameter.

**Πόντιος:** Πόντις a proper-name here only, presumably an abbreviation like Zeuxis for Zeuxippus; Νίκις is similar (*cf.* Ernst Fraenkel *RE* 16.1629, Θέογνις said to be a shortened form of Θεόγνητος).

**2 [1481]** Formular phrasing; *cf.* *IG* vii 530 = Kaibel *ep.* 938 κήρυξ νικήσας καλὸν ἀγῶνα Διός, 3532 = Kaibel *ep.* 492 ἵπποις νικήσας, both Hellenistic; in *IGA* 355 νικήσα]ς καλὸν ἀγῶνα Διός is a likely restoration.

## XCVI

Later part of VI B.C.

Charmos dedicates an altar to Eros.

Athenaeus' text gives as his source Kleidemos, the earliest of the native Attidographers (mid-fourth century B.C.), but the book quoted is Νόστοι, a work not of Kleidemos but of Antikleides, who lived in the late fourth or early third century B.C. This book by Antikleides is quoted by Athenaeus in several other places, and the change of Κλείδημος to Ἀντικλείδης may be confidently accepted (Stiehle *Philol.* 9.475, approved by Jacoby *Atthis* 252 n. 69).

Nothing more is known about Charmos than is related here, except that he had a son named Hipparchus (Lycurg. *Leocr.* 117) who was ostracised (*Ath. Pol.* 22.16).

We must take it from Antikleides that this altar and this inscription were to be seen in the Academy at Athens in the fourth century; and we must infer that it was a genuine relic of the Peisistratean period, for nobody thereafter would have created a bogus monument so inscribed, commemorating the infamous Hippias and his lover. We should like to know whether Charmos composed the epigram himself or commissioned Anacreon or some other court-poet.

The altar was dedicated in the Academy 'at the end of the Gymnasium': the Academy was a favourite haunt of Hippias' brother Hipparchus, who 'built a wall round it at great expense, which he compelled the Athenians to defray' (Frazer *Paus.* 2.389, from Suda s.v. τὸ Ἱππάρχου τείχιον). The epigram carries back a hundred years our evidence for the association of a gymnasium with the Academy, otherwise first in Aristophanes *Nub.* 1002ff. (Dover on 1005).

Athen. 13.609c s.a.n. Ἀντικλείδης [Κλείδημος cod.] ἱστορεῖ ἐν ἡ Νόστων· ἐξέδωκεν δὲ καὶ Ἱππάρχῳ τῷ υἱεὶ τὴν παραιβατήσασαν αὐτῷ γυναῖκα Φύην τὴν Σωκράτους θυγατέρα, καὶ Χάρμου τοῦ πολεμαρχήσαντος θυγατέρα ἔλαβεν Ἱππία περικαλλεστάτην οὔσαν τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν τυραννεύσαντι. συνέβη δέ, ὡς φησι, τὸν Χάρμον ἑραστὴν τοῦ Ἱππίου γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἀκαδημία Ἔρωτα ἰδρύσασθαι πρῶτον, ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγράφεται·

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ποικιλομήχαν' Ἔρωσ, σοὶ τόνδ' ἰδρύσατο βωμόν  
Χάρμος ἐπὶ σκιεροῖς τέρμασι γυμνασίου.

1483

Paus. 1.30.1 πρὸ δὲ τῆς εισόδου τῇς ἑς Ἀκαδημίαν ἐστὶ βωμὸς Ἔρωτος ἔχων ἐπιγράμμα ὡς Χάρμος Ἀθηναίων πρῶτος Ἔρωτι ἀναθεῖν; Plut. *Solon* 1 λέγεται δὲ καὶ Πεισίστρατος ἐραστής Χάρμου γενέσθαι καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἔρωτος ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ καθιερωσάι, ὅπου τὸ πῦρ ἀνάπτουσιν οἱ τὴν ἱερὰν λαμπάδα διαθέοντες

Jacobs\* *adesp.* ccxiii, <sup>b</sup>App. 302; Preger 70; Hecker 1852.233.

1 [1482] **ποικιλομήχαν'**: here only.

**βωμόν**: πρῶτος Hecker, because of ἰδρύσασθαι πρῶτον in Antikleides and πρῶτος ἀναθεῖν in Pausanias. This may be right, but τόνδ' calls for βωμόν, and it would be odd if the lover, dedicating an altar to the beloved, made the sole point of his epigram the fact that this was the first altar ever dedicated to Eros. Perhaps πρῶτος was the best that Antikleides could make of an illegible last word in the line.

That the object dedicated was an altar is stated in the epigram and by Pausanias (who presumably saw it); Plutarch says that it was a statue of Eros, and that is what Antikleides is naturally taken to imply.

2 [1483] **Χάρμος**: we prefer the account of Antikleides, who says that Charmos was the lover of Hippias, to that of Plutarch, who says that Peisistratos was the lover of Charmos.

## XCVII

Late VI B.C.

For a statue of a horse, victorious at Olympia.

Pausanias notes a discrepancy between the official records and the text of a victor's dedication at Olympia: the latter stated that a horse named Lycus won once at the Isthmia and twice at Olympia, crowning with glory the house of the sons of Pheidolas; whereas the official victor-list at Elis recorded only one Olympic victory for the sons of Pheidolas (in 508 B.C.). This is very odd, because we must take it from Pausanias that there actually was an Olympic statue with an inscription asserting two victories; and the inscription must be more or less contemporary with the event, for the later world had no interest in the sons of Pheidolas.

Bergk (*PLG* 3.282), approved by Preger and Moretti, inserted τ' after παίδων in v. 2; the inscription then states that Lycus' two victories glorified the house of Pheidolas *and* his sons, implying that Pheidolas won one victory and his sons the other. The sequence of events would be acceptable. For example, Pheidolas might ride Lycus to victory in 512 B.C., being himself 35 years old, his eldest son 14; and his eldest son, now 18, might ride Lycus to victory again in 508 B.C. The horse in anon. LXI(a) above won twice at Delphi and there were two examples of three successive victories in the chariot-race at Olympia by the same team of mares.<sup>1</sup> But there remains the serious objection that the inscription did not in fact have τ' after παίδων; given Bergk's text, the discrepancy noted by Pausanias does not exist. It will be necessary to suppose that the inscriber inadvertently omitted the letter or letters τ(ε).

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. 6.103; see Jebb *Bacchylides* 198 n. 2.

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

Bergk supported his conjecture by referring to *A.P.* 6.135 = 'Anacreon' vi:

οὗτος Φειδόλα ἵππος ἀπ' εὐρυχόροιο Κορίνθου  
ἄγκειται Κρονίδαι, μῆμα ποδῶν ἀρετᾶς.

That epigram attests a victory for Pheidolas in the horse-race at a festival in honour of Zeus, and might *prima facie* be referred to a victory with Lycus at Olympia. There is, however, a grave objection: there must then have been two statues of the same horse at Olympia, one attested by 'Anacreon' vi and one by the present epigram; *etenim* (said Preger) *uni equo duo exstructa esse monumenta Olympiae nullam omnino habet veritatis speciem*.

And this is not yet the end of the tale of Pheidolas' victories: Pausanias, in the passage quoted below, says that Pheidolas had a mare named Aura which threw its rider at the start of the race but completed the course and came in first; the judges proclaimed the mare the winner, and the Eleans allowed Pheidolas to dedicate a statue of her at Olympia. This cannot be the occasion to which 'Anacreon' vi refers, for Aura was a mare and the subject of 'Anacreon' vi is masculine, οὗτος Φειδόλα ἵππος; οὗτος cannot be altered to αὕτη or Αὔρα, for the initial A would disrupt the alphabetical order of the series taken from 'Anacreon'.

It is noticeable that Pausanias (a) says nothing about an inscription for the statue of Aura, and (b) is presumably unaware of the dedication represented by 'Anacreon' vi; if he had known it, he would most probably have mentioned it during so detailed a treatment of the achievements of Pheidolas and his sons.

If we are to save all the phenomena, we must conclude (a) that παίδων τ(ε) was the true text, τε being carelessly omitted by the inscriber; (b) that Pheidolas won in horse-racing three times – with Aura (Paus. 6.13.9), with an unnamed horse ('Anacreon' vi), and with Lycus (the present epigram); and (c) that his sons won with Lycus in 508 B.C. This is a precarious conclusion, but no other is at our disposal.

Paus. 6.13.9 s.a.n. ἡ δὲ ἵππος ἡ τοῦ Κορινθίου Φειδώλα ὄνομα μὲν, ὡς οἱ Κορίνθιοι μνημονεύουσιν, ἔχει Αὔρα· τὸν δὲ ἀναβάτην ἔτι ἀρχομένου τοῦ δρόμου συνέπεσεν ἀποβαλεῖν αὐτήν, καὶ οὐδέν τι ἤσσον θέουσα ἐν κόσμῳ περὶ τε τὴν νύσσαν ἐπέστρεφε, καὶ ἐπεὶ τῆς σάλπιγγος ἤκουσεν ἐπετάχυνεν ἐς πλεον τὸν δρόμον φθάνει τε δὴ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλλανοδίκας ἀφικομένη, καὶ νικῶσα ἔγνω καὶ παύεται τοῦ δρόμου. Ἡλείοι δὲ ἀνηγόρευσαν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ τὸν Φειδῶλαν καὶ ἀναθεῖναι οἱ τὴν ἵππον ταύτην ἐφίσιν. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ τοῦ Φειδώλα τοῖς παισὶν ἐπὶ κέλῃ τῇ νίκῃ, καὶ ὁ τε ἵππος ἐπὶ στήλῃ πεποιημένος καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἔστιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ·

ὠκυδρόμας Λύκος Ἰσθμὶ ἅπαξ, δύο δ' ἐνθάδε νίκαις

Φειδώλα παίδων ἐστεφάνωσε δόμους.

1485

οὐ μὴν τῷ γε ἐπιγράμματι καὶ τὰ Ἡλείων ἐς τοὺς Ὀλυμπιονίκας ὁμολογεῖ γράμματα· ὁδοῇ γάρ Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ ἐξηκοστῇ καὶ οὐ πέρα ταύτης ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς Ἡλείων γράμμασιν νίκη τῶν Φειδώλα παίδων.

1 Ἰσθμὶ ἅπαξ Pa, La, Vab: Ἰσθμια πύξ Pcd, M, Ag, Lb, Vn

Jacobs\* *adesp.* cxvii, <sup>b</sup>App. 389; Preger 123; Förster no. 129; Moretti nos. 147 and 152; Ebert no. 7.

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**1 [1484]** ὠκυδρόμας: cf. the formations ἀλλοδρόμης (Bacchylides) and διανυδρομένης (Pindar). Eur. *Ba.* 873 has ὠκύδρομος.

**Ἴσθμι'**: epigrammatists avoid elision at the feminine caesura; see *PG* 1 xlii. There is no other example in the present collection (anon. 1666 is not quite the same thing).

**2 [1485]** Φειδῶλα: metre requires Φειδολ- in 'Anacreon' vi, Φειδωλ- here (so spelt also in the text of Pausanias; he has the name four times, always Φειδωλ- except once in cod. Pc Φειδολ-). The proper form is Φειδόλας (= Φειδόλαος, Φειδόλεως, [Dem.] 42.28, Plut. *gen. Socr.* 4, 5, 577D), and Preger may be right in printing Φειδόλα παίδων here with a metrical freedom common in proper-names; ο scanned long is not intrinsically odder than ω scanned short, as in e.g. *Inscr. von Olymp.* 630 (early V B.C.), ξυνὸν Ἀθανοδῶρω [τε] κ' Ἀσωποδῶρω τόδε ἔργον.

παίδων: παίδων τ' Bergk (see Pref.), probably rightly (approved by Peek *Wiss. Z. Halle* 4 (1964/5) Heft 2.233).

### XCVIII

VI p. post.

Tribute to Cedon, who tried to overthrow the Peisistratid tyranny.

This epigram, preserved by Athenaeus in his collection of Attic drinking-songs, reappeared in the Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia*, where Cedon is described as one who 'even before the Alcmaeonidae, set upon the tyrants'. Nothing else is known about him.

Mittelhaus in *RE* 11.110 stated that the phrasing suggests that Cedon was present when the epigram was improvised. Bowra (*Greek Lyric Poetry*<sup>2</sup> 383) rightly denied this, and added that it looks as if Cedon lost his life in the attempt to overthrow the tyranny. That the epigram is a tribute to a man no longer alive is self-evident, and it is a fair guess that, as Cedon's attempt certainly failed, he was killed at the time. It is not, however, better than a guess. Such verses as these and the lament for those who fell at Leipsydrium (*PMG* 907) are rather more likely to have been first composed and sung after the fall of the tyranny; Cedon may (for all we know) have died of some other cause in the interval.

Ath. Pol. 20.5 s.a.n. ἔτι δὲ πρότερον τῶν Ἀλκμεωνιδῶν Κήδων ἐπέθετο τοῖς τυράννοις, διὸ καὶ ἦιδον καὶ εἰς τοῦτον ἐν τοῖς σκολίοις:

ἐγχει καὶ Κήδωνι, διάκονε, μηδ' ἐπιλήθου,

εἰ χρὴ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν οἶνοχοεῖν.

1487

Athen. 695E (1-2) 2 εἰ χρὴ Ath. Pol. (coniecitant Porson et Schweighaeuser): εἰ δὲ χρὴ Athen.

### XCIX

c. 500 B.C.

Two sculptors record their making of the statues of two Olympic victors.

On Damaretos, victor in the first *hoplitodromia* at Olympia in 520 B.C. and again in 516, cf. *IG* II/III<sup>2</sup> 2326.7, Paus. 5.8.10, 8.26.2, 10.7.7, Frazer *Paus.* 4.36. The dates of the victories of his son Theopompos are not known; presumably the statues were erected, with the inscription on a common base, in his time.

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There is no other information about the two sculptors.

Paus. 6.10.4 s.a.n. Δαμαρέτωι δὲ Ἡραιεὶ υἱῶι τε τοῦ Δαμαρέτου καὶ υἱωνῶι δύο ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι γεγόνασιν ἐκάστωι νῖκαι, Δαμαρέτωι μὲν πέμπτηι ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐξήκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδι ὅτε ἐνομήσθη πρῶτον ὁ τοῦ ὅπλου δρόμος, καὶ ὡσαύτως τῇ ἐφεξῆς· πεποίηται ὁ ἀνδριὰς ἀσπίδα τε κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔχων τοῖς ἐφ' ἡμῶν καὶ κράνος ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ κνημίδας ἐπὶ τοῖς ποσὶ· ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀνὰ χρόνον ὑπὸ τε Ἡλείων καὶ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἄλλων ἀφηιρέθη τοῦ δρόμου· Θεοπόμπωι δὲ τῶι Δαμαρέτου καὶ αὐθις ἐκείνου παιδί ὁμωνύμωι ἐπὶ πεντάθλωι, Θεοπόμπωι δὲ τῶι δευτέρωι πάλης ἐγένοντο αἱ νῖκαι. τὴν δὲ εἰκόνα Θεοπόμπου μὲν τοῦ παλαίσαντος οὐκ ἴσμεν, τὰς δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ πάππου φησὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα Εὐτελίδας τε εἶναι καὶ Χρυσόθεμιδος Ἀργείων· οὐ μὴν παρ' ὧι γε ἐδιδάχθησαν δεδήλωκεν· ἔχει γὰρ οὕτως·

Εὐτελίδας καὶ Χρυσόθεμις τάδε ἔργα τέλεσσαν

Ἀργεῖοι τέχνην εἰδότες ἐκ προτέρων.

1489

Jacobs\* *adesp.* cxli, <sup>b</sup>App. 183; Preger 174.

**1 [1488]** The original will have spelt *férga*.

**2 [1489]** ἐκ προτέρων: ἐκ πατέρων Schubart, accepted by Wilhelm *Griechische Epigramme* (1980) p. 34.

C

c. 500 B.C.

On men killed in battle at Selinus in Sicily.

This epitaph has an antique ring, and a likely background for it is the ill-starred expedition of Dorieus to the *terra incognita* of north-western Sicily in the last decade of the sixth century B.C. (*RE* 5.1559). Dorieus left Sparta in disgust (his elder brother, though on the verge of insanity, was preferred as king; *Hdt.* 5.42.1), and after other adventures tried to settle in the north-west of Sicily. He was killed in battle together with all his principal officers except Euryleon, who mustered the remnants and settled in Selinus after liberating that town from its tyrant Pythagoras. He then tried to establish himself as tyrant, but the people rose and killed him on the altar of Zeus in the *agora*. Somewhere amid these events, probably, the occasion of the present epigram is to be found.

The accompanying anecdote, referred to the Spartan king Areus (who reigned 309/8–265 B.C.) by Plutarch in his notes (*i.e.* the *Laconica apophthegmata*), is without a name when he comes to make use of them in the *Life of Lysurgus*. The attribution of the anecdote to Areus is inscrutable. Not very much is known about him; only one other *apophthegma* is ascribed to him; and he has no other connection with Sicily. Areus died not long before the final destruction of Selinus: perhaps he did, after all, go to Sicily, and perhaps the anecdote had its origin in a remark made during a visit to Selinus; no likelier explanation is at hand.

The sense of the anecdote is: 'Their death is an apt punishment for their folly; they should not have put out the fire of tyranny, they should have let the fire burn it up.'

Plut. *Lacon. Apophth.* 217F (cf. *vit. Lysurg.* 20) s.a.n. διὰ Σελινούντος δέ ποτε

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τῆς Σικελίας πορευόμενος (ὁ Ἄρευσ) ἰδὼν ἐπὶ μνήματος ἐλεγείον ἐπιγεγραμμένον·

σβεννύντας ποτὲ τούσδε τυραννίδα χάλκεος Ἄρης 1490  
εἶλε, Σελινοῦντος δ' ἀμφὶ πύλας ἔθανον,

“δικαίως” ἔφη “ἀπεθάνετε, τυραννίδα καιομένην ἀποσβεννύναι ἐπιχειρήσαντες· τούναντίον γὰρ ἔδει ὅλην αὐτὴν ἀφεῖναι κατακαῆναι.”

2 πύλας Lac. codd. GVO, Lyc.: πύλαις Lac. codd. rell.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* dcxxix, <sup>b</sup>App. 314; Preger 41; Peek 23.

CI Ostensibly VI/V, probably IV B.C.

Dedication in the temple of Hera in Samos by Arimnestus, son of Pythagoras.

The authority for this epigram is Duris, despot and historian of Samos, c. 340–260 B.C.: Pythagoras, he says, had a son named Arimnestus, teacher of Democritus; the present epigram accompanied a dedication by Arimnestus in the Samian temple of Hera; the object dedicated was a bronze inscribed with ‘seven wisdoms’, one of which was ‘appropriated’ by Simus the professor of harmonics, the other six consequently disappearing.

We have no idea what is meant by all this. What Simus had in front of him, what he did when he saw it, and what the consequences of his action were, are matters of deepest obscurity. Nor is this the only cause of the editor’s discomfort. He might ruefully confess ignorance of what is meant by ‘seven wisdoms’ and ‘the canon’, and ‘appropriating’ one of the wisdoms in such a way that the other six simultaneously disappear; his deeper disquiet arises from the suspicion that all these questions are unreal – that the whole story, including the epigram, including indeed the very existence of Arimnestus and Simus, is a product of the imagination of Duris.

‘Duris’, said Plutarch (*Pericl.* 28), ‘was not in the habit of keeping his narrative to the truth even when his personal interest was unaffected’; and modern scholars generally have not been kinder in their judgement. So far as this and other epigrams (see Parrhasius Pref.) are concerned, the prosecution’s case is well stated by E. Sellers in the Introduction (xlv–lxvii) to *The Elder Pliny’s Chapters on the History of Art*.<sup>1</sup> The final judgement, that ‘Arimnestos, son of the philosopher Pythagoras, and himself master of the philosopher Democritus, appears a pure creation of Duris’ (Sellers liii), may perhaps be too positively asserted; but it must be admitted that what is said about Arimnestus here looks very like fiction, and that there is no other trace of him in the copious tradition about the Pythagoreans except as the author of a wise saying: Ἀρίμνηστος ὁ Πυθαγόρου υἱὸς ἐρωτηθεὶς τί μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώπῳ, εἶπε “τὸ καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν”; for the definition ‘son of Pythagoras’ we have to wait for the *Gnomologium Vaticanum* (118, ed. Sternbach); those words are missing from what is otherwise the same entry in Stobaeus (*eccl.* 4.51.26 = 5.1072 W.–H.).

If Arimnestus did exist, there is no need to take seriously what Duris says about him, neither his dedication of seven wisdoms inscribed on bronze in

<sup>1</sup> ‘Translated by K. Jex-Blake, with Commentary and Historical Introduction by E. Sellers’, London 1896.



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the temple of Hera nor his teaching of Democritus. Duris was fond of inventing master-pupil relationships (Sellers xlvii ff.), however improbable (in this case, a man whose father was forty years old in 531 B.C. lives on to teach pupils about ninety years later; not impossible, and quite good enough for Duris).

As for Simus: he was, and remained for the next half-millennium, unknown. Iamblichus names a Simus of Paestum;<sup>1</sup> and we are free to guess (for all the good it will do) that he is none other than the light-fingered professor of harmonics.

The present editor agrees with Miss Sellers in regarding the whole story told by Duris, including the epigram, as a product of his own imagination; it is a waste of time to inquire what Duris may have meant by the details of his fiction.

Porphyrus vit. Pythag. 3, p. 19 Nauck = *Vorsokr.* 1.98 s.a.n. Δούρις δ' ὁ Σάμιος ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν ὤρων (= *FGH* 76 F 23, II 145) παῖδά τ' αὐτοῦ (τοῦ Πυθαγόρου) ἀναγράφει Ἀρίμνηστον καὶ διδάσκαλόν φησι γενέσθαι Δημοκρίτου. τὸν δ' Ἀρίμνηστον κατελθόντ' ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς χαλκοῦν ἀνάθημα <ἐν> τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἥρας ἀναθεῖναι τὴν διάμετρον ἔχον ἐγγὺς δύο πήχεων, οὐ ἐπίγραμμα ἦν ἐγγεγραμμένον τόδε·

Πυθαγόρεω φίλος υἱὸς Ἀρίμνηστός μ' ἀνέθηκε  
πολλὰς ἐξευρών εἰνὶ λόγοις σοφίας.

1493

τοῦτο δ' (τούτων μίαν conl. Diels) ἀνελόντα Σίμον τὸν ἁρμονικὸν καὶ τὸν κανόνα σφετερισάμενον ἐξενεγκεῖν ὡς ἴδιον. εἶναι μὲν οὖν ἑπτὰ τὰς ἀναγεγραμμένας σοφίας, διὰ δὲ τὴν μίαν, ἣν Σίμος ὑφείλετο, συναφανισθῆναι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἐν τῷ ἀναθήματι γεγραμμένας.

Not in Jacobs; Preger 108.

**2 [1493]** εἰνί: the form has the sanction of Homer (*Il.* 8.199, 15.150, and three or four times in the *Odyssey*) but is extremely rare in later literature (the reference to E. *Held.* 893 in LSJ should be deleted).

## CII

493 or c. 390 B.C.

Dedication of a Herm near the City Gate of the fortification-walls of Piraeus.

The foundations of the City Gate are well preserved in the north-western reach of the fortification-walls of Piraeus (*RE* 19.87; D 1 on the Plan, p. 82). Between the City Gate (πυλὼν ἀστικός) and a postern-gate (πυλῖς; 'no doubt for pedestrian traffic', *RE* 19.88) stood the figure of Hermes with the inscription recorded here.

There is no certain answer to the much-debated question whether the Herm was dedicated when the walls were originally built in the time of Themistocles (or possibly at the restoration following the retreat of the Persians in 480/479) or on the occasion of the rebuilding under Conon in 395-391 B.C. (Tod *GHI* 2 pp. 22-4) following the destruction of the walls at the end of the Peloponnesian War. ἀρξάμενοι πρῶτοι *prima facie* favours the Themistoclean date; but Conon's wall was to a large extent a new structure (*RE* 19.84; Gomme *Thuc.* 1.264,

<sup>1</sup> vit. *Pythag.* 267, p.191 N. = *Vorsokr.* 1.444, Ποσειδωνιάται Ἀθάμας, Σίμος.

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2.40), and ἀρξάμενοι πρῶτοι might be said of its builders. In favour of Conon's time it has been argued that the Fifth Book of Philochoros was concerned with him; but the answer is reasonable, that a reference to Themistoclean walls might well occur in a discussion of Conon's walls.

There is one argument favouring the Themistoclean date which deserves serious consideration. Philochorus says that the dedicators (οἶδε, 1) were the nine archons (whose names must have been recorded together with the verse-inscription), and the prominence given to these officials is less well suited to the time of the Cononian rebuilding (which was supervised by τεichoποιοί, *IG* II<sup>a</sup> 1658–64), when they were relatively less important, than to the Themistoclean period; and indeed the original building is specifically connected with a particular year of office which is likely to be the archonship: Thuc. 1.93.3, 'Themistocles persuaded them to finish the construction at Piraeus, which had been begun before, during his year of office at Athens.' Themistocles was eponymous archon in 493/2 B.C., according to Dion. Hal. *antiqu. Rom.* 6.34.1, and this is the date generally accepted for the present reference; there are difficulties (Gomme *Thuc.* 1.261–2), but the probability remains quite strong that the office to which Thucydides referred was the archonship,<sup>1</sup> and that dedication by the archons implies the original building of the walls in the time of Themistocles.

Whichever date is correct, the epigram is a poor thing.

Harpocrat. πρὸς τῇ πυλίδι 'Ερμῆς s.a.n. Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατ' Εὐέργου [47.26]. Φιλόχορος δὲ ἐν τῇ εἰς Ἀθηναίων φησιν ἀρξαμένων τειχίζειν τὸν Πειραιᾶ οἱ δ' ἀρχοντες τοῦτον ἀναθέντες ἐπέγραψαν·

ἀρξάμενοι πρῶτοι τειχίζειν οἶδ' ἀνέθηκαν  
βουλῆς καὶ δήμου δόγμασι πειθόμενοι.

1495

ibid. 'Ερμῆς ὁ πρὸς τῇ πυλίδι· . . . Φιλόχορος ἐν εἰς Ἀτθίδος φησιν ὡς οἱ θ' ἀρχοντες ταῖς φυλαῖς ἀνέθεσαν Ἑρμῆν παρὰ πυλῶνα τὸν ἀστικόν [Leake: ἀττικόν cod.]

Phot. p. 462 Porson, Suda s.v. πρὸς τῇ πυλίδι 'Ερμῆς, fere eadem

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *paralipomena* 2.4, <sup>b</sup>App. 124; Preger 73.

**1 [1494] ἀρξάμενοι πρῶτοι:** as often, e.g. Aristot. *Poet.* 1449B πρῶτος ἦρξεν, and 1538–9 below.

**τειχίζειν:** a metrical fault; see Dionysius 157 n.

**ἀνέθηκαν:** the omission of the object is awkward, one of the faults of this dismal distich. τόνδ' has been suggested, but οἶδ' is indispensable.

## CIII

Early V B.C.

On a prodigious long-jump and discus-throw by Phaῖllus.

We must take it from this epigram that a discus-throw of 95 feet was a

<sup>1</sup> Gomme (*Thuc.* 1.262) quotes the inscription and comments 'No mention is made of Themistocles. . . which is surprising, for if he was eponymos, he should have headed the list'; I do not understand this: why assume that he did not head a list which we do not possess? The other comment, that 'some (other) record of a dedication connected with so famous a name and so famous a policy we should have expected to reach us', is a very weak argument *ex silentio*.

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remarkable feat; we should not have thought it so, but we cannot form a proper judgement so long as we are ignorant of the rules governing the athlete's movements immediately preceding the release of the discus, and not well enough informed about the size and weight of the discus used in the Games at Delphi in the early fifth century.

The long-jump of 55 feet, on the other hand, we can certainly judge at least to this extent – that it is an impossible feat if a single jump is meant; it is about twice as far as anybody has ever actually jumped. It is, however, just about right for a triple-jump,<sup>1</sup> if indeed there was anything of that kind in the Greek Games; there is no authority for it except Symmachus *ap.* Bekker's *Anecdota* 1.224, βατήρ· τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ τῶν πεντάθλων σκάμματος ἄφ' οὗ ἄλλονται τὸ πρῶτον. Σέλευκος. Σύμμαχος δὲ τὸ μέσον ἄφ' οὗ ἀλόμενοι πάλιν ἐξάλλονται. ἀμεινον ὡς Σέλευκος. [Better ἐφ' οὗ ἀλόμενοι? – R.D.D.]

The matter has been much debated, recently in greatest detail by R. Patrucco *Lo Sport nella Grecia antica* (Florence 1972) 68ff.; see also E. N. Gardiner *JHS* 24 (1904) 70ff. and H. A. Harris *Greek Athletes and Athletics* (London 1964) 80ff., 90f. The hard fact remains that the distance of 55 feet is impossible for a single jump but entirely acceptable for a triple jump.<sup>2</sup>

On Phaýllus, see Hdt. 8.47, Ar. *Ach.* 215 and *Vesp.* 1206 (with MacDowell's note), Plut. *Alex.* 34, and Paus. 10.9.2. He commanded a ship manned by his fellow-countrymen from Croton at the battle of Salamis; after the battle, statues were erected to him at Delphi by the Crotoniates (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 30) and on the Acropolis by the Athenians: *IG* 1<sup>a</sup> 655 π[σ]ι Φάυλ[λος ἀγ]ητὸς ὁ ν[ικ]ῶν τρις [τὸν ἀγῶνα | τὸν] Πυθοῖ κα[ὶ] νῆας ἐλὼν ἄ[ς] Ἄσις ἱ[η]λεν. Cf. Hdt. 8.47, ἀνὴρ τρις Πυθιονίκης; he won the *stadion* once (Aristophanes twice refers to him as a runner) and the pentathlon twice. The scholia in some of the manuscripts of Aristophanes add a victory as *hoplitodromos* at Olympia, but Pausanias says that he never won there, and the critical words are absent from the Ravenna manuscript.

schol. Ar. *Ach.* 214 ed. N. G. Wilson (1975) p. 38 s.a.n. ὁ Φάυλλος δρομεὺς ἀριστος Ὀλυμπιονίκης ὁπλιτοδρόμος περιώνυμος ὃν ἐκάλουν δόδομετρον· ἦν δὲ καὶ πένταθλος [Ὀλ. – πέντ. om. cod. R]· ἐφ' οὗ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα·

πέντ' ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα πόδας πήδησε Φάυλλος,  
δίσκευσεν δ' ἑκατὸν πέντ' ἀπολειπομένων.

1497

Jacobs\* *adesp.* ccv, <sup>b</sup>App. 297; Preger 142.

1 [1496] Some have been impressed by the alliteration, but the fact is that it would require some ingenuity to say 'jumped fifty-five feet' in Greek (as in English) without some alliteration.

<sup>1</sup> For example, the triple-jump was won at the Crystal Palace on 16 July 1977 by A. Piskulin with a distance of almost exactly 55 feet.

<sup>2</sup> Phaýllus was not the only prodigy. Chionis is said to have jumped 52 feet: Africanus Ὀλυμπ. ἀναγρ. p.11, Ὀλ. κθ' (= 664/3 B.C.) Χιονίς Λάχων στάδιον· οὗ τὸ ἄλμα νβ' ποδῶν (the Armenian-Latin version has *duos et viginti cubitos*, 22 ells, still an impossible distance for a single jump).

On a bronze statue of Heracles dedicated by Thasians at Olympia.

On the artist Onatas of Aegina, famous for his bronzes, see Hitzig and Blümner *Paus.* 3.1.272, and Lippold *RE* 18.1.408. The present dedication was presumably made either before 492 B.C., when Thasos was overrun by the Persians, or between 478, when it was liberated, and 463, when Athens took control. Onatas is named by no author except Pausanias (see especially Frazer *Paus.*, Introd. p. lxi) and the Thessalonican Antipater, who wrote an epigram about the colossal statue of Apollo at Pergamon (9.238 = *PG* lxxxiii; Lippold no. 1); his period is fixed by a signature on a dedication found amid the debris left by the Persians on the Athenian Acropolis in 480 B.C., Ονάτας ἐποίησε (*IG* 1<sup>2</sup> 503; Lippold no. 8). See also J. Dörig *Onatas of Aegina* (1977) p. 30.

*Paus.* 5.25.12 s.a.n. Θάσιοι . . . ἀνέθεσαν Ἡρακλέα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, τὸ βάθρον χαλοῦν ὁμοίως τῷ ἀγάλματι. μέγεθος μὲν δὴ τοῦ ἀγάλματός εἰσι πῆχεις δέκα, ῥόπαλον δὲ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ, τῇ δὲ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ ἔχει τόξον . . . τῷ δὲ ἀναθήματι τῷ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν Θασίων ἐπεστιν ἐλεγείον.

υἱὸς μὲν με Μίκωνος Ὀνάτας ἐξετέλεσεν  
αὐτὸς ἐν Αἰγίναι δώματα ναιετάων.

1499

τὸν δὲ Ὀνάταν τοῦτον ὁμῶς καὶ τέχνης ἐς τὰ ἀγάλματα ὄντα Αἰγινάας οὐδενὸς ὕστερον θήσομεν τῶν ἀπὸ Δαιδάλου τε καὶ ἐργαστηρίου τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ.

1 μὲν με Hermann: μὲν γε Pa, La, Vb, μὲν sine με rell. 2 Αἰγίνῃ codd.

Not given separately from cvii (b) by Jacobs; Preger 176<sup>b</sup>.

1 [1498] In the two occurrences of this line (here and in cvii (b)) codd. have either μὲν without με or με without μὲν, a few supplementing μὲν γε in cvii (b). A pedestal (probably for the colossal Apollo) at Pergamon spells the name Σμίκωνος (Fraenkel *Inscr. von Pergamon* no. 48; Frazer *Paus.* 4.408), and we should have been tempted to write υἱὸς με Σμίκωνος, if cv (b) did not prove the scansion Μίκων as in Ar. *Lys.* 679, Theocr. 5.112, and Diotimus 7.227.1 = *HE* 1725. μὲν με is not satisfactory, as μὲν is pointless, but no better remedy is available.

2 [1499] αὐτός: νάσωι Jacobs as in cvii (b), perhaps rightly, for the pronoun seems pointless.

On a group of Achaean heroes of the Trojan War dedicated by the people of Achaea at Olympia.

There is no indication of the reason for commissioning and dedicating this extraordinary monument, which represented Nestor about to draw lots to determine which of nine Achaeans, disposed along an arc confronting him, should fight a duel with Hector. The bases, both for Nestor and for the group of Achaeans, have been found (Frazer *Paus.* 3.642, Hitzig and Blümner *Paus.* 2.1.441, Lippold *RE* 18.1.408 no. 5).

The artist was inspired by Homer *Il.* 7.161ff.; Pausanias names Agamemnon, Idomeneus, and Odysseus, the other six were Diomedes, the two Ajaxes, Meriones, Eurypylus, and Thoas.

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The right-to-left writing on the statue of Agamemnon suggests a date as early as possible in the fifth century; the only fixed dates in the career of Onatas are 480 (see civ) and 467/6 (see cvii).

Paus. 5.25.8 s.a.n. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀναθήματα ἐν κοινῷ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνους, ὅσοι προκαλεσαμένου τοῦ Ἑκτορος ἐς μονομαχίαν ἀνδρὰ Ἕλληνα τὸν κλῆρον ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγῶνι ὑπέμειναν. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐστήκασιν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου πλησίον δόρασι καὶ ἀσπίσιν ὠπλισμένοι. ἀπαντικρὺ δὲ ἐπὶ ἑτέρου βάθρου πεποίηται Νέστωρ τὸν ἐκάστου κλῆρον ἐσβεβληκῶς ἐς τὴν κυνῆν. τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἑκτορὶ κληρουμένων ἀριθμὸν ὄντων ὀκτώ, τὸν γὰρ ἑνατον αὐτῶν, τὴν τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύος εἰκόνα, Νέρωνα κομίσαι λέγουσιν ἐς Ῥώμην, τῶν δὲ ὀκτῶ τούτων ἐπὶ μόνῳ τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι τὸ δοῖμα ἔστι γεγραμμένον, γέγραπται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὰ λαῖα ἐκ δεξιῶν. ὅτον δὲ ὁ ἀλεκτρῶν ἐστιν ἐπίθημα τῇ ἀσπίδι, Ἰδομενεύς ἐστιν. . . γέγραπται δὲ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ·

(a) τῷ Διὶ τάχαιοι τάγάλματα ταῦτ' ἀνέθηκαν 1500  
ἔγγονοι ἀντιθέου Τανταλίδᾶ Πέλοπος.

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐνταῦθ' ἔστι γεγραμμένον, ὁ δὲ ἀγαματοποιὸς ὅστις ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰδομενέως γέγραπται τῇ ἀσπίδι·

(b) πολλὰ μὲν ἄλλα σοφοῦ ποιήματα καὶ τόδ' Ὀνάτα 1503  
†ἔργον Αἰγινήτεω τὸν γείνατο† παῖδᾶ Μίκων.

(a) 1 τὰ ἀγάλματα codd. 2 ἔγγονοι edd. vett.: ἔγγονον M, La, ἐγγόνον Lb, Vabn, Pacd, Ag Τανταλίδου Ag, Pd

(b) 2 post ἔργον (quod exprunxit Pa) habent Αἰγινήτεω vel Αἰγινήτου fere codd., tum τὸν γείνατο Pa, La, τὸν ἐγείνατο Vb, R, ὃν ἐγείνατο M, Van, Lb, ἐγείνατο Pc, εἰσεγείνατο Ag, Pd

Jacobs\* *adesp.* cxxxviii, <sup>b</sup>App. 370; Preger 58 = (a), 175 = (b).

(b) 2 [1503] Pa alone offers a metrical text, Αἰγινήτεω τὸν γείνατο κτλ. This is accepted by Hitzig and Blümner and Preger, but (i) the elimination of ἔργον in Pa is plainly conjectural (it is added, and deleted, in the margin), and (ii) the position of the relative pronoun before the median caesura is a breach of law unlikely to be committed in the early fifth century. The Aldine edition wrote ἔργον, ἐν Αἰγίνῃ τὸν τέκε, Buttmann ἔργον, ὃν Αἰγίνῃ γείνατο, but these rewritings do nothing to explain the corruption. The true text seems irrecoverably lost.

CVI

479 B.C.?

For a monument commemorating the deliverance of Delphi from the Persian invaders.

See Herodotus 8.35–9; Busolt *Gr. Gesch.* 2.688–90. After the battle of Thermopylae a Persian force invaded Boeotia, and part of it advanced towards Delphi. The Delphians fled, all but sixty men and the prophet Akeratos. The Persians reached the temple of Athena Pronoia (in the Marmaria; Paus. 10.8.7), but the precinct of Apollo was saved by divine intervention: weapons appeared automatically outside the temple; thunderbolts from heaven, and two peaks from Parnassus, fell upon the Persians. Thus Herodotus, whom Ephorus (the

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source for Diodorus) follows closely enough, though he can explain the miracle of the falling peaks in natural terms.

The present inscription is not quoted by Herodotus, and some (e.g. Busolt 2.690 n. 1; Preger 75) have therefore argued that it did not exist at the time of his visit to Delphi over thirty years after the event; but Herodotus very seldom quotes inscriptions, and it is most improbable that the Delphians delayed their thanksgiving for over thirty years.

[Meritt, however, in *Hesperia* 16 (1947) 58–61, dates the stone on the evidence of transcripts to 400 B.C. or possibly later, and adds: ‘this lends great plausibility to the hypothesis advanced by Wieseler and Pomtow that the epigram belongs to the period after Herodotus, who does not mention it, and before Ephorus, who presumably did record it and from whom Diodorus got his copy’. Sir Denys’ objection about the unlikelihood of the Delphians waiting for over thirty years will either have to be overridden or else we must reconcile it with Meritt’s dating by supposing the inscription to be a copy of one made earlier, subsequently lost or obliterated. – R.D.D.]

The epigram agrees with Herodotus in associating Zeus with Apollo: Apollo had promised protection (Hdt. 8.36.1), and was surely the cause of the automatic appearance of weapons outside the temple (8.37.1); Zeus sent the thunderbolts. The epigram also emphasises the part played by the Delphians themselves, ‘repelling the Persian lines’ and ‘saving the precinct’; so too Herodotus, who says that, when the Persians fled, ‘the Delphians descended upon them and killed a large number of them’ (8.38).

The composition is ambitious, in a highly elaborate style: ἀλέξανδρος and χαλκοστέφανος are new adjectives; πτολίπορθον στίχα is a lively phrase.

Diod. Sic. 11.14 s.a.n. οἱ δὲ Δελφοὶ τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἐπιφανείας ἀθάνατον ὑπόμνημα καταλιπεῖν τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις βουλόμενοι τρόπαιον ἔστησαν παρὰ τὸ τῆς Προνοίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, ἐν ᾧ τότε τὸ ἐλεγεῖον ἐνέγραψαν·

μνᾶμά τ’ ἀλεξάνδρου πολέμου καὶ μάρτυρα νίκας  
 Δελφοί μ’ ἔστασαν Ζανὶ χαριζόμενοι, 1505  
 σὺν Φοίβῳ πτολίπορθον ἀπώσάμενοι στίχα Μήδων  
 καὶ χαλκοστέφανον ῥυσάμενοι τέμενος.

1 μνᾶμά μ’ codd. FL

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* cxliii, <sup>b</sup>App. 242; Preger 86.

**1 [1504] ἀλεξάνδρου:** the adjective elsewhere only as an epithet of Hera at Sicyon (Menaechmus *ap. schol. Pind. Nem.* 9.30).

[Transcripts of the stone, which is now lost, were made by the travellers F. Vernon in 1675 and G. Wheler in 1676. They were brought to light again by Meritt in the *Hesperia* article cited. Vernon began his transcription with ΑΙ ΑΝΔΡΟ and Wheler with ΑΙΕΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Peek *Philologus* 122 (1978) 2–5 has suggested a restoration of the first line beginning ἔργα δαῖξάνδρου πολέμου μέτα. Luppe, *ΖΡΕ* 36 (1979) 57–9, approves of δαῖξάνδρου but not of ἔργα... μέτα, because of the delayed position of μέτα. However once ἔργα goes – and Luppe rightly points out that ὑπόμνημα in Diodorus’ introductory matter supports μνᾶμα – the attractions of δαῖξάνδρου are much diminished. Luppe’s

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own words, 'Dass ein Denkmal an einen schlimmen Krieg und dessen siegreiche Überwindung erinnert, ist ein einleuchtender Gedanke, selbst wenn man für diese Wendung keine Parallele finden sollte', supply us with reasons why we should want an epithet for πόλεμος that is different in tone from 'schlimm'. Dr Diggle agrees: 'We expect here an adjective which stresses the defensive nature of the engagement (*cf.* ἀπωσάμενοι, ρυσάμενοι), not its carnage.' – R.D.D., following references supplied by P. A. Hansen.]

**3 [1506] στίχα:** the plural is common in such contexts; the accusative singular is a form not in ordinary use at any time (elsewhere only in the relatively late epigram anon. *A.P.* 7.56.3, στίχα βίβλων, a 'line', meaning a long series, of books).

**4 [1507] χαλκοστέφανον:** the precinct at Delphi was 'crowned', *i.e.* adorned, with bronze statues etc.

### CVII

467/6 B.C.

A dedication commemorating Hieron's victories at Olympia in the hippodrome.

The success of the Syracusan king's horses at Delphi (with the single rider in 482 and 478 B.C.; with the four-horse chariot in 470, commemorated by Pindar *Pyth.* i and Bacchylides iv) and at Olympia (with the single rider in 476, commemorated by Pindar *Ol.* i and Bacchylides v, and 472) culminated in the greatest triumph of all a year before the king's death – victory in the chariot-race at Olympia in 468 B.C. (commemorated by Bacchylides in his splendid Ode iii).

The offering dedicated by his son Deinomenes is described by Pausanias in 6.12.1: 'a bronze chariot with a man mounted on it, and race-horses stand beside the chariot, one on each side, and boys are seated on the horses. They are memorials of Olympic victories gained by Hieron, son of Deinomenes, who presented them to the god. The chariot is a work of Onatas the Aeginetan; but the horses on each side and the boys on them are by Calamis.' The chariot commemorated the triumph of 468 B.C.; the two boys on horseback, the victories in the single-rider races of 476 and 472.

Hieron died in 467 B.C., and his brother Thrasybulus, who succeeded him at Syracuse, was expelled in 466; the dedication was therefore presumably made during this short interval.

Paus. 8.42.8 s.a.n. 'Ιέρωνος δὲ ἀποθανόντος πρότερον πρὶν ἢ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ ἀναθεῖναι τὰ ἀναθήματα ἃ εὗξατο ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ταῖς νίκαις, οὕτω Δεινομένης ὁ Ἰέρωνος ἀπέδωκεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς. Ὀνάτα καὶ ταῦτα ποιήματα, καὶ ἐπιγράμματα ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι, τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀναθήματός ἐστιν αὐτῶν·

(a) σὸν ποτε νικήσας, Ζεῦ Ὀλύμπιε, σεμνὸν ἄγωνά  
 τεθρίππῳ μὲν ἄπαξ, μουνοκέλῃτι δὲ δίς,  
 δῶρ' Ἰέρων τάδε σοι ἐχαρίσσατο, παῖς δ' ἀνέθηκε 1510  
 Δεινομένης πατρὸς μνῆμα Συρακοσίου.

τὸ δὲ ἕτερον λέγει τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων·

(b) υἱὸς μὲν με Μίκωνος Ὀνάτας ἐξετέλεσεν  
 νάσωι ἐν Αἰγίνοι δώματα ναιετάων. 1513

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(b) 1 μέν με Hermann: μέν sine με Va, με sine μέν rell. 2 νάσωι om. M, Va, Lb Alylνῆι codd.

Jacobs\* *adesp.* cxviii, <sup>b</sup>App. 325; Preger 126 and 176\*; Moretti no. 246.

(a) Preger dorizes throughout (νικάσας, 'ἰάρων, μῦμα), perhaps rightly.

3 [1510] For the hiatus at the masculine caesura, see Zosimus 428 n.

4 [1511] Συρακόσιος Preuner, without need or gain.

(b) On Onatas, and on the text, see civ above.

## CVIII

c. 460 B.C.

For a statue of Oebotas, victor at Olympia.

Oebotas won the *stadion* at Olympia in 760 and again in 756 B.C.; his statue there was erected in 460/457 B.C.

Pausanias first raises the question about him in 6.3.8: 'The statue of Oebotas was dedicated by the Achaeans in obedience to a command of the Delphic Apollo in the 80th Olympiad; but the victory of Oebotas in the foot-race took place in the 6th Olympiad. How, then, could Oebotas have fought in the Greek army at the battle of Plataea? For the defeat of Mardonius and the Medes at Plataea happened in the 75th Olympiad. I am bound to record the Greek traditions, but I am not bound to believe them all. The other incidents in the career of Oebotas will be mentioned in my account of Achaia.' In 7.17.6 Pausanias writes the passage quoted below, and in 7.17.13 he continues thus: 'In the territory of Dyme (ἐν τῇι χώρῃι τῇι Δυμῳίῃι) is also the grave of the runner Oebotas. Though Oebotas was the first Achaean who won a victory at Olympia, he received no special honour from the Achaeans. He therefore prayed that no Achaean should win an Olympic victory again; and there must have been one of the gods taking care that the curse of Oebotas should be fulfilled. But at last, by sending to Delphi, the Achaeans learned why it was that they failed to win the Olympic crown. So they dedicated the statue of Oebotas at Olympia and bestowed other marks of honour upon him; and after they had done so, Sostratus of Pellene won a victory in the boys' foot-race. To this day the Achaeans who mean to compete at Olympia are wont to offer sacrifice to Oebotas as to a hero, and, if they are victorious, to place a wreath on his statue at Olympia.'

No doubt this is what his guide told Pausanias to account for the gap of 300 years between the victory and the statue; but the story is mere fiction. The victor-lists showed three Achaean winners in that interval, two in 512 and 496 B.C. Pausanias' other problem remains: Oebotas was described in the victor-list as 'of Dyme'; why does the fifth-century statue say that his home was 'Palcia'? The alternative explanations are as follows:

(1) That Palcia was a place within the territory of Dyme (ἐν τῇι χώρῃι τῇι Δυμῳίῃι; Meyer *RE* 18.3.89, Moretti no. 6). πατρῖδῖι will then be adjectival as in *e.g.* Pind. *Ol.* 10.36ff. πατρῖδα... πόλιν. Pausanias knew nothing about 'Palcia'; neither do we. If it was an obscure village in the territory of Dyme, the expression 'made the name Palcia better known' has a sharper point than it would have if Palcia was merely a synonym for the well-known Dyme.

(2) That Palcia was (as Pausanias suggests) the more ancient name of Dyme,



## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

known to the Achaeans in the fifth century and preferred here for its archaic colour, as some poets like to call Corinth 'Ephyra'. This seems the less probable explanation.

On the location of Dyme in western Achaea see Philippon in *RE* 5.1877 (favouring the site at Karavostasi) and Bolte *ibid.* 17, 2435 (at Kato Achaia).

Paus. 7.17.6 s.a.n. ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐλεγείου τοῦ Ὀλυμπίασιν ἐπὶ τῇ εἰκόνι τῇ Οἰβώτα οὐ προαχθεῖν ἂν τις ἐξ ἀλογίαν. Οἰβώται γὰρ ἀνδρὶ Δυμαίῳ, στάδιον μὲν ἀνελομένῳ νίκην Ὀλυμπιάδι ἔκτει, εἰκόνος δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι περὶ τὴν ὀγδοηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα κατὰ μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν ἀξιοθέντι, ἐπίγραμμα ἔστιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ λέγον·

Οἰνία Οἰβώτας στάδιον νικῶν ὅδ' Ἀχαιοῖς

πατρίδα Πάλειαν θῆκ' ὀνομαστοτέραν.

1515

τοῦτο οὖν οὐκ ἂν τιμὴ ἀλογίαν παραστήσειεν, εἰ Πάλειαν ἀλλὰ μὴ Δύμην τὸ ἐπίγραμμα καλεῖ τὴν πόλιν· τὰ γὰρ ἀρχαιότερα ὀνόματα ἐξ ποίησιν ἐσάγεσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν ὑστέρων καθεστηκός ἐστιν Ἑλλήσιν.

1 Ἀχαιὸς La, Vb

Jacobs\* *adesp.* clxxxii, <sup>b</sup>App. 267; Preger 127; Moretti no. 6.

**1-2 [1514-15] Ἀχαιοῖς:** Ἀχαιὸς is the easier reading and may be right. The dative must mean 'for the general benefit of his compatriots'; not 'better known to the Achaeans', for it is their own town ('better known to the world' would have suited, if Paleia is an obscure village). The nominative was adopted by Kayser, who took θῆκ' as ἔθηκα, but, as Preger says, ὅδε is against this.

## CIX

V B.C.

On statues of Aetolus at Thermi in Aetolia and of Oxylus in Elis.

According to Ephorus, quoted below, Aetolus came from Elis to settle in the land called after him, Aetolia; his descendant in the tenth generation, Oxylus, went from Aetolia to Elis and founded the city of that name. The complex story of Oxylus, leader of the Dorians into the north-western Peloponnese in the age of the Heraclidae, may be read in *RE* 18.2.2034 (Müller-Graupa) or *Myth. Lex.* 3.1.1233 (Weniger); there is nothing relevant to these epigrams beyond what Ephorus relates.

As the epigrams were known to Ephorus (c. 405-330 B.C.), they are earlier than we should have supposed. Their subjects, Aetolus and Oxylus, are legendary persons who may well have had ancient statues in Aetolia and Elis; but the epigrams, which (to say nothing of their Ionic dialect) have no flavour of antiquity, were probably composed not long before the time of Ephorus.

The statue of Oxylus, or at least its inscription, was no longer to be seen in the *agora* at Elis in the time of Pausanias: 6.24.9, 'In the market-place of Elis I saw another structure: it was in the form of a temple, low, without walls, the roof being supported by oaken pillars. The natives agree that it is a tomb, but do not remember whose it is. If the old man whom I questioned spoke the truth, it is the tomb of Oxylus.' If the inscribed statue of Oxylus had still been there, in the same market-place, Pausanias would certainly have mentioned it in this context.

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

Strabo 10.3.2, c 463 s.a.n. Ἐφορος δὲ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς εἰπὼν ἔθνος εἶναι μηδεπώποτε γεγενημένον ὑφ' ἑτέροις, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὸν μνημονευόμενον χρόνον μεμνηκὸς ἀπόρθητον διὰ τε τὰς δυσχωρίας τῶν τόπων καὶ διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀσκησιν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν φησιν ἄπασαν τὴν χώραν Κουρήτας κατασχεῖν· ἀφικόμενου δ' ἐξ Ἡλιδος Αἰτωλοῦ τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος καὶ τοῖς πολέμοις κρατοῦντος αὐτῶν, τοὺς μὲν Κουρήτας εἰς τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Ἀκαρνανίαν ὑποχωρῆσαι, τοὺς δ' Αἰτωλοὺς συγκατελθόντας Ἐπειοῖς τὰς ἀρχαιοτάτας κτίσαι τῶν ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ πόλεων, δεκάτη δ' ὕστερον γενεᾷ τὴν Ἥλιν ὑπὸ Ὁξύλου τοῦ Αἰμονος συνοικισθῆναι, περαιωθέντος ἐκ τῆς Αἰτωλίας. παρατίθησι δὲ τούτων μαρτύρια τὰ ἐπιγράμματα, τὸ μὲν ἐν Θέρμοις τῆς Αἰτωλίας, ὅπου τὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας ποιεῖσθαι πάτριον αὐτοῖς ἔστιν, ἐγκεχαραγμένον τῇ βάσει τῆς Αἰτωλοῦ εἰκόνος·

- (a)      χώρης οἰκιστῆρα, παρ' Ἀλφειοῦ ποτε δίναις  
            θρεφθέντα, σταδίων γείτον' Ὀλυμπιάδος,  
            Ἐνδυμίωνος παῖδ' Αἰτωλοὶ τόνδ' ἀνέθηκαν  
            Αἰτωλόν, σφετέρας μνήμ' ἀρετῆς ἔσορᾶν. 1519

τὸ δ' ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῶν Ἡλείων ἐπὶ τῷ Ὁξύλου ἀνδριάντι·

- (b)      Αἰτωλὸς ποτε τόνδε λιπὼν αὐτόχθονα δῆμον 1520  
            κτῆσατο Κουρήτιν γῆν δορὶ πολλὰ καμῶν·  
            τῆς δ' αὐτῆς γενεᾶς δεκατόσπορος Αἰμονος υἱός  
            Ὁξύλος ἀρχαίην ἔκτισε τήνδε πόλιν.

τὴν μὲν οὖν συγγένειαν τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν τε Ἡλείων καὶ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ὀρθῶς ἐπιστημαίνεται διὰ τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων, ἐξομολογουμένων ἀμφοῖν οὐ τὴν συγγένειαν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀρχηγέτας ἀλλήλων εἶναι.

(a) 2 θρεφθέντα Corais: τρε- codd.      3-4 Αἰτωλόν... Αἰτωλοὶ codd. Bkno

(a) Jacobs\* *adesp.* ccix, <sup>b</sup>App. 386; Preger 164.

(b) Jacobs\* *adesp.* ccx, <sup>b</sup>App. 108; Preger 147.

(a) 2 [1517] σταδίων: *race-courses* (first to be seen in Elis half a millenium after the presumable date of Aetolus).

Ὀλυμπιάδος: eponymous goddess of Olympia, named also in Athen. 12.534D and nowhere else so far as I know.

3-4 [1518-19] Preger preferred the order Αἰτωλόν... Αἰτωλοί, which is simple and therefore the more likely to be secondary.

(b) 3 [1522] δεκατόσπορος: contrast Paus. 5.3.6, 'Oxylos son of Haimon son of Thoas... From Thoas up to Aetolus, son of Endymion, there are six generations'; if there are six generations from Thoas, there are eight, not ten, from his grandson Oxylus. See *Myth. Lex.* 3.1233-4.

The Oxylus with a quite different pedigree in Apollod. 1.7.7 is presumably a different person, and is so taken by *Myth. Lex. loc. cit.*

Αἰμονος υἱός: so also Paus. 5.3.6, but Ἀνδραίμονος in Apollod. 2.8.3; see Toepffer *RE* 1.2133.

CX

V B.C.

For a statue erected by Anthemion, who rose from low to high degree in society.

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

Of the four classes of citizen, *pentakosiomedimnoi*, *hippeis*, *zeugitai*, and *thetes*, Anthemion rose from the last to the second.

The question whether this epigram and its immediate context are a later insertion into the text – from Polemon's περιηγήσεις, c. 200 B.C. – was raised very soon after the first edition of the *Athenaion Politeia*, because of the unusual frequency of hiatus in the last half-dozen words preceding the quotation; that the epigram itself comes from the fifth century (possibly a little earlier or a little later) is not in doubt.

Ath. Pol. 7.4 s.a.n. ἔδει δὲ τελεῖν . . . ἵππάδα . . . τοὺς τριακόσια (μέτρα) ποιοῦντας, ὡς δ' ἔνοιό φασι τοὺς ἵπποτροφεῖν δυναμένους. σημεῖον δὲ φέρουσι τό τε ὄνομα τοῦ τέλους, ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος κείμενον, καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα τῶν ἀρχαίων· ἀνάκειται γὰρ ἐν ἀκροπόλει εἰκὼν [Διφίλου add. Π, del. A. S. Murray, Thompson] ἐφ' ἧ ἐπιγέγραπται τόδε·

Διφίλου Ἀνθεμίων <καί> τήνδ' ἀνέθηκε θεοῖς(ι),  
θητικοῦ ἀντὶ τέλους ἵππάδ' ἄμειψάμενος. 1525

καὶ παρέστηκεν ἵππος ἡέκμαρτυρῶν, ὡς τὴν ἵππάδα τοῦτο σημαίνουσιν.†

Pollux 8.131 Ἀνθεμίων δὲ ὁ Διφίλου καλλωπίζεται δι' ἐπιγράμματος ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ θητικοῦ τέλους ἐς τὴν ἵππάδα μετέστη, καὶ εἰκὼν ἔστιν ἐν ἀκροπόλει ἵππον ἀνδρὶ παρεστηκώς, καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα· Διφίλου – ἄμειψ.

1 καὶ suppl. Page τήνδ' Arist.: ἵππον τόνδ' Pollucis codd. ACL, τόνδ' ἵππον Pollucis rell., τόνδ' (omisso ἵππον) Falckenburgii cod.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *paralipomena* 2.14, <sup>b</sup>App. 146; Preger 74.

**1-2 [1524-5]** The metrical form of the epigram would be extraordinary if it consisted of two pentameters. There would be no parallel except in a few much later and inferior compositions (see Kaibel *ep. Index* p. 702); there is nothing comparable in Peek *GVI*. And this is not the only problem. If the words following the epigram, καὶ παρέστηκεν ἵππος, are taken in their natural sense, the meaning is (and this is explicit in Pollux) that the monument represented both man and horse. But an Anthemion dedicating such a monument does not say 'Anthemion has dedicated this mare', as if he himself were simply the dedicator and the mare the only thing represented in the dedication.

There are three choices:

(a) That Anthemion dedicated a figure of a mare, not of himself also. This choice is exposed to two objections: first, that the metrical form, if two pentameters are to be recognised, is unique; secondly, that the phrase καὶ ἵππος (ἀνδρὶ) παρέστηκεν must be brushed aside as the product of ignorance or carelessness.

(b) That the quotation is incomplete. Sandys in his edition of *Ath. Pol.* (p. 28) believed that Aristotle quoted only the pentameters of two distichs. He admitted that 'the lines happen to give a consecutive text', but suggested that they were 'possibly selected from two successive couplets, the intermediate hexameters being omitted'. This theory cannot be quite ruled out. The problems both of metrical form and of content would be solved if Διφίλου Ἀνθεμίων κτλ. were preceded by something like ἵππον ἀγάλματος ὅγχι παρεστηκυῖα

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

ξανθοῦ. But the procedure of quoting only the pentameters would be unparalleled. For an attempted explanation, see Bannier *Rh. Mus.* 70 (1915) 389–91.

(c) That the first line should be replaced by an hexameter, which must somehow imply that Anthemion himself is represented on the monument. The latter point is not met by shuffling of words to give Διφίλου Ἀνθεμίων τόνδ' ἵππον θεοῖς ἀνέθηκεν; it is not well met by Thompson's τήνδ' εἰκόνα θεοῖς ἀνέθηκε or by J. B. Mayor's τήνδ' εἰκόν' ἔθηκε θεοῖσι, both rough changes. The simple answer is to insert <καί>, palaeographically a trivial matter, Διφίλου Ἀνθεμίων καὶ τήνδ' ἀνέθηκε θεοῖσι: καὶ τήνδ' ἀνέθηκε implies that something else was dedicated too, and the beholder would not need to be told that this was the accompanying figure of Anthemion himself. It is easy to envisage a representation of the man beside the mare, perhaps resting his hand on its head or back; τήνδε would not then need ἵππον.

The epigram would then be in accord with *IG II/III<sup>2</sup> 1498 B 74*, on a bronze figure, Ἀνθεμίων[ος . . .] κუნήν ἔχει καὶ λό[γην, where plainly the man was represented. See Sandys *Aristotle: Constitution of Athens* p. lxxvii.

CXI

V B.C. (or earlier)?

On the south-west and north-west winds.

'Lips', popularly derived from 'Libya' (and regularly called *Africus* by the Romans), is a name attested in the fifth century (Hdt. 2.25) and probably much older (the superstitious practices described in Pausanias 2.34.2 may be of great antiquity); it is the south-west wind in a circle of eight divisions, south-south-west in a circle of twelve.

'Argestes' began life as an epithet (of the west wind in Hes. *Theog.* 379 and 870, of the south wind in Hom. *Il.* 11.306 and 21.334), but at latest in the fourth century became the proper-name of a wind, north-west in a circle of eight divisions, west-north-west in a circle of twelve.

See Kauffmann in *RE* 2.715 s.v. 'Argestes', Rehm *ibid.* 13.141 s.v. 'Libs', Gow on Theocr. 9.11, West on Hes. *Theog.* 379.

Theophrastus de ventis 51 s.a.n. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τὰς χώρας ἐκάστοις καὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐστὶ νέφη καὶ αἰθρίαί, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν ἐν παροιμίαι λεγομένων πρὸς τινὰς τόπους ἔνια, ὡς περ(ὶ) τοῦ Ἀργέστου καὶ Λιβός, ἧι χρῶνται μάλιστα περὶ Κνίδον καὶ Ῥόδον.

Λίψ ἄνεμος ταχὺ μὲν νεφέλας, ταχὺ δ' αἰθρία ποιεῖ,  
Ἀργέστη δ' ἀνέμῳ πᾶσ' ἔπεται νεφέλη.

1527

Not in Jacobs or Preger.

1–2 [1526–7] Much harsher things are normally said about 'Lips': it is one of the first names to come to mind when a violent wind is needed (Theocr. 9.11); the Romans call it *furibundus*, *praeceps*, *protervus*, *trux*, and the like. 'Argestes' has generally a better reputation (what is said of 'Lips' in this epigram would be normal in a description of 'Argestes').

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

### CXII

411 B.C. or soon after

Dedication by twelve survivors from shipwreck.

After the battle of Cynossema in 411 B.C. the Spartan admiral Mindaros sent Hippocrates and Epicles to summon the fleet commanded by Agesandridas of Euboea. That fleet was wrecked on its way to the Hellespont in a storm off Mt Athos. The twelve subjects of the present epigram say that all except themselves were lost; they were evidently unaware that Hippocrates survived (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.23) and that Agesandridas reached the Hellespont with part of his fleet (*ibid.* 1.1.1 and 1.3.17; Busolt *Gr. Gesch.* 3.2.1522 n. 1).

The epigram records a dedication made in 'the temple about Coronea', according to Ephorus. The phrase implies a well-known temple, not in but near Coronea; presumably therefore the celebrated temple of Athena Itonia, about two miles from Coronea (and presumably the survivors were all Boeotians).

It is remarkable that there is no mention of the object or objects dedicated or of the divinity to whom the dedication is made; these matters must have been recorded, above or below the verses, together with the names of the dedicators.

Diod. Sic. 13.41 s.a.n. τὰς μὲν ναῦς ἀπάσας ἀπολέσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν δώδεκα μόνον διασωθῆναι. δηλοῖ δὲ τὸ περὶ τούτων ἀνάθημα ἐν τῷ περὶ Κορώνειαν νεῶι, καθάπερ φησὶν Ἐφορος, τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχον ταύτην·

οἷδ' ἀπὸ πεντήκοντα νεῶν θάνατον προφυγόντες  
πρὸς σκοπέλοισιν Ἄθω σώματα γῆι πέλασσαν  
δώδεκα, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὄλεσεν μέγα λαῖτμα θαλάσσης 1530  
νῆάς τε στυγεροῖς πνεύμασι χρησαμέναις.

Not in Jacobs; Preger 82; Hecker 1852.79.

**1 [1528] πεντήκοντα:** the number of ships in Agesandridas' fleet was 42 according to Thucydides (8.94.1).

### CXIII

Late V B.C.

On a statue of Cleon, a Theban citharode.

Athenaeus quotes from one of his favourite sources, Polemon (see pp. 443f.), whose story – that a man hid gold coins in a fold of the statue's robe and recovered them later intact – recurs in Pliny (*h.n.* 34.59), who adds that the statue was consequently called 'the Just Man': *Pythagoras Rheginus...fecit...citharoedum, qui Dicaeus appellatus est, quod, cum Thebae ab Alexandro caperentur, aurum a fugiente conditum sinu eius celatum esset.* Pliny provides an approximate date for Cleon by giving the name of the sculptor, Pythagoras of Rhegium, who flourished c. 420–417 B.C. (*h.n.* 34.49).

The statue itself, and the many successes attested by the inscription, prove that Cleon was very famous at a time when the art of the citharode was at its zenith; it is surprising that there is no other trace of him in our records.

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

Athen. 1.19b s.a.n. ἐν δὲ Θήβαις Πινδάρου μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν εἰκὼν, Κλέωνος δὲ τοῦ ὠιδοῦ, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπιγέγραπται·

Πυθία υἱὸς δδ' ἔστι Κλέων Θηβαῖος αἰοδός,  
 δς πλείστους θνητῶν ἀμφέθετο στεφάνους  
 κρατὸς ἐπὶ σφετέρου· καὶ οἱ κλέος οὐρανόμηκες.  
 χαῖρε, Κλέων, Θήβας πατρίδ' ἔπευκλείσας.

1535

ὑπὸ τούτου τὸν ἀνδρίαντα, ὅτε Ἀλέξανδρος τὰς Θήβας κατασκάπτων (. . . .) φησὶ Πολέμων φεύγοντά τινα χρυσίον εἰς τὸ ἱμάτιον κοῖλον ὃν ἐνθέσθαι καὶ ἀνοικιζομένης τῆς πόλεως ἐπανελθόντα εὐρεῖν τὸ χρυσίον μετὰ ἔτη τριάκοντα.

1 Πυθία C

Jacobs\* *adesp.* ccxi, <sup>b</sup>App. 308; Preger 140.

2 [1533] πλείστους θνητῶν . . . στεφάνους: 'most wreaths of mortals' = more wreaths than other men.

4 [1535] πατρίδ' ἔπευκλείσας: the phrase recurs in 'Simonides' 823.

## CXIV

Early 403 B.C.

On the heroes from Phyle.

Thrasybulus, arch-enemy of the Thirty Tyrants, left the shelter of exile in Thebes in the autumn of 404 B.C. and established himself with seventy companions at Phyle on the frontier between Boeotia and Attica, as a first step towards the liberation of Athens from the Thirty Tyrants. His force at Phyle grew from seventy to a hundred men (not all of them Athenian citizens), and soon became strong enough for him to advance on Piraeus and occupy Munichia. The battle for Piraeus was won by Thrasybulus, and democracy was restored to Athens early in 403 B.C. The background is most vividly described in Lysias *or.* 12; see also *or.* 13, Xen. *Hell.* 2.4, *Ath. Pol.* ch. 40, Aeschines as quoted below, and pseudo-Plutarch *vit. decem orat.* 3.8, with Tod *GHI* 2 no. 100 on *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 10 and Raubitschek *Hesperia* 10 (1941) 285 on the inscription from the *Metron* in the Athenian Agora.

Thrasybulus at once proposed that citizen-status be granted to all who had been with him in the fighting at Piraeus; but there were at least a thousand of these, and some of them were slaves (*Ath. Pol. loc. cit.*), and this was too liberal a measure for the taste of many Athenians. Thrasybulus was opposed by another of the heroes from Phyle, Archinus, who prosecuted him on the ground that his proposal was contrary to law, and who substituted a much less comprehensive decree, honouring only those who had been besieged by the Tyrants in Phyle and who had behaved well there.

Aeschines, who had the decree of Archinus read out in court, says that it was to be seen in the *Metron* (on the western side of the Agora); and substantial fragments of the inscription to which he refers have been found on the site of that building. The inscription consisted of (a) a preamble followed by a list of names (heroes of Phyle, evidently; five are Φυλάσιοι, three from the deme of Acharnae not far away; Archinus himself is named): (b) the present epigram (the beginnings of the four verses are preserved); and (c) a record of the honours decreed (only a few letters remain of this part; Aeschines describes the

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honours as consisting of a crown of olive and a gift of rather less than ten drachmas to each man for the provision of sacrifice and dedication). The inscription is edited by Raubitschek in *Hesperia loc. cit.* with photographs and facsimile.<sup>1</sup>

The supporters of the Thirty Tyrants are said to have put up a rival inscription (schol. Aeschin. 1.39):

μνήμα τόδ' ἔστ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν οἱ τὸν κατάρατον  
δῆμον Ἀθηναίων ὀλίγον χρόνον ὕβριος ἔσχον.

This epigram may well be authentic; a later fiction would probably have been composed in elegiac verse. The scholiast says that it was inscribed on the tomb of Critias together with a figure of Oligarchy holding a torch and setting fire to Democracy; a story not persuasive to Preger (no. 154), Wilamowitz (*HD* 1.129), Hiller von Gaertringen (*Hist. Gr. Epigr.* no. 61), or Peek (not in *GVI*), and rejected without comment in *RE* 11.1905.

Aeschin. 3.187 s.a.n. ἐν τοίνυν τῷ Μητρώϊω παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἦν ἔδοτε δωρεάν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς φεύγοντα τὸν δῆμον καταγαγοῦσιν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὁ τὸ ψήφισμα νικήσας Ἀρχίνος ὁ ἐκ Κολίης, εἰς τῶν καταγαγόντων τὸν δῆμον, ἔγραψε δὲ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς εἰς θυσίαν καὶ ἀναθήματα δοῦναι χιλίας δραχμάς, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἑλαττον ἢ δέκα δραχμαὶ κατ' ἄνδρα, ἔπειτα στεφανώσαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον. . . καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἰκῆι πρᾶξαι κελεύει ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς τὴν βουλὴν σκεψαμένην ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Φυλῇ ἐπολιορκήθησαν ὅτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ τριάκοντα προσέβαλλον. . . ὅτι δ' ἄληθῆ λέγω, ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν τὸ ψήφισμα. . . (190) ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἀποπλανῶ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ἀναγνώσεται ὑμῖν ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ὃ ἐπιγράφεται τοῖς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τὸν δῆμον καταγαγοῦσιν·

ἐπίγραμμα·

τούσδ' ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα σφετέρης ἐγέραιρε παλαίχθων 1536

δῆμος Ἀθηναίων, οἳ ποτε τοὺς ἀδίκους

θεσμοῖς ἄρξαντας πόλιος πρῶτοι καταπαύειν

5 ἦρξαν, κίνδυνον σώμασιν ἀράμενοι.

inscr. ed. Raubitschek *Hesperia loc. cit.*, vv. 73-6 του[σδ', δημ[ος, θε[σμοις, ηρ[ξαν

3 πόλιος πρῶτοι codd. h, k: πόλῆος πρῶτοι e, l, πρῶτοι πόλεως rell.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* clviii, <sup>b</sup>App. 362; Preger 154.

<sup>1</sup> There is a complication of great interest in itself but hardly relevant to the present edition: *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 10, an inscription almost certainly of the year 401/400 B.C., refers to honours decreed both to those who were at Phyle and to those who fought at Munichia; the only preserved part of the name-list commemorates persons of humble estate – baker, cook, carpenter, donkeyman and fig-seller among others – surely not (or not all of them) Athenian citizens. It seems clear that the liberal measures proposed by Thrasybulus in 403 B.C. and frustrated by Archinus at that time were nevertheless revived and approved a couple of years later. cxiv comes from the Archinus-decree, and is concerned solely with the heroes of Phyle; it has nothing to do with *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 10.

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**1 [1536] ἐγέραιρε:** the imperfect tense is abnormal in such contexts; Blass conjectured ἐγέραρε (*cf.* Raubitschek *loc. cit.* 294).

The line-end is unconventional and ambitious (παλαίχθων elsewhere only *A. ScT* 104, of Theban Ares). Inspiration faded quickly: the second couplet is heavy in metre and dull in phrasing (ἄρξαντας... ἤρξαν).

**2 [1537] ποτε:** see 'Simonides' XLVI Pref.

**3 [1538]** Modern editors prefer Francke's conjecture πόλεως πρώτοι (so Blass, Preger, Hiller von Gaertringen, and Raubitschek), but do not explain why the vulgar form should have been changed to the archaic.

**4 [1539] *cf.*** Lysias *or.* 12.97, in the same context, μεγάλων κινδύνων ὑπαρξάντων ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι.

CXV (a) and (b) 404 B.C. or soon after

Dedication by the Samians of a statue of the Spartan commander Lysander at Olympia.

The Samians had shown loyalty to Athens most notably during the general revolt of 412 B.C. (Thuc. 8.21) and after the establishment of the rule of the Four Hundred at Athens in 411 (Thuc. 8.73ff.); but there was always a strong anti-Athenian party, and Samians were specially prominent among the idolaters of Lysander after the fall of Athens in 404 B.C.: the Samian Games were renamed from 'Heraea' to 'Lysandria': one famous Samian poet, Choirilos, kept Lysander company in order to celebrate his glory (Plut. *Lys.* 18); another, Ion, wrote the inscription for a statue of him at Delphi (Meiggs and Lewis no. 95); and the present epigram records that his statue at Olympia was the gift of the Samian people (this statue is mentioned also by schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7, p. 197 Dr.).

Pausanias quotes two epigrams: the first, (a), spoken by Lysander, was presumably composed by a Samian on behalf of the dedicators; the second, (b), addressed to Lysander, includes the 'Doric' form ἀρετᾶς, but may nevertheless be the work of the same poet.

Paus. 6.3.14 s.a.n. Λύσανδρον δὲ τὸν Ἀριστοκρίτου Σπαρτιάτην ἀνέθεσαν ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι Σάμιοι, καὶ αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν πρότερον τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων ἐστίν·

(a) ἐν πολυθαήτῳ τεμένει Διὸς ὑψιμέδοντος 1540  
ἔστηκεν ἀνθέντων δημοσίαι Σαμίων.

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοὺς τὸ ἀνάθημα ἀναθέντας μνηύει, τὸ δ' ἐφεξῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπαινὸς ἐστὶ Λύσανδρον·

(b) ἀθάνατον πάτραι καὶ Ἀριστοκρίτῳ κλέος ἔργων,  
Λύσανδρ', ἐκτελέσας δόξαν ἔχεις ἀρετᾶς. 1543

(a) 2 ἔστηκεν ἀναθέντων M, Vab, Lb, ἔστηκε δὲ ἀναθέντων Pcd, Ag, quasi pedestris fuisset oratio (b) 1 πάτρην Pcd, Ag, La

Jacobs\* *adesp.* clxxxi, <sup>b</sup>App. 173; Preger 146.

(a) 1-2 [1540-1] πολυθαήτῳ: here only; πολυθέατος Hesych.

ἔστηκεν: 1st person.

(b) 1 [1542] Ἀριστοκρίτῳ: Lysander's father.



On a weaving, the work of Helicon, dedicated at Delphi.

The source for Athenaeus is Hieronymus, presumably the Rhodian (c. 290–230 B.C.; Daebritz *RE* 8.1561) whom he quotes frequently. Helicon appears again in Plutarch as a famous name from the past, *vit. Alex.* 32: Alexander dressed for the battle of Gaugamela in a belted coat of Sicilian make, a double linen corslet taken at the battle of Issos, and an iron helmet made by Theophilus; he carried a sword given by the king of Kition. ‘But the mantle which he wore was fancier than the rest of his equipment, – the work of Helicon, who lived a long time ago (τοῦ παλαιοῦ).’ So Helicon, son of Acesas, was a celebrated weaver in the remote past, born in Cyprus; and there would be not much more to say about this epigram if the paroemiographers did not tell a different story:

According to Zenobius (1.56, and more briefly Diogenianus 2.7), Helicon and Acesas (Aceusus in Zenobius, Accessaeus in Diogenianus) were so famous that their names became proverbial: ‘Ἀκεσέως καὶ Ἑλικῶνος ἔργα· ἐπὶ τῶν θαύματος ἀξίων· οὗτοι γὰρ πρῶτοι τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος Ἀθήνης πέπλον ἐδημιούργησαν, ὁ μὲν Ἀκεσεὺς γένος ὦν Παταρεὺς, ὁ δὲ Ἑλικῶν Καρύστιος.

On this information, the source of which is unknown, two observations may be made:

(a) The epigram calls Helicon a native of Salamis (the Cypriot town, according to Athenaeus) and son of Acesas; Zenobius says that Acesas was a native of Patara (the harbour-town near the mouth of the river Xanthus in Lycia) and that Helicon was a native of Carystus in Euboea; they are plainly not father and son. The evidence of the epigram has been generally preferred (Rossbach *RE* 1.1162 on Acesas, Leonard *RE* 8.8 on Helicon), but a doubt remains. The epigram is probably not of any great antiquity; if a weaving did survive from (say) the sixth century to the time of Hieronymus, it is not likely that a contemporary elegiac distich still accompanied it. If this epigram is inscriptional, it was probably added on a tablet at a relatively late date, and its authority would be as questionable as that of Zenobius. Patara and Carystus are not easily intelligible as blind guesses; Cyprus, an early centre of fine weaving (*RE* 8.9), was an obvious choice. If Zenobius has the truth on this point (and we do not know whether he has or not), he is of course right also in the implicit denial that the men were father and son.

(b) But the further statement in Zenobius is almost certainly false, if (as we suppose) ‘Athena Polias’ is the Athenian goddess: it is highly improbable that Acesas and Helicon were the first makers of the *Peplos* for Athena. We do not know what time is implied by ‘first’: if the age of Erichthonius and Theseus, then the story is wholly mythical and needs no further consideration here; but if (as is more probable) the source was talking about the foundation of the *Pentaeteris* at Athens in the archonship of Hippoclidēs (566–565 B.C.) or under Peisistratus, then his tale is still quite incredible. The arrangements for weaving the *Peplos* for the four-yearly Panathenaea were elaborate and ritually significant: the task was assigned by the Archon Basileus to two of the *Arrephoroi* supervised by a priestess and assisted by a large number of women and girls

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(Ziehen *RE* 18.3.460). The preparation of the *Peplos* was an important part of the cult, and the regulations presumably go back to the beginning (whenever that may have been); it is most improbable that any male, let alone a foreigner, ever played any part, let alone a leading part, in the affair.

Athen. 2.48B s.a.n. ἤκμασε δ' ἡ τῶν ποικίλων ὑφή, μάλιστα ἐντέχνων περὶ αὐτὰ γενομένων Ἀκεσᾶ καὶ Ἑλικῶνος τῶν Κυπρίων· ὕφανται δ' ἦσαν ἐνδοσοί. καὶ ἦν Ἑλικῶν υἱὸς Ἀκεσᾶ, ὡς φησιν Ἱερώνυμος. ἐν Πυθοὶ γοῦν ἐπὶ τινος ἔργου ἐπιγέγραπται

τεῦξ' Ἑλικῶν Ἀκεσᾶ Σαλαμίνιος, ὧι ἐνὶ χερσὶ  
πότνια θεσπεσίην Παλλὰς ἔχευε χάριν. 1545

Eust. Od. 1400.13 ὡς ἐδήλου ἐπίγραμμα ἐν Πυθοὶ ἐπὶ τινος ἔργου τοιοῦτον· (1-2)

1 ὧι A: ὦν Eust. 2 ἔχευε Menrad: ἔτευξε A, Eust.

Jacobs\* *adesp.* ccvi, <sup>b</sup>App. 334; Preger 180; Hecker 1852.67.

**1-2 [1544-5]** ἐνὶ ... ἔχευε in *tnesi*. ἔτευξε in A come sfom teύξ' above; Menrad compared Hom. Od. 2.12 θεσπεσίην δ' ἄρα τῷ γε χάριν κατέχευεν Ἀθήνη.

### CXVII

V/IV B.C.

Inscription for a relic dedicated at Delphi.

What Phainias described, according to Athenaeus, was a number of ancient dedications of bronze, including tripods, cauldrons, and daggers, one of which claimed to have been carried by Helicaon, son of Antenor, at the siege of Troy.

There is no reason to doubt that an object bearing this inscription was to be seen at Delphi; Phainias lived in the second half of the fourth century B.C., and it is noteworthy that such bogus inscriptions existed at Delphi already in his time.

Athen. 6.232C s.a.n. ἱστορεῖ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ Φαίνιας ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίαι τυράννων, ὡς χαλκῶν ὄντων τῶν παλαιῶν ἀναθημάτων καὶ τριπόδων καὶ λεβήτων καὶ ἐγχειριδίων, ὧν ἐφ' ἑνὸς καὶ ἐπιγεγράφθαι φησίν·

θάησαί μ'· ἔτεδον γὰρ ἐν Ἰλίου εὐρέι πύργῳ  
ἦν, ὅτε καλλικόμῳι μαρνάμεθ' ἄμφ' Ἑλένηι,  
καὶ μ' Ἀντηνορίδης ἐφόρει κρείων Ἑλικῶν·  
νῦν δέ με Λητοΐδου θεῖον ἔχει δάπεδον. 1549

Jacobs\* *paralipomena* 2.30, <sup>b</sup>App. 213; Hecker 1852.34; Preger 89.

**2 [1547]** μαρνάμεθ': the plural is awkward in the neighbourhood of με, ἦν, and με; the weapon talks as if it were one of the warriors.

**3 [1548]** Ἑλικῶν: a surprising choice; Helicaon appears only once in Homer, *Il.* 3.123, Ἀντηνορίδης...κρείων Ἑλικῶν as here. That there was once quite a long story about him is indicated especially by the tradition which made him co-founder of Patavium (Martial 10.93, 14.152; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.247). He had at least a moment's prominence in the *Little Iliad* (fr. 13 Kinkel), when Odysseus rescued him from death on the last night. See Kullmann *Herm. Einzelschr.* 14 (1960) *Die Quellen der Ilias* 178f.

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CXVIII

V/IV B.C.

The flute-player blows his wits away with his breath.

The source of this 'old saying' is a well-known person, Lynceus of Samos, pupil of Theophrastus, brother of Duris the historian and statesman; more or less a contemporary of Menander (*RE* 13.2472).

The epigram is uncomfortable in Athenaeus' context, which illustrates abundance of wit in a flute-player, not the want of it; the phrase 'there was no lack of wit in what he said' is linked to the saying 'that flute-players have no wits' by the particle γάρ so that the reader has to supply some such transition as '(and this may surprise you,) for...'.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover the epigram is obscure in itself. It seems nonsense to say 'the gods did not implant sense in the flute-player; he blows his sense out together with his breath'; if the gods never implanted sense in him, he has none to blow out. If the text is true, said Jacobs, the author of the epigram was as great a fool as his flute-player. Casaubon emended οὐκ to εἰς-, a rough change, and said that the only alternative was to put a kindly interpretation on a harsh phrase, understanding the author to mean not that the gods did not implant sense but that they did not implant it firmly enough. I see no other way out of the difficulty.

Athen. 8.337E s.a.n. ἐν Κύπρῳ δὲ παρὰ Νικοκρέοντι δειπνῶν (Δωρίων ὁ αὐλητής) ἐπήνεσε ποτήριόν τι, καὶ ὁ Νικοκρέων ἔφη "ἐὰν βούληι ὁ αὐτὸς τεχνίτης ποιήσῃ σοι ἕτερον." "σοὶ γέ," ἔφη, "ἐμοὶ δὲ τοῦτο δός", οὐκ ἀνοήτως φήσας ὁ αὐλητής· λόγος γὰρ παλαιὸς ὥς οἱ

ἀνδρὶ μὲν αὐλητῇρι θεοὶ νόον οὐκ ἐνέφυσαν, 1550  
ἀλλ' ἅμα τῷ φυσῇν χῶ νόος ἐκπέταται.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* cccxcv, <sup>b</sup>App. 118; not in Preger.

CXIX

Early IV B.C.

On Archias, first foreign winner of the prize for heralds at the Games at Delphi.

The epigram accompanied a statue at Delphi commemorating a victory there. It strangely says nothing about that victory,<sup>1</sup> but records three victories already won at Olympia.

The contests for trumpeters and heralds were instituted at Olympia in 396 B.C. (*RE* 18.1.7). Very little is known about them: 'There is an altar in the Altis near the entrance to the stadium. On this altar the Eleans do not offer sacrifice to any of the gods, but it is the custom for the trumpeters and heralds to stand on it when they compete' (Paus. 5.22.1).

There is no other information about Archias, son of Eucles, of Hybla in Sicily. We do not know how soon after 396 B.C. foreigners were allowed to compete in this event at Olympia, but a date for Archias early in the fourth

<sup>1</sup> Preger suggested that there may have been another inscription telling of the Delphic victory. This is extremely improbable, and so is Preger's alternative, that Pollux has wrongly inferred Delphi from Φοῖβε: if this was an inference, it was a correct one; 'Apollo' in a victor-inscription implies Delphi and excludes Olympia.

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century is obviously probable. He must at any rate be earlier than Herodorus of Megara, who won this competition ten times (some said, seventeen) between 328 and 292 B.C.; earlier too than Phorystas, son of Triax, of Tanagra, who won about the end of the fourth century (Kaibel *ep.* 938, with 938<sup>a</sup>; Preger p. 114).

Pollux 4.92 s.a.n. πρότερον δ' Ὀλυμπιάσιν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων κηρυττόντων, οἱ ταῖς ἱεροουργίαις ὑποδηκονοῦντο, πρῶτος τῶν ξένων ἡγωνίσαστο τὰ Ὀλύμπια Ἀρχίας Ὑβλαῖος καὶ τρεῖς Ὀλυμπιάδας ἐφεξῆς ἐνίκα. καὶ Πυθοὶ δὲ ἐνίκα, καὶ εἰκὼν τις ἦν αὐτῷ Πυθική καὶ ἐπίγραμμα·

Ὑβλαίῳ κάρυκι τόδ' Ἀρχίαι, Εὐκλέος υἱῷ,  
δέξαι ἄγαλμ' εὖφρων, Φοῖβ', ἐπ' ἀπημοσύναι,  
ὃς τρεῖς ἐκάρυξεν τὸν Ὀλυμπίαι αὐτὸς ἀγῶνα  
οὐθ' ὑποσαλπίζων οὐτ' ἀναδείγματ' ἔχων.

1555

1 κάρυκι Preger: κήρ- codd. 2 ἀπημοσύναι Preger: -νη codd. 3 ἐκά-  
ρυξεν τὸν Ὀλυμπίαι Casaubon: ἐκάρυξε τόδ' Ὀλυμπίας codd. 4 ὑποσαλ-  
πίζων Page: ὑποσαλπίγγων codd.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* cccxiii (b), <sup>b</sup>App. 372; Preger 143; Moretti no. 422.

1-2 [1552-3] κάρυκι ... δέξαι ἄγαλμ': not a common construction, but as old as Homer, *e.g.* *Il.* 15.87 Θέμιστι... δέκτο δέπας; Monro *Hom. Gramm.* §143.2.

ἐπ' ἀπημοσύναι: the meaning is not clear. ἐπὶ presumably as in LSJ *s.v.* B III 3, 'of the condition on which a thing is done' - 'I adorn your precinct with a statue; give me freedom from harm in return'; not, as Jacobs, 'I give you a statue *in return for* freedom from harm' (because, Jacobs explains, he might have burst a blood-vessel).

3 [1554] τρεῖς: three *in succession*, says Pollux, but it is very doubtful whether he knew more than the epigram tells.

4 [1555] A difficult line; we cannot be sure of the meaning.

The editors alter ὑποσαλπίγγων to ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων, which makes no sense: *vociferatus est assa voce, tuba non accinente*, said Jacobs, but what Archias won was the heralds' competition, with which trumpets have nothing to do, and there is no point in saying that the herald's cry was 'not accompanied by the trumpet'. The word can only be the participle of the verb, and this can only describe the use of some kind of mouth-piece serving as a speaking-trumpet; οὐθ' ὑποσαλπίζων then makes an excellent partner for οὐτ' ἀναδείγματ' ἔχων, if LSJ are right about ἀνάδειγμα. That noun occurs elsewhere only in Hesychius, ἀναδείγματα· ἡνίας περὶ τραχήλοις· καὶ τὰ ἐν τραγικαῖς σκηναῖς εἰδωλὰ δεικνύμενα. ἡνίας was corrected to ταινίας by Spongius, and again by Jacobs, with the far-fetched explanation *fasciae igitur intelligendae, quibus praecones collum circumdabant, ne nimis inflarentur arteriae*. LSJ boldly render 'mouth-piece, worn by public criers, to serve the purpose of a speaking-trumpet', and this suits the context well. Archias is saying that he made no use of either type of speaking-trumpet, ὑποσαλπίγξ or ἀνάδειγμα (as others presumably did), and won nevertheless.

ὑποσαλπίζων is the form to be expected; ὑποσαλπίττων would explain -σαλπίγγων more easily; Archias himself would say ὑποσαλπίδων.

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CXX

c. 375 B.C.?

Precept inscribed at the entrance to the temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus.

The authorities for this epigram are relatively late, but it is not likely that the inscription which they quote is later than the limits of the present collection; and as one source, Porphyrius, depends hereabouts on Theophrastus *περί εὔσεβείας*, there is a chance that the inscription is as old as the temple of Asclepius built by Theodotus c. 380–375 B.C.

The Ionic dialect is incongruous; *ναοῖο* and *ἀγνεία* may be the right forms, but then *ἀγνείῃ* in one of Clement's quotations would be hard to explain.

Clem. Alex. *strom.* 5.1 s.a.n. καὶ τοῦτο ἦν δ' ἡνίξαστο ὅστις ἄρα ἦν ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἐπιγράψας τῇ εἰσόδῳ τοῦ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρου νεώ.

ἀγνὸν χρὴ νηοῖο θυώδεος ἐντὸς ἰόντα

ἔμμεναι· ἀγνείῃ δ' ἐστὶ φρονεῖν ὅσια.

1557

Ibid. 4.22 ἀγνεία δ' ἐστὶ φρονεῖν ὅσια; Porphyrius *de abstin.* 2.19 ἐν γοῦν Ἐπιδαύρῳ προεγγράπτο· ἀγνὸν χρὴ κτλ.

1 ναοῖο Porphyrius 2 ἔμμεναι Clem.: ἐμφάμεναι Porph. ἀγνεία Porph., Clem. 4.22

Jacobs\* *adesp.* ccxxxviii (b), <sup>b</sup>App. 99; Preger 207.

CXXI

c. 367 B.C.

On a statue of Epaminondas.

The great and lasting fame of Epaminondas (Swoboda *RE* 5.2674–2707; date of birth unknown, died 362 B.C.) made this undistinguished epigram memorable; it lingered in the minds of Cicero and Plutarch, and was still being 'sung by everybody', according to Aristides, in the second century A.D. The statue which it accompanied (at Thebes, Paus. 9.12.6; Aristides carelessly says 'in the Peloponnese') was probably erected immediately after the years of brilliant success, 371–367 B.C.: that is the period covered by the epigram, which refers (a) to the humiliation of Sparta at Leuctra in 371, a defeat soon followed by Theban invasion of Laconia; (b) to the foundation of the new state of Messenia in 370–369 (the present tense in *δέχεται*, contrasted with the aorist *ἐκείρατο*, indicates that this is still in progress); and (c) to the creation of a new centre for Arcadia, the city of Megalopolis, in (or soon after) 368/367 B.C. The epigram ends with the boast – at the time, not far from the truth – that all Hellas is now free.

Cf. Tod *GHI* 2 no. 130, an epigram on three Boeotians who fought at Leuctra, οὐδ' Ἐπαμεινώνδα δεύτεροι ἐδράμομεν.

Paus. 9.12.6 s.a.n. τοῦτ' οὖν τε (τὸν Πρόνομον) οὖν ἐνταῦθα (ἐν Θήβαις) οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδαν τὸν Πολύμνιδος ἀνέθεσαν. 9.15.6 τῷ δὲ ἀνδρίαντι τοῦ Ἐπαμεινώνδου καὶ ἔλεγεία ἐπεσθιν ἄλλα τε ἔξ αὐτὸν λέγοντα καὶ ὅτι Μεσσήνης γένοιτο οἰκιστὴς καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὑπάρξειεν ἐλευθερία δι' αὐτοῦ. καὶ οὕτως ἔχει τὰ ἔλεγεία.

# ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

ἡμετέραις βουλαῖς Σπάρτη μὲν ἐκείρατο δόξαν,  
 Μεσσήνη δ' ἱερὴ τέκνα χρόνῳ δέχεται,  
 Θήβης δ' ὅπλοισιν Μεγάλη πόλις ἐστεφάνωται, 1560  
 αὐτόνομος δ' Ἑλλάς πᾶσ' ἐν ἐλευθερίῃ.

Cic. Tusc. 5.49 Epaminondas: 'consiliis nostris laus est attosa Laconum'; Plut. non posse suav. 1098A (1); Aristid. or. II 541 D. τούτου (τοῦ Ἐπαμεινώνδου)... καὶ ἑτερόν ἐστιν ἐπίγραμμα... ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ... τί δὲ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δὲ πάντες αἰδοῦσι; (1-2); schol. Aeschin. 3.211 οἱ Ἕλληνες... (ἐν) τῷ πένθει ἐκείροντο... Ἐπαμεινώνδας (1)

1 Σπάρτα Plut. 2 ἱερὰ La (ἱρά), Lb, Pac, Fa 3 Θήβης Sylburg:  
 Θῆβαι codd. Μεγαλόπολις Lb, Fa, Pc  
 Jacobs\* *adesp.* clxxxiv, <sup>b</sup>App. 203; Preger 161.

1 [1558] ἐκείρατο: metaphorical uses of this verb are common from Homer onwards, mostly in places where the literal sense, 'cut off', is strongly felt, sometimes more generally where 'cut' = 'cut to pieces', 'destroy', 'consume'. The use here, 'to be shorn of' = 'to be deprived of', is abnormal.

The scholia on Aeschines are quite mistaken in their interpretation.

Word-end after the 'fourth trochee', as in this line, is extremely rare in the epigrammatists; see Parrhasius 279 n.

2 [1559] After ἐκείρατο, δέχετο was expected, and there must be a reason why it was not written; see Pref.

3 [1560] Μεγάλη πόλις: the ancient name of the city was Μεγάλα πόλις, not Μεγαλόπολις; *RE* 15.127-8.

ἐστεφάνωται: στέφανος, στεφάνη are used of the ring of fortification-walls round a city (Pind. *Ol.* 8.32 with schol.; E. *Hec.* 910, *Tro.* 784, Alpheus 9.97.2 = *PG* 3556; cf. the verb στέφουσιν at S. *OC* 15 (Wakefield)), and so some edd. understand here, 'has a wall-coronal through the arms of Thebes', meaning that it has a ring of walls which it owes to the Theban army. This may be correct, but ὅπλοισιν has an easier construction if the sense is 'encircled by Theban arms', i.e. having a ring of Theban soldiers round it; and indeed Epaminondas sent Pammenes with a thousand men for the defence of the city while it was under construction (Paus. 8.27.2; *RE* 15.128-9).

The text at the beginning of this line is uncertain: Θῆβαι, an unlikely corruption of Θήβης, may point rather to Θηβαί(ων) δ' ὅπλοις; lengthening at the caesura by means of paragogic *nu* is generally avoided by the epigrammatists.

## CXXII

Probably c. 360 B.C.

On Aristocrates, an Arcadian king who betrayed the Messenians.

See Busolt *Gr. Gesch.* 1.589ff. (609 n. 4 on the present epigram); Niese *RE* 2.947 (on Aristomenes), Hiller von Gaertringen *RE* 2.938 (on Aristocrates); Walbank *Commentary on Polybius* 1.480-1.

Messenia was subjugated by Sparta in the eighth century and revolted in the seventh. The Messenian rebellion was led by Aristomenes and supported by Argives, by Pisatans, and especially by Arcadians under the command of

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

Aristocrates, king of Orchomenos; on the Spartan side the most notable person is the poet and general Tyrtaeus (*fr.* 8 West).

The Messenians, having begun with victories at Derai and The Boar's Grave, suffered a heavy defeat at The Great Ditch through the treachery of Aristocrates, and withdrew to the hill-fortress of Eira. Their heroic resistance at Eira was broken in the eleventh year; the survivors escaped to Arcadia and planned a raid on Sparta, but this was frustrated again by the treachery of Aristocrates. The truth came to light, and Aristocrates was stoned to death (Paus. 4.22ff.).

This is not the place to discuss the authenticity of stories about Aristocrates (later in Pausanias he is stoned to death for a quite different offence, the violation of a priestess; 8.5.12, 8.13.5) or about Aristomenes, the national hero of Messenia with an Epic poem of his own, the Μεσσηνιακά of Rhianus, in which Aristomenes 'shines out like Achilles in the *Iliad* of Homer' (Paus. 4.6.3; *cf.* *P. Oxy.* 2522 and 2883). The source for Polybius in the present passage is Aristotle's nephew Callisthenes (*c.* 370–327 B.C.), the earliest authority for this tale of the treachery and execution of Aristocrates; Callisthenes is plainly wrong in dating the inscribed *stele* to 'the time of Aristomenes' and in attributing its erection to the Messenians instead of the Arcadians as in Pausanias.

The epigram is a neat composition by an author with a liking for antithetic juxtaposition (δίκη/ἀδίκωι; ῥηϊδίως/χαλεπόν; θεὸν/ἄνδρα). It is obviously not of the seventh century B.C. The most promising indication of its date is the political concept embodied in the word 'Arcadia': this term was not likely to be used in such a context before the reorganisation of the State by Epaminondas in the years following the battle of Leuctra (371; see Schwartz *Philol.* 92 (1937) 24; Preger p. 51; Walbank 1.480); Callisthenes assigns to the seventh century an epigram inscribed about the time when he was born.

A peculiar feature of the epigram is its assumption that the reader knows what and whom it is talking about. For a *stele* erected immediately after the execution of the traitor, this would seem natural enough; it is neither natural nor customary for one erected three hundred years after the event. A *stele* erected in a man's honour may carry his portrait or at least his name in addition to the epitaph, but a *stele* commemorating a man's infamy would have nothing of the kind. Perhaps it was placed close to some other monument which told the story in sufficient detail.

Polybius 4.33.2 s.a.n. οἱ Μεσσήνιοι πρὸς ἄλλοις πολλοῖς καὶ παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λυκαίου βωμὸν ἀνέθεσαν στήλην ἐν τοῖς κατ' Ἀριστομένην καιροῖς, καθάπερ καὶ Καλλισθένης [124 *FGH* 23] φησίν, γράψαντες τὸ γράμμα τοῦτο·

πάντως ὁ χρόνος εὔρε δίκην ἀδίκωι βασιλῆϊ,  
εὔρε δὲ Μεσσήνης σὺν Διὶ τὸν προδότην  
ῥηϊδίως· χαλεπὸν δὲ λαθεῖν θεὸν ἄνδρ' ἐπιόρκον.  
χαῖρε, Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ σάω Ἀρκαδίαν.

1565

Paus. 4.22.7 τὸν δὲ Ἀριστοκράτην οἱ Ἀρκάδες καταλιθώσαντες τὸν μὲν τῶν ὄρων ἐκτὸς ἐκβάλλουσιν ἄταφον, στήλην δὲ ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ τέμενος τοῦ Λυκαίου λέγουσαν [1–4]

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2 Μεσσήνης Paus.: -νη Polyb. 4 σάω Polyb. codd. plerique (σαός' CDE): σῶζε, σῶε, σάωζε, σάε Paus. codd.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* clxxix, <sup>b</sup>App. 294; Preger 63.

1 [1562] ὁ χρόνος: in Pausanias' account many years elapsed between the first act of treachery by Aristocrates (= 'the unjust king' here, not named) and his unmasking after the retreat from Eira.

Perhaps χρόνος should be personified.

2 [1563] Μεσσήνης: Μεσσήνη in Polybius is wrong; εὔρε..., εὔρε δέ... must have the same subject, χρόνος; antithetic χρόνος εὔρε..., εὔρε δέ Μεσσήνη would be intolerable (Preger p. 51, Hitzig and Blümner *Paus.* 2.1.148), and anyway it was the Arcadians, not the Messenians, who 'found out' the traitor.

4 [1565] σάω: σάου Cobet, to harmonise with the Ionic of the rest. See the note on Callimachus 6.347.2 = *HE* 1150. The Doric form appears in an Ionic epigram by Phaedimus, 13.2.4 = *HE* 2910, (Ζεῦ) πάτρην σάω, and it may be that this concluding appeal to Zeus to 'protect the land' had a formulaic quality which included the Doric form; the present line is very like Callimachus *fr.* 112.8 (Doric), a hundred years later, χαίρε, Ζεῦ, ... σάω δ' ὅλον οἶκον ἀνάκτων.

### CXXIII

c. 356 B.C.

For a bronze statue of Isocrates dedicated by Timotheus.

The source of this passage in the *Lives of the Ten Orators* is not known; possibly Heliodorus of Athens, whose date is uncertain (Jacoby *RE* 8.16f.). If the facts are true as stated (and there is no particular reason for doubt), the date of the epigram is not later than 356 B.C., when Timotheus was impeached and finally left Athens in disgrace; the sculptor Leochares was active about that time (Lippold *RE* 12.1993; on the present epigram, 1995, and Münscher *RE* 9.2211).

Timotheus, son of Conon, pupil and friend of Isocrates, was one of Athens' principal military commanders for over twenty years, from his first election as *strategos* in 378 to his ruin in 356 B.C.; he was already dead in 354/3 when Isocrates (then aged 82) published the long and passionate defence of him which is preserved in *Antidosis* 101ff. Cf. Tod *GHI* 2 no. 128.

The dedication was made to Demeter and Persephone (2 θεαῖς); Athens is a likelier site than Eleusis for a statue of Isocrates given by Timotheus, so Ἐλευσινίῳ is preferred to Ἐλευσίνι (adopted by Lippold 1995) in the introductory phrase. On the Athenian *Eleusinion* (east of the Panathenaic Way, half-way along a line from the Stoa of Attalos to the Propylaea), see *The Athenian Agora: a Guide etc.*, pp. 92–5, with fig. 19 on p. 89; no. 45 on the Plan at the end. [Plut.] *dec. orat.* 838D, Isocr. 27 s.a.n. ἀνάκειται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν Ἐλευσινίῳ εἰκὼν χαλκῇ ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ προστώιου ὑπὸ Τιμοθέου τοῦ Κόνωνος καὶ ἐπιγέγραπται·

Τιμόθεος φιλίας τε χάριν ξενίην τε προτιμῶν

Ἴσοκράτους εἰκὼν τήνδ' ἀνέθηκε θεαῖς.

1567

[Plut.] *ibid.* Λεωχάρους ἔργον. Phot. bibl. p. 488 εἰκὼν χαλκῇ ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχουσα: [1–2, + Λεωχάρους ἔργον]

2 θεῶι Phot.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* dliiv, <sup>b</sup>App. 347; Preger 156.



Epitaph for Thrasymachus.

Neoptolemus of Parium (III B.C.), in a book of which there is no other mention, 'On the inscriptions in Chalcedon', said that these lines were inscribed on the tomb of Thrasymachus the Sophist, presumably the sophist especially familiar from Plato's *Republic*. The dead man's name is not stated but is spelt out, and modern critics have thought the epigram fictitious for the following reasons:

(a) The device of describing a name by spelling it occurs in Achaëus' *Omphale*, a satyr-play (*TGF* fr. 33), and an illiterate person gives a name by describing the shape of its letters in Euripides' *Theseus* (*TGF* fr. 382), imitated by Agathon (*TGF* fr. 4) and Theodectas (*TGF* fr. 6). These devices are very well in their contexts, but the tombstone seems an unsuitable place for such tricks.

Against this, it must be admitted that there is no reason to suppose that Athenaeus has misrepresented his source (it is a very simple statement); and that Neoptolemus, renowned especially as a writer on hard words in Homer, was not the sort of man likely to inform the world, in a book entitled 'On the inscriptions in Chalcedon', that a certain inscription was to be seen on the tomb of the most famous of the sons of Chalcedon if no such inscription was to be seen there. It is easy to call it, as Preger does, *epigramma a festivo poeta demonstrative conscriptum*; it is much harder to say why Neoptolemus said that it was inscribed on the tomb if it was not, or to say what the point of it is if it is fictitious.

(b) The words πατρίς Χαλκηδών break the rule that an epitaph does not name the country of the deceased unless he is buried abroad (Preger p. 208). It is true that there is no other breach of this custom in an epitaph of any date down to the end of the fourth century, and even thereafter the earlier exceptions are not closely parallel: there is a difference between a sentence whose purpose is to give information about the birthplace, 'his fatherland was Chalcedon', and one which merely makes the fatherland the subject of a statement about the deceased as in Peek 899 (IV-III B.C.), on a Theban buried at Thebes, 'His fatherland Thebes hoped that he would live to excel', and 1502 (III *inc.*), on an Elatean buried at Elatea, 'Your fatherland Elatea honours you.'

This argument may be thought to fall short of proof, but it raises a doubt which cannot be quite dispelled.

The dialect is mixed, and if the lines are as early as the first half of the fourth century B.C. there is a strong case for writing ἀ δὲ τέχνα σοφία to conform with the Doric σάν. By the end of the fourth century, Ionic dialect in an epitaph for a Dorian buried in his native city would not be surprising; see *Wiener Studien* n.s. 10 (1976) 170. It is to be noted that σάν, though Doric, might be used by an Ionian writer instead of σίγμα: Achaëus, an Eretrian, writes σάν without the least compulsion (*TGF* fr. 33).

Athen. 10.454F s.a.n. Νεοπτόλεμος δ' ὁ Παριανὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐπιγραμμάτων ἐν Χαλκηδόνι φησὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Θρασυμάχου τοῦ σοφιστοῦ μνήματος ἐπιγεγράφθαι τὸδε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα·

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τοῦνομα θῆτα ῥῶ ἄλφα σάν ὕ μῦ ἄλφα χεῖ οὗ σάν·  
πατρὶς Χαλκηδών· ἡ δὲ τέχνη σοφίη.

1569

1 ὕμ ἄλφα χί Athen. AC

Jacobs\* *adesp.* dxxxvii, <sup>b</sup>App. 359; Preger 260.

1 [1568] οὗ: the name of the letter ο was τὸ οὔ (Plato *Cratyl.* 414c), and this (like εἰ, the name of ε) was scanned as a long syllable although it represented a short one; so here, in the quotations by Athenaeus in 10.453D and 453F, and in Stephanus *A.P.* 9.385.15 (Achaëus fr. 33.4, cited by LSJ in this connection, is not relevant, as ο there represents ου).

σάν Doric for σίγμα; Hdt. 1.139 γράμμα, τὸ Δωριέες μὲν σάν καλέουσι, Ἴωνες δὲ σίγμα, Athen. 11.467A τὸ δὲ σάν ἀντὶ τοῦ σίγμα Δωρικῶς εἰρήκασιν; Pind. *Dithyr.* 2.3. But Achaëus (see Pref.) proves that an Ionian might use either word indifferently.

2 [1569] On the spelling of the place-name see *RE* 10.1555; if this is a genuine epitaph, Καλχηδών should be preferred.

CXXIV\*

mid-IV B.C.?

Epitaph for Timotheus.

Timotheus, the lyrical poet and musician, was born in the mid-fifth century B.C. at Miletus, lived much at Athens, and died in Macedonia at the age of at least ninety (*Marmor Parium*; ninety-seven according to the *Suda*). References to him are assembled in Edmonds *Lyra Graeca* 3.280-96, the remains of his poetry in *PMG* pp. 399-418.

He deserved a better epitaph, said Jacobs; and perhaps he had one. There is no reason for confidence that the present epigram, of which there is no other trace earlier than Stephanus, was inscribed on tomb or memorial.

Steph. Byz. s.a.n., s.v. Μίλητος... Τιμόθεος κιθαρωιδὸς... θνήσκει... ἐν Μακεδονίαι· ἐπιγέγραπται αὐτῷ τάδε·

πάτρα Μίλητος τίκτει Μούσαισι ποθεινόν  
Τιμόθεον, κιθάρας δεξιὸν ἡνίοχον.

1570

Eust. II. 313.11 et comm. in Dion. Per. p. 362 M., eadem.

Jacobs\* *adesp.* dxxxviii, <sup>b</sup>App. 295; Preger 10.

2 [1571] ἡνίοχον: the editors compare Kaibel *ep.* 498 (= Peek 818) ἀρετῆς ἔξοχος ἡνίοχος, Pind. *Nem.* 6.66 χειρῶν τε καὶ ἰσχύος ἡνίοχον, 'Simonides' 805 παλαιαιμοσύνης δεξιὸν ἡνίοχον; cf. also Peek 1698.3 (IV *med.* B.C.) ἡνίοχος τέχνης τραγικῆς, 1737.6 (III A.D.) βίου ἡνίοχος; Wilhelm *Gr. Ep. aus Kreta* p. 65.

CXXV

mid-IV B.C.

Epitaph for Theodectas the Tragedian.

Theodectas was born at Phaselis, where Lycia and Pamphylia march together on the south coast of Asia Minor. A pupil of Plato, Isocrates, and Aristotle, he became first a *rhetor* and later a tragedian. According to the present epigram he competed at thirteen festivals and was victorious at eight of them. The *Didaschalia* (Snell *TGF* 1, DID A 3 a 45) attest seven victories at the Dionysia,

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the first of them soon after 372 B.C. His eighth victory was presumably at the Lenaea with two plays; then four plays at each of twelve Dionysia and two at the Lenaea add up to fifty, the total given by the Suda and by Stephanus (Snell *TGF* 1 pp. 227–8). The biographical evidence and fragments of his plays are assembled by Snell (*ibid.* no. 72).

Theodectas' grave at Athens is mentioned by Pausanias (1.37.4) and by pseudo-Plutarch *dec. orat.* 837c ('a heap of ruins').

Steph. Byz. s.a.n. s.v. Φασηλῖς· Θεοδέκτης δ' ἦν γένος Φασηλίτης, υἱὸς Ἀριστάνδρου, κάλλει διαφέρων, ὃς ἐποίησε τραγωιδίας ν'...ἀπέθανε δ' Ἀθήνησι, καὶ ἐπιγράφεται δ' αὐτῷ ἐλεγείον τόδε·

ἦδε χθὼν κόλποισι Φασηλίτην Θεοδέκτην  
κρύπτει, δν ἠὔξησαν Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες.  
ἐν δὲ χορῶν <τραγικῶν> ἱεραῖς τρισὶ καὶ δέχ' ἀμίλλαις  
ὀκτῶ ἀγηράτους ἀμφεθέμην στεφάνους.

1575

3 χορῶν <τραγικῶν> ἱεραῖς τρισὶ Tyrwhitt: χθὼν ἱεραῖς τρίς cod. R et (τρεῖς) Aldina, χθὼν τρεῖς cod. V 4 ἀγηράτους Nauck: ἀκη- codd.

Jacobs\* *adesp.* dlvi, <sup>b</sup>App. 194; Preger 13; Peek 547.

**1 [1572] Θεοδέκτην:** as he lived long in Athens and was buried there, the Attic form of his name is natural; he started life as Θεοδέκτας, and so the *Didascalia* call him.

**4 [1575] ἀμφεθέμην:** the change of person is startling. Preger compares Kaibel *ep.* 938, which is relevant (ἀνέθηκε...εἶλον; late III B.C.), and *A.P.* 13.16, which is not; *cf.* *IGA* 388 ἐνίκων...ἔστησεν—perhaps not the original text (Frazer on Paus. 6.6.4), and so not valid as an early example. See *Inscr. von Olympia* 144, Jeffery *LSAG* pl. 63, 19.

## CXXVI

338 B.C.

Epitaph on the Athenians who fell at the battle of Chaeronea (338 B.C.).

This epigram has been much discussed.<sup>1</sup> To the first of the questions which suggest themselves a satisfactory answer can be given. It is generally agreed that the inscriptional epigram ὦ χρόνε παντοίων κτλ. (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 5226 = *A.P.* 7.245) is an epitaph for the Athenians who fell at Chaeronea. Now Demosthenes quotes, as from an epitaph for the dead at Chaeronea, a line from a different epigram; and indeed a different epitaph is included in some of the manuscripts of his oration. A reasonable explanation was first given by R. Schoell in a letter to Preger, who reports it on p. 223: the inscription of more than one epigram on the same *polyandron* is attested as early as 432 B.C. (Peek 20; three epitaphs on the fallen at Potidaea; *cf.* Peek 24, 362 B.C., two epitaphs on the same monument). Evidently the monument erected by the Athenians for the men who fell at Chaeronea bore two epitaphs; the verb in Demosthenes' phrase, 'the epigram which the city *preferred*', implies competition and would

<sup>1</sup> Preger in 1891 listed (p. 218) thirty-five articles since Jacobs, not counting discussions in editions of Demosthenes. Peek adds Wilamowitz *SS* 214 and Friedländer *SIFC* 15 (1938) 110. Preger's own lengthy discussion is the best thing in his book.

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be pointless in the context unless the orator wished to distinguish between two (or more) epitaphs actually inscribed.

The second question is not so easily answered: is the epigram in the text of Demosthenes genuine or spurious? If genuine, it is the worst composition of its kind that has come down from the classical period. It is abnormally long; it is verbose, lifeless, ill-phrased, and dishonest. The defects in style and phrasing are such as to make it extremely improbable that it was approved as a fit epitaph for the dead at Chaeronea; and it is hard to believe that an Athenian wrote, or that his compatriots read without anger and disgust, the statement that the catastrophe at Chaeronea was a battle in which the Athenians 'routed the insolence of their adversaries'.

The fact that the epigram is not an integral part of, or is missing from, most of the earlier manuscripts of Demosthenes, is not of much importance; if it is a later addition to the text, the question remains, whether what was later supplied is genuine or spurious. Our conclusion, that the epigram is spurious, is based on the evidence of style, phrasing, and contents, as set out in the notes. The composer's hand was not quite free: it was necessary for him to include the line quoted by Demosthenes, μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορβοῦν; this rugged line is the only strong one in the epigram, a stone of some price mounted in a cheap setting.

Dem. de cor. 289 s.a.n. λέγε δ' αὐτῶι τοῦτὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὃ δημοσίαι προεῖλεθ' ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράψαι, ἴν' εἰδῆις, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῶι τούτῳ σαυτὸν ἀγνώμονα καὶ συκοφάντην ὄντα καὶ μιᾶρόν. λέγε.

### ἐπίγραμμα

	οἶδε πάτρας ἔνεκα σφετέρας εἰς δῆριν ἔθεντο	
	ὄπλα καὶ ἀντιπάλων ὕβριν ἀπεσκέδασαν.	
	μαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δείματος οὐκ ἐσάωσαν	
	ψυχὰς ἄλλ' Ἀίδην κοινὸν ἔθεντο βραβῆι,	
5	οὐνεκεν Ἑλλήνων, ὥς μὴ ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες	1580
	δουλοσύνης στυγερὰν ἀμφὶς ἔχωσιν ὕβριν.	
	γαῖα δὲ πατρὶς ἔχει κόλποισι τῶν πλεῖστα καμόντων	
	σώματ', ἐπεὶ θνητοῖς ἐκ Διὸς ἦδε κρίσις·	
	μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορβοῦν	
10	ἐν βιοτῇ μοῖραν δ' οὔτι φυγεῖν ἔπορεν.	1585

ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῶι τούτῳ, “μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορβοῦν”; οὐ τῶι συμβούλῳ τὴν τοῦ κατορβοῦν τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους ἀνέθηκε δύναμιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς.

Jacobs\* *adesp.* dcxxvii, <sup>b</sup>App. 266; Preger 271; Peek 29.

**1-2 [1576-7] ἔνεκα:** μὲν ἐκὰς Weil, partly to eliminate tedium and confusion (in one and the same sentence we are told that they fought ἔνεκα πάτρας and ἔνεκα Ἑλλήνων), and also because he thought it strange (as indeed it is) that this lengthy epitaph has not found room to tell us where the men fought

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and died; but, as Preger says, 'far from their fatherland' would not be much help, as Athenian battles were usually fought abroad.

**εἰς δῆριν ἔθεντο ὄπλα:** 'they set their arms towards battle', a poor little phrase (misplaced by LSJ *s.v.* τίθημι A II 10 a, 'rest arms, i.e. halt'; it belongs to the following category, 'b' not 'a'). As Goodwin says on Dem. *Meidias* 145, though θέσθαι ὄπλα is properly 'to ground arms', it is quite often used in the opposite sense, 'to take up arms'; 'placing one's arms' was equivalent to 'standing ready for battle'. The phrase may be qualified by the motive for the act, as in Lycurgus *Leocr.* 43 ὄπλα θέμενον ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, and Demosthenes *loc. cit.* ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου θέμενος τὰ ὄπλα, or by the object of hostility, as in Plato *Rep.* 440E, τίθεσθαι τὰ ὄπλα πρὸς τὸ λογιστικόν, but to qualify it by the phrase 'towards battle', in a context where no particular adversary is named or implied, is to make a dull sentence.

**ἀντιπάλων ὕβριν ἀπεσκέδασαν:** later (5-6) we are told that these men were fighting to save Greece from slavery; we are not told that they fought in vain, or that the battle was a disaster which cost Athens all but the façade of freedom. Evasiveness is not in itself unnatural, for the city which loses its freedom may be slow to appreciate the fact and still slower to make public avowal of it; but it is quite a different thing to say that you 'dispersed the insolent enemy' when in truth they inflicted a most grievous defeat upon you. This is a downright falsehood of a type without parallel in Greek epitaphs.

**3-4 [1578-9]** The sense is 'they died on the battlefield; it is Death which distinguished the courageous from the coward'; in effect, Ἄρης οὐκ ἀγαθῶν φείδεται ἀλλὰ κακῶν. The words say: 'In the battle, of courage and cowardice (they did not save their lives but) they made Death the common arbiter.' As a parallel to this hideous tangle Froehlich quoted Xen. *Hell.* 7.3.7 ἦιδεν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς τοὺς περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Ὑπάτην, οὓς ἐλάβετε ὁμοῖα Εὐφρονι πεποιτηκότας, οὐ ψήφον ἀνεμείνατε ἀλλ' ὅποτε πρῶτον ἐδυνάσθητε ἐτιμωρήσασθε; this, though similar in principle, is less offensive, and is no sort of proof that such incoherence would be tolerated in a public epitaph.

Corruption has of course been diagnosed, but most of the conjectures are too bad or too rough to be worth consideration (*e.g.* μαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ λήματος or δείγματος, where μαρνάμενοι is said to govern the genitives; ἀρετῆς διὰ δείγματος (κατὰ δείγματος), ἀρετῇ κατὰ δείματος, ἄτρεστοι καὶ ἀδείματοι, μαϊόμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς ἰσοδαίμονος, ἀρνύμενοι δ' ἀρετὴν δίχα δαίμονος, μαρνάμενοι ἀρετῇ δ' ἐκ δείματος, and even worse). The best of a bad lot is Clemm's μαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῇ καὶ ἀδείματοι, but βραβῆ urgently needs the genitives with which the text provides it, to say of *what* Hades is to be the 'common arbiter'. [ἀδείματος is unknown to LSJ. - R.D.D.]

**5-6 [1580-1]** See 2 n. It would have been better to say nothing at all about saving the Greeks from slavery, as that is in effect what they failed to do. The implicit falsehood does no honour to the dead and would not give much comfort to the living.

**ζυγὸν ... θέντες:** a faulty phrase. To put the yoke on one's own neck is ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέσθαι, not θείναι. There is no shortage of improbable conjectures: ζυγῶι αὐχένα δόντες, ζυγὸν αὐχένι δύντες, ζυγῶι αὐχένα θέντες.

**στουγεράν ... ὕβριν:** 'have hateful insolence around them'; it is hard to

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see what this can mean except 'have the enemy's insolence like a yoke around their necks', a repetition (without any virtue of its own) of what was said in *ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες δουλοσύνης*.

**7-8 [1582-3]** *τῶν πλείστα καμόντων*: a disagreeable phrase, for *οἱ καμόντες* is a stock expression for 'the dead', and that is what it is expected to mean in an epitaph. Here *πλείστα* shows that *τῶν καμόντων* means 'those who toiled'.

**9-10 [1584-5]** The obvious sense is 'never to be at fault and always to succeed, belongs to the gods; in life, he (*sc.* Zeus; or 'it', *sc.* the judgement of Zeus) did not grant escape from destiny', *i.e.* only the gods can be sure of success in all their enterprises – man can only do what is predestined for him. The life of man (*ἐν βιοτῇ*) is contrasted with the gods (*θεῶν*).

That is not, however, what Demosthenes understood 9 to mean. He continues: 'Do you not hear, "never to fail and always to succeed, is of the gods"? The power of success in battle is attributed not to the statesman but to the gods', *i.e.* success in life is in god's gift, not man's. Demosthenes understood 'is of the gods' to imply 'who may either give it or not give it to man'; *ἐν βιοτῇ*, which cannot be attached to the preceding words if the contrast is between the certain success of the gods and the uncertain success of man, can and indeed must be so attached if Demosthenes is right – 'always to succeed in life, is a matter for the gods to grant or deny'.

If the epigram is genuine, there is no way of avoiding the conclusion that Demosthenes has put into 9 an implication which it requires violence to insert,<sup>1</sup> and which was surely not intended by the author – for, as Preger asked, what Greek ever said or implied that a mortal, with or without god's help, might *never* make a mistake and *always* succeed?<sup>2</sup> If the epigram is not genuine, the case is altered; the original context of 9 may have made all plain sailing.

The last line is deplorable: (a) *δέ* is sadly misplaced (unless the Demosthenic interpretation is followed); (b) no easy subject is provided for *ἔπορευ*: *κρίσις* in 8 is the only one immediately available, unless *Ζεὺς* is to be understood from *ἐκ Διός*; or *ἔπορον* (*codd. dett.*) might be read and *θεοί* supplied from *θεῶν*; (c) *ἔπορευ* governs an infinitive, a construction for which no parallel is to hand (the infinitives are expegetic in Hom. *Il.* 9.513 and Pind. *Pyth.* 3.45); (d) *τι* in *οὐτί* is almost if not quite meaningless.

## CXXVII

Between 331 and 311 B.C.

Dedication of the antlers of a four-horned deer by Nicocreon, king of Cyprus.

There is no reason to regard this epigram as fictitious. Nicocreon,<sup>3</sup> who

<sup>1</sup> Demosthenes' interpretation is not made more intelligible by the fact that it reappears in later authors (quoted by Preger p. 221 n. 3); they are simply copying Demosthenes. More significant are those who do not adopt his interpretation (Libanius and Themistius).

On the ascription of 9 to Simonides 'in an epigram on Marathon' by a scholiast on Gregory of Nazianzen see Boas *de epigr. Simon.* 136; it is of no importance.

<sup>2</sup> Preger rightly rejects as quite inadequate the alleged parallels offered by Bergk *PLG* 2.335; none of them mentions mortal infallibility throughout life.

<sup>3</sup> See on him Tod *GHI* 2.269-70, with literature.

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reigned in Cyprus from 332/1 to 311/10 B.C., presumably dedicated the actual antlers, not (as Preger thought) a bronze image of them: abnormal horns must be seen to be believed; a bronze image is no proof.

The freak of nature is much less surprising than some of the others described by Aelian in this passage.

Aelian n.a. 11.40 s.a.n. λέγει δὲ Ἀπίων, εἰ μὴ τερατεύεται, καὶ ἑλάφους νεφροὺς τέτταρας ἔχειν κατὰ τινὰς τόπους. λέγει δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς . . . δικέφαλον γέρανον φανῆναι . . . καὶ . . . τετρακέφαλον ὄρνιν . . . τετράκερων δὲ ἑλαφον Νικοκρέων ὁ Κύπριος ἔσχε καὶ ἀνέθηκε Πυθοὶ καὶ ὑπέγραψε·

σῆς ἔνεκεν, Λητοῦς τοξαλκέτα κοῦρ', ἐπινοίας  
τὴνδ' ἔλε Νικοκρέων τετράκερων ἑλαφον. 1587

καὶ μέντοι καὶ τετράκερω πρόβατα ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Πολιεύς ἦν καὶ τρίκερω, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ πεντάποδα βοῦν ἱερὸν ἔθεασάμην κτλ.

cod. Matr. p.450 Iriarte Νικοκρέων (Ἀνακρέων cod.) ὁ Κύπριος τετράκερων ἑλαφον γενέσθαι φησὶν καὶ ταύτην ἀναθεῖναι Πυθοὶ καὶ ἐπιγράψαι σῆς – ἑλαφον  
Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* cxvi (a), <sup>b</sup>App. 319; Preger 91.

**1 [1586] τοξαλκέτα:** here only.

**ἐπινοίας:** the catching of the deer is accredited to the 'inventiveness' of Apollo; the word is unusual in such contexts, but there is no need for change (ἐπιπνοίας Gesner).

## CXXVIII

Shortly before 323 B.C.

Dedication at Delphi by Alexander the Great of the horn of a 'Scythian ass'.

See Keller *Antike Tierwelt* 1.272, 384, and 415, Olck *RE* 6.630 s.v. 'Esel', Steier *RE* 16.1780 s.v. 'Nashorn'. The 'Scythian ass', like the 'Indian ass', is the Indian rhinoceros, first described by Ctesias *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* 72 p. 48 b 19ff., whence Aristotle *HA* 449b, *PA* 663a, and (with some embroidery) the later writers, especially Pliny *h.n.* 8.76, 11.128 and 255, Aelian *n.a.* 3.41, 4.52, 10.40, 13.25, and 16.20, Philostr. *vit. Apoll.* 3.2. The animal had a single horn (actually 'in its forehead' according to Ctesias; on the confusion in his account, which led to the creation of the fabulous unicorn, see Steier 1781–2), of which marvellous tales were told: the man who drank from a vessel made from the horn was immune from diseases (from σπασμός and ἱερὰ νόσος, Ctesias; νόσων ἀφύκτων, Aelian); could pass through fire unscathed; and, if wounded, felt no pain. The present epigram adds a further miraculous property: water from the river Styx, which would cut through all other materials (according to Aelian, even vessels of iron), could do no damage to this horn.

The name 'donkey' for a rhinoceros seems absurd, but becomes less surprising when we reflect (with Steier 1780–1)

(1) That Ctesias was never in India. He may have seen the horn (probably in the form of a wine-cup), but he never saw a rhinoceros; his account is based on tales told him in Persia.

(2) That there is no good evidence that any member of Alexander's forces in India ever saw a rhinoceros. Curtius (9.1.5) and pseudo-Callisthenes (3.17.19, p. 109 Kr.) may imply that the rhinoceros was seen, but more explici

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statements by more reliable witnesses would be welcome. The Indian rhinoceros was not seen at Rome until 55 B.C. (Pliny *h.n.* 8.71), and its earliest portrayal in art is at Pompeii (Keller 417; perhaps not even there, Steier 1785).

(3) 'Donkey' for the rhinoceros is not much more surprising than 'ox' for the elephant (*Lucae boves*) or 'horse' for the hippopotamus, less surprising than 'sparrow' for the ostrich.

The source for the story about the dedication, including the epigram itself, is obviously the same for both Porphyrius and Aelian. Porphyrius names it – a book by Philon of Heraclea, who lived in the third century B.C. (*RE* 20.50, no. 42). The epigram is therefore presumably inscriptional; it is unlikely that a fictitious epigram of that date would have had a rhinoceros-horn for its subject, explicitly describing it as a dedication at Delphi in the name of Alexander.

The epigram is well composed; the second couplet, especially the last clause, is ambitious.

Aelian n.a. 10.40 s.a.n. ἐν τῇ Σκυθίᾳ γῇ γίνονται ὄνοι κερασφόροι, καὶ στέγει τὰ κέρατα ἐκεῖνα τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν τὸ καλούμενον τῆς Στυγός· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀγγεῖα διακόπτει πάντα, κἂν ᾗ σιδήρου πεποιημένα. τούτων τοι τῶν κεράτων (ἐν) ὑπὸ Σωπάτρου κομισθῆναι φασιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Μακεδόνι, καὶ ἐκείνον πυνθάνομαι θαυμάσαντα ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνάθημα ἀναθεῖναι τῷ Πυθίῳ τὸ κέρας καὶ ὑπογράψαι ταῦτα·

σοὶ τόδ' Ἀλέξανδρος Μακεδὼν κέρας ἄνθετο, Παιάν,  
κάνθωνος Σκυθικοῦ, χρῆμά τι δαιμόνιον,  
ὃ Στυγὸς ἀχράντῳ Λουσηίδος οὐκ ἑδαμάσθη 1590  
ρεύματι, βάσταξεν δ' ὕδατος ἡνορέην.

Porphyrius ἐκ τῶν περὶ Στυγός ap. Stob. ecl. 1.49.52 (1.421 W.-H.) Φίλων γὰρ ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Νύμφιν περὶ θαυμασίων ἐν Σκύθαις φησὶν ὄνους γίνεσθαι κέρατα ἔχοντας, ταῦτα δὲ τὰ κέρατα δύνασθαι τοῦτο τὸ ὕδωρ διαφέρειν. καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Μακεδόνι ἐνεχθῆναι ὑπὸ Σωπάτρου κέρας τοιοῦτο, ὃ καὶ ἀνατεθῆναι ἐν Δελφοῖς, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ ἐπιγεγράφθαι· σοὶ – ἡνορέην

2 χρῆμά τι Porph.: σχῆμα τὸ Aelian. 3 ἀχράντῳ Brunck: -του Porph., Aelian.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* clxii (a), <sup>b</sup>App. 324; Preger 88.

2 [1589] **κάνθωνος**: on this word for 'donkey', first in Ar. *Vesp.* 179 and Pax 82, see *RE* 6.632.

3 [1590] **Λουσηίδος**: from Λουσοί, the name of the Arcadian town not far from the river Styx (see the map in *RE* 13.1893-4). The masculine ethnic appears as Λουσεύς, Λουσιεύς, Λουσιάτης, the feminine as Λουσιᾶτις (*SGDI* 2.1601); Λουσίς would have been normal, Λουσηίς is a poetical formation.

(The older editions say that Aelian has Λουσηίδος; Hercher is silent.)

## CXXIX

Second half of IV B.C., probably 322

On a statue of Chilon, a great wrestler, at Olympia.

The statue (by Lysippus; Brunn *Gesch. d. gr. Künstler* 1.359) was erected not



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to celebrate an Olympic victory but to commemorate the athlete after his death in battle. No other author mentions Chilon, and Pausanias evidently knew no more about him than what he read in the epigram; his doubt whether Chilon fell fighting at Chaeronea (338 B.C.) or Lamia (323/322 B.C.), is surprising; he was definitely told by his guide at Patrae that Chilon fell at Lamia (7.6.5, quoted below).

Paus. 6.4.6 s.a.n. Χείλωνι δὲ Ἀχαιῶι Πατρεῖ δύο μὲν Ὀλυμπικαὶ νίκαι πάλης ἀνδρῶν, μία δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν Δελφοῖς, τέσσαρες δὲ ἐν Ἰσθμῶι καὶ Νεμεῶν τρεῖς. ἐτάφη δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ οἱ καὶ τοῦ βίου συνέπεσεν ἐν πολέμῳ τὴν τελευταίην γενέσθαι. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι·

μουνοπάλαι νικῶ δις Ὀλύμπια Πύθια τ' ἀνδρας,  
τρίς Νεμέαι, τετράκις δ' Ἰσθμῶι ἐν ἀγχιάλῳ,  
Χείλων <Χείλων>ος Πατρεὺς, ὃν λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν  
ἐν πολέμῳ φθίμενον θάψ' ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν.

1595

τὸ μὲν δὴ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐδήλωσεν. εἰ δὲ Λυσίππου τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὴν εἰκόνα τεκμαιρόμενον τῇ ἡλικίαι συμβαλέσθαι δεῖ με τὸν πόλεμον ἔνθα ὁ Χείλων ἔπεσεν, ἥτοι ἐς Χαιρώνειαν Ἀχαιοῖς τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ στρατεύσασθαι ἢ ἰδίαι κατ' ἀρετὴν τε καὶ τόλμαν Ἀχαιῶν μόνος Ἀντιπάτρου μοι καὶ Μακεδόνων ἐναντία ἀγωνίσασθαι περὶ Λαμίας φαίνεται τὴν ἐν Θεσσαλίαι. 7.6.4 ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Πατρεῦσιν ἐξηγητὴς τὸν παλαιστήν Χείλωνα Ἀχαιῶν μόνον μετασχεῖν ἔφασκε τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ περὶ Λαμίας.

1 μουνοπάλαι Vn: μούνω πάλαι Lb, Va, Ag, Pcd, μούνω πάληι M, μούνος πάληι Vb, Pa, μούνως πάλης La 3 Χείλων Χείλωνος Πατρεὺς, ὃν λαὸς Porson: Χίλων ὃς Πατρεὺς ὢν λαὸς vel Χίλων ὃς Πατρεὺς ἦν· αὐτὰρ λαὸς fere codd.

Jacobs\* *adesp.* dcxxvi, <sup>b</sup>App. 249; Preger 130; Förster no. 384; Moretti no. 461; Ebert no. 50.

1 [1592] μουνοπάλαι: cf. Bacchyl. 12.8 τάν τ' ἐν Νεμέαι γυμναλκέα μουνοπάλαν, *Inscr. von Olymp.* 164 (IV B.C.) Μαινάλιος Ξενοκλῆς νίκασα Εὐθύφρονος υἱός | ἀπτής μουνοπαλᾶν τέσσαρα σώμασθ' ἐλών, *SIG* (Delphi, IV B.C.) 274 (4)3 νικῶ μουνοπάλην, Hesych. μουνοπάλαι· οἱ μόνῃ πάληι νικῶντες. It is commonly agreed (since Dittenberger *Inscr. von Olymp.* 287f.) that the word describes the simple wrestling-match as distinguished from the wrestling which was included in the pentathlon and that which was an element in the pancration (Jebb on Bacchyl. *loc. cit.*, Jüthner in *RE* 18.3.82, Frazer and Hitzig and Blümner on Paus. here).

The tradition points rather to the dative of μουνοπάλη, μουνοπάλαι, 'in the single-wrestling', than to the nominative μουνοπάλης (Camerarius, followed by all modern editors and – without warning that it is conjectural – by LSJ).

2 [1593] Πύθια: sc. δῖς; Pausanias' statement that he won only once at Delphi is apparently a misunderstanding.

4 [1595] θάψ': presumably, as Preger says, at Patrae; certainly not where his statue stood, at Olympia.

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CXXX

Probably IV, not later  
than III, B.C.

On the tomb of Lais in Thessaly.

The source is Polemon (see cxxxvi Pref.), so the epigram may be an authentic inscription, and is certainly datable not later than the third century B.C. The confusion between two places of burial reported in the extract quoted below probably reflects confusion between two different courtesans named 'Lais'. Cf. Pausanias 2.2.4: 'In front of the city is a grove of cypresses named Craneum. Here is... the grave of Lais, which is surmounted by a lioness holding a ram in her fore-paws. There is another tomb in Thessaly which claims to be the tomb of Lais; for she went to Thessaly too, for love of Hippostratus. It is said that she was a native of Hyccara in Sicily, that she was captured as a child by the Athenians under Nicias, and that being sold to a Corinthian purchaser she surpassed in beauty all the courtesans of the age and was so much admired by the Corinthians that they still claim her as a native of Corinth.' As Hitzig and Blümner say, the Corinthian grave is probably that of the elder Lais, the Thessalian that of the younger (that there really was a 'younger Lais' is attested by Athenaeus, 13.574E, Λαῖδος τῆς νεωτέρας). The two women must have been more or less contemporary, and both lived in Corinth; they are hopelessly confused in our sources. An attempt to disentangle them was made by Jacobs in his *Script. Miscell.* 4.412 and (without much improvement on the ancients) by Geyer in *RE* 12.514-16.

The Lais who was buried in Thessaly is said to have gone there from Corinth with a lover (variously named) and to have been killed by Thessalian women in a temple of Aphrodite. If there was, as Polemon says, a stone hydria over her grave, this should signify that she was (as well she may have been) unmarried.

Athen. 13.589A s.a.n. . . . καθὰ καὶ Πολέμων εἶρηκεν, ἀναιρεθῆναι φάσκων αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τινων γυναικῶν ἐν Θετταλῑαι, ἐρασθεῖσάν τινος Παισανίου Θετταλοῦ, κατὰ φθόνον καὶ δυσζηλίαν ξυλῖναις χελώναις τυπτομένην ἐν Ἀφροδίτης ἱερῶι· διὸ καὶ τὸ τέμενος κληθῆναι ἀνοσίας Ἀφροδίτης. δείκνυσθαι δ' αὐτῆς τάφον παρὰ τῶι Πηνειῶι σημεῖον ἔχοντα ὕδριαν λιθίνην καὶ ἐπίγραμμα τόδε·

τῆσδέ ποθ' ἡ μέγαλαυχος ἀνίκητός τε πρὸς ἀλκὴν  
Ἑλλάς ἐδουλώθη κάλλεος ἰσοθέου,  
Λαῖδος, ἣν ἐτέκνωσεν Ἔρωσ, θρέψεν δὲ Κόρινθος·  
κεῖται δ' ἐν κλεινοῖς Θετταλικοῖς πεδίοις.

1599

αὐτοσχεδιάζουσιν οὖν οἱ λέγοντες αὐτὴν ἐν Κορίνθῳι τεθᾶφθαι πρὸς τῶι Κρανείῳ.  
Jacobs\* *adesp.* dcxxviii, <sup>b</sup>App. 342; Preger 24; Peek 896.

1 [1596] ποθ' ἡ: ποθῆι Stadtmüller, ingeniously.

πρὸς ἀλκὴν: πρὸς ἀλκῆς Kaibel; the text uses the preposition rather loosely ('in respect of', 'in relation to').

2 [1597] ἐδουλώθη κάλλεος: δουλοῦσθαι τινος *dictum videtur ad analogiam* ἡ τᾷτᾶσθαι τινος; *aliud exemplum huius constructionis frustra quaesivi*, said Preger.

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**4 [1599] Θετταλικοί:** Θεσσαλ- was expected and should probably be written; cf. however Peek 1010 (Thera, ? I A.D.), where Θετταλῆς is equally irrational.

CXXXI (a) and (b)

IV/III B.C.

Elegy for men killed in battle.

These lines come from a composition of a very rare type. Bergk and Preger supposed that they are part of an epitaph, but the verse-epitaph is strange to Sparta at all times. In the public sphere (to which these lines would belong) there is not a single Spartan verse-epitaph in the pre-Christian era. In the private sphere, nothing is much rarer: Peek 862 (VI B.C.) is exceptional, an epitaph for a man born at Sparta, bred at Athens, and buried in Eretria. From the following centuries, only Peek 2075 (III inc.), 903 (III/II), and 2003 (I p. pr.).

Teles uses the word ἐπιγράφουσι, implying an inscription and therefore an epitaph, but Plutarch is probably right in using the word ἐπικήδειον. It may be thought that a Spartan elegy is as improbable as a Spartan epitaph, but a possible setting for an elegy is found in Plutarch's *Inst. Lacon.* 14 238A (2.1 p. 208 Teubner; expanded in *vit. Lycurg.* 21), ἐσπούδαζον δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰ μέλη καὶ τὰς ὠιδὰς οὐδενὸς ἦττον... οὐδὲν δ' ἕτερον εἶχον ἢ ἐπαίνους τῶν γεννικῶς ζησάντων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀποθανόντων καὶ εὐδαιμονιζομένων καὶ ψόγους τῶν τρεσάντων κτλ. (there follows the specimen of the three choruses καθ' ἡλικίαν, *PMG* 870). Whatever the setting may have been, the survival of part of a Spartan elegy is something extraordinary. About its date we can only say that it was known to Teles (*flor.* 235 B.C.), and that its style and content suit the fourth century better than fifth. About its occasion we know nothing (Bergk guessed the battle of Leuctra). Both (a) and (b) presumably come from the same poem.

[Plut.] consol. Apoll. 15 110B s.a.n. γενναῖον δὲ καὶ τὸ Λακωνικόν·

(a) νῦν ἄμμες, πρόσθ' ἄλλοι ἐθάλεον, αὐτίκα δ' ἄλλοι 1600  
ὦν ἄμμες γενεὰν οὐκέτ' ἐποψόμεθα·

καὶ πάλιν·

(b) οἱ θάνον οὐ τὸ ζῆν θέμενοι καλὸν οὐδὲ τὸ θνᾶσκειν, 1603  
ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτα καλῶς ἀμφοτέρ' ἐκτελέσαι.

(b) Teles ap. Stob. ecl. 4.44.83 (5 p. 989 W.-H.). ἐπιγράφουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι· οὔτε τὸ ζῆν θέμενοι κτλ.; Plut. *vit. Pelopid.* 1 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ ζῆν ἡδέως καὶ θνήσκειν ἀμφοτέρω ἀρετῇ παρήχον, ὡς δηλοῖ τὸ ἐπικήδειον· οἶδε γάρ, φησίν, ἔθανον οὐ τὸ ζῆν θέμενοι κτλ.

(a) 1 ἐθάλλεον codd. (b) 1 οἱ θάνον Wytttenbach: οἶδ' ἔθανον codd. οὐδὲ Plut.: οὔτε Teles θνᾶσκειν Page: θνήσ- codd.

Not in Jacobs. (b) = Preger 3; 3 p. 516 Bergk.

Epitaph for Orpheus.

It is remarkable that an epitaph said to have been inscribed on his tomb should say things about Orpheus which were quite contrary to popular belief and of which there is little if any other trace in the copious tradition concerning him. The story of his death was particularly well known: he was torn to pieces by Thracian women.<sup>1</sup> According to this epitaph, Zeus killed him with a thunderbolt. And then the reader is told that Orpheus was the teacher of Heracles and the inventor of letters and of wisdom for mankind. Nothing of the sort is ever said about Orpheus, except by Pausanias (9.30.5), 'There are some who say that Orpheus met his death by a thunderbolt and that this was because of revelations which he made to men in the mysteries.' To the teaching of Heracles there is no other reference whatever (*RE* 18.1.1226, 1282).

The date of the source is uncertain. The *Odysseus* which has been handed down under the name of Alcidas (fourth century B.C.) is generally judged to be the work of an inferior author whose date is a matter for surmise; the third or possibly the second century B.C. is a likely time (*RE* 1.1536).

There is other evidence to confirm this author's report of a tomb said to be the tomb of Orpheus and inscribed with an epitaph of this type: Diog. Laert. *prooem.* 1.5 οἱ δὲ τὴν εὑρεσιν (τῆς φιλοσοφίας) διδόντες ἐκείνοις (= τοῖς βαρβάροις) παράγουσι καὶ Ὀρφέα τὸν Θράικα, λέγοντες φιλόσοφον γεγενῆσθαι... τοῦτον δὲ ὁ μὲν μῦθος ὑπὸ γυναικῶν ἀπολέσθαι φησί, τὸ δ' ἐν Δίῳ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐπιγράμμα κεραυνωθῆναι αὐτόν, λέγον οὕτως·

Θρήϊκα χρυσολύρην τῇιδ' Ὀρφέα Μοῦσαι ἔθαψαν,  
ὃν κτάνεν ὑψιμέδων Ζεὺς ψολόεντι βέλει.

This couplet recurs in *A.P.* 7.617. Diogenes' source knew where the tomb was, 'at Dium in Macedonia', and may be the more trustworthy reporter of the first line of the epigram inscribed on it.

ps.-Alcidas, *Odys.* 24 s.a.n. γράμματα μὲν δὴ πρῶτος Ὀρφεὺς ἐξήνεγκε παρὰ Μουσῶν μαθὼν, ὥς καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι αὐτοῦ δηλοῖ ἐπιγράμματα·

Μουσάων πρόπολον τῇιδ' Ὀρφέα Θρήϊκες ἔθηκαν,  
ὃν κτάνεν ὑψιμέδων Ζεὺς ψολόεντι βέλει, 1605  
Οἰάγρου φίλον υἱόν, ὃς Ἡρακλῆ' ἐδίδαξεν,  
εὐρὼν ἀνθρώποις γράμματα καὶ σοφίην.

1-2, sed 1 aliter, etiam Diog. Laert. *prooem.* 1.5 et *A.P.* 7.617, P<sup>18</sup>, [P<sup>1</sup>] s.a.n., [C] ὁμοίως [J<sup>1</sup>] εἰς Ὀρφέα [J] τὸν Θράικα

1 Θρήϊκα χρυσολύρην τῇιδ' Ὀρφέα Μοῦσαι ἔθαψαν Diog., P<sup>1</sup> 2 βέλει Diog., P<sup>1</sup>: κεραυνῶ [Alcidam.] excepto cod. C βαλὼν 3 Ἡρακλῆ', Ἡρακλῆα, Ἡρακλῆν codd. ἐδίδαξεν codd. AN: ἐξεδίδαξεν rell.

Jacobs\* *adesp.* cdlxxxiv, <sup>b</sup>App. 250; Preger 26.

<sup>1</sup> By a bear, Martial *lib. spect.* 21.7, παρ' ἱστορίαν; not a real exception to rule (see Weinreich *Studien zu Martial* 40f.).

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

CXXXIII

IV/III B.C.

Stratios, priest of Asclepius, exhibits in his temple a bronze pot split by the cold winter at Panticapaeum.

Panticapaeum, capital city of the kingdom of Bosphorus, was colonised by Greeks in the mid-sixth century B.C. and remained a prosperous and important place for many centuries (Tod *GHI* 2.42–5, with literature); the site is now occupied by the city of Kertsch (see the Plan accompanying the interesting article by Erich Diehl in *RE* 18.3.783). The style and content of the epigram suggest a date not much earlier than its source, Eratosthenes (c. 280–194 B.C.).

The priest who consecrates in his temple a broken pot 'not as a dedication to the god but as a proof of a mighty winter' may be rather boasting than complaining of the climate. The severity of the winter at Panticapaeum was notorious: Theophrastus *h.p.* 4.14.13, on damage to trees there from cold and frost; Strabo 7.3.18, the winter-crossing from Panticapaeum to Phanagoria is made by waggon over ice; Juv. *sat.* 4.42; *RE* 18.3.799.

Strabo 2.1.16, c 74 s.a.n. ο δ' Ἐρατοσθένης καὶ τοῦπίγραμμα προφέρεται τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἀσκληπιεῖω τῷ Παντικαπαιέων ἐπὶ τῇ ῥαγείσῃ χαλκῇ ὑδρίᾳ διὰ τὸν πάγον·

εἰ τις ἄρ' ἀνθρώπων μὴ πείθεται οἷα παρ' ἡμῖν  
γίγνεται, εἰς τήνδε γνῶτω ἰδὼν ὑδρίαν,  
ἦν οὐχ ὥς ἀνάθημα θεῷ καλὸν ἀλλ' ἐπίδειγμα      1610  
χειμῶνος μεγάλου θῆχ' ἱερεὺς Στράτιος.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* cccxciii, <sup>b</sup>App. 162; Preger 102.

**2 [1609] ὑδρίαν:** Eratosthenes says, what the priest had no need to say, that the pot was of bronze. How he knew this, remains a matter for surmise.

*Cf.* Diod. Sic. 3.34.2, bronze statues split by frost.

CXXXIV

IV/III B.C.

Epitaph for Philitas.

On Philitas (as he should probably be spelt), poet and scholar of the second half of the fourth century B.C., see *HE* 2.476, *RE* 19.2165. Athenaeus describes the present epigram as written 'in front of his memorial'; it is, however, plainly not inscriptional. *Epigramma irrisorium*, as Preger said.

The general sense is that Philitas worried himself into his grave in the search for verbal errors (presumably in his own writings). The context shows that λόγων ὁ ψευδόμενος, ὁ καλούμενος ψευδολόγος τῶν λόγων, 'the word which is a falsehood-teller', refers especially to literary usage which is not sanctioned by ancient authority (εἰ ἡ χρῆσις μὴ εἴη τῶν ὀνομάτων παλαιά).

Athen. 9.401E s.a.n. καὶ ὁ Δημόκριτος ἔφη· αἰεὶ ποτε σύ, ὦ Οὐλπιανέ, οὐδενὸς μεταλαμβάνειν εἰώθας τῶν παρασκευαζομένων πρὶν μαθεῖν εἰ ἡ χρῆσις μὴ εἴη τῶν ὀνομάτων παλαιά. κινδυνεύεις οὖν ποτε διὰ ταύτας τὰς φροντίδας ὥσπερ ὁ Κῶιος Φιλίτας ζητῶν τὸν καλούμενον ψευδολόγον τῶν λόγων ὁμοίως ἐκείνῳ διαλυθῆναι. ἰσχνὸς γάρ πάντῃ τὸ σῶμα διὰ τὰς ζητήσεις γενόμενος ἀπέθανεν, ὥς τὸ πρὸ τοῦ μνημείου αὐτοῦ ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ·

# ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

ξεῖνε, Φιλίτας εἰμί· λόγων ὁ ψευδόμενός με  
ὤλεσε καὶ νυκτῶν φροντίδες ἐσπέριοι.

1613

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *paralipomena* 2.40, <sup>b</sup>App. 263; Preger 266.

**2 [1613]** νυκτῶν φροντίδες ἐσπέριοι: *nights' evening-thoughts* is a very odd expression, and the main point of the epigram may be that this is parody of the style of Philitas, if not an actual example of a καλούμενος τῶν λόγων ψευδολόγος taken from his writings. There is no conjecture worth a moment's attention (κωνομάτων Heimsoeth, καίνικτῶν Kaibel, for καὶ νυκτῶν; Preger accepts ἀσπερίων for ἐσπερίων, an irrelevant and unlikely change proposed by F. W. Schmidt).

CXXXV

IV/III B.C.

The President of a symposium addresses the company at the beginning of the party.

This epigram is edited by West in *IEG, adesp. eleg.* 27, and by Page in *Greek Literary Papyri*, p. 444.

The President (συμποσίαρχος) tells the company to be merry; to behave well; to indulge in light and humorous talk, but also in more serious conversation; to listen as well as to speak; and to obey the Chairman. Cf. Theognis 467ff., Xenophanes *fr.* 1.

P. Berol. 13270 (*Berliner Klassikertexte* 5.2.62; papyrus saec. iii p. pr.)

χαίρετε, συμπόται ἄνδρες ὁμ[ήλικες, ἐ]ξ ἀγαθοῦ γάρ  
ἀρξάμενος τελέω τὸν λόγον [ε]ἰς ἀγ[αθό]ν. 1615  
χρὴ δ', ὅταν εἰς τοιοῦτο συνέλθωμεν φίλοι ἄνδρες  
πρᾶγμα, γελᾶν παίζειν χρησαμένους ἀρετῇ  
5 ἥδεσθαί τε συνόντας ἐς ἀλλήλους τε φ[λ]υαρεῖν  
καὶ σκώπτειν τοιαῦθ' οἷα γέλωτα φέρειν.  
ἡ δὲ σπουδὴ ἐπέσθω, ἀκούωμέν [τε λ]εγόντων 1620  
ἐν μέρει· ἡδ' ἀρετὴ συμποσίου πέλεται.  
τοῦ δὲ ποταρχοῦντος πειθώμεθα. ταῦτα γάρ ἐστιν  
10 ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, εὐλογίαν τε φέρει.

10 φέρει Wilamowitz: φερει Π

**7 [1620]** On the correction of ἐπέσθω at the caesura, see Herodicus 234 n

**9 [1622]** ποταρχοῦντος = συμποσιαρχοῦντος; not elsewhere.

CXXXVI (a) and (b)

IV/III B.C.

(a) Epitaph for a toper.

This epigram and (b) below are quoted from Polemon, who travelled extensively in Greek lands c. 220–160 B.C. and published descriptions of what he saw (e.g. *On the Athenian Acropolis, On Dedications in Lacedaemon, On the Treasuries at Delphi, Travels at Troy, On Samothrace*). He is a favourite source for

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

Athenaeus, who gives in (a) and (b) the only extant quotations<sup>1</sup> from (or indeed references to) the book entitled *Περὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις ἐπιγραμμάτων*. The title suggests an edition of inscriptions collected by the traveller, but it may be doubted whether the first of these two epigrams was ever inscribed,<sup>2</sup> and it is most improbable that the second was; on this evidence (and there is no other) the reasonable verdict is that Polemon's book included what may be called literary, as opposed to inscriptional, epigrams.

Athen. 10.436D s.a.n. ἔπινε δὲ πλεῖστον καὶ Ἀρκαδίον (ἄδηλον δ' εἰ ὁ Φιλίππῳ διεχθρεύσας), ὥς τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ, ὅπερ ἀνέγραψε Πολέμων ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις ἐπιγραμμάτων.

τοῦ πολυκῶθωνος τοῦτ' ἥριον Ἀρκαδίῳ  
ἄστεος ὠρθωσαν τᾶϊδε παρ' ἀτραπιτῶι 1625  
υἱῆς Δόρκων καὶ Χαρμύλος. ἐφθιτο δ' ὠνήρ,  
ὠνθρωφ', ἐξ χανδὸν ζωροποτῶν κύλικας.

Ἐρασίξενον δὲ τίνα πεπωκέναι πλεῖστόν φησι τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπίγραμμα· οὐ βαθὺν οἰνοπότην κτλ. (= Callimachus 7.454 = *HE* lxii). ἔπινε δὲ πλεῖστον καὶ Ἀλκέτας ὁ Μακεδών, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστος ὁ Σαλαμίνιος, καὶ Διότιμος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος· οὗτος δὲ καὶ Χώνη ἐπεκαλεῖτο, ἐντιθέμενος γὰρ τῷ στόματι χώνην ἀπαύστως ἔπινεν ἐπιχεομένου οἴνου, ὅθεν καὶ Χώνη ἐπεκλήθη, ὥς φησι Πολέμων. Cf. Aelian. v.h. 2.41.

2 ὠρθωσαν τᾶϊδε Musurus: ὠρθώσαντα δὲ A 3 ἐφθιτο Schweighaeuser: ἐφθῆ ὁ A 4 ὠνθρωφ' Kaibel (-ωπ'): ἀνθρ- A 5 ἐξ χανδὸν...κύλικας Dilthey: ἐκ χανδῆς...κύλικος A

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *paralipomena* 2.64, <sup>b</sup>App. 361; Preger 1; Hecker 1852.13; Peek 221.

1 [1624] πολυκῶθωνος: here only.

Ἀρκαδίῳ: the toper is not at all likely to be the same person as the Achaean (the only other 'Arcadion' known to us) whose outspoken hostility was a nuisance to Philip of Macedon (Plut. *cohib. ira* 9, Athen. 6.249c).

2 [1625] ὠρθωσαν: cf. Leonidas of Tarentum 7.198.8 = *HE* 2091 ὠρθωσεν σᾶμα.

3 [1626] υἱῆς: the declension as from \*υἱεύς is not attested earlier than Apollonius of Rhodes; LSJ s.v.

<sup>1</sup> Preger follows Preller, and is followed by Deichgräber in *RE* 21.1314, in attributing all that I have quoted from Athenaeus in (a) to this Book of Polemon, including the Erasixenus-epigram. The run of the context is against this. Polemon's authority appears to end with the Arcadion-epigram; the source for Erasixenus is τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπίγραμμα; for Alcetas, Aristos the Salaminian. Then we revert to Polemon for the information about Diotimos; ὥς φησι Πολέμων resuming after ὥς φησιν Ἀριστος effectively bars Polemon from being authority for the whole.

<sup>2</sup> Preger and Peek believe that it was; I think it most unlikely. It is surely an *epigramma irrisorium*, like Simonides on Timocreon, the Philetas-epitaph *ap.* Athen. 9.401E (cxxxiv above), Antipater of Sidon 7.353, Leonidas of Tarentum 7.455, Dioscorides 7.456, and others.

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

**Δόρκων:** Δορκεύς and Δόρκος are Attic, but Δόρκων is not, and very rare (Argive, *CIG* 1120; a herdsman, *Daphnis and Chloe* 1.15).

**Χαρμύλος:** the name in Kirchner 15524–7 and elsewhere.

**4 [1627] ἐξ χανδόν:** ‘drinking neat from a wide cup’ is not strong enough, and χανδός (accepted by LSJ) is not a legitimate adjective-form. ἐξ χανδόν is both intrinsically and palaeographically superior to Lobeck’s εὐχανδεῖς ...κύλικας. Cf. Callimachus *fr.* 178.11–12 χανδόν ἀμυστιν | οἶνοποτεῖν (ζωροποτεῖν Athenaeus and Macrobius).

Eustathius *Il.* 746.68 writes: εἶρηκε δέ τις καὶ ῥῆμα ἐκ τοῦ ζωρὸν τὸ ζωροποτεῖν ἐπιγράψας οὕτω· τοῦ πολυκώθωνος... Ἀρκαδίωνος | ὃς θάνεν ἐκ χανδῆς ζωροποτῶν κύλικος. ἐνθ’ ὅρα τὸ χανδῆς οὐ ἡ ἀρσενικὴ αἰτιατικὴ ποιεῖ τὸ χανδόν ἐπίρρημα. It looks as though Eustathius has taken only so much of the epigram as he needed to illustrate his point, substituting ὃς θάνεν to make a transition from the first to the last line.

(b) Elis a land of drunkards and liars.

It would be interesting to know who said this and why. Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψεύσται, we know, and Λέριοι κακοί, but it was not customary to say this sort of thing about the inhabitants of Elis; perhaps some individual’s grievance lies in the background.

Athen. 10.442E s.a.n. Πολέμων δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις ἐπιγραμμάτων περὶ Ἡλείων λέγων παρατίθεται τόδε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα·

Ἥλις καὶ μεθύει καὶ ψεύδεται. οἶος ἑκάστου  
οἶκος, τοιαύτη καὶ συνάπασα πόλις.

1629

2 τοιαύτη Meineke: τοίη A, οἷη C

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* cccxciv, <sup>b</sup>App. 199; Preger 1 *adn.*; Hecker 1852.22.

## CXXXVII

IV/III B.C.?

On a statue of Eperastus, winner of the race in armour at Olympia.

Nothing else is known about Eperastus. His father’s name (scanned Θειογον-) and the nature of his Olympic victory will have been given in the part preceding the quotation, which is described as ‘the end of the epigram’. W. W. Hyde (*de Olympionicarum statuis a Pausania commemoratis* (Halis Saxonum 1903) 62, 183) thought the style too elaborate for the earlier period and suggested a date not before Alexander the Great; Moretti agrees.

Paus. 6.17.5 s.a.n. δύο δὲ αὖθις ἐξ Ἥλιδος, Ἀρχίδαμος τεθρίππῳ νενικηκώς καὶ Ἐπέραστος ἔστιν ὁ Θεογόνου σπλου νίκην ἀνηρημένος. εἶναι δὲ καὶ μάντις ὁ Ἐπέραστος τοῦ Κλυτιδῶν γένους φησὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος τῇ τελευτῇ·

τῶν δ’ ἱερογλώσσων Κλυτιδᾶν γένος εὐχομαι εἶναι 1630  
μάντις, ἀπ’ ἰσοθέων αἶμα Μελαμποδιδᾶν.

Μελάμποδος γὰρ ἦν τοῦ Ἀμυθάωνος Μάντιος, τοῦ δὲ Οἰκλῆς. Κλυτίος δὲ Ἀλκμαίωνος τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου τοῦ Οἰκλέους. ἐγεγόνει δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἀλκμαίῳ Κλυτίος ἐκ τῆς Φηγέως θυγατρὸς, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἥλιν μετώικησε, τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς εἶναι τῆς μητρὸς σὺνοικος φεύγων, ἅτε τοῦ Ἀλκμαίωνος ἐπιστάμενος σφᾶς εἰργασμένους τὸν φόνον.



## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

Jacobs\* *paralipomena* 2.67, <sup>b</sup>App. 371; Preger 132; Moretti no. 530.

**1 [1630] ἱερογλώσσων** = divinely inspired prophets; the word here only.

**Κλυτιδᾶν**: The Klytidae and the Iamidae (Pind. *Ol.* 6, Paus. 6.2.5) were two families of ἱερόγλωσσοι in Elis; on the relation between them, see *RE* 9.688. The Elean Klytidae have nothing to do with the phratry of the same name in Chios (see Hitzig and Blümner *Paus.* 2.2.620, *RE* 11.894).

**2 [1631] Μελαμποδιδᾶν**: Melampous was a remote ancestor of the Klytios after whom the family was named. The genealogy given by Pausanias is by no means reconcilable with that of Homer, *Od.* 15.241ff.; see Frazer and Hitzig and Blümner *ad loc.*

## CXXXVIII

IV/III B.C.?

For a statue of Damarchus, victor at Olympia.

The story of the Olympic victor who had been a werewolf is told by Varro, as quoted by Augustine *civ. dei* 18.17, and by Pliny *h.n.* 8.82, both with the name Demaenetus instead of Damarchus: 'Apollas, the author of *Olympic Victors*, tells the tale of Demaenetus of Parrhasia. At the sacrifice to Lycaean Zeus, which even at that time the Arcadians made with a human victim, Demaenetus tasted the vitals of a slaughtered boy, and was turned into a wolf; ten years later he regained human shape, trained as a boxer, and returned from Olympia a victor' (Pliny *loc. cit.*). Cf. Plato, *Rep.* 565D, '...the man in the story about the temple of Zeus Lycaeus in Arcadia... That he who tastes human entrails, cut up among those of other victims, is destined to become a wolf'; Pausanias gives the detail differently in 8.2.6: 'They say that from the time of Lycaon downwards a man has always been turned into a wolf at the sacrifice of Lycaean Zeus, but that the transformation is not for life; for if, while he is a wolf, he abstains from human flesh, in the ninth year afterwards he changes back into a man, but if he has tasted human flesh he remains a beast for ever.' On werewolves in Greece and elsewhere, see Frazer *Paus.* 4.189; on human sacrifice to Zeus Lycaeus, *RE* 13.2244.

According to Pausanias, Damarchus was a boxer; a former cannibal and werewolf would be a daunting opponent in the ring. The date of Apollas, the source for Pliny and no doubt for Varro before him, is presumably somewhere in the second or perhaps the third century B.C.; there is no other evidence for the date of Damarchus.

Paus. 6.8.2 s.a.n. ἐς δὲ πύκτην ἄνδρα, γένος μὲν Ἀρκάδα ἐκ Παρρασίων, Δάμαρχον δὲ ὄνομα, οὗ μοι πιστὰ ἦν, πέρα γε τῆς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ νίκης, ὅποσα ἄλλα ἀνδρῶν ἀλαζόνων ἐστὶν εἰρημένα, ὥς ἐξ ἀνθρώπου μεταβάλοι τὸ εἶδος ἐς λύκον ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ τοῦ Λυκαίου Διὸς καὶ ὥς ὕστερον τούτων ἔτει δεκάτῳ γένοιτο αὖθις ἄνθρωπος. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων λέγεσθαι μοι τοῦτο ἐφαίνετο ἐς αὐτόν· ἐλέγετο γὰρ ἂν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ. ἔχει γὰρ δὴ οὕτως·

υἱὸς Δινύττα Δάμαρχος τάνδ' ἀνέθηκεν  
εἰκόν' ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας Παρράσιος γενεάν.

1633

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐς τοσοῦτο πεποιήται.

1 Δινύττα Pa, Vb, Lab, et post corr. Pd, R, Ag: δε νύττα Pc, δινύτα M,

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Va, Ag, R, διννύτα Vn τήνδ' codd. 2 ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας: παρ' ἀνδρίας in παρ' Ἀρκαδίας corr. M, R, Vb γενεάν παράσιος M, R  
Jacobs\* *adesp.* clxxviii, <sup>b</sup>App. 374; Preger 61; Förster no. 452.

**1 [1632] Δινύττα:** for speculation about this obscure name see Preger, who prefers Διννύτα, the form in Vn (which however he does not record).

For the metre, see Dionysius 157 n.

### CXXXIX

279 B.C.

For a statue of Demosthenes.

This famous epitaph for Demosthenes was inscribed on the base of a statue erected in 280/279 B.C. by his nephew Demochares in the *agora* near the temple of Ares (Paus. 1.8.4) and the altar of the Twelve Gods. The statue was of bronze, by Polyeuctus (Lippold *RE* 21.1629); see especially Frazer *Paus.* 2.90.

Demetrius of Magnesia (I B.C.; *RE* 4.2814), who was one of those who thought that Demosthenes himself composed this epitaph, says that it was inscribed 'later', no doubt because of the interval which elapsed, in his opinion, between the composition of the epitaph and the erection of the statue; we have no doubt that the lines were composed specially for the statue in 280/279 B.C.

Plut. vit. Demosth. 30 s.a.n. καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ θρυλούμενον ἐπεγράφη τῇ βάσει τοῦ ἀνδριάντος·

εἴπερ ἴσῃν γνῶμῃ ρώμην, Δημόσθενης, εἶχες,  
οὔποτ' ἂν Ἑλλήνων ἥρξεν Ἄρης Μακεδῶν. 1635

οἱ γὰρ αὐτὸν τὸν Δημοσθένην τοῦτο ποιῆσαι λέγοντες ἐν Καλαυρείαι μέλλοντα τὸ φάρμακον προσφέρεσθαι κομιδῇ φλυαροῦσι.

[Plut.] dec. orat. 847b, Dem. 44 αἰτήσας τε γραμματεῖον ἔγραψεν, ὥς μὲν Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης φησί, τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ ἐλεγείον, ἐπιγεγραμμένον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὕστερον· [1-2]. κείται δὲ ἡ εἰκὼν πλησίον τοῦ περισχοινίσματος καὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν, ὑπὸ Πολυεύκτου πεποιημένη. epigramma citant etiam Zosim. vit. Dem. p. 302. 125 W., anon. vit. Dem. p. 308. 176 W., Suda s.v. Δημ., Phot. bibl. p. 494

1 γνῶμῃ ρώμην Phot., Zosim., anon.: ρώμην γνῶμῃ Plut., [Plut.], Suda ἔσχε [Plut.], Zosim., anon. 2 Ἄρης: ἀνὴρ Plut., Zosim., anon., codd. non nulli

Jacobs\* *adesp.* dlix, <sup>b</sup>App. 159; Preger 159.

### CXL

279 B.C.

Dedication for Cydias, killed in battle.

Cydias, a young Athenian, was killed at Thermopylae, where a Greek army checked Brennus and his Gauls in 279 B.C. The campaign is described at length by Pausanias in the passages preceding and following the quotation.

Paus. 10.21.5 s.a.n. τοὺς μὲν δὴ Ἑλληνας τὸ Ἀττικὸν ὑπερεβόλετο ἀρετῇ τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην, αὐτῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων Κυδίας μάλιστα ἐγένετο ἀγαθός, νέος τε ἡλικίαν καὶ τότε ἐξ ἀγῶνα ἐλθὼν πολέμου πρῶτον. ἀποθανόντος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν

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Γαλατῶν τὴν ἀσπίδα οἱ προσήκοντες ἀνέθεσαν τῷ Ἐλευθερίῳ Δίῳ, καὶ ἦν τὸ ἐπίγραμμα·

ἦμαι δὴ ποθέουσα νέαν ἔτι Κυδίου ἦβην  
ἀσπίς ἀριζήλου φωτός, ἄγαλμα Δίῳ,  
ἄς διὰ δὴ πρῶτας λαιὸν τότε πῆχυν ἔτεινεν,  
εὔτ' ἐπὶ τὸν Γαλάταν ἤιχμασε θοῦρον Ἄρη. 1639

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐπεγέγραπτο πρὶν ἢ τοὺς ὁμοῦ Σύλλαι καὶ ἄλλα τῶν Ἀθήνησι καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Στοᾷ τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διὸς καθελεῖν ἀσπίδας.

1 ἦμαι δὴ Jacobs: ἡμαρ α η Pc, ἡ μαρδαλη M, ἡ μαρλαδη Va, ἡμαρλαδ Fab, ἡ μαρλαδίη Lb, ἡ μάλα δὴ pa, La, Vab 3 τότε Spengel: ποτε Pa, La, ὁπότε rell. 4 ἤιχμασε θοῦρον Ἄρη Bergk: ἡκμασε θοῦρον (θοῦρος Vb) Ἄρης codd.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* cxxxi, <sup>b</sup>App. 202; Preger 76; Hecker 1852.70.

**1 [1636]** ἦμαι: Hecker (who nevertheless preferred ἡμαι; '*de clypeo dicendum est ἄπτειν*') supported Jacobs by quoting Hegesippus 6.124 ἀσπίς... ἦμαι, Mnasalces 6.128 ἦσο...ἀσπί, Anyte 6.123 κράνεια ἡμένα..., and 'Simonides' 932-3 μέλαι...ἦσο. Neither ἡ μάλα δὴ nor ἡδ' ἄρα δὴ (Bergk, but with ἄδ') explains the corruptions in the manuscripts.

**4 [1639]** The text is again quite uncertain; 'when bold Ares was in his prime against the Gaul' does not suit the context, which needs the 'prime' of Cydias not of Ares. Bergk's conjecture ἐπὶ τὸν Γαλατᾶν ἤιχμασε θοῦρον Ἄρη is exposed to the objections that αἰχμάζειν is peculiar and that θοῦρον is better applied to Cydias than to his enemy; it is therefore preferable to retain Γαλάταν, making θοῦρον Ἄρη the direct object of ἤιχμασε, 'when he armed his bold fighting-spirit against the Gaul'.

## CXXLI

Probably c. 278/7 B.C.

For a statue of a Pisidian, Neoptolemus, at Tlos in Lycia.

Nothing is known about the subject or background of this epigram, which is surely inscriptional. Fighting on the scale indicated here by Lycian forces under the command of a Pisidian with a Greek name is unlikely after A.D. 43, when Lycia became a Roman province; but the choice of any particular date within the previous 350 years would be impossible if there were not one internal indication – the combination of Ἀγριᾶνες and Γαλάται in the enemy forces.

The only Ἀγριᾶνες known to us are a Thracian tribe (*RE* 1.891), and there is only one occasion when a Thracian tribe was likely to penetrate so far south, and to be found in the company of Γαλάται, in Asia Minor. The background of this epigram is at once clear if Γαλάται are the Gauls who invaded central Asia Minor in 278/7 B.C. (for the detail, see Livy 34.16). 20,000 Gauls under Lonorius and Lutarius had occupied Thrace in the previous year, and it is not surprising to hear that warriors from one of the subjugated Thracian tribes accompanied them into Asia Minor, whether freely or compelled; the Gauls might welcome help, being a small force (probably about 10,000 warriors) in relation to the extent of the territory invaded. The area in which the Gauls

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finally settled, Galatia, lies not far from the north-western boundary of Pisidia, and a battle between Gauls and a defensive alliance of Lycians and Pisidians is a likely event.

It follows that Πισίδας in 3 is a nominative, not accusative plural (and indeed an alliance of Pisidians, *Thracians*, and Galatians, against Lycia is hardly conceivable at any time in Lycian history; *RE* 13.2270): Neoptolemus was a Pisidian who won a victory over the Gauls and their Agrianian contingent on behalf of his own country and Lycia.

So little is known about Tlos that we cannot tell why this particular town should have thought fit to erect a statue of the allied commander-in-chief. 'Tlos was discovered by Fellows, who identified the town in 1838 with the help of inscriptions which he found on the spot. Although Tlos was visited by Spratt and Forbes in 1842 and by an Austrian expedition in 1881, no plan of the site has been published so far, and the place is not marked on ordinary maps of the region' (Sybille Haynes *Land of the Chimaera* (London 1974) 66, with charming drawings of Tlos reproduced on pp. 65–9; the Plan at the end shows Tlos a few miles east of the river Xanthos, something over 20 miles inland).

Steph. Byz. s.a.n., s.v. 'Αγρίαι...λέγεται καὶ 'Αγριᾶνες ὡς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγράμματι γραφέντι εἰς Νεοπτόλεμον Πισίδην οὕτως:

εἰμὶ Νεοπτόλεμος Κρεσσοῦ, τρισσῶν δ' ἐν' ἀδελφῶν      1640  
 ἔστασαν Τλωεῖς, κῦδος ἐμοῦ δόρατος,  
 οὔνεκεν ὧν Πισίδας †καὶ...ἄνες† ἡδ' 'Αγριᾶνας  
 καὶ Γαλάτας τόσσους ἀντιάσας στόρεσα.

2 ἐμοῦ Gronovius: ἐμόν codd.      3 οὔνεκεν ὧν: οὔνεκενων codd. PRV; οὔνεκ' ἑὼν (οὔνεκεων) cod. Salm., οὔνε.... cod. A

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *paralipomena* 2.17, <sup>b</sup>App. 156; Preger 169; Hecker 1852.77.

1 [1640] Κρεσσοῦ: the name here only.

τρισσῶν δ' ἐν' ἀδελφῶν: δ' ἐν' ἀδελφῶν Haupt *Herm.* 2 (1867) 218, 'in the temple of the Three Brothers'; we know nothing about any of the temples of Tlos, but 'of the Three Brothers (or Sisters)' would seem an odd title for one of them, and there is no certainty that the text is at fault. If Neoptolemus had two brothers, and especially if both were prominent in the battle, the phrase 'set me up, one of three brothers', would be suitable enough.

2 [1641] ἐμοῦ: more natural than ἐμόν, which may however be right.

3 [1642] οὔνεκεν ὧν Πισίδας: this was obviously the reading of Stephanus; and see Pref.

Πισίδας: this is the only good evidence for the scansion of 'Pisidia'; I know no other earlier than Dionysius Periegeta 858, Πισίδεων, which may well be *metri gratia*; in Latin, Claudian has *Pisid-* (*Eutrop.* 2.241 and 465) and Avienus *Pisid-* (*D.T.* 1022).

†καὶ...ἄνες†: a hopeless corruption. καὶ Παίονας Salmasius; the Agrianians were a Paeonian tribe, according to Stephanus, so Παίονας ἡδ' 'Αγριᾶνας would make a good pair.

Shields dedicated to Zeus Naios at Dodona.

Pausanias reports two epigrams accompanying dedications of shields taken from the army of Antigonos Gonatas after his defeat by Pyrrhus in Macedonia in 273 B.C. The first epigram, on shields taken from the Gaulish contingent and suspended in the temple of Athena Itonia, appears in *A.P.* 6.130 attributed (wrongly, we believe) to Leonidas of Tarentum (= *HE* xcvi); the second refers to shields taken from Macedonian soldiers and dedicated to Zeus at Dodona. The first epigram names Pyrrhus and is explicit about the occasion, πάντα τὸν Ἀντιγόνου καθελὼν στρατόν; the second gives no such information, and Preger is probably right in supposing that it had a prose heading, 'Pyrrhus from the Macedonians' or the like.

On the battle, see Plutarch *Pyrrhus* 26; Beloch *Gr. Gesch.* 4.1.573; Tarn *Antigonos Gonatas* 264; Cary *The Medieval Alexander* (Cambridge 1956) 128.

Paus. 1.13.2 s.a.n. κρατήσας δὲ ὁ (Πύρρος) τήν τε ἰδίαν παρασκευὴν Ἀντιγόνου καὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτῷ Γαλατῶν ξενικὸν ἐδίωξεν ἐς τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάσσει πόλεις, αὐτὸς δὲ Μακεδονίας τε τῆς ἄνω καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἐπεκράτησε. δηλοῖ δὲ μάλιστα τὸ μέγεθος τῆς μάχης καὶ τὴν Πύρρου νίκην, ὥς παρὰ πολὺ γένοιτο, τὰ τε ἀνατεθέντα ὄπλα τῶν Κελτῶν ἐς τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν τῆς Ἰτωνίας . . . καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς· τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὁ Μολοσσὸς κτλ. (= Leon. Tarent. *HE* xcvi) τούτους μὲν δὴ ἐνταῦθα, τῷ δὲ ἐν Δωδωνῇ Διὶ Μακεδόνων ἀνέθηκεν αὐτῶν τὰς ἀσπίδας. ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ καὶ ταύταις·

αἶδε ποτ' Ἀσίδα γαῖαν ἐπόρθησαν πολύχρυσον,

αἶδε καὶ Ἑλλασιν δουλοσύναν ἔπορον·

1645

νῦν δὲ Διὸς Νάω ποτὶ κίονας ὄρφανά κείται

τᾶς μεγαλαυχῆτω σκῦλα Μακεδονίας.

2 Ἑλλασιν Lachmann: Ἑλλασι, ἑλλάσι, ἑλλάδι, ἑλλάδι τὰν codd. 3 νᾶω vel ναῶι codd. 4 μεγαλαυχῆτω cod. Riccardianus: -ητῶν vel -ητᾶς rell.

Jacobs\* 7.83 (= Leonid. Tarent. xxii), <sup>b</sup>App. 106; Preger 97.

**1-2 [1644-5] αἶδε:** those taken from the Macedonians, according to Pausanias, whereas the previous epigram referred to those taken from the Gauls. That the Macedonians brought 'slavery' to Hellas most Greeks agreed; it is not so immediately clear what the phrase 'they once sacked Asia' means. These are the shields of the Macedonians who served under Gonatas, and one might expect the phrase to refer to them: but Gonatas fought in Asia Minor only once, about the time of the Gaulish invasion, against Antiochus of Syria, not a memorable campaign (*RE* 1.2414). It is much likelier that the reference is to the campaigns of Alexander in Asia; the couplet will then sum up the history of Macedonia – they enslaved Hellas, and they put Asia to the sword.

**3 [1646] Διὸς Νάω:** on *Na(i)os*, a title of Zeus at Dodona often attested in inscriptions, see *RE* 16.1586, Frazer *Paus.* 2.110.

**ὄρφανά:** in effect *ownerless* (Frazer), a touch of unconventional colour.

**4 [1647] μεγαλαυχῆτω:** the genitive is regularly spelt -ου not -ω in the contemporary dialect of Epirus, but the poet may have wished to give his verse

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an archaic colour, and it would be imprudent to reject the -ω to which the tradition unmistakably points here. The evidence of νόω above is less cogent, for there an original νόου could have been changed to ναῶι by somebody who thought it must mean 'in the temple'.

CXLIII (a) (b) and (c)      (a), (c) III/II B.C.;  
(b) First half of III B.C.

On wonder-working springs and fountains.<sup>1</sup>

The following quotations come from an anonymous<sup>2</sup> treatise of uncertain date ('about A.D. 100', Schmid-Stählin 2.1.421) entitled κρῆναι καὶ λίμναι καὶ πηγαὶ καὶ ποταμοὶ ὅσοι θαυμάσιά τινα ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν. This is largely a compilation from a book by Isigonos of Nicaea, whose date-limits are fixed by the facts that he makes use of Varro (H. Oehler *Paradoxographi Florentini anonymi opusculum de aquis mirabilibus*, Tübingen 1913) and that he is quoted by the elder Pliny. The epigrams are much older. The first and third of them would not have been suspect if they had been included in the *Garland* of Meleager; the second century is a likely time, the third cannot be ruled out. The second epigram has a very bad second line, including a metrical fault of an uncommon type; its date is nevertheless not later than the mid-third century B.C., for Ariston the Peripatetic philosopher, the authority quoted for it, lived about that time.

All three epigrams recur in Vitruvius. His badly corrupted text is written in a mixture of Latin and Greek uncials without word-division, accents, or punctuation. This script, accurately reproduced in the editions and by Preger, I have preferred to normalise, ignoring trivial errors.<sup>3</sup>

The relation between the epigrams in the anonymous treatise and in Vitruvius creates an unsolved problem. They introduce the epigrams in similar terms, as if from a common source; but the epigrams plainly come from different sources, showing variations which are inexplicable in themselves and unparalleled in copies of inscriptions: (a) 8 ἀργαλέης and ἀρτεμείας; (b) 1 ἡδεῖα ψυχροῖο ποτοῦ and ἡδέ' ἀπὸ ψυχροῦ πόματος; (c) 1 ταῦτα βλέπεις φοβερά and κρανάεντα βλέπεις.

The second epigram is certainly, the first presumably, inscriptional; the third is more probably a literary exercise (*Graecum epigramma fonti in Perside adscriptum fuisse nemini puto persuaderi posse*, Hecker 1852.83 n.).

(a) On a fountain at Clitor in Arcadia whose waters make the bather hate wine.

There is a problem here which remains unsolved. The epigram says plainly that it is safe to drink from the fountain but unsafe to bathe (or wash) in it; yet Vitruvius and the anonymous treatise both say the reverse - that the harm comes, as in (c), from drinking, not bathing, and in this they are supported

<sup>1</sup> See LSJ Suppl. s.v. πηγή: where κρήνη and πηγή are distinguished, πηγή is the spring, κρήνη the artificially constructed fountain.

<sup>2</sup> The label 'pseudo-Sotion' should be discarded. 'Sotion' was prefixed without any authority by H. Stephanus in his edition of 1557; see Schmid-Stählin 2.1.420.

<sup>3</sup> 'Vitr.' in my Apparatus = the MS H, from which P and L hardly differ; G adds some trivial errors of its own and is never helpful in a difficulty.

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by Phylarchus, Eudoxus, Ovid, and Stephanus, cited in the note on 5-6 below.

anon. κρῆναι καὶ λίμναι κτλ., ed. Westermann, *Paradoxographi Graeci* p. 186 ἐν Κλειτορίοις δὲ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας κρῆνην φασὶν εἶναι ἀφ' οὗ τοὺς πίνοντας μισεῖν οἶνον, ἐπικεχαράχθαι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἐπιγράμμα τοιόνδε·

- ἀγρότα, σὺν ποίμναις τὸ μεσημβρινὸν ἦν σε βαρύνῃ  
 δίψος ἀν' ἐσχατιᾷς Κλείτορος ἐρχόμενον,  
 τῆς μὲν ἀπὸ κρῆνης ἄρυσσαι πόμα καὶ παρὰ Νύμφαις 1650  
 ὕδριάσι στήσον πᾶν τὸ σὸν αἰπόλιον·
- 5 ἀλλὰ σὺ μὴ ποτὶ λουτρὰ βάλῃς χροῖ, μὴ σε καὶ αὔρῃ  
 πημήνῃ τερπνῆς ἐκτὸς ἰόντα μέθης·  
 φεῦγε δ' ἐμὴν πηγὴν μισάμπτελον, ἔνθα Μελάμπους  
 λυσάμενος λύσσης Προϊτίδας ἀργαλῆς 1655  
 πάντα καθαρμὸν ἔκρυπεν ἀπόκρυφον· αἱ γὰρ ἀπ' Ἀργους  
 10 οὔρεα τρηχέης ἤλυθον Ἀρκαδίας.

Vitruvius 8.3.21 Arcadia vero civitas est non ignota Clitor, in cuius agris est spelunca profluens aqua, e qua qui biberint fiunt abstemii. ad eum autem fontem epigramma est in lapide inscriptum hac sententia versibus graecis: eam non esse idoneam ad lavandum sed etiam inimicum vitibus, quod apud eum fontem Melampus sacrificiis purgavisset rabiem Proeti filiarum restituissetque earum virginum mentes in pristinam sanitatem. epigramma autem est id quod est subscriptum [1-9 ἀπόκρυφον]

3 τῆς anon.: τᾶς Vitr. 5 ἀλλὰ σὺ anon.: νάμασι Vitr. μὴ ποτὶ Hecker: μήτ' ἐπὶ anon., Vitr. βάλῃς χροῖ anon.: βατιτεχρα Vitr. 6 πημήνῃ τερπνῆς anon.: πηνη, om. τερπνῆς, Vitr. ἐκτὸς Page: ἐντὸς anon., Vitr. ἰόντα Preger: ἔόντα anon., Vitr. 7 φεῦγε δὲ τὴν Vitr. sec. Granger 8 λουσάμενος anon. sec. Preger ἀργαλῆς anon.: ἀρτεμειας Vitr. 9 ἔκρυπεν Hecker: ἔκοπεν anon., Vitr. αἱ Heringa: ἁ anon. (αἱ - Ἀρκαδίας om. Vitr.)

Jacobs\* *adesp.* cxviii, <sup>b</sup>App. 100; Preger 215; Hecker 1852.80.

**2 [1649] Κλείτορος:** in northern Arcadia; see *RE* 11.661, and the map in *RE* 13.1893-4.

**3-4 [1650-1] τῆς ... ἀπὸ κρῆνης:** the editors are silent, but the separation of the article from the noun is extraordinary.

**ἄρυσσαι πόμα:** ἄρυσσαι...πόμα Anyte 9.313.2 = *HE* 727 in a similar context.

**Νύμφαις ὕδριάσι:** the epithet only here, Peek 1918.7 (Itanos, II/I B.C.), and 'Plato' 635 until a late era (Paulus and Nonnus); μεθυδριάδες only Alcaeus *A.Plan.* 226.6 = *HE* 133, ἐφθυδριάδες only Hermocreon 9.327.1 = *HE* 1947, Leonidas of Tarentum 9.329.1 = *HE* 1984, and Alexander Actolus 3.22 Powell; Νύμφη ἐφθυδρίῃ in Ap. Rhod. 1.1229 is unique.

**5-6 [1652-3] μὴ ποτὶ:** a necessary change; Hecker quotes Nicarchus 9.330.5 = *HE* 2731 ποσοὶ δὲ μὴ ποτὶ νίπτρα φέρειν κρυστάλλινα Νυμφῶν.

**αὔρῃ ... μέθης:** to be taken together, as Hecker said, comparing Nonnus

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*Dion.* 14.416, 16.111 μέθης εὐώδεις αὔραι. The meaning is not that the waters exhaled vinous vapours which afflicted the bather on the spot, but that bathing in the water made him unable to endure the aroma of wine afterwards. This is clear in all the authorities, although they refer to drinking, not to bathing: Phylarchus *ap.* Athen. 2.43F φησὶν ἐν Κλείτορι εἶναι κρήνην ἀφ' οὗ τοὺς πίνοντας οὐκέτ' ἀνέχεσθαι τὴν τοῦ οἴνου ὀδμὴν; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀζανία (referring to the same fountain)· ἔστι κρήνη τῆς Ἀζανίας ἣ τοὺς γευσσάμενους τοῦ ὕδατος ποιεῖ μηδὲ τὴν ὀδμὴν τοῦ οἴνου ἀνέχεσθαι· εἰς ἣν λέγουσι Μελάμποδα ὅτε τὰς Προϊτίδας ἐκάθηρεν ἐμβαλεῖν τὰ ἀποκαθάρματα; Ovid *metam.* 15.322ff. *Clitorio quicumque sitim de fonte levarit, | vina fugit e.q.s.*: Pliny *h.n.* 31.16 *vinum taedio venire iis qui ex Clitorio lacu biberint ait Eudoxus.*

**ἐκτὸς ἰόντα:** *pro verbis* ἐντὸς ἑόντα *elegantius aliquid desidero*, said Hecker; but the words are not merely inelegant, they are irreconcilable with the context. The point is not that the aroma of wine afflicts you 'while you are inside' (*i.e.* while you are still in, or at, the fountain), but that it will be disagreeable to you whenever you smell it in future – 'after your departure'.

**7-8 [1654-5] ἐμήν:** the speaker is, as usual, the Nymph of the spring.

**μισάμπελον:** here only.

**ἐνθα ... Προϊτίδας:** references to the story are conveniently assembled by Frazer, *Apollodorus* 1.146 n. 2; *cf.* also *Myth. Lex.* 3.3000-10. In brief, the daughters of Proitos were afflicted with madness for refusing the rites of Dionysus (*Hesiod fr.* 131; *cf. fr.* 129.16ff.), but cured by the prophet Melampus διὰ φαρμάκων καὶ καθαρμῶν (*Apollod.* 2.2.2.); the καθάρματα were then thrown into the fountain at Clitor (Steph. Byz., quoted on 5-6 above; Ovid *metam.* 15.325ff.).

**λυσάμενος:** λουσάμενος, read by Preger, will not do; Melampus did not wash the Proitides in the fountain at Clitor; he purified them at Lousoi (*Paus.* 8.18.7), not far from Clitor, and disposed of the καθάρματα by throwing them into the fountain at Clitor. Moreover the genitive λύσσης would be difficult.

**ἀργαλέης:** ἀρτεμέας, '(so as to be) of sound mind', may be preferred as the more exquisite word and the less likely to be secondary, but it is not really comfortable in the context, and in general the anonymous treatise has a better text than Vitruvius.

**9-10 [1656-7] ἔκρυψεν ἀπόκρυφον:** Hecker compared E. *HF* 1070 ἀπόκρυφον δέμας ὑπὸ μέλαθρον κρύψω; ἔκοψεν is nonsense.

**ἀπ' Ἀργους:** the home of the Proitides was Tiryns, which shared Argolis with Acrisius (king of the town of Argos, whence he had driven Proitos; *Apollod.* 2.2.2).

(b) On a spring in Ceos whose waters make the drinker stupid.

anon. *ibid.* 25, p. 187 W. Ἀρίστων δὲ ὁ Περιπατητικὸς φιλόσοφος ἐν τῇ Κείῳ πηγὴν φησὶν ὕδατος εἶναι ἀφ' ἧς τοὺς πίνοντας ἀναισθητοὺς γενέσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς. εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτης ἐπιγράμμα τοιόνδε·

ἦδεῖα ψυχροῖο ποτοῦ λιβάς ἦν ἀναβάλλει  
πηγῇ, ἀλλὰ νόῳ πέτρος ὁ τῇσδε πίων.

1659



## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

Vitruvius 8.3.22 item est in insula Chia [Cea Plin. h.n. 31.15] fons e quo qui imprudentes biberint fiunt insipientes, et ibi est epigramma insculptum ea sententia: iucundam eam esse potionem fontis eius, sed qui biberit saxeos habiturum sensus. sunt autem versus hi: [1-2]

1 ἡδέ' ἀπὸ ψυχροῦ πόματος λιβάς & ἀναβαίνει Vitr. 2 πηγὴ, ἀλλὰ νόωι om. Vitr. τήνδε Vitr.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* cxcix, <sup>b</sup>App. 193; Preger 216; Hecker 1852.84.

1 [1658] ΗΔΕ and ΑΠΟ (actually ΛΠΟ) in Vitruvius are both plainly corrupt; the difference between the two versions is inexplicable.

2 [1659] πηγὴ, ἀλλά: hiatus in this position is extremely rare; in the *Garland of Philip*, for example, there is only one instance, Antipater of Thessalonica 9.268.4 = PG 212 ἄμφω, εὐαγρίας.

νόωι πέτρος: 'like a stone in his mind', an odd and uncouth phrase.

(c) On a fountain at Susa in Persia whose waters cause the drinker's teeth to fall out.

anon. *ibid.* 26, p. 187 W. ἐν δὲ Σούσοις τῆς Περσίδος ὕδωρ εἶναι λέγουσιν ὃ τῶν πάντων ἐκπίπτειν ποιεῖ παραχρῆμα τοὺς ἐμπροσθίους ὀδόντας. κεχάρακται δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτης τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τόδε·

1660

ὕδατα ταῦτα βλέπεις φοβερὰ, ξένε, τῶν ἄπο χερσίν  
λουτρά μὲν ἀνθρώποις ἀβλαβῇ ἔστιν ἔχειν,  
ἦν δὲ βάλῃς κοίλης κατὰ νηδύος ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ,  
ἄκρα μόνον δολιχοῦ χεῖλεος ἀψάμενος,  
5 αὐτῆμαρ πριστῆρες ἐπὶ χθονὶ δαιτὸς ὀδόντες  
πίπτουσιν, γενύων ὀρφανὰ θέντες ἔδη. 1665

Vitruvius 8.3.23 Susis autem, in qua civitate est regnum Persarum, fonticulus est, ex quo qui biberint amittunt dentes. item in eo est scriptum epigramma quod significat hanc sententiam: egregiam esse aquam ad lavandum, sed ea si bibatur excutere e radicibus dentes. et huius epigrammatis sunt versus graece: [1-6]

1 ταῦτα βλέπεις φοβερὰ anon.: κρανάντα βλέπεις Vitr. 2 -ς ἀβλαβῇ ἔστιν ἔχειν om. Vitr. 3 βάλῃς anon.: λάβῃς Vitr. κοίλης anon.: -λου Vitr. κατὰ νηδύος Hecker: ποτὶ νηδύος anon., βοτανηδεος Vitr. 4 om. Vitr. 5 -πὶ χθονὶ δαιτὸς ὀδόντες om. Vitr.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* cc, <sup>b</sup>App. 373; Preger 217; Hecker 1852.83, 348.

1 [1660] ταῦτα βλέπεις φοβερὰ: the choice between this and κρανάντα βλέπεις is arbitrary. κρηνήεις (not elsewhere; not even in the *Thesaurus* or LSJ) is formed like αὐδήεις, τιμήεις.

3 [1662] βάλῃς: MBHO in Vitruvius is a misreading of ΛΑΒΗC, λάβῃ(ι)ς.

κατὰ νηδύος: Hecker compared Ap. Rhod. 4.1328, κατὰ νηδύος ἄμμε φέρουσα, and Quint. Smyrn. 5.344 κατὰ νηδύος ἔνδοθι βαίνειν; πρὸς *c. gen.* cannot stand here, but it must be admitted that κατὰ leaves ποτὶ unexplained. Vitruvius is grossly corrupt, but surely implies κατὰ (for confusion between α and ο, *cf.* (a) 1, where Vitruvius has ἀγράτα) νηδύος.

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

**4 [1663]** Editors suppose that χεῖλος is the drinker's lip, and must therefore do their best to alter both δολιχοῦ and ἀψόμενος. These two words resist such treatment, and point to the truth, which is that χεῖλος is the lip of the fountain; fountains may have lips, as rivers and lakes have in Herodotus (2.94.1) and a mixing-bowl has in Homer (*Od.* 4.616). 'Touching, however superficially (ἄκρα adverbially), the fountain's long lip'; the contrast is between plunging the hands into the water in order to wash, which is harmless, and merely sipping the water at the edge of the fountain, which is fatal to the teeth. It would have been better to avoid the word χεῖλος in this context.

**5 [1664]** *πριστήρες ... δαιτός*: *grinders of food*. The word-order is sophisticated.

**6 [1665]** *γενύων ... ἔδη*: *making childless the sockets of the jaws*, a phrase typical of the Hellenistic style.

### CXLIV

III B.C.

On a statue of Timon, an Elean athlete, at Olympia.

The text from which this couplet is quoted must have been longer than the ordinary victor-inscription at Olympia. According to Pausanias, who calls it an elegy in 5.2 but an ἐπίγραμμα in 6.16, it not only mentioned all the victories of Timon in the pentathlon at Olympia, Delphi, and Nemea, and gave the reason why he did not compete in the Isthmian Games; it also told of his military career, stating that he took part in an expedition of Aetolians against Thessaly, and that he commanded the garrison at Naupactus out of friendship for the Aetolians.

Timon could not compete at the Isthmian Games because he was a native of Elis. The story is told at length by Pausanias in the passage preceding the quotation from 5.2 below. In brief, the Siamese-twins called Molionidae were killed by Heracles while on their way from Elis to the Isthmian Games; their mother demanded that the Argives punish Heracles, and when they refused satisfaction she asked the Corinthians to exclude all Argives from the Isthmian Games; when the Corinthians refused to do so, she invoked curses on any Elean who should take part in those Games; 'the curses are remembered and respected to this day, and no athlete from Elis will enter for the Isthmian Games'.

The Aetolian League was frequently engaged in warfare against the Macedonians in the third and early second centuries B.C., and various dates are possible for the invasion in which Timon took part; among others, 289 B.C., when the Aetolians tried to advance to the Malian Gulf; and 219 B.C., when they broke through the pass of Tempe into lower Macedonia. It is not necessary to look (as Preger did) for an occasion when Elis joined forces with Aetolia; Timon may have acted 'out of friendship for the Aetolians' (Paus. 6.16), as he did when he took charge at Naupactus. On the historic bonds which united Elis and Aetolia, see *cix* Pref.

Paus. 5.2.5 s.a.n. Τίμωνι γὰρ ἀνδρὶ Ἡλείῳ γεγόνασι πεντάθλου νίκαι τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησιν ἀγώνων, καὶ οἱ καὶ εἰκὼν ἔστιν ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι καὶ ἐλεγείον στεφάνους τε ὁπόσους ἀνείλετο ὁ Τίμων λέγον καὶ δὴ καὶ αἰτίαν δι' ἣντινα Ἰσθμικῆς οὐ μέτεστιν αὐτῷ νίκης. καὶ ἔχει τὰ ἐξ τοῦτο τὸ ἐλεγείον·

# ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

Σισυφίαν δὲ μολεῖν χθόν' ἐκώλυεν ἀνέρα νείκη  
ἀμφὶ Μολιονιδᾶν οὐλομένωι θανάτῳι.

1667

Paus. 6.16.2 Τίμωνι δὲ ἀγώνων τε νίκαι τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησιν ὑπάρχουσιν ἐπὶ πεντάθλῳι πλὴν τοῦ Ἰσθμικοῦ, τούτου δὲ μὴ ἀγωνιστῆς γενέσθαι κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἥλαιοις τοῖς ἄλλοις εἴργετο, καὶ τᾷδε ἄλλα φησὶ τὸ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπίγραμμα, Αἰτωλοῖς αὐτὸν ἐπιστρατείας μετασχεῖν ἐπὶ Θεσσαλοῦς καὶ φρουρᾶς ἡγεμόνα ἐν Ναυπάκτῳι φιλίαι γενέσθαι τῇ ἐς Αἰτωλοῦς.

1 νείκη edd. vett.: νίκη codd.

Not in Jacobs; Preger 131.

## CXLV

c. 250 B.C.

For a statue of Aratus at Sicyon.

According to Plutarch the statue with its inscription was erected very early in the career of this famous man. Aratus of Sicyon (271–213 B.C.) was only twenty or twenty-one years old when he united Sicyon, though a Dorian state, to Achaea, and settled its internal troubles, mainly by judicious distribution of a large sum of money obtained from Ptolemy by Aratus in person after a hazardous journey to Egypt. The statue, it is to be noticed, was erected not by the Sicyonians generally but by a hitherto discontented section of them, those who had been in exile since the latest revolution (νόστοιο τυχόντες).

Plut. vit. Arat. 14 s.a.n. ἀποδειχθεὶς γὰρ αὐτοκράτωρ διαλλακτῆς καὶ κύριος ὧς ἐπὶ τὰς φυγαδικὰς οἰκονομίας, μόνος οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν ἄλλα πεντεκαίδεκα τῶν πολιτῶν προσκατέλεξεν ἑαυτῷ, μεθ' ὧν πόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ μεγάλαις πραγματείαις κατειργάσατο καὶ συνήρμωσε φιλίαν καὶ εἰρήνην τοῖς πολίταις. ἐφ' οἷς οὐ μόνον κοινῇ σύμπαντες οἱ πολῖται τιμὰς ἀπέδωσαν αὐτῷ πρεπούσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν οἱ φυγάδες εἰκόνα χαλκῇν ἀναστήσαντες ἐπέγραψαν τόδε τὸ ἐλεγείον·

βουλαὶ μὲν καὶ ἄεθλα καὶ ἅ περὶ Ἑλλάδος ἄλκα  
τοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς στάλαις πλάθεται Ἡρακλέους·

ἄμμες δ' εἰκόν', Ἄρατε, τεὰν νόστοιο τυχόντες

1670

στάσαμεν ἄντ' ἀρετᾶς ἡδὲ δικαιοσύνας

5 σωτῆρος σωτῆρσι θεοῖς, ὅτι πατρίδι τᾷ σᾷ

δᾶμον ἴσον θεῖαν τ' ὥπασας εὐνομίαν.

2 στάλαις anon. ('codd. Stephani Vx' sec. Preger): στάλαι P<sup>o</sup>R<sup>o</sup>, τάλαι G, τάλλα LG<sup>o</sup> 4 ἀρετῆς GP 6 δᾶμον ἴσον Reiske: δαίμονι σὸν vel δαίμον' ἴσον vel δαιμόνισον codd.

Jacobs\* *adesp.* dcix, <sup>b</sup>App. 138; Preger 150.

5 [1672] σωτῆρσι θεοῖς: as Preger suggests, this would most naturally refer to the Dioscuri (*RE* 5.1094), who had a temple at Sicyon (Paus. 2.7.5).

6 [1673] δᾶμον ἴσον: δῆμος ἴσος is not a natural expression but is readily intelligible as a poetical variation of δῆμον ἴσην πολιτείαν or the like.

## CXLVI

mid-III B.C.

Epitaph for a dog who died of his wounds after killing a boar which attacked his master Zeno.

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

Epitaphs for dogs are not uncommon in the Hellenistic period. The most famous examples are 'Simonides' LXIX, from the third or second century B.C. (probably a copy of an inscription; = Peek 1489), and Anyte *ap.* Pollux 5.48 = *HE* x; *cf.* also Antipater of Thessalonica 9.417 = *PG* lxx and anon. CLXI. Peek's 'Grab-Epigramme' include four inscriptional examples, all relatively late: 309 (I–II A.D.), 691 (II–III), 1365 (II–III); this one thinks it necessary to apologise, *μη δέομαι γελάσης εἰ κυνὸς ἐστὶ τάφος*), and 1902 (III A.D.); Roman examples in Martial 11.69 and *Anth. Lat.* (Buecheler) 1174–6, 1512.

The Indian (strictly 'Tibetdogge', according to the experts Orth, *RE* 8.2545, and Keller *Antike Tierwelt* 1.109) was the largest, most ferocious, and most highly prized of all dogs; Persian royalty devoted the entire revenues of four large villages to the supply of food for them (Hdt. 1.192.4).

The name 'Tauron' may relate either to its size and strength (*cf.* the dog-names 'Ρώμη and Σθένων, Orth 2572) or to the loudness of its voice (*cf.* Βρέμων, Orth *ibid.* and similar names in Keller's long list, 135–6).

This was one of a pair of inscriptions on the tombstone, the other consisting of eleven lines in iambic verse, very like the elegiac epigram in contents and phrasing (text in *Page Greek Literary Papyri* no. 109, and Peek 1968). The practice of inscribing two or more epitaphs was quite common from the fourth century B.C. onwards. The various types are distinguished by Peek in his collection, 1888ff.; one of his inscriptional epitaphs for dogs is a double (1902; both epigrams elegiac).

'Zeno' in the epigram is the agent of Apollonius, financial minister to the Ptolemies Philadelphus and Euergetes; he had been sent to the Fayum (nome of Arsinoe; hence 5 below) to superintend a large estate given by the king to Apollonius. Gorteman (*Chron. d'Égypte* 32 (1957) 116–18), observing that wild boars would not be likely to be found in a civilised part of Egypt, and that the killing of a horse or hound is the subject of other epigrams (notably by Hadrian and Martial), suggested that the present epitaphs may represent merely a 'motif littéraire', and that Zeno was never in any such danger; to the present editor it appears most highly improbable that Zeno would erect a memorial for his dog with two epitaphs giving a fictitious account of the circumstances in which it died.

See further G. Herrlinger *Totenklage um Tiere in der Antiken Dichtung* (Stuttgart 1930) 52f.

P. Cair. Zen. 4.59532, ed. Edgar, *Catal. gen. des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire* 4, p. 1

- 'Ἰνδὸν δδ' ἀπύει τύμβος Ταύρων θανόντα  
κεῖσθαι, ὃ δὲ κτεῖνας πρόσθεν ἐπεῖδ' Ἀΐδαν· 1675  
θῆρ ἅπερ ἄντα δρακεῖν σὺς ἦρ' ἀπὸ τᾶς Καλυδῶνος  
λεῖψανον εὐκάρποις ἐμ πεδίοις τρέφετο  
5 Ἀρσινόας ἀτίνακτον, ἀπ' αὐχένος ἄθροα φρίσσω  
λ]όχμας καὶ γε[ν]ύων ἄφρον ἄμεργόμενος·  
σὺν δὲ πεσὼν σκύλακος τόλμαι στήθη μὲν ἐτοίμως 1680  
ἡλόκισ', οὐ μέλλων δ' αὐχέν' ἔθηκ' ἐπὶ γᾶν·

# ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

δρα]ξάμενος γὰρ ὁμοῦ λοφιᾷ μέγαλοιο τένοντος  
 10 ο]ὕκ ἀπέλυσεν ὀδόντ' ἔσθ' ὑπέθηκ' Ἀίδαι·  
 σώσας δὲ [Ζήνω]να πόν[ων] ἀδίδακτα κυναγόν  
 καὶ κατὰ γᾶς τύμβωι τὰν χάριν ἡργάσατο. 1685

**3 [1676]** This line has hitherto been misunderstood. Editors put a comma after δρακεῖν, continuing ἡ ρ'..., 'like a wild beast to confront, or a relic...'; but (a) it is absurd to say of a wild beast that it resembles a wild beast, and (b) ῥα is never used after disjunctive ἢ. The sense is plainly 'A wild beast, truly a relic of the Calydonian boar to judge from its appearance, was reared...'

The postponement of ἡρα is unparalleled so far as I have noticed.

**5 [1678] ἀτίνακτον:** not elsewhere before Oppian (to be added to the discussion in James *Studies in the Language of Oppian of Cilicia* (Amsterdam 1970) 19); the boar lived on the plains 'unshaken', i.e. undisturbed, with the implication that nobody dared to disturb it.

**φρίσσων:** a conventional verb in this sort of context, cf. Hom. *Od.* 19.446 φρίξας εὖ λοφίην, [Hes.] *scut.* 391 ὀρθὰς δ' ἐν λοφίῃ φρίσσει τρίχας.

**6 [1679] λόχμαις** (-μη Peek): an abrupt and lonely dative of place, not comfortably placed in the sentence.

**ἀμεργόμενος:** ἀμέργειν means *pluck, pull out* (flowers, leaves, fruits), and seems quite unsuitable here; 'being plucked of the foam of its jaws' is a very odd phrase.

**7 [1680] σκύλακος:** Tauron was a very young dog; so the iambic epitaph begins σκύλαξ..., and the same point is implicit in ἀδίδακτα below, 'there had not been time to train him.' A full-grown *Tibetdogge* would not have lost the battle.

**ἐτοίμως:** if there had been a lacuna here, nobody would have thought of supplying this adverb. 'Ready for action' has passed into the sense 'bold', 'resolute'; this shade of meaning is plain in the adjective in Ar. *Nub.* 457-8 λῆμα...οὐκ ἄτολμον ἀλλ' ἐτοιμον, and there is an apt parallel in Philostr. *vit. Apoll.* 7.14, τοῖς θερμοῖς τε καὶ ἐτοίμοις τῶν θηρίων, 'hot-blooded and ready for anything'.

**8 [1681] ἡλόκισ':** so in the iambic version, στήθος κατηλόκιζε.

**9 [1682] λοφιᾷ:** of the crest of bristles especially on the boar's neck and shoulders, as often (cf. the passages quoted on φρίσσων above).

**τένοντος:** τένων is simply *sineu* or *tendon*, and though the plural may be used unqualified (Call. *Del.* 117) the singular needs some definition. Here we must infer from the fact that it is seized 'together with the bristly crest' that the region of the neck and shoulders is meant. The iambic version is no help on this point.

**10 [1683] οὐκ ἀπέλυσεν:** so Wilamowitz: the reading is not quite certain. Wilcken thought that the papyrus has -εμυσεν; if so, it was an error.

**11 [1684] σώσας:** σώζει is not less likely.

**ἀδίδακτα:** see 7 n.

**12 [1685] χάριν ἐργάζεσθαι** is not a normal phrase; the meaning probably is 'got gratitude as the wages of his work', *earned* his master's gratitude (LSJ s.v. ἐργάζομαι II 4).



## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

adjective. Here it is *prima facie* a neuter noun, τὸ δριλόν, 'glans of a circumcised man', described as 'cup-like'. But with so much gibberish following immediately it is prudent to withhold all judgement.

**2 [1687]** This line is nonsense. At the end, Crönert read τὸ χρέος, and Viereck says that the traces are suitable; if correct, it is no help.

**3 [1688]** ἐν is unintelligible.

κλιμακίοισιν: a frame with cross-pieces may be called a κλίμαξ or κλιμάκιον, and the application to a bed would be intelligible and suitable to this context, but the word is not so used elsewhere.

ψωλήν: δριλός is applied to the circumcised, ψωλή to the uncircumcised (*membrum virile praeputio retracto*); if there was ever any point in this contrast here, it is quite lost.

**4 [1689]** Wholly unintelligible. ῥανίσας (ῥανίζω here first, later only in Pollux) looks promising, but ἐγκέφαλον defies interpretation in the context, and κρούριος is *vox nihili*. Viereck prints as a proper-name, without explanation; no Greek name (or word of any sort) begins κρουρ-, and no Roman was named *Crurius*.

## CXLVIII

III B.C. p. post

Epitaph for Philicus.

A well-known author named Philicus, a native of Corcyra, who was not only poet ('one of the Pleiad', Heph. *ench.* 9.4, p. 30.21 C.) but also priest ('of Dionysus', Callixeinos *ap.* Athen. 5.198c), flourished in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, 286–245 B.C. Now the present epigram, in a papyrus from the latter part of the third century B.C., addresses a person of this name in terms appropriate to a poet and priest of Dionysus in 1–4, in terms appropriate to a Corcyrean ('Phaeacian') in 5–8. There is therefore no doubt about the identification of the subject of the epigram with Philicus of Corcyra, whose principal relic is a large papyrus-fragment of a hymn to Demeter (Powell *New Chapters in Greek Literature* 3.195–200; *Page Greek Literary Papyri* no. 90; *Latte Mus. Helv.* 11 (1954) 1–19).

The present epigram (which was re-edited by Powell, *op. cit.* 200 n. 1, whence Page, *op. cit.* no. 106) is surely demonstrative, not inscriptional. It was presumably composed soon after the death of Philicus at a date which cannot be far from that of the papyrus which contains it. The phrasing, especially in 3–4, is elaborate and ambitious, and the picture drawn is highly unconventional; Philicus, on his way to 'the fair lands of the god-fearing', later called simply 'the islands of the blessed', behaves as if he were in a Dionysiac procession, 'ivy-crowned', 'rolling forth musical utterances', and 'revelling'.

*Sitzungsberichte d. k. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., Berlin* 29 (1912) 547, ed. Wilamowitz

ἔρχεο δὴ μακάριστος ὁδοιπóρος, ἔρχεο καλούς

χώρους εὐσεβέων ὀψόμενος, Φίλικε,

ἐκ κισσηρεφείας κεφαλῆς εὐμνα κυλίω

ῥήματα, καὶ νήσους κώμασον εἰς μακάρων,

1695

5 εὖ μὲν γῆρας ἰδὼν εὐέστιον Ἀλκινόοιο

Φαίηκος, ζῶειν ἀνδρὸς ἐπισταμένου·  
Ἄλκινού τις ἐὼν ἐξ αἵματος [ ]ο [Δη]μοδόκου



## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

Plut. vit. Marcell. 30 s.a.n. ἦν δὲ ἀνάθημα Μαρκέλλου. . . καὶ περὶ Λίνδον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς· ἐκεῖ δὲ αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀνδριάντι τοῦτ' ἦν ἐπιγεγραμμένον, ὥς Ποσειδωνίος φησι, τὸ ἐπίγραμμα·

οὗτός τοι Ῥώμης ὁ μέγας, ξένε, πατρίδος ἀστήρ,                    1700  
Μάρκελλος κλεινῶν Κλαύδιος ἐκ πατέρων,  
ἐπτάκι τὰν ὑπάταν ἀρχὰν ἐν Ἀρῇ φυλάξας  
†καὶ πολὺν ἀντιπάλων κατέχευε† φόνον.

τὴν γὰρ ἀνθύπατον ἀρχήν, ἣν δις ἦρξε, ταῖς πέντε προσκατηρίθμησεν ὑπατείαις ὁ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ποιήσας.

2 κλεινὸν PML<sup>ac</sup>, -νὸς C    3 ἐπτάκι Stephanus: -κίς codd.    4 ita Plut. LKPC, ἐγκατέχευε QL<sup>pc</sup>; τὸν πολὺν ἀντιπάλους δς κατέχευε φόνον Tzetz. in Hom. p. 48 Schirach

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* dcvii, <sup>b</sup>App. 285; Preger 168.

**1 [1700] τοι:** this particle is very rare at the beginning of epigrams of any kind; a few examples are assembled in *Wiener Studien* n.s. 10 (1976) 174.

**2 [1701] κλεινῶν . . . ἐκ πατέρων:** so might any member of this family be described though as it happens nothing but the name is known of Marcellus' father, and nothing about his grandfather of the same name except that he was consul in 287 B.C.

**3 [1702] ἐπτάκι:** no doubt Posidonius was right in explaining that two pro-consulates were added to the five consulates.

**ἀρχὰν . . . φυλάξας:** an unusual phrase, 'he kept his consular office safe in war-time'.

**4 [1703]** The text remains problematic. κατέχευε needs a preceding monosyllable, supplied in some codd. by ἐγ-, which makes no sense ('pour out besides', LSJ, will not do; the compound ἐγκαταχέω occurs nowhere else). The missing syllable is not likely to be δς (Tzetzes; much too long delayed). It might be εἰς (Reiske) or ἐκ- (Preger; ἐκκατα- is almost unknown in Greek, but one of the two examples is Homeric, *Il.* 4.508 ἐκκατιδών).

At the beginning of the line, καὶ admits of no plausible explanation; τόν (Tzetzes) is unwanted and disagreeable, and gives no account of Plutarch's καί; neither does πάμπολυν (Reiske); φύλαξε | καί (Preger) would do well, but the corruption to φυλάξας would be inexplicable. Likeliest τῇ, *sc.* ἀρχῇ, 'the office...in which he shed etc.'

CL

Late III B.C.

Thanksgiving and prayer to Pan.

This epigram, preserved on a piece of broken sandstone, dated by the writing and contents to the last fifteen years of the third century B.C., was first published in an exemplary edition, with facsimile and photograph, by F. W. Householder and D. W. Prakken in *TAPA* 76 (1945) 108-16.

The lines on the stone disregard verse-end, which is marked within the lines by vertical strokes, visible after διέσωισεν and πόνους. *Scriptio plena* appears in 1 τοδε ευ-, 3 τε απο, and 9 -ε αλεξ-, but not in 3 θ' ιερας or 10 επ' αιγ-. The author spells 1 διεσωισεν, 4 σωισας, 5 νευσι, 6 εγ δονακων, 8 επαγροτταταις,

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

10 σωισον, and 12 αρσισοιην. Many letters are marked as uncertain by the editors, but there is no serious doubt about the text except in 2, where ἀπό is as likely as ἐκ (the word is lost beyond the right-hand edge); in 3, where ἄκροιο is doubtful; in 4 where the termination of ἐρυθρ- is uncertain; and at the beginning of 9 (see the note below).

The editors do not consider what sort of epigram this may be, and the answer to the question is not immediately obvious. τόδε in 1 has no verb to govern it and is not further defined. It might be an object dedicated to Pan, but the absence of any definition and of a verb signifying dedication makes this very doubtful. The alternative is to suppose that the epigram is simply a thanksgiving, or rather a combination of thanksgiving (1-8) and prayer (9ff.). The isolation of τόδε is rather awkward, whatever the explanation may be.

As the editors observe, 'the use of such a small rough stone for an epigram of this nature is unparalleled'; it is plainly unsuitable for placing in a temple. The most likely explanation is that it is 'only a rough draft...to be copied later in a more conspicuous form and position'.

The editors make a strong case for their belief that the stone came from the neighbourhood of Redesiēh, a village on the east bank of the Nile about five miles from Apollonopolis Magna, and that the epigram was designed for placing in the temple of Pan which stood about thirty-seven miles away to the east. 'All known inscriptions to Πανὶ εὐάγρῳι as well as those dedicated by persons σωθέντες ἐκ τῶν Τρωγοδυτῶν are from the temple near Redesiēh.' The shrine of Pan, an ancient rock-temple built by Seti I (c. 1304 B.C.), 'was repaired, probably under Ptolemy II, as a watering-station on the caravan-route from Apollonopolis Magna to some port on the Red Sea, presumably Berenice' (p. 114, with further detail of interest).

The address to 'Pan the Hunter' is sufficient proof that the author had come here to hunt; the editors show that the usual object of visitors to this remote region was indeed the hunting of elephants.

Πανὶ τόδ' εὐάγρῳι καὶ ἐπ[ηκό]ωι, ὃς διέσωσεν  
 Τρωγοδυτῶν μ' [ἐκ] γῆς πολλὰ παθόντα πόνοις 1705  
 δισσοῖς, Σ[μυρνο]φόρου θ' ἱερᾶς Κολοβῶν τ' ἀπ' ἄκροιο,  
 σώσας [τ' ἐν πε]λάγει πλαζομένους ἐρυθρῶι.  
 5 οὖρον νηυσὶ μεθήκας ἐλίσσ[ομ]έναις ἐνὶ πόντῳ,  
 συρίζων λιγυροῖς πνεύμασιν ἐκ δονάκ[ων,  
 μέχρι καὶ εἰ[ς λιμ]ένα Πτολεμαίδος ἡγαγες αὐτὸς 1710  
 σαῖσι [κυβε]ρνήσας χε[ρ]σὶ[ν ἐ]παγροτάταις.  
 ν[ῦν] δέ μ' Ἀλεξάνδρου [σ]ῶσον πόλιν, ἣν πο[τε] πρῶτος  
 10 τε[ῦ]ξ[ε]ν [ἐ]π' Αἰγύπτου κλεινο[τάτην π]ολίων.  
 ἀ]ὔδῃ[σῶ] δ[ὲ] τὸ σὸν κράτος, ὦ [φ]ίλε [Πάν, δ]ιασω[θ]εῖς  
 πρὸς Πτολεμαῖ[ον] ]ε Ἀρσινόην. 1715  
 εὐάγρουσ[ ] βα]σιλείας  
 . . α . . ρ . α ι τ . παυ[

omnia suppl. ed. pr. excepto v. 9 init.

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

**1 [1704] Πανί... εὐάγρωι καὶ ἐπηκόωι:** two other inscriptions from Redesiēh are addressed Πανὶ εὐάγρωι, and two Πανὶ εὐόδωι καὶ ἐπηκόωι, quoted by the editors with further detail; they add: 'This Pan represents the Egyptian god Min, who has many aspects and functions, in particular to care for travelers crossing the desert for the land of Punt, for hunters, and for travelers on the Red Sea.'

**ὅς:** the reading is not clear. The editors say that *ος* is apparently superimposed on the *ωι* of ἐπηκόωι: the photograph shows the *ο* of *ος* written through the *ι* of ἐπηκόωι, resulting in an apparent *φ*.

**2-3 [1705-6] Τρωγοδυτῶν:** σωθεῖς ἐκ Τρωγοδυτῶν occurs in five inscriptions from Redesiēh quoted by the editors, who comment: 'The Trogodytic country lay on the west side of the Red Sea and extended southward from Heroonpolis at least as far as Saba and possibly as far as Notou Ceras... The writer of the epigram may have used Τρωγοδυτῶν... γῆς to indicate the whole west coast of the Red Sea south of his port of debarcation (Myus Hormus or Berenice?).'

**πόνους δισσοῖς:** the editors refer the 'two troubles' to 'two stops (and hunting inland) at different points on the same trip, i.e. at the Συρνοφόρος γῆ and among the Κολοβοί'. This may be right, but the sequel suggests rather (1) adventures in these two regions, and (2) 'wanderings on the Red Sea', from which Pan steered them to harbour at Ptolemais; the text above is punctuated accordingly.

**Σμυρνοφόρου θ' ἱερᾶς:** the Myrrh-country is probably the Punt, which the editors say was regularly called 'God's country'; hence the epithet.

**Κολοβῶν ... ἄκροιο:** 'The Κολοβοί... are probably the natives of the Red Sea coast between the harbour of Antiphilus and the promontory of Pytholaus' (112, with further detail, including the mention of Κολοβῶν ἄκρον by Ptolemy, 4.7.1).

**ἄκροιο:** the editors print *λ. ρις*, saying that they considered *χώρης, ἀγροῖο*, and *λυγροῖς*, but judge that 'the best reading is probably ἄκροιο'; the photograph seems to confirm this.

**4 [1707] ἐρυθρῶι:** the reading is uncertain. The owner of the stone, Professor Kraemer, read *ερυθρῶι*; the editors thought that the traces suggested rather *ερυθρας*, but considered also *ερυθρεῶι*, 'of Erythras', the hero after whom the sea was named. The photograph is no help here.

**5 [1708] μεθήκας:** the editors note that the Homeric verb in this sort of context is *προΐημι*, not *μεθίημι*.

The change from third to second person is very abrupt, and the parallels offered by the editors (such as *A.P.* 6.11, 6.15, 6.34) are irrelevant.

**6 [1709] συρίζων:** the editors compare *E. IT* 1125 *συρίζων θ' ὁ κηροδέτας | κάλαμος οὐρείου Πανός | κόπταις ἐπιθώζει*, and *Myrinus* 7.703.2 = *PG* 2569 *συρίζων Πανός ἴσον δόνακι*.

**7 [1710] Πτολεμαῖδος:** 'probably Ptolemais Epitheras, established (between 270 and 264) under Ptolemy Philadelphus as a station for elephant-hunting expeditions'.

**8 [1711] χερσὶν ἐπαγροτάταις:** ἐπαγρος is *predatory* in the only two other places where it occurs, *Arist. HA* 616 b 34, of the heron, and *Call. fr.* 260.64, *χεῖρες ἐπαγροῖ | φιλητέων; ἐπαγροσύνη* in *Theocr. fr.* 3.1 (Gow) means *success* (or *skill*) in *hunting*. However suitable an epithet for Πᾶν εὐάγρος, it

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

seems untimely in a context where his hands are employed in steering a ship. As Ptolemais was specially a port of debarkation for elephant-hunters, the author may be referring to success in the chase following arrival at the port to which Pan steered him, 'with hands most propitious for hunting'.

**9 [1712]** The editors print ]λεαλεξ in the facsimile, ν[ῦν, φι]λε, 'Αλεξ- in the transcript, and find no fault in the meaning, 'save the city Alexandria'. But this is unacceptable; the writer must have been a long time away from Alexandria, and can know nothing of present troubles there. Moreover he continues 'I will proclaim your power if you bring me safely to Ptolemy and Arsinoe'; what he is saying is not 'save Alexandria' but 'bring me safe to Alexandria'. ME, though not written, must have been intended where ΛΕ is read. The initial Ν is certain, and it is doubtful whether there is any alternative to the restoration proposed here, which gives the sense required. For πόλιν instead of ἐς πόλιν, cf. Hom. *Il.* 6.87 ξυνάγουσα γεραίᾳς | νηόν, S. *OT* 434 σ' ἄν οἴκους... ἐστειλάμην, E. *Tro.* 883 πέμφομέν νιν Ἑλλάδα, and other examples quoted in K.-G. 1.312.

**12 [1715]** It would be hard to improve upon the editors' supplement, Πτολεμαῖ[ον ἀνακτα εὐνιδά τ]ε Ἀρσινόην.

### CLI (a) and (b)

III B.C. fin.

The following epigrams come from a school text-book of most diverse contents (Pack *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*<sup>2</sup> (Ann Arbor 1967) no. 2642). The epigrams are not much older than the papyrus which contains them, both being of the later years of the third century B.C. There is nothing to indicate who wrote the epigrams, whether one author or two.

The first epigram describes a fountain adorned with sculptured figures of Ptolemy and Arsinoe. These names may represent Philadelphus and his queen (286–245 B.C.) or Philopator and his queen (221–203); as Ptolemy in the second epigram is unmistakably Philopator, it is a fair guess that he is Philopator in the first one too.

The first epigram is presumably a copy of an inscription on the site of the fountain. It is hard to understand, and the phrasing seems incompetent here and there; one would not have thought it a suitable choice for a 'livre d'écolier'

The second epigram sings the praises of a Ptolemy who 'excelled in warfare and in literature', and refers to his founding of a precinct dedicated to Homer. Identification with Ptolemy Philopator is certain. He was an ambitious author, composer of a tragedy *Adonis* (schol. Ar. *Thesm.* 1059), and his military reputation was established by the famous victory over Antigonus III at Raphia in 217 B.C.; moreover it was already known that he built a temple to Homer (Aelian *v.h.* 13.22; there was some very strange statuary inside); and, finally, the reference to his parents as 'benefactors' plainly alludes to his father's popular name, Εὐεργέτης.

(a) On a fountain, built for Ptolemy and Arsinoe.

P. Cair. inv. 65445, ed. Guerard & Jouguet, *Un Livre d'Écolier* &c. (1908) p. 20, Pl. V

ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

- θοινα[ ]τε φλεγет[  
 σιγηλου[ ]ηρια καὶ Πτολεμ[αι-  
 ἀσπάσιοι βα[ ]δέχοισθε γέρας, 1720  
 5 δς καὶ λάινον [ἔργον ἔθ]ήκατο, δαφιλὲς οἰκῶι  
 κτίσμα, πα[ λ]ευκὴν ἐκποδίσας σταγόνα,  
 εἰς ἡμίσφαιρο[ν τ]εύξας θέσιν· ἡ δὲ λυχνίτις  
 ζώνη στυλοῦται πέζαν Ἴωνι τύπωι  
 ῥάβδου κοίλης ἐντός, ἀποστίλβει δὲ Συηνίς 1725  
 στικτὴ πρὸς πτέρναις· κίονος ἦδε θέσις.  
 10 ἡ δ' ἄφ' Ὑμηττοῦ πέτρος ἐρευγομένη πόμα κρήνης  
 ἐκδέχεται σπιλάδων ὕγρὰ διαινομένη.  
 εἰκόνα δ' ὑμετέρην ἐτυπώσατο πίοιι λύγδωι  
 πρηῦνας, μέσσην δ' ἤρμοσ[ε]ν Ἀρσινόην 1730  
 σύγκληρον Νύμφαις ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. ἄλλ' ἐπὶ πηγῇν  
 15 τήνδε μετ' εὐνομίης βαίνετε, Κρηνιάδες.  
 7 στυλοῦται ed. pr.: -ουσαι Π

**3 [1720]** βα[σιλεῖς seems likely; if so, it must be followed by τοῦδε or τῶιδε, for an antecedent to δς in the next line is indispensable.

**5 [1722]** The first editors supplied Πά[ρον, 'having set free the white water-drop of Paros' meaning 'having quarried Parian marble', σταγόνα referring to the stalactites in the Parian galleries. This would be an excessively far-fetched expression even for an Hellenistic epigrammatist; who would be unlikely to repeat himself at once, calling the ζώνη 'of Parian stone' (λυχνίτις) again in the next line. π[ά]ρος would make easier sense, 'having first set free the bright water', i.e. having made a channel through which the spring-water was guided from the rocks (11, σπιλάδων) to the outlet made at the fountain. This interpretation would be specially attractive if the epigram were of the type described by the first editors, p. 22, on the revival of an obsolete fountain.

**6 [1723]** ἡμίσφαιρος (a word missed by LSJ and its Supplement) is presumably adjectival, and the simplest interpretation is 'having wrought it (sc. the λάινον ἔργον) to a semicircular arrangement', or 'to the arrangement of a semicircle' (ἡμισφαίρου, ed. pr.).

**λυχνίτις:** Parian marble was called 'lamp-stone' because quarried by lamplight in the underground galleries; Pliny *h.n.* 36.14 *marmore...e Paro insula, quem lapidem coepere lychniten appellare, quoniam ad lucernas in cuniculis caederetur, ut auctor est Varro.*

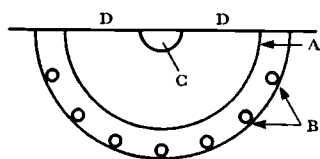
**7-9 [1724-6]** On the ζώνη, πέζα, ῥάβδος, πτέρναι, and κίων, see D. S. Robertson *ap.* Page *Greek Literary Papyri* pp. 449-50. Robertson understood: 'the boundary-wall (ζώνη) supports the column-base (πέζα) in Ionic style, and within the hollow moulding (ῥάβδου, the *cavetto* moulding of the Ionic column-base) Syenite glistens near the heels (πτέρναι, the convex moulding of the base)'. This rendering, which was accepted in *Greek Literary Papyri*, now appears partly true and partly false. The principal objections are (a) that nobody would use the verb στυλοῦται in the sense 'support' when the objects

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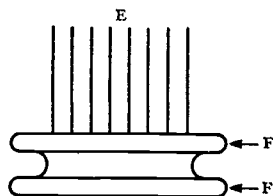
thus ‘supported’ are themselves στῦλοι, columns; (b) that πέζα is normally *edge*, very seldom *foot*; (c) that ἰωνι τύπῳ is not well related syntactically either to στυλοῦται or to πέζα; (d) that the postponement of δέ involved in taking ῥάβδου ἐντός within the στυλοῦται-clause is intolerable in an Hellenistic epigram.

The words remain extremely difficult, but good sense can be made by taking στυλοῦται to mean ‘is furnished with a στῦλος’ (or ‘with στῦλοι’), πέζα as the edge of the boundary-wall (ζώνη), and ῥάβδου as implying ῥάβδωσις, the word for the fluting of a column. Then στυλοῦται...ἐντός deals with the column, ἀποστίβει δὲ...πτέρναις deals with the base: ‘the boundary-wall is furnished at its edge with columns (or a column) in Ionic style within the hollow fluting; and speckled Syenite glistens near the heels (= the convex mouldings of the Ionic base)’. It must be admitted that the syntactical relation of στυλοῦται...ἰωνι τύπῳ to ῥάβδου κοίλης ἐντός is deplorably loose; but it will not be tighter on any other interpretation.

The following diagrams should explain the terms:



- A = boundary-wall (ζώνη)
- B = columns round edge of wall
- C = fountain-mouth
- D = rear wall



- E = Ionic column with flutings (ῥάβδοι)
- F = convex moulding of base (πτέρναις)

κίονος ... θέσις: θέσις is oddly used, as it is in 6 above; here the meaning seems to be ‘that is how the column is placed’.

The singular number may be misleading: it is quite likely that one of a set of identical columns is being described as a typical example.

**10-11 [1727-8]** An unhappy couplet, literally ‘the stone from Hymettus, gushing forth the fountain’s drinking-water, receives (it) from the rock-caves, wetly drenched’. The last two words are a feeble appendage, little if at all improved by changing to ἐρευγομένης...κρήνης (Schadewaldt) and taking ὑγρά as direct object of ἐκδέχεται, or by reading ὑγρά διαινομένων.

The rule in the Hellenistic epigrammatists, that if the second foot of the hexameter is spondaic, no word except a forward-looking monosyllable may end with the foot, is seldom broken; this author breaks it twice in successive hexameters. See *PG* 1. xliv.

**12-14 [1729-31]** It is natural to take εἰκόνα ὑμετέρην as meaning ‘an image of the pair of you’, but it then appears that Arsinoe is not conjoined with Ptolemy in the same sculpture but is ‘fixed in the middle’ of something; middle

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

of what, is a question which the reader of the epigram on the site would not need to ask, but which the schoolboy (like ourselves) could not be expected to answer.

λύγδωι see my note on Rufinus x 2, p. 81.

σύγκληρον Νύμφαις: σύγκληρος, *having portions in common*, is used of lands or towns *bordering, neighbouring* (E. *Hcl.* 32, Nic. *Al.* 1), and the obvious meaning here is that Arsinoë's statue is a neighbour of the Nymphs, whether the Nymphs are sculptures or merely personify the waters of the fountain. The problem then remains to make sense of ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος; to say that Arsinoë's statue is a neighbour to the Nymphs 'all the year round' is mere verbiage (for nobody had supposed that statues were itinerant), unless 'all the year round' signifies that the Nymphs are never absent, *i.e.* that the spring flows all the year round and does not dry up in summer. If this is the meaning, the author (not for the first time) has expressed himself badly.

The alternative sense of ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, 'every year', seems to be ruled out by the context.

**14-15 [1731-2]** We have just heard that Arsinoë is neighbour to the Nymphs; now we learn that the Fountain-Nymphs are not yet present; they are asked to come, and to come 'with good order', whatever that may mean in this context.

(b) Praise of Ptolemy Philopator.

ibid. p. 25, Pl. VI

<p>                  ]των ουρ[                    εὐαίων Πτολεμ[αῖος                    εἶσαθ' ὑπὲρ διδ[                    τῶι πρὶν Ὀδυσσεΐας τε [καὶ Ἰλι]άδος τὸν ἀγῆρω  5                  ὕμνον ἅπ' ἀθανάτων γραψ[α]μένωι παραπίδων.                    ὄλβιοι ὧ θνατῶν εὐεργέται, [οἱ] τὸν ἄριστον                    ἐν δορὶ καὶ Μούσαις κοίρανον ἡρόσατε.</p>	<p>                  ]ινανα[                    τοῦ]το δ' Ὀμήρωι                    κ]ατ' ὄναρ τέμενος  <span style="float: right;">1735</span></p>
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**2-3 [1734-5]** There can be no serious doubt that 3 ended ὄναρ τέμενος, and κατ' ὄναρ then seems inevitable; the general sense must therefore have been that Ptolemy's founding of a temple to Homer was inspired by a dream. Körte supplied ὑπὲρ διδαχῆς γνοῦς κατ' ὄναρ, 'having resolved to do so in accordance with a dream, on behalf of Education'; it is easy to complain that ὑπὲρ διδαχῆς is a shocking phrase and that γνοῦς was (as Körte himself felt) not the ideal verb, but the critic should be required to say what else could possibly have stood here.

On Philopator's dedication of a temple to Homer, see Pref.

**5 [1737] ἀθανάτων:** the author of the immortal poems has an immortal mind; the mediocrity of the couplet is in harmony with the rest.

**6 [1738] εὐεργέται:** Philopator's father was Ptolemy Euergetes.

**7 [1739] ἐν δορὶ καὶ Μούσαις:** on Philopator's fame in war and in literature, see Pref.

# ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

## CLII

Soon after 207 B.C.

Epigram for a statue of Chrysippus the Stoic Philosopher.

The epigram is presumably inscriptional; fictitious epigrams do not need, and never employ, 'new' statues.

Aristocreon the dedicator was the son of a sister of Chrysippus, for whom he composed a work of homage after death, Χρυσίππου ταφαί. See Diog. Laert. 7.179–202; *RE* 2.942. Chrysippus died in 207 B.C.

Plut. stoic. repugn. 2, 1033E s.a.n. Ἀριστοκρέων γοῦν ὁ Χρυσίππου μαθητῆς καὶ οἰκείος εἰκόνα χαλκῇν ἀναστήλωσας ἐπέγραψε τόδε τὸ ἐλεγείον·

τόνδε νέον Χρυσίππου Ἀριστοκρέων ἀνέθηκε, 1740  
τῶν Ἀκαδημιακῶν στραγγαλίδων κοπίδα.

Not in Jacobs; Preger 160.

1 [1740] νέον: what Aristocreon erected, presumably as a personal tribute, was a 'new' statue, perhaps additional to the one in the Ceramicus which was 'almost hidden by the equestrian statue nearby; hence Carneades used to call him Κρύψιππος instead of Χρυσίππος' (Diog. Laert. 7.182).

2 [1741] στραγγαλίδων κοπίδα: 'a knife to cut the knots'. Chrysippus, a vain man, would have been pleased by this phrase. The notion of Cougny (1.129) that the author had in mind the Gordian knot cut by Alexander (Plut. *Alex.* 18) is far-fetched.

## CLIII

III/II B.C.

A riddle.

The epigram describes an object in cryptic terms; the answer to the riddle is given in the heading, 'an oyster'.

The text is unique in its arrangement. Full text and commentary are combined in the same book, though the commentary follows the pattern of the normal separate-book commentary, not only repeating the heading but also quoting each line before commenting on it. It looks as though the maker of this book has combined the contents of two separate books, one containing text, the other commentary.

The poem is short, the commentary long. There is no clue to the nature of the book apart from this extract, which begins four or five lines below the top of the column. It may be a collection of riddles, whether by one author or by more than one. The commentary gives the heading ὄστρεον without an author-name; above the poetic text, ὄστρεον stands somewhat to the left of the centre of the line, and it is a fair guess that it was not preceded by an author-name. However, as nothing remains of the papyrus above the heading, it must be admitted that an author-name may have stood in the line above. The book may have consisted of riddles by one author, named only at the beginning, or of riddles by various authors, each named at the beginning of his contribution.

The riddle-epigram has a venerable ancestry in oracular verse and may have been common at all times. A comparable specimen from the best Hellenistic period is the inscrutable παίγνιον by Philitas preserved in Stob. *eccl.* 2.4.5



## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

(2 p. 27 W.-H., = *fr.* 10 Powell); the enigmatic epigrams in *A.P.* 7.421-9 by Leonidas, Alcaeus, Antipater of Sidon, and Meleager differ mainly in supplying the answers to their riddles.

Whether it was a common practice to prefix the solution, is not known. In the comparable riddle-epigrams of *A.P.* 14, solutions are not given in the headings or in any other way; in the manuscripts of Martial *xiii*, the answers are given in the headings and very often (but not always) also in the texts of the epigrams.

Such epigrams as 'The Oyster' may seem to us to lose much of their effect if the author first announces the answer and then states the riddle. Perhaps they were first published by recitation to listeners who were invited to guess the answers. The present text shows that, when the riddles were published in a book, the solution was sometimes prefixed to the problem; the tradition of *A.P.* 14 suggests that this was not uniform practice.

If the solution was not given in advance, the listener would be unlikely to guess it before the final distich:

1-2 'Where Aethiopian Memnon's tomb is' suggests Egypt; the commentary takes it for granted (what we did not know before; Parsons on 11) that the listener will think at once of Abydos in the Thebaid; and as that is an impossible place for oysters, the listener will be much astray if he begins to guess so soon.

3-4 'Nursed on sea-washed rocks' might suggest shellfish, and the author must have thought that it applied to oysters. The first helpful clue is given in 4: it was common knowledge that the growth of oysters depended on the phases of the moon (Thompson *Greek Fishes* 191, *RE* 2.2590). But he would be an exceptionally experienced and quick-witted listener who had seen the truth by this time.

5-6 These lines give the game away. The subject is 'a feast without fire-sparks', *i.e.* it is eaten raw, and it has to be split with a blade. It is surely an oyster. And the listener now remembers that the oyster-beds of the Hellespontine Abydos are among the most famous (*Greek Fishes* 191), and that there was a tomb of Memnon at the mouth of the Aesepus, not far from the Hellespontine Abydos (Parsons on 2-4); he has now seen the whole truth. He might perhaps inquire if the poet is quite sure that oysters are nursed ἐπὶ σπιλάδεσσι.

P. Louvr. inv. 7733 verso, prim. ed. Lasserre *Quad. Urbin. Cult. Class.* 19 (1975) 145, *mox* Parsons *ΣPE* 24 (1977) 1

ὀ[στ]ρειον

Μέμνονος] Αἰθ[ιοπ]ῆος δπ[ου] χυ[τ]ὸν ἡ[ρίον ἐσ]τίν  
 .....]...[.]τρεφ[...].[.]τ.ο[ ][.].  
 .....][.]ης δ'α.αμα.τ.[.]ἐπὶ σπιλάδεσσι τιθηνεῖ  
 Ἄγροτ]έρης ἐραταῖς λαμπάσι τερπόμενον. 1745  
 5 θοίνη] δ'εἰ]μι βροτοῖσιν ἀφ[έψ]αλος, ἥνικα Δωσοῦς  
 .....][.)(.][.]νδιχάσῃ ρι[νοτ]όρο[ι]ς βέλεσιν.

The following version of the commentary combines the text established by Parsons with readings and supplements suggested in his notes.

# ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

- col. i δοστρειον
- Μέ]μονος Α[ι]θιοπῆος [δοπ]ου χυτὸν ἡρίον ἐστίν·  
 10 Μέ]μονος κε[ν]οτάφιον [οὐκ ἐν Α]ἰθιοπῆαι ἐστίν,  
 ἐν] δ[ὲ τῇι] Θηβαίδι τὰ Με[μν]όνεια κατὰ πόλιν  
 ("Αβυδον) ]· ἐπεὶ οὖν [ἐ]ν τῷι 'Ελλησπόντῳ  
 ...]...s καὶ "Αβυδός ἐστ[ι .....]αι νῦν τῇι τῆς  
 'Αβ]ύδου ὁμωνυμία· ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐν τῇι Θη-  
 15 βαί]δι δοστρεῖα εἶναι. ἀλλὰ λέγει μὲν τὴν "Αβυδον  
 τῇ]ν ἀπέναντι Σηστοῦ, τὴν δὲ ὁμωνυμίαν  
 με]ταφέρων λέγει δοπο[υ] τὸ χυτὸν [ἡρίο]ν Μέμνο-
- col. ii νός ἐστι] (scanty remains of this line and the following five, of which  
 the last two begin λέγει and τὸ δὲ δοστρειον)
- ἀγροτέρης ἐραταῖς [λαμπάσι] τερπόμενον·  
 25 ἀγροτ]έρης με.[  
 ...[...].ε...ισοντ...[...].[...].δ...γὰρ ἡ σελή[νη]  
 καὶ ἡ "Αρτεμις ἡ[ι]περ ὁ ἡλ]ιος καὶ ὁ "Απόλλων.  
 λέγει οὖν ὅταν ἡ [σελήνη] αὐξ]άνῃ, τότε καὶ τὰ δοστρεῖα  
 πλήρη ἐστίν. θ[οίνη] δ' εἰμ[ι] βροτοῖσιν ἀ[φ]έψ [αλος·  
 30 φέψαλοι εἰσιν ο[ἱ] σ[ὺν] μεγαλῳι] ἥχῳ ἀναφερ[όμενοι] σπιν-  
 θῆρες· ὑπὸ δὲ τιν[ων] λ]έγονται οἱ ἐκ τοῦ .[...φν-  
 λακοῦντες σπινθῆρ[ε]ς. λέγει δὲ καὶ Δ[ι]φιλο[ς] ἐν  
 τῷ Παραλυομένῳ ... τωποθ...ωρα.[...]ας γὰρ ἐξε-  
 στηκότα [ (scanty traces of the rest of the line)  
 35 σφόδρα ἐκείνον ... [....]μ...ον φέψαλον  
 Σοφοκλῆς δὲ .... [.....] .... [....] τρόπον  
 τοῦτον βατ... [.....]σσα[....]ωι καπνῶ[ι]  
 θερ...ετ...[.....]χρυσ.[
- col. iii ο]ὐκ ἔχει σπινθῆρα[
- 40 ..... ν]διχάσῃ ρινοτόροις βέ[λεσι·  
 ]... διχοτομήσῃ ...[  
 ]...αι ἡ "Αφροδίτη .... φ.[  
 ]...ου σιδήρου [ὁ "Αρης] τὸ δοστρ[  
 δο]στράκου πρότερον διατ[εμν-  
 45 ]α ἐστίν τούστρεῖου το δ[έρμα  
 ]...η...εν ἄνευ τῆς του.[  
 ]θαί. ὅτι δὲ ἡ "Αφροδίτη [  
 ]...iv Θεοδωρίδας ....[  
 ]...υλ...ειονουκ...[  
 50 ]...ιερὺς [Δω]σοῦς [...].[  
 ἀργύ]φρον κρήδεμνον ...[  
 τέττ]ιξι σφίγγει χρυσε[

(scanty remains of nine more lines; in 53 εὐοπα Δωσοῦν and in 56  
 Εὐδωσο[ are possibilities)

See Theodoridas, p. 95 above.

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**1 [1742]** Restored from the commentary (8). Lloyd-Jones (*op. Parsons* on 2-4) observes that χυτόν should have helped the guesser; it excludes the stone Μεμνόνεια of Egypt but would suit the earth-tomb near the Hellespontine Abydos (χυτόν as in Homeric χυτή γαῖα).

**2 [1743]** ἐτρεφόμεν or ἐτρεφέ μ' (Parsons) probable; the subject speaks in the first person (6 εἰ[μί]), as is usual in the riddle-epigrams of *A.P.* 14.

**3 [1744]** δα, αμα, τ. [: Parsons considers δ' 'Αθάμαντος (father of Helle) and δ' ἄδάμαστος ('the strait which Xerxes failed to tame'), admitting that the traces are not in favour of θ in the former or of the first σ in the latter; the further suggestion, δ' ἄδάμαντος, 'a pun, "rocks of adamant" and "the virgin (Helle)"', seems too far-fetched even for a riddle.

My own suggestion to Mr Parsons was δ' ἀνά μαστός (μαστός governing the name of a female representing the Hellespont, [ ]ης, and ἀνατιθνήω as ἀνατρέφω); I quote his comment: 'If all the ink belongs, then *nu* of ἀνά is not a possible reading. On the other hand there are clearly some extraneous fibres stuck to the surface at this point; it is possible that, if they were removed, the remains would be <sup>11</sup>, so compatible with N, though the space is rather narrow to take the right-hand half of N. Conclusion: the indications are against *nu*, but one cannot exclude it.' In the photograph the letter looks like a N squeezed in, its right half more or less supralinear. The first *sigma* looks not unlikely in the photograph, and is one of the possibilities considered by Parsons (above).

While the middle of the line remains inscrutable, guesses at the beginning are not likely to be rewarding. The commentary at 22 begins λεγει . . . ἐλ . . . [ . . . ], which Parsons thinks may represent λέγει ἵνα ἔλδο[; 'but then ἔλδο[ , a poetic word, must be quoted from the epigram, lines 3 or 4, (ἔλδο[μ]έν[ης?]; if so, I do not see how to handle it'.

The truth has not yet been divined.

At the end of the line, ὑπό would have been a much less misleading preposition than ἐπί; and Parsons prefers the imperfect τιθήναι.

**4 [1745]** Correctly explained in the commentary (25ff.): 'Agrotera' is Artemis; Artemis is the moon; oysters get fatter as the moon waxes (evidence in Parsons and in Thompson *Greek Fishes* 191).

**5-6 [1746-7]** Restored in part from the commentary (29 and 40), where the correct explanation of Δωσοῦς κτλ. was given.

'Doso' is Aphrodite; the title was hitherto unknown. The commentary finds a parallel in Theodoridas; Lasserre compares Hesych. *s.v.* Εὐδωσώ· ἡ Ἀφροδίτη ἐν Συρακούσαις.

Δωσοῦς must have depended on a nominative meaning in effect 'lover' and referring to Ares, who here symbolises σιδηρον, usually a sword (Antipater of Thessalonica 7.531.2 = *PG* 202 n.), but here the word βέλεσιν indicates a spear. The essence is simply 'blade', for opening the oyster's shell.

What word was used for 'lover' remains uncertain. νυμφίος (Lloyd-Jones) suits the space and traces but is exposed to the objection that Ares was never the 'bridegroom' of Aphrodite; moreover an object for the verb διχάσῃ, though not absolutely indispensable, is highly desirable. My own suggestion, μοιχ]ός [μ' ἄ]νδιχάσῃ, is ruled out by the narrowness of the gap preceding

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

Ἰνδιχάση. Parsons gives two letter-spaces in this gap, the photograph suggests one only; in any case there is no room for the relatively broad letters MA, nor yet for any supplement of the type suggested by Parsons, μοιχ]ός [υ-]ν διχάση (where only two narrow letter-spaces are available for υ-).

[...(.)]ος [δ]Ἰνδιχάση is probable, though the omission of the verb's object is disagreeable. The noun for 'lover' (or the like) may be some Alexandrian gloss-word or some riddling device.

ῥινοτόροις: an allusion to Hom. *Il.* 21.391-2, Ἄρης | ῥινοτόρος, as Lasserre notes. Just enough remains of the commentary to indicate that the word was correctly interpreted ('cutting the shell apart').

### CLIV

Probably III/II B.C.

Epitaph for Herodotus.

This epigram has an interest for us beyond its deserts. It happens that no ancient 'Life of Herodotus' has survived; and, apart from the summary in the Suda, external biographical information about him is scanty, scattered, and generally hard to evaluate. If the present epigram is of Hellenistic date, it is the earliest extant writing on this subject. It tells us (a) the name of the historian's father, 'Lyxes'; (b) that he was a native of a Dorian city (meaning Halicarnassus); (c) that he left home because of political disturbances ('running away from the reproach of the citizens'); and (d) that he became a citizen of Thurii, in South Italy; and (e) that he was buried there. This is not much, but it is a high proportion of all that is recorded in other sources; the lost 'Life of Herodotus' represented by the brief and incomplete summary in the Suda added the names of his mother and of a brother, the high social position of his family, his relation to the poet Panyassis, more detail about the political troubles at home, his residence in Samos, and his journey to Athens and friendship with Sophocles.

The date of the epigram cannot, however, be determined with certainty. The phrase ἀρχαίης ἱστορίης proves that it was written long after the historian's death; not earlier, one must suppose, than the Hellenistic period, and it may be much later. Stephanus, the earliest of our authorities, lived in the fifth (if not the sixth) century A.D. Tzetzes, in the twelfth century, had access to a fuller account which actually gave an ancient source for the epigram, 'Zenon in the fourth book of his Εὔθυνα': but, as 'Zenon' is a common name, and the book with the inscrutable title (changed to Ἑθνικῶν by Preger) is no help to us, we cannot date this source without a margin of error hundreds of years wide (he was identified with Zenon of Mynda, and equated with the Zenon of Suetonius *Tib.* 56, by Maass and Preger, but this is blind guesswork). The epigram was not picked up by the *Anthology*, despite its liking for pseudo-epitaphs on famous authors of the past; there is indeed no epigram on Herodotus in the *Anthology* except a single distich (9.160) relating the nine Muses to the nine books of the History.

All that we can say is that this epigram reflects an interest in the life of Herodotus which is more characteristic of the Hellenistic age (when a 'Life' was surely first composed) than of any later period, though the first century A.D. is still quite a likely time. Jacoby (*RE* Suppl. II 214) gives no reason for his

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

downright assertion that the epigram is of Hellenistic date; he is probably right, but a reason would have been welcome.

The idea that the lines were actually inscribed on a grave-stone at Thurii (so Stein and Preger) is rightly rejected by Jacoby (and presumably also by Peek, who omits the epigram).

Preface and notes are based on Felix Jacoby's great book on Herodotus, published as *RE* Suppl. II 205ff.; see also Schmid-Stählin 1.2.550-6.

Steph. Byz. s.a.n., s.v. Θούριοι·...λέγεται καὶ Θουρία καὶ Θούριον ὡς ἐν τῷ 'Ηροδότου ἐπιγράμματι·

'Ηρόδοτον Λύξεω κρύπτει κόνις ἦδε θανόντα,  
'Ιάδος ἀρχαίης ἱστορίης πρύτανιν,  
Δωρίδος ἐκ πάτρης βλαστόντ'· ἀστῶν γὰρ ἄτλητον 1750  
μῶμον ὑπεκπροφυγῶν Θούριον ἔσχε πάτριν.

schol. Tzetz. chil. I 19 (= An. Ox. Cramer 3.350) φησὶ γὰρ (sc. Lucianus de domo 20) 'Ηρόδοτον Λύξου τὸν 'Αλικαρνασσόθεν, ὅτι πολλαχοῦ ψευδογραφεῖ. ἐπείσθη δ' ὡς Ζύλου δεῖ γράφειν, ἐντυχῶν τούτῳ τῷ ἐπιγράμματι, οὗ Ζήνων ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν Εὐθυκῶν μνημονεύει· [1-4]

1 Λύξεω Steph.: Ζύλω vel Ζύλω Tzetz. 2 ἱστορίης Tzetz.: -ικῆς Steph. 3 Δωρίδος Tzetz. et Steph. codd. pars: δωδος vel δῶρον Steph. codd. pars πάτρας Tzetz. βλαστόντ'· ἀστῶν Meineke: βλαστόντ' ἀπο· τῷ (ἀπο\*\* τῷ cod. A) Steph., βλαστῶν τ' ἀπὸ τῶς Tzetz. A, βλαστῶν τ' ἀπασο Tzetz. B ἄτλητον Tzetz.: ἀπλητος Steph. 4 ἄπεκ- Steph. πάτριν Steph.: δ' ἄστριν Tzetz. B (incertum quid fuerit in Tzetz. A)

Jacobs\* *adesp.* dxxxiii, <sup>b</sup>App. 212; Preger 38.

**1 [1748] Λύξεω:** that his father's name was Λύξης is attested also by Lucian *de domo* 20, Themist. 2.27, and the Suda; the name appears in an inscription from Halicarnassus, *SGDI* 5727; Jacoby 217.

**κρύπτει...θανόντα:** that he was buried at Thurii is attested also by the Suda, which adds that the tomb was 'in the *agora*'; not so here, and 'of course nobody was ever buried in the market-place' (Jacoby 214).

**2 [1749] 'Ιάδος:** ἰαδος, lengthened *metri gratia*.

**πρύτανιν:** quite a common metaphor; Leonidas of Tarentum 6.205.6 = *HE* 1997, LSJ s.v. 1.

**3-4 [1750-1] Δωρίδος ἐκ πάτρης:** i.e. Halicarnassus, basically Dorian, though strongly influenced on the one side by Carians, on the other by Ionians (Jacoby 211). The oldest extant testimony for Halicarnassus as Herodotus' birth-place is an inscription at Pergamon from the first half of the second century B.C., *Ηροδοτο | Αλικαρνασ| (Inscr. Perg. no. 199; Jacoby 210)*; in the Proem to the History, Θουρίου was not supplanted by 'Αλικαρνασσεός until the first century A.D. (Jacoby 205-10).

**ἀστῶν...μῶμον ὑπεκπροφυγῶν:** εἶδεν ἑαυτὸν φθονούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, according to the Suda, which says that Herodotus was banished from Halicarnassus by the tyrant Lygdamis and went to Samos, and that he later returned and took part in the expulsion of the tyrant, but lost favour with the people and was driven out again (Jacoby 216, 218-19, 223-4).

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

The text of 3 is far from certain. Either ἐκ or ἀπο must be eliminated: Δωριέων πάτρης βλαστόντ' ἀπο Musurus, then τῶν γάρ Brunck, but Δωριέων is too rough a change and not altogether satisfactory in itself (*aliud est patria Dorica, aliud patria Doriensium*, as Preger said). ἀστῶν seems almost indispensable and is certainly the best remedy available. If there were a form Δωριάς, for Δωρίς, Δωριάδος πάτρης βλαστόντ' ἀπο τῶν γάρ might be preferred; but there is not, except A. *Pers.* 817, against the metre, in many of the manuscripts.

**Θούριον ἔσχε πάτριν:** that Herodotus became a citizen of Thurii, founded in 444/3 B.C., is proved by the Proem to the History, 'Ἡροδότου Θουρίου ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις ἦδε. The ancient 'Life' evidently said that he actually took part in the foundation (Jacoby 224); Jacoby argues that if this was a fact, it is one which would not have been recorded at the time, and he therefore believes that the statement is merely an inference from Θουρίου in the Proem.

Thucydides and most writers after him call the town Θούριοι; Θούριον also Diod. Sic. 12.10.

CLV

III/II B.C.

Philosophers ridiculed.

The authority for this epigram is Hegesandros of Delphi, a favourite source for Athenaeus; he lived in the mid-second century B.C. (Jacoby *RE* 7.2600). The epigram is a remarkable *jeu d'esprit* to which there is no parallel in the *Anthology*. Its author cannot be dated more precisely than c. 350–200 B.C. His model is the Old Comedy, and he is therefore not easily comparable with other epigrammatists: cf. Pratinas *PMG* 708.10–11 ὀλεσισιαλοκάλαμον λαλοβαρύσπα παρμελορυθμοβάταν, Ar. *Lys.* 456–7 ὦ σπερμαγοραιολεκιθολαχανοπώλιδες, | ὦ σκοροδοπανδοκευτρίαρτοπώλιδες, Ran. 966 σαλπιγγολογχνηνάδαι σαρκασμοπιτυοκάμπται, and the wonderful 80-syllable compound in *Ecol.* 1169–74. The only other comparable author is Cercidas, perhaps a contemporary.

The subject-matter is as unusual as the style. There is nothing like it in the Hellenistic epigrammatists, who seldom mention any school of philosophy except the Cynics or any philosopher except Diogenes (Leonidas, 6.293 and 298 = *HE* liv and lv, ridicules a Cynic named Sochares; Antipater of Sidon, 7.413 = *HE* lxvii, describes a lady Cynic named Hipparchia, and *ap.* Diog. Laert. 7.29 = *HE* xxxv praises Zeno). The present epigram does not describe any particular school, nor does it name any person; it is an attack on philosophers in general, and the best illustration is, as Jacobs said, Lucian *Icaromenippus* 29, γένος γάρ τι ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ τῷ βίῳ ἐπιπολάσας ἀργὸν φιλόνεικον κενόδοξον ὀξύχολον ὑπόλιχρον ὑπόμωρον τετυφωμένον ὕβρεως ἀνάπλεων (the reference is general, to Stoics, Epicureans, Academics, Peripatetics, 'and others much absurder than these')... ὄνομα σεμνὸν τὴν ἀρετὴν περιθέμενοι καὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς ἐπάραντες καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα ρυτιδῶσαντες καὶ τοὺς πώγωνας ἐπισπασάμενοι περιέρχονται ἐπιπλάστῳ σχήματι κατὰπτυστα ἥθη περιστέλλοντες κτλ.

Athen. 4.162A s.a.n. οὐκ ἄκαιρον δ' ἐστὶν μνημονεῦσαι καὶ τοῦ εἰς ἡμᾶς ποιηθέντος ἐπιγράμματος ὅπερ παρέθετο ὁ Δελφὸς 'Ἡγήσανδρος ἐν ἔκτῳ ὑπομνημάτων·

# ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

ὄφρυανασπασίδαι, ῥινεγκαταπηξιγένειοι,  
 σακκογενειοτρόφοι καὶ λοπαδαρπαγίδαι,  
 εἵματανωπερίβαλλοι, ἀνηλιποκαιβλεπέλαιοι,  
 νυκτιλαθραιοφάγοι, νυκτιπαταιπλάγιοι, 1755  
 5 μειρακιεξαπτάται <καὶ> συλλαβοπευσιλαληταί,  
 δοξοματαιόσοφοι, ζηταρετησιάδαι.

3 εἵματανωπερίβαλλοι, ἀνηλ- Casaubon, Scaliger: ἵνα τὰν ωπερίβαλλ' ὁτάνηλ-  
 Athen. 5 καὶ suppl. Musurus

Jacobs\* *adesp.* cx, <sup>b</sup>App. 288; Hecker 1852.21; not in Preger.

**1 [1752] ὄφρυανασπασίδαι:** cf. Lucian's τὰς ὀφρῦς ἐπάραντες, Alciphron 4.7 (1.34) *init.* ἐξ οὗ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπενόησας...τὰς ὀφρῦς ὑπὲρ τοὺς κροτάφους ἐπῆρας.

**ῥινεγκαταπηξιγένειοι** = τὴν ῥίνα ἐγκαταπηγνύντες τῷ γενεῖωι, 'thrusting the nose into the chin'; 'with nutcracker nose and chin', LSJ. This author, like Cercidas, allows himself great freedom in the formation of compounds.

**2 [1753] σακκογενειοτρόφοι:** 'growing beards as big as coarse-hair sacks'. σάκκος is a coarse cloth made of hair, hence also a sack made of this material.

**λοπαδαρπαγίδαι:** *dish-snatchers*; *qui appositas in mensa dapes prae cupiditate ad se rapiunt* (Jacobs).

**3 [1754] εἵματανωπερίβαλλοι:** not simply of 'one who wraps his cloak about him', as LSJ say, omitting the element -ανω-, but of one who wraps it round his face, no doubt to avoid recognition in sordid company (see n. on 4 νυκτιπαταιπλάγιοι). On the correption of -βαλλοῖ at the caesura, see Herodicus 234 n.

**ἀνηλιποκαιβλεπέλαιοι:** 'barefoot and unanointed' in LSJ translates not their lemma but their conjecture, 'fort. -κάλιπ-' (= ἀνηλιποκάλιπέλαιοι); the change is rough and unnecessary. As Jacobs said, βλεπέλαιοι = ἔλαιον βλέποντες, 'having a lamp-oil look', blear-eyed from study by lamp-light. The joining of the elements of the compound by -και- could hardly be defended if it were necessary to take the matter so seriously.

**4 [1755] νυκτιλαθραιοφάγοι:** *qui interdiu...abstinentiam simulantes, noctu testibusque remotis sese ingurgitant* (Jacobs).

**νυκτιπαταιπλάγιοι:** 'nightly roaming to and fro' LSJ, ignoring -πλάγιοι. This obscure compound, presumably representing οἱ νυκτὸς τὰ πλάγια πατοῦσι, was rendered by Jacobs *qui in tenebris per obliqua incedunt itinera*, implying *qui in angustis turpes libidines sectantur*; he compared Alciphron 3.28 (3.64) 2, on a philosopher who is a stern and severe teacher by day but by night 'wraps his head in a mantle and goes the round of the brothels'. This explanation of -πλάγιοι is not immediately convincing, but no alternative is in sight.

**5 [1756] συλλαβοπευσιλαληταί:** -πευσι- is related to πεύθομαι, as LSJ say, but their translation 'examining each syllable before pronouncing it' is much inferior to that of Jacobs, *qui syllabas aucupantes adversarios interrogationibus captant*, 'whose conversation (λαλιά) consists of questions (πύσεις) about syllables', i.e. who are hair-splitting critics of the minutiae of language.

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**6 [1757] δοξοματαιόσοφοι:** not 'would-be philosophers', as LSJ, but meaning the same thing as Lucian's κενόδοξοι (Pref.), 'whose wisdom consists of foolish beliefs'.

**ζηταρετησιάδαι:** seekers for ἀρετή.

CLVI (a) and (b)

197 B.C.

Dedications at Delphi by T. Quinctius Flaminius.

The defeat of Philip V at Cynoscephalae in 197 B.C. ended the long Macedonian domination of Hellas. Flaminius loudly proclaimed himself as liberator from oppression, and the Greeks honoured him as such (*cf.* Alcæus *A. Plan.* 5 = *HE* v), no doubt sincerely; but liberation has long been the victor's name for conquest, and although a façade of freedom was maintained for half a century, Cynoscephalae founded what the battle of Pydna confirmed thirty years later, the supremacy of Roman government in Hellas. In 148 B.C. Macedonia became a Roman province, and two years later 'the era of liberty and of fertile political experiment in Greek lands gave way to two thousand years of forced inertia' (Cary *The Medieval Alexander* 205).

Flaminius dedicates silver shields and his own *scutum* to the Dioscuri in (a), a golden crown to Apollo in (b). The former dedication is surprising, indeed unintelligible to us. Nobody reports a temple of the Dioscuri at Delphi; indeed they have no connection with the place apart from a single reference to a festival, Διοσκουρήϊα, held in the tenth month (*SIG* 438.175; *BCH* 19.11; Schwyzler *Dial. Gr. Exempla* no. 323 D 4). There must have been a particular reason for the choice of these gods; possibly, as Preger suggests, redemption of a promise made to the θεοὶ σωτῆρες during the battle.

The epigrams, boastful in tone, are odd compositions. It is not clear why Flaminius stressed in both that he was a 'descendant of Aeneas' (see (a) 3 n.); the epithet 'god-like', applied to himself in an address to Apollo, must have been noticed by many with disapproval; 'kings of Sparta' is a peculiar title for the Dioscuri; ἰὼ is wrongly used in (a), and the long first sentence in (b) is very bad.

Plut. vit. Tit. 12 s.a.n. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ μέγιστον ἐφρόνησεν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐλευθερώσει· ἀνατιθεὶς γὰρ εἰς Δελφούς ἀσπίδας ἀργυρᾶς καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θυρεὸν ἐπέγραψε·

- (a) Ζηνὸς ἰὼ κραιπναῖσι γεγαθότες ἵπποσύναισι  
 κοῦροι, ἰὼ Σπάρτας Τυνδαρίδαι βασιλεῖς,  
 Αἰνεάδας Τίτος ὕμιν ὑπέρτατον ὦπασε δῶρον 1760  
 Ἑλλάνων τεύξας παισὶν ἐλευθερίαν.

ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ χρυσοῦν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι στέφανον ἐπιγράψας·

- (b) τόνδε τοι ἀμβροσίοισιν ἐπὶ πλοκάμοισιν ἔθηκε  
 κεῖσθαι, Λατοῖδα, χρυσοφαῖ στέφανον  
 ὃν πόρεν Αἰνεαδᾶν ταγὸς μέγας. ἀλλ', Ἐκάργε,  
 ἀλκᾶς τῷ θείῳ κῦδος ὅπαζε Τίτῳι. 1765



## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

(a) 1 Ζανός, 4 Ἑλλάνων Hecker: Ζηνός et Ἑλλήνων codd.

(b) 1-2 ἔθηκενεῖσθαι L<sup>ac</sup>, ἔθηκεν ἦσθαι P

(a), (b): Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* clxiv, clxv, <sup>b</sup>App. 188, 352; Preger 93, 92: Hecker 1852.72-3.

**1-2 [1758-9] ἰώ:** ἰώ normally connotes strong emotion of a type out of place in a dedication; it is very seldom used, as here, merely as an equivalent to ὦ. See HE 2.672, where the present passage and Peek 1316.1 should have been counted among the rare exceptions.

**3 [1760] Αἰνεάδας:** this appellative, applicable to members of the *gens Iulia*, is a common term for 'Roman' in general from Lucretius onwards. I have not noticed another example in Greek as early as the present one, and it is not clear why Flamininus used the word, as he does in both epigrams. Aeneas represents the oldest of Greek enemies, the Trojans, and 'Aeneades' in the only pre-Augustan example in the *Anthology* differentiates Romans from Greeks in an angry and bitter tone: Polystratus 7.297.5-6 = HE 3052-3, on the brutality of Mummius at Corinth in 146 B.C., τοὺς δὲ δόμον Πριάμοιο πυρὶ πρήσαντας Ἀχαιοὺς | ἀκλαύστους κτερέων νόσφισαν Αἰνεάδαι; the same notes of contrast and hostility are struck by Tiberius (or Germanicus) in 9.387, 'Hector may take pleasure in telling Achilles Θεσσαλίην κείσθαι πᾶσαν ὑπ' Αἰνεάδαις'. Rossbach (RE 1.1019) suggested that the fact that Aeneas was the son of Aphrodite created 'the feeling that the Italians stood closer than other barbarians to the Greeks'; but, if so, this was a Roman, not a Greek, feeling. Αἰνεάδας and Αἰνεαδᾶν ταγός seem as tactless as θείωι in (b) 4 is blasphemous and μέγας in (b) 3 is boastful.

**3 [1764] ὃν πόρεν:** 'he placed on your head the crown which the commander brought'; as 'he' and 'the commander' are the same person, this is an uncouth sentence. The composition is deplorable, but there is no remedy (ὅς πόρεν, Jacobs, is no better; such changes of ἔθηκε as ἔοικε, ἄδηκε and γεγήθοις deserve no consideration).

## CLVII

182 B.C. or soon after

Inscription for a statue of Philopoemen in Tegea.

On the tragic death of this great soldier and statesman see Plutarch *Philop.* 19-20; he was buried with great ceremony in his native Megalopolis, and statues of him were erected in numerous other cities (RE 20.93).

The epigram is presumably contemporary (183/2 B.C.); it is composed in a dignified style, clear and strong, lofty but not pompous.

Pausanias is the only source for the text, which is not found in the Palatine or Planudean anthology and is therefore omitted by Beckby. The lines were first associated with the Planudean anthology by Stephanus (1566, Appendix pp. 503-4); they appear in the *editio Wecheliana* (1600, p. 288, and again in the Appendix pp. 9-10); in Brunck's *Analecta* as Alpheus xi,<sup>1</sup> whence also Jacobs

<sup>1</sup> The *editio Wecheliana*, in which Ἀλφειοῦ Μιτυληναίου is written large below this epigram, referring however to the following epigram, shows how easily this error could arise; Salmasius was the first to ascribe the epigram to Alpheus.

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in his first edition (with commentary vol. 8 pp. 350–1); in Jacobs' second edition as 'Append. Epigr. 358'; in Dübner 2 p. 607 under '*omissa*' as 'Plan. 26\*' and again in the third volume, Coughy 3.97; in Paton as 'Plan. 26\*'. The epigram is edited by Preger no. 148, Geffcken *Gr. Epigr.* no. 198, and Hiller von Gaertringen *Hist. Gr. Epigr.* no. 110, but not by Peek in *GVI* (presumably because it does not take the form of an epitaph).

Paus. 8.52.3 s.a.n. τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῷ Φιλοποίμενι τὸ ἐν Τεγέαι·

τοῦδ' ἀρετὰ καὶ δόξα καθ' Ἑλλάδα, πολλὰ μὲν ἀλκαῖς,  
πολλὰ δὲ καὶ βουλαῖς ἔργα πονησαμένου,  
'Αρακάδος αἰχμητᾶ Φιλοποίμενος, ὧι μέγα κῦδος  
ἔσπετ' ἐνὶ πτολέμῳ δούρατος ἀγεμόνι.  
5     μανύει δὲ τρόπαια τετυγμένα δισσὰ τυράννων     1770  
       Σπάρτας· αὐξομέναν δ' ἄρατο δουλοσύναν.  
       ὧν ἔνεκεν Τεγέα μεγαλόφρονα Κραύγιδος υἱὸν  
       στᾶσεν ἀμωμήτου κράντορ' ἐλευθερίας.

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐνταῦθα ἔστιν ἐπίγραμμα.

Jacobs\* 8.350 (= Alpheus xi), <sup>b</sup>App. 358; Preger 148.

**3 [1768]** αἰχμητᾶ Preger.

**5–6 [1770–1] τρόπαια...δισσὰ τυράννων Σπάρτας:** referring to his defeats of the Spartans Machanidas in 208/7 B.C. (*RE* 20.82) and Nabis in 192 B.C. (*RE* 20.85; *Plut. Philop.* 11 and 14).

**8 [1773] ἀμωμήτου:** ἀμώμητον Schubart, but Dübner's explanation may be preferred: *vulgata praestat; veram nempe meramque libertatem Philopoemen Graeciae asseruisse intelligendus, non 'vanam speciem libertatis'* (*Liv.* 33.31) *qualem T. Quint. Flamininus in Isthmiorum ludo pronuntiavit. Conf. Plut. Philop. c.11.*

## CLVIII

II B.C.

On a painting.

This epigram comes from a papyrus-text of an anthology, first identified by C. H. Roberts in *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 4 (1950) 215–17 (= Rendel Harris Papyri, no. 56); cf. Webster *ibid.* 5 (1951) 237 and Barigazzi *Herm.* 80 (1952) 494–5.

The first couplet is obscure; 'Ἀπελλᾶς may stand either for ὁ Ἀπελλᾶς or for ἄ Ἀπελλᾶς, and it is not clear whether the author is saying that Apelles was the painter (so Webster, supplying 1 εἴτ' ἀπὸ τέχνης, better τέχνος, and 2 εἴτε φύσει) or guessing that he may have been (so Barigazzi, supplying 1 ἔργα τᾶδ', εἴτε and 2 εἴτ' ὁ Θέων or εἴτ' ἕτερος). Theon is the well-known painter (*Pliny h.n.* 35.144, *Quintil.* 12.10.6), and the principle may be right, though εἴτ' for εἴθ' is intolerable, and εἴτε Θέων without the article is unlikely if 'Ἀπελλᾶς = ὁ Ἀπελλᾶς).

In the second couplet, as Webster saw, the author distinguishes the 'painter of the flowers' as a different person and says that he does not know his name; confession of ignorance here runs more easily as a contrast to assurance in 1–2, and this is a point in favour of Webster's approach there.

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P. Rendel Harris 56

θαυμάσατ' ὧ πάντες θαεύ[μενοι  
 'Απελλᾶς ἐποίει δαιμόνι' εἶτ[ 1775  
 χαιρέτω ὁ γράψας καὶ τᾶνθεα [· τοῦνομα δ' αὐτοῦ  
 οὐκ οἶδ', ἀλλὰ καλῶς γράμμασ[ι  
 ἄλλο

1 suppl. Maas 3 suppl. Webster

**4 [1777]** εἰργάσατο Webster, but this verb is not well combined with the dative γράμμασιν (= *paintings*; Erinna 6.352.1 = *HE* 1797); something like ἡγλάσσειν, 'adorned (it) with paintings' would be more stylish.

The relation between the works of the two artists is not clear; possibly, as Webster suggested, 'the flowers are painted on the building and the picture is a signed wooden panel which they frame'.

## CLIX

II B.C.

On Homer's birthplace.

This epigram is partly preserved on an ostrakon inscribed in the second century B.C., published in *Berliner Klassikertexte* 5.1.78 under the number 4758, partly in a papyrus from the end of the first century B.C., P. Freiburg 1.4 (its contribution is marked by L J in the text).

The papyrus represents an anthology, whose nature and contents were identified by Wifstrand, *Studien zur gr. Anth.* 30. It contains (1) an elegiac epigram, probably on Homer, related to anon. *A. Plan.* 293; (2) a blank space sufficient for a four-line epigram in iambic trimeters; (3) the present epigram; (4) remains of an elegiac epigram concerning Erginus of Heraclea; (5) Posidippus *A. Plan.* 119 = *HE* xviii; and Theodoridas 9.743 = *HE* xvii.

*BKT* 5.1.78 + P. Freiburg 1.4

ἄλλο

μὴ πεύθου τίς Ὁ[μη]ρος ἔφυ(ν) γένος· αἱ γὰρ ἄ[L]πασαι J  
 εἶνεκ' ἐμῆς δόξης φ[ασι] τεκεῖν με L πόλεις J·  
 ἄξιον αἰώνισμα [ ]· ἔστι γLὰρ ἡμῆ J 1780  
 πατρὶς Ὀδυσσεΐης [ . . . . και] 'Ιλιάδου J

1, 4 suppl. Wilamowitz, 2 Rubensohn

**3-4 [1780-1] αἰώνισμα**: 'das Wort in der Zeit und in dem Etille ist nicht glaublich; und was sollte es bedeuten?', wrote Wilamowitz. It is not likely to be the product of corruption, and the prudent course is to accept it, as LSJ do. Their rendering, *permanent memorial*, represents the sense well enough (αἰωνίζειν, a late verb, = 'to be eternal').

Whatever was said in the gap must lead naturally to the sequel, 'for my fatherland is the (...) of Odyssey and Iliad'; presumably something like ἄξιον αἰώνισμα βροτῶν ἔρις, 'men's quarrelling about my birthplace is a worthy token of my fame, for my real fatherland is every city where my poems are read'.

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Wilamowitz supplied γράμμα after Ὀδυσσεΐης, but his objection to Rubensohn's Μοῦσα, 'eine Göttin ist kein Vaterland', applies, *mutato mutando*, with equal force to γράμμα. Good sense would be given by μέτρα, 'my fatherland is the space measured by Odyssey and Iliad', *i.e.* the whole world.

CLX

II B.C., first half

Satirical epitaph for Marcus Porcius Cato, the Censor (234-149 B.C.).

It was very well for Livy to describe Cato as *sanctus et innocens* (32.27), but a record of nearly fifty prosecutions (Plut. *Cato Maior* 15) attests a different opinion; satire and scurrility might be expected to pursue a statesman who enforced upon the public a measure of the frugality which he carried to extremes in his private life; whose virtues were proclaimed by no voice more loudly than his own (Livy 34.15.9, Plut. *loc. cit.* 14 τῶν ἰδίων ἐγκωμίων ἀφειδής); and whose sanctity did not deter him from vindictive persecution of a political enemy even beyond the grave. The likeliest source for such an epigram as this is the circle of Scipio Africanus, a political opponent and personal enemy of Cato throughout his life; and the best commentary on πανδακέτην may be Livy 38.54: 'When Africanus died, the spirits of his enemies rose high. Foremost among them was M. Porcius Cato, who was always growling at his greatness (*adlatrare magnitudinem eius solitus*), and is believed to have been the man behind the Petillii, who attacked Africanus in his lifetime and brought an action against him when he was dead.'

The epigram was presumably published during the lifetime of its subject. Plut. vit. *Cato Maior* 1 s.a.n. ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν εἶδος ὑπόπυρρος καὶ γλαυκός, ὥς ὁ ποιήσας τὸ ἐπιγραμμάτιον οὐκ εὐμενῶς παρεμφαίνει·

πυρρὸν, πανδακέτην, γλαυκόμματον, οὐδὲ θανόντα

Πόρκιον εἰς Ἀΐδην Φερσεφόνῃ δέχεται.

1783

Jacobs\* *adesp.* dcviii, <sup>b</sup>App. 309; not in Preger.

**1-2 [1782-3] πυρρὸν...γλαυκόμματον:** 'with red hair and grey eyes', as in Xenophanes B 16.2 Θρηϊκὲς τε γλαυκοὺς καὶ πυρροὺς (τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι φασί), and Hdt. 4.108 Βουδῖνοί τε ἔθνος...γλαυκὸν τε πᾶν ἰσχυρῶς ἐστί καὶ πυρρὸν. Plutarch, however, understood 'of ruddy complexion', as in Hippocr. *aer.* 20 πυρρὸν δὲ τὸ γένος ἐστί τὸ Σκυθικὸν διὰ τὸ ψυχρὸς, οὐκ ἐπιγιγνομένου ὀξέος τοῦ ἡλίου, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ ψυχρὸς ἡ λευκότης ἐπικαίεται καὶ γίνεται πυρρὴ.

**πανδακέτην:** the word here only.

**γλαυκόμματον:** the compound in Plato *Phaedr.* 253E.

**οὐδὲ θανόντα...δέχεται:** he looks, and is, too fierce; Persephone is particular about her guests. Cf. Lucillius 11.143.1-2 οὐ δέχεται Μάρκον τὸν ῥήτορα νεκρὸν ὁ Πλούτων, | εἰπὼν "ἀρκείτω Κέρβερος ὧδε κύων".

CLXI

c. 100 B.C.

These epigrams come from a papyrus-text of an anthology, first published by E. G. Turner in *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 4 (1950) 235-8; cf. Barigazzi *Herm.* 80 (1952) 495-6. The papyrus, found at Hawara by Flinders Petrie, is dated c. 100 B.C.

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The first epigram, not of the best quality, is an epitaph for a dog. The second 'probably occasioned by the death of a mother in childbirth' (Turner), is too fragmentary to be worth further attention.

	ἄλλο ἐπίγραμμα	1783 <sup>a</sup>
	]ῆρα μέροψ κακὸς ὤλεσε δύσφρ[ω]ν	
	]χρησάμενος μελέως	1785
5	σκυ]λάκευμα φύλαξ οἴκ[ο]υ θρασύφων[ο]ς	
	]ν ἐνεγκάμ[ε]νος	
	εἰς Ἄρτεμιν	1787 <sup>a</sup>
	] .ωνυμ . . . ατο γαστήρ	
	]ης .ἄ[ν]υσιν	
	]μενε <sup>1</sup> .να .υρσης	1790
10	ἀμφ]αδὸν ἠνθίσαμεν	
	ἔ]σχατος ὅστέα τλήμων	
	] . . [ . ]σεν	
	] .μα θνητὰ ταλαίνης	
	]σε . . σουσ[ . ] . .	1795

omnia suppl. Turner 7 κυμ[αίν]ατο vel [κύσ]ατο Turner 9 1 sscr.;  
ante υρσης, κ, β, π possib

The general sense of 2-5 may have been somewhat as follows:

ἔσθλὸν θηρητ]ῆρα μέροψ κακὸς ὤλεσε δύσφων  
τόξοισιν μελέοις] χρησάμενος μελέως.  
ἐνθάδε δὲ σκυ]λάκευμα, φύλαξ οἴκου θρασύφωνος,  
κεῖται, τόνδ' ἔργων μισθὸ]ν ἐνεγκάμενος.

(θηρητῆρα, τόξοισιν, μισθὸν Turner).

2 [1784] μέροψ was not a well-chosen word, and κακὸς . . . δύσφων is clumsy; 'below the high standards of the Hellenistic literary epigram', as Turner says.

4 [1786] σκυλάκευμα: the word elsewhere only in Tymnes 7.433.7 = *HE* 3626 and *A.P.* 3.7.1, in both places of humans, contemptuous in Tymnes but not in *A.P.* Here literal, 'pup', as φύλαξ οἴκου shows.

θρασύφωνος: elsewhere only in Pollux.

## CLXII

87 B.C.

Epitaph for those who fell at Delos fighting on the Roman side in 88/87 B.C.

'Orobios' is identified with Lucius Orbius, one of the most distinguished Romans resident in Delos at the time of the Mithridatic War, named in numerous inscriptions, and honoured with a monument by the sculptor Agasias.

In 88 B.C. Athenion brought about a revolution at Athens against its pro-Roman government, in favour of Mithridates, and attacked Delos with a force commanded by Apellicon (whom Posidonius describes as

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ποικιλώτατόν τινα καὶ ἀψίκoron ζήσαντα βίον; he was the man who purchased Aristotle's library). Appellicon was at first successful, but was soon defeated and expelled by a force of Romans and Delians mustered and led by Orbius. The story is told in a very long extract from Posidonius quoted by Athenaeus, ending as given here.

There is an extensive modern literature on these events; see Münzer *RE* 18.1.879, Jacoby *FGH* 87 F 36, and the note on Peek 35.

Athen. 5.215A s.a.n. ὁ Ὀρόβιος στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων [καὶ φυλάσσων τὴν Δῆλον] φυλάξας ἀσέλγηνον νύκτα καὶ ἐκβιβάσας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας κοιμωμένοις καὶ μεθύουσιν ἐπιπεσὼν κατέκοψε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν συστρατευομένους ὡς βοσκήματα, ἑξακοσίους τὸν ἀριθμόν, ἐζώγρησε δὲ καὶ περὶ τετρακοσίους. καὶ ὁ καλὸς στρατηγὸς Ἀπελλικῶν ἔλαθε φυγῶν ἐκ Δήλου, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ συμφυγόντας κατιδὼν ὁ Ὀρόβιος εἰς ἐπαύλεις συγκατέφλεξεν αὐταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ πάντα αὐτῶν τὰ πολιορκητικὰ ὄργανα σὺν τῇ ἐλεπόλει, ἣν εἰς Δῆλον ἔλθων κατεσκευάκει. στήσας οὖν τρόπαιον ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων ὁ Ὀρόβιος καὶ βωμὸν ἐπέγραψε·

τούσδε θανόντας ἔχει ξυνὸς τάφος, οἱ περὶ Δῆλον  
μαρνάμενοι ψυχὰς ὤλεσαν ἐν πελάγει,  
τὴν ἱερὰν ὅτε νῆσον Ἀθηναῖοι κεραίζον  
κοινὸν Ἄρη βασιλεῖ Καππαδόκων θέμενοι.

1799

1 ξυνὸς Klaffenbach: ξείνους A

Jacobs\* *adesp.* dcxxx, <sup>b</sup>App. 363; Preger 30; Peek 35.

1 [1796] ξυνός: the dead were Romans and Delians, and so were those who buried them; the latter could not possibly describe the former as ξείνους.

Δῆλον: Δήλου Kaibel, perhaps rightly, but see next note.

2 [1797] ἐν πελάγει: Posidonius says that Appellicon 'left the rear of the island unguarded' and that Orbius 'disembarked' his men before attacking (ἐκβιβάσας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας); evidently Orbius avoided a frontal attack by land, and came in boats against the unprotected rear of Appellicon's force. Most of the casualties may then have been suffered during the disembarkation, more in the water than on land. The stress on 'in the sea' remains nevertheless somewhat strange, and it may be that the reference is not to those who fell in the final victorious onslaught but to those who fell in a sea-battle resisting Appellicon when he first came from Athens; in that case, περὶ Δῆλον is at least as likely as περὶ Δήλου.

## CLXIII

I B.C. p. post

Octavian welcomed to Egypt after the battle of Actium.

This florid epigram, elaborate in vocabulary and phrasing and with abundant personification, was presumably composed by an Alexandrian Greek. It expresses the gratitude of the Egyptians for the peace and prosperity which prevailed after Octavian's victory over Antony and Cleopatra after the battle of Actium in 31 B.C. Octavian entered Alexandria in the following year, but as he is called 'Augustus' the date of the epigram is presumably not earlier

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than 27 B.C.; it is likely to be not much later. The papyrus-text is dated to the first century A.D.

See Weil *Rev. de Phil.* 19 (1895) 180, Rothstein *Die Elegien des S. Propertius* (1898) 2.89, Powell *New Chapters in Greek Literature* 3 (1933) 189, Keydell *Hermes* 69 (1934) 420, Page *Greek Literary Papyri* (1941) no. 113, Alfonsi *Aegyptus* 30 (1950) 72, and especially Clementina Gatti *Parola del Passato* 7 (1952) 149-57; Pack 1762.

Br. Mus. inv. 256 = P. Lit. Lond. 62, ed. Kenyon *Rev. de Phil.* 19 (1895) 177

Ἄκτιον ἀμφιέπων, ἄνα ν]αυμάχε, Καίσαρος ἔργων 1800  
 μνήμα καὶ ἐ[ὕτν]χέων μαρτυρίη καμάτων,  
 Αἰῶνος σ[τό]μασιν βεβοημένε· σοὶ γάρ Ἄρηος  
 π[λή]γματα καὶ σακέων ἐστόρεσεν πάταγον.  
 5 Εἰρήνης μόχθους εὐώπιδος ἔνθα κλαδεύσας  
 γῆν ἐπὶ Νειλῶτιν νίσε(τ)ο γηθαλέος, 1805  
 Εὐνο[μίας] φόρτοισι καὶ Εὐθενίης βαθυπλούτου  
 βρι[θό]μενος βύζην Ζεὺς ἄτ' Ἐλευθέριος·  
 δωροφόροις δὲ χέρεσσιν ἐδέξατο Νείλος ἄνακτα  
 10 καὶ δάμαρ ἡ χρυσεοῖς πῆχεσι λουομένη  
 ἀπτόλεμον καὶ ἄδηριν Ἐλευθερίου Διὸς ὄμβρον, 1810  
 ἀτρεκὲς ἐσβέσθη δ' οὖνομα καὶ πολέμου.  
 χαῖρε, μάκαρ Λευκάτα, Διὸς [Κρον]ίδο Σεβαστοῦ  
 νικαίων ἔργων ἐν πρυτάνευμα καλόν.

1 Καί-, 2, 10, 12 καί, 14 -καί- compendio scripta omnia suppl. Kenyon  
 excerptis 4 πλήγματα Page, 6 νίσετο Weil 6 νιλ-Π 11 ελευθεριον Π 13  
 μεγαλοιο in κρονειδαο corr. Π

**1 [1800] Ἄκτιον ἀμφιέπων:** it matters not at all whether ἀμφιπόλει or ἀμφιέποις (Weil) be supplied instead of ἀμφιέπων; the fact remains that the epigram begins by addressing Apollo of Actium and ends by addressing Apollo of Leucas without any apparent awareness that these are very different cults. For detailed discussion of this matter (including observations on the relation of the epigram to Propertius 4.6) see Gatti *loc. cit.* Gatti's conclusion is that Apollo of Leucas is named at the end because of his importance to the welfare of Octavian's fleet: 'he was considered as special protector of that tract of sea'; and she compares Philip 6.251 = PG vii, where Apollo Leucatas, not Actius, is invoked to give safe passage to Actium. This explanation is not entirely satisfactory, and the reference to Philip is no help, for those who, like Philip, had to pass Cape Leucas on the way to Actium regularly prayed to Apollo Leucatas to give them safe passage past his notoriously dangerous cape.

The cults of Apollo Leucatas (*RE* 2.58, 12.2236 and 2259) and of Apollo Actius (*RE* 1.1215, 2.42) were both of great antiquity and renown; they are very different from each other, and the god primarily responsible for the victory at Actium was plainly not Leucatas but Actius; the battle was fought

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

wholly within the strait overlooked by his temple, and it was Actian Apollo whom Octavian specially honoured after the battle.

Not that Leucatas had no part at all to play. The fleet of Octavian lay between the open sea and the strait, in waters for which Leucatas might be held responsible; and the victory was won on the first calm day after a four-day storm (*RE* 10.330); moreover Agrippa's capture of the island of Leucas, and of Antony's ships stationed there, was of great advantage to Octavian at a critical time before the battle (*RE* 10.328). Nevertheless the contribution of Leucatas to the victory was relatively small, and it is surprising that Propertius, who in one place gives the expected prominence to Apollo Actius (4.6.67 *Actius hinc traxit Phoebus monumenta, quod eius | una decem vicit missa sagitta ratis*) should in another place give the credit to Apollo Leucatas (3.11.69 *Leucadius versas acies memorabit Apollo*); it is still more surprising to hear an author speak as though Actius and Leucatas were one and the same. In this epigram the poet gives his reader the impression that he is unaware of any distinction between them.

**2 [1801] μνήμα...μαρτυρή:** for this description of Apollo as 'memorial' and 'witness' of the victory, editors compare the passage of Propertius cited above, *Leucadius versas acies memorabit Apollo*; Weil's μαρτυρήν frustrates the author's ambition.

**3-4 [1802-3] Αἰῶνος...βεβηομένε:** what in some periods is praised as imaginative, in others is condemned as bombast.

**στόμασιν:** on the plural for singular, see the notes on Simias 7.203.2 = *HE* 3269, Meleager 7.195.8 = *HE* 4065.

**σοὶ...ἐστόρεσεν:** the pronoun refers to Apollo, and the only possible subject for the verb is Καῖσαρ, to be supplied from Καίσαρος.

**π[λή]γματα:** πνεύματa Kenyon, but though πνέων Ἄρης with an object such as κότον or μένος would be a normal phrase, πνεύματa Ἄρεος without qualification is unconvincing. Gatti prints πράγματa, a feeble word.

**5 [1804] Εἰρήνης μόχθους...κλαδεύσας:** most of the editors have thought μόχθους corrupt, but there is no plausible emendation (πτόρθους Weil), and this author might see nothing amiss in the phrase 'having cut short (lit. 'pruned') the troubles of Peace'; so also Gatti 150 n. 1.

**ἐνθα:** at Actium.

**6 [1805] νίσετο:** sc. Καῖσαρ. The change, though not accepted by all the editors, is absolutely indispensable. The second person could only refer to Apollo; but it was Octavian, not Actian Apollo, who went to Egypt.

**8 [1807] Ζεὺς ἄτ' Ἐλευθέριος:** not, as I once rendered it, 'like Zeus the god of Freedom', but 'inasmuch as he is our Zegs Eleutherios'. Augustus was worshipped by this title in various places; see Gatti 156 and Powell 190.

**9 [1808]** The blessings of the Nile's flood were commonly ascribed to the king; Keydell 420, Kaibel *Ep.* 981.

**10 [1809] δάμαρ:** the 'wife' of the Nile is Egypt.

**χρυσέοις πήχεσι:** I formerly explained the 'arms' as the embrace of the Nile's floods, 'golden' because of the cornfields and other bright harvests created by them; I now agree with those who refer the arms to the Delta-branches, and doubt if 'golden' is anything but bombast.



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**11 [1810] ἀπτόλεμον καὶ ἄδηριν:** freedom from war is here stressed as the great achievement of Octavian in his guise of 'Zeus Eleutherios' (*cf.* 5 and 12); Gatti 155f.

**ἄμβρον:** the safe way is to take this as governed by ἐδέξατο, but it does not read easily so, and the author probably intended ἄμβρον as an internal accusative, λουομένη ἄμβρον equivalent to λουομένη ὀμβρίαν λούσιν.

**12 [1811] καί:** the position of the word is extraordinary, but there is no doubt that the author meant 'the very name of war is extinguished'.

**13 [1812] Διὸς Κρονίδαο:** on the cult of Augustus as 'Zeus', see Gatti 156 with literature n. 5, Crinagoras 9.562.6 = *PG* 1908 n.

**Σεβαστοῦ:** Octavian became 'Augustus' on 16 Jan. 27 B.C.; *cf.* Crinagoras 9.419.3 = *PG* 1937.

**14 [1813]** The phrasing is even more ambitious than hitherto. νίκαιος is a very rare adjective, mostly an epithet for gods. πρυτάνευμα (here only) is rendered by LSJ '*principate*, i.e. *prince*', but this is obviously wrong. ἐν πρυτάνευμα = εἰς πρύτανις, and the meaning is 'one and only noble president at the victory'; so also Gatti 152.

### CLXIV

I B.C. fin.

On a Spartan soldier.

Towards the end of the first century B.C. two copies of this epigram were written on ostraca (= *Bodl. Gr. Inscr.* 930 and 1205) by different hands. They were first published by B. P. Grenfell in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 5 (1918) 16–17, and described there as 'a rather neat Alexandrian epigram, supposed to be spoken by a lame Spartan soldier, and perhaps suggested by the character of Agesilaus'. *Cf.* *Plut. Ages.* 2: the subject is not, as stated by Powell *New Chapters in Greek Literature* 1.108, and Pack<sup>2</sup> no. 1759–1760, Agesilaus himself; nobody would have spoken of the famous king and commander in such terms as these, Σπάρτα κάμ' ἐδέδεκτο βοηθόον and οὐδ' ἀχρεῖον ἐφόλκιον ἴξομαι.

Grenfell continues: 'The spelling, which is unusually atrocious, indicates a schoolboy's writing-exercise. Probably the epigram was familiar, and suitable for educational purposes on account of its patriotic moral.'

*Bodl. Gr. Inscr.* 930 + 1205

τοῦθ' ὁ Λακῶν ποτ' ἔλεξεν, ὁ μὴ ποσὶν ἄρτια βαίνων,  
εἰς τὸν ὑπὲρ πάτρας στελλόμενος πόλεμον · 1815  
"Σπάρτα κάμ' ἐδέδεκτο βοηθόον, ἀνίκα καυλῶι  
ὠπλίσμην, καίπερ γυῖα βαρυνόμενον.  
5 ἴξομαι, οὐδ' ἀχρεῖον ἐφόλκιον ἴξομαι. αἰχμάν  
οὐ φεύγειν ὁ Λακῶν ἀλλὰ μένειν ἔμαθον."

The epigram was reconstructed by Grenfell and Lobel from the text offered by 930:

τουθαλακωνποτελεξεοναμηποσιν  
αρτιαωαινων:ιστουπερπατραστε  
λλομενονπολυβυνσπαρταγαμ  
ετεμεκτονβωοθωωνανικαγ

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αγλωσπιμενκαιπεργυαβαρυν  
ομενον: σπαρταγαμετετεκτον  
βοωιωνθρασοςανικαωωπλιμε  
νκαιπεργυαβαρυνομενον: εξαμεν  
ιδαχρηνονεφολγαονιξαμεαχαμα  
ν: ευφευγιναλαγωναλλωμενει  
ειμακον  
ηρουκα . πανευ

combined with 1205:

σ]παρτησ  
]ελαξοναμη  
]αρτιαμωνειστ  
]αστελλομενον  
]ταγαμετοξεξα  
]κακαλω

**1 [1814] μή:** on μή for οὐ in Hellenistic epigrams see the note on Antipater of Sidon *P. Oxy.* 662.4 = *HE* 493.

**3 [1816] καυλῶι:** *spear-shaft* in Homer, elsewhere in this sense a rare word. The author probably wrote βοαθῶον and ὠπλίσμαν.

**5 [1818] ἐφὸλκιον:** *appendage*, as in Leonidas of Tarentum 7.67.5 = *HE* 2335.

CLXV

Probably I B.C./I A.D.

On Cleobis and Biton.

This famous story is part of Solon's reply to Croesus' question, 'Who is the happiest man you ever heard of?' The happiest, replied Solon, was Telles of Athens, who lived a good life and died nobly. Next happiest, Cleobis and Biton. It was necessary to carry their mother by ox-cart to a festival in the temple of Hera at Argos, five miles away; and, as the oxen could not be brought in time, Cleobis and Biton pulled the ox-cart. The congregation admired their strength and filial piety, and their mother prayed the goddess to grant them her best gift. That night Cleobis and Biton slept in the temple; and in the morning they were dead. The Argives erected statues of them at Delphi. Thus Herodotus, 1.31; the mother, an unnamed woman living in the country with her family, 'must at all costs be taken to the festival', so later writers transform her into a priestess of Hera (Cic. *Tusc.* 1.113; [Plut.] *consol. Apoll.* 14; Lucian *Charon* 10; preface to *A.P.* 3.18), and some of them find a name for her, 'Cydippe' (Plutarch, introducing the present epigram; *A.P.* 3.18). For further references see Frazer *Paus.* 3.193 and Toepffer *RE* 3.544.

The story is presumably more or less true; it is improbable that a Greek city in the early sixth century B.C. should dedicate at Delphi statues of fictitious persons.

It is remarkable that no author in the *Anthology* (not counting *A.P.* 3) tells or even alludes to this story. About the date of the present epigram, whose pedestrian style sets it apart from the main stream of Hellenistic and early Imperial writers, no more can be said than that it is earlier, most probably not much earlier, than Plutarch. It is the work of an untalented writer versifying

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the story as told by Herodotus (the mother is not named and not a priestess; 4-5 follow the model closely, χαρεῖσα...εὐξάτο = περιχαρῆς εὐχέτο, τυχεῖν τοῦ ἀρίστου δαίμονος αἴσης = δοῦναι τὸ ἀνθρώπῳ τυχεῖν ἀριστόν ἐστι).

Plut. ὅτι καὶ γυναῖκα παιδευτέον, ap. Stob. ecl. 4.52.43 (5.1085 W.-H.) s.a.n. Κλέοβις καὶ Βίτων, Κυδίππης τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν εὐξαμένης τῇ: Ἦραι δοῦναι τοῖς παισιν ὅπερ ἂν εἴη κάλλιστον, ὅτι ἑαυτοὺς ὑποζεύξαντες τὴν μητέρα εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνήγαγον, τὸν βίον παραχρῆμα κατέστρεψαν· εἰς οὓς καὶ τοιόνδε τις ἐπίγραμμα πεποίηκεν·

οἶδε Βίτων Κλέοβις τ' ἐπὶ σώμασιν οἰκείοισιν 1820  
 ζευγλαν ζευζάμενοι μητέρα ἦν ἀγέτην  
 Ἦρας εἰς ἱερὸν. λαοὶ δέ μιν ἐζήλωσαν  
 εὐτεκνίας παίδων. ἡ δὲ χαρεῖσα θεᾶι  
 5 εὐξάτο παῖδε τυχεῖν τοῦ ἀρίστου δαίμονος αἴσης,  
 οὔνεκ' ἐτίμησαν μητέρα τὴν σφετέρην. 1825  
 αὐτοῦ δ' εὐνηθέντε λίπον βίον ἐν νεότητι,  
 ὥς τόδ' ἄριστον ἐὼν καὶ μακαριστότατον.

4 εὐτεκνίαι A 6 οὔνεκα τίμ- A 8 ἐὼν A

Jacobs\* *adesp.* cccvii (b), <sup>b</sup>App. 264.

2 [1821] ἦν: for the use as a third person plural possessive, see Schwyzer *Griech. Gramm.* 2. 204, 7, citing Hesiod *op.* 58, *Theog.* 71; Pind. *Pyth.* 2. 91; and possibly Hom. *Il.* 11.76.

5 [1824] τοῦ ἀρίστου: on the metre, see Dionysius 157 n.

## CLXVI

Date unknown (V B.C.?)

Dedication of spoils of war at Olympia.

Nothing else is known about either of the places named, Mende and Sipte (or Sippe). As the statue commemorated success in battle, Pausanias must be mistaken in saying that the objects in its hands were *halteres*, hand-weights used by long-jumpers; the fact that he calls them 'of ancient type' indicates that they were not quite like what he knew as *halteres*. What they really were, we can only guess; possibly the broken-off handles of weapons (Hitzig and Blümner *Paus.* 2.1.449).

Paus. 5.27.12 s.a.n. τῶν δὲ ἐν Θράικῃ Μενδαίων τὸ ἀνάθημα ἐγγύτατα ἀφίκετο ἀπατήσαι με ὥς ἀνδρὸς εἰκὼν εἴη πεντάθλου. καὶ κεῖται μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ἥλειον Ἀναυχίδαν, ἔχει δὲ ἀλτῆρας ἀρχαίους, ἐλεγείον δὲ ἐπ' αὐτο(ῦ) γεγραμμένον ἐστὶν τοῦ μηροῦ·

Ζηνὶ θεῶν βασιλεῖ μ' ἀκροθίνιον ἐνθάδ' ἔθηκαν

Μενδαῖοι Σίπτην χερσὶ βηισάμενοι.

1829

τὸ μὲν δὴ Θράικίον τι εἶναι τεῖχος ἢ πόλις ἔοικεν ἢ Σίπτη, Μενδαίοις δὲ αὐτοῖς γένος τε Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας ἐστίν, οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω τῆς πρὸς Αἰνῶι πόλει.

2 Σίπτην hic et infra Van, Lb, M, Pcd, Ag βηισάμενοι Page: βιασ- codd.

Jacobs\* *adesp.* cxxxix, <sup>b</sup>App. 186; Preger 56.

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

**2 [1829] Μενδαίοι:** Mende in the Chalcidic peninsula is well known, but there is no other mention of a place so called inland from the maritime town of Ainos in Thrace. Many scholars have thought that this Mende was the home of the sculptor Paionios, on slight evidence (*RE* 15.779, Frazer *Paus.* 3.646).

**Σίππην:** Σίππην may be correct; there is no other evidence.

**βηισάμενοι:** or possibly βιασσάμενοι (Brunck); if they were, as Pausanias says, Ionians, βιασσάμενοι is unlikely to be right.

CLXVII

Date unknown; ? V B.C.;  
not later than II B.C.

On the tomb of Sibylla.

The earliest extant reference to Sibylla is Heraclitus *Vorsokr.* B 92, Σίβυλλα δὲ μαινομένῳ στόματι ἀγέλαστα καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστα καὶ ἀμύριστα φθεγγομένη χιλίων ἐτῶν ξικνεῖται τῇ φωνῇ διὰ τὸν θεόν. Here, as throughout the archaic and classical periods, 'Sibylla' is a proper-name, not a title; the point is explicit in Plato *Theag.* 124D, where Socrates asks what secondary name (ἐπωνυμία) is applied to three individuals – Bakis, Sibylla, and Amphilytos – and the answer is 'soothsayers'. In Plato *Phaedr.* 244B also, Σίβυλλάν τε καὶ ἄλλους, and Ar. *Pax* 1095, οὐ γὰρ ταῦτ' εἶπε Σίβυλλα (cf. 1116), 'Sibylla' is a proper-name.<sup>1</sup>

Sibylla was specially associated with Erythrae, though she may have begun life at Marpeessos in the Troad (*Myth. Lex.* 4.797f.). The name in Pausanias, 'Herophila', must come from a later period when it was necessary to distinguish her from other females of the type called 'Sibyls'.

Pausanias himself always, except in this passage, speaks as if 'Sibylla' was not a title but the proper-name of an individual; it is therefore generally supposed that he is here following a particular source, for which the ultimate authority may have been Demetrius of Scepsis. If so, the epigram is not later than the latter part of the second century B.C.; but as it calls the lady 'Sibylla', not 'Herophila', it may be much earlier, from the period before the use of 'Sibylla' as a title.

Paus. 10.12.1–6 s.a.n. πέτρα δὲ ἐστὶν ἀνίσχουσα ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς· ἐπὶ ταύτῃ Δελφοὶ στᾶσάν φασιν εἶσαι τοὺς χρησμοὺς (γυναῖκα) ὄνομα Ἡροφίλην, Σίβυλλαν δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν ( ) τὴν πρότερον γενομένην. . . αὕτη ἡ Σίβυλλα ὠίκησε μὲν τὸ πολὺ τοῦ βίου ἐν Σάμῳ, ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ ἐς Κλάρων τὴν Κολοφωνίων καὶ ἐς Δῆλον τε καὶ Δελφούς· ὁπότε δὲ ἀφίκοιτο, ἐπὶ ταύτης ἱσταμένη τῆς πέτρας ᾗδε. τὸ μέντοι χρεὼν αὐτὴν ἐπέλαβεν ἐν τῇ Τρωιάδι, καὶ οἱ τὸ μνημα ἐν τῷ ἄλσει τοῦ Σμινθέως ἐστὶ, καὶ ἔλεγειον ἐπὶ τῆς στήλης·

ἄδ' ἐγὼ ἅ Φοίβοιο σαφηγορίς εἶμι Σίβυλλα 1830

τῷδ' ὑπὸ λαϊνέῳ σάματι πυθομένα,

παρθένος αὐδάεσσα τὸ πρίν, νῦν δ' αἰὲν ἄνανδος,

μοιρᾷ ὑπὸ στιβαρᾷ τάνδε λαχοῖσα πέδαν.

5 ἄλλὰ πέλας Νύμφαισι καὶ Ἑρμᾷ τάνδ' ὑπόκειμαι

μοῖραν ἔχοισ' Ἐκάτω τᾶς τότε ἀνακτορίας. 1835

<sup>1</sup> Sufficient bibliography in Frazer *Paus.* 5.288, Hitzig and Blümner *Paus.* 3.2.702, Sittig *RE* 8.1103, Buchholz *Myth. Lex.* 4.790.

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ὁ μὲν δὴ παρὰ τὸ μνημα ἔστηκεν Ἑρμῆς λίθου τετράγωνον σχῆμα, ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς δὲ ὕδωρ τι κατερχόμενον ἐς κρήνην καὶ τῶν Νυμφῶν ἔστι τὰ ἀγάλματα.

4 στιβαράϊ τάνδε...πέδαν Dindorf: -ρῆι τήνδε...πέδην codd. λαχοῖσα Page: -οὔσα codd. 5 Ἑρμᾶι τάνδ' Page: -μῆι τῶιδ' codd. 6 ἔχοισ' codd. La, Ag: -οὔσ' rell. Ἐκάτω codd. La, Pa, Fa: Ἐκαταίω rell. τᾶς... ἀνακτορίας Dindorf: τῆς... -της codd.

Jacobs\* *adesp.* cdlxxix, <sup>b</sup>App. 101; Preger 32; Peek 798; Hecker 1852.85.

**1 [1830] σαφηγορίς:** here only, 'a peculiar form of \*σαφήγορος', LSJ; it is parallel to συμμαχίς and αἰχμαλωτίς (K.-B. 2.282).

**Σιβυλλα:** plainly a proper-name here; see Pref.

**2 [1831] πυθομένα** others may say that a corpse rots; it is most eccentric for the corpse to say this of itself. Meineke conjectured *κευθομένα*.

**4 [1833] στιβαράϊ:** μοῖρα στιβαρά = Homeric μοῖρα κραταιή.

**πέδαν:** there is no suitable, or intelligible, metaphorical use of this word; the *stèle* presumably showed a figure of Sibylla, and τάνδε...πέδαν must mean 'in chains, as you see'. We have no idea why she was portrayed thus.

**5-6 [1834-5] πέλας Νύμφαισι καὶ Ἑρμᾶι:** the words tell us something about the place where she is buried, and this theme is continued in μοῖραν κτλ.: being buried in the precinct of Apollo Smintheus is 'having this share of Apollo's former mastery', 'former' referring to his mastery of her while she lived. τάνδ' for τῶιδ' is not absolutely necessary, but it improves the phrase, and τῶιδε is not wanted with Ἑρμᾶι.

For the coincidence of word-end and fourth spondee, see Dionysius 157 n.

**ἀνακτορίας:** the noun normally = *sovereignty*, of lord or king: Call. *fr.* 184, Ap. Rhod. 1.839, Parthenius *fr.* 14.1, Opp. *Hal.* 2.684, and so the adjective in Hom. *Od.* 15.397 and Call. *fr.* 176.11 (see Pfeiffer *Addenda* 1.503). In its earliest appearance it means, more generally, *authority*, *h. Apoll.* 234, of a charioteer over his horses, and that is the use here in the modern vulgate, which is Hecker's μοῖραν ἔχουσα κάτω κτλ., 'having in Hades the lot belonging to my former authority, *i.e.* possessing even in death the power of prophecy'. This cannot be right, for (a) it would flatly contradict νῦν δ' αἰὲν ἀναυδος, and (b) the corruption of -σα κάτω to σ' Ἐκαταίω or σ' Ἐκάτω is most unlikely.

**ἔχοισ':** Aeolic dialect is to be expected in the south-western Troad, where Sibylla was buried; and Aeolic participles and genitives (Ἐκάτω) are seldom created by chance or conjecture. It is therefore prudent to accept the form ἔχοισα here and to alter λαχοῦσα (4) in conformity.

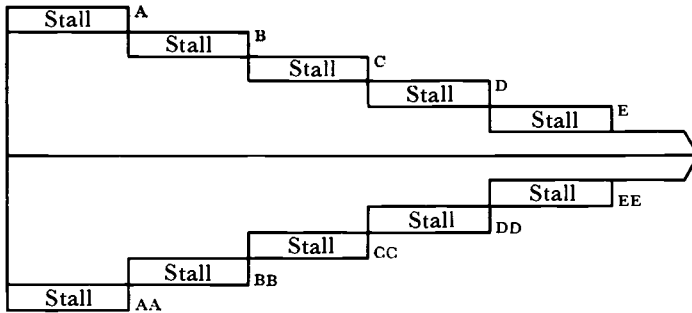
## CLXVIII

Date unknown; probably  
V/IV B.C.

On the starting-mechanism for horse-races at Olympia.

'Hippaphesis', the starting-procedure for horse-racing at Olympia, has been much discussed; a good introduction to the subject is given by Hitzig and Blümner *Paus.* 2.2.645, with diagrams reproduced from Visconti, Hirt, Lehdorff-Koner, Pollack, and Wernicke; *cf.* Frazer *Paus.* 4.82; *RE* 1.2715, 8.1737, and 11.675. Some of the details are obscure but the outline is clear enough. Stalls were set in echelon-formation along the sides of an isosceles triangle whose apex pointed into the stadium, diagrammatically thus:

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS



A, B, C, AA, BB, CC, etc.: exits (barred by ropes) from stalls

A cross-rope barred exit from the stall. When the starting-signal was given, the rope was removed ('slackened', says Pausanias) from the stall on each side nearest the base of the triangle, and the horses ran out; as soon as they were in a certain position relative to<sup>1</sup> the next stalls ahead, B and BB, the ropes were removed from those stalls, and so forth all the way along each side of the triangle until all the ropes were down and the horses released. Theoretically all the horses should be level abreast the apex of the triangle, the chances of none being affected by the position of the stall occupied (which was decided by lot). In practice it is hard to see how fairness could be attained except by unimaginably precise timing in the removal of the ropes.

Pausanias elsewhere (5.24.5) refers to a sculptor 'Aristocles the son of Cleoitias' and (1.24.3) a statue at Athens of 'a man wearing a helmet, a work of Cleoitias, who has inwrought the man's nails of silver', giving this as an example of what you might like if you prefer refinement of art to mere antiquity. This is presumably the statue which bore the epigram quoted here (said by Pausanias to be at Athens); and as Cleoitias in the epigram is the son of Aristocles, he is presumably the same person as the father of a son of that name in 5.24.7. His date is uncertain. Pausanias in 1.24.3 suggests that Cleoitias was not of very high antiquity; Lippold (*RE* 11.676) thinks the fifth century probable. A much later date, sometime after 270–260 B.C., has been based on *Inscr. von Pergamon* no. 10, celebrating an Olympic victory by Attalus the father of King Attalus I, (ἄρματα) ἀθρόα δ' ὕσπληξ | πάντα διὰ στρεπτοῦ τεῖνατ' ἔχουσα κάλω; this suggests a single 'tape' for horses lined up; if so, it is a very simple device, and some think it natural to suppose that the elaborate arrangements described by Pausanias are later. But this may be wrong in principle; it may also be, as Frazer said (similarly Reisch *RE* 1.2717), 'to press the poetical language of the inscription too hard'.

Paus. 6.20.10 s.a.n. παρέχεται μὲν οὖν σχῆμα ἡ ἀφεσις κατὰ πρῶϊραν νεώς, τέτραπται δὲ αὐτῆς τὸ ἔμβολον ἐς τὸν δρόμον. καθότι δὲ τῇ 'Αγνάπτου στοδί προσεχῆς ἐστὶν ἡ πρῶϊρα, κατὰ τοῦτο εὐρεῖα γίνεται. δελφίς δὲ ἐπὶ κανόνος κατὰ ἄκρον μάλιστα τὸ ἔμβολον πεποιήται χαλκοῦς. ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ πλεῦρα τῆς ἀφέσεως πλέον ἢ τετρακοσίους πόδας παρέχεται τοῦ μήκους, ὠικοδόμηται δὲ ἐν

<sup>1</sup> Not on a level with their exits; for, if so, the horses already in motion would have an unfair advantage over those just starting.

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αὐτοῖς οἰκήματα. ταῦτα κλήρωι τὰ οἰκήματα διαλαγχάνουσιν οἱ ἐσιόντες ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν ἵππων. πρὸ δὲ τῶν ἀρμάτων, ἥ καὶ ἵππων τῶν κελήτων, διήκει πρὸ αὐτῶν καλωίδιον ἀντὶ ὑσπληγος. βωμός δὲ ὠμῆς πλίνθου, τὰ ἐκτὸς κεκονιαμένος, ἐπὶ ἐκάστης Ὀλυμπιάδος ποιεῖται κατὰ τὴν πρῶϊραν μάλιστα που μέσσην. ἀετός δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ χαλκοῦς κείται, τὰ πτερά ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἐκτείνων. ἀνακινεῖ μὲν δὴ τὸ ἐν τῷ βωμῷ μηχανήμα ὁ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῷ δρόμῳ, ἀνακινήθεις δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὸ ἄνω πεποιήται πηδᾶν ὁ ἀετός, ὡς τοῖς ἤκουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν γίνεσθαι σύνοπτος, ὁ δελφὶς δὲ ἐς ἔδαφος πίπτει. πρῶται μὲν δὴ ἐκατέρωθεν αἱ πρὸς τῇ στοᾷ τῇ Ἀγνάπτου χαλῶσιν ὑσπληγες, καὶ οἱ κατὰ ταύτας ἐστηκότες ἐκθέουσιν ἵπποι πρῶτοι· θέοντές τε δὴ γίνονται κατὰ τοὺς εἰληχότας ἐστάναι τὴν δευτέραν τάξιν, καὶ τηνικαῦτα χαλῶσιν αἱ ὑσπληγες αἱ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τάξει. διὰ πάντων τε κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον συμβαίνει τῶν ἵππων, ἔστ' ἂν ἐξισωθῶσιν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ τῆς πρώϊρας τὸ ἐμβολον. τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἤδη καθέστηκεν ἐπίδειξις ἐπιστημῆς τε ἡνιόχων καὶ ἵππων ὠκύτητος. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Κλειότας ἐστὶν ἄφεσιν μηχανησάμενος, καὶ φρονήσας γε ἐπὶ τῷ εὐρήματι, ὡς καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ ἀνδριάντῃ τῷ Ἀθήνησιν ἐπιγράψαι·

ὃς τὴν ἱππάφεισιν < > Ὀλυμπίαι εὐρατο πρῶτος  
τευξέ με Κλειότας υἱὸς Ἀριστοκλέους.

1837

Κλειότα δὲ φασιν ὕστερον Ἀριστείδην σοφίαν τινὰ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ μηχανήμα ἐσενέγκασθαι.

1 Ὀλυμπίαι M, Va, Pcd, Lab, Ag, Vn: γε Ὀλυμπίαι Vb, Pa, σευ Ὀλυμπία Aldina 2 Κλειότας Pa, La: Κλειότας rell.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* ccviii, <sup>b</sup>App. 274; Preger 178.

1 [1836] A word has dropped out, most likely <ποτ'> Ὀλυμπίαι; γε was a deplorable conjecture, <σευ> Ὀλυμπία quite clever. The modern vulgate is ἐν Ὀλυμπία (Corais), but the *brevis in longo* at the caesura, an extremely rare phenomenon in epigrams, makes this very improbable.

εὐρατο: on the form, see HE 2.104, 157.

2 [1837] Κλειότας: his name was presumably Κλειότας (*cf.* Κ[λειό]του, a highly probable supplement in Peek 1223, from the sixth century; also Κλ[ειό]τα in IG 4.1580 = Jeffery *LSAG* p. 112, no. 4, Plate 16.4, 'c. 550?'); the lengthening of the first syllable is artificial.

## CLXIX

Not later than IV B.C.

The maxim of Sodamus.

The oldest authority for the attribution of this maxim to Sodamus is the philosopher Straton (early third century B.C.). Sodamus, son of Eperatus, of Tegea, is not known in any other connection; his maxim is the same as that adopted by Chilon (Diog. Laert. 1.41).

There is no particular reason to doubt that the verses were inscribed at Tegea; they may be much older than the time of Straton.

Straton ap. Clem. Alex. strom. 1.61.1 πάλιν αὖ Χίλωνι τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἀναφέρουσι τὸ “μηδὲν ἄγαν”. Στράτων δ' ἐν τῷ Περί εὐρημάτων (*fr.* 147 Wehrli) Σωδάμῳ [Στρατοδῆμῳ Clem.] τῷ Τεγεάτῃ προσάπτει τὸ ἀπόφθεγμα.

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schol. E. Hipp. 264 τὸ “μηδὲν ἄγαν” οἱ μὲν Χίλωνι τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἀνα-  
τιθέασιν, ὡς Κριτίας, οἱ δὲ Σωδάμῳ, ὡς τὸ ἐν Τεγέαι ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ.

ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν Σώδαμος Ἐπηράτου, ὃς μ' ἀνέθηκεν.  
“μηδὲν ἄγαν· καιρῷ πάντα πρόσεστι καλά.” 1839

schol. Pind. Pyth. 2.63 ὁμοιον δὲ τοῦτο τῷ ὑπὸ Χίλωνος ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐγγρα-  
φέντι [γνώθι σεαυτὸν], ὃ τινὲς φασὶ Σωδάμου εἶναι.

Not in Jacobs; Hecker 1852.28; Preger 65; 3 p. 127 Diehl; cf. Critias fr. 7 West.

1 [1838] ταῦτα λέγει conj. Hecker.

μ': presumably a tablet with these lines inscribed.

CLXX      Date unknown (? V/IV B.C.)

Dedication to Zeus at Olympia by the men of Clitor in return for success in warfare.

About the background, no more is known to us than to Pausanias and his Elean guides; there is no other mention of the artists Ariston and Telestas.

The corruptions in the second couplet are incurable.

Paus. 5.23.7 s.a.n. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Ὑβλαίων ἀναθήματος βόθρον τε πεποιήται  
χαλκοῦν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Ζεὺς· τοῦτον ὀκτῶ μάλιστα εἶναι ποδῶν καὶ δέκα  
εἰκάζομεν. οἵτινες δὲ αὐτὸν ἔδοσαν τῷ θεῷ καὶ ὠντινῶν ἐστιν ἔργον ἐλεγείῳ  
ἐγγεγραμμένον σημαίνει.

Κλειτόριοι τόδ' ἄγαλμα θεῷ δεκάταν ἀνέθηκαν 1840  
πολλὰν ἐκ πολίων χερσὶ βιασάμενοι.  
†καὶ μετρεῖτ'      †Ἀρίστων ἡδὲ Τελέστας  
αὐτοκασίγνητοι καλά Λάκωνες ἔθεν.

τούτους οὐκ ἔς ἅπαν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐπιφανεῖς νομίζω γενέσθαι· εἶχον γὰρ ἂν τι  
καὶ Ἥλαιοι περὶ αὐτῶν λέγειν καὶ πλεονα ἐτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολιτῶν γε ὄντων.

1 δεκάταν Sylburg: -την codd.      2 βιασάμενοι Pacd, Ag, M, Vab, Lb:  
βιασσά- Aldina      4 καλά Λάκωνες ἔθεν codd. pars plurima (in non nullis  
leviter corruptum): καλά Λάκωνες ἔσαν La; post αὐτοκασίγνητοι, ἀλλὰ  
Λάκωνες μὲν τούτους κτλ. pergit Aldina

Jacobs\* *adesp.* cxxxvi, <sup>b</sup>App. 226; Preger 62.

4 [1843] ἔθεν: see 'Simonides' 731 n.

CLXXI      Date unknown (IV B.C.?)

Dedication by Bacchiadas, dancer and teacher of dancing at the festival of the Heliconian Muses.

There is no other mention of Bacchiadas, of Anakos, or of the source, Amphion of Thespieae; nor is there any clue to the date of the epigram ('ancient', according to Athenaeus; *quarto saeculo non antiquius*, said Kaibel, safely enough).

On the site of the *Mouseion* where the festival was held (reorganised III B.C., *IG* vii 1735), see Frazer *Paus.* 5.150, *RE* 16.821.



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Athen. 14.629A s.a.n. Ἀμφίων δ' ὁ Θεσπιδεύς ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ἑλικῶνι μουσείου ἀγεσθαί φησιν ἐν Ἑλικῶνι παίδων ὀρχήσεις μετὰ σπουδῆς παρατιθέμενος ἀρχαῖον ἐπίγραμμα τόδε·

ἀμφοτέρ', ὥρχεῦμην τε καὶ ἐν Μώσαις ἐδίδασκον  
 ἄνδρας· ὁ δ' αὐλητὰς ἦν Ἄνακος Φιαλεύς. 1845  
 εἰμὶ δὲ Βακχιάδας Σικυώνιος. ἥ ῥα θεοῖσι  
 ταῖς Σικυῶνι καλὸν τοῦτ' ἀπέκειτο γέρας.

3 Βακχιάδας Meineke: δ' βακχίδα (sic) A  
 ταισικυωνι A

4 ταῖς Σικυῶνι Kaibel:

Jacobs\* *adesp.* clxxi, <sup>b</sup>App. 116; Preger 141.

**1 [1844]** ἐν Μώσαις: 'taught them *among the Muses*' is an odd expression, presumably meaning 'in the precinct of the Muses'; so apparently Kaibel, '*intellege* ἐν Μωσέων'.

**2 [1845]** ἄνδρας: as Jacobs says, we were led to expect παῖδας.

Φιαλεύς = Φιγαλεύς, from Phigaleia in Arcadia; *Thesaurus s.v.*, *RE* 19.2066.

**4 [1847]** ταῖς Σικυῶνι: Bacchiadas presumably learnt his profession at Sicyon, his native town; he says that the Muses who taught him there will be proud of the dedication which he makes here to the Muses of Helicon in their precinct. The object dedicated was a statue of himself; εἰμὶ... Βακχιάδας.

ἀπέκειτο: *was laid in store*; he has been saving up to repay the debt owed to them.

CLXXII      Date unknown (IV–II B.C.?)

On a relic of the House of Oenomaus at Olympia.

A time-worn wooden pillar, held together by bands and further protected by a roof resting on four columns, was the sole relic of the House of Oenomaus, legendary king of Pisa.

An unprotected wooden pillar would presumably have needed bands and a roof at a relatively early date; without protection it would<sup>f</sup> be unlikely to survive into the third or second century B.C.; the bronze tablet with the inscription may well be contemporary with the pillared roof.

Paus. 5.20.6 s.a.n. ἦν δὲ καλοῦσιν Οἰνομάου κίονα . . . ἔστι μὲν πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς ἰόντι ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου βωμοῦ, τέσσαρες δὲ εἰσιν ἐν ἀριστεραῖ κίονες καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὄροφος. πεποιοῦνται δὲ ἔρυμα εἶναι ξυλίνῳ κίονι πεπονηκότι ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ δεσμῶν συνεχομένῳ. οὗτος ὁ κίων ἐν οἰκίᾳ τοῦ Οἰνομάου, καθὰ λέγουσιν, εἰσπτήκει, κεραυνώσαντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ἠφάνισεν οἰκίαν τὸ πῦρ, ὑπέλιπετο δὲ τὸν κίονα ἐξ ἀπάσης μόνον. πινάκιον δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ χαλκοῦν ἐλεγεία ἔχει γεγραμμένα·

καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ κλεινῶν εἴμ', ὧ ξένε, λείψανον οἴκων,  
 στυλὶς ἐν Οἰνομάου πρίν ποτ' ἐοῦσα δόμοις.  
 νῦν δὲ παρὰ Κρονίδην κείμει τάδ' ἔχουσα τὰ δεσμά, 1850  
 τίμιος· οὐδ' ὅλοη δαίσατο φλόξ με πυρός.

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1 κλεινῶν Clavier: κείνων codd. ('κείνων Mosquensis, ἐκείνων Vindob. b) 2  
 στυλῖς d'Orville: στῦλος vel στύλος codd. 4 δαίσατο Sylburg: δέξατο codd.  
 Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *adesp.* cxcii, <sup>b</sup>App. 220; Preger 202; Hecker 1852.44.

1 [1848] καὶ γάρ: no epigram in the *Anthology* begins καὶ γάρ; the only parallel is the oracle in Pausanias 10.9.11 beginning καὶ γάρ 'Αθηναίοισιν... It is unlikely, however, that Pausanias has omitted a prior couplet, as Hecker suggested.

κλεινῶν: this seems preferable to the alternatives, which are (a) to retain κείνων, 'that house', as if the reader was assumed to be aware that a fine house once stood here, and (b) to read κίων with Jacobs, thus accounting for ἐνοῦσα which cannot agree with στῦλος. Jacobs understood στῦλος as a predicate, ἡ κίων, ἐνοῦσα πρὶν ποτε στῦλος ἐν δόμοις.

2 [1849] στυλῖς: the diminutive suits the wooden pillar overlooked by the huge columns of the temple of Zeus. στῦλος is not feminine, and the change is absolutely necessary unless Jacobs' complicated device (1 n.) is adopted.

3 [1850] νῦν δέ: the contrast is with πρὶν ποτε; 'I was once a column in the palace of Oenomaus, now I am an isolated pillar held together with bands' (Dörpfeld thought that νῦν δὲ παρὰ Κρονίδην κεῖμαι implied that the palace of Oenomaus originally stood elsewhere and was transferred to the Altis; see *RE* 18.1.70).

CLXXIII

Ostensibly V B.C.;  
 may be I A.D.

Inscription on an 'Heracleotic' cup.<sup>1</sup>

It would be a marvellous thing if a cup with a portrayal of the sack of Troy engraved by Mys after drawings by Parrhasius and inscribed with an elegiac couplet survived six hundred years to be seen by Athenaeus; the couplet itself, though it contains nothing absolutely irreconcilable with so early a date of origin, inspires no confidence (see the notes). It is more probable that what Athenaeus saw was a relatively late forgery, such as Martial suspected, 8.34: *archetypum Myos argentum te dicis habere: | quod sine te factum est, hoc magis archetypum est?* This epigram may therefore fall beyond the limit of the present collection.

If it is a late forgery, it is nevertheless of interest as evidence for the belief that Parrhasius and Mys collaborated. The only other evidence for this comes from Pausanias, who describes (1.28.2; cf. 9.4.1) 'a bronze image of Athena made from the spoils of the Medes who landed at Marathon. It is a work of Pheidias. The battle of the Lapiths with the Centaurs on her shield, and all the other figures in relief, are said to have been wrought by Mys, but designed, like all the other works of Mys, by Parrhasius.' This refers to the celebrated *Athena Promachos*. For an introduction to the problems arising from Pausanias' statement, see Lippold *RE* 16.1185 (on Mys), 18.4.1874 (on Parrhasius), and 19.1924 (on the *Promachos* of Pheidias; Hitzig and Blümner *Paus.* 1.1.300ff.; Frazer *Paus.* 2.352. The *Promachos* is believed to have been made 'after 465 and before 455, at latest 450 B.C.', A. W. Lawrence *Gr. and Rom. Sculpture* 133; *IG* 1<sup>a</sup> 338, Meritt *Hesperia* 5.362). This evidence for the date of Mys, one of the most

<sup>1</sup> Named after Heracles; Athen. 11.500A χρησαμένου . . . πρώτου τοῦ 'Ηρακλέους τῷ γένει, διὸ καὶ 'Ηρακλεωτικοὶ πρὸς τινων καλοῦνται κτλ.

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famous chasers of the century (Pliny *h.n.* 33.155), would be acceptable (there being no other) if only it could be reconciled with that of his collaborator Parrhasius; but such reconciliation implies an abnormally long life for Parrhasius and does not accord well with the rest of the evidence for his date:

(1) He lived 'about the time of the Peloponnesian War', 431–404 B.C. (Quintilian *inst.* 12.10.4, *Zeuxis atque Parrhasius non multum aetate distantes circa peloponnesia ambo tempora*).

(2) He conversed with Socrates, who died in 399 B.C. (Xenophon *mem.* 3.10.1).

(3) His father, who taught him, flourished in 420–417 B.C. (Pliny *h.n.* 35.60).

(4) He was a contemporary and rival of Timanthes (Pliny *h.n.* 35.72; *RE* vi A 1231) and of Zeuxis, who 'passed through the gates of art' in 397 B.C. (Pliny *h.n.* 35.61).

(5) He painted a portrait of Philiscus (*ibid.* 70, *Philiscum et Liberum patrem adstante Virtute*; there is no means of telling whether Dionysus with Virtue was a separate picture or not). If, as all suppose (Körte *RE* 19.2832, Lippold *RE* 18.1876, Jex-Blake and Sellers on Pliny *loc. cit.*), Philiscus is the poet of the Middle Comedy, Parrhasius must have lived well into the fourth century ('um 390', Lippold 1874).

The evidence plainly points to the belief that Parrhasius was active from 430/420 to 390/380 B.C.; and this period can hardly be reconciled with the statement of Pausanias that he collaborated with Mys in the work on the shield of *Athena Promachos*, if that statue is to be dated before 450 B.C. It will be necessary to suppose either (a) that the decoration of the *Promachos*-shield, or the shield itself, was an addition made twenty years or more later (so Brunn, Lange, Overbeck, and Michaelis, quoted by Hitzig and Blümner 1.1.302, and Preger p. 142); or

(b) that Parrhasius was already famous at the age of (say) 25 in 455 B.C., and therefore that his association with Zeuxis and Timanthes relates to a time when he was about 80 years old.

Neither of these suggestions is persuasive, and it is hard to avoid the conclusion that there is some confusion in our records. The most obvious possibility is that Parrhasius and Mys were indeed contemporaries, flourishing from about 430 to about 380 B.C., the attribution to Mys of the work on the *Promachos*-shield being either simply an error (it was what people *said*, according to Pausanias, λέγουσι τορεῦσαι Μῦν) or confusion between Mys and an earlier homonym, presumably his father.

Athen. 11.782b (3 p. 19 Kaibel) s.a.n. ἐνδοξοὶ δὲ τορεῦται 'Αθηνοκλῆς... καὶ Μῦς, οὗ εἶδομεν σκύφον 'Ηρακλειωτικὸν τεχνικῶς ἔχοντα 'Ιλίου ἐντετορευμένην πόρθησιν, ἔχοντα ἐπίγραμμα τόδε·

γραμμα Παρρασίοιο, τέχνα Μυός, εἰμὶ δὲ ἔργον  
'Ιλίου αἰπεινᾶς, ἄν' ἔλον Αἰακίδαι.

1853

1 γραμμ<sup>α</sup> codd. Παρρασίοιο Jacobs: πηρασίοιο codd.

Jacobs<sup>a</sup> *paralipomena* 2.12, <sup>b</sup>App. 141; Preger 185; Hecker 1852.197, 355.

1 [1852] γραμμά: γραμμαί (Bergk, and again Kaibel) is the vulgate, but the change is not certainly needed. The singular in the sense 'drawing', not

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recognised by LSJ, is illustrated by the *Thesaurus* from Plut. *aud. poet.* 2, 16B, ἐν γραφαῖς κινητικώτερόν ἐστι χρώμα γραμμῆς, and Lucian *imag.* 3, εἰ φίλωι ἀνδρὶ ἐπιδείξαις τὴν εἰκόνα, ὅπως ἂν τῆς γραμμῆς ἔχη, where plainly 'drawing', not 'line', is meant. Alternatively the singular here might mean 'outline', opp. σκιά (LSJ), = ἡ ἐκτὸς γραμμή, for which the earliest true parallel seems to be neo-Pythagorean, Metopus *ap. Stob. ecl.* 3.1.116 (3 p. 75 W.-H.) δεῖ οὖν τὸ πάθος παρεμφαίνεσθαι ἐν ταῖ ἀρεταῖ ὥσπερ καὶ τὰν σκιὰν καὶ τὰν γραμμὰν ἐπὶ ταῖς γραφαῖς.

**τέχνα Μυός:** Preger maintained that this epigram is a fiction of the late Republican or early Imperial period, on the grounds (a) that 'the phrase τέχνα τινός in artists' signatures is not found before the Imperial period'; he noted that works attributed to Mys, some of them at least forgeries, were popular in the time of Propertius (3.9.14) and of Martial (8.34, quoted in Pref., 8.50.1, 14.95); and (b) that a *scyphus* would not be large enough for the inscription. The second of these arguments may be ignored; to the first, it is sufficient to reply that τέχνα Μυός here is not an *artificis titulus* but a simple phrase which might have been used by any author at any time, suitable to its context and immediately intelligible.

**ἔργον:** the genitive of apposition in ἔργον Ἰλίου may be of the type illustrated in K.-G. 1.264d, e.g. Homeric ἔρκος ὀδόντων, E. *Suppl.* 714-15 ὀπλισμα κορύνης = ὀπλισμα, κορύνην, E. *Hel.* 205 Κάστορός τε συγγόνου τε διδυμογενὲς ἀγαλμα πατρίδος = Κάστωρ τε σύγγονός τε, διδ. ἀγαλμα πατρίδος. εἰκὼν (Meineke) would be easier, but the corruption would be inexplicable.

**2 [1853] ἔλον Αἰακίδαι:** ἔλεν Αἰακίδας (Hecker) will not do, for the singular number would immediately suggest Achilles; the taker of Troy was his son Neoptolemus, and the plural, combining father and son, is indispensable.

## CLXXIV

Date unknown

Laodice dedicates a robe to Athena Alea in Tegea.

Laodice is mentioned nowhere but in the passages of Pausanias quoted below. There is *prima facie* no reason to doubt that she was a real person who claimed descent from Agenor and sent an offering from Cyprus to Tegea, where she also founded a temple to Paphian Aphrodite. Preger may nevertheless be right in maintaining that the epigram is a relatively late adjunct to the offering: *poeta parum respexit genuinorum titulorum indolem, in quibus genetivus nunquam usurpatur de eis qui dedicant rem*, a rule to which I have noticed no exception earlier than Nicias 6.270 = *HE* iii, beginning Ἀμφαρέτας κρήδεμνα ... κεῖται. Here Λαοδίκη τὸν πέπλον κτλ. would be the conventional beginning. Moreover, the looseness of the construction of ἐς πατρίδα is uncharacteristic of early epigrams.

Paus. 8.5.1-3 s.a.n. Λυκούργου δὲ ἀποθανόντος Ἐχμεος ὁ Ἀερόπου τοῦ Κηφέως τοῦ Ἀλέου τὴν Ἀρκάδων ἔσχεν ἀρχήν... Ἀγαπήνωρ δὲ ὁ Ἀγκαίου τοῦ Λυκούργου ... Πάφου τε ... ἐγένετο οἰκιστὴς καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης κατεσκευάσατο ἐν Παλαιπάφῳ τὸ ἱερόν... χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Λαοδίκη γεγονυῖα ἀπὸ Ἀγαπήνορος ἐπεμψεν ἐς Τεγέαν τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἀλῃ πέπλον. τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναθήματι ἐπίγραμμα καὶ αὐτῆς Λαοδίκης ἅμα ἐδήλου τὸ γένος.

# ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

Λαοδίκης ὅδε πέπλος· (᾿Αλ)έαι δ' ἀνέθηκεν ᾿Αθηνᾶι  
πατρίδ' ἐς εὐρύχορον Κύπρου ἀπὸ θαλάσσης.

1855

8.53.7 ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος ἐν Τεγέαι καὶ Κόρης ναός, ὃς ἐπονομάζουσι Καρποφόρους, πλησίον δὲ ᾿Αφροδίτης καλουμένης Παφίας· ἰδρύσατο αὐτὴν Λαοδίκη, γεγονυῖα μὲν, ὥς καὶ πρότερον ἐδήλωσα, ἀπὸ ᾿Αγαπήνορος ὃς ἐς Τροίαν ἡγήσατο ᾿Αρκάσιν, οἰκοῦσα δὲ ἐν Πάφῳ.

1 ᾿Αλέαι Spengel: ἔαι codd.

Jacobs\* *adesp.* clxxx, <sup>b</sup>App. 231; Preger 64; Hecker 1843.100, 1852.229.

1 [1854] ᾿Αλέαι: cf. *IG* v 2.75.1 ]ιος ᾿Αλέαι μ' ἀνέ[θηκεν ᾿Α]φροδίτῃ, but the restoration is not quite certain; ἔαι... ᾿Αθηνᾶι might be said by one who wished to stress that the place to which the offering is sent is her own ancestral home. Hecker compared Phanias 6.299.7 = *HE* 3000 Κύπρις, ἐμὰ θεός, *E. Ion* 211 Παλλάδ', ἐμὸν θεόν, 453 ἐμὸν ᾿Αθάναν, and *Call. Del.* 82 ἐμαί θεαί εἶπατε Μοῦσαι.

## CLXXV

Date unknown

Dedication to the Muses by Eurydice, who learnt to read and write when her children were already adolescent.

Eurydice describes herself as 'of Hierapolis', a fairly common place-name; Plutarch's addition, that she was an Illyrian, suggests that he identified her with the wife ('Nebenfrau', *RE* 19.2303) of Philip II of Macedon, an Illyrian named Audata, believed by some to have taken the name of Eurydice (*RE* 6.1326 no. 15). The identification seems very far-fetched.

The epigram rings true; as a fiction it would be pointless. Presumably it was composed for Eurydice by a friend.

Plut. lib. educ. 20 s.a.n. πειρατέον οὖν εἰς τὸν τῶν τέκνων σωφρονισμὸν πάντα ὅσα προσήκειν ἐπιτηδεύειν, ζηλώσαντας Εὐρυδίκην, ἥτις Ἰλλυρίῳ οὖσα καὶ τριβάρβαρος ὁμῶς ἐπὶ τῇ μαθήσει τῶν τέκνων ὁψέ τῆς ἡλικίας ἤφατο παιδείας, ἱκανῶς δὲ αὐτῆς τὴν φιλοτεκνίαν σημαίνει τοῦτίγραμμα ὅπερ ἀνέθηκε ταῖς Μοῦσαις·

Εὐρυδίκη ἱεραπολιῆτις τόνδ' ἀνέθηκεν

Μοῦσαις, εὖιστον ψυχῇ ἐλοῦσα πόθον·

γράμματα γάρ, μνημεῖα λόγων, μήτηρ γεγαυῖα

παιδῶν ἡβόντων ἐξεπόνθησε μαθεῖν.

1859

Jacobs\* *adesp.* clxviii, <sup>b</sup>App. 182; Preger 122.

1-2 [1856-7] The unpractised hand is shown by the lack of caesura in the hexameter and by the abnormal omission of the noun implied by τόνδε. Preger understands στέφανον, but one expects some object related to the theme of the epigram; the most obvious thing is πίνακα, a tablet on which these lines were written.

εὖιστον... πόθον: 'well-understood desire' was intended to convey the meaning 'desire to understand well'; this is not a flower of the high poetical style (as Jacobs thought) but the product of a vain struggle to make the word correspond to the thought. Emendation is out of place (εὐλιστον or εὖοιστον Toup; 'leg. εὐκταῖον' LSJ).

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

**3 [1858]** Preger compared [A.] *PV* 460–1 γραμμάτων τε συνθέσεις, | μνήμην ἀπάντων, but the meaning here is less profound; for Eurydice, writing is simply ‘a record of the spoken word’.

### CLXXVI

Date unknown

On a spring at Dium in Macedonia, dangerous to drink.

There is no clue to the date of this epigram; it may fall outside the limits of the present collection. Hecker supposed it to be inscriptional, but, as Preger observed (p. xii), a fountain at Dium would not name its own location.

Steph. Byz. s.a.n., s.v. Δῖον.

νᾶμα τὸ Διηνὸν γλυκερὸν ποτόν· ἦν δέ γε πίνης,      1860  
παύσῃ μὲν δίψῃ, εὐθὺ δὲ καὶ βίότου.

Eust. II. 2.280 (1.431 Van der Valk), eadem

1 ἦν δέ γε Eust.: ἠνίδε Steph.      πίνης Brunck: πίνης Eust., Steph.      2  
βίοτοιο Eust.

Jacobs\* *adesp.* cci, <sup>b</sup>App. 253; Preger pp. xi–xii; Hecker 1852.84.

### CLXXVII

Date unknown

On the statue of Arion and the dolphin at Cape Taenarum.

This statue is mentioned by Herodotus, 1.23; cf. Paus. 3.25.7 and the Prefaces to Bianor 9.308 and *A. Plan.* 276 = *PG* xv and xxii. Bianor has a quite different version of the inscription: κτεινόμεθ' ἀνθρώποις, ἰχθύσι σωιζόμεθα. It is not possible to tell whether either Bianor's or the present epigram was ever actually inscribed on the monument.

Aelian. n.a. 12.45 s.a.n. τὸ τῶν δελφίνων φύλον ὥς εἰσι φιλωιδοὶ τε καὶ φίλαυλοι τεκμηριῶσαι ἱκανὸς καὶ Ἀρίων ὁ Μηθυμναῖος ἔκ τε τοῦ ἀγάλματος τοῦ ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ καὶ τοῦ ἐπ' αὐτῷ γραφέντος ἐπιγράμματος· ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα·

ἀθανάτων πομπαῖσιν Ἀρίονα Κυκλέος υἱόν  
ἔκ Σικελοῦ πελάγους σῶσεν ὄχημα τόδε.      1863

schol. in Tzetz. chil. 1.393 (An. Ox. Cramer 3.352), eadem

1 Κυκλέος Salmasius: Κύκλον codd.

Jacobs\* 6.181 (= Arion ii), <sup>b</sup>App. 105; Preger 187.

### CLXXVIII

mid-III B.C.

The remnants of two columns in P. Petrie II xlix (b) should not go unmentioned, though little that is intelligible survives (a couple of dozen legible words in thirty-four lines of verse), and certain problems raised by the text in the *editio princeps* are likely to remain unanswered, as the papyrus itself cannot now be found,<sup>1</sup> and the autotype (xvi 1) is inadequate.

<sup>1</sup> 'P. Petrie II 49 (b) cannot be identified either here or in Trinity College, Dublin' (letter of 19 April 1978 from the Department of Manuscripts, the British Library); it might not have been of much help ('From the condi-

## ANONYMOUS EPIGRAMS

The text is of interest as representing a collection of epigrams published in the middle of the third century B.C. Col. i has the ends of four elegiac quatrains separated by headings, the first unintelligible (]σεαιδο[...]ους), the second ]εως (?) τοῦ Ἀριστάρχου, the third ]υδάμαντος, the fourth ]των Κρατίνου; the line below this is the last of the column; the first three lines of col. ii presumably complete the quatrain.<sup>1</sup> Col. ii continues with the beginnings of three quatrains, apparently elegiac, separated by paragraphi and new headings; the col. ends with a fourth heading followed by beginnings of two verses. The headings are given as εἰς τ[, εἰς πο[, εἰς [, and εἰς τ[.<sup>2</sup> It is plain that the text offers a series of epigrams on plays, apparently tragedies preceding comedies. Gow notes that, as the headings do not give epigrammatist-names, the epigrams were presumably all composed by the same author.

tion of the papyrus, both shattered and blurred, my readings are most uncertain', said the first editor).

<sup>1</sup> The reading of these four line-beginnings is particularly doubtful; see Luppe *loc. cit.* (next note) 106 n. 8.

<sup>2</sup> See Blass *Lit. Zentralblatt* 1893.1434, Reitzenstein *BPW* 14 (1894) 155, and *RE* 6.72, Gow *The Greek Anthology: Sources and Ascriptions* (1958) 17 n. 4, and especially Luppe *Wiss. Z. Univ. Halle* 14 (1965) 105-6. Blass supplied the second heading in col. i as ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀχιλλ]έως τοῦ Ἀριστάρχου, and read ἐπὶ instead of εἰς throughout in the headings in col. ii. Reitzenstein supplied Ἀστ]υδάμαντος in the third heading, and Luppe ἐπὶ Κλεοβουλινῶ]ν τῶν Κρατίνου in the fourth. For the second heading in col. ii Luppe suggested ἐπὶ Σο[φιστῶν τοῦ Πλάτωνος, taking ἐπὶ σο[ to be practically certain as a reading and noting that no other known comedy-title begins σο[.

SECTION III

LEONIDES OF ALEXANDRIA

NICODEMUS OF HERACLEA

TIBERIUS ILUS

EPIGRAMS BY IMPERIAL ROMANS





## LEONIDES OF ALEXANDRIA

### LEONIDES AND HIS EPIGRAMS

When Leonides gave up astrology<sup>1</sup> and took to poetry, he became, he tells us, 'everybody's darling'.<sup>2</sup> The world has not lately regarded him with much affection or indeed troubled itself to cultivate his acquaintance. It is customary to spell his name incorrectly,<sup>3</sup> and the few who have thought it their duty to express an opinion about him generally dismiss with curt contempt<sup>4</sup> a performance which is often regarded as unworthy even of accurate description;<sup>5</sup> or the critic may positively detest him, and call him bad names.<sup>6</sup>

But Leonides had some justification for his complacency. The emperor Nero's mother, Agrippina, and his wife, Poppaea, receive epigrams as birthday-presents from him;<sup>7</sup> so does Caesar himself, whether Nero or Vespasian.<sup>8</sup> The poet who was patronised by the Imperial family might fairly claim to be 'well-known to Italians in high society', εὐγενέταις γνώριμος Ἰταλίδαις.<sup>9</sup> And when he adds that everybody loved him, the exaggeration is comprehensible: the court-poet, in favour with Nero, would receive compliments enough from

<sup>1</sup> In using the term 'astrology', as I do throughout, I may do him some injustice; he may have been an astronomer.

<sup>2</sup> 9.344.3, πάντεσσιν ἐράσμιος.

<sup>3</sup> 'Leonidas' they call him, though his name when spelt out is always Λεωνίδου, and his dialect is almost uniformly Ionic.

<sup>4</sup> A 'jeune versifier', 'negligible', and 'insignificant'.

<sup>5</sup> Lesky *Gesch. d. gr. Lit.* 907, 'L. von A. dichtet Epigramme, deren Verse gleiche Ziffern ergeben': 'Distichen', not 'Verse', in all but three. *Oxford Class. Dict.* 'Over forty epigrams... thirty being *isopsepha*': as if over ten were not *isopsepha*; if the meaning is that thirty are *isopsepha* as they stand in the tradition, 'thirty' should be 'seventeen'. Geffcken's list of the epigrams in *RE* 12.2031 carelessly omits 7.688, ignores *A.Plan.* 206 and *A.P.* 9.179, and includes the non-isopsephic 11.213 (misprinted as 231); the article, which omits Stadtmüller and Piccolomini from its bibliography, is defaced by bad mistakes and shocking errors of judgement (9.345, on Medea, is said to be a defence of Nero's matricide). The Budé edition is under the impression that Leonides' equations need not be exact: 'total des nombres à peu près le même pour chacune des distiques'.

<sup>6</sup> 'Einer der unerfreulichsten Graeculi der Zeit... Klebedichter... eitler Geselle... eingebildeter Verseschmied... grundsatzloser Nachahmer... Versifex kümmerlicher Künsteleien'; all this and more within a column-space of *RE*.

<sup>7</sup> Agrippina, 6.329; Poppaea, 9.355.

<sup>8</sup> 6.321, 6.328, and 9.352 may be addressed to Nero; 9.349 to Vespasian. See p. 531.

<sup>9</sup> 9.344. It is commonly said that Leonides, after adopting the profession of poetry, went to Rome and lived there: no doubt he did so in due course (9.350 tells of a present sent to him from Egypt), but some of his epigrams were sent from Egypt to Rome (6.328, 9.352).

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friends or flatterers in Roman society. The 'Nile-born'<sup>1</sup> astrologer has come a long way.

The reason for the contrast between ancient and modern opinion is plain enough. The epigram was one of the most popular literary forms of Leonides' time, as indeed it had been for several centuries past and was to remain for centuries to come; and Leonides amused the literary world by making a novel<sup>2</sup> and surprising type of epigram – one which exhibited all the characteristics generally admired, and also concealed within itself a popular parlour-game. Greek letters represent numerals, and if you treat the letters in the lines of Leonides as numerals and add them up, you find that the totals for each distich in a four-line epigram, or for each line in a two-liner, are the same. Romans enjoyed this sort of ingenuity. They were amused (all except Aulus Gellius)<sup>3</sup> by the observation that two consecutive lines of the *Iliad* add up to the same total,<sup>4</sup> and delighted by the discovery that the sum of the letters in the emperor Nero's name is the same as in the phrase 'killed his own mother'.<sup>5</sup>

This combination of poetry and parlour-game is offensive to the editor and contemptible to the reader nowadays. The former cannot judge the state of his text without counting in order to see whether the totals tally; a labour which even the most sympathetic critic has resented.<sup>6</sup> The reader disapproves of the game in principle, and his temper is not improved by the feeling that Leonides was cleverer than he; for the game seems difficult to play. So the world turns away hastily in disgust; too hastily to add up correctly,<sup>7</sup> and much too hastily to notice the elegance of style which entitles Leonides to a respectable rank among the epigrammatists of the first century A.D.

Yet buried in the dull pages of Dübner is a note sent to him by Boissonade:<sup>8</sup> 'I marvel at Leonidas' felicity – his ability to write with such freedom and

<sup>1</sup> 9.355 Νειλογενεὺς . . . Λεωνίδεω; 9.353 Νειλαίεὺς . . . ἀοιδοπόλος; 6.328 Νείλος . . . πέμψει δῶρον; 9.352 Νείλος . . . εὐξάμενος θύσειν Καίσαρι.

<sup>2</sup> Leonides did not invent the principle of *isopsephia*, but he did invent its application to the epigram. For later examples (not earlier than Hadrian) see *Athen. Mitteil.* 32 (1907) 357 and 33 (1908) 158. Cf. anon. *A.P.* 11.334 Δαμαγόραν καὶ λοιμὸν ἰσόψηφον (= 270), Strato 12.6 πρωκτὸς καὶ χρυσὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ψῆφον (= 1570) ἔχουσιν. Perdrizet *REG* 17 (1904) 350, Buecheler *Rh. Mus.* 61 (1906) 307. There is a curious example in a Bithynian epitaph of the second century A.D., Peek 1324: the deceased invites the reader to guess his name, giving clues including the sum of the nine letters, = 514 (the name, not guessable on the data, is not in the epigram but is inscribed above it, Διλίπορις).

<sup>3</sup> Aul. Gell. 14.6.4–5.

<sup>4</sup> *Il.* 7.264 and 265 both add up to 3,508 (not 3,498 as stated by Beckby).

<sup>5</sup> Νέρων = ἰδίον μητέρα ἀπέκτεινε = 1,005 (not 1,050 as given in Schmid-Stählin).

<sup>6</sup> Boissonade says that he counted 9.344 *infinito cum taedio*; strong words for fifteen minutes' work.

<sup>7</sup> None of those who have hitherto counted all or most of the epigrams has done so without making a mistake.

<sup>8</sup> *ap.* Dübner on 11.70.

## LEONIDES OF ALEXANDRIA

elegance despite the tightness of the chains which bound him.<sup>1</sup> And this was a true judgement. The contemptuous critic needs reminding of three facts. First, that when Leonides imitates Theodoridas,<sup>2</sup> an attractive epigrammatist of the third century B.C., the copy is faultless and almost if not quite as good as the original; when he imitates Antipater of Thessalonica, he writes with equal elegance;<sup>3</sup> when he takes Antiphilus<sup>4</sup> and Parmenion<sup>5</sup> as models, he is their superior. Secondly, that it is not possible to determine whether Leonides of Alexandria or Leonidas of Tarentum is the author of certain epigrams.<sup>6</sup> The Tarentine, with all his faults, is a colourful and ingenious composer; the Alexandrian, we are told, is a contemptible trifler. Yet we cannot always distinguish between them when the authorship of epigrams is in doubt. Thirdly, it is questionable whether there is a single place in Leonides where the phrasing betrays constraint imposed by the need to make the distich-totals tally.<sup>7</sup>

The fair judgement on Leonides will run rather as follows: that the game which he plays is one of frivolous ingenuity, but that the quality of his verse is wholly unaffected by the playing of the game; that his style is generally plain, concise, and clear, and his phrasing free from affectation or striving for effect.

What was his method? The question has not been asked; it is worth a moment's pondering. It is not difficult to compose a Greek epigram which would pass muster in the *Garland* of Philip or even in that of Meleager; but to compose one in which the numerals represented by the letters in each distich add up to the same total, without leaving any trace of the game played – how is it done?

There is only one practical method: to write the epigram regardless of arithmetic, and then to make modifications for the sake of the equation. One word or phrase will be replaced by another as good, so that the quality of the composition will not be affected by the changes.

Let *A.P.* 9.31, chosen at random, serve as an example:

ἐς τί πίτυν πελάγει πιστεύετε, γομφωτῆρες,  
ἥς πολὺς ἐξ ὀρέων ῥίζαν ἔλυσεν νότος;  
αἴσιον οὐκ ἔσομαι πόντου σκάφος· ἐχθρόν ἀήταις  
δένδρεον ἐν χέρσῳι τὰς ἀλὸς οἶδα τύχας.

<sup>1</sup> The chains are tighter than was necessary: Leonides does not allow himself to mix Doric *alpha* and Ionic *eta* in the same epigram, a very useful liberty in composing *isopsephia*. 7.547 is Doric throughout, the rest are Ionic. The only aberration is in 9.348, the Doric ending of σταφυλοκροπίδας (where there is no mixture of dialect, but Doric seems out of place).

<sup>2</sup> 7.282 and 7.675.

<sup>3</sup> 7.289 and 7.550; marred by one bad fault, the position of γάρ.

<sup>4</sup> 9.13 and 9.12.

<sup>5</sup> 9.114 and 9.351.

<sup>6</sup> 9.106, 9.179, *A.Plan.* 206.

<sup>7</sup> Radinger (*Rh. Mus.* 58 (1903) 299) alleges 'manches Eigenthümliche' caused by constraint of *isopsephia*: he has nothing better to quote than (a) the use of ἴδιος in 9.354.2; his objection is not stated and is beyond surmise; (b) 6.328.3 ἰθύνω intransitive: probably one of several corruptions in this epigram; (c) 9.344.4 προφέρω c. acc: the problem has nothing to do with *isopsephia*.

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This is an ordinary epigram, composed without any thought of *isopsephia*. The distichs add up to 8,396 and 8,918, a difference of 522. Now substitute ἔλυσ' ἄνεμος for ἔλυσε νότος and δένδρον ἐν αἰγιαλῶι for δένδρεον ἐν χέρσωι: the epigram is just as good as it was before, and the difference is reduced from 522 to 4. Replace οἶδα by οἶδε, and the equation is exact,  $1+2 = 3+4 = 8,067$ , at the cost of a few minutes' experimenting.

### THE BOOKS OF LEONIDES

Leonides collected his epigrams into Books. In 9.356 he announces that he is opening a new source of inspiration, 'a strange writing', which he defines as an epigram in which the two distichs add up to equal totals. This is the type of isopsephic epigram normal in Leonides, and 9.356 is plainly an announcement of his first publication of this type; it is, in short, the first epigram in his First Book. The Third Book of this type is explicitly so called in 6.328, perhaps under the title Χάριτες. There may have been a separate Book of two-line epigrams: 6.327 is a two-liner which informs the reader that the lines are equated, and that the author is tired of writing four-liners; this sounds very much like an introduction to a Book of two-liners (of which two other examples appear among the epigrams of Leonides).

6.328 and 9.356 refer to books sent as gifts to individuals and are therefore not evidence for publication; but the survival of the epigrams proves that they were also circulated generally. The date and manner of their reception into the *Anthology* is unknown. It would be surprising if a copy of Leonides' Books (any or all of them) survived the Dark Ages into the time of Constantine Cephalas.<sup>1</sup> Some of the satirical epigrams may have been preserved in that anthology of which Lucillius and Nicarchus are the leading lights, but there is no reasonable doubt that the majority of the extant epigrams of Leonides came into the *Anthology* – when, we cannot even guess intelligently; presumably at a relatively early date – directly from a copy of the Books while these were still current in the world. Leonides (like Anacreon, Simonides, Callimachus, Theocritus, and Palladas) appears in the *Anthology* largely in solid blocks: 6.321–9; 7.547–50; 9.78–80; 9.344–56. These blocks are inserted without more than perfunctory regard for the contexts; they were lifted straight out of an edition of Leonides and transplanted haphazardly.

### THE THEMES OF LEONIDES

Various types of theme appear in the epigrams of Leonides.

(1) Birthday-presents and other messages:<sup>2</sup> 6.321 and 9.349, birthday-gifts to Caesar; 6.329, to Agrippina; 9.355, accompanying a gift to Poppaea; 6.325, to Eupolis; 9.353, to Pappos. 6.322 is a gift to Marcus for the Saturnalia; 9.352

<sup>1</sup> Radinger (299) says 'Freilich hat Kephala nicht diese (*sc.* die eigenen Sammlungen) excerpiert, sondern Mittelquellen benutzt'; this in reply to Weigand *Rh. Mus.* n.f. 3 (1845) 565.

<sup>2</sup> Epigrams accompanying gifts (including birthday-presents) were common enough: *e.g.* Crinagoras *PG* iii–vii, xi. The isopsephic epigram, being an amusing novelty, may be a present in itself; it accompanies a gift in 9.355.

## LEONIDES OF ALEXANDRIA

congratulates Caesar on escape from danger; the occasion of 6.328, addressed to Caesar, is not stated; 9.350 acknowledges a gift from Dionysius.

(2) Autobiographical, a type quite common in the Hellenistic period: 9.344, the poet was once an astrologer but is now much more successful as a poet.

(3) Amatory: only 12.20. The theme, 'Has Zeus given up chasing beauties on earth?', is found in Strato 12.194 and was common enough; Propertius 2.2.3-4 *cur haec in terris facies humana moratur?*, Petronius 126 *quid factum est quod tu proiectis, Iuppiter, armis | inter caelicolas fabula muta taces?* | ... *Haec vera est Danae*; Clem. Alex. *protr.* 2.372 δράκων ὁ Ζεὺς οὐκέτι, οὐ κύκνος ἐστὶ κτλ.; Palladas 5.257.

(4) Dedications: 6.324, a common theme, 'inappropriate offerings to Ares', as in Leonidas of Tarentum 9.322 = *HE* xxv, Antipater of Sidon 9.323 = *HE* lx, and Meleager 6.163 = *HE* cx; cf. Mnasalces 9.324 = *HE* xvi, an inappropriate offering to Aphrodite.

6.326, dedication by a hunter.

(5) Sepulchral: 7.547, variation on a common theme, 'the child should have outlived the parent, not the parent the child'; here exceptionally 'the parent should have outlived his parents, not his child'. The epigram is related to Diotimus 7.261 = *HE* iv, whence the name 'Bianor' in Leonides (but there of the child, here of the parent). The motif οὐχ Ὑμεναίωι ἀλλ' Αἰδαί is very common; see the note on Meleager 7.182.1 = *HE* 4680.

7.548: the Echo-motif is as old as Callimachus 12.43.5-6 = *HE* 1045-6; ingeniously used by the undatable Gauradas, *A. Plan.* 152; anon. 9.177 (probably later than Leonides) is a species of the same genus.

(6) Demonstrative: the type most commonly represented in Leonides is the so-called 'demonstrative' or 'epideictic' epigram, one which describes interesting experiences or unusual events in more or less elaborate language. All of the examples in Leonides are on commonplace themes, and four of them are very closely related to epigrams by predecessors:

7.675 is an isopsephic version of Theodoridas 7.282 = *HE* xix. Leonidas of Tarentum 7.264 and 266 = *HE* lx and lxi are variations on the same theme.

7.550 is an isopsephic version of Antipater of Thessalonica 7.289 = *PG* xxvi; the name, Antheus, and the site, the Peneus, are the same in both, and so is the point made at the end.

9.12 is an isopsephic version of Antiphilus 9.13<sup>B</sup> = *PG* xxix, abbreviated from six lines to four. The phrase τοῦλλιπὲς ἀλλήλοις is taken from Antiphilus, ἀντερανιζόμενος reflects his ἡράνισαν, πρὸς ἐνὸς φύσιν his ἡ μία...φύσις, ὁμμασιν ἀλλοτρίοις his ὀθνεῖσις ὁμμασιν. The theme is commonplace; Plato Junior 9.13, Philip 9.11 = *PG* xxxv.

9.351 tells, with minor variations, the story of Parmenion 9.114 = *PG* ix; the copy far surpasses the feeble model.

The remainder are variations on common themes but not very closely related to any extant model:

7.668, on the dangers of seafaring; cf. among many others Antiphilus 7.630 = *PG* iv, Crinagoras 10.24 = *PG* xxxiv.

9.42, on a soldier saved from drowning by his shield; the same theme as Diocles 9.109 = *PG* iii and Zosimus v; later in Theon 9.41.

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9.78, complaint by the wild pear tree; a type represented by *e.g.* Leonidas of Tarentum 9.563 = *HE* cii.

9.79, 'Don't throw stones at the vine'; *cf.* Antipater of Thessalonica 9.706 = *PG* lxxxi, 'Don't strip the bark of the poplar', 9.3 = *PG* cvi, boys throw stones at the walnut-tree, Zonas 9.312 = *PG* vii 'Don't cut down the oak'.

9.106, on a ship destroyed by fire on land after many voyages; the same theme in Antiphilus 9.34 = *PG* xxxii, Secundus 9.36 = *PG* i, and Bianor 11.248 = *PG* xx (but there the ship has not yet sailed); later in Julianus 9.398. *Cf.* also Cyllenius II.

9.123, on a goat which cured blindness by pricking its eye on the thorn of a wild pear. This theme is not found elsewhere in the *Anthology* but was commonplace enough: Aelian *n.a.* 7.14 says that the goat acts deliberately, and describes how the remedy works: ὅταν αἰξ νοήσῃ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐπιθολωθέντα αὐτῇ, πρόσσεισι βάτῳ καὶ παραβάλλει τῇ ἀκάνθῃ τὸ δμῶα καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐκέντησε, τὸ δὲ ὕγρὸν ἐξεχώρησε, μένει δὲ ἀπαθὴς ἡ κόρη καὶ ὄραϊ αὔθις. *Cf.* Pliny (of bears) *h.n.* 8.129.

9.347, on oxen put to work at sea; *cf.* Philip 9.299 = *PG* I, where oxen draw a fish-net.

9.354, on a soldier who preferred suicide to death from disease; a variation on the theme of Apollonides 7.233 = *PG* xx, Philip 7.234 = *PG* xxxi.

(7) Descriptions of works of art: 7.549, Niobe, a common subject, represented especially by the series of epigrams in *A. Plan.* 129–34.

9.179, on a statue of Eros, here strangely made of the wood of a frankincense tree.

9.345 and 346, on Medea the child-murderess, a popular subject, represented especially by the series in *A. Plan.* 135–43.

*A. Plan.* 206, on the Eros of Praxiteles, another popular theme; Geminus 6.260 = *PG* viii, *A. Plan.* 167, 204–6.

(8) Convivial: only 11.9, an epigram of the same type as Lucillius 11.10, 11.313.

(9) Satirical: 9.80, mockery of astrologers; 9.348, a stealer of grapes whipped with a stolen vine-switch; 11.70, the man who when young married an old woman, when old a young one; 11.187, the musician whose performance killed all his neighbours except a deaf one; 11.199 and 200, jokes about people with long noses.

In summary: all the usual types of epigram are represented in Leonides, who adds a new one – the epigram itself as a birthday-present. His themes are all commonplace; there is occasionally a little novelty in the treatment.

## ISOPSEPHIA

(1) The sum of the numerals represented by the letters is the same

(a) for each distich in a four-line epigram;

(b) for each line in a two-line epigram.

There may have been a third type:

(c) In 6.322 the sums of the lines in the second distich of a quatrain are the same; this equation may be fortuitous, but the possibility remains that the

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lines in the first distich also were originally isopsephic. This would then be an unique example of (b) applied to four-line epigrams.

(2) The table is:

$\alpha-\epsilon = 1-5$ ,  $3-\theta = 7-9$ ,  $1-\pi = 10-80$ ,  $\rho-\omega = 100-800$ . The numbers 6, 90, and 900, represented in Greek by obsolete letters, play no part. Iota adscript is always counted, an elided vowel never.

(3) The equations are perfectly preserved in at least one manuscript source in 17 of the 42 epigrams:

6.321 (C), 6.324 (PPI), 6.325 (PPI), 6.326 (CPI), 6.327 (PPI), 7.547 (C), 7.668 (PPI), 7.675 (PPI), 9.12 (PPI), 9.80 (P), 9.123 (P), 9.344 (PPI), 9.348 (PPI), 9.351 (P), 11.187 (PPI), 11.199 (PPI), 12.20 (App. B.-V.).

In eight others the equations are restored by changes of spelling:

6.329 Ἀγριππείνη, 7.549 ἑάζει (αἰάζει), 7.550 Φθειώτην, 9.79 μηνείσει, 9.352 Θύβριδος (Θύμβρ-), σωιζομένω (σωζ-), ἥμαξαν (ῆμ-), 9.354 θνήξομαι (θνήξ-), 9.355 μέμημα, 11.200 κατεκάετο (-καίετο), κλείμακα.

In twelve more the equations are restored by more or less plausible emendations:

7.548 Δάμων (δαίμων); 9.78 θάλπουσαν (θάλλ-), κλαδεῶσι (κλάδοισι, unmetrical); 9.106 ἐνέφλεξε (άν-), τόσηνδ' (τόσην), ἡῦρον (εῦρ-); 9.179 που... κείσαι (ποθ'... κείται); 9.347 ἀροτροφόρους (-φορεῖν); 9.350 χιονώδεα (ἄτονωδεα); 9.353 βεβαιότατον (-ότατε), αἰοδόπολος (-πόλων) (both these changes made for reasons independent of the *isopsephia*); 9.356 κήφ' (κεῖς); 11.70 Παφίη (Παφίη), τοιγάρ (τὸν γάρ) (both changes made for reasons independent of the *isopsephia*); *A. Plan.* 206 ἐγ Κυθερείης (ἐν Κυθ-), γλυπτὸν (γραπτὸν); 9.42 ἐν γ' (εἰν), ὕδασι (ὑδατι); 11.9 μου (μοι), ἄντα (άρτα), ἀγροπόνοισι (ἐργοπόν-).

There remain five in which the equation is much harder to restore. In three of these the text is obviously corrupt (6.328 τῇ χθονίη unintelligible; 9.345 unmetrical beginning to the epigram; 9.349 lacuna in the third line), and in one other, 9.346, the text, though not demonstrably corrupt, is open to criticism at more than one point. The hardest case is 6.322, where there is no sign of corruption and little room for manoeuvre, yet the *isopsephia* is destroyed.

Accurate counts are appended to epigrams in *A.P.* by the Corrector at 6.321, 6.324, 6.325, 6.326, 6.327, 6.329 (correctly, if a variation of spelling is allowed), and 7.668, and apparently by the text-hand at 9.344. In three places the Corrector is at fault: for 6.322 his distich-figure is true only for a single line; at 6.328 he gives 7,372 for both distichs, where the first indeed = 7,372 but the second (which is corrupt) = 7,272; and at 7.675 he gives 3,705 where the truth is 3,702.

I am not aware of any systematic count made in modern times earlier than Dübner's edition. Jacobs (most surprisingly) did no counting, and his edition of Leonides is consequently uncritical. Dübner himself seldom counted, and was always wrong when he did: at 9.349 he gives 6,623 for each distich in a text which adds up to 6,423 and 6,823; at 9.350 he counts 7,756 and 7,755, *nisi calculus me fefellerit*, for a text which adds up to 7,726 and 8,035; and at 9.353 he gives 5,286 for his second distich, which adds up to 5,741.

For the epigrams from *A.P.* 6, from *A.P.* 7 except 550, and for 9.344 and



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11.70, Dübner reports counts made for him by Boissonade (who confesses failure to find equations for 7.550, 9.346, 355, and 356). Boissonade's sums are seldom wrong: at 7.547 he gives 7,247 for a text which adds up to 7,267 (a disastrous error or misprint, repeated by Stadtmüller, Waltz, and Beckby, but not by Radinger); and at 7.548 he gives 7,150 for a text in which the first distich adds up to 7,160 (possibly he ignored the last letter in ἡρίων; but his experience must have taught him that iota adscript is always counted).

Stadtmüller gives figures for all the epigrams so far as his edition goes (the last entry is therefore at 9.356). His own counting is seldom at fault, but some of his figures are ascribed by him to earlier counters (7.547, Boissonade; 7.668, Boissonade and Sakolowski; 7.675, Boissonade; 9.12, Setti and Sakolowski; 9.42, Piccolomini; 9.78, Setti; 9.351, Reinach), and it is certain that he did not recount all of these, for he repeats Boissonade's erroneous 7,247 at 7.547 and 7,150 at 7.548.

Radinger gives sums for all except 6.321-9, 7.550, 9.346-7, and *A. Plan.* 206 (which is not included in his list). He starts badly by giving a list of 41 epigrams and adding them up to 40, but his distich-counts are faultless with one exception: at 11.187 he gives 10,011 instead of 9,971 for the second distich.

The Budé editors give sums for all the epigrams so far as the edition goes. They repeat the error of their predecessors at 7.547, '7,247'; they are wrong at 7.549, where the equation 6,828 does not apply to the text adopted (γόνου would be needed for γόνου in the third line); at 9.42, where they say that the conjecture κατέδυσσε for δ' ὄτ' ἔδυσσε makes the count 7,911 (actually 8,011); and at 9.346, where the text suggested in the note adds up to 7,626 and 7,559, not 7,563 and 7,564 as stated.<sup>1</sup>

Beckby gives figures for all the epigrams except the corrupt 9.346, 347, and 349. Four of his sums are wrong: at 7.547 he repeats the erroneous '7,247' of his predecessors; at 7.549 he makes the same mistake as Waltz (see above); at 11.9, 8,164 is given for a text which adds up to 7,830 and 8,174; and at *A. Plan.* 206 he gives 8,656 for the second distich, which adds up to 8,667.

### AUTHENTICITY OF THE EPIGRAMS

All isopsephic epigrams are accepted as authentic whether the heading is 'Leonides of Alexandria' or 'Julius Leonides' or 'Leonides' or 'Leonidas of Tarentum'.

(1) Epigrams headed Λεωνίδου Ἀλεξανδρέως:

The series 6.321-9 (omitting 6.323, an intruder from the series of palin-

<sup>1</sup> The tenth Budé volume (1972) containing *A.P.* xi illustrates the general truth that nobody takes much trouble about Leonides: (a) 11.9: 8,164 is wrong for 1-2 (8,174); (b) 11.187: 4,990 is wrong for 2 (5,090), and 6,489 is wrong for 3 (6,499); each distich = 9,971, yet we are told that 'isopsephia is impossible to restore'. (c) 11.200: 'impossible to restore' again, and so it might be if the totals given were not so far from the truth; (d) 11.213 is given to the Alexandrian, though not ascribed to him by MSS and not isopsephic; (e) the isopsephic poet is said to be 'de Tarente' on p. 189 n. 1.

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dromes by Nicodemus which has just preceded). In 322 and 328 the *isopsephia* is disrupted, but the contents prove them to be the work of the Alexandrian.

The series 7.547-50.

9.123 and the series 9.344-56 (the equations are disrupted in 345-7, 349).

(2) Epigrams headed 'Ιουλίου Λεωνίδου:

12.20 and 9.42. If 9.42 had been headed simply Λεωνίδου, and if there were no other epigram headed 'Julius Leonides', 9.42 would probably have been assigned to the Tarentine Leonidas; theme and style are suitable, and P's text is not isopsephic. But 'Julius Leonides' is the heading in 12.20, and that epigram is isopsephic. The text of 9.42 in P1 is very nearly isopsephic, and the identification of Julius Leonides with Leonides of Alexandria is confidently accepted.

(3) Epigrams headed Λεωνίδου without qualification:

7.668, 7.675, 9.12, 11.70 (slightly corrupt, but rightly marked ἰσόψηφον in P), 11.187, 11.199, and (slightly corrupt) 11.200.

In 11.9 the equation is destroyed, but the contents favour the Alexandrian against the Tarentine Leonidas, and *isopsephia* is easily restored.

(4) Epigrams headed Λεωνίδου Ταραντίνου:

9.78 has this heading; 9.79 and 9.80 are ascribed 'to the same Leonidas', meaning Leonidas of Tarentum. But 9.80 is an isopsephic epigram, and a change of spelling restores the equation to 9.78; there can therefore be no doubt in principle that 9.79 is isopsephic too, though there is some corruption in the text.

There remain three epigrams whose ascription is open to question:

(a) 9.106. This epigram, ascribed to Leonidas of Tarentum, rings rather more like the Alexandrian, and *isopsephia* is so easily created that he may be preferred with fair confidence.

(b) 9.179. The ascription of this epigram to the Tarentine was accepted in *HE*. I now think that it rings rather more like the Alexandrian. *Isopsephia* is created by the change of two letters, a fact which would be surprising if it were merely fortuitous. Assignment to the Alexandrian is probably but not certainly correct.

(c) *A. Plan.* 206. This epigram, ascribed to 'Leonides', unqualified in the source, was assigned to the Tarentine in *HE*. *Isopsephia* is easily created, and though the choice cannot be made with certainty the Alexandrian seems to me likelier than the Tarentine.

I do not think that there is any doubt about any of the other epigrams assigned to the Tarentine in *HE*. The quatrains which on grounds of style, subject, and Ionic dialect seemed most likely to repay investigation are *A.P.* 9.24 and *A. Plan.* 171; neither of these is isopsephic.

False ascriptions in P and P1:

(1) 6.323 (absent from P1) has the heading τοῦ αὐτοῦ, meaning Leonides of Alexandria; it is a palindrome, a stray from the series by Nicodemus, 6.314-20.

(2) 11.213 ὁδηλον P, ἰσόψηφον Λεωνίδου P1: a single distich, not isopsephic and without room for manoeuvre; the heading in P1 may be rejected with confidence.

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(3) 9.123 Ἀντιφίλου Pl, an obviously false heading; the epigram, which is not isopsephic, appears twice in P, once with the heading ἀδέσποτον, once with τοῦ αὐτοῦ, meaning Leonides of Alexandria.

(4) The series 9.344–56 is oddly treated by Planudes. Five of the series (349, 350, 352, 353, and 355) are omitted. The other eight are scattered, appearing in seven different places in Pl. The only one with a correct heading is the first, 9.344, and this is the only one which occurs in Pl<sup>B</sup>. The others, wherever they appear in Pl, are all – except 356, which has no heading – headed Ἀρχίου (346 τοῦ αὐτοῦ = Ἀρχίου). Such consistency is not fortuitous; Planudes' source must have ascribed this series to Archias, and Planudes was faithful to the source whenever he had recourse to this group of epigrams. There is no doubt that P has the truth; this is, as it says, a group of isopsephic epigrams by Leonides of Alexandria.

In the present edition 39 epigrams are regarded as certainly authentic, 3 as probably but not certainly so.<sup>1</sup>

### NOTES ON THE METRE OF LEONIDES

Leonides conforms to most but not quite all of the rules generally observed by epigrammatists in the first century A.D.:

(1) The syllable preceding the pentameter-caesura is almost always long by nature, not lengthened by position; the exceptions are 9.79.4 and 9.354.4.

(2) There is no example of elision in mid-pentameter (except of δ' in 11.70.2).

(3) Elision of the endings of nouns, adjectives, and verbs is avoided: verbs, only 6.326.4 ἐξεκένωσ', 9.80.2 ἔρροιτ', *A. Plan.* 206 (if indeed this is Leonides) ἄζοντ', 9.354.2 and 4 τέκου' and θνήξου'; nouns, only 11.200.4 ῥῖν'; adjectives only 7.548.3 and 9.355.2 τοῦτ'.

(4) Lengthening of naturally short vowels before initial mute+liquid consonants is allowed within word-groups (6.324.4 ὁ θρασύ-, 11.199.1 ὁ γρυπτός, 9.351.1 ἀπὸ κρήνου), seldom in other circumstances (9.344.1 ὁπότε γραμμασίσι, 9.349.4 πατέρᾱ τρισσῆς).

(5) Correlation is allowed at the bucolic diaeresis (7.548.1 ἐπ' ἡρίῳι, 9.79.1 ἀποτένομαῖ, 6.327.1 and 9.356.3 ἰσάζεταῖ, 12.20.1 πάλι τέρπεταῖ) and at the end of the first dactyl (9.354.2 θλίβομαῖ), but not as a rule in any other place. Correlation at the first short of the dactyl is avoided (only 9.353.4 πέμπει).

(6) The sentence is always actually or potentially complete at the end of the pentameter.

Leonides disregards the common rules on the following points:

(1) He freely admits accented syllables at pentameter-end: 7.548.4 ἀνὴρ, 9.346.2 νοσσοτροφεῖς (*s.v.l.*), 9.347.4 ἀροτροφορεῖν (*s.v.l.*), 9.350.2 προβολῆς, 9.352.4 Διός, 12.20.4 θεός.

<sup>1</sup> Stadtmüller ascribed to the Alexandrian a number of other epigrams headed 'Leonides' without qualification in P and Pl: 6.200, 6.262, 7.19, 7.173, 7.190, 7.656, 7.660, and 9.337. In all but one of these the equations (which are anyway imperfect in two of them) are created by violent and improbable conjectures; in 7.190, Ἀνύτης, οἱ δὲ Λεωνίδα, the changes are small, but the ascription to Anyte is certainly correct. Stadtmüller is adversely criticised by Radinger *Rh. Mus.* 58 (1903) 296–8.

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(2) He seems to have no objection to the elision of -αι: 9.354.2 and 4 τήκου' and θνήξου', *A. Plan.* 206.2 ἄζοντ'.

(3) He allows word end after a long syllable preceding the bucolic diaeresis: 7.547.1 Βιάνωρ | οὐκ ἐπὶ ματρὶ. (See also 1872 n.) This is avoided by the Hellenistic and early Imperial epigrammatists; in *HE*, only Aratus 762, Leonidas of Tarentum 2213, and Nicarchus 2749; no example in *PG* except Archias 7.214.7 = 3730; in the present collection, see Dionysius 157 n.

(4) The position of γάρ after the caesura in 7.550.3, Πηνειοῦ παρὰ χεῦμα | γάρ ὤλετο, is extraordinary and seems hardly tolerable, but violent changes in the text would be needed to remove it; indeed the *isopsephía* is sufficient guarantee of its soundness. Leonides 11.70 (= xxxv) 3 is the same in principle, διέμεινέ | ποτε; the offence may be thought more venial when the enclitic is a disyllable, but this excuse seems very thin if the disyllable is elided, as in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* 53 σεῖό | ποθ' ἄψεται; cf. 'Simonides' 878 Εὐρυμέδοντά | ποτ', and pseudo-Meleager 7.352.7 = *HE* 4748 Πιερίδες, τί κόρησιν | ἔφ' ὕβριστηρας ἰάμβους (where ἔφ' governs κόρησιν); the principle is again the same in Peek 2042 ἐνθάδ' ἀνὴρ ὄμοσεν | κάτα (where ὄμοσεν κάτα = κατόμοσεν). Other comparable examples are few and far between: Strato 12.9.1 ἄρτι καλός, Διόδωρε, | σύ, καὶ φιλέουσι πέπειρος gives a similar effect even though σύ is not strictly speaking an enclitic; Agathias 11.379.5 ἀλλ' οὐ σεῖο μέλαθρά | με δέξεται (*Plan.*; P's μέλαθρα δεδέξεται is hard to accept, for the accusative pronoun is urgently needed); anon. 1433 above, where γάρ begins the second half of the pentameter, as also in Peek 1420.8 (I B.C., a good epigram) and 1873.20 (II B.C., ambitious).

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H. Beckby, *Anthologia Graeca*, 4 vols., Munich 1957–8; second edition not dated, apparently 1966–7.

### I

An isopsephic epigram as a birthday-present for Caesar.

The phrasing is neat and terse; quite a lot is said in little more than twenty words. The effort to create *isopsephia* has left, as usual, no trace whatever.

A.P. 6.321, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PC] ἰσόψηφα [PCPI] Λεωνίδου [PC] Ἀλεξανδρέως

θύει σοι τόδε γράμμα γενεθλιακαῖσιν ἐν ὥραις,  
 Καῖσαρ, Νειλαίη Μοῦσα Λεωνίδεω· 1865  
 Καλλιόπης γὰρ ἄκαπνον αἰεὶ θύος· εἰς δὲ νέωτα  
 ἦν ἐθέλης θύσει τοῦδε περισσότερα.

4 ἐθέλης C et (-λης) Pl: -λεις P  
 ,εχσθ = 5,699 (appended to each distich).

**1 [1864] θύει:** the poets call the *princeps* ‘God’ from the time of Virgil onwards (see Crinagoras 9.562.6 = PG 1908 n.), and it was natural for Leonides, who addresses the Emperor’s wife as ‘bedfellow of Zeus’ (1984), to call his birthday-gift an act of sacrifice.

**γενεθλιακαῖσιν ἐν ὥραις:** again in 1986, and δῶρα γενεθλίδια occurs twice (1877 and 1891). These two repetitions gave Geffcken (who detested Leonides) the opportunity to complain that Leonides repeats himself ‘nicht selten’. In fact he repeats himself extremely seldom, and is often at pains to achieve variety (as in *e.g.* 1869 δίστιχον εὐθίκτου παίγνιον εὐεπίης, 1886 βύβλον... ἰσηρίθμου σύμβολον εὐεπίης, 1878 στίχον... φιλήs σῆμα καὶ εὐμαθίης).

**2 [1865] Καῖσαρ:** see 1959 n. There is no way of deciding between Nero and Vespasian, nor can Claudius, Titus, or Domitian be ruled out. *epb. Popbaeae* (9.355) *ac Neroni eodem fort. anno missa (inter 61 et 64)*, said Stadtmüller, idly speculating.

**Νειλαίη:** Νειλαι- also in 1981 (where the suffix -εύς is mere poetic licence, like Κρηταιεύς in Antipater of Sidon 7.427.10 = HE 405). The only early evidence for the form of an adjective for the Nile is [A.] PV 814 Νειλῶτις, and Νειλω- is the norm later (Luc. *Nav.* 15, Athen. 7.309A, Heliodor. 9.9, anon. A.P. 9.710.3, probably a late epigram); in Athen. 7.312A, where the text has Νειλαι-, the *lemmata* have Νειλωι-. Νειλαι- looks defenceless, but is fortunately protected by an inscription, BCH 362 xv 11 (A.D. III) Νειλαῖα.

**3–4 [1866–7] Καλλιόπης ... θύος:** proverbial; *cf.* Callimachus *fr.* 494 ἄκαπνα γὰρ αἰὲν αἰοῖδοι | θύομεν, where Pfeiffer’s illustrations include Eust. *prooem. comm. Pind.* 31 Δελφόσε δὲ ἐρωτηθεῖς τί πάρεστι θύσων, “παιᾶνα” εἶπε (ὁ Πίνδαρος).

**εἰς δὲ ... περισσότερα:** ἦν ἐθέλης implies ‘a greater gift next year depends on your willingness to reward me richly this year’. The motif is common: Apollonides 6.238.5–6 = PG 1135–6 εἰ δὲ διδοίης | πλείονα, καὶ πολλῶν, δαίμον, ἀπαρξόμεθα, Philodemus 11.44.5–6 = PG 3308–9 ἦν δὲ ποτε στρέψης καὶ ἐς ἡμέας δμματα, Πείσων, | ὄξομεν ἐκ λιτῆς εἰκάδα πιωτέρην.

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## II

An epigram as a gift to Marcus for the Saturnalia.

*Cf.* Antipater of Thessalonica 6.249 = *PG* xlv, where Antipater sends Piso a candle for the Saturnalia. Another neatly and concisely phrased epigram.

A.P. 6.322, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPI] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. Λεων. Ἀλεξ.)

τὴνδε Λεωνίδεω θαλερὴν πάλι δέρκεο Μοῦσαν,  
 δίστιχον εὐθίκτου παίγνιον εὐεπίης.  
 ἔσται δ' ἐν Κρονίοις Μάρκῳ περικαλλὲς ἄθυρμα 1870  
 τοῦτο καὶ ἐν δείπνοις καὶ παρὰ μουσσοπόλοις.

,γυμ = 3,440 (appended to each distich); in truth 1 = 3,360, 2 = 3,440, 3 and 4 each = 3,108.

The count given in *A.P.* for four-line epigrams elsewhere always refers to the distich; the sum is usually appended both to the second line of the first distich and to the first line of the second distich. Here the sum, though appended to 2 and 3 in the usual way, represents the count not of a distich but of a single line, and is correct for 2 but not for the other lines. The abnormality is evidence that the ancient counter, like the modern, was in difficulty; only a part of his calculation has survived, and the appending of that part to both distichs, as if it were a distich-total, shows confusion and carelessness in the tradition.

As 3 and 4 have the same count, it is reasonable to begin by supposing that here, as in two-line epigrams but never elsewhere in four-liners, the equation is between hexameter and pentameter, and it is possible that a hint of this is given by the singular number in the word δίστιχον. Elsewhere (xxxiii) Leonides advises the recipient that the distichs, in the plural, are to be equated; here, perhaps, he gives Marcus a hint that it is the distich, in the singular, which is the unit for the equation. It is to be observed also that the equation of 3 and 4 in the text would be most unusual if it is merely fortuitous.

It must be admitted that it is extremely difficult to restore an equation to 1 and 2. The first line must be increased, or the second reduced, by 80; but the lines appear faultless, containing nothing which could be changed, except possibly the epithets θαλερὴν and εὐθίκτου, or rather the -θίκτ- of εὐθίκτου. The theoretical possibilities are limited, and experiment shows that there is no palaeographically acceptable substitute for either of these epithets which achieves the desired result. The problem is so difficult that a suggestion by Stadtmüller may be pondered less impatiently than it would otherwise seem to deserve: νοερὴν for θαλερὴν. Against it is the improbability of the alleged corruption; it could only be a deliberate change by someone who disliked the word νοερὴν. In favour of it are the facts that νοερὴν, *intellectual*,<sup>1</sup> is a better epithet for the Muse of Leonides than the colourless θαλερὴν, and that it creates an equation between the lines, increasing 1 by 80.

The alternative, that the two distichs are to be equated as usual (the equation between 3 and 4 being fortuitous) is not easier. 1 + 2 = 6,800, 3 + 4 =

<sup>1</sup> For the adjective in verse, *cf.* Peek 1828.2 νοερόν βασιλείς.

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6,216, a difference of 584, and there is very little room for manoeuvre. The first point to notice is that the fault must be sought in the second distich, not in the first: the only parts of 1 + 2 which could possibly be altered are θαλερήν and -θίικτ-; but these have counts (203 and 339) which cannot be reduced by 584.

If then 3 + 4 are to be increased by 584, the fault must lie mainly in the name Μάρκωι. ἐν Κρονίοις might be spelt ἐγ Κρον-, a reduction of 47, but no other word is open to attack with any prospect of success.<sup>1</sup> Experiment on Μάρκ- shows that a palaeographically acceptable substitute is not likely to be found; though the relatively easy change of Μάρκωι to Χάρμωι creates a total of 6,796, only 4 short – a near miss which shows that this approach is not intrinsically improbable.

The problem remains unsolved. Stadtmüller, substituting Πάππωι for Μάρκωι, made the two hexameters equal to the two pentameters, 3,360 + 3,188 = 3,440 + 3,108 = 6,548; the objections to this are that the change is violent and that there is no other evidence of such a type of *isopsephia*, 1 + 3 = 2 + 4.

**2 [1869] εὐθίικτου:** lit. *easily touched*, and so ‘quickly responsive’, then simply ‘clever’; a rare adjective, first in Aristot. *HA* 616 b 22 εὐθικτος τὴν διάνοιαν.

### III

Inappropriate offerings to Ares.

The theme is commonplace (see p. 507), the phrasing is the author’s own. The style is not inferior to that of good authors of the Hellenistic period, and nobody could have guessed that the epigram is isopsephic.

A.P. 6.324 s.a.n., Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPI] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Λεων. Ἀλεξ.)

πέμματα τίς λιπώνντα, τίς Ἄρεϊ τῶι πτολιπόρθωι  
 βότρυσ, τίς δὲ ρόδων θῆκεν ἔμοι κάλυκας;  
 Νύμφαις ταῦτα φέροι τις· ἀναιμάκτους δὲ θυηλάς  
 οὐδέχομαι βωμοῖς ὁ θρασύμητις Ἄρης. 1875

,θριζ = 9,117 (appended to each distich).

**1 [1872] πέμματα...λιπώνντα:** presumably cakes cooked with olive-oil. πέμματα first in Panyassis according to Athen. 4.172D, who quotes also Stesichorus (*PMG* 179 (a)); cf. Hdt. 1.160.5. λιπάω is not a common verb, oftener metaphorical (‘shiny’) than literal; in *HE* only Antipater of Sidon 7.413.4 = 651; twice in Callimachus.

**πτολιπόρθωι:** in the *Iliad* most commonly of Achilles and Odysseus, of Ares only 20.152; not ornamental here, but stressing the inaptness of the offerings. (Ἄρεϊ rather than Ἄρει: see 1894 n.)

**2 [1873] βότρυσ = βότρυσας,** as in Ar. *Equ.* 1077, *Vesp.* 449; K.–B. 1.439.

**3 [1874] ἀναιμάκτους:** a rare word; A. *Suppl.* 196, E. *Phoen.* 264.

**4 [1875] θρασύμητις:** here only, = θρασυμήδης.

<sup>1</sup> ἔσται δ’ ἐν could be changed to ἔστω δ’ ἐν, ἔστιν δ’ ἐν, ἐστὶ δ’ ἐνί; these changes, all for the worse, would not help, adding 789, 49 and 9 respectively.

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## IV

An epigram as a birthday-gift for Eupolis.

The first line is based on phrases familiar from the numerous epigrams on the Hunter, the Fowler, and the Fisherman, illustrated in the Preface to Satyrius 1. Leonides is most like Antipater of Sidon 6.14.5 = *HE* 172 τὸν μὲν γὰρ ξυλόχων, τὸν δ' ἥερος, δν δ' ἀπὸ λίμνας; cf. also Archias 6.179.1, Alexander Magnes 6.182.5. 6.329 = viii below begins similarly.

A.P. 6.325, P1<sup>A</sup> [PPI] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Λεων. Ἀλεξ.)

ἄλλος ἀπὸ σταλίκων, ὁ δ' ἀπ' ἥερος, ὃς δ' ἀπὸ πόντου,  
 Εὐπολι, σοὶ πέμπει δῶρα γενεθλίδια·  
 ἄλλ' ἐμέθεν δέξαι Μουσῶν στίχον ὅστις ἐξ αἰεί  
 μίμνει καὶ φιλήης σῆμα καὶ εὐμαθίης.

1879

,εῶν = 5,953 (appended to each distich).

## V

Dedication to Artemis by Nicis, a hunter.

The theme is conventional, the vocabulary is distinctive and the style of the second couplet much more elaborate than is usual in Leonides; if this epigram had been ascribed to an author of the best Hellenistic period, the ascription would not have been doubted.

A.P. 6.326, P1<sup>A</sup> [PPI] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Λεων. Ἀλεξ.)

Λύκτιον ἰοδόκην καὶ καμπύλον, Ἄρτεμι, τόξον  
 Νίκης ὁ Λυσιμάχου παῖς ἀνέθηκε Λίβυς.  
 ἰοὺς γὰρ πλήθοντας αἰὶ λαγόνεσσι φαρέτρης  
 δορκάσι καὶ βαλίσαις ἐξεκένωσ' ἐλάφοις.

1880

2 νίκης P<sup>ac</sup> 4 βαλίσαις CPI: βαλίσ P  
 ,εῶν = 5,982 (appended to each distich).

1 [1880] Λύκτιον: for the Cretan city Lyktos, see the note on Callimachus 13.7.1 = *HE* 1129; cf. Call. *H. Apoll.* 33 τό τ' αἶμα τὸ Λύκτιον ἥ τε φαρέτρη (of Apollo; the Cretan bow is the type most often carried by Artemis also); Paulus 6.75.7, of a bow dedicated to Apollo, τὸ Λύκτιον δπλον.

καμπύλον...τόξον: cf. Mnasalces 6.9.1 = *HE* 2607 καμπύλα τόξα, the only occurrence of the adjective in *HE*; Mnasalces continues ἰοὺς δὲ πεπρόντας, which may be echoed in the start of the third line here.

2 [1881] Νίκης: the name is not common, but is attested in inscriptions of various periods.

3-4 [1882-3] An elaborate and ambitious sentence, Callimachean in style and spirit: (a) πλήθοντας λαγόνεσσι, for οἷς λαγόνες πλήθουσι, is a bold inversion; the abnormal use of πλήθω, 'be numerous' instead of 'be full', is not noticed by LSJ. (b) λαγών, of the interior of a hollow object, is perhaps unique; in Eubulus *fr.* 43 κοίλης λαγόνος εὐρύνας βάθος, of a clay pot, λαγών =



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*side* as usual, not the hollow interior. (c) 'emptied the arrows' avoids the hum-drum 'emptied the quiver'. (d) The construction of the dative in ἐλάφοις is left to the understanding; *upon* or *against* the deer.

βαλῖται: the adjective is rare in the *Anthology*; in *HE*, only Simias 7.203.3 = 3270.

### VI

The author announces a new type of isopsephic epigram. See p. 506.

A.P. 6.327, P1<sup>A</sup> [PPI] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Λεων. Ἀλεξ.)

εἷς πρὸς ἓνα ψήφοισιν ἰσαζεται, οὐ δύο δοιοῖς·  
οὐ γὰρ ἔτι στέργω τὴν δολιχογραφίην. 1885

,δρια = 4,111 (appended to each line).

2 [1885] δολιχογραφίην: the word here only, except Paulus 6.65.6, where it is used differently (of long-continued writing).

### VII

Leonides sends his Third Book of epigrams from Egypt to Rome as a gift to Caesar.

A.P. 6.328, P1<sup>A</sup> [PPI] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Λεων. Ἀλεξ.)

τὴν τριτάτην Χαρίτων παρ' ἐμεῦ πάλι λάμβανε βύβλον,  
Καίσαρ, ἰσηρίθμου σύμβολον εὐεπίης,  
† Νεῖλος ὅπως καὶ τήνδε δι' Ἑλλάδος ἰθύνουσιν  
τῇ χθονὶ σῇ πέμψει δῶρον αἰοιδότατον. † 1889

1 παρ' P1; ἀπ' P βύβλον C: βιβλον PPI 4 χθονὶ σῇ Hecker:  
χθονίη PPI πέμψει P: -ψη C, -ψη P1

,3τοβ = 7,372 (appended to each distich). In truth 1 + 2 = 7,372 in C's text, 3 + 4 = 7,272 as the text stands in PPI.

It is extremely difficult to equate the distichs. The only apparent room for manoeuvre is in

(a) ἀπ' for παρ', reducing 1 + 2 to 7,272, by a curious coincidence the same total as 3 + 4 in their corrupted state.

(b) ἐμοῦ for ἐμεῦ, increasing 1 + 2 by 65.

(c) ἰθύνουσιν for ἰθύνουσιν, reducing 3 + 4 by 50.

(d) τῇ χθονὶ σῇ for τῇ χθονίη, increasing 3 + 4 by 200.

(e) πέμψει for πέμψει, increasing 3 + 4 by 3.

No combination of these variables restores an equation. Suspicion fastens especially on τῇ χθονίη, for which τῇ χθονὶ σῇ is not a wholly satisfactory replacement; the definite article is unwanted and rather disagreeable. But χθονὶ σῇ is surely right, and then τῇ seems unchangeable. Αὐσονίη (Schneider) is no help; it reduces by 326 a count which needs to be increased by 100. *ipse forsan auctor poterat labi*, said Boissonade; but it is very improbable that Leonides miscounted in an epigram dedicating his Book to the Emperor.

A new approach is needed, and it is hard to find one except in the following

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direction.  $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma$  in 3 is incoherent: 'take this book, *in order that the Nile may send it*'; Leonides does not elsewhere express himself so badly. If 3 begins a new sentence, Νεῖλος δλωσ καὶ τήνδε δι' Ἑλλάδος ἰθύνουσιν | τῇι χθονὶ σῇι πέμψει, we shall have a text which eliminates the incoherence of  $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma$ , removes the solecism of intransitive ἰθύνω, and restores *isopsephia*,  $1+2=3+4=7,372$ . δλωσ would mean 'in any case', 'in all circumstances'; 'accept my book; the Nile will in any case send it to Rome'. Cf. *P. Oxy.* 1676.31 ἵνα δλωσ σε ἴδωμεν = 'so that we may see you, at all events'; similarly οὐχ or μὴ δλωσ = 'not in any circumstances', *Xen. Mem.* 1.2.35, *Matthew* 5.34, 1 *Cor.* 15.29. This restoration is not immediately convincing, but it has one strong argument in its favour: it solves a problem for which no other solution is even remotely in sight.

**1 [1886] Χαρίτων:** the suggestion of Waltz that this is a book-title is attractive; presumably a general title, so that this Book is Χαρίτων γ'.

**2 [1887] Καίσαρ:** see 1865, 1963 nn.; probably Nero or Vespasian.

**3 [1888] σύμβολον:** the book is a *token* (Paton) or 'témoignage' (the Budé) of his talent.

**4 [1889] δῶρον ἀοιδότατον:** a most poetic gift, a rather bold use of ἀοιδός, which is not often adjectival and then usually = *tuneful*, of birds as in *E. Hel.* 1109 ἀοιδόταταν ὄρνιθα, *Call. H. Del.* 252 ὄρνιθες ἀοιδόταται, *Theocr.* 12.6–7 ἀηδῶν...ἀοιδόταται, adverbially in *Dioscorides* 11.195.6 = *HE* 1696 κύκνον φθέγγετ' ἀοιδότερον; of the ἀκρίς in *Leonidas of Tarentum* 7.198.3–4 = *HE* 2086–7. In *Duris* 9.424.6 = *HE* 1778 and *Arcesilaus* 58 it means the same as ἀοιδίμος, *celebrated*, of cities.

## VIII

An epigram as a birthday-present for Agrippina.

Julia Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina, was born on 6 November A.D. 15; she was married to Claudius A.D. 49, and exercised great influence in the State until A.D. 55; she was murdered on the instructions of Nero (her son by a previous marriage to Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus) on 9 March A.D. 59.

A.P. 6.329, P1<sup>A</sup> [PPI] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Λεων. Ἀλεξ.)

ἄλλος μὲν κρύσταλλον, ὃ δ' ἄργυρον, οἱ δὲ τοπάζους 1890  
πέμψουσιν, πλούτου δῶρα γενεθλίδια·  
ἄλλ' ἴδ' Ἀγριππείνη δύο δίστιχα μῦνον ἰσώσας  
ἄρκοῦμαι δώροις ἃ φθόνος οὐ δαμάσει.

1 δς δὲ P1 2 πέμψουσιν C: -σι PPI πλούτον P<sup>ao</sup> 3 Ἀγριππείνη  
Stadtmüller: Ἀγριππίνη PPI

,3φοθ = 7,579 (appended to each distich).

**1 [1890] κρύσταλλον:** *rock-crystal*, a semi-precious stone; *Blümner Techn.* 3.249.

**τοπάζους:** a green stone, probably chrysolite or peridot; I do not know that it is ever named by another Greek poet (not counting the Orphic *Lithica*) except *Dion. Per.* 1121 γλαυκιδῶντα λίθον καθαροῖο τοπάζου.

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**4 [1893] ἀρκοῦμαι δώροις:** *I content myself with gifts*, an inversion of ἀρκεῖ μοι δῶρα, a phrase more suitable to the recipient than to the donor.

**δαμάσει:** *subdue* is hardly the *mot juste* to govern δῶρα. The whole line seems awkwardly phrased, but there is no want of clarity; the sense is, as Jacobs said, *munera enim πλούσια invidiae obnoxia*.

### IX

Epitaph, presumably fictitious, for the daughter of Bianor.

A compound of conventional motifs (see p. 507).

A.P. 7.547, Pl<sup>A</sup> [CPI] Λεωνίδου [C] Ἀλεξανδρέως ἰσόψηφον [P] εἰς τὴν Βιάνωρος θυγατέρα παρθένον τελευτήσασαν [C] εἰς κόρην παρθένον

τὰν στάλαν ἐχάραξε Βιάνωρ οὐκ ἐπὶ ματρὶ  
οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῷ γενέται, πότμον ὀφειλόμενον, 1895  
παρθενικᾷ δ' ἐπὶ παιδί. κατέστανε δ' οὐχ Ὑμεναίῳ  
ἄλλ' Αἶδαι νύμφαν δωδεκέτιν κατὰγων.

2 πότμον P: τύμβον Pl

1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 7,267.

**1 [1894] στάλαν ἐχάραξε:** *i.e.* carved this epitaph on the headstone; cf. Diod. Sic. 3.44 στήλας γράμμασι κεχαραγμένας.

**Βιάνωρ:** on the metrical anomaly, see Dionysius 157 n. Leonides has no other example, and could easily have achieved *isopsephia* while using a name scanning υ—υυ. The fact that 'Bianor' is the name used in the model, Diotimus 7.261, is not a satisfactory excuse (especially as it is not there, as here, the name of the bereaved parent). See also 1872 n.

**2 [1895] πότμον ὀφειλόμενον:** this common phrase normally means 'the doom which is due to mortals', with reference to a person's death; here exceptionally of a destiny which had not been, and never would be, fulfilled.

### X

Dialogue between Echo and a man reading the inscription on a tombstone.

This epigram is a novel and lively variation on a common theme (see p. 507).

A.P. 7.548, Pl<sup>A</sup> [C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ [CPI] Λεωνίδου (sc. Ἀλεξ.) [C] ἰσόψηφον [J] εἰς Ἀργεῖόν τινα συγγενῆ Δικαιοτέλους

— τίς Δάμων Ἀργεῖος ἐπ' ἡρίῳ; ἄρα σύναιμος  
ἐστὶ Δικαιοτέλους; — ἔστι Δικαιοτέλους.  
— Ἥχῳ τοῦτ' ἐλάλησε πανύστατον, ἦ τόδ' ἀληθές, 1900  
κεῖνος ὅδ' ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ; — κεῖνος ὅδ' ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ.

1 Δάμων Radinger: δαίμων PPl ἄρα P: ἦ ῥα Pl 3 η P: ἦ Pl

1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 7,150.

**1-2 [1898-9] Δάμων:** Radinger was the first to count this line correctly and to see that *isopsephia* demands the correction of δαίμων (which nobody could understand) to a common proper-name.

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ἐπ' ἥρῳι because Δάμων Ἀργεῖος is *on* the stone.

ἄρα σύναιμος: a lively touch, implying that the passer-by knew Damon personally.

3 [1900] πανύστατον is oddly used. τοῦτ' ἐλάλησε πανύστατον would normally mean 'said this at the end' or 'these were the last words of...'; here as if it were τοῦτο... τὸ πανύστατον, 'did Echo speak that last phrase?'.  
 1905

## XI

On Niobe; the theme is commonplace (see p. 508).

A.P. 7.549, P1<sup>A</sup> [C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Λεων. Ἀλεξ.), [P1] Λεωνίδου [C] ἰσόψηφον [P1] εἰς αὐτό [J] εἰς Νιόβην τὴν ἀπολιθωθείσαν διὰ τὸ ἐν μῇδι ἡμέραι τέτταρα καὶ δέκα τέκνα θάψαι

πέτρος ἔτ' ἐν Σιπύλῳ Νιόβῃ θρήνοισιν ἔαζει,  
 ἑπτὰ δις ὠδίνων μυρομένη θάνατον·  
 λήξει δ' οὐδ' αἰῶνι γόου. τί δ' ἄλᾳζονα μῦθον  
 φθέγγατο, τὸν ζωῆς ἄρπαγα καὶ τεκέων;

1 ἔαζει Radinger: αἰάζει PPI 3 γόου P1: γόνον P

1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 6,828.

ἄιαζει is unparalleled and improbable prosody, and the spelling αἰ for εἰ is so common that ἔαζει may be accepted with confidence; it is unlikely to be a mere coincidence that it restores the *isopsephia*. The verb ἔαζω, from the cry ἔσ, is not attested elsewhere, but neither would εἰάζω (from εἰα) be, if Hesychius had not happened to quote it from Euripides (*fr.* 844 N.).

1 [1902] ἐν Σιπύλῳ: see the note on Theodoridas *A. Plan.* 132.6 = *HE* 3585.

2 [1903] ἑπτὰ δις: the usual number; but see Theodoridas *loc. cit.*

3 [1904] οὐδ' αἰῶνι: *not for all eternity*. The norm in contemporary prose is οὐδ' εἰς αἰῶνα; αἰῶνι here is an alternative to εἰς αἰῶνα, as *e.g.* τέλει το ἐς τέλος or καιρῶι το ἐς καιρόν.

γόου: this is both normal and required by the *isopsephia*.

## XII

Antheus swims ashore from shipwreck only to be killed by a wolf.

This epigram is an isopsephic version of Antipater of Thessalonica 7.289 = *PG* xxvi (see p. 507).

A.P. 7.550, P1<sup>A</sup> [C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ [CP1] Λεωνίδου (sc. Ἀλεξ.) [C] ἰσόψηφον [J] εἰς Ἀνθέα τὸν ναυηγὸν ὃν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης σωθέντα λύκος ἀπέκτεινεν

ναυηγὸς γλαυκοῖο φυγὼν Τρίτωνος ἀπειλάς  
 Ἀνθεὺς Φθειώτην οὐ φύγεν αἰνόλυκον·  
 Πηνειοῦ παρὰ χεῦμα γὰρ ὤλετο. φεῦ τάλαν, ὅστις  
 Νηρεΐδων Νύμφας ἔσχεσ ἀπιστοτέρας.

1909

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1 Φθειώτην Piccolomini: Φθιώ- PPI 4 Νύμφαις P<sup>ac</sup> ἔσχες Pl: ἔσχεν P  
1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 9,722.

2 [1907] αἰνόλυκον: cf. Homeric Αἰνόπαρις, Theocr. 25.168 and Callimachus P. Lille 76 ii 35 αἰνολέων.

3 [1908] γάρ: see p. 513. The position of this particle presumably gave no offence to the author, for it is easy to reproduce the sense of this clause in quite different words while preserving the *isopsephia*.

### XIII

On the dangers of seafaring.

This elegant epigram would not seem out of place in either of the *Garlands*.

A.P. 7.668, Pl<sup>A</sup> [CPI] Λεωνίδου [C] ἔστι δὲ ἰσόψηφον τὸ ἐπίγραμμα [J]  
εἰς τινὰ ἀπνευχόμενον ναυτιλίαν

οὐδ' εἴ μοι γελόωσα καταστορέσειε Γαλήνη 1910  
κύματα, καὶ μάλακην φρίκα φέροι Ζέφυρος,  
νηοβάτην ὄψεσθε· δέδοικα γὰρ οὖς πάρος ἔτλην  
κινδύνους ἀνέμοις ἀντικορυσσόμενος.

1 Γαλήνη Pl: -νην P 4 -ρυσσάμενος Pl  
,3φορ = 6,576 (appended to each distich).

2 [1911] Based on Hom. *Il.* 7.63 οἷη δὲ Ζεφύροιο ἐχεύατο πόντον ἐπιφρίξ.

3 [1912] νηοβάτην = ναυβάτην, here only.

### XIV

Epigram for the tomb of a shipwrecked sailor.

This is an isopsephic version of Theodoridas 7.282 = *HE* xix (see p. 507); other versions in Leonidas of Tarentum 7.264 and 266 = *HE* lx and lxi.

A.P. 7.675, Pl<sup>A</sup> [C] Λεωνίδου ἰσόψηφον [PI] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Λεων.) [J] εἰς  
ναυηγὸν τινὰ ἀνώνυμον

ἄτρομος ἐκ τύμβου λύε πείσματα ναυηγοῖο·  
χήμῶν ὀλλυμένων ἄλλος ἐνηοπόρει. 1915

,γψε = 3,705 (appended to each line); in truth 1 = 2 = 3,702.

2 [1915] νηοπορεῖν here only (ναυπορεῖν nowhere).

### XV

The blind man and the lame man help each other.

This epigram is an isopsephic version of Antiphilus 9.13<sup>B</sup> = *PG* xxix (see p. 507).

A.P. 9.12, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPI] Λεωνίδου [JPI] εἰς τὸ αὐτό [C] ἡγουν εἰς τυφλὸν καὶ  
χωλὸν

τυφλὸς ἀλητεύων χωλὸν πόδας ἥεртаζεν  
ὄμμασιν ἄλλοτρίοις ἀντερανιζόμενος·

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ἄμφω δ' ἡμιτελεῖς πρὸς ἑνὸς φύσιν ἡμρόσθησαν  
τοῦλλιπὲς ἀλλήλοις ἀντιπαρσχομένοι.

1919

$$1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 7,666.$$

### XVI

On a soldier saved from drowning by his shield.

The subject was commonplace (see p. 507); neater phrasing than that of Leonides would be hard to devise.

A.P. 9.42, Pl<sup>A</sup> [CPl] Ἰουλίου Λεωνίδου [J] εἰς ἑτέραν ἀσπίδα Μυρτίλου τὰ  
δμοια δράσασαν

ἐν γ' ἐνὶ κινδύνους ἔφυγον δύο Μυρτίλος ὄπλῳ, 1920  
τὸν μὲν ἀριστεύσας, τὸν δ' ἐπινηξάμενος,  
Ἀργέστης ὅτ' ἔδυσε νεῶς τρόπιν· ἀσπίδα δ' ἔσχον  
σωθεῖς κεκριμένην ὕδασι καὶ πολέμῳ.

1 ἐν γ' Piccolomini: εἰν Pl, εἰ P 3 ὅτ' Pl: δ' ὅτ' P ἀσπίδα δ' Pl: ἀσπίδ'  
P 4 ὕδασι Piccolomini: ὕδατι Pl, κύματι P

$$1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 7,904.$$

P has at least two corruptions. Pl has a variant in 4 which is most easily intelligible as a reading from an independent source, evidently a less corrupt source than P's. If then restoration is based on Pl, *isopsephia* is easily created. The plural ὕδασι is a great improvement (Jacobs had already felt the need to change P's κύματι to κύμασι); 3+4 then equal 7,904, and the same total is obtained for 1+2 by writing ἐν γ' for εἰν. ἐν γ' is not wholly pleasing, but the restoration of *isopsephia* at so trifling a cost is a strong argument in its favour.

1 [1920] Μυρτίλος: the name was not uncommon; Kirchner 10496-8.

3 [1922] Ἀργέστης: an epithet for Νότος in Hom. *Il.* 11.306, 21.334, for Ζέφυρος in Hes. *Theog.* 379, 870; attested as the name of a wind since Aristotle (*Mete.* 363 b 24). See above, p. 417.

### XVII

On the unripe fruits of the wild pear.

It is probably fortuitous that no other epigram much like this one has survived. Leonidas of Tarentum 9.563 = *HE* cii comes fairly close, and Cyllenius 9.4 has a species of the same genus.

Hecker said (1852.88): *in arborem cui pro parte alieni rami inserti sunt, quaeque partim peregrinis partim suis fructibus onerata est*; there is nothing about all this in the epigram.

A.P. 9.78, Pl<sup>A</sup> [CPl] Λεωνίδου [C] Ταραντίνου [J] εἰς ἀχράδα τὸ φυτὸν διὰ  
τὸ πάντοτε βρίθσθαι καρποῖς ὡμοῖς τε καὶ πεπεῖροις

μὴ μέμψῃ μ' ἀπέπειρον αἰὲ θάλπουσαν ὀπώρῃ  
ἀχράδα, τὴν καρποῖς πάντοτε βριθομένην· 1925  
ὀππόσα γὰρ κλαδεῶσι πεπαίνομεν, ἄλλος ὑφέλκει,  
ὀππόσα δ' ὡμὰ μένει, μητρὶ περικρέμαται.

## LEONIDES OF ALEXANDRIA

1 θάλλουσαν Setti: θάλλουσαν PPI 3 κλαδεῶσι Hermann: κλάδοισι PPI  
 ὕφέλκει P1: ἐφέλκει P

$$1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 5,953.$$

ὕφέλκει is much superior to ἐφέλκει (which hardly makes sense), and κλαδεῶσι is a highly probable correction of the unmetrical κλάδοισι (there is no alternative except κλαδίοισι, an unwanted diminutive). 3 + 4 now = 5,953, and the deficiency of 50 in PPI's version of 1 + 2 is at once supplied by the change of a letter in θάλλουσαν.

1 [1924] ἀπέπειρον: here only, = ἀπέπαντος in Philip 9.561.5 = PG 3005.

θάλλουσαν: the tree says that the fruits which it is *warming* (i.e. exposing to the sun) are never ripe; and proceeds to explain why. θάλλουσαν implies that the tree is doing its best.

2 [1925] ἀχράδα: on the ἀχράς see HE 2.338 and Cyllenius 122 n.

καρποῖς πάντοτε βριθομένην: the relevance of this is not immediately plain (Paton actually omitted it from his translation). The point is that if the tree 'is bearing fruit at all times', you would expect the fruit to be ripe at some time or other; however, for the reason given in 3-4, you never do. 'Bien que toujours chargé de fruits', as the Budé says.

3 [1926] κλαδεῶσι: elsewhere only *Orph. Arg.* 923 κλαδεῶσιν ἐρανόν.

ἄλλος: 'désigne une personne autre que le propriétaire de l'arbre', as the Budé translator says; the tree is speaking to its owner.

## XVIII

Do not throw stones at the vine, but let its fruits ripen.

The theme is of a common type (see p. 508), the style of the epigram concise and clear as usual.

The *lemma* is mistaken; εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν implies ἀχράδα, but the speaker is a vine, not a wild pear.

A.P. 9.79, P1<sup>A</sup> [C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ [CPI] Λεωνίδου [J] εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν διὰ τὸ  
 πολλάκις παρὰ τῶν διερχομένων λιθάζεσθαι

αὐτοθελὴς καρπούς ἀποτέμνομαι, ἀλλὰ πεπείρους

πάντοτε· μὴ σκληροῖς τύπτε με χερμαδίοις.

μηνίσει καὶ Βάκχος ἐνυβρίζοντι τὰ κείνου

1930

ἔργα· Λυκούργειος μὴ λαθέτω σε τύχη.

1 αὐτοθελεῖς Psscr. P1 2 τύπτε με P: τύπτετε P1 3 μηνίσει Page: μηνίσει  
 PPI; vel fort. ἐνυβρεῖζ-

$$1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 7,235.$$

The above restoration of *isopsephia* is much simpler than Stadtmüller's method, which was to replace πάντοτε (= 806) by παῦσον (= 801).

1 [1928] αὐτοθελὴς . . . ἀλλὰ πεπείρους: i.e. I do not grudge my fruits, but willingly allow them to be cut; only let it never be before they are ripe. On the word αὐτοθελὴς see the note on Meleager 7.470.6 = HE 4735.

3-4 [1930-1] On Dionysus' punishment of Lycurgus for destroying vines, see Philip 9.561.7-8 = PG 3007-8; not elsewhere in the *Anthology* except the anonymous epigrams 9.375 and (late) *A. Plan.* 127.

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### XIX

On the folly of astrologers.

The commonplace theme (cf. 11.159–64 and Agathias 11.365) is enlivened by the thought that Leonides himself once practised astrology. The phrasing is original and of good quality.

A.P. 9.80, P<sup>1A</sup> [C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ [CPI] Λεωνίδου [J] εἰς ἀστρονόμους· χλευασ-  
τικὸν διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἐπίστασθαι αὐτοὺς μήτε τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς μήτε τῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς

μάντιες ἀστερόεσσιν ὅσοι ζητεῖτε κέλευθον  
ἔρροιτ', εἰκαίης ψευδολόγοι σοφίης.  
ὕμεας ἀφροσύνη μαιώσατο, τόλμα δ' ἔτικτεν,  
τλήμονας, οὐδ' ἰδίην εἰδότας ἀκλείην.

1935

3 ἔτικτε P1

1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 6,501.

4 [1935] ἀκλείην: ἀκλεια, formed like δύσκλεια, here only.

### XX

How a goat cured its blindness.

For the theme, and the nature of the cure, see p. 508. The phrasing is neat and lucid as usual.

A.P.<sup>1</sup> 9.123 [C] ἀδέσποτον, *denuoque*<sup>2</sup> post 9.353 [C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Λεων.  
'Αλεξ.), P<sup>1A</sup> 'Αντιφίλου [J] εἰς αἶγα τυφλώττουσαν, ἣν ἐκέντησεν ἀχράδος  
ἀκανθα καὶ ἀνέβλεψεν [C<sup>2</sup>] ἐπὶ αἰγί τετυφλωμένην κεντηθείσῃ ὑπ' ἀχράδος  
καὶ βλεψάσῃ

ἐκ θοίνης φάος ἔσχεν ἐπ' ἀχράδα μηκὰς ἰοῦσα,  
ἐκ δ' ἐφάνη τυφλήν μηκέτ' ἔχουσα κόρην.  
δισσῶν τὴν ἐτέρην γὰρ ἐκέντρισεν ὄξυς ἀκάνθης  
ὄζος. Ἰδ' ὡς τέχνης δένδρον ἐνεργότερον.

1939

1 ἐκ θοίνης P1 et vult man. rec. in P: εἰ χθονίης P<sup>1</sup> ἔσχεν PPI: ὤλεσ' P1 sscr.

2 τυφλήν PPI: τυφλή P1 sscr. 3 ἐτέρην P: -ραν P1

1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 7,523.

1 [1936] ἐκ θοίνης φάος: the goat regained its eyesight (φάος) from the plant which was its food (ἐκ θοίνης). Stadtmüller and the Budé have this right, Paton wrong ('rushing to browse on a wild pear-tree, recovered its sight from the tree').

### XXI

On Leonides' fame since he changed from astrology to poetry.

A.P. 9.344, P<sup>1B</sup> [PCPI] Λεωνίδου [C] 'Αλεξανδρέως [P] ἰσοψηφον; cod.  
Leid. 54 (Agathiae); [C] οὗτος 'Αλεξανδρεὺς ἦν εἰς ἑαυτὸν διὰ τὸ ποιεῖν  
ἐπιδεδίωξ ἐπιγράμματα



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ἦν ὁπότε γραμμαῖσιν ἐμήν φρένα μοῦνον ἔτερπον      1940  
οὐδ' ὄναρ εὐγενέταις γνώριμος Ἰταλίδαις·  
ἀλλὰ τὰ νῦν πάντεσσιν ἐράσμιος. ὅψ' ἄρ' ἔγνω  
ὁππόσον Οὐρανίην Καλλιόπῃ προφέρει.

3 πάντεσσιν PPI: μερόπεσσιν cod. Leid.      4 Οὐρανίας Καλλιόπα cod. Leid.  
σχ = 6,600 (appended to each distich).

It is a remarkable coincidence that cod. Leid., despite its textual differences, offers the same equation as PPI, 6,600. The coincidence is surely not fortuitous; somebody has deliberately remodelled the second couplet, taking care not to destroy the equation.

The motive for the change is clear: the use of προφέρω *c. acc.* in the sense 'surpass' is unknown (not even this example is in LSJ) and seems unjustifiable. The genitive is required, as in *e.g.* Theocr. 12.5 ὅσον παρθενικὴ προφέρει τριγάμοιο γυναικός. Οὐρανίης would increase the count by 150 and would therefore involve change elsewhere. The solution adopted (no doubt after various experiments) was to write Οὐρανίας Καλλιόπα, increasing the count by 136, and then to substitute for πάντεσσιν (= 896) a word which reduces its count by 136; μερόπεσσιν (= 760) supplies the need. It is very surprising that anyone at any time should take so much trouble to correct Leonides' syntax while preserving his *isopsephia*.

The text of cod. Leid. is not likely to be the work of Leonides himself: he avoids Doric alpha, and he would probably have found a better word than μερόπεσσιν.

But if PPI have the true text, Οὐρανίην προφέρει awaits explanation. It cannot be simply a solecism. Greek is Leonides' own language, and he is a sophisticated writer. Nor can it be (as Radinger thought) a lapse caused by the constraint of *isopsephia*; there are so many possible substitutes for πάντεσσιν ἐράσμιος that a writer much less skilful and experienced than Leonides could easily adjust 3 to suit the requirement of Οὐρανίης in 4. It seems necessary to conclude that the construction *c. acc.* was acceptable in Leonides' time – that προφέρω was used with the accusative in the sense 'surpass' as it was in all its other senses.

Stadtmüller suggested that προφέρει here might mean not 'surpass' but 'promote': *studia mathematica Leonidae promovet, in maius provehit...nec enim omisit mathematica sua Leonidas, sed adsumpsit poeticam*; 9.355, where Leonides sends a celestial globe to Poppaea, is cited as evidence that he has not given up his former studies. The objection to this ingenious suggestion is that 'surpasses' is obviously the sense required by the context.

Leonidas may have Hes. *Theog.* 78 in mind, Οὐρανίη τε | Καλλιόπῃ θ', ἥ δὲ προφερεστάτη ἐστὶν ἀπασέων.

1 [1940] γραμμαῖσιν: 'περὶ ἀτόμων γραμμαί, title of a work ascribed to Aristotle; hence γραμμαί, αἱ, *astronomy*, *A.P.* 9.344 (Leon.), LSJ; 'hence' is plainly a *non sequitur*, and Leonides has γραμμαί, not αἱ γραμμαί. The editors all talk as though γραμμαί in itself connoted 'astronomy', but this is not true. The word often implied scientific writing of some kind, but never of some

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particular kind. To learn what kind of γραμμαί these are we have to wait for the clarification in 4: the subject, we learn there, was astrology (or astronomy).

2 [1941] οὐδ' ὄναρ: simply *not at all*; the 'dream' has faded from this phrase. See *Rufinus* p. 98.

εὐγενέταις: the word first in *E. Andr.* 771. The 'well-born' Romans are those likeliest to be acquainted with the fame of the court-poet.

Ἱταλίδαις: Ἱταλίδης here only (conjectured by Meineke in *Call. fr.* 617.3). Leonides probably means simply 'Italians' (normally Ἱταλιῶται), though it would be in accord with the Hellenistic style if he meant strictly 'the sons of Italos'.

## XXII

On Medea the child-murderess.

The subject is commonplace (see p. 508). 'Leonidas verteidigt Nero's Muttermord', says Beckby: this extraordinary notion is to be found in Geffcken *RE* 12.2032; it is not in Jacobs, Dübner, Stadtmüller, or the Budé edition.

A.P. 9.345, Pl<sup>A</sup> [P] τοῦ αὐτοῦ [C] Λεωνίδου (sc. Ἀλεξ.), [Pl] Ἀρχίου [C] εἰς Μήδειαν τὴν Κολχίδα

οὐ τόσον < > Ἀθάμας ἐπεμήνατο παιδὶ Λεάρχῳ  
 ὅσσον ὁ Μηδείης θυμὸς ἐτεκνοφόνει, 1945  
 ζῆλος ἐπεὶ μανίης μεῖζον κακόν· εἰ δὲ φονεύοι  
 μήτηρ, ἐν τίνι νῦν πίστις ἔτ' ἐστὶ τέκνων;

3 ἐπὶ Pac

1 + 2 = 6,361, 3 + 4 = 6,422.

The difference of 61 is presumably to be made up in the gap in 1, and the simplest remedy is Radinger's ingenious Ἀνάθαμας: see the note on xii 2 (= 1907) above; αἶν' Ἀθάμας Sitzler, but τόσον is better without an adverb.

Stadtmüller reads ἐτεκνοφόνει and φονεύει, and writes οὐδὲ τοσόνδ' for οὐ τόσον, creating an equation of 6,360. The principal objection to this is that οὐ τόσον is not a likely corruption of οὐδὲ τοσόνδ'.

1 [1944] Ἀθάμας...Λεάρχῳ: for the story of Learchus, killed by his father Athamas, whose mind had been deranged by Hera, see Frazer on Apollodorus 1.9.1, *Myth. Lex.* 2.1921.

2 [1945] ἐτεκνοφόνει: ἐτεκνοφόνει Wakefield, *liberorum caedem meditabatur*; this seems preferable in itself, and it is a pity that the choice cannot be decided by *isopsephia*. But Leonides' model was Philip *A. Plan.* 141 = *PG* lxxi, an elaborate rendering of the same theme, including χελιδών, Κολχίδα, and the only other extant example of the verb τεκνοφονέω.

3 [1944] ζῆλος...κακόν: Athamas acted in madness, Medea was jealous, not mad; her ζῆλος is a commonplace in epigrams on this subject (*A. Plan.* 135.1, 136.2, 137.6, 139.3).

## XXIII

On a painting of Medea the child-murderess.

A.P. 9.346, Pl<sup>A</sup> [C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Λεων. Ἀλεξ.), [Pl] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Ἀρχίου) [C] ὁμοίως· ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ὑποθέσει

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αἶαν δλην νήσους τε διιπταμένη σύ, χελιδών,  
 Μηδείης γραπτῇι †νοσσοτροφεῖς πυκτίδι†·  
 ἔλπηι δ' ὀρταλίχων πίστιν σέο τήνδε φυλάξειν  
 Κολχίδα, μηδ' ἰδίω φεισαμένην τεκέων;

1950

2 γραπτῇι PPl: fort. γραπτῆς voluit C    νοσσοτροφεῖς πυκτίδι P, νοσσο- Pl,  
 qui verborum ordinem mutare iubet

1 + 2 (γραπτῇι) = 7,436, (γραπτῆς) = 7,626; 3 + 4 = 8,156.

γραπτῇι is much better style than the genitive. Apart from this choice, the text is doubtful in two places:

(a) νοσσοτροφεῖς πυκτίδι: Planudes indicated (by superposed letters) that the words should be changed round, and all the editors obey. But confused word-order is not common in P, and an easier remedy is available, πτυχίδι for πυκτίδι. With γραπτῇι...πτυχίδι, 1 + 2 = 8,016, with γραπτῆς...πτυχίδι = 8,206.

(b) ὀρταλίχων πίστιν must mean either 'her confidence in your nestlings', a sense excluded by the context, or 'your nestlings' trust in her' – 'do you really hope that Medea, the killer of her own children, *will preserve your nestlings*' *trust in her?*'. The phrase is tolerable, but artificial and awkward; ὀρταλίχοις (Stadtmüller) would be easier, making 3 + 4 = 7,856.

The only other immediately obvious room for manoeuvre is in

(c) πυκτίδι, if πυκτίδι νοσσοτροφεῖς is correct: this word presumably represents πτυκτίδι, and if that was the spelling here 1 + 2 = 7,736 with γραπτῇι or 7,926 with γραπτῆς.

(d) ἔλπηι: ἔλπει, if that was the form here, would make 3 + 4 = 8,153.

No combination of these variables equates the distich-totals, nor is that aim achieved by writing ἔλπηι ἄρ' ὀρταλίχων (8,253), ἔλπηι ἄρ' ὀρταλίχοις (7,683), ἔλπειαι ὀρταλίχων (8,150), ἔλπειαι ὀρταλίχοις (7,580), or even ἔλπηι δ' ὀρταλίχῳ (8,116).<sup>1</sup>

A quite different approach is needed; there is one which creates *isopsephia* at small cost:

αἶαν δλην νήσους τε διιπταμένη σύ, χελιδών,  
 Μηδείης γραπτῇι νοσσοτροφεῖς πτυχίδι·  
 ἔλπει δ' ὀρταλίχῳ πίστιν σέο τήνδε φυλάξειν  
 Κολχίδα, μηδ' ἰδίω φειδομένην τεκέων;

1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 8,016.

The only change which calls for comment is φειδο- for φεισα-, and this is justified by a reason independent of the *isopsephia*. Epigrams on Medea generally represent her not after but (as in the famous picture of Timomachus) just before the act; the conventional tense here is the present or future, not the past.

2 [1949] νοσσοτροφεῖς: the verb first in Ar. *Nub.* 999. The forms νοσσο-

<sup>1</sup> Stadtmüller created *isopsephia*, 7,868, by reading γραπτῆς, ἔλπει and (*mirabile dictu*) πόντους for νήσους.. His counting is almost always correct, but there is a mistake here: he gives 4,158 for his third line, which adds up to 4,446. His totals for the other three lines are correct, and I cannot explain the error here.

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for νεοσσο- are called ἀδόκιμα by Phrynichus, but are attested for Aeschylus (*fr.* 113 N.) and Sophocles (*P. Oxy.* 2081 (*b*) *fr.* 3).

Both πυκτίς and πτυχίς are very rare words of the same basic meaning, related to πτύξ, πτυχή, which were commonly used of folding writing-tablets, and might be applied to any surface for writing or painting whether folding or not.

### XXIV

On oxen employed in ship-hauling instead of ploughing.

The only similar epigram in the *Anthology* is Philip 9.299 = PG 1.

A.P. 9.347, Pl<sup>A</sup> [C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Λεων. Ἀλεξ.), [Pl] Ἀρχίου [C] εἰς βόας  
ἔλκοντας ναῦν ἐν ποταμῶι (πόντῳ debut)

οὐ μόνον εὐάρστον βόες οἶδαμεν αὐλακα τέμνειν,  
ἀλλ' ἴδε κῆκ πόντου νῆας ἐφελκόμεθα·  
ἔργα γὰρ εἰρήνης δεδιδάγμεθα. καὶ σύ, θάλασσα,  
δελφίνας γαίηι ζεῦξον ἀροτροφόρους. 1955

2 κῆκ: κάκ Pl, κῆν P ἐφελκόμεθα P: ἀφελκ- Pl 4 γαίηι Pl: γαίης P ἀρο-  
τροφόρους Page: -φορεῖν PPl

1 + 2 with κῆκ and ἐφελκ- = 5,158, 3 + 4 with γαίηι and ἀροτροφορεῖν = 4,553.

The difference is 605, and the most obvious point of attack is εἰρήνης: how can it be said that an ox has 'learnt the lessons of peace' through employment in ship-hauling instead of ploughing? All the editors have accepted Morel's conjecture εἰρεσίης, though the corruption is improbable and the count is raised only to 4,710, 448 short; there must then be some further serious corruption to account for the difference. ἀνελκόμεθα (Piccolomini) would reduce 1 + 2 to 4,704, a fairly near miss<sup>1</sup> if εἰρεσίης is accepted, but it seems impossible to make up the small difference.

A different approach is needed, and is found in the observation that the equation is instantly restored by the change of ἀροτροφορεῖν to ἀροτροφόρους; 3 + 4 now = 5,158, the same total as 1 + 2, with no need for further change. This equation is unlikely to be fortuitous, and it remains only to explain εἰρήνης.

The clue to this is to be found in the tense of δεδιδάγμεθα. The perfect tense would be improper if it referred to their novel employment of ship-hauling; it is only proper if it refers to their normal employment of ploughing. The meaning is 'the works of peace (*i.e.* ploughing) are what we have been taught from birth', and reflects their resentment of the change of employment described in the first couplet.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The nearest possible miss if γαίηι is read in 4; 3 + 4 then = 4,703, reading εἰρεσίης. But a miss is as good as a mile, and Leonides never mixes Doric with Ionic.

<sup>2</sup> It is a pity that Boissonade's explanation is lost. Dübner reports him as writing *lectionem codicum εἰρήνης revocavi, in cuius locum successerat e coniectura, probabili quidem, εἰρεσίης. aiunt boves...* – and the rest of the page was missing, *reliqua folioli manu avulsa*.

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## XXV

On a man who stole grapes, whipped to death with a switch from the stolen vine.

A.P. 9.348, P1<sup>A</sup> [C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Λεων. Ἀλεξ.) [P1] Ἀρχίου [C] ἐπὶ σταφυλο-  
κλέπτῃ:

ὁ σταφυλοκλοπίδας ἑκατόννυμος εἰς Ἀίδαο

ἔδραμε μαστιχθεὶς κλήματι φωριδίῳ.

1957

$$1 = 2 = 4,173$$

**1 [1956] σταφυλοκλοπίδας:** here only, nor is there any other compound in -κλοπίδας.

**εἰς Ἀίδαο:** the laws of Solon and Draco prescribed death as the penalty for stealing grapes according to Alciphron 2.38 (3.40); one might expect that the theft of vines would be severely punished, but surely not of grape-clusters; Alciphron and Leonides agree, however, on using the word σταφυλή.

**2 [1957] φωριδίῳ:** this is the whole point of the epigram; they used a cane made from the vine which he had stolen (evidently he did, after all, steal more than a cluster).

## XXVI

A prayer for Caesar's health and happiness.

The epigram implies that the Emperor is ill, and also that he is about to become, or has lately become, a grandfather for the third time.

A.P. 9.349 (caret P1) [C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ Λεωνίδου ἐπὶ τοῖς γενεθλίοις Νέρωνος  
Καίσαρος

ὕδατά σοι Κοτύλια γενέθλιον ἡμαρ ὀρῶντι,

Καῖσαρ, ἐπιβλύζοι σωρὸν ἀκεσφορίης,

ὄφρα σε κόσμος ἅπας πάππον <πάλιν> αὐγάζηται 1960

ὥς πατέρα τρισσῆς εἴσιδεν εὐτεκνίης.

**1** Κοτύλια Page (Κοτύλεια iam Piccolomini): Κοτίλεια P **3** πάλιν suppl.  
Heringa **4** εὐτεκνίης Page: εὐτοκίης P

$$1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 6,808.$$

xxvi is the first epigram on its page. In the margin above it the Corrector notes:  $\overline{\text{ζήτει}}$   $\overline{\text{ζήτει}}$  ὅτι πάντα τὰ ἐπιγράμματα Λεωνίδου ἰσόψηφα.  $\overline{\text{ζήτει}}$ . And again:  $\overline{\text{ζήτει}}$  ὅτι δύο στίχοι ἓνα ἀποτελοῦσιν ἀριθμόν, καὶ οἱ δύο ὁμοίως (*i.e.* 'and so do two distichs').

$1 + 2 = 6,423$  with Κοτίλεια,  $6,813$  with Κοτύλεια;  $3 + 4 = 6,652$  in P (*i.e.* with εὐτοκίης and without the supplement in 3). As  $3 + 4$  already exceed  $1 + 2$  if Κοτίλεια is read, and an addition has still to be made to  $3 + 4$  to fill the gap, it is obvious that Κοτύλεια must be preferred in 1. If then a word adding up to 161 can be found to fill the gap in 3, the equation will be  $1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 6,813$ , without further change. <τρῖσιν> (Toup) though rhetorically agreeable adds far too much (670). <πάλιν> suits very well both palaeographically and in sense, but adds 171, and there is no hope of adding 10 to the first couplet or subtracting 10 from the second. Stadtmüller supplied <μάκαρ>, = 162, 1 too

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many; he therefore changed  $\delta\pi\alpha\varsigma$  to  $\pi\alpha\varsigma$  and altered the order to  $\pi\alpha\varsigma$  κόσμος. These consequent changes are unwelcome, and μάκαρ is not a particularly attractive supplement.

Experiment shows that a suitable word counting 161 is very hard, perhaps impossible, to find; a new approach is needed.

The supplement  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu$  is so attractive, and a plausible alternative so hard to find, that we should consider whether  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu$  can be adopted at the cost of a small change elsewhere. The word which is most obviously exposed to attack is  $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\kappa\iota\eta\varsigma$ : *father of easy delivery* (for that is what the words mean) is a vile phrase. The context calls for  $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\kappa\eta\iota\varsigma$ , *of happy parenthood*, and this, together with  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu$ , makes 3+4 add up to 6,808, 5 less than 1+2 with Κοτύλεια. The difference is eliminated by the spelling Κοτύλια, -λι- as always in this name both in Greek and in Latin (Strabo 5.3.1, c 228 Κωτίλῑαι, Dion. Hal. several times Κοτύλια, Dio Cass. 66.17 Κουτίλια). Leonides might lengthen the syllable without changing the spelling.

1 [1958] ὕδατα . . . Κοτύλια: the Roman name was *Aquae Cutiliae* (RE 2.299); the scansion is not known.

2 [1959] Καῖσαρ: 'Nero' in the lemma is presumably a guess. The identification of 'Caesar' depends on interpretation of the second couplet. There it is made plain that 'Caesar' had three children, and that he is about to become, or has lately become, a grandfather. The phrase  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\pi\pi\omicron\nu$  ὡς πατέρα τρισσῆς  $\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\kappa\eta\iota\varsigma$  strongly suggests that he will be a grandfather for the third time, just as he was a father thrice; ὡς and τρισσῆς would be pointless if this were not the meaning. If then 'thrice a grandfather' is correct, 'Caesar' is Vespasian; the only other possible claimant, Claudius, had three children but only one grandchild (the son of his daughter Antonia).

Vespasian fulfils all the conditions. He resorted to *Aquae Cutiliae* every summer (Suet. *Vesp.* 24; he died there); he had three children, Titus, Domitian, and Domitilla; and he had three grandchildren. Two of these, Julia the daughter of Titus and Flavia Domitilla the daughter of Domitilla, were born before Vespasian became Emperor; the third grandchild must therefore be the son of Domitian, born A.D. 73 (RE 5.1514). Domitian was consul A.D. 71 (RE 6.2649) and for the second time A.D. 73 (*ibid.* 2655); his son was born *in secundo suo consulatu* according to Suetonius (*Domit.* 3).

Radinger objected that Vespasian was unlikely to have been at *Aquae Cutiliae* on his birthday: Vespasian was born on 18 November, and 'zu dieser Zeit ist ein Curgebrauch in dem Abruzzenbade kaum denkbar'; but it is not really so hard to imagine that Vespasian might go to his favourite resort in mid-November; he might not be very ill, and the weather might be fine. Radinger objects further that the 'threefold' fatherhood of Vespasian would hardly have been mentioned at this time, for one of his children (Domitilla) had died long ago, before he became Emperor; this argument weighs lightly in the balance.

ἐπιβλύζοι: βλύζω is not attested before the Alexandrian era, and the compound occurs here only, but Pherecrates *fr.* 130.4 has ἐπιβλύξ and Ap. Rhod. 4.1238 ἐπιβλύω.

σωρόν: altered (regardless of *isopsephia*) by some of the earlier editors who

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disliked the image. As Jacobs said, it is quite like (and not odder than) the metaphorical use of *ἔσμος* as in E. *Ba.* 710 *ἔσμούς γάλακτος*. Dodds *ad loc.* thinks the metaphor 'absurd' if *ἔσμος* is related to *ἔξομαι* but acceptable if it is related to *ἦμι*. LSJ *s.v.* *ἔσμος* 3, make a separate class headed '(ἦμι)', quoting among others E. *Ba. loc. cit.*, A. *Suppl.* 684 *νούσων ἔσμος*, and Plato *Rep.* 450b *ἔσμον λόγων ἐπεγείρετε*; there the verb shows that Plato thought *ἔσμον* meant *swarm*, and indeed it is likely that *ἔσμος* always means this; reference to *ἦμι* instead of *ἔξομαι* is seldom if ever helpful.

**ἄκεσφορίης**: a new formation, but *ἄκεσφόρος* already in E. *Ion* 1005 and Astydamas *fr.* 6 N.

The phrase 'pour a heap of healing' is not of the most elegant, but quite acceptable in the Alexandrian style.

## XXVII

Leonides complains (no doubt joking) that the gift which he has received from Dionysius is incomplete: he has the papyrus and the pen, but where is the ink?

A.P. 9.350 (caret Pl) [C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Λεων. 'Αλεξ.) ἐπὶ δώροις σταλεῖσιν αὐτῷ παρὰ Διονυσίου ἦγουν καλάμοις καὶ χάρταις τισίν

ἦτριά μοι βύβλων χιονώδεα σὺν καλάμοισιν  
πέμπεις Νειλορύτου δῶρον ἀπὸ προβολῆς.  
μουσοπόλῳ δ' ἄτελῃ, Διούσιε, μηκέτι πέμπε  
ὄργανα· τίς τούτων χρῆσις ἄτερ μέλανος; 1965

1 ἦτρια Heringa: ἱτρια P χιονώδεα Tour: ἀτονωδεα P 2 πέμπεις Reiske: πέμπει P

1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 8,035.

**1 [1962] ἦτρια ... βύβλων**: a novel expression (E. *Ion* 1421 is not, as LSJ would have it, in any way relevant). *ἦτριον*, properly *warf*, was used to mean a fine-woven cloth (Hesych. *ἄτριον· ὕφος λεπτόν*), and here signifies the 'fine-woven' material of papyrus for writing; *vides, quam aptum sit vocabulum de papyri textura*, Jacobs.

**2 [1963] Νειλορύτου ... ἀπὸ προβολῆς**: *i.e.* where the Nile puts its waters forth into the sea.

## XXVIII

A mother saves her child.

This epigram is a superior version of the theme of Parmenion 9.114 = PG ix. The Budé translator thinks it may be a true story, and detects an 'accent de sincerité'; few will share his emotion.

The phrasing is remarkably concise.

A.P. 9.351, Pl<sup>A</sup> [C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Λεων. 'Αλεξ.) [Pl] 'Αρχίου Drac. de metr. 63.20 (4) [C] εἰς παιδίον μέλλον κρημνίζεσθαι, ὅπερ ἡ μήτηρ τὸν μαστὸν δείξασα τοῦ κρημοῦ ἐλυτρώσατο

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Λυσίππησ ὁ νεογνὸς ἀπὸ κρημοῦ πάϊς ἔρπων  
 ἄστυανακτεῖησ ἤρχετο δυσμορίησ·  
 ἥ δὲ μεθωδήγησεν ἀπὸ στέρνων προφέρουσα  
 μαζόν, τὸν λιμοῦ ῥύτορα καὶ θανάτου.

1969

4 λύτορα Pl, Drac.

1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 7,302.

1 [1966] Λυσίππησ: a name not elsewhere in the *Anthology* but common enough in life; Kirchner 9545-7.

ἀπὸ κρημοῦ... ἔρπων: *going from the precipice*, meaning 'walking over the edge of the cliff'; the phrase is too terse for comfort.

2 [1967] Leonides probably thought much more highly of this line than we do; *began the misfortune of Astyanax* = 'was on the point of suffering the fate of Astyanax', as Paton translates.

3 [1968] μεθωδήγησεν: here only; μαζῶι μετέτρεψε νόημα, said Parmenion.

4 [1969] ῥύτορα: λύτορα is impossible, despite ἑλυτρώσατο in the *lemma*; λῦτωρ would be inexplicable.

## XXIX

On the sacrifice of 100 oxen in Rome, on behalf of Egypt, to celebrate the preservation of Caesar from some unspecified danger.

The epigram is of more than usual strength and dignity, in a plain style.

The word 'hecatomb' may cover sacrifices of a much smaller number than 100 (*RE* 7.2787), but here that word is not used, and it is explicitly stated that 100 oxen were slaughtered. That was a huge offering, and the occasion must have been one of the highest importance, unlikely to be missing from our records.

Elaborate public celebrations of an Emperor's rescue from danger are attested for two occasions during the lifetime of Leonides:

(a) After Nero's murder of his mother Agrippina, A.D. 59. Nero was congratulated on his 'escape from unexpected danger and the criminal enterprise of his mother' (*Tac. Ann.* 14.10), and the public celebrations were elaborate (*ibid.* 12). This is a possible occasion, though it is doubtful whether so great a sacrifice would have seemed appropriate, and whether the Egyptians would have reacted so elaborately, to the alleged peril.

(b) After the detection of Piso's conspiracy against Nero, A.D. 65. At that time at least the danger was real. The sacrifice of animals is attested (*Tac. Ann.* 15.71 *compleri...Capitolium victimis*), and the celebrations were grand enough (*ibid.* 74). Most of the recent editors have followed Cichorius (*Röm. Stud.* 366) in preferring this alternative.

A.P. 9.352 (caret Pl) [C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Λεων. Ἀλεξ.) εἰς Νέρωνα τὸν Καίσαρα

Νεῖλος ἑορτάζει παρὰ Θύβριδος ἱερὸν ὕδωρ  
 εὐξάμενος θύσειν Καίσαρι σωιζομένῳ·  
 οἱ δ' ἑκατὸν βουπλήγες ἐκούσιον αὐχένα ταύρων  
 ἤμαξαν βωμοῖς Οὐρανίου Διός.

1970



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1-4 Θύβριδος, σωιζομένωι, ἡμαξαν Stadtmüller: Θύμβρ-, σωζ-, ἡμ- P  
1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 7,218.

1-2 [1970-1] Νεῖλος ... εὐξάμενος θύσειν: *the Nile having vowed to sacrifice* implies, what the magnitude of the offering confirms, a formal resolution by the province of Egypt; not the private enterprise of a company of Egyptians in Rome.

Θύβριδος: this, or less often Θύμβρ- (as in P here), is the Greek name for the river Tiber; Diodorus 9.219.4 = PG 2103 n.

3 [1972] βουπλήγες: Hom. *Il.* 6.135 of an ox-goad; an axe for felling an ox as here, Timo *ap.* Athen. 10.445E, Opp. *Hal.* 5.152, *Cyn.* 1.154, and several times in Quintus Smyrnaeus.

ἐκούσιον: it was a good omen if the victim appeared to be willing.

4 [1973] Οὐρανίοιο Διός: 'Nero selbst', said Weinreich *Studien zu Martial* 140; perhaps rightly. Cf. xxxii 3 (= 1984) below.

### XXX

An epigram as a birthday-gift to Pappos.

A.P. 9.353 (caret Pl) [C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Λεων. Ἀλεξ.) εἰς Πάππον τινὰ σοφὸν ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ γενεθλίοις

καὶ λόγον ἱστορίῃ κοσμούμενον ἡκρίβωσας  
καὶ βίον ἐν φιλίῃ, Πάππε, βεβαιότατον. 1975  
τοῦτο δ' ἑορτάζοντι γενέθλιον ἡριγένειαν  
δῶρον ὁ Νειλαιεύς πέμπει ἀοιδόπολος.

2 βεβαιότατον Heringa: -ότατε P 4 ἀοιδόπολος Salmasius: -πόλων P  
1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 5,161.

1 [1974] As nothing is known about Pappos, it is not possible to say what Leonides is referring to. Jacobs, Dübner, Stadtmüller, and the Budé take λόγον to mean *speech* (*orationem multifaria rerum scientia exornata*; 'parole ornée de science'). Paton renders *work*, λόγος as in *e.g.* the title of Protagoras' *περί θεῶν λόγος*, and indeed the rest of the phrase seems better applied if the allusion is to the title of a book, written with precision (ἡκρίβωσας) and adorned with scientific inquiry (ἱστορίῃ κοσμούμενον). But the doubt cannot be resolved.

4 [1977] Νειλαιεύς: see 1865 n.

ἀοιδόπολος: whereas the corruption in 2 was easily intelligible, the corruption into the genitive here is surprising.

### XXXI

On a soldier who preferred suicide to death from disease.

As this theme appears in Apollonides and Philip (see p. 508), it is *prima facie* probable that Leonides' epigram is an imitation of a predecessor, and that its subject is fictitious. But an event which is fictitious in epigrams may (and sometimes did) occur in life, and it happens that the death of the ex-consul

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Valerius Festus, A.D. 84, was of the type described here: Martial 1.78 *indignas premeret pestis cum tabida fauces* | ...*decrevit Stygios Festus adire lacus*. If that event is celebrated in this epigram (as suggested by Norden *Agnostos Theos* 337, and Cichorius *Röm. Stud.* 367, approved by Weinreich *Stud. zu Mart.* 141 and Beckby), this is our only evidence that Leonides was still writing in the principate of Domitian.

There is no difficulty about the date, but the identification is very improbable. In describing a notable action by a great man of his own time, Leonides would surely have given the hero's name, as Martial does. It is likelier that the epigram is a variation on a common theme; Benndorf suggested that it is a description of the painting of Ajax by Timomachus (*cf.* anon. *A. Plan.* 83), but the absence of the name of either the painter or his subject is against this.

A.P. 9.354, Pl<sup>A</sup> [C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Λεων. Ἀλεξ.) [Pl] Ἀρχίου [C] ἐπὶ νόσῳ  
θλιβομένῳ καὶ ἀσχάλλοντι

ὃν πόλεμος δεδιῶς οὐκ ὤλεσε, νῦν ὑπὸ νούσου  
θλίβομαι, ἐν δ' ἰδίῳ τήκοι' ὅλος πολέμοι.  
ἀλλὰ διὰ στέρνων ἴθι, φάσανον· ὥς γὰρ ἀριστεύς 1980  
θνήξοι', ἀπώσάμενος καὶ νόσον ὥς πόλεμον.

2 θλίβοι' P ὅλος Pl<sup>pc</sup> 4 θνήξοι' Radinger: θνήξ- PPl  
1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 8,316.

2 [1979] ἰδίῳ: Radinger includes the use of this word as one of his examples of peculiarities to be explained by constraint of *isopsephia*. His objection to it is not stated and is beyond surmise; the meaning is *private* as opposed to *public*. The hero, having survived the perils of national conflict, is now overcome in a private conflict, against disease.

## XXXII

A celestial globe as a birthday-present for Poppaea.

Poppaea Sabina married the emperor Nero A.D. 62, received the title *Augusta* (Σεβαστιάς in 3; elsewhere always Σεβαστή) A.D. 63 (Tac. *Ann.* 15.23), and died A.D. 65 (*ibid.* 16.6). The reference to her σοφία was not idle flattery; even Tacitus, who detested Poppaea, allowed her *sermo comis nec absurdum ingenium*; she had indeed every natural advantage except good character, *huic mulieri cuncta alia fuere praeter honestum animum* (Tac. *Ann.* 13.45).

A.P. 9.355 (caret Pl) [C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Λεων. Ἀλεξ.) ἐπὶ ὀργάνῳ τινὶ  
μαθηματικῷ δῶρῳ (δῶρον C) σταλέντι Ποππαίᾳ τῇ (πάππῳ τῷ C: corr.  
Ap. B) Νέρωνος

οὐράνιον μείμημα γενεθλιακάσιν ἐν ὥραις  
τοῦτ' ἀπὸ Νειλογενοῦς δέξο Λεωνίδεω,  
Ποππαίᾳ, Διὸς εὖνι, Σεβαστιάς· εὖσαδε γάρ σοι 1984  
δῶρα τὰ καὶ λέκτρων ἄξια καὶ σοφίης.

1 μείμημα Radinger: μίμ- P  
1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 6,422.

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**1 [1982] οὐράνιον μείμημα:** *globum caelestem, mundi imitationem*, Jacobs; cf. Lucian *Nigr.* 2 πρὸς δ' ἐν μέσωι πινάκιον τισι τῶν ἀπὸ γεωμετρίας σχημάτων καταγεγραμμένον καὶ σφαῖρα καλάμου πρὸς τὸ τοῦ παντὸς μίμημα ὡς ἐδόκει πεποιημένη; a much more elaborate gift of the same kind in Antipater of Thessalonica 9.541 = *PG* xlv.

**2 [1983] δέξο Λεωνίδεω:** the same line-end in Leonidas of Tarentum 6.300.2 = *HE* 2184.

**3 [1984] Διός = Nero;** cf. 1865, 1959 nn.

### XXXIII

Introduction to a Book of isopsephic epigrams.

The 'fountain' is a new one, and the composition is 'strange'. The nature of the strangeness is defined in detail: 'the distichs are equal to each other in numbers'. Nothing could be plainer than that no book of such isopsephic epigrams has been published before. Something new is being announced, and ἐτέρης must mean 'of a different kind' (as already in Hom. *Od.* 9.302, ἕτερος δέ με θυμὸς ἔρκεν); it could only mean 'second' if the first Book was not of isopsephic distichs. We do not know that Leonides published any non-isopsephic epigrams; he may have done (and the *lemma* seems to suppose that he did so), but the probability is that this is the opening of the First Book of that series of which 6.328 opens the Third Book.

A.P. 9.356 [C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Λεων. 'Αλεξ.), *PIA* s.a.n. [C] ἐπὶ τῇ μεταβολῇ τῶν ποιημάτων

οἷγνυμεν ἐξ ἐτέρης πόμα πίδακος ὥστ' ἀρύσασθαι

ξεῖνον μουσοπόλου γράμμα Λεωνίδεω·

δίστιχα γὰρ ψήφοισιν ἰσάζεται. ἀλλὰ σύ, Μῶμε,

ἔξιθι κήφ' ἐτέρους ὀξὺν ὀδόντα βάλε.

1989

2 μουσόπολον *PI* 4 κήφ' Stadtmüller: κείς *P*

1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 7,673.

The Corrector notes: ἔως ὧδε τὰ ἰσόψηφα Λεωνίδου 'Αλεξανδρέως.

**1 [1986] οἷγνυμεν ... πόμα:** *insolenter dictum*, Jacobs; οἷγνυμεν, as if not πόμα πίδακος but πίδακα was to follow.

**3 [1988] Μῶμε:** cf. Call. *H. Apoll.* 113, ending ὁ δὲ Μῶμος, ἴν' ὁ Φθόνος, ἔνθα νέοιτο. The personification is rare before Lucian; Philip 11.321.1 = *PG* 3033 n.

**4 [1989] ὀδόντα:** of Momus, anon. *A. Plan.* 266.8 δήκται ... στόματι, Hor. *od.* 4.3.16 *dente minus mordeor invido*, *epist.* 1.18.82, Ovid *Remed.* 389.

### XXXIV

Leonides, having dined, rejects the offer of sow's udder and slices of pork.

One can seldom be certain whether an epigram of this type reports fact or fiction. 'Convivial' epigrams are mostly concerned with drink; food is quite a rare subject, and it is a fair guess that this epigram relates an experience and is not merely a literary exercise.

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A.P. 11.9, P1<sup>A</sup> [PPI] Λεωνίδου

μή πάλι μου μετὰ δόρπον, ὅτ' οὐκέτι γαστέρα πείθω, 1990  
οὐθατα καὶ χοίρων ἄντα τίθει τεμάχη·  
οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀγροπόνοισι μετὰ στάχυν ὄμβρος ἄκαιρος  
χρήσιμος, οὐ ναύταις ἐν λιμένι Ζέφυρος.

1 μου Radinger: μοι PPI 2 ἄντα Piccolos: ἀρτα P, ἄρτι Pl τε μάχη P  
3 ἀγροπόνοισι Casaubon: ἐργοπόν- PPI μετὰ P1<sup>pe</sup> ut vid.: μέγαν PPI<sup>ae</sup>  
1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 8,170.

ἀρτα is plainly corrupt. ἄντα helps τίθει and calls for the easy change of μου to μου. The sum for 1 + 2 is thus raised to 8,170, and the same total for 3 + 4 is obtained by Casaubon's easy change (suggested regardless of *isopsephia*) in 3. The restoration is not certainly correct, but no other plausible solution is in sight.

2 [1991] οὐθατα: sows' udders, a common delicacy in Rome; see the note on Philodemus 11.44.3-4 = PG 3304-5.

3 [1992] ἀγροπόνοισι: this is accepted merely *isopsephiae causa*; there is no intrinsic fault in ἐργοπόνοισι (Nic. Ther. 831, [Opp.] Cyn. 1.148, Coluthus 195).

## XXXV

On the wives of Philinus.

The unhappily or unsuitably married man was a common target for the satirical epigrammatists; this variation on the theme is original.

A.P. 11.70, P1<sup>A</sup> [PPI] Λεωνίδου [P] Ἰσόφηφον

γρῆυν ἐγῆμε Φιλίνος ὅτ' ἦν νέος· ἡνίκα πρέσβυς,  
δωδεκέτιν. Παφίηι δ' ὦριος οὐδέποτε. 1995  
τοιγὰρ ἅπαις διέμεινέ ποτε σπείρων ἐξ ἄκαρπα,  
νῦν ἑτέροις γήμας ἀμφοτέρων στέρεται.

2 Παφίηι Boissonade: Παφίη PPI 3 τοιγὰρ Jacobs: τὸν γὰρ P, καὶ γὰρ Pl  
ποτε P: τότε Pl εἰς P  
1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 7,246.

3-4 [1996-7] I.e. the old wife of a young man bears him no children, the young wife of an old man behaves as if she were married to other men. Thus Philinus has missed both blessings -- of children, and of a wife of his own.

The last line is very concisely phrased.

## XXXVI

On a lyre-player whose music killed all his neighbours except a deaf one.

The theme is common in the satirical epigrammatists (A.P. 11.185-9).

A.P. 11.187, P1<sup>A</sup> [PPI] Λεωνίδου

Σιμύλος ὁ ψάλτης τοὺς γείτονας ἔκτανε πάντας  
νυκτὸς ὅλης ψάλλων πλὴν ἐνὸς ὠριγένους·

## LEONIDES OF ALEXANDRIA

κωφὸν γὰρ φύσις αὐτὸν ἐθήκατο, τοῦνεκεν αὐτῷ 2000  
ζωὴν ἀντ' ἄκοῆς δῶκε περισσοτέρην.

1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 9,971.

**1-2 [1998-9]** The proper-names are of course fictitious (the curious may consult an article by Léon Herrmann in *L'Antiquité class.* 27 (1958) 92-9); 'Simylos' is quite common in life (Kirchner 12680-3), but this is by far the earliest appearance of 'Origenes' so far as I know.

## XXXVII

On Sosiptolis, whose nose is so long that he can use it as a fishing-rod.

This and the following are variations on a common theme (*A.P.* 11.203, 204, 268, 405, 406).

*A.P.* 11.199, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPl] Λεωνίδου

ἰχθῦν ὁ γρυπὸς Σωσίπτολις οὐκ ἀγοράζει,  
προῖκα δ' ἔχει πολλὴν ἐξ ἁλὸς εὐβοσίην,  
οὐ λίνον, οὐ κάλαμον προσάγων, τῇ ρίνι δὲ προσθείς  
ἄγκιστρον σύρει πάντα τὰ νηχόμενα. 2005

1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 6,863.

**2 [2003]** εὐβοσίην = 'good living', generally; the word first in Aristotle.

## XXXVIII

On Antimachus, whose nose was so long that it could be used as a ladder to rescue a man from a burning house.

*A.P.* 11.200, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPl] τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Λεωνίδου)

Ζηνογένους οἶκος κατεκάετο, πολλὰ δ' ἐμόχθει  
ἐκ θυρίδος ζητῶν αὐτὸν ὑπερχαλάσαι.  
ἱκρία συμπήξας οὐκ ἔφθανεν, ὅψ' δ' ἐπιγνοῦς  
τὴν ρῖν' Ἀντιμάχου κλείμακα θεῖς ἔφυγεν. 2009

1 κατεκάετο Radinger: -καίετο PPl 4 κλείμακα Page: κλίμ- PPl

1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 7,141.

**1 [2006]** Ζηνογένους: Διογένης is common enough, but I have not noticed this name elsewhere.

**2 [2007]** ὑπερχαλάσαι: ὑπερ- is not clear; ὑπερχαλάσαι (Scaliger, approved by LSJ, Paton, and Beckby) is refuted by the *isopsephia*. χαλάσαι = *let down, lower* (LSJ *s.v.* 1 2), and ὑπερ- presumably implies *over* (the window-sill).

**3 [2008]** ἱκρία συμπήξας: he fitted planks together.

οὐκ ἔφθανεν: the fire was too quick for him.

**4 [2009]** κλείμακα: or κλίμ-, with ρεῖν' (but ρίνι is the spelling in 2004).

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## XXXIX

A compliment to Periander: Zeus must be busy elsewhere, or he would have treated Periander like Ganymede.

On the theme, see p. 507. The epigram is indistinguishable in quality from the work of some of Meleager's authors.

A.P. 12.20 (caret Pl) 'Ιουλίου (Valckenaer: 'Ιλίου P) Λεωνίδου App. B.-V. 28 Λεωνίδου

ὁ Ζεὺς Αἰθιόπων πάλι τέρπεται εἰλαπίναισιν 2010  
 ἢ χρυσὸς Δανάης εἵρπυσεν εἰς θαλάμους·  
 θαῦμα γὰρ εἰ Περίανδρον ἰδὼν οὐχ ἥρπασε γαίης  
 τὸν καλόν· ἢ φιλόπαις οὐκέτι νῦν ὁ θεός.

1 πάλιν...εἰλαπίναισι P 4 sive ἢ  
 1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 6,749.

1 [2010] Αἰθιόπων ... εἰλαπίναισιν: as in Hom. *Il.* 1.423.

2 [2011] χρυσός: as in Antipater of Thessalonica 5.31.5-6 = PG 709-10 Δανάη Ζεὺς | οὐ χρυσός, χρυσοῦς δ' ἦλθε φέρων ἑκατόν, Parmenion 5.33.1 = PG 2578 ἐς Δανάην ἔρρευσας, Ὀλύμπιε, χρυσός.

4 [2013] ἢ: or ἢ. Jacobs preferred ἢ, *tertiam enim causam poeta attulit cur Periander adhuc in terris moretur.*

## XL

On a ship destroyed by fire on shore after surviving many perils at sea.

The theme is common (see p. 508); the style seems rather more like that of the Alexandrian Leonides than the Tarentine Leonidas, but the choice cannot be made with certainty. The changes required to create *isopsephia* are plausible but not wholly convincing.

A.P. 9.106, Pl<sup>A</sup> [CPl] Λεωνίδου [C] Ταραντίνου [J] εἰς ναῦν πυρπολη-  
 θεῖσαν ἐν γῇ ἣν οὐ διέφθειρε θάλασσα

ὀλκάδα πῦρ μ' ἐνέφλεξε τοσήνδ' ἄλλα μετρήσασαν,  
 ἐν χθονὶ τῇ πεύκας εἰς ἐμέ κειραμένη, 2015  
 ἣν πέλαγος διέσωσεν, ἐπ' ἡiónος. ἀλλὰ θαλάσσης  
 τὴν ἐμέ γειναμένην ἡῦρον ἀπιστοτέρην.

1 ἐνέφλεξε Setti: ἀνέφλεξε Pl, ἔφλεξε P τοσήνδ' Stadtmüller: τόσην PPl  
 2 κειραμένη Pl: κειρομένη P 3 ἡiónος Pl 4 γειναμένη Pl: γεινομένη P  
 ἡῦρον Stadtmüller: εῦρον PPl  
 1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 5,307.

*isopsephia* is created by the change of spelling in 4 and the change of one letter and addition of another in 1; but it may be argued that the compound ἐμφλέγω is not wholly satisfactory in this context.

1 [2014] ὀλκάδα: ὀλκάς also in the parallel epigrams (see p. 508) by Secundus, Cyllenius, and Julianus.

## LEONIDES OF ALEXANDRIA

**τοσὴνδ' ἄλα μετρήσασαν:** Leonides varies the phrasing of his models, Antiphrilos μυρία με τρίψασαν ἀμετρήτοιο θαλάσσης | κύματα, Secundus ἀμετρήτου πελάγους ἀνύσασα κέλευθον.

**2 [2015] πεύκας ... κειραμένηι:** *shorn of its pines*; εἰς ἐμέ is equivalent in effect to ἐμοί, *for my advantage*.

**3 [2016] ἐπ' ἡiónος:** this seems unnecessary after ἐν χθονί, and no doubt the epigram would be better without it; it serves a purpose nevertheless, stressing the fact that a ship might expect to perish at sea, but not while apparently safe on shore.

**4 [2017] τὴν ἐμέ γειναμένην:** the same point as Antiphrilos, ἔνθεν ἔφυν, and with characteristic elaboration in Agathias ἐν χθονὸς ἀγκοίναις μητριάσιν.

**ἀπιστοτέρην:** similar ends in Antiphrilos τίς ἐρεῖ πόντον ἀπιστότερον; and Bionor τὴν ἀλί πιστήν | ... γαίῃ δείξεν ἀπιστοτέρην.

### XLI

On a statue of Eros made of frankincense-wood.

The ascription to the Alexandrian Leonides is hazardous, as the *isopsephia* depends on changes in the third line which, though very small and easy, create a second-person address where the third person may be thought more natural. But the epigrams rings rather more like the Alexandrian, and it would be a curious coincidence if the *isopsephia* were fortuitous.

A.P. 9.179, P1<sup>A</sup> [CPI] Λεωνίδου [C] Ταραντίνου εἰς τὸν Ἔρωτα

τοξοβόλον τὸν Ἔρωτα τίς ἔξεσεν ἐκ λιβανωτοῦ,  
τόν ποτε μηδ' αὐτοῦ Ζηνὸς ἀποσχόμενον;  
ὅπερ που Ἡφαίστῳ κεῖσαι σκοπός, ὃν καθορᾶσθαι 2020  
ἔπρεπεν οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ πυρὶ τυφόμενον.

3 που... κεῖσαι Stadtmüller: ποθ'... κεῖται PPI

1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 8,540.

Commentary in *HE* 2.338–9.

### XLII

On the statue of Eros by Praxiteles.

A. Plan. (P1<sup>A</sup>) 206 Λεωνίδου

Θεσπίες τὸν Ἔρωτα μόνον θεὸν ἐγ Κυθερείης  
ἄζοντ', οὐχ ἑτέρου γλυπτὸν ἀπ' ἀρχετύπου,  
ἀλλ' ὃν Πραξιτέλης ἔγνω θεόν, ὃν περὶ Φρόνηι  
δερχόμενος σφετέρων λύτρον ἔδωκε πόθων. 2025

1 ἐγ Page: ἐν P1 2 γλυπτὸν Herwerden: γραπτὸν P1

1 + 2 = 3 + 4 = 8,667.

The equation, and therefore the ascription to the Alexandrian Leonides, depend on the retention of ἐν Κυθερείης (spelt ἐγ Κυθ-) and the change of γραπτὸν to γλυπτὸν.

## LEONIDES OF ALEXANDRIA

γλυπτόν is highly probable, whichever poet is the author. The epigram is concerned with sculpture, a particular work of Praxiteles, and all thought of any other mode of art is irrelevant. In the *Anthology*, as elsewhere, γραπτός is the normal word for painting or writing, γλυπτός for any kind of carving. The best defence of γραπτός here would come from Perses 7.730.2 = *HE* 2884, where γραπτός τύπος describes a figure on a sepulchral monument; but (a) the figure in question may be painted (Gow and Page *ad loc.*), and (b) the text there too should perhaps be changed to γλυπτός, as Hecker suggested. For γραπτός in Diodorus 9.776.3 = *PG* 2188, see the Preface there.

If then, for a reason independent of *isopsephia*, γλυπτός is accepted, 1 + 2 exceed 3 + 4 by 47; and it is then a remarkable coincidence that 47 is precisely the difference between ἐγ and ἐν. The *isopsephia* could now be confidently accepted if ἐν Κυθέρειης were in itself free from objection; but there is a difficulty in it.

With ἐν Κυθέρειης, the meaning is that the statue of Eros stood in the temple of Aphrodite. In almost any place except Thespieae this would be natural, for Eros very rarely had a cult of his own. But it happens that he had a cult, and indeed a particularly famous one, at Thespieae; and if he had a temple there, Praxiteles' statue would certainly have been placed in it. It follows that if we are to retain ἐν Κυθέρειης, we must deny to Eros a temple of his own at Thespieae; and we have in our favour the fact that there is neither literary nor archaeological evidence for such a temple (though the excavators of Thespieae assumed that there was one; see Beckby 4.564). If then Eros had no temple, that of Aphrodite would have been the most appropriate place for the famous statue, and ἐν Κυθέρειης may be retained in the text with confidence.

Those who would give Eros a temple at Thespieae must accept the conjecture ἐκ for ἐν, and this is not at all agreeable: the mention of Eros' parentage (a doubtful matter, seldom referred to) is wholly irrelevant here, and ἐκ Κυθέρειης has no point of attachment to the sentence unless it is taken with μόνον θεόν, 'Eros, the only god born to Aphrodite'; but this makes the irrelevance still more obtrusive, and anyway μόνον θεόν obviously goes with ἄζονται (it is an exaggeration, but a venial one: he means that Eros is much the most important god in Thespieae, the only one of first-rate standing; cf. Pausanias 9.27.1 θεῶν δὲ οἱ Θεσπιδεῖς τιμῶσιν Ἐρώτα μάλιστα ἐξ ἀρχῆς).

Commentary in *HE* 2.388.

## NICODEMUS OF HERACLEA

A.P. 6.314–320 are ascribed to 'Nicodemus of Heraclea' in the Palatine and Planudean manuscripts. 6.323, omitted by Planudes, has the heading τοῦ αὐτοῦ in P, meaning Leonides of Alexandria, but this is obviously a mistake; the epigram is a palindrome, like those in the foregoing sequence. It has been restored to Nicodemus by all modern editors. This author's name recurs in only one other place: 9.53 Νικοδήμου οἱ δὲ Βάσσου C, Νικομήδους οἱ δὲ Βάσσου Pl; Pl's Νικομήδους was an easy mistake, but there is no knowing how the



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## NICODEMUS OF HERACLEA

name of Bassus, one of the authors in Philip's *Garland*, came to be attached to this palindromic epigram.

There is no other information about Nicodemus. His date is unknown, and editors from Jacobs to Beckby have refrained from guessing. Geffcken in *RE* suggested that Nicodemus might be a contemporary of Leonides of Alexandria, merely on the ground that palindromes might be popular in an age which enjoyed the arithmetical ingenuities of Leonides.

It is unsafe to draw any conclusion about the author's date from the extraordinary form πόσσις, for πόσις, in 6.323. It would have been as easy to write e.g. σύζυξ, so presumably the author saw nothing amiss in πόσσις. Isolated examples of eccentric prosody in literary epigrams can be quoted from the second century B.C. onwards (see *Rufinus* pp. 40-3), and although we may judge πόσσις to be a particularly irresponsible and offensive form, it is prudent to refrain from using it as an argument for a relatively late date. We may perhaps go so far as to say that, for this and other reasons, we should be surprised and sorry to learn that Nicodemus lived in, or anywhere near, the time of Leonides of Alexandria.

Three of the epigrams are plainly, and three others probably, descriptions of works of art; all may be. There is nothing of interest in Nicodemus except this – that he preserves the memory of sculptures or paintings otherwise unknown. We might have suspected that his subjects are fictitious; but an anonymous epigram, *A. Plan.* 262, describes the same sculpture as Nicodemus 6.317, and if this one is credible so may the others be.

6.315, 316: paintings by Ophelion. A sculptor is known (probably of the first century B.C.; *RE* 18.1.632), but not a painter, so named. His works are: 315, Pan; 316, the Thyestean feast, showing Aerope weeping, the table with the remains of Thyestes' sons served for eating, and a figure of Retribution.

6.317: sculpture by Praxiteles; Pan, Nymphs, and Danae. The only other reference to this interesting work is in anon. *A. Plan.* 262:

ὁ τραγόπους ὁ τὸν ἄσκὸν ἐπηρμένος αἶ τε γελῶσαι  
 Νύμφαι Πραξιτέλους ἥ τε καλὴ Δανάη,  
 λύγδινά πάντα καὶ ἄκρα σοφαὶ χέρες.

A scene familiar to us from the *Dictyulci* of Aeschylus comes at once to mind (but see Kuhnert in *Myth. Lex.* 3.2047). Lippold says 'offenbar rundplastisch, nicht Relief, obwohl ohne rechte Analogie'; I am not so sure that this is self-evident.

6.314: τόδε strongly suggests that the subject is something visible in a work of art; Odysseus bringing Penelope a cloak and robe (*vestimenta, quae Ulysses a Phaeacibus dono acceperat. vide Odys.* N 10, Jacobs).

6.318, 319: wedding-scenes; *in imaginem videtur scriptum, quae nuptiarum pompam exhibebat*, Jacobs. Cf. *Hom. Il.* 18.492ff.

6.323 and 9.53 may be merely literary exercises, but are also readily intelligible as epigrams on sculptures or paintings of their subjects, Oedipus and Hippocrates.

6.320 is not so easily included in this category. It is addressed to 'Ascania', which presumably stands for Nicaea in Bithynia as in Hadrian *ap.* Peek *GVI*

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2050.2 τὸν Ἀσκανίην γέναιτο, of the birth of Parthenius in Bithynian Nicaea, and in anon. 15.7.5 θνάσκω δ' Ἀσκανίας μὲν ἀπόπροθεν, meaning ἄ πάτρα Νίκαια (1). *Propter Bacchi cultum illustris fuisse videtur regio*, said Jacobs: if so, very slight traces of the fact have survived; the claim that Dionysus was προπάτωρ and κτιστής of Nicaea (Farnell *Cults* 5.291 nn. 52, 53) was not widely known outside Bithynia. Either Nicodemus is describing a painting of a Bacchic scene in which the locality was defined, or he is commemorating a visit to 'Ascania'.

The epigrams are generally composed in simple vocabulary and a plain style. There are a few disagreeable features in addition to the monstrous πόσσις. δύσνομος (6.316), the only new coinage, was not a good epithet for the remains of the Thyestean feast, suggesting as it does 'a bad state of law'. διερός (6.316), of Aerope, to inform us that she was immersed in the sea, is not much if at all better than Paton's translation of it, *dripping*. Εὐίης (6.320), for Εὐίος, is a disagreeable innovation (unknown to LSJ), easily avoidable. χρύσεα (6.320) was by no means the best available adjective for the ὄργια Βάκχου. Ἀρκάδος (6.315), 'of Arcadian (Hermes)', seems uncouth and was easily avoidable.

These nine epigrams may be read backwards as well as forwards. The terms used to describe them are (a) ἀναστρέφοντα (P on 6.314; ἀναστρέφομενον J on 9.53; ἀναστρέφονται Pl on 6.320; ἀναστρέφει Pl on 9.53) and (b) ἀντιστρέφοντα (Pl on 6.314; ἀντιστρέφει C on 9.53). The editions often use ἀνακυκλικόν, a word which has the peculiar distinction of being a modern scholar's invention admitted to the columns of the *Thesaurus* and LSJ; their only example is from the heading to *A.P.* 6.323, where P has nothing but τοῦ αὐτοῦ (the epigram is not in Pl). So far as I know, the word appears first in the general heading which Brunck devised for the epigrams of Nicodemus in his *Analecta*, ἀναστρέφοντα ἢ ἀνακυκλικά (= vol. 3 p. 91 in Jacobs' first edition; Brunck gave the epigrams the eccentric title Νικομήδους Συμυριάτου Ιατροῦ – *inscriptionem falsissimam*, as Jacobs noted in his commentary, vol. 10 p. 129).

In reading backwards word-groups of certain kinds count as single words; ἀντ' ἄλκᾱς, ἐκ θαλάμων, ἐν εὐρυχώρῳ and the like are reckoned as one word, not two.

The rules allow some liberty:

(a) A syllable need not have the same quantity in the backward as in the forward version. (i) 314 ἄτραπον forward, ἄτραπον backward; so 315 and 316 ἔγραφεν, 316 δᾶκρουν, 317 πῆτρης, 318 and 319 Κῦπριδ-, 319 παῖτρος, 320 πρῶκριτοι. (ii) 320 κᾶλη forward, κᾶλη backward; 315 καὶ and καὶ. (iii) A final closed vowel may be scanned long in the one direction, short in the other: e.g. 314 χλαῖνᾱν forward, χλαῖνᾱν backward.

(b) Paragogic *nu* may be present in the one direction, absent in the other: 317 ἐπλάσε(ν).

(c) A word may be elided in the one direction but not in the other: 315 and 317 Πᾶν(α), 319 ὕπ(ό), 320 μέγ(α).

(d) Hiatus, not present in the forward versions, is twice allowed in the backward: 320 καὶ ὄργια, 9.53 καὶ ἔθνεα.

## NICODEMUS OF HERACLEA

(e) In 318 the forward version ends ἐκ θαλάμων ἄγομεν, the backward version, beginning ἄγομεν, appears to involve an artificial lengthening. Boissonade's ἐξάγομεν θαλάμων is against the rules, and the truth presumably is that ἄγομεν in the backward version is Doric ἄγομεν.

(f) In 315 the backward version allows *brevi in longo* before the caesura: ἔγραφεῖν | ἀντ'.

Only one of the epigrams, 323, takes no advantage of any of these liberties.

A simple species of this genus appears as far back as the early Hellenistic period: Castorion *ap.* Athen. 10.455A σὲ τὸν βολαῖς νιφοκτύποις δυσχείμερον, and four similar lines in which the *metra* can be transposed, νιφοκτύποις σὲ τὸν βολαῖς δυσχείμερον.

The game is infinitely harder to play if the unit is not the word but the letter, as in the well-known palindromes νίψον ἀνομήματα μὴ μόναν ὄψιν, the 'Teufelsvers' *signa me, signa; temere me tangis et angis*, and 'able was I ere I saw Elba'.

### I

A.P. 6.314, P1<sup>A</sup> [PPI] Νικοδήμου Ἑρακλεώτου [P] ἀναστρέφοντα [PI] ἀντιστρέφοντα

Πηνελόπη, τόδε σοι φᾶρος καὶ χλαῖναν Ὀδυσσεύς  
ἤνεγκεν δολιχὴν ἐξανύσας ἄτραπόν. 2027

### II

A.P. 6.315 τοῦ αὐτοῦ, P1<sup>A</sup> s.a.n.

τὸν τραγόπουν ἐμὲ Πᾶνα, φίλον Βρομίοιο καὶ υἷόν  
Ἀρκάδος, ἀντ' ἄλκᾱς ἔγραφεν ὠφελίων. 2029

**2 [2029]** ἀντ' ἄλκᾱς is an odd touch, = 'in return for my protection, or help'; it is hard to guess how the painting could have suggested this. It may reflect some anecdote about Ophelion.

### III

A.P. 6.316, P1<sup>A</sup> [PPI] τοῦ αὐτοῦ

Ἀερόπης δάκρυον διερῆς καὶ λείψανα δείπνων 2030  
δύσνομα καὶ Ποινὴν ἔγραφεν ὠφελίων.

<sup>1</sup> διερῆς P: ἱερῆς (non δ' ἱερῆς) P1

**1 [2030] διερῆς:** *wet through*. Atreus punished Aerope for stealing the golden lamb and for her infidelity by throwing her into the sea, ρίψας αὐτὴν εἰς θάλασσαν (schol. E. *Or.* 811; Pearson *Fragments of Sophocles* 1.92, *Myth. Lex.* 1.87). Cf. Opp. *Hal.* 5.345 διερὸς μόρος.

### IV

A.P. 6.317, P1<sup>A</sup> [PPI] τοῦ αὐτοῦ

Πραξιτέλης ἔπλασεν Δανάην καὶ φάρεα Νυμφῶν  
λύγδινα καὶ πέτρης Πᾶν' ἐμὲ Πεντελικῆς. 2033

<sup>2</sup> Πᾶνά με PPI Παντελ- P

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### V

A.P. 6.318, P<sup>A</sup> [PPI] τοῦ αὐτοῦ

Κύπριδι κουροτρόφῳ δάμαλιν ῥέξαντες ἔφηβοι  
χαίροντες νύμφας ἐκ θαλάμων ἄγομεν. 2035

### VI

A.P. 6.319, P<sup>A</sup> [PPI] τοῦ αὐτοῦ

αἰθομέναις ὑπὸ δαίσι·ν ἐν εὐρυχόρῳ πατρός οἴκῳ  
Παρθένον ἐκ χειρῶν ἡγαγόμεν·ν Κύπριδος. 2037

1 αἰθομέναις PPI: -μένας C

### VII

A.P. 6.320, P<sup>A</sup> [PPI] τοῦ αὐτοῦ

Ἀσκανίῃ μέγα χαῖρε καλὴ καὶ χρύσεια Βάκχου  
ὄργια καὶ μύσται πρόκριτοι Εὐύειω. 2039

eadem etiam ἀναστρεφόμενα exhibit P1

### VIII

A.P. 6.323 (caret P1) iunctum cum sequente epigrammate [P] τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
(sc. Λεωνίδου Ἀλεξανδρέως)

Οἰδιπόδης κάσις ἦν τεκέων καὶ μητέρι πόσις  
γίνετο καὶ παλάμης ἦν τυφλὸς ἐκ σφετέρης. 2040

2 γίνετο Brunck: γείνετο P

### IX

A.P. 9.53, P<sup>A</sup> [CPI] Νικοδήμου (-μήδους P1), οἱ δὲ Βάσσου; Syll. E 2 s.a.n.  
[J] εἰς Ἴπποκράτην τὸν ἱατρὸν ἀναστρεφόμενον· θαυμάσιον [C] εἰς Ἴππο-  
κράτην τὸν Κῳιον ἱατρὸν τὸ ἐπαινούμενον ἐπίγραμμα· ἀντιστρέφει

Ἴπποκράτης φάος ἦν μερόπων, καὶ σώετο λαῶν  
ἔθνεα, καὶ νεκύων ἦν σπάνις εἶν Ἀίδι. 2043

eadem etiam ἀναστρεφόμενα exhibit P1

## TIBERIUS ILUS

Seven epigrams, alike in subject-matter and style, form a group in *A.P.* 9.370–6. They stand in the midst of a miscellany of authors datable from the second to the tenth century A.D.

The first of the seven is ascribed to ‘Tiberius’, the other six are all ‘of uncertain authorship’. Both the anecdotal subject-matter and the style of the

## NICODEMUS OF HERACLEA

### V

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χαίροντες νύμφας ἐκ θαλάμων ἄγομεν. 2035

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A.P. 6.319, P<sup>1A</sup> [PPI] τοῦ αὐτοῦ

αἰθομέναις ὑπὸ δαίσιν ἐν εὐρυχόρῳ πατρός οἴκῳ  
Παρθένον ἐκ χειρῶν ἡγαγόμενὴν Κύπριδος. 2037

1 αἰθομέναις PPI: -μένας C

### VII

A.P. 6.320, P<sup>1A</sup> [PPI] τοῦ αὐτοῦ

Ἀσκανίῃ μέγα χαῖρε καλὴ καὶ χρύσεια Βάκχου  
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[J] εἰς Ἴπποκράτην τὸν ἰατρὸν ἀναστρεφόμενον· θαυμάσιον [C] εἰς Ἴππο-  
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Ἴπποκράτης φάος ἦν μερόπων, καὶ σώετο λαῶν  
ἔθνεα, καὶ νεκύων ἦν σπάνις εἶν Ἀίδι. 2043

eadem etiam ἀναστρεφόμενα exhibet P1

## TIBERIUS ILUS

Seven epigrams, alike in subject-matter and style, form a group in *A.P.* 9.370–6. They stand in the midst of a miscellany of authors datable from the second to the tenth century A.D.

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epigrams in this group strongly reflect the period of Philip's *Garland*, c. 90 B.C. – A.D. 40. The other potential source for epigrams of this type, the *Cycle* of Agathias, is improbable for several reasons. First, the anecdotal type of epigram is very rare in the *Cycle*; only Paulus 9.396, Julianus 9.398, and Agathias 9.442 are comparable. Secondly, the style of these epigrams is quite unlike that of the *Cycle*-poets. Thirdly, two lines in the six anonymous epigrams and one in the epigram ascribed to Tiberius have proparoxytone hexameter-ends, contrary to the rule of the *Cycle*.

The date of the group is problematic, but the commentary will show that all would have passed muster in Philip's *Garland* if the tradition had assigned them to it.<sup>1</sup> The only apparent obstacle to a date in the first half of the first century A.D. or even somewhat earlier is the heading to 9.370.

Modern editions all give the heading 'Tiberius Illustris' to A.P. 9.2 and 9.370. If this is correct, there is an end of the matter. *Illustris* as a title of rank came into use in the latter part of the fourth century A.D. (*RE* 9.1070); if Tiberius was *illustris*, that is the earliest possible period for him, and therefore also for the six anonymous epigrams which follow, if indeed 9.370–6 are a coherent group. It remains therefore to inquire whether the evidence for adding the title *illustris* to the name of Tiberius is satisfactory.

The Palatine manuscript offers Τιβερίου ἱλου at 9.2 and Τιβερίου ἱλου at 9.370. Planudes has Τιβερίου ἱλλου at 9.2 and Τιβερίου ἱλ~ at 9.371 (the first of the six epigrams marked ἄδηλον in P). Reiske was the first to expand ἱλ(λ)ου to ἱλλουστρίου, and the only subsequent editor to express a doubt is Waltz, who notes 'ἱλου P (*fortasse servandum, ut proprium nomen habitum*)'.<sup>2</sup>

Now Stadtmüller, who accepts 'Tiberius illustris' without question, observes (on 9.370) that this title is never elsewhere thus abbreviated in the *Anthology*: ἱλλουστρί- is always spelt out, as in 6.86 Εὐτολμίου σχῶλ ἱλλουστρίου, 7.611 Εὐτολμίου σχῶλ ἱλλουστρί, 9.587 Εὐτολμίου ἱλλουστρίου, 9.762 Ἀβλαβίου ἱλλουστρίου, and in the *lemma* to 1.36 Θεοδώρου ἱλλουστρίου. It may be said that ἱλλουστρίου could have been abbreviated to ἱλλῶ, as σχολαστικοῦ to σχῶλ but the facts are (a) that it never is; (b) that P has ἱλου, not ἱλλου; (c) that there is no compendium to denote an abbreviation at either 9.2 or 9.370; and (d) that in both places ἱλου is written with an accent on the ι, showing that the writer had no notion of ἱλλουστρίου in mind.

What the Palatine manuscript offers in both places is a Greek name 'Ilos', and there is no apparent reason why this should not be accepted. A man might be called Ilos, after the founder of Troy, as many were called by the name of Laomedon, son of the founder of Troy. 'Ilos' is not intrinsically more

<sup>1</sup> Stadtmüller (on A.P. 9.370) sought evidence in the 'alphabetical order' of the epigrams. The initials of 9.370–6 are Δ, Λ, Τ, Α, Τ, Τ: subtract the 'Α' as an intruder (from Meleager's *Garland*) and the rest form a series in order. The need to eliminate the 'Α' is a serious weakness in the theory; and it would be very odd if a group of epigrams from Philip's *Garland* appeared not within the *Garland*-sequences but isolated in the midst of a miscellany of much later authors. If they come from the period in question, it is likely that they were not included in the *Garland*.

<sup>2</sup> But the recent (1974) Budé edition of 9.370 has no doubt about ἱλλουστρίου.

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remarkable than 'Anchises', the name of an Athenian archon (488/7 B.C.), or 'Cadmus' (Hdt. 7.163) or 'Memnon' (like Laomedon, quite a common name). And the coupling of a Greek name with a Roman *gentile* was very common in the period covered by Philip's *Garland*; *Tiberius Ilus* is not more exotic than (for example) *Horatius Hylas* (RE 8.2400), nor does it differ in principle from *Antonius Demosthenes* or from the name of one of Philip's authors, *Antonius Thallus*.

The only apparent clue to the date of Tiberius was the title *illustris*. But this is now exposed as a bad conjecture, incompatible with the evidence of the Palatine manuscript; and it now appears that the name actually offered by the manuscript, 'Tiberius Ilus', is not exposed to any objection.

Another possible source of evidence about the date of Tiberius is the nature of the contexts in which his epigrams are embedded:

(1) *A.P.* 9.2 stands near the beginning of a miscellany of which the details are fully set out in *The Garland of Philip* 1. xxii f. Of the 99 epigrams with author-names from 9.1 to 9.114, 62 are ascribed to Meleager's authors, 29 to Philip's or their contemporaries, and 5 to Leonides of Alexandria; that is to say, 96 out of 99 belong to authors who flourished not later than the middle of the first century A.D. The only later authors are Palladas (two epigrams) and Theon (one). There is an obvious probability that an otherwise unknown author, such as Tiberius, will belong to the 96 majority rather than to the 3 minority; and this guess is strongly supported by the subject-matter and style of 9.2, which are characteristic of the period of Philip's *Garland*.

(2) The context of 9.370 is so miscellaneous that no safe conclusion can be drawn. *A.P.* 9.370-6 form a homogeneous group wholly unrelated to what precedes and to what follows. The context of the group is indeed as odd a mixture as anything in the *Anthology*.

9.361-6 are all in dactylic hexameters: 361, Homeric cento by Leo (c. A.D. 900); 362 and 363, not epigrams but short idylls (one of them absurdly ascribed to Meleager); 364, not an epigram but a quotation from a poem by Nestor of Laranda (c. A.D. 200); 365, by the emperor Julian; 366, anonymous; 367, on the prodigal son of Menippus, ascribed to Lucian of Samosata; 368, on beer, by the emperor Julian; and 369, on brevity in epigrams, by Cyrillus, a name which points to the latter part of the second century A.D. at the earliest.

Here comes the homogeneous group led by Tiberius, 9.370-6, and this is followed by 377, Palladas, a complaint that there was too little wine at dinner; 378-9, two more by Palladas; 380, anonymous, of indeterminable date; 381-2, Homeric centos in hexameters; 383-4, on the months in the Egyptian and Roman calendars; 385, hexameters, on the contents of the Books of the *Iliad*, by Stephanus (sixth century); 386, anonymous, probably relatively late; 387-9, by Hadrian (or Germanicus), and an anecdote about him (or Trajan).

This is an extraordinary conglomeration. Of twenty 'epigrams' surrounding the homogeneous group, ten are hexameter-pieces, including Homeric centos, short idylls, a fragment of a longer poem, a summary of the *Iliad*, and catalogues of the Egyptian and Roman months. Whatever the date and origin of 9.370-6 may be, it is impossible to explain or even to guess why this group was inserted into the middle of this exotic medley, which ranges in time from Hadrian



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through Lucian, Nestor, the emperor Julian, Palladas, and Stephanus, to Leo the Philosopher at the beginning of the tenth century.

The subjects, style, vocabulary, and metre of *A.P.* 9.370–6 point to the first half of the first century A.D., if not somewhat earlier; and there is nothing to suggest any later period.

The general conclusions are:

- (a) That the name of Tiberius was 'Tiberius Ilus'.
- (b) That the context, subject, and style of 9.2 point to the latter part of the period covered by Philip's *Garland*.
- (c) That the subject and style of 9.370 points in the same direction. The rest of the group 371–6 come most probably from the same period.

### (a) *A.P.* 9.2 and 9.370; TIBERIUS ILUS

#### I (*A.P.* 9.2)

A snake bites a deer's udder; a fawn drinks the milk and dies.

This is an inferior version of Polyaeus of Sardis 9.1 = *PG* i; a clumsy and dull epigram, in striking contrast to the virtuosity of II. It is a fair guess that Polyaeus is the model, Tiberius the imitator.

*A.P.* 9.2, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPI] Τιβερίου Ἰλου (Ἰλλου Pl) [J] εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν (sc. δορκάδα ἣν ἐθήλασεν ἔχῃς)

κεμμάδος ἀρτιτόκου μαζοῖς βρίθουσι γάλακτος  
 ἡ φονίη δακέτων ἰὸν ἐνῆκεν ἔχῃς. 2045  
 φαρμαχθὲν δ' ἰῶι μητρὸς γάλα νεβρὸς ἀμέλξας  
 χεῖλεσι τὸν κείνης ἐξέπιεν θάνατον.

**1 [2044] κεμμάδος:** on the form (normally κεμᾶ-), see the note on Antipater of Thessalonica 9.268.6 = *PG* 214.

**ἀρτιτόκου:** δορκάδος ἀρτιτόκοιο is the beginning in the model, Polyaeus *loc. cit.*

**2 [2045] ἡ φονίη δακέτων:** *the murderous among noxious beasts*, an uncouth phrase.

**3 [2046] ἰῶι:** following ἰὸν, a dull repetition.

**4 [2047] τὸν ... θάνατον:** *drank up her death* means 'drank up the death which her poisoned milk imparted'; another disagreeable phrase.

#### II (*A.P.* 9.370)

On a deer which jumped into the sea and was caught by fishermen's nets.

This is an original variation on a common theme. The model is represented by Germanicus 9.17 = I below: a hare, pursued by a hound, jumps into the sea, only to be caught there by a 'sea-hound'; the following epigram in the group, 9.371 = III, is on the same subject. In Tiberius the animal is not a hare as in the common version but a deer, and it leaps into the sea, to be caught by nets, not as in the common version by a 'sea-hound'. Having thus displayed

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his independence in the subject-matter, Tiberius proceeds to show the same quality in his composition. Though there is nothing which would have aroused suspicion if this epigram had been ascribed to one of Philip's authors, yet the style has some originality; the phrase ἡ χέρσοιο μάτην φυγὰς, presumably the author's own, is thoroughly Alexandrian in its neat terseness, and so is the last line.

A.P. 9.370 Τιβερίου Ἰλου, ΠΙ<sup>Α</sup> τοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. Τιβ. Ἰλλου) [C] εἰς δορκάδα ἐν θαλάσῃ πεσοῦσαν καὶ ὑπὸ δικτύων σαγηνευθεῖσαν

οὐ κύνες, οὐ στάλικές με κατήνυσαν, οὐχὶ κυνηγοὶ  
δορκάδα, τὸν δ' ἀπὸ γῆς εἶν ἀλὶ πλῆσα μόρον.  
ἔξ ὕλης πόντῳ γὰρ ἐνέδραμον, εἴτά με πλεκταὶ 2050  
ἔλξαν ἐπ' αἰγιαλοὺς δικτυβόλων παγίδες.  
5 ἦλιτον, ἡ χέρσοιο μάτην φυγὰς, οὐδ' ἀδίκως με  
εἶλε σαγηνευτῆς τὰμὰ λιποῦσαν ὄρη.  
οὐποτ' ἄγρης, ἀλιῆς, ἔτ' ἄστοχον οἶσετε χεῖρα,  
χέρσω καὶ πελάγει κοινὰ πλέκοντες ὕφη. 2055

3 ἐπέδραμον ΠΙ 5 οὐδ' P: οὐκ ΠΙ 7 ἄγρην P, dein ras. duarum litt.

**1-2 [2048-9] κατήνυσαν:** ἀνύω = *destroy* is as early as Homer (*Od.* 24.71; cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 12.11) but not common; the vocabulary of this epigram is select.

**ἀπὸ γῆς εἶν ἀλί:** the same phrase in Antiphilus 9.415.4 = *PG* 1054; cf. Flaccus 7.290.5-6 = *PG* 3809-10 μάτην πρὸς κύματ' ἐμόχθει | τὴν ἐπὶ γῆς φεύγων μοῖραν ὀφειλομένην.

**πλῆσα:** a very rare metaphorical use of the verb; in *HE* only Leonidas 7.504.11 = 2381 νῆματ' ἀναπλήσας ἐπιμοῖρια.

**4 [2051] δικτυβόλων παγίδες:** both words are very rare in the *Anthology*; not elsewhere used in this combination.

**7 [2054] οἶσετε:** virtually synonymous with, but stronger and more stylish than, ἔξετε; cf. E. *Hipp.* 118, *Phoen.* 1531.

(b) *A.P.* 9. 371-6; ANONYMOUS

## III

On a hare which escaped from a hound by jumping into the sea, only to be caught by a 'sea-hound'.

This epigram, ambitious in vocabulary and phrasing, tells the same story as Germanicus 9.17 (= 1 below) with one addition: here the hare escapes from a net, is pursued by a hound, and is caught in the sea; the escape from the net does not occur in Germanicus. The style is characteristic of, and shows nothing inconsistent with, the period covered by Philip's *Garland*.

The attribution to Tiberius in Planudes is presumably an oversight (Tiberius is the author to whom the preceding epigram is ascribed in P).

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A.P. 9.371 ἄδηλον, P1<sup>A</sup> Τιβερίου ἰλ̃ [C] εἰς λαγῶν ἐμπεσόντα εἰς θάλασσαν ὃν κύων θαλάσσιος ἤρπασεν

δίκτυον ἐκθρώϊσκοντα πολύπλοκον ἄρτι λαγῶν  
σεῦε κύων θερμοῖς ἵχνεσιν ὠκυπόδην·  
τρηχύν δ' ἐκνεύσας ταχινῶς πάγον ἐς βαθὺ πόντου  
ἦλατ' ἄλυσκάζων κύμα παρακτίδιον.  
5 εἰνάλιος τὸν δ' αἶψα κύων βρυχηδὸν ὁδοῦσιν 2060  
μάρψε· κυσὶν τλήμων ἦν ἄρ' ὀφειλόμενος.

3 ταχινῶς P1: -νοῖς P 6 κυσὶ P1

**1 [2056] δίκτυον ἐκθρώϊσκοντα:** cf. 3 ἐκνεύσας...πάγον. The genitive would be normal with these verbs, the accusative is suggested and justified by the analogy of ἐκφεύγω *c. acc.*

**2 [2057] σεῦε κύων:** Homeric phrasing; *Il.* 3.26 σεύωνται...κύνες, 15.272 ἐσσεύαντο κύνες.

**θερμοῖς ἵχνεσιν:** the ἵχνη may be either of the hound or of the hare; in either case the 'hot steps' may be illustrated by Theocr. 17.121-2 ἔτι θερμά κονία | στειβομένα καθύπερθε ποδῶν ἐκμάσσεται ἵχνη, Rhianus 6.173.3 = *HE* 3241 θερμόν...πόδα, Catullus 64.341 *flammea...vestigia*.

**ὠκυπόδην:** ὠκύπους, for ὠκύπους, (of the hare [*Hes.*] *scut.* 302) only here and *E. Hyps. fr.* 1 ii 36 (p. 27 Bond), Macedonius Consul 5.223.4.

**3-4 [2058-9] τρηχύν δ' δ':** the postponement is very uncommon in this style; cf. anon. 9.159.5 ὅστίον ὥς γὰρ ἐπληξεν, 9.184.3 'Ομηρικὸν δς τ' ἀπὸ ῥεῦμα | ἔσπασας. It recurs in 5, but there εἰνάλιος is a particularly important word.

**ἐκνεύσας:** the metaphor seems fresher and livelier when applied to a netted hare than in such contexts as Pind. *Ol.* 13.114, *E. Hipp.* 470, and Men. *Epir.* 396.

**βαθὺ πόντου:** βαθύ with κύμα; Jacobs, whose judgement is normally first-rate, here unaccountably approves the extraordinary notion that βαθύ stands for βένθος and that ἀλυσκάζων κύμα παρακτίδιον means 'evading a wave (of hounds) on the shore'.

**ἀλυσκάζων:** Homeric, and very rare thereafter (not in *HE*; ἀλύσκω only 'Simonides' 6.217.1 = *HE* 3304).

**παρακτίδιον** = παρακταῖον; here only.

**5 [2060] εἰνάλιος ... κύων:** see Germanicus 2097 n.

**βρυχηδόν** = ὁδάς; from βρύχω, here only. Cf. Antiphilus 9.14.4 = *PG* 968 βρύγδην (there only) in the same sense in a similar context. βρυχηδόν in Ap. Rhod. 3.1374 is from βρυχάσμαι.

## IV

On a cicada caught in a spider's web, released by a passer-by.

This epigram, which has charm and some individuality, is composed in a manifestly Alexandrian style and contains nothing incompatible with a date in the Hellenistic or early Imperial period.

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Epigrams on cicadas are common; this variation on the theme occurs nowhere else.

The text of Planudes comes from a source independent of P and includes a couple of remarkable differences.

A.P. 9.372 ἄδηλον, Pl<sup>B</sup> s.a.n. [C] εἰς τέττιγα ὑπ' ἀράχνης κρατηθέντα

λεπτόν ὑφηνάμενα ῥαδινοῖς ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἀράχνης  
τέττιγα σκολιαῖς ἔνδετον εἶχε πάγαις,  
ἀλλ' οὐ μιν λεπταῖσιν ἐπαιάζοντα ποδίστραις  
τὸν φιλάοιδον ἰδὼν παῖδα παρετρόχασα, 2065  
5 λύσας δ' ἐκ βροχίδων ἀπεκούφισα καὶ τόδ' ἔλεξα·  
"σώζου, Μουσεῖωι φθεγγόμενος κελάδωι."

1 ἀράχνη Pl 2 ἔνδετον εἶχε P: ἔνδον ἔχεσκε Pl 3 ἐπαιάζοντα ποδάγρας Pl 5 τόδ' Pl: τότ' P

**1 [2062] λεπτόν:** Jacobs thought this an awkward adverbial use and conjectured ποσσὶν ἰστόν for ὑπὸ ποσσὶν; probably, as Dübner said, it should be taken as = λεπτόν ὕφασμα ὑφηνάμενα.

**ῥαδινοῖς ... ποσσὶν:** the old formula (*H. Dem.* 183, *Hes. Theog.* 195) is applied to the cicada with picturesque effect.

**2 [2063] σκολιαῖς:** *non ad formam referendum epitheton, sed ad textentis araneae animum*, said Jacobs; perhaps rightly, but *winding, labyrinthine* is as likely. Cf. Call. *H. Del.* 311 γναμπτόν ἔδος σκολιοῦ λαβυρίνθου.

**ἔνδετον:** here only.

**3 [2064] μιν:** with τὸν...παῖδα following, μιν is not necessary, and Jacobs approved Brunck's μάν.

**λεπταῖσιν:** cf. λεπτόν above; the repetition is displeasing to modern taste, and Stadtmüller conjectured πλεκταῖσιν, comparing Philip 6.107.5–6 = PG 2769–70 νευροπλεκεῖς...ποδίστρας.

**4 [2065] φιλάοιδον:** elsewhere only Theocr. 28.23 and Antipater of Sidon 6.47.1 = HE 458.

**παῖδα:** an uncommon and lively touch, 'the music-loving *little fellow*'. The only fairly close parallel is Theocritus 9.432.3 = HE 3500 οἶχεται ἄ χίμαρος, τὸ καλὸν τέκος.

**5 [2066] ἐκ βροχίδων:** as in Antipater of Thessalonica 9.76.1 = PG 515; a very rare word.

**ἀπεκούφισα:** the compound in poetry elsewhere only E. *Hec.* 104, *Or.* 1341.

**τόδ':** *friget* τότ', as Jacobs said, and it would be abnormal in such contexts. τόδε is called for here as in Meleager 12.101.5, Antipater of Sidon 7.467.1–2 and 7.646.1–2, Callimachus 7.272.5, Hegemon 7.436.1–2, Hermodorus A. *Plan.* 170.1.

**6 [2067] Μουσεῖωι:** all the editors print μουσεῖωι and all except the Budé render *musical*, but there is no authority for such a use. Μούσειος in E. *Ba.* 410 means 'belonging to the Muses', like Μοισαῖος in Pind. *Isthm.* 6.2, 8.61, *Nem.* 8.47; Μουσεῖωι κελάδωι here = 'Muse-like sounds', a sound such as one might hear from the Muses.

On a cicada caught by shepherds.

The style, vocabulary, and phrasing of the elegant epigram are strong arguments for a date in the Hellenistic or, at latest, the early Imperial period. The author is not inferior to some of the best of Meleager's poets.

For similar epigrams, see the indexes to *HE* and *PG s.v.* 'Insects', and the Prefaces to Meleager 7.195 and 196 = *HE* xii and xiii.

A.P. 9.373, P<sup>1A</sup> [PPI] ἄδηλον [C] εἰς τέττιγα παρὰ ποιμένων μωρῶν ἀγρευθέντα οὐ μηδεὶς δύναται ἀπογεύσασθαι

τίπτε με τὸν φιλέρημον ἀναιδέι, ποιμένες, ἄγρηι  
 τέττιγα δροσερῶν ἔλκετ' ἀπ' ἀκρεμόνων,  
 τὴν Νυμφῶν παροδίτιν ἀηδόνα, καύματι μέσσωι 2070  
 οὔρεσι καὶ σκιεραῖς ξουθὰ λαλεῦντα νάπαις;  
 5 ἥνιδε καὶ κίχλην καὶ κόσσυφον, ἥνιδε τόσσους  
 ψᾶρας ἀρουραῖης ἄρπαγας εὐπορίας·  
 καρπῶν δηλητῆρας ἐλεῖν θέμις· ὅλλυτ' ἐκείνους·  
 φύλλων καὶ χλοερῆς τίς φθόνος ἐστὶ δρόσου; 2075

3 παροδίτην P καύματι P<sup>10</sup>: κύματι P<sup>10</sup>P<sup>1A</sup>, κήματι C 5 κόχλην P<sup>10</sup>  
 6 ἄρπαγας P 8 τί P

**1 [2068] φιλέρημον:** elsewhere only *Lyr. Adesp.* 7.10 (Powell) and (in a different sense) Rufinus 5.9 = *Rufinus* i 3; cf. Meleager 7.196.2 = *HE* 4067 μούσαν ἐρημολάλον, of the τέττιξ.

**ἀναιδέι:** cf. Bianor 9.273.5 = *PG* 1711 οὐχ ὁσίης θήρης.

**ἄγρηι:** hunting, as quite often in *HE*.

**2 [2069] δροσερῶν:** the τέττιξ was believed to feed on dew; see 8 n. The contexts are similar in the three places where this adjective occurs in *HE*, Aristodocus 7.189.4 = 775, Meleager 7.195.8 and 7.196.1 = 4065 and 4066.

**ἔλκετε:** a forceful verb; they *drag* it down.

**3 [2070] Νυμφῶν:** cf. Meleager 7.196.5–6 = *HE* 4070–1, of the τέττιξ, φθέγγου τι νέον δεινρώδεσι Νύμφαις | παίγνιον.

**παροδίτιν:** the form elsewhere only in Alcaeus 7.429.1 = *HE* 96; Maccius 9.249.3 = *PG* 2526 has παροδίτης.

**ἀηδόνα:** so Anyte 7.190.1 = *HE* 742, ἀκρίδι τᾷ κατ' ἄρουραν ἀηδόνι.

**καύματι μέσσωι:** a common motif in this context; Meleager 7.196.7 = *HE* 4072, Leonidas 6.120.2 = *HE* 2522, Apollonides 9.264.2 = *PG* 1224, Bianor 9.273.1 = *PG* 1707, anon. 9.584.11 ὁ μεσαμβρινὸς οὔρεσιν ᾠδός.

Stadtmüller, Paton, and Beckby read κήματι (κήματι the Corrector); the καὶ is impossible in this style, and Planudes' correction of P's κύματι is obviously right.

**4 [2071] ξουθά:** cf. Mnascalces 7.192.4 = *HE* 2650, of the ἀκρίς, ξουθᾶν ἐκ γενύων ἀδὺ κρέκουσα μέλος. See LSJ *s.v.* 1 2 and Gow on Theocr. 7.142. The meaning is uncertain, and Hesychius offers a wide choice – λεπτόν, ἀπαλόν, ἐλαφρόν, ὑγρόν, πυρρόν, χλωρόν, ξανθόν, πυκνόν, ὀξύ, ποικίλον, εὐειδές,

διαυγές. The idea of *rapid movement* suits most contexts including those in which the adjective is applied to sounds (*trilling, chirruping, twittering*, LSJ).

5 [2072] ἡνίδε very seldom governs an accusative as here; cf. Meleager 12.117.1 = HE 4092 ἡνίδε τόλμαν, anon. 9.157.3-4 ἡνίδ' ἄπιστα | ...σκῦλα.

κίχλην καὶ κόσσυφον: cf. Rhianus 12.142.5 = HE 3254 κίχλη καὶ κόσσυφος; these two birds are associated also in Antipater of Thessalonica 9.76 = PG lxxx, Archias 9.343 = xxiv, and Paulus 9.396.2.

6 [2073] ἀρουραίης: in a similar context also Meleager 7.195.2 = HE 4059, the only occurrence of the word in HE, ἀκρις ἀρουραίη Μοῦσα.

εὐπορίης: a surprising choice of word; common in prose, rare in poetry; not in HE, in PG only in a humble context, Antipater of Thessalonica 9.149.2 = PG 442.

7 [2074] ὄλλυτ' ἐκείνους: the tone is very like that of Call. H. Dian. 156-7 σύες ἔργα, σύες φυτὰ λυμαίνονται· | καὶ βόες ἀνθρώποισι κακὸν μέγα· βάλλ' ἐπὶ καὶ τοὺς.

8 [2075] δρόσου: the food of the cicada; see Gow on Theocr. 4.16 and the notes on Leonidas 6.120.4 = HE 2524, Meleager 7.196.1 = HE 4066, Antipater of Thessalonica 9.92.1 = PG 81 ἀρκεί τέττιγας μεθύσαι δρόσος.

## VI

On a spring.

For this theme in Hellenistic epigrams, cf. Anyte 9.313 and 314 = HE xvi and xvii, A. Plan. 228 and 291 = xviii and iii, Hermocreon 9.327 = HE ii, Nicias 9.315 = HE v; in Philip's *Garland*, Apollonides 9.257 = xvii, where Καθαρή is the name of the spring, Antiphanes 9.258 = v, Flaccus 9.37 = vii; cf. also Satyrus iii. The present epigram is a mediocre composition, but its style is of a type normal in the *Garlands*. See Hecker 1852.84-5.

A.P. 9.374 [J] ἀδηλον, Pl<sup>B</sup> s.a.n. [J] εἰς πηγὴν [C] ἔχουσιν πλατάνους καὶ εὐθαλεῖς δάφνας

ἀνάον καθαρὴν με παρερχομένοισιν ὁδίταις

πηγὴν ἀμβλύζει γειτονέουσα νάπη,

πάντη δ' αὖ πλατάνοισι καὶ ἡμεροθαλλέσι δάφναις

ἔστεμμαι σκιερὴν ψυχομένη κλισίῃ.

5 οὐνεκα μὴ με θέρευσ παραμείβεο. δίψαν ἀλαλκῶν 2080  
ἄμπασσον παρ' ἐμοὶ καὶ κόπον ἡσυχίῃ.

1 με P: τε Pl 2 ἀναβλύζει Pl 3 ἡμεροθαλέσι Pl 4 σκιερῇ...κλισίῃ  
Pl 5 τοῦνεκα Pl ἀλάλκω P 6 κόπον P: πόνον Pl

1 [2067] καθαρήν: all the editors since Jacobs take this to be the name of the spring. If it were so, the fact ought to be stated, as it is in the parallel epigrams by Apollonides and Flaccus, or at least indicated in some way. There is no such indication, and the run of the words favours a simple adjective.

2 [2077] ἀμβλύζει: a conventional verb in this sort of context, Dioscorides 7.31.5 = HE 1579 κρῆναι ἀναβλύζοιεν, Antipater of Thessalonica 11.24.1-2 = PG 87-8 ὕδωρ | εὐεπὲς ἐκ πηγέων ἔβλυσας, Apollonides *loc. cit.* (Pref.) 5-6 οὐκέθ' ὁδίταις | βλύζω.

## TIBERIUS ILUS

**3 [2078]** ἡμεροθαλλέσι: if the dialect were not uniformly Ionic, Planudes' correction of the form would be acceptable, but the isolated Doric alpha is dubious; Ionic -θηλέσι would be too big a change. -θαλλής, for -θαλής, is a monstrous form, but is attested again in *Orph. H.* 40.17 ἱεροθαλλεῖς, and is not easy to eliminate here.

**4 [2079]** ψυχομένη = ψύχουσα, middle for active *metri gratia* as often in the epigrammatists.

σκιερὴν ... κλισίην: a shady place to sleep in.

**5-6 [2980-1]** οὔνεκα: τοὔνεκα would be normal and may be the true reading.

δίψαν ... ἡσυχίῃ: the asyndeton is abnormal in this plain style. The last three words are weak, a mere stop-gap.

[κόπον: better Planudes' πόνον? κόπου is the standard gloss on πόνου at *S. Ai.* 61.-R.D.D.]

## VII

On a bunch of grapes plucked unripe and dropped on the road.

The style of this lively epigram points to the Hellenistic or early Imperial period. In tone and spirit it recalls one of the best of Philip's compositions, 9.561 = *PG* lv. Cf. also Leon. Alex. xviii.

A.P. 9.375, P<sup>1A</sup> [JPI] ἄδηλον, P<sup>1B</sup> s.a.n. [J] εἰς βότρυν ἄωρον κοπέντα [C] παρά τινος ὀδίτου ἀδηφάγου καὶ ἀπορριφέντα

τίς ποτ' ἀκηδέστωσ οἰνοτρόφον ὄμφακα Βάκχου  
 ἀνὴρ ἀμπελίνου κλήματος ἐξέταμεν,  
 χεῖλεα δὲ στυφθεῖς ἀπό μιν βάλεν, ὥς ἂν ὀδίταις  
 εἶη νισομένοις ἡμιδαῆς σκύβαλον; 2085

5 εἶη οἱ Διόνυσος ἀνάρσιος οἶα Λυκούργωι,  
 ὅττι μιν αὐξομένην ἔσβεσεν εὐφροσύνην·  
 τοῦδε γὰρ ἂν τάχα τις διὰ πώματος ἢ πρὸς αἰοιδάς  
 ἦλυθεν ἢ γοερῷ κάδεος ἔσχε λύσιν.

3 ἀπό μιν P<sup>1A</sup>: χαμάδις P<sup>1B</sup> 4 νισο- P: νεισσο- P<sup>1A,B</sup>, νισσο- P<sup>1B</sup> sscr. 5  
 Λυκούργωι P<sup>1A,B</sup>: Λυκοῦργος P, fort. ex -γοις corr. 6 αὐξομένην...εὐφρο-  
 σύνην P<sup>1A</sup> 7 πώματος sscr. P<sup>1A,B</sup> 8 κήδεος P<sup>1A,B</sup>

**1 [2082]** οἰνοτρόφον: here only.

**3 [2084]** χεῖλεα δὲ στυφθεῖς: cf. Alcaeus 7.536.3-4 = *HE* 78-9 πνιγόμεσαν ἀχερδον ἀποστύφουσιν ὀδιτῶν | χεῖλεα, Philip *loc. cit.* (Pref.) ἀπεπάντους | βότρυας, οἱ στυφελὴν ἐξέχεον σταγόνα.

**4 [2085]** ἡμιδαῆς: LSJ derive this from δατέομαι, *half-mangled, half-divided*, quoting this epigram and Nic. Alex. 55, where ἡμιδαῆς χειρὸς βάρους means 'half a handful's weight' (lit. 'a hand's weight half-divided'). Herwerden conjectured (as Scaliger had done for Nicander) ἡμιδεῆς, 'half-lacking' (*i.e.* 'only half there'), but this is not very suitable to σκύβαλον. His other conjecture, ἡμιδακῆς, is attractive, but it is not certain that there is any fault in the text.

## TIBERIUS ILUS

**5-6 [2086-7]** Dionysus punished Lycurgus for cutting vines down; see Frazer on Apollodorus 3.5.1, *Myth. Lex.* 2.2194, *RE* 13.2435; Propertius 3.17.23 *vesanumque nova nequiquam in vite Lycurgum*; Leon. Alex. 1931.

If the reading of P is accepted, οἷα Λυκοῦργος must be taken inside the ὅτι clause, 'may Dionysus be hostile to him, because he, like Lycurgus, prevented the vine from providing its pleasure'. This may be right (Jacobs thought it was), but the order of the words is much in favour of the Planudean version.

μιν: dative (avoiding οἷ, already used in the main clause). Modern editors are shocked, and they may know better, but the Alexandrians must have thought Pind. *Pyth.* 4.36 and *Nem.* 1.66 sufficient authority for dative μιν; nothing could be worse than Stadtmüller's τιν' (accepted by the Budé edition).

## VIII

On a ship about to be made of timber from a tree felled by the wind.

See the Preface to anon. LVIII. The theme is commonplace, the epigram neatly and tersely phrased. It would have been accepted without comment within a sequence from Philip's *Garland*.

A.P. 9.376, Pl<sup>A</sup> [JPI] ἀδηλον [J] εἰς πύκην [C] ὕπ' ἀνέμων βληθεῖσαν καὶ μέλλουσαν γίνεσθαι ναῦν. παραίνεις

τίπτε με τὴν ἀνέμοισιν ἀλώσιμον, ἤλεέ τέκτον, 2090  
τὴνδε πίτυν τεύχεις νῆα θαλασσοπόρον,  
οὐδ' οἶωνόν ἔδεισας; ὃ τοι βορέης μ' ἐδίωξεν  
ἐν χθονί· πῶς ἀνέμους φεύξομαι ἐν πελάγει;

3 ὃ τοι P: ὅτι Pl

**1 [2090] ἤλεέ:** the use of this very rare word is intended to add distinction to the style. It is almost extinct already in Homer: only *Od.* 2.243 φρένας ἤλεέ, 14.464 οἶνος... ἤλεός; *Il.* 15.128 φρένας ἤλέ. It is extremely rare thereafter except in Lesbian in the form ἄλλος. Hesychius attributes ἄλεός (αἰαῖος cod.) to Aeschylus (= ὁ μάταιος, ἄφρων); Callimachus revives the word, *fr.* 75.66, 528, 528\*; cf. Antipater of Thessalonica 7.639.2 = *PG* 392 ἤλεά μεμφόμεθα.

**2 [2091] θαλασσοπόρον:** here first and very rare, though θαλασσοπορεύω occurs in Callimachus 7.277.4 = *HE* 1268; cf. Hesych. θαλασσοπορῆσαι. The adjective elsewhere in Musaeus 2, Theaetetus Scholasticus 6.27.7; it is a variation of Homeric ποντοπόρος.

## EPIGRAMS BY IMPERIAL ROMANS

Ten epigrams<sup>1</sup> in the *Anthology* are ascribed to Roman emperors or their nearest kin: one to Germanicus, one to Trajan, three to Hadrian, two to Julian; for the other three, alternatives are offered – Germanicus or Hadrian; Trajan

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## EPIGRAMS BY IMPERIAL ROMANS

or Hadrian; Germanicus or Tiberius or Hadrian. In addition to these ten, three epigrams by Hadrian have survived in inscriptions.<sup>1</sup>

It is recorded that Germanicus, Tiberius, Hadrian, and Julian wrote Greek verse; the appearance of their names at the head of epigrams in the *Anthology* is not in itself surprising, and the discovery of Hadrian's inscriptional epigrams is a warning against prejudice. The proper course is to judge each epigram on its merits and at least to determine whether it contains anything inconsistent with the ascription.

### (1) GERMANICUS AND TIBERIUS

The three epigrams ascribed to Germanicus, alone or as an alternative, are all variations on themes popular in his lifetime. Where alternatives are offered in the heading, as in 9.17 and 9.387, the others are always Roman emperors, and though it may be doubted which author should be preferred, there is no particular reason to reject all of them. The commentary will show that the ascription of 9.17 and 9.18 to Germanicus is free from objection, and that the likeliest of three Imperial claimants to 9.387 is Tiberius.

### (2) TRAJAN

One epigram, 11.418, is ascribed to 'the emperor Trajan', without alternative.<sup>2</sup> It is a satirical distich on a theme popular at the time. It is not elsewhere recorded that Trajan did this sort of thing, and it seems out of character; but the sceptic must be asked to explain how it came to pass that the *Anthology* says that he wrote the epigram if he did not. Τραιανοῦ βασιλέως is surely not a guess or a corruption. It may be suggested that Τραιανοῦ referred to some other person so named, and that βασιλέως is a later and erroneous addition; but the chances are much against this, for the name 'Trajan' is very rare outside the Imperial family.<sup>3</sup> In short, it seems impossible to explain the ascription away.

### (3) HADRIAN

Of the epigrams in the *Anthology* ascribed to Hadrian, one (6.332) is proved by its contents to be of Imperial authorship. One (7.674) is an epitaph on Archilochus, a common sort of exercise; the ascription to Hadrian is very unlikely to be a guess or a corruption or an oversight. Two (9.137 and 9.402) are included in anecdotes, among the least reliable media of transmission; they are not likely to be authentic.

<sup>1</sup> It may be objected that these are not certainly by Hadrian: any or all might have been composed by a court-poet in his name. But Hadrian as a poet is implied by the phrase in VI 5 Ἀδριανὸς Μούσαισι μέλων; cf. VII 10.

<sup>2</sup> One other epigram, 6.332, is ascribed to Trajan by the Corrector in P, whose ascription to Hadrian is to be preferred.

<sup>3</sup> An example from A.D. II-III appears in Peek *GVI* 118.

## EPIGRAMS BY IMPERIAL ROMANS

### (4) JULIAN

Julian is represented in the *Anthology* by one elegiac epigram<sup>1</sup> whose authenticity has never been questioned. Three iambs, marked ἔδηλον in *A.P.* (11.108), are ascribed to him by one of the minor *Syllogae*; the ascription is surely false.

Now follows the commentary on which the above observations are mainly based.

### GERMANICUS CAESAR

Germanicus, as this popular hero is generally called, properly Nero Claudius Germanicus, son of Nero Claudius Drusus and Antonia Minor, brother of the emperor Claudius and father of the emperor Gaius, was born in 15 B.C. and died A.D. 19; he took the title 'Caesar' on adoption by Tiberius A.D. 4.

Germanicus was a good Greek scholar, capable of composing Greek comedies (Suet. *Calig.* 3) and of translating the *Phainomena* of Aratus (Baehrens *PLM* 1.143). His liking for Greek epigrams is attested by translations of *A.P.* 7.542 (= Flaccus iv in *PG*; *PLM* 4.103) and 9.387 (see p. 559; *PLM* 4.102), and there would be no particular reason to doubt the ascription to him of 9.17 and 9.18 if the Corrector had not added the alternative 'by Hadrian' in the margin of 9.17. There is no knowing what authority the Corrector may have had for this alternative, or why he appended Hadrian's name only to 9.17, not also to 9.18. *A.P.* 9.18 appears to presuppose familiarity with 9.17; if this is so, and if the ascription of 9.18 to Germanicus is correct, then obviously Hadrian cannot have been the author of 9.17.

This kind of doubt cannot be dispelled; it is a fair guess that the primary ascription of 9.17 and the unqualified ascription of 9.18 to Germanicus are correct.

The theme of 9.17 and 9.18 recurs in anon. 9.371. In 9.17, a hare, pursued by hounds, falls into the sea, only to be caught there by a 'sea-hound', i.e. a dogfish. In 9.18 the theme is the same, the style more laconic; a further point is made, that the sky, having a hound of its own (the dog-star) is no safer for the hare than land or sea.

The reader is presumed to know 9.17 before he comes to 9.18; otherwise 9.18 would be obscure. 9.17 is a competent but not faultless composition: it would have been better if κύων had not been left to the understanding after εἰνάλιος; ὑπάτοιο and τρηχύν are dull epithets. 9.18 is, as the lemmatist says, the better of the two; the phrasing is neat, compressing much matter into few words.

<sup>1</sup> He is represented also by *A.P.* 9.365, a description of an organ, in dactylic hexameters: *elegans descriptio organi pneumatici, quod ex fistulis aeneis constabat, quae vento ex folle immisso sonum reddebat* (Jacobs). Dübner doubted the ascription, not without reason: *haec omnia, eximio verborum delectu ornata, peritum et exercitatum poetam ostendunt*.

Julian's name appears also at 7.747, where Planudes carelessly ascribed to him an epitaph written on Julian by Libanius.

In *A.Plan.* 115 three dactylic hexameters describing a centaur close with the words ἀνὴρ δ' ἀποπέρδεται ἵππου, and Tzetzes (*Chil.* 6.959) says 'Ιουλιανὸς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ γράφει ἡρώϊ μετρωὶ ἀνθρώπου ἀποπέρδεται ἵππος.

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A.P. 9.17 [C] Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος [C<sup>7p</sup> marg.] Ἀδριανοῦ [Pl] Γερμανοῦ Καίσαρος [J] εἰς λαγῶν ὑπὸ κυνῶν διωκόμενον ὃν ἐκπεσόντα εἰς θάλασσαν ἤρπασε κύων θαλάσσιος

οὔρεος ἔξ ὑπάτσιοιο λαγῶς πέσεν ἔς ποτε βένθος  
ἐκπροφυγεῖν μεμαῶς τρηχύν ὀδόντα κυνός, 2095  
ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς ἤλυξε κακὸν μόρον· αὐτίκα γάρ μιν  
εἰνάλιος μάρψας πνεύματος ὠρφάνισεν.  
5 ἔκ πυρός, ὥς αἶνος, πέσες ἔς φλόγα· ἧ ῥά σε δαίμων  
κῆν ἀλὶ κῆν χέρσῳι θρέψε κύνεσσι βοράν.

1 ποτε Pl: ποτὶ P 4 ὀρφάν- P 5 αἰνῶς Pl φλόγας Pl 6 βορῆν Pl  
1 [2094] οὔρεος ἔξ ὑπάτσιοιο: perhaps from the top of a hill, as Hom. *Il.* 23.165 ἐν δὲ πυρῇ ὑπάττη = on the top of the pyre.

ἔς ποτε βένθος: for the eccentric position of ποτέ, cf. Leon. Tar. 9.99.1 = *HE* 2161. [Cf. Pl. *Ol.* 7.26; *Pyth.* 2.33, 4.258; *Nem.* 8.18-R.D.D.]

4 [2097] εἰνάλιος: sc. κύων, = κύων ἄλός, Antipater of Thessalonica 9.269.5 = *PG* 691; 'Dogfish or shark, especially one of the smaller kinds', Thompson *Greek Fishes* s.v. κύων (ἡ θαλαττία) 136; 39, 175 (γαλεός), 107 (κεντρίνης), 246-7 (σκύλιον, σκύμνος), 251 (*squalus*).

πνεύματος ὠρφάνισεν: cf. anon. 7.483.2 ζῶας...ὠρφάνισας, *IG* 12 (8) 441.8 βίότου ὀρφ.

5 [2098] ὥς αἶνος: the proverb 'out of the fire into the flame' seems a dull one; cf. anon. *A. Plan.* 194, on a bronze figure of Eros as the handle of a frying-pan (the same theme as *Palladas* 9.773), χάλκειον τίς Ἔρωτα μετήγαγεν ἐκ πυρός εἰς πῦρ; . There was a less dull alternative, 'out of the smoke into the fire', *Macar.* 7.77 and 8.42, *Apostol.* 16.93, *Diogen.* 8.45, *Ammian. Marcell.* 14.11.12 *de fumo, ut proverbium vetus loquitur, in flammam.*

φλόγα· ἧ: Pl's φλόγας is probably conjectural *metri gratia*. Germanicus' contemporaries very seldom allow hiatus in this place; in *PG*, only *Erucius* 7.230.3 = 2270, *Philip* 7.254.3 and 9.240.5 = 2821 and 2923, not counting ἐπὶ ἐλπίσι in *Crinagoras* (2054) or περὶ ἧς in *Macedonius* (2544).

## II

A.P. 9.18 [C] Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος, Pl<sup>A</sup> τοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. Γερμανοῦ Καίσαρος) [J] εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμοίως· ἔστι δὲ κρείττω τοῦ προτέρου ἐπιγράμματος

ἐκ κυνός εἶλε κύων με. τί τὸ ξένον; εἰς ἐμέ θῆρες 2100  
ὑγροὶ καὶ πεζοὶ θυμὸν ἔχουσιν ἓνα.  
αἰθέρα λοιπὸν ἔχοιτε, λαγοί, βατόν· ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι,  
οὐρανέ· καὶ σὺ φέρεις ἀστερόεντα κύνα.

2 καὶ πεζοὶ καὶ θυμὸν P 3-4 omissos in marg. add. Pl

1 [2100] ἐκ κυνός ... κύων: one dog after another, as in Hom. *Il.* 19.290 κακὸν ἐκ κακοῦ, *S. Tr.* 28 ἐκ φόβου φόβον.

τί τὸ ξένον:: this phrase is illustrated in the note on *Meleager* 5.180.1 = *HE* 4038.

4 [2103] ἀστερόεντα κύνα: Sirius, the dog-star.

# EPIGRAMS BY IMPERIAL ROMANS

## TIBERIUS?

### I

On the city of Troy.

*A.P.* 9.387 is ascribed to Hadrian, with alternatives Germanicus and Tiberius. The choice between them depends partly on assessment of the evidence of a translation of this epigram into Latin ascribed to Germanicus Caesar in the *Anthologia Latina* (PLM 4.102):

*Martia progenies, Hector, tellure sub ima,  
fas audire tamen si mea verba tibi,  
respira, quoniam vindex tibi contigit heres,  
qui patriae famam proferat usque tuae.  
Ilios en surgit rursus inclita, gens colit illam  
te Marte inferior, Martis amica tamen.  
Myrmidonas periisse omnes dic, Hector, Achilli,  
Thessaliam et magnis esse sub Aeneadis.*

If Germanicus wrote this Latin, and if (as is most probable<sup>1</sup>) the Latin renders the Greek, not the Greek the Latin, then Hadrian cannot be the author of the Greek, and the choice lies between Germanicus and Tiberius. Now either Tiberius wrote the Greek and Germanicus the Latin, or Germanicus wrote both the Greek and the Latin. The latter alternative is very improbable, the former is not open to any objection. According to Suetonius (*Tib.* 70) Tiberius wrote Greek poems in imitation of Euphorion, Rhianus, and Parthenius; if so, he was capable of composing this easy epigram – and Hesychius says that he did compose it. That Germanicus should make a Latin version of a Greek epigram written by his adoptive father is not a matter for surprise. Moreover, Hesychius must have had a strong reason for preferring Tiberius, of whom one did not readily think in this connection, to Germanicus and Hadrian, reputed poets and authors of epigrams.

The subject of the epigram is commonplace (*cf.* Alpheus 9.104 = *PG* x, Antonius 9.102 = *PG* i, Mundus 9.103 = *PG* i), suitable for any of the three emperors (Hadrian visited Troy; Philostr. *Heroic.* p. 288).

The evidence is obviously insufficient for a firm conclusion, but it must be said on this showing that the claims of Germanicus and Hadrian are exposed to objections and the claim of Tiberius is not.

That claim is not at all upset by the curious sequel to this epigram in *A.P.*, where the text continues thus:

*A.P.* 9.388 (caret Pl) [J] πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπέγραψε στρατιώτης, φασὶ δὲ Τραιανοῦ εἶναι·

θάρσυνος· οὐ γὰρ ἐμῆς κόρυθος λεύσ(σ)ουσι μέτωπον.

*A.P.* 9.389 (caret Pl) [J] εἶτα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπαινέσαντος καὶ γράψαντος “δήλωσόν μοι τίς εἶ”, ἀντέγραψεν

εἰμὶ μὲν εὐθώρηκος Ἐνυαλίου πολεμιστῆς  
3 αὐτοῖς ἐν πρώτοισι λελεγμένος ἀσπιδιώταις,  
2 εἰμὶ δὲ καὶ θεράπων Ἐλικωνίου Ἀπόλλωνος.

<sup>1</sup> See H. Bardon *Les empereurs et les lettres latines*<sup>2</sup> (Paris 1968) 422 ff.

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That is to say, the epigram 9.387 was inscribed somewhere, and a soldier, 'one of Trajan's, they say',<sup>1</sup> wrote below it some words of Achilles in the *Iliad*, 16.70, '(the enemy) is bold; for they see not the face of my helmet'; the Emperor, being pleased with this (goodness knows why) wrote 'let me know who you are', and the soldier wrote in reply an imitation of Archilochus, 'I am a soldier and also a servant of Apollo', *i.e.* a poet.

This is all manifestly fictitious; it presupposes that 9.387 was actually inscribed somewhere. But 9.387 is merely a literary exercise; it is not a dedication or an epitaph or of any other type suitable for public display on stone. This trivial anecdote has no bearing whatsoever on the question of the authorship of 9.387.

The epigram is quite well composed in a plain style; the phrasing is Homeric.

A.P. 9.387, Pl<sup>A</sup> [PPl] 'Αδριανού Καίσαρος, [CPl] οἱ δὲ Γερμανικοῦ [C] 'Ἡσύχιος δὲ εἰς Τιβέριον τὸν Καίσαρα ἀναφέρει αὐτό; schol. Ven. Hom. p. 532 de Villoison (Hadriani); schol. Tzetz. chil. 2.78, An. Ox. Cramer 3.354.7 (Hadriani) [P] εἰς τὸν Ἐκτορα [Pl] εἰς τὸ αὐτό

Ἐκτορ, Ἀρήιον αἶμα, κατὰ χθονὸς εἴ που ἀκούεις,  
 χαῖρε καὶ ἄμπνευσον βαιὸν ὑπὲρ πατρίδος· 2105  
 Ἴλιον οἰκεῖται, κλεινὴ πόλις, ἄνδρας ἔχουσα  
 σοῦ μὲν ἀφαιροτέρους ἄλλ' ἔτ' ἀρηϊφίλους,  
 5 Μυρμιδόνες δ' ἀπόλοντο. παρίστασο καὶ λέγ' Ἀχιλλεῖ  
 Θεσσαλὴν κεῖσθαι πᾶσαν ὑπ' Αἰνέειδαις.

1 ἀκούεις schol. Tzetz.: ἀκούοις PPl, schol. Ven. 2 χαῖρε PPl: στῆθι schol. Ven., schol. Tzetz. (*cf.* Hom. *Il.* 22.222) ordo ὑπὲρ πατρίδος βαιὸν P 5 Θεσσαλίη δ' οὐκ ἔστι. παρίστασο κτλ. Pl 6 -αδας Pac

1 [2104] αἶμα: Stadtmüller noticed the rarity of the use, quoting Kaibel *ep.* 1046.4 Ἀγχισεῶ κλυτὸν αἶμα and Nonnus *D.* 8.315 Ἄρεος αἶμα; add Peek 1511.7 (II B.C.) Ἀγῆνος κλυτὸν αἶμα.

2 [2105] *Cf.* Hom. *Il.* 22.222 στῆθι καὶ ἄμπνευ.

3 [2106] Ἴλιον: on the neuter form (only once in Homer and generally avoided by the epigrammatists) see the note on *Mundus* 9.103.7 = *PG* 3937.

4 [2107] *Cf.* Hom. *Il.* 7.457 σέο πολλὸν ἀφανρότερος.

5 [2108] The variant in Pl presumably comes from a source independent of P.

παρίστασο καὶ . . . : also Hom. *Il.* 10.291.

## TRAJAN

### I

On a man with a long nose.

A.P. 11.418 is ascribed to 'the emperor Trajan'. It is one of numerous jokes about men with large noses, a type of epigram popular since the middle of the

<sup>1</sup> Not 'some say it (*sc.* the following line) was by Trajan', as Paton and Beckby translate; Τραιανουῦ is picked up by βασιλέως in the sequel.

## EPIGRAMS BY IMPERIAL ROMANS

first century A.D. and still thriving in Trajan's time; cf. Theodorus 11.198, Leon. Alex. 11.199 and 200, anon. 11.203, Nicarchus 11.406, Lucianus 11.405, and Palladas 11.204. Here much is compressed into eleven words; the meaning is 'If you stand opposite the sun with your mouth wide open, the passer-by could use you for a sundial; your mouth is the dial (with teeth for markers) and your nose is long enough to serve as the gnomon.' Beckby quotes a Latin version by Thomas Morus (1478-1535):

*si tuus ad solem statuatur nasus hianti  
ore, bene ostendas dentibus hora quota est.*

The ascription to Trajan has been doubted, but the sceptic cannot fulfil the obligation of explaining how the heading 'by the emperor Trajan' could have been attached to the epigram if it is false.

See Weinreich *Antike* 17 (1941) 229.

A.P. 11.418, P1<sup>A</sup> [PPI] Τραιανοῦ βασιλέως

ἀντίον ἡελίου στήσας ῥίνα καὶ στόμα χάσκων      2110  
δείξεις τὰς ὥρας πᾶσι παρερχομένοις.

1 χάσκων P1

1 [2110] ῥίνα: for parallels to this extraordinary mispronunciation see *Rufinus* pp. 40-3. If χάσκων is right (it is accepted by Jacobs in his first edition and by Dübner, Paton and Beckby; Jacobs in his last edition prints χάσκων but still thought χάσκων *fortasse rectius*), the false quantity could be eliminated by reading στήσας ῥίνα, στόμα χάσκων, | δείξεις. (The accentuation in P is ῥίνα.)

## HADRIAN

### I

Dedication to Zeus Kasios by Trajan.

A.P. 6.332 has the heading 'Αδριανοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἀναθήμασι, to which the Corrector has added Τραιανοῦ Καίσαρος. The Suda, s.v. Κάσιον ὄρος, quotes from this epigram and refers to ἐπιγράμματα ἐν ἀναθήμασιν 'Αδριανοῦ πεποιημένα.

The Corrector's inference from Τραιανὸς... ἄνθετο, that Trajan made the epigram as well as the dedication, if indeed it was an inference and not simply a piece of carelessness, is to be rejected. The heading in P is not simply 'by Hadrian' but 'by Hadrian in the Dedications', and there must have been good authority for this; it is quite contrary to P's practice to name the source as well as the author, and the epigram, naming Trajan as it does, would naturally suggest ascription to him unless there was good reason to the contrary. The Suda, which regularly ignores the headings in P, may be taken as independent confirmation; the rest of its information is plainly independent of P (see 3 n.).

The evidence of the epigram and of the heading indicates that Trajan made the dedication and Hadrian composed the epigram which accompanied it.

## EPIGRAMS BY IMPERIAL ROMANS

If this is true, the historical background can be defined with precision. The conquest of the Dacians (*Getae* in the epigram) was completed A.D. 106. Now in the present epigram the success achieved in Dacia is coupled with a prayer for success against Parthia. Prayers for success are not composed after the event; the epigram must have been written before the event, on the eve of Trajan's Parthian campaign, A.D. 113-14. It is recorded that Trajan stopped at Antioch on the way to Parthia (Dio Cass. 68.18) and that Hadrian was a *legatus* in his army (*vit. Hadr.* 4.1). The picture is thus clear: Trajan dedicated Dacian spoils in the temple of Zeus on Mount Kasios on the eve of his Parthian campaign; Hadrian, accustomed to writing speeches for Trajan (*vit. Hadr.* 3.11), now wrote an epigram for him.

It may seem surprising<sup>1</sup> that an interval of seven years elapsed between the conquest of Dacia and the dedication of Dacian spoils on Mount Kasios; but the present epigram proves beyond question, and indeed openly declares, that there was such an interval (see 5 n.).

The epigram is clear and colourful in a good style; nothing but the subject-matter distinguishes it from compositions of the Hellenistic or early Imperial era.

A.P. 6.332 (caret Pl) 'Αδριανοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἀναθήμασι [C] Τραϊανοῦ Καίσαρος; Suda s.vv. Κάσιον ὄρος (1-3 ἀνθετο), λίτα (3 δοιά-4), οὔρος (3 καί-4), ξζαιτον (5-6, om. ὦι ὑπὸ δ.), κρῆναι (7-8, om. σύ οἱ)

Ζηνὶ τόδ' Αἰνεάδης Κασίῳ Τραϊανὸς ἄγαλμα,  
κοίρανος ἀνθρώπων κοιράνῳ ἀθανάτων,  
ἀνθετο, δοιά δέππα πολυδαίδαλα καὶ βοὸς οὔρου  
ἀσκητὸν χρυσῷ παμφανόωντι κέρας, 2115

5      ξζαιτα προτέρης ἀπὸ ληίδος, ἥμος ἀτειρήs  
πέρσεν ὑπερθύμους ὦι ὑπὸ δουρὶ Γέτας.  
ἀλλὰ σύ οἱ καὶ τήνδε, κελαινεφές, ἐγγυάλισον  
κρῆναι ἔυκλειῶς δῆριν Ἀχαιμενίην,  
ὄφρα τοι εἰσορόωντι διάνδιχα θυμὸν ἱαίνῃ 2120

10      δοιά, τὰ μὲν Γετέων σκυῖλα, τὰ δ' Ἀρσακίδεων.

1 τὰδ' Suda    3 δέππα Jacobs: λίτα P, λίτα Suda    οὔρου Salmasius: -ρον C, Suda, -ρων P    4 ἀσκητῶν P<sup>ac</sup>    5 ἀτειρεῖς C, Suda    6 πέρσας Sud. codd. pars    9 ἱαίνῃ Salmasius: -νει P

**1 [2112] Ζηνὶ . . . Κασίῳ:** referring to a temple of Zeus on Mount Kasios at the mouth of the Orontes below Antioch; not often mentioned except on coins, but cf. Strabo 16.2.5, Ammian. Marcell. 22.14.4; *RE* 10.2263.

This was not Hadrian's last visit to the mountain; he climbed it A.D. 129 (*vit. Hadr.* 14.1.3) for the sake of the famous view of the sunrise (*RE* 10.2264).

**Αἰνεάδης:** cf. Diodorus 9.219.3 = *PG* 2102 ἐν Αἰνεάδῃσι Νέρων ἀγός, Philip 9.307.4 = *PG* 2663 Ζῆνα τὸν Αἰνεάδην.

**3 [2114] δέππα:** Jacobs' brilliant emendation was based on Suda s.v. Κάσιον ὄρος, ἐνθα Τραϊανὸς ἀνέθηκε κρατήρας ἀργυροῦς καὶ κέρας βοὸς παμμέγεθες κεχρυσωμένον.

<sup>1</sup> It did to Professor Peck, *Wiss. Z. Univ. Halle* 15 (1966) 368.



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The plural of δέπας is δέπᾱ in Homer, but δέπᾱ is a more rational form, justified by the analogy of κέρας, κέρᾱ.

**οὔρου:** on the aurochs (described by Caesar *BG* 6.28; not extinct till the seventeenth century) see the note on Antipater of Sidon 6.115.1 = *HE* 482.

On the making of wine-vessels from bull-horns, see the Preface to Adaeus 9.300 = *PG* vii.

**5 [2116] ἔξαιτα:** Homer has ἔξαιτος, *choice*, in *Il.* 12.320, *Od.* 2.307, 5.102 = 19.366, and ἐξάιρετος, *chosen*, in *Il.* 2.227, *Od.* 4.643. The use of ἔξαιτος as if it were ἐξάιρετος, meaning not *choice* but *chosen* appears first in Ap. Rhod. 4.1004 Μῆθειαν δ' ἔξαιτον ἐοῦ ἐς πατρός ἀγέσθαι, and so here ἔξαιτα = ἐξάιρετα (with ἀπὸ ληίδος dependent; cf. *Od.* 4.643 ἰθάκης ἐξάιρετοι).

**προτέρης:** the present dedication consists of 'former' spoils, trophies from the conquest of Dacia seven years ago.

**ἀτειρής:** the word is not intrinsically either complimentary ('indefatigable') or the reverse ('stubborn'), but takes its colour from its context. ἀτειρεῖ... δουρί would have been more stylish and may be the right reading.

**6 [2117] Γέτας:** so the Dacians are commonly called; e.g. *BCH* 28 (1904) 425 where Trajan's conquest of Dacia is called ἡ κατὰ Γετῶν νίκη, and Julian *Caesars* 327B (Τραιανός) ἐπεδείκνυν αὐτοῖς τό τε Γετικόν καὶ τὸ Παρθικόν τρόπαιον.

**7 [2118] κελαινεφές:** the address seems more comfortable when it is part of a fuller phrase as in *Il.* 2.412 Ζεῦ κύδιστε μέγιστε κελαινεφές αἰθέρι ναίων, 22.178 ὦ πάτερ ἀργικέραυνε κελαινεφές, but isolated κελαινεφές occurs in *Il.* 15.46 and *Od.* 13.147.

**ἐγγυάλιζον:** the use with an infinitive, κρῆναι, is an unprecedented but easy extension, the model being the common use of δός (*LSJ* s.v. δίδωμι III 1).

**8-10 [2119-21] Ἀχαιμενίην ... Ἀρσακίδεων:** 'Achaemenian' usually distinguishes Persians from 'Arsacid', used of Parthians; here both refer to the same nation, the Parthians. This is not the result of carelessness: the Parthians made no sharp distinction between the two; they were, politically, heirs to the Persian empire, and the Parthian Arsacidae claimed descent from the Persian Achaemenidae. *Arsakes* is indeed a Persian name.

## II

Epitaph for Archilochus.

There is no particular reason to deny, or even to doubt, the ascription to Hadrian; the heading is unintelligible unless it is the truth. The theme is of a standard type, which might appeal to anyone at any time; cf. Theocritus 7 664 = *HE* xiv, Julianus 7.69 and 7.70, Gaetulicus iv.

Stadt Müller, the Budé edition, and Beckby approve the far-fetched notion that these lines were composed as a reply to the question asked in *A.P.* 7.352.7-8 (= 'Meleager' *HE* 4748-9) Πιερίδες, τί κόρησιν ἐφ' ὕβριστήρας ἰάμβους | ἐτράπετ', οὐχ ὁσίωι φωτὶ (sc. Ἀρχιλόχωι) χαριζόμεναι;

*A.P.* 7.674 [C] Ἀδριανοῦ, Pl<sup>B</sup> s.a.n. [J] εἰς Ἀρχιλοχὸν τὸν [C] Πάριον [J] ποιητὴν τῶν ἰάμβων

Ἀρχιλόχου τόδε σῆμα, τὸν ἐς λυσσῶντας ἰάμβους  
ἤγαγε Μαιονίδηι Μοῦσα χαριζομένη.

2123

## EPIGRAMS BY IMPERIAL ROMANS

**1 [2122] λυσσώντας λάμβους:** Hor. *ars poet.* 79 *Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo.*

**2 [2123] Μαιονίδηι . . . χαριζομένη:** otherwise Archilochus would have threatened Homer's supremacy in Epic poetry.

### III

An anecdote.

This kind of testimony is difficult to judge. Suffice it to say that the ascription to Hadrian of the unkind reply to the sick and starving man is at least as likely to be false as true.

A.P. 9.137, P<sup>1A</sup> [P] γραμματικοῦ [J] τινὸς ἡμιξήρου πρὸς Ἀδριανὸν τὸν βασιλέα. [C] ἡμίξηρος αἰτήσας Ἀδριανῶι τῶι βασιλεῖ τροφήν [P<sup>1</sup>] εἰς ἡμίξηρον αἰτήσαντα Ἀδριανῶι βασιλεῖ τροφήν

David Armen., proleg. in Aristot. *categ. cap.* 9, p. 33 Busse, philosopho Cynico adscriptum

ἥμισυ μου τέθνηκε, τὸ δ' ἥμισυ λιμὸς ἐλέγχει.

2 σῶσόν μου, βασιλεῦ, μουσικὸν ἡμίτομον, 2125

[J] πρὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανὸς ἀπεκρίνατο [P<sup>1</sup>] ἀπόκρισις τοῦ βασιλέως

ἀμφοτέρους ἀδικεῖς, καὶ Πλουτέα καὶ Φαέθοντα,

4 τὸν μὲν ἔτ' εἰσροῶν, τὸν δ' ἀπολειπόμενος. 2127

1 λιμὸς ἐλέγχει P<sup>1</sup>: δέκεται ἡὼς David      2 σῶσόν μου P<sup>1</sup>: οἰκτεῖρον David  
μουσικὸν P<sup>1</sup>: κυνικὸν David

**1 [2124]** Probably an echo of Callimachus 12.73.1 = *HE* 1057 ἥμισυ μεν ψυχῆς ἔτι τὸ πνέον, ἥμισυ δ'...

The lemmatist's ἡμίξηρος (not so far as I know a medical term) presumably means *half-withered*.

**2 [2125] μουσικόν:** of a man of letters, LSJ *s.v.* II 2; the *lemma* in P infers, rightly or wrongly, that he was a γραμματικός.

**ἡμίτομον:** simply *half*, as in Hdt. 7.39.3, 9.37.3; there is no need for change (ἡμίτονον Aldina).

**3 [2126] Πλουτέα:** as Jacobs said *forma alibi non obvia*, it is worth while to observe that Πλουτεὺς had long been and long remained a common form; dozens of examples from the first three centuries A.D. appear in Peek *GVI*.

**ἀπολειπόμενος:** *remaining at a distance from*.

### IV

Epitaph for Pompey.

Another anecdote; there is the usual doubt about its authenticity. The editors rightly reject Appian's statement that the line quoted was inscribed on Pompey's tomb, and prefer Dio's account in which Hadrian spoke the line over the tomb; they discuss (vainly enough; see Boissonade *ap.* Dübner) whether the line is Hadrian's own.

On the death and burial of Pompey see Plutarch *Pomp.* 79–80: Pompey was murdered in a boat on the Nile by Septimius, Salvius, and Achilles, who

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cut off his head and threw the body ashore; funeral rites were performed by one of Pompey's old soldiers and one of his freedmen, Philip. The contrast between the greatness of his life and the lowliness of his grave was a common theme: Vell. Pat. 2.53, Lucan 10.380, *Anth. Lat.* 404.2. The best commentary is the fine passage in Lucan 8.789–822, ending:

*quis capit haec tumulus? surgit miserabile bustum  
non ullis plenum titulis, non ordine tanto  
fastorum; solitumque legi super alta deorum  
culmina et extructos spoliis hostilibus arcus  
haud procul est ima Pompeii nomen arena  
depressum tumulo, quod non legat advena rectus,  
quod nisi monstratum Romanus transeat hospes.*

A.P. 9.402 [J] Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος, P1<sup>A</sup> Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως [JPI] εἰς τὸν (τὸν om. P1) τάφον Πομπηίου [J] ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ; Arrian BC 2.86 τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμά (τοῦ Πομπηίου) τις ἔθαψεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος καὶ τάφον ἤγειρεν εὐτελεῖ, καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἄλλος ἔγραψε· τῷ ναοῖς βρῖθοντι κτλ.; Xiphil. exc. Dio Cass. 69.11 (Ἀδριανὸς) εἰς Αἰγυπτὸν παριῶν...ἐνήγισε τῷ Πομπηίῳ, πρὸς ὃν καὶ τοῦτ' τὸ ἔπος ἀπορρήψαι λέγεται·

τῷ ναοῖς βρῖθοντι πόση σπάνις ἔπλετο τύμβου. 2128

**ναοῖς βρῖθοντι:** the Budé commentator (vol. 8 (1974) pp. 195–6) draws attention to a difficult problem which has been ignored by the editors: ‘c’est qu’en dépit de nombreux signes de sacralité dont Pompée fut investi de son vivant... nous avons ici le seul témoignage concernant des temples qui auraient été bâtis en son honneur’; the commentator interprets the evidence of Lucan, quoted above, *solitumque legi super alta deorum culmina*, as referring to temples built by Pompey, not dedicated to him; and suggests that Hadrian was applying to Pompey a line originally applied to Alexander the Great.

### V

Hadrian dedicates a bear-skin to Eros at Thespieae.

Dio Cassius (69.10) says of Hadrian, περὶ τὰς θήρας ἐσπουδακέναι λέγεται· καὶ γὰρ τὴν κλεῖν ἐν ταύταις κατέαξε καὶ τὸ σκέλος μικροῦ ἐπηρώθη. καὶ πόλιν ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ οἰκίσας “Ἀδριανοῦ θήρας” αὐτὴν ὠνόμασεν; Spartianus (*vit. Hadr.* 20) explains why he gave it this name, *quod illic et feliciter venatus esset et ursam occidisset*, and Kaibel supposed that the bear comes from the present epigram.

Kaibel *ep.* 811, after Cumanudes *Ephem. Arch.* 1869 p. 336; *IGS* 1.1828.

ὦ παῖ τοξότα Κύπριδος λιγείης  
Θεσπιαῖς Ἑλικωνίαισι ναίων  
Ναρκίσσου παρὰ κῆπον ἀνθέοντα,  
ἰλήκοις· τὸ δέ τοι δίδωσι δέξο  
ἄκροθίνιον Ἀδριανὸς ἄρκτου,

2130

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ἦν αὐτὸς κάνεν ἱππόθεν τυχήσας.  
 οὐ δ' αὐτῷ χάριν ἀντὶ τοῦ σαόφρων  
 πνέοις οὐρανίας ἀπ' Ἀφροδίτης.

2135

**1 [2129] λιγείης:** 'Κύπριδα λιγείην *non noram*', said Kaibel; *sweetly-singing*, a novel and pleasing epithet for Aphrodite.

**2 [2130] Θεσπιαίς:** on the cult of Eros at Thespieae, see the Preface to Antipater of Sidon *A. Plan.* 167 = *HE* xliv and the note on Leon. Alex. xlii.

**3 [2131] Ναρκίσσου:** see Frazer on Pausanias 9.31.7, Θεσπιέων δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ... ἐστὶ Νάρκισσου πηγὴ, καὶ τὸν Νάρκισσον ἰδεῖν ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ὕδωρ φασίν, οὐ συνέντα δὲ ὅτι ἑώρα σκιὰν ἑαυτοῦ λαθεῖν τε αὐτὸν ἐρασθέντα αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ οἱ συμβῆναι τὴν τελευτήν.

**6 [2134] ἱππόθεν:** Hom. *Od.* 8.515, 11.531.

**7 [2135] σαόφρων:** Kaibel thought this a metrically convenient stop-gap, not in itself suitable. He was mistaken: Eros was a venerable divinity at Thespieae, and σαόφρων goes well with οὐρανίας; Hadrian prays that Eros, son of Aphrodite in her heavenly guise, may inspire him with temperate passions; he is so keen to use the word that he expands σώφρων to σαόφρων.

For Eros as son of Aphrodite, see Page *Sappho and Alcaeus* 271.

## VI

Inscription in honour of Severus.

A bronze statue, accompanied by the present epigram, was set up in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. The statue was dedicated, and the epigram composed, by the emperor Hadrian.

'Severus' was a common *cognomen*, but there is one person so called who has a strong claim to recognition. Mommsen (*ap.* Kaibel) suggested that the subject is Lucius Catilius Severus, whose career is summarised by Groag in *RE* 3.1788-9: consul under Trajan; proconsul of Asia under Trajan or Hadrian; governor of Syria A.D. 117; consul again A.D. 120, his colleague being the future emperor Antoninus Pius; *praefectus urbi* for some years up to A.D. 138; thought himself fit for the succession to Hadrian, resented the adoption of Antoninus Pius, and was dismissed from office. Pliny's epistles 1.22 and 3.12 are addressed to him.

Catilius fulfils the conditions of the epigram, being a man of the highest eminence, whom the Emperor in person might so greatly honour; and the place, the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, is appropriate for a proconsul of Asia. If the identification is correct, we learn that Catilius was the father of Pliny's friend C. Ummidius Quadratus (the *lemma*, and 3; Pliny *ep.* 7.24), whose marriage with a princess (presumably, as Mommsen said, from an Asiatic kingdom) is not recorded elsewhere. Quadratus was consul A.D. 118.

The identification was thought doubtful by Groag ('zum mindesten bedenklich') on the grounds (a) that 'Severus' is a common name, and (b) that there is no point of connection, apart from the name, between Catilius and the subject of the epigram ('bei dem Mangel an sonstigen Anhaltspunkten'). The answers are (a) that our choice is limited to those 'Severi' who had been consul, and a proconsul of Asia is likelier than all others to be the one so greatly

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honoured by the Emperor in person; (b) that the career of Catilius is wholly in harmony with the expressions used about the subject of the epigram, so that it is not quite true to say that there is no other point of connection.

The identification is obviously probable.

Kaibel *ep.* 888<sup>a</sup>, after J. T. Wood *Discoveries at Ephesus: including the site and remains of the great temple of Diana* no. 7 (London 1877).

ὑπατικὸν ποντίφικα Ὑμιδίου Κοδράτου πατέρ' ἐρα κηδε[στήν]...

2140

παντοίης ἀρετῆς στάθμην, ῥυσίπτολιν ἄνδρα,  
 ἔξοχον Ἑλλήνων, πρόκριτον Αὔσονίων,  
 κλεινοῦ Κοδράτοιο φίλον πατέρ', ὧι βασιλείον  
 Ἄρμονίη θάλαμον πῆξ' ἐπ' εὐγαμίη,  
 5 Ἀδριανὸς Μούσαισι μέλων ἀνέθηκε Σεουήρων  
 εἰκὼ χαλκείην οὐνεκα προστασίης.  
 ὕμιν δ',] ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, ἀγάλματα καλὸν ὀρᾶσθαι  
 . . . ]οτ' Ἀρτέμιδος κτ]ησίωι ἐν τεμένει.

7 suppl. Kaibel 8 Ἀρτέμιδος suppl. Kaibel, κτησίωι Page

**1 [2137] ἀρετῆς στάθμην:** *standard of excellence*. A person may be called a κανὼν of something, implying possession of a rule or standard by which its quality may be judged, as in Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* 1113 a 13 ὁ σπουδαῖος... ὥσπερ κανὼν καὶ μέτρον ὧν (τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἡδεῶν), Peek 750.4 (III–II B.C.) κοῦρον ἀμωμήτου σωφροσύνης κανόνα, 1471.7 (II–I B.C.), of a man, ἀρετῆς μοῦνος... κανὼν. I have not noticed στάθμη thus used elsewhere, but it means much the same thing as κανὼν.

**ῥυσίπτολιν:** ῥυσίπολις first in A. *ScT* 129.

**2 [2138] πρόκριτον:** the word may render *princeps*, as in Dio Cass. 53.1 and 57.8, with γερονσίας (*senatus*), 78.17, with νεότητος (*iuventutis*), but is here simply a companion for ἔξοχον, *foremost*.

A Roman may be 'foremost of Ausonians' but it seems odd to call him also 'most distinguished of Hellenes'; perhaps the Greeks in the province would take it as a compliment that the Emperor's representative in their country is said to be one of them.

**3 [2139] πατέρ':** elision at the bucolic diaeresis is very rare; see Zeuxis 400 n.

**4 [2140] Ἀρμονίη:** Harmonia's own marriage was one of the most famous, but she is not known as an arranger or protector of marriages in general. Her name, and her relation to the Goddess of Love (Hes. *Theog.* 975 Ἀρμονίη θυγάτηρ χρυσοῦς Ἀφροδίτης) may have suggested her to Hadrian in this context.

**πῆξ' αὐτο:** in effect = *built* (LSJ *s.v.* π); the verb suggests a close-knit construction, suitable work for Ἀρμονίη.

**εὐγαμίη:** this poetical-looking word occurs elsewhere in prose only.

**6 [2142] προστασίης:** very seldom a technical term (*praefectura*), and not so here; simply *presidency*, or perhaps *protection*.

**7 [2143]** Kaibel supplied [ἔστα]ότ' [Ἀρτέμιδος πλ]ησίωι, admitting that

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πλησίωι was weak ('*sed melius non habeo*'). Ἀρτέμιδος is highly probable, and the only other possible supplement of ]ησιωι is κτησίωι. This is very satisfactory; *domestic* precinct, a suitable description of her principal home. κτήσιον τέμενος as κτήσιος βωμός in A. Ag. 1038.

What precedes is much more difficult, for the end of the epigram is intolerably dull if it is to run 'For you, Ionians, it is a fine thing to see statues in the precinct of Artemis'; we need a reference to this statue, not to statues in general. I doubt if there is an alternative to ἀγάλματ'... | [τοια]ῦτ'.

## VII

Hadrian restores the tomb of the poet Parthenius, which had been destroyed by flood-waters.

The text of this interesting epigram depends on a copy made by Fulvius Ursinus from a stone found in the vicinity of Rome; that it came from Hadrian's *villa Tiburtina* is a guess by Mommsen and Wilamowitz. The stone disappeared long ago.

Ursinus was a good scholar, and it is surprising that he should have made so unintelligent a copy of this inscription. Many of the letters are absurdly misrepresented, and it is sometimes (or even always) uncertain how many letters are lost in gaps; for example, there cannot possibly have been five letters (as given) missing between π and κλεα in 11, and it is highly improbable that seven are missing before μαπα in 12. Peek, who apparently copies Kaibel (who copied Gruter) in all other respects, differs in this, giving four spaces instead of three after οίχεται in 7, three instead of five after μουσ in 10, four instead of five before ζρδεν in 11, three instead of five before κλεα in 11, and five instead of seven before μαπα in 12. In their reconstructions of the text both Kaibel and Peek give themselves a fairly free hand when dealing with the gaps.

In four places it is certain, and in two more highly probable, that Ursinus omitted letters: 3 -εσι for -εσσι, 5 σινπι for σινεπι. 7 υπλημησιν for υποπλημησιν, and 8 υραμενοιο for συραμενοιο; probably also αηι for αρητηι in 4, and almost certainly αι for και in 12. So defective an inscription of an Emperor's epigram would not have been allowed to stand, and Ursinus shows himself in other respects so incompetent that he cannot complain if these faults also are imputed to him.

The safest way of presenting this difficult text is to give

(a) the transcription of Ursinus;

(b) a text offering only what is beyond reasonable doubt correctly restored; and

(c) a text including further restorations which are probable and which do not go beyond the sense already firmly established by (b).

Kaibel *ep.* 1089, after Gruter *CI* 6857; *IG* xiv 1089; Peek *GVI* 2050.

(a)

ατει . . . . ρινε . . . . ριδεικετονλη: δροεασι  
ατοναεκανητεινατοπαλοσνιο  
αενιμεεσιτετιμενονηγεμονεσει  
. . . . δεγιαημτραμενονιοιμενι

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- 5                   ...μυροισινπιφθιμενηιελεγοισιν  
                   αιμενηιοιηγλμορονευεπιησ  
                   τομενοιχετα...τονυπλημησιναναυρου  
                   της.....υαιραπτηνυραμενοιολιθον  
                   .....νδαρυπεροενηνα...παλαισηκατοιυμιο  
 10                  αδριανοςμουσ.....αιμοναφιυγατνυ  
                   .....ζρδενοψιγονοισινπ.....κλεατ.....  
                   .....μαπαμνησαι αλοσε υφριυν

(b)

This gibberish can be partly restored to sense with fair certainty:

- ἀ[ριδείκετον ἀνδρὸς ἀοι[δοῦ  
 τὸν Ἀσκανίη γείνατο Παρθένι[ον  
       -εσσι τετιμένον ἡγεμόνεσσι  
       μυράμενον φθιμένῃ  
 5                  -οισιν ἐπὶ φθιμένῃ ἐλέγοισιν  
                   ἄμμορον εὐεπίης  
       τὸ μὲν οἶχετ[           ]τον ὑπὸ πλήμησιν ἀναύρου  
                   γραπτήν συραμένοιο λίθον  
       -ν δ' ἄρ' ὑπερθε νέην α[   ]πάλι θήκατο τύμβο[ον  
 10                  Ἀδριανὸς Μουσ-  
                   δ' ἐν ὀψιγόνοισι  
                   Ἀπαμείης

The outline and much of the detail are thus established with certainty:

- 1-2 'the conspicuous (tomb) of a poet, whom Ascania (*i.e.* Bithynian Nicaea) bore, Parthenius',  
 3 'who was honoured by leading men';  
 4-5 'who mourned for (his wife Arete) when she died, (       ) when she died, with (plaintive) elegies'  
 6 '(not) without a full share of eloquence'.  
 7-8 '(His tomb) has disappeared under the floods of a torrent, which has dragged away the inscribed stone'.  
 9-10 'Hadrian has restored a new (inscription) above the tomb',  
 11 '(so that his name may be known) among later generations'.  
 12 '...Apamea...'

In brief: the tomb of Parthenius, a poet highly honoured in his time, and specially famous for his lament for his dead wife, was destroyed by floods; Hadrian has restored it, adding this new inscription.

On Parthenius, see *RE* 18.4.1895, and especially Pfeiffer in *CQ* 37 (1943) 23-32. The *Suda*, *s.v.* Παρθένιος, ἔγραψε... Ἀρήτης ἐπικήδειον τῆς γαμετῆς, explains 4-5 in the epigram, and the city-names given in the *Suda* for Parthenius, Νικαεὺς ἢ Μυρλεανός, agree with the epigram: Ἀσκανίη in 2 refers to the lake beside which Nicaea stood, and Ἀπαμείης in 12 refers to the Bithynian Apamea which was formerly called 'Myrlea' (*Suda s.v.* Ἀσκληπιάδης· (Μυρλέα) πόλις Βιθυνίας ἢ νῦν Ἀπάμεια καλουμένη); presumably Parthenius was born in the one and lived much in the other. Both Nicaea and Apamea were captured by the Romans in 73 B.C., and Parthenius was taken prisoner to

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Rome. He was freed, and lived long in Italy. He helped Virgil with Greek according to Macrobius (*sat.* 5.17); he dedicated his Ἑρωτικά Ποθήματα to Cornelius Gallus; he moved in high society and attained to high fame; his poems were imitated by the emperor Tiberius (*Suet. Tib.* 70). Hadrian's epigram is proof of his lasting fame.

(c)

The following text includes some further restorations which seem probable, which are in accord with (b), and which do not affect the general sense:

- 2145
- π[ρ]ιν ἔ[θεντ' ἄ]ριδείκετον ἀνδρὸς ἀοι[δοῦ  
σῆμ]α, τὸν Ἀσκανίη γείνατο, Παρθένι[ο]ν,  
-εσσι τετιμένον ἡγεμόνεσσι,  
δ' ἐπ' Ἀρήτηι μυράμενον φθιμένῃ,  
5 Ἀρήτηι] λυγροῖσιν ἐπὶ φθιμένῃ ἐλέγοισιν,  
[οὐ           ]ης ἄμμορον εὐεπίης. 2150  
καὶ] τὸ μὲν οἶχετ' ἄ[φαν]τον ὑπὸ πλήμησιν ἀνάνυρον  
γραπτὴν [σ]υραμένοιο λίθον.  
νῦ]ν δ' ἄρ' ὑπερθε νέην α[ὕτος] πάλι θήκατο τύμβο[υ  
10 Ἀδριανὸς Μουσ-  
κλῆι]ζε δ' ἐν ὀψιγόνοισι π[ολυ]κλέα τ[όν] ποτ' ἔόντα 2155  
κόσμο]ν Ἀπαμείης [κ]αὶ [θ]άλος Εὐφρ[οσ]ύν[ης].

1 [2145] πρὶν Kaibel, ἔθεντ' and ἀοιδοῦ Peek (whose change of ἀριδείκετον to -δεικέτον is unwanted).

2 [2146] γὰρ τὸν Ἀσκανίη Kaibel and Peek (who has σῆμα at the start of 1).

3 [2147] The beginning is irrecoverable; ἀεὶ τιμήεσσι Kaibel.

4-5 [2148-9] As Kaibel saw, style demands that ἐπὶ φθιμένῃ in 5 be anaphoric of (ἐπὶ) φθιμένῃ in 4; Hadrian would not have written so insipid a repetition as Peek's μυράμενον φθιμένῃ, | Ἀρήτην...ἀποφθιμένῃ, to say nothing of the changes required in the text.

ΔΕΠ was surely ΔΕΠΙ, and ΑΗΙ must represent Ἀρήτη, the name of Parthenius' wife. The anaphora requires her name again at the beginning of 5; Ἀρήτηι Page, after Peek's Ἀρήτην.

λυγροῖσιν Kaibel.

6 [2150] The beginning is irrecoverable. ἀνέρα παντοίης Kaibel, and indeed παντοίης is plausible. If ἄμμορον is correct, a negative must have preceded, 'not without a share of eloquence'. Kaibel substituted ἔμμορον, Peek retains ἄμμορον, saying that it is equivalent to ἔμμορον.

7 [2151] καὶ Kaibel, ἀφαντον Wilamowitz, ὑπὸ Scaliger. Kaibel printed Ἀνάυρου, noting Ἀνάυρον *Thessalico flumini cognominem sicut Peneum et Alpheum villae Tiburtinae fluvium fuisse eleganter Wilamowitz*; the conjecture seems far-fetched, and there is no reason why ἀνάυρος should not mean simply *torrent* as in Moschus 2.31, Nic. *Alex.* 235, Lyc. *Alex.* 1424.



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**8 [2152]** The beginning is irrecoverable. Kaibel's πετροφυᾶ is ingenious; cf. Peek 766.6 (I B.C.) πετροφυεῖ...τάφωι.

συραμένοιο Scaliger.

**9 [2153]** νῦν Page, αὐτὸς Kaibel, πάλι θήκατο Scaliger, τύμβου Kaibel (τύμβωι Scaliger, with ὑπερθε adverbial).

If the transcript is reliable in giving seven letter-spaces before νδαρ, the line must have been hypermetrical. Such a fault is certainly not to be imputed to Hadrian, and not to his inscriber either, for so gross a blunder would not have been allowed to stand. The blame must lie with Ursinus, and it is likelier that he misrepresented the gap at the beginning than that he imported one into the middle of the line.

**10 [2154]** What follows Μουσ- is irrecoverable. Μουσῶν δῶρον ἀφ' ἀγνωτάτων Kaibel, Μούσαις ἄρμενα τευξάμενος Peek.

**11 [2155]** As restored by Peek.

**12 [2156]** κόσμον Peek, καὶ θάλος Εὐφροσύνης Kaibel.

ἄπαμειψ; this is the prosody in Dion. Per. 318 αὐτὰρ ἐνὶ μέσσηισιν Ἀπαμειψ τοιοιέθροισ, and in Kaibel *ep.* 836.2 τῶν ἐν Ἀπαμείαι; the second alpha is long also in Peek 1153.13 (II-I B.C.) ἄπαμῆᾶ (= Ἀπάμεια) and in Kaibel *ep.* 881.1 ἄπαμῆᾶ (= accus. of Ἀπαμεύς).

## JULIAN

### I

On the inferiority of beer to wine.

This comparison occurs occasionally in literature at large (*e.g.* A. *Suppl.* 953, Diod. Sic. 1.20), but there is no other epigram on the theme in the *Anthology*, and it is a fair guess that Julian is inspired by personal experience in a Celtic country.

All that is known about beer in antiquity, including a recipe for making it, is assembled and discussed by the learned Olck in *RE* 3.457-63; there is a useful note in the Budé edition, vol. 8 p. 187.

The puns in 5-6 reveal Julian as a kindred spirit to Marcus Argentarius (5.63 and 11.320 = *PG* iii and xxxiv).

A.P. 9.368, Π<sup>A</sup> [PPI] Ἰουλιανοῦ βασιλέως [C] Ἰουλιανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ παραβάτου [PCPI] εἰς οἶνον ἀπὸ κρίθης

τίς πόθεν εἶς, Διόνυσε; μὰ γὰρ τὸν ἀληθέα Βάκχον,

οὗ σ' ἐπιγιγνώσκω· τὸν Διὸς οἶδα μόνον.

κεῖνος νέκταρ ὄδωδε, σὺ δὲ τράγον· ἦ ῥά σε Κελτοί

ἠπανίηι βοτρύων τεύξαν ἀπ' ἀσταχύων.

2160

5 τῶι σε χρὴ καλέειν Δημήτριον, οὐ Διόνυσον,

πυρογενῇ μάλλον, καὶ Βρόμον, οὐ Βρόμιον.

3 τράγον Reiske: τράγου PPI

ἦ ῥα νύ σε P

4 ἠπανίηι Stadtmüller:

τῇι πενίηι PPI

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**1 [2157] Διόνυσε:** the fact that Julian addresses beer by this name does not imply that he is accusing it of masquerading as wine. The ancients often talk of beer as though it were a species of wine (e.g. Xen. *Anab.* 4.5.26 and Polyb. 34.9.15 κριθίνος οἶνος); it was not the real thing (τὸν ἀληθέα Βάκχον), but it was nevertheless a sort of οἶνος. Olck often uses such terms as 'Gerstenwein', meaning beer.

**3 [2159] τράγον:** the accusative, to accord with νέκταρ, seems preferable and the change to the genitive was easy; cf. Lucillius 11.240.2 πνεῖν πεποίηκε τράγου.

Contrast the sentiment of Diod. Sic. 1.20, τὸ ἐκ τῆς κριθῆς κατασκευαζόμενον πόμα λειπόμενον οὐ πολὺ τῆς περὶ τὸν οἶνον εὐωδίας.

**Κελτοί:** probably Gauls, though some Germanic tribes might be so called in Julian's time (*PG* 2.234-5).

It was poor drinking in Gaul, whether of wine (Philip 9.561 = *PG* lv) or of beer (Olck 462).

**4 [2160] ἡπανίη:** this brilliant conjecture (not adopted by its maker) restores a word known only from the lexica, primarily Hesychius s.v. ἡπανία· ἀπορία, ἀμηχανία. It is certainly to be read in Paulus 5.239.6 (φορβῆς) ἡπανίη, Salmasius, where PPI have the meaningless η (variously accented or aspirated) μανίη. In Julian, πενίη suits well enough but the definite article is very disagreeable.

**5 [2161] Δημήτριον:** Demeter is goddess of the grain from which beer is made, and there is no need to look further; but in view of the puns in the next line Stadtmüller may be right in saying that Δημήτριον is a pun, recalling διμήτριον, 'son of two mothers'. On Dionysus διμήτωρ see LSJ s.v.

**6 [2162] πύρογενῆ:** i.e. he is πύρο- rather than πύρο-, born of wheat rather than fire (cf. E. *Ba.* 2-3, [Opp.] *Cyn.* 4.287 πυρίπαιδι (Διονύσῳ), Strabo 13.4.11 πυριγενῆ...Διόνυσον, Auson. *epigr.* 49.3 πύρογενῆς...Διόνυσος, meaning πύρογενῆς.

**Βρόμον:** the word was necessary for the sake of the pun, and Julian may have been unaware of his mistake; βρόμος means *oats*, a grain not used (as wheat, barley, and even millet were) in the making of beer. See the note on Antipater of Thessalonica 6.291.5 = *PG* 643.

## II

On a short husband with a tall wife.

*A.P.* 11.108, ἄδηλον in both P and the *Appendix Barberino-Vaticana*, is ascribed to the emperor Julian in the *Sylloge Euphemiana* (on these sources, see *HE* 1. xli), whose heading is confused; it begins ἄδηλον ἄστειον, and continues τοῦ σατάν 'Ιουλιανοῦ τοῦ παραβάτου. Schneidewin's conjecture, that ἄδηλον ἄστειον should have been applied to the preceding epigram in *Syll. E* (= *A.P.* 11.220, a similar obscenity, ἄδηλον in P, s.a.n. in Pl), may be true but is not much help.

The text and headings in *Syll. E* are derived from a source other than P, but we know nothing about that source, and have no means of estimating its weight when it differs from P. It is a fair guess that the heading ἄδηλον in P, *App. B.-V.*, and apparently also in *Syll. E*, represents the normal tradition, and

# EPIGRAMS BY IMPERIAL ROMANS

that the ascription to Julian is an addition by one of the many who took pleasure in doing as much harm as possible to the reputation of 'Satan Julian the Transgressor'.

A.P. 11.108 (caret Pl), App. B.-V. 1 [P App.] ἄδηλον; Syll. E 39 ἄδηλον ἄστειον τοῦ σατάν Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ παραβάτου

Κόνων δίπηχυς, ἡ γυνὴ δὲ τεττάρων ·  
ἐν τῇ δὲ κλίνῃ τῶν ποδῶν ἰσουμένων  
σκόπει Κόνωνος ποῦ τὸ χεῖλος ἔρχεται. 2165

1 διπτυχῆς...τεσσάρων Syll. 2 δὲ κλίνῃ Page: κλίνῃ δὲ omnes  
2 [2164] Huschke (*anal. crit.* 244), Jacobs, Dübner, Sternbach (the editor of *App. B.-V.*), Paton, the Budé edition and Beckby all accept κλίνῃ δέ, apparently not noticing the false quantity. The change is easy and should be accepted whether Julian is the author or (as I suppose) not.



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