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## PHILOLOGICAL AND INTERPRETATIVE PROBLEMS IN GREEK EPIGRAMS

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**Summary:** The author discusses and explains the text of several epigrams, namely *A.P.* 5.62, 7.459, 12.171, 6.329, 9.235, 7.645, 9.267, 9.25, 7.78, 7.440, 7.648, 5.163, 9.16, 6.282, 6.294, 6.296, 6.300, 7.410, 7.425, 7.651, 7.732, 7.733.

### *Another Epigram by Rufinus*

*A.P.* 5.62:

Οὐπω σου τὸ καλὸν χρόνος ἔσβεσεν, ἀλλ' ἔτι πολλὰ  
λείψανα τῆς προτέρης σῶζεται ἡλικίης,  
καὶ χάριτες μίμνουσιν ἀγήραοι, οὐδὲ τὸ καλὸν  
τῶν ἰλαρῶν μῆλων ἢ ῥόδον ἐξέφυγεν.  
ὦ πόσσους κατέφλεξε τὸ πρὶν θεοείκελον ἄνθος.

Translation by W.R. Paton (*The Greek Anthology*, Loeb edition, London, 1969, repr., vol. 1, p. 159):

*"Time has not yet quenched your beauty, but many relics of your prime survive. Your charm has not aged, nor has the loveliness departed from your bright apples or your rose. Ah! How many hearts did that once god-like beauty burn to ashes!"*

This epigram concerns an ageing hetaera who has retained her beauty. The expression ἰλαρῶν μῆλων, in line 4, has puzzled the critics: cf. B. Baldwin, *Phoenix* 1980, p. 344. I would like to point out that Rufinus has made use of adjectival *enallage*. Thus the adjective ἰλαρῶν refers to the hetaera who is

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described as "merry"<sup>1</sup>. For a similar case of adjectival *enallage* in Latin poetry, cf. Tibullus 1.3.6 *maestos sinus* and K. Flower Smith's note *ad loc.*. Cf. furthermore *A.P.* 10.56.9ff. where "merry" women are compared to "serious" ones:

οὐκ, εἴ τις συνάγει τὰς ὀφρύας οὐδὲ γελῶσα  
φαίνεται ὀφθῆναί τ' ἀνδράσιν ἐκτρέπεται,  
σωφροσύνης τρόπος οὗτος ἐχέγγυος· ἀλλὰ τις εὖροι  
μαχλάδα μὲν κρύβδην τὴν πάνυ σεμνοτάτην,  
τὰς δ' ἰλαρὰς καὶ πᾶσι φιλανθρώπως προσιούσας  
σώφρονας, εἰ σώφρων ἔστι γυνή τις ὅλως.

Translation by Paton (*op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 33):

*"Nor if a woman is always frowning and is never seen to laugh, and avoids showing herself to men, is this behaviour a pledge of chastity. On the contrary, the most grave of them may turn out to be whores in secret, and the merry ones who are amiable to everyone may be virtuous, if any woman is entirely virtuous".*

It should, moreover, be noted that Rufinus has employed the nouns μήλων ("apples") and ῥόδον ("rose") with an obscene double meaning. For the meaning of μήλων, cf. LSJ s.v. II: "pl., metaph., of a girl's *breasts*, Ar. *Lys.* 155, *Ec.* 903, Theocr. 27.50". For the obscene meaning of ῥόδον, cf. LSJ s.v. III: "*pudenda muliebria*, Pherecr. 108.29"<sup>2</sup>. In other words, Rufinus means that the beauty of the woman's breasts and "*pudenda muliebria*" is undiminished. Similarly at *A.P.* 5.36 Rufinus admires the beauty of a girl's "*feminal*":

Ἦρισαν ἀλλήλαις Ῥοδόπη, Μελίτη, Ῥοδόκλεια,  
τῶν τρισσῶν τίς ἔχει κρείσσονα μηριόνην,  
καὶ με κριτὴν εἶλοντο· καὶ ὡς θεαὶ αἱ περίβλεπτοι  
ἔστησαν γυμναί, νέκταρι λειβόμεναι.  
καὶ Ῥοδόπης μὲν ἔλαμπε μέσος μηρῶν πολύτιμος  
οἶα ῥοδῶν πολλῶ σχιζόμενος ζεφύρω ...  
τῆς δὲ Ῥοδοκλείης ὑάλῳ ἴσος ὑγρομέτωπος  
οἶα καὶ ἐν νηῶ πρωτογλυφὲς ξόανον.

<sup>1</sup> For adjectival *enallage* in Greek epigrams, cf. G. Giangrande, *Scripta Minora Alexandrina*, II, Amsterdam, 1981, p. 328, and especially vol. I, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also H. White, *Essays in Hellenistic Poetry*, Amsterdam, 1980, p. 19.

ἀλλὰ σαφῶς, ἃ πέπονθε Πάρις διὰ τὴν κρίσιν, εἰδῶς  
τὰς τρεῖς ἀθανάτας εὐθὺ συνεστεφάνουν.

Translation by Paton (*op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 147):

*"Rhodope, Melita, and Rhodoclea strove with each other, quatenam habeat potiozem Merionem, and chose me as judge, and like those goddesses famous for their beauty, stood naked, dipped in nectar. Et Rhodopes quidem inter femora fulgebat Polyphemus velut rosarium cano scissum amne. . . . Rhodocleae vero feminal vitro simile erat, uadaque eius superficies velut in templo statuæ recens sculptæ. But as I knew well what Paris suffered owing to his judgment, I at once gave the prize to all the three goddesses".<sup>3</sup>*

#### *Epitaph for a Samian Hetaera*

A.P. 7. 459:

Κρηθίδα τὴν πολὺμυθον, ἐπισταμένην καλὰ παίζειν,  
δίζηνται Σαμίων πολλάκι θυγατέρες,  
ἡδίστην συνέριθον ἀείλαλον· ἢ δ' ἀποβρίζει  
ἐνθάδε τὸν πάσαις ὕπνον ὀφειλόμενον.

Translation by Paton (*op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 249):

*"Often do the daughters of Samos miss prattling Crethis who could sport so well, their sweetest workmate, never silent; but she sleeps here the sleep that is the portion of all".*

In their discussion of this epigram Gow-Page<sup>4</sup> argued that the noun συνέριθον ("helpmate"), in line 3, suggests that Crethis was a woolworker. They added, however, that the wool of Samos, although mentioned at Theocritus 15.126, was "not widely celebrated". I would like to point out that Crethis was not a woolworker but a *hetaera*. This is obvious from the words of the epigram.

The fact that Samian<sup>5</sup> women had a reputation in antiquity for lascivious behaviour is alluded to at A.P. 5.207:

<sup>3</sup> Cf. H. White, *New Essays in Hellenistic Poetry*, Amsterdam, 1985, p. 38ff.

<sup>4</sup> A.S.F. Gow-D.L. Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, II, Cambridge, 1965, repr., p. 194.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Plu., *Mor.* 303C. Cf. also A.P. 5.44.

Αἱ Σάμιαι Βιττώ καὶ Νάννιον εἰς Ἀφροδίτης  
 φοιτᾶν τοῖς αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐθέλουσι νόμοις,  
 εἰς δ' ἕτερ' αὐτομολοῦσιν, ἃ μὴ καλὰ. δεσπότη Κύπρι,  
 μῖσει τὰς κοίτης τῆς παρὰ σοὶ φυγάδας.

Translation by Paton (*op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 231):

*"Bitto and Nannion of Samus will not go to the house of Cypris by the road the goddess ordains, but desert to other things which are not seemly. O Lady Cypris, look with hate on the truants from thy bed".*

In line 1 Crethis is said to "know how to play well" (ἐπισταμένην καλὰ παίζειν). The words καλὰ παίζειν contain an allusion to sexual intercourse. For the erotic meaning of the verb παίζω ("make love"), *cf. MPhL* 4, p. 193.

*Cf. also A.P.* 5.61:

Τῇ κυανοβλεφάρῳ παίζων κόνδακα Φιλίππη  
 ἔξ αὐτῆς κραδίης ἠδὺ γελᾶν ἐπόουν·  
 "Δώδεκά σοι βέβληκα καὶ αὔριον ἄλλα βαλῶ σοι,  
 ἢ πλέον ἢ ἐάλιν δώδεκ' ἐπιστάμενος."  
 εἶτα κελευομένη † ἦλθεν· γελάσας δὲ πρὸς αὐτήν·  
 "Εἶθε σε καὶ νύκτωρ ἐρχομένην ἐκάλουν."

Translation by Paton (*op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 159):

*"Playing at Condax with dark-eyed Philippa I made her laugh sweetly with all her heart. 'I have thrown you' I said 'twelve, and to-morrow I will throw you another twelve or even more, as I know how'. Then when she was told she came, and laughing I said to her 'I wish I had called you at night too when you were coming'."*

In lines 1 and 3 Callimachus stresses the fact that Crethis was talkative. For the fact that *hetaerae* liked to chatter, *cf. A.P.* 7.221 where it is noted that the *hetaera* Patrophila used to chatter in a charming way:

Ἀκμαίη πρὸς ἔρωτα καὶ ἠδέα Κύπριδος ἔργα,  
 Πατροφίλα, κανθοὺς τοὺς γλυκεροὺς ἔμυσας·  
 ἐσβέσθη δὲ τὰ φίλτρα τὰ κωτίλα χῶ μετ' αἰοιδῆς  
 ψαλμὸς καὶ κυλίκων αἰ λαμυραὶ προπόσεις.

Ἄϊδη δυσκίνητε, τί τὴν ἐπέραστον ἑταίρην  
ἤρπασας; ἢ καὶ σὴν Κύπρις ἔμηνε φρένα;

Translation by Paton (*op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 127):

*"Patrophila, ripe for love and the sweet works of Cypris, thou hast closed thy gentle eyes; gone is the charm of thy prattle, gone thy singing and playing, and thy eager pledging of the cup. Inexorable Hades, why didst thou steal our loveable companion? Hath Cypris maddened thee too?"*

For the noun *συνέριθος* employed in an erotic context, cf. Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg.* 3.942 (Κύπρις) *συνέριθος ἀέθλων* ("Cypris, your helpmate in the contest"). For other epitaphs on *hetaerae*, cf. *A.P.* 7.218ff., 262 and 476. Cf. also Musaeus 11.

#### *A Textual Problem in Dioscorides*

*A.P.* 12.171:

Τὸν καλὸν ὡς ἔλαβες κομίσεις πάλι πρὸς με θεωρὸν  
Εὐφραγόρην, ἀνέμων πρηῦτατε Ζέφυρε,  
εἰς ὀλίγων ἴτινας ἔ μηνῶν μέτρον ὡς καὶ ὁ μικρὸς  
μυριέτης κέκριται τῷ φιλέοντι χρόνος.  
line 3 *στείλας* Gow

Translation by Paton (*op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 371):

*"Zephyr, gentlest of the winds, bring back to me the lovely pilgrim Euphragoras, even as thou didst receive him, not extending his absence beyond a few months' space; for to a lover's mind a short time is as a thousand years".*

Previous critics have been puzzled by the word *τίνας*, in line 3. Hence Gow suggested the alteration *στείλας* which he argued<sup>6</sup> "would mean *gathering the measure of the months into short compass*". There is, however, no need to alter the mss. reading. Dioscorides asks the wind to "atone" (*τίνας*) for all the time that he has been separated from his lover by bringing him back home safely. Line 3 means: "within a little (*εἰς ὀλίγων*) having atoned (*τίνας*) for the measure of the months". Cf. LSJ s.v. *τίνω* I, 5: "*pay or atone for a thing, τ. ὕβριν Od.*

<sup>6</sup> A.S.F. Gow-D.L. Page, *op. cit.*, II, p. 243.

24.352" and *A.P.* 9.643, 9-10 μούνη δ' ἀλιτήματα λαιμοῦ / ἡ γαστήρ τίνει πολλάκι τυπτομένη ("your belly alone gets many smacks to pay for the sins of your gullet"). Evidently, the wind is judged guilty of causing the separation between the poet and his beloved, because this latter (*cf.* line 1, ἔλαβες) had sailed away with the help of the wind. For εἰς ὀλίγον ("within a little"), *cf.* LSJ s.v. ὀλίγος IV, 5 quoting Thucydides 4.129, 5.

*An Epigram for Agrippina*

*A.P.* 6.329:

Ἄλλος μὲν κρύσταλλον, ὁ δ' ἄργυρον, οἱ δὲ τοπάζους  
πέμπουσιν, πλούτου δῶρα, γενεθλῖδια.  
ἀλλ' ἴδ' Ἀγριππεΐνη δύο διστιχα μῦνον ἰσώσας  
ἀρκούμαι δῶροις, ἅ φθόνος οὐ δαμάσει.

Translation by Paton (*op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 475):

*"One will send crystal, another silver, a third topazes, rich birthday gifts. But I, look, having merely made two 'isopsephon' distiches for Agrippina, am content with this my gift that envy shall not damage".*

This epigram was written by Leonides for Agrippina, the mother of the emperor Nero. The critics have been puzzled by the meaning of lines 3-4 of the epigram<sup>7</sup>. I would like to point out that the poet is alluding to Callimachus. At *A.P.* 7.525 Callimachus states that his poetry is greater than envy:

Ὅστις ἐμὸν παρὰ σῆμα φέρεις πόδα, Καλλιμάχου με  
ἴσθι Κυρηναίου παιῖδά τε καὶ γενέτην.  
εἰδείης δ' ἄμφω κεν· ὁ μὲν κοτε πατρίδος ὅπλων  
ἤρξεν, ὁ δ' ἤεισεν κρέσσονα βασκανίης.  
οὐ νέμεσις· Μοῦσαι γάρ, ὅσους ἴδον ὄμματι παιῖδας  
μὴ λοξῶ, πολιοὺς οὐκ ἀπέθεντο φίλους.

Translation by Paton (*op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 283):

*Know thou who passest my monument that I am the son and father of Callimachus of Cyrene. Thou wilt have heard of both; the one once held the office of general in his city and the other sang songs which overcame*

<sup>7</sup> *Cf.* D.L. Page, *Further Greek Epigrams*, Cambridge, 1981, p. 520.

*envy. No marvel, for those on whom the Muses did not look askance in boyhood they do not cast off when they are grey".*

Leonides alludes to Callimachus' words by stating that he is satisfied with gifts which envy will not conquer. He means that his poetry, like that of Callimachus, is beyond the reach of envy. In other words, although Leonides is not a rich man and therefore not able to send expensive gifts to Agrippina, nevertheless he is able to send her a gift of poetry which is superior to that of any other poet. Thus just as the rich man sends the most expensive presents that he can afford, so the poet sends the best poetry that a poet can produce to Agrippina. It should, moreover, be noted that Leonides alludes to Callimachus *Hymn to Apollo* line 113 in another of his epigrams: *cf. A.P. 9.356*<sup>8</sup>.

*An Epigram for Juba*

*A.P. 9.235:*

Ἄγχουροι μεγάλοι κόσμου χθόνες, ἄς διὰ Νεῖλος  
 πιμπλάμενος μελάνων τέμνει ἅπ' Αἰθιοῶπων,  
 ἀμφοτέραι βασιλῆας ἐκοινώσασθε γάμοισιν  
 ἐν γένος Αἰγύπτου καὶ Λιβύης θέμεναι.  
 ἐκ πατέρων εἴη παισὶν πάλι τοῖσιν ἀνάκτων  
 ἔμπεδον ἠπείροις σκῆπτρον ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρας.

Translation by Paton (*op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 123):

*"Great bordering regions of the world which the full stream of Nile separates from the black Aethiopians, ye have by marriage made your sovereigns common to both, turning Egypt and Libya into one country. May the children of these princes ever again rule with unshaken dominion over both lands".*

This epigram concerns the marriage of Cleopatra-Selene and Juba II. Cleopatra-Selene was the daughter of Antony and Cleopatra. Juba II is called Λιβύων βασιλεύς by Josephus: *cf. RE 9.2385*. Gow-Page<sup>9</sup> were puzzled by the text of lines 1-2. It should be noted, however, that Paton's translation of these lines is correct. According to the ancients, the Nile "separated Africa from

<sup>8</sup> For the *topos* according to which the poet is poor but his works are immortal, *cf. P. Fedeli, Properzio. Il libro Terzo delle Elegie*, Bari, 1985, p. 104.

<sup>9</sup> A.S.F. Gow-D.L. Page, *The Garland of Philip*, II, Cambridge, 1968, p. 233f.

Ethiopia"<sup>10</sup>. The Ethiopians were imagined to live on the southern frontier of Egypt: cf. Theocritus, *Idyll* 7, lines 113ff. It is therefore quite logical for the poet to state that the river Nile divides the two lands of Libya and Egypt from the Ethiopians.

*An Epitaph for Philostratus*

A.P. 7.645:

᾿Ω δύστην' ὄλβοιο Φιλόστρατε, ποῦ σοι ἐκεῖνα  
 σκῆπτρα καὶ αἰ βασιλέων ἄφθονοι εὐτυχίαι,  
 αἴσιν ἐπηώρησας ἀεὶ βίον ἢ ἐπὶ Νείλω  
 <ἢ παρ' Ἰου>δαίοις ὧν περίσπτος ὄροις;  
 ὀθνεῖοι καμάτους τοὺς σοὺς διεμοιρήσαντο,  
 σὸς δὲ νέκυς ψαφαρῆ κείσεται ἐν Ὀστρακίῃ.

line 4 ἢ παρ' Ἰουδαίοις Cichorius :δαίοις, spat. Vac. Relicto, PPI, κείσαι Ἰου suppl. man. rec. in P

Translation by Gow-Page (*The Garland of Philip*, vol. I, p. 211):

*"Ill-starred in your prosperity, Philostratus, where are those sceptres and abundant princely blessings on which you ever made your life depend. a man of eminence whether on the Nile or within the boundaries of Judaea? Strangers have shared out the fruits of your labour, and your corpse shall lie in sandy Ostracina".*

This epigram concerns Philostratus, who died in a foreign land. The text of line 4 has puzzled the critics<sup>11</sup>. It should be noted, however, that the mss. reading κείσαι Ἰουδαίοις makes perfect sense. A full stop should be placed after βίον, in line 3, and lines 3-4 should be printed as follows:

... ἢ ἐπὶ Νείλω  
 κείσαι Ἰουδαίοις ὧν περίσπτος ὄροις.

*"In truth (ἦ) you lie by the Nile, a man of eminence within the boundaries of Judaea".*

<sup>10</sup> Cf. E.H. Bunbury. *History of Ancient Geography*, II, Amsterdam, 1979, repr., p. 175.

<sup>11</sup> A.S.F. Gow-D.L. Page, *The Garland...*, op. cit., II, p. 228.

The poet means that Philostratus was a man from Judaea who was buried in Egypt. Ostracina was, in fact, east of Pelusium in Egypt. For ἦ, cf. LSJ s.v. I, and *A.P.* 7.74, line 3. Note, moreover, the repetition κείσαι ... κείσετ'. For similar examples of repetition in epigrams, cf. G. Giangrande, *Scripta Minora Alexandrina*, II, p. 313.

*An Epitaph by Philip*

*A.P.* 9.267:

Ἰκαρίην < > πλώων ἄλα, νηὸς ὀλισθῶν  
 Δᾶμις ὁ Νικαρέτου κάππεσεν εἰς πέλαγος.  
 πολλὰ πατήρ δ' ἤρᾶτο πρὸς ἀθανάτους καὶ ἐς ὕδωρ  
 φθέγγεθ' ὑπὲρ τέκνου κύματα λισσόμενος.  
 ὤλετο δ' οἰκτίστως βρυχθεὶς ἀλί· κείνο δὲ πατρὸς  
 ἔκλυεν ἀράων οὐδὲ πάλαι πέλαγος.  
 line 1 Ἰκαρίην πλώων P: Ἰκ. τὸ πάρος πλ. P1

Translation by Gow-Page (*op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 317):

*"Sailing the Icarian sea < >, falling from his ship, Damis the son of Nicaretus tumbled into the ocean. Many a prayer to the Immortals his father uttered, and called on the waters, imploring the waves for his son's sake. But he perished most pitifully, swallowed by the sea. In time past too that ocean was deaf to a father's prayers".*

The text of line 1 has puzzled the critics<sup>12</sup>. It should be noted, however, that it is possible to restore perfect sense to the epigram if we accept the reading of P1<sup>13</sup>. The present participle<sup>14</sup> πλώων has been used here with a sense of anteriority. Thus Damis is said to have sailed formerly (τὸ πάρος) over the Icarian sea. We are probably meant to understand that Damis was a fisherman who had sailed for some time over the Icarian sea before he fell from a ship and was drowned. It is worth noting that the island of Ἰκαρος was once called Ἰχθυόεσσα because of the great number of fish which were to be found in the area: cf. *Thes. Gr. Ling.*, s.v. Ἰκαρος.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. A.S.F. Gow-D.L. Page, *The Garland...*, *op. cit.*, II, p. 349.

<sup>13</sup> For other cases where Planudes has preserved the correct text, cf. H. White, *New Essays...*, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *MPhL* vol. 10, p. 39. Similarly at Parmeno 1, 4 (Powell) the participle πίνων means "having drunk".

For a similar epitaph for a fisherman who had drowned, *cf. A.P. 7.287*:

Καὶ νέκυν ἀπρήνυτος ἀνιήσει με θάλασσα,  
 Λῦσιν ἔρημαίη κρυπτὸν ὑπὸ σπιλάδι,  
 στρηνὲς ἀεὶ φωνεῦσα παρ' οὔατι καὶ παρὰ κωφὸν  
 σῆμα. τί μ', ὄνθρωποι, τῆδε παρωκίσατε,  
 ἢ πνοιῆς χήρωσε τὸν οὐκ ἐπὶ φορτίδι νηὶ  
 ἔμπορον, ἀλλ' ὀλίγης ναυτίλον εἰρεσίης  
 θηκαμένη ναυγόν; ὃ δ' ἐκ πόντοιο ματεύων  
 ζωὴν ἐκ πόντου καὶ μόρον εἰλκυσάμην.

Translation by Paton (*op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 157):

*"Even in death shall the unappeased sea vex me, Lysis, buried as I am beneath this desert rock, sounding ever harshly in my ears close to my deaf tomb. Why, O men, did ye lay me next to her who reft me of breath, who wrecked me not trading on a merchantman, but embarked on a little rowingboat? From the sea I sought to gain my living, and from the sea I drew forth death".*

#### *An Epigram for Aratus*

*A.P. 9.25*:

Γράμμα τόδ' Ἀρήτοιο δαήμονος, ὅς ποτε λεπτῆ  
 φροντίδι δηναίους ἀστέρας ἐφράσατο  
 ἀπλανέας τ' ἄμφω καὶ ἀλήμονας οἴσι τ' ἐναργῆς  
 ἰλλόμενος κύκλοις οὐρανὸς ἐνδέδεται·  
 αἰνεῖσθω δὲ καμῶν ἔργον μέγα, καὶ Διὸς εἶναι  
 δεύτερος ὅστις ἔθηκ' ἄστρα φαεινότερα.  
 line 3 οἴσι τ' Kaibel : οἴσιν PPI

Translation by Paton (*op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 15):

*"This is the book of learned Aratus, whose subtle mind explored the long-lived stars, both the fixed stars and the planets with which the bright revolving heaven is set. Let us praise him for the great task at which he toiled; let us count him second to Zeus, in that he made the stars brighter".*

In line 3 Gow-Page printed Kaibel's alteration οἱσί τ'. They noted<sup>15</sup> that Leonidas "is evidently referring to the Great Circles shown on armillary spheres and described by Aratus in 462ff.". According to Gow-Page, the meaning will be "and the circles with which the bright revolving heaven is bound".

It is, however, possible to make sense of the transmitted text if we understand that the poet has made use of synonyms. Thus the word κύκλοις refers to the stars which are mentioned in lines 2ff.; cf. LSJ s.v. κύκλος II, 5: "heavenly bodies". Aratus is said to have described the fixed stars and the planets, "in which heavenly bodies the bright sky is set". For the employments of synonyms in Hellenistic literature, cf. *MPhL* vol. 4, p. 200.

### *An Epitaph for Eratosthenes*

A.P. 7.78:

Πρῆύτερον γῆράς σε καὶ οὐ κατὰ νοῦσος ἀμαυρῆ  
 ἔσβεσεν, εὐνήθης δ' ὕπνον ὀφειλόμενον,  
 ἄκρα μεριμνήσας, Ἐρατόσθενης· οὐδὲ Κυρήνη  
 μαῖά σε πατρῶων ἐντὸς ἔδεκτο τάφων,  
 Ἄγλαοῦ υἱέ· φίλος δὲ καὶ ἐν ξείνῃ κεκάλυψαι  
 πᾶρ τόδε Πρωτῆος κρᾶσπεδον αἰγιαλοῦ.  
 line 4 μαῖα Eldick σε πατρῶων Brunck μαινᾶς ἐπ' ἀτρύτων CPI

Translation by Paton (*op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 47):

*"A mild old age, no darkening disease, put out thy light, Eratosthenes son of Aglaus, and, thy high studies over, thou sleepest the appointed sleep. Cyrene thy mother did not receive thee into the tombs of thy fathers, but thou art buried on this fringe of Proteus' shore, beloved even in a strange land".*

In line 4 Gow-Page<sup>16</sup> printed the textual alterations μαῖά σε πατρῶων. There is however, no need for us to alter the mss. reading μαινᾶς ἐπ' ἀτρύτων. The adjective μαινᾶς refers to the nymph Cyrene<sup>17</sup>, who is described as "raging" with grief: cf. Nonnus, *Dion.* 47.214ff. The adjective ἀτρύτων describes Eratosthenes' tomb which is imagined to be "huge": cf. Theocritus, *Idyll* 15.7

<sup>15</sup> Cf. A.S.F. Gow-D.L. Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, *op. cit.*, II, p. 396.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. A.S.F. Gow-D.L. Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 80.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Jacobs, *Animadversiones*, vol. 9, p. 254. For the personification of Cyrene, cf. Lapp, *De Callimachi Cyrenaei Tropis et Figuris*, p. 85.

where the *scholia* explain that ἄτρυτος means πολλή. The point is that a large tomb would have been erected at Cyrene in order to reflect the greatness of its occupant. Finally, it should be noted that the poet has employed *imesis* (ἐπ' ... ἔδεκτο): cf. LSJ s.v. ἐπιδέχομαι (2): "receive, welcome". Thus lines 3-4 should be translated as follows: "Raging (μαινάς) Cyrene did not receive you in a huge tomb". In other words, the poet stresses that Eratosthenes was buried at Alexandria instead of his native Cyrene.

*An Epitaph for Aristocrates*

A.P. 7.440:

Ἦριον, οἶον νυκτὶ καταφθιμένοιο καλύπτεις  
 ὅστέον, οἶην, γαῖ', ἀμφέχανες κεφαλὴν,  
 πολλὸν μὲν ξανθαῖσιν ἀρεσκομένου Χαρίτεσσι,  
 πολλοῦ δ' ἐν μνήμη πᾶσιν Ἀριστοκράτευσ.  
 ἦδει Ἀριστοκράτης καὶ μείλιχα δημολογῆσαι,  
 στρεβλὴν οὐκ ὄφρυν ἐσθλὸς ἐφελκόμενος·  
 ἦδει καὶ Βάκχοιο παρὰ κρητῆρος ἄδηριν  
 ἰθῦναι κείνην εὐκύλικα λαλιήν·  
 ἦδει καὶ ξείνοισι καὶ ἐνδήμοισι προσηνέα  
 ἔρδειν. γαῖ' ἔρατῆ, τοῖον ἔχεις φθίμενον.

Translation by Paton (*op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 241):

*"O tomb, what a man was he, the dead whose bones thou dost hide in the night: O earth, what a head thou hast engulfed! Very pleasing was Aristocrates to the flaxen-haired Graces; much is his memory treasured by all. Aristocrates could converse sweetly, without a frown, and over the wine he could guide well the convivial flow of talk; and well he knew how to confer kindness on compatriots and strangers. Such, beloved earth, is the dead who is thine".*

This epigram concerns Aristocrates, who is described by the *lemma* as a "self-controlled and well-behaved man": Εἰς Ἀριστοκράτην, σῶφρονά τινα καὶ κόσμιον ἄνδρα. The critics have been puzzled by the text of line 6<sup>18</sup>. I would like to point out that the noun ὄφρυν means here "pride". Cf. LSJ s.v. ὄφρῦς

<sup>18</sup> Cf. A.S.F. Gow-D.L. Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, *op. cit.*, II, p. 322.

(2): "*scorn, pride, A.P. 7.409*". Cf. also LSJ s.v. ὄφρυόμοι: "to be supercilious" ... ἀγροικίαν ὄφρυωμένους "full of supercilious rudeness", Luc. Am. 2.

Aristocrates is a good man (ἔσθλος) and he therefore does not behave in a rude and arrogant manner towards other people. For the meaning of the participle ἐφελκόμενος, cf. LSJ, s.v. ἐφέλκω III, 5: "*claim for oneself, assume ... Μοῦσαν ὀθνεῖην A.P. 9.434*". I thus suggest the following translation for lines 5-6: "Aristocrates knew how to speak sweetly in public, a good (man) who did not assume perverse pride".

The adjective ἔσθλος is not, as Gow-Page argued, "irrelevant" but instead very apposite. Cf. moreover *A.P. 7.648*, 1' Ἐσθλός ' Ἀριστοκράτης.

*Another Epigram for Aristocrates*

*A.P. 7.648*:

Ἐσθλός ' Ἀριστοκράτης, ὅτ' ἀπέπλεεν εἰς ' Ἀχέροντα,  
 εἶπ' ὀλιγοχρονίης ἀψάμενος κεφαλῆς·  
 "Παίδων τις μνήσαιτο καὶ ἐδνώσαιτο γυναῖκα,  
 εἰ καὶ μιν δάκνοι δυσβίστος πενίη·  
 ζῶν στυλώσαιτο· κακός δ' ἄστυλος ιδέσθαι  
 οἶκος, ὃ δ' ἂν λῶστος τάνερος ἐσχαρεῶν  
 εὐκίων φαίνοιτο καὶ ἐν πολυκαεὶ ὄγκω  
 ἐνστῆ ἀυγάζων δαλὸν ἐπεσχάριον."  
 ἦδει ' Ἀριστοκράτης τὸ κρήγυον· ἀλλὰ γυναικῶν,  
 ὦνθρωπ', ἤχθαιρεν τὴν ἀλιτοφροσύνην.

Translation by Paton (*op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 347):

*"Good Aristocrates, as he was taking ship for Acheron, resting his doomed head on his hand, said: 'Let every man seek to have children and get him a wife, even if miserable poverty pinch him. Let him support his life with pillars; a house without pillars is ill to look on. Nay! What is best, may the room where his hearth is have many fair columns, and shining with the luxury of many lights, illumine the log that burns on the hearth'. Aristocrates knew what was best, but, O man, he hated the evil-mindedness of women".*

This epigram by Leonidas also concerns Aristocrates. The critics have, however, been puzzled by the metaphors which are employed by the poet in lines

6-8<sup>19</sup>. It should be noted that perfect sense can be restored to the text of the epigram if we understand that the noun δαλόν, in line 8, refers to an old man, who is described as sitting "by the hearth" (ἐπεσχάριον). Aristocrates states that it is best when a man's hearth (ἐσχαρεών) has fine columns (i.e. children) and illuminates (αὐγάζων) the old man when he sits by the hearth (δαλόν ἐπεσχάριον). This is explained by the *scholia* on lines 4-6. Cf. Stadtmueller, *Anthologia Graeca*, vol. 2, p. 444: 4-6 καλὸν οὖν φησιν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πολλῶν παίδων θάλπεσθαι παρὰ τῇ ἐσχάρῃ πολλῇ ὕλη ἀναιθούση. Cf. also LSJ s.v. δαλός II: "burnt-out torch: metaph. of an old man, *A.P.* 12.41 (Mel.)".

*Two Epigrams by Meleager*

*A.P.* 5.163:

Ἀνθοδιαίτε μέλισσα, τί μοι χρὸς Ἥλιοδώρα  
 ψαύεις ἐκπρολιποῦσ' εἰαρινὰς κάλυκας;  
 ἦ σύ γε μηνύεις ὅτι καὶ γλυκὺ καὶ ἴδυσσιστον ἔ  
 πικρὸν ἀεὶ κραδίᾳ κέντρον Ἔρωτος ἔχει;  
 ναὶ δοκέω τοῦτ' εἶπας· ἰώ, φιλέραστε, παλίμπους  
 στείχε· πάλαι τὴν σὴν οἶδαμεν ἀγγελίην.  
 line 3 δύσπιστον Pl

Translation by Paton (*op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 205):

*"O flower-nurtured bee, why dost thou desert the buds of spring and light on Heliodora's skin? Is it that thou wouldst signify that she hath both sweets and the sting of Love, ill to bear and ever bitter to the heart? Yea, meseems, this is what thou sayest. 'Off with thee back to thy flowers, thou flirt! It is stale news thou bringest me'."*

The reader will note that Gow-Page<sup>20</sup> placed the word δύσπιστον, in line 3, between *crucis*. It should be noted, however, that Planudes<sup>21</sup> provided the reading δύσπιστον which makes perfect sense.

On the basis of the *Wortstellung*, Giangrande<sup>22</sup> has conjectured δусаπίστω: his conjecture is very attractive, because it refers to the *topos* of the

<sup>19</sup> Cf. A.S.F. Gow-D.L. Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, *op. cit.*, II, p. 321.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. A.S.F. Gow-D.L. Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 229.

<sup>21</sup> For other cases where the correct text has been preserved by Planudes, cf. my *New Essays in Hellenistic poetry*, *op. cit.*, p. 29, note 27.

<sup>22</sup> G. Giangrande, *Scripta Minora Alexandrina*, II, Amsterdam, 1981, p. 371f.

mind of the poet not being "gehorsam", and keeps the opposition between γλυκύ and πικρόν; it is also palaeographically convincing, because it presupposes that, in the word δυσαπίστω, the supralinear signs for α and for -ω were respectively omitted and misread for -ον, thereby creating the reading δύσπιστον, which is in Planudes.

However, Salmasius suggested δυσύποιστον: his conjecture is accepted by Stadtmüller and Paton, who, however, cannot fully account for the text which they print. Gow-Page<sup>23</sup> hastily maintain that the *Wortstellung* proposed by Salmasius is "ungainly", but Prof. Giangrande makes me observe that in reality such *Wortstellung* is perfectly normal: πικρόν is attributive, whereas the two adjectives connected by καί ... καί are predicative<sup>24</sup>. I should like to point out that Planudes' δύσπιστον is clearly sound: the sense is "are you telling me that she has the bitter goad of Eros which is both sweet and treacherous?". The spondee in the fifth foot of the hexameter presents no problem<sup>25</sup>. The adjective δύσπιστος occurs at *Orac. Sib.* 4.40; for the fact that Eros is treacherous, cf. e.g. Nonnus, *Dionys.* 15.220 δολόεις ... Ἔρωος.

A.P. 9.16:

Τρισσαὶ μὲν Χάριτες, τρεῖς δὲ γλυκυπάρθενοι ὤραι·  
 τρεῖς δ' ἐμὲ θηλυμανεῖς οἰστροβολοῦσι Πόθοι·  
 ἦ γὰρ τοι τρία τόξα ἱκατήρυσεν† ὡς ἄρα μέλλων  
 οὐχὶ μίαν τρώσειν, τρεῖς δ' ἐν ἐμοὶ κραδίας.  
 line 3 γὰρ ἔρωος apogr. / κατείρυσεν apogr.

Translation by Paton (*op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 11):

"The Graces are three, and three are the sweet virgin Hours, and three fierce girl Loves cast their arrows at me. Yea, verily, three bows hath Love prepared for me, as if he would wound in me not one heart, but three".

The text of line 3 has puzzled the critics. It is, though, possible to restore good sense to the epigram if we accept the readings of the *apographa* in line 3. Meleager states that Eros has "drawn three bows" and thus shot him three times.

<sup>23</sup> A.S.F. Gow-D.L. Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, *op. cit.*, II, p. 634.

<sup>24</sup> This type of *Wortstellung* is well attested in Greek poetry, up to and including Nonnus: cf. G. Giangrande. "Simónides y Teócrito", to appear in *Habis*.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. A. Ludwich, *Quaestiones de hexametris poetarum Graecorum spondiacis capita duo*, Halle, 1866, p. 19-20.

For another case where the correct reading has been preserved by the *apographa*, cf. *A.P.* 7.732, line 1 (ἀγριε 'Ερμοῦ). Consequently lines 3-4 should be translated as follows: "Love has drawn three bows, as if he intends to wound in me not one heart, but three". In this article I shall argue that the *apographa* often preserved for us the correct reading and that these readings were found in manuscripts which are now lost.

*An Epigram by Theodorus*

*A.P.* 6.282:

Σοὶ τὸν πιληθέντα δι' εὐζάντου τριχὸς ἀμνοῦ,  
 Ἑρμᾶ, Καλλιτέλης ἐκρέμασεν πέτασον  
 καὶ δίβολον περόναν καὶ στλεγγίδα καὶ τὸ ταυνοσθὲν  
 τόξον καὶ τριβάκην γλοιοπότιν χλαμύδα  
 καὶ σχίζας καὶ σφαῖραν ἀείβολον. ἀλλὰ σὺ δέξαι  
 δῶρα, φιλευτάκτου †δῶρον† ἐφηβοσύνας.  
 line 6 ἐφηβοσύνας *Ap.B.* -ημο- P

Translation by Paton (*op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 451):

*"To thee, Hermes, did Calliteles suspend his felt hat made of well-carded sheep's wool, his double pin, his strigil, his unstrung bow, his worn chlamys soaked with sweat, his arrows (?), and the ball he never tired of throwing. Accept, I pray thee, friend of youth, these gifts, the souvenirs of a well-conducted adolescence".*

Gow-Page<sup>26</sup> were puzzled by the text of line 6 and placed the word δῶρον between *cruces*. There is, however, no need for us to alter the transmitted text. Gow-Page failed to understand that the poet has purposely repeated the noun δῶρον<sup>27</sup>. It should also be noted that the reading ἐφηβοσύνας, in line 6, has been preserved by the *apographa*. For another case where the correct reading has been preserved by the *apographa*, cf. *A.P.* 6.294, line 3 κέρκον τ' εὐμόλπαν.

The poet mentions, in line 6, that Calliteles has led a "well-conducted youth" (φιλευτάκτου ... ἐφηβοσύνας). Similarly at *A.P.* 5.40, line 7 the poet urges a woman to behave "with propriety" (εὐτακτεῖν πειρωῶ):

<sup>26</sup> Cf. A.S.F. Gow-D.L. Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 196.

<sup>27</sup> For similar cases of repetition in Greek epigrams, cf. G. Giangrande, *Scripta Minora Alexandrina*, II, Amsterdam, 1981, p. 313.

Τῆς μητρὸς μὴ ἄκουε, Φιλουμένη· ἦν γὰρ ἀπέλθω  
καὶ θῶ ἅπαξ ἔξω τὸν πόδα τῆς πόλεως,  
τῶν καταπαιζόντων μὴ σχῆς λόγον, ἀλλ' ἐς ἐκείνους  
ἐμπαίξασ' ἄρξαι πλεῖον ἐμοῦ τι ποεῖν·  
πάντα λίθον κίνει· σαυτὴν τρέφε καὶ γράφε πρὸς με,  
εἰς ποίην ἀκτὴν εὐφρόσυνον γέγονας.  
εὐτακτεῖν πειρῶ· τὸ δ' ἐνοίκιον, ἦν τι περισσὸν  
γίνηται, καὶ ἐμοὶ φρόντισον ἡμάτιον.  
ἦν ἐν γαστρὶ λάβης, τέκε, ναὶ τέκε· μὴ θορυβηθῆς·  
εὐρήσει, πόθεν ἔστ', ἐλθὼν ἐς ἡλικίην.

Translation by Paton (*op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 149):

*"Don't listen to your mother, Philumena; for once I am off and out of the town, pay no attention to those who make fun of us, but give them tit for tat, and try to be more successful than I was. Leave no stone unturned, make your own living, and write and tell me what pleasantries you have visited. Try and behave with propriety. If you have anything over, pay the rent and get a coat for me. If you get with child, bring it to the birth, I entreat you. Don't be troubled about that: when it grows up it will find out who its father was".*

*An Epigram by Phanias*

A.P. 6.294:

Σκίπωνα προποδαγὸν ἱμάντα τε καὶ πυρικοίταν  
νάρθηκα, κροτάφων πλάκτορα νηπιάχων  
κέρκον τ' ἑυόλπαν ἔφιλοκαμπέα καὶ μονόπελμον  
συγχίδα καὶ στεγάναν κρατὸς ἐρημοκόμου  
Κάλλων Ἑρμεία θέτ' ἀνάκτορι, σύμβολ' ἀγωγᾶς  
παιδείου, πολὺ γυῖα δεθεῖς καμάτω.  
line 3 εὐμόλπαν ap. L marg.

Translation by Paton (*op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 457):

*"Callon, his limbs fettered by senile fatigue, dedicates to Hermes the Lord these tokens of his career as a schoolmaster: the staff that guided his feet, his tawse, and the fennel-rod that lay ever ready to his hand to tap little boys with on the head, his lithe whistling bull's pizzle, his one-soled slipper, and the skull-cap of his hairless pate".*

The text of line 3 has puzzled the critics<sup>28</sup>. I would like to point out that good sense is provided by the reading εὐμόλπαν, which was printed by Paton. The adjective εὐμόλπαν ("sweetly singing") underlines the fact that the schoolmaster enjoyed hearing the sound of the whistling lash as he beat the boys. For the fact that the bull's penis was used as a tawse, *cf.* Herodas 3.68:

κοῦ μοι τὸ δριμὺ σκῦτος, ἡ βοὸς κέρκος,  
ᾧ τοὺς πεδήτας κάποτάκτους λωβεῦμαι;

Translation by Knox (Loeb edition):

*"Bring hither the smarting lash, the bull's pizzle wherewith I flay the gyved and unruly"*.

The epithet εὐμόλπαν refers to the *topos* whereby the whip makes a noise (λιγυρὰ μάστιξ Soph., *Aj.* 242; μάστιγος ἰωὴν Nonn., *Dionys.* 37.288; μαστίζω "faire claquer son fouet" *Thes.*, s.v. μαστίζω). Of course μολπή could denote the sound emitted by inanimate objects (*cf.* *Thes.*, s.v.).

Accordingly, it would appear that the correct text has been preserved by the *apographa*. On the other hand, Giangrande (*Hermes* 1974, p. 371) has shown that the mss. reading εὐόλπαν also has a contextually suitable meaning. From these considerations we may conclude that εὐόλπαν and εὐμόλπαν probably constitute what Pasquali calls "varianti d'autore".

#### *A Dedication to Hermes*

A.P. 6.296:

Ἄστεμφῆ ποδάγρην καὶ δούνακας ἴαντυκτῆρας  
καὶ λίνα καὶ γυρὸν τοῦτο λαγωβοβόλον,  
ἰοδόκην καὶ τοῦτον ἐπ' ὄρτυγι τετρανθέντα  
αὐλὸν καὶ πλωτῶν εὐπλεκέες ἀμφίβολον  
Ἑρμείη Σώσιππος, ἐπεὶ παρενήξατο τὸ πλεῦν  
ἦβης, ἐκ γήρωσ δ' ἀδρανίη δέδεται.  
line 1 αἰθυκτῆρας Salm.

Translation by Paton (*op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 459):

<sup>28</sup> *Cf.* A.S.F. Gow-D.L. Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, *op. cit.*, II, p. 466.

*"Sosippus gives to Hermes, now that he has out-swum the greater part of his strength and the feebleness of old age fetters him, his securely fixed trap, his cane springes, his nets, this curved hare-club, his quiver, this quail-call, and the well-woven net for throwing over wild fowl".*

The text of line 1 has puzzled the critics<sup>29</sup>. I would like to suggest that the correct text has been preserved for us by Salmasius. The words δούνακας αἰθυκτῆρας mean "rushing (i.e. swift) arrows"<sup>30</sup>. The hunter is said to dedicate to Hermes both his arrows and his quiver (ιοδόκην, line 3): cf. *Iliad* 1.45 and *Odyssey* 21.11 where there is a reference to the quiver (φαρέτρην) and to arrows (οἷστοι). Cf. LSJ s.v. δόναξ II: "anything made of reed, 1. shaft of an arrow, *Il.* 11.584". Cf. also Oppian, *Cyn.* 3.488 διηερίην δόνακες πατέοντες ἀταρπόν ("reeds that tread an airy path" i.e. arrows). Cf. moreover Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *harundo*, D: "an arrow" Ovid, *Met.* 5.384. Cf. finally Oppian, *Cyn.* 1.147ff. where the poet mentions that hunters are armed with arrows:

Καὶ μὴν τόσσα φέροιντο ποτὶ κνημοὺς ξυλόχους τε  
 ἐργοπόνοι κρατεροὶ θήρης ἐρικυδέος ὄπλα,  
 ἔντεά τ' εὐθήριοι μέγα πνείοντα φόνιοι,  
 ἄρκυας εὐστρεφέας τε λύγους ταναόν τε πάναγρον  
 δίκτυά τε σχαλίδας τε βρόχων τε πολύστονα δεσμά,  
 αἰχμήν τριγλώχινα, σιγύνην εὐρυκάρηνον,  
 ἀρπάλαγον κάμακας τε καὶ εὐπτερον ὠκὺν οἷστον,  
 φάσγανα βουπλήγας τε λαγωοφόνον τε τρίαιναν,  
 ἀγκυλίδας σκολιάς μολιβοσφιγγέας τε κορώνας,  
 σπαρτόδετον μήρινθον εὐπλεκτόν τε ποδάγρην,  
 ἄμματά τε στάλικας τε πολύγληνόν τε σαγήνην.

Translation by A.W. Mair (*Oppian*, Loeb edition, London, 1928, p. 17):

*"And these are the weapons of the glorious chase which the stalwart hunters should carry to hill and wood, these their arms breathing of the*

<sup>29</sup> Cf. A.S.F. Gow-D.L. Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, *op. cit.*, II, p. 358.

<sup>30</sup> This was noted by Jacobs, who pointed out that the adjective αἰθυκτῆρας occurs in Oppian: cf. *Animadversiones*, vol. VII, p. 74. It appears that Salmasius must have had access to manuscripts which are now lost. He was thus often able to preserve for us the correct reading. Cf. moreover, my *New Essays in Hellenistic Poetry*, *op. cit.*, p. 48, where I have attempted to show that the editors of the *Ascensiana* and the *Stephaniana* had access to manuscripts which were independent of Pl.

*blood of beast: purse-nets and well-twisted withes and long sweep-net and hayes and net-props and grievous fettering nooses, three-pronged spear, broad-headed hunting lance, hare-stick and stakes and swift winged arrow, swords and axes and hare-slaying trident, bent hooks and lead-bound crooks, cord of twisted broom and the well-woven foot-trap, and ropes and net-stays and the many-meshed seine".*

*An Epigram by Leonidas*

A.P. 6.300:

Λαθρία, ἐκ ἱπλάνης† ταύτην χάριν ἐκ τε πενέστεω  
 κῆξ ὀλιγησιπύου δέξο Λεωνίδεω  
 ψαιστά τε πιήεντα καὶ εὐθήσαυρον ἐλαίην  
 καὶ τοῦτο χλωρὸν σῦκον ἀποκράδιον  
 κεύοίνου σταφυλῆς ἔχ' ἀποσπάδα πεντάρρωγον,  
 πότνια, καὶ σπονδὴν τήνδ' ὑποπυθμίδιον.  
 ἦν δέ με χάς ἐκ νόσου ἀνειρύσω, ὦδε καὶ ἐχθρῆς  
 ἐκ πενίης ῥύση, δέξο χμαροθύτην.

Translation by Paton (*op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 461):

*"Lathrian goddess, accept these offerings from Leonidas the wanderer, the pauper, the flour-less: rich barley-cakes, olives easy to store, and this green fig from the tree. Take, too, lady, these five grapes picked from a rich cluster, and this libation of the dregs of the cup. But if, as thou hast saved me from sickness so thou savest me from hateful penury, await a sacrifice of a kid".*

Leonidas addresses in this epigram "the Lathrian goddess", i.e. Aphrodite. The text of line 1 has puzzled the critics<sup>31</sup>. Once again, however, the correct text has been preserved for us by Salmasius<sup>32</sup>, who provided the reading ἐκ πενίης instead of ἐκ πλάνης. Leonidas' epigram was imitated by Cornelius Longus at A.P. 6.191:

Ἐκ πενίης, ὡς οἶσθ', ἀκραιφνέος, ἀλλὰ δικαίης,  
 Κύπρις, ταῦτα δέχου δῶρα Λεωνίδεω·  
 πορφυρέην ταύτην ἐπιφυλλίδα τήν θ' ἀλίπαστον  
 δρύπεπα καὶ ψαιστῶν τὴν νομίμην θυσίην

<sup>31</sup> Cf. A.S.F. Gow-D.L. Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, *op. cit.*, II, p. 346.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Jacobs, *Animadversiones*, I, p. 157 and Stadtmueller, *Anthologia Graeca*, note *ad loc.*

σπονδὴν θ', ἣν ἀσάλευτον ἀφύλισα, καὶ τὰ μελιχρὰ  
 σῦκα. σὺ δ', ὡς νούσου, ρύεο καὶ πενίης,  
 καὶ τότε βουθυτέοντά μ' ἐσόψεαι· ἀλλὰ σύ, δαῖμον,  
 σπεύδοις ἀντιλαβεῖν τὴν ἀπ' ἐμεῦ χάριτα.

Translation by Paton (*op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 397):

*"Receive, Cypris, these gifts of Leonidas out of a poverty which is, as thou knowest, untempered but honest, these purple gleanings from the vine, this pickled olive, the prescribed sacrifice of barley-cake, a libation of wine which I strained off without shaking the vessel, and the sweet figs. Save me from want, as thou hast saved me from sickness, and then thou shalt see me sacrificing cattle. But hasten, goddess, to earn and receive my thanks".*

The reader will note that the words ἐκ πενίης in line 1 of *A.P.* 6.191 are an obvious allusion to Leonidas' epigram. For other cases in Leonidas where the correct text has been preserved for us by Salmasius, *cf. A.P.* 7.726<sup>33</sup>.

#### *An Epigram for Thespis*

*A.P.* 7.410:

Θέσπης ὄδε, τραγικὴν ὅς ἀνέπλασα πρῶτος ἀοιδὴν  
 κωμηταῖς νεαράς καινοτομῶν χάριτας,  
 Βάκχος ὅτε βριθὺν κατάγοι χορόν, ᾧ τράγος ἄθλων  
 χῶτικὸς ἦν σύκων ἄρριχος ἄθλον ἔτι.  
 εἰ δὲ μεταπλάσσουσι νέοι τάδε, μυρίος αἰῶν  
 πολλὰ προσευρήσει χᾶτερα· τὰ μὰ δ' ἐμέ.  
 line 3 τριττὸν ἀογρ. τρ. ἄθλον ἀρ. Β.

Translation by Paton (*op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 221):

*"I am Thespis, who first modelled tragic song, inventing a new diversion for the villagers, at the season when Bacchus led in the triennial chorus whose prize was still a goat and a basket of Attic figs. Now my juniors remodel all this; countless ages will beget many new inventions, but my own is mine".*

<sup>33</sup> For the repetition of the noun πενίης, *cf.* G. Giangrande, *Scripta Minora Alexandrina*, *op. cit.*, II, p. 313.

The epigram concerns Thespis, the inventor of Tragedy. The reader will note that Paton printed Wilamowitz's alteration τριετῆ, in line 3. I would like to point out that the correct text has been preserved for us by the *apographa*<sup>34</sup>. As Bentley has already explained, the poet is referring here to the "three Dionysiac festivals, City, Rural, and Lenaea"<sup>35</sup>. The poet has used the Attic form τριττόν rather than τρισσόν<sup>36</sup>.

The verb κατάγειν has been used together with the noun χορόν instead of ἄγειν. Cf. LSJ s.v. κατά E, V: "freq. only to strengthen the notion of the simple word, as in κατακόπτω". Consequently lines 3-4 should be translated as follows: "when Bacchus led the triple chorus for which the prize was a goat (ᾠή τράγος ἄθλον). And the famous Attic basket of figs was still a prize". Note the repetition of the noun ἄθλον<sup>37</sup>.

In other words, the poet refers in these lines to the fact that in the past a goat was the prize in Tragedy, and a basket of figs was the prize for Comedy. It will be noted that the words χῶττικός ... σύκων ἄρριχος mean "the famous Attic basket of figs". Cf. LSJ s.v. ὄ, ἦ, τό<sup>38</sup>.

### *An Epitaph for Myro*

A.P. 7.425:

Μὴ θάμβει, μάστιγα Μυροῦς ἐπὶ σάματι λεύσσω,  
 γλαῦκα, βίον, χαροπὰν χᾶνα, θοὰν σκύλακα.  
 τόξα μὲν αὐδάσει με πανεύτονον ἀγέτιν οἴκου,  
 ἃ δὲ κύων τέκνων γνήσια καδομένα,  
 μάστιγι δ' οὐκ ὀλοᾶν, ξένη, δεσπότην, ἀλλ' ἀγέρωχον  
 δμωσί, κολάστειραν δ' ἐνδικὸν ἀμπλακίας,  
 χᾶν δὲ δόμων φυλακᾶς μελεδήμονα, τὰν δ' ἃ . . .  
 γλαῦξ ἄδε γλαυκᾶς Παλλάδος ἀμφίπολον.  
 τοιοῖσδ' ἀμφ' ἐργοῖσιν ἐγάθειν, ἐνθεν ὀμμενος  
 τοιάδ' ἐμᾶ στάλα σύμβολα τεῦξε Βίτων.

<sup>34</sup> For another case where the *apographa* have preserved the correct text, cf. A.P. 6.203,5 ὀρεινόμου.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. A.S.F. Gow-D.L. Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, op. cit., II, p. 252.

<sup>36</sup> For the employment of Atticisms in Greek epigrams, cf. G. Giangrande, *Scripta Minora Alexandrina* III, Amsterdam, 1984, p. 153.

<sup>37</sup> For repetition in Greek epigrams, cf. G. Giangrande, *Scripta Minora Alexandrina*, op. cit., II, p. 313.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. also A.S.F. Gow-D.L. Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, op. cit., II, p. 327.

line 3 με πανεύτονον Salm. με τὰν (μετ' ἄν P) εὔτονον C line 7 φυλακᾶς Salm. -κα P  
τὰνδ' ἄγορεύει Salm.

Translation by Paton (*op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 231):

*"Do not wonder at seeing on Myro's tomb a whip, an owl, a bow, a grey goose and a swift bitch. The bow proclaims that I was the strict well-strung directress of my house, the bitch that I took true care of my children, the whip that I was no cruel or overbearing mistress, but a just chastiser of faults, the goose that I was a careful guardian of the house, and this owl that I was a faithful servant of owl-eyed Pallas. Such were the things in which I took delight, wherefore my husband Biton carved these emblems on my grave-stone".*

In their commentary on line 7, Gow-Page noted that "the end of the line is defective"<sup>39</sup>. I would like to point out that it is possible to restore perfect sense to the epigram if we accept Salmasius' reading τὰν δ' ἄγορεύει. The goose signifies that Myro was a "careful guardian of the house", and the owl "proclaims" (ἀγορεύει) that she was "the servant of owl-eyed Pallas". It should be noted that Salmasius has preserved the correct text at lines 3 ( με πανεύτονον) and 7 (φυλακᾶς). For other cases where Salmasius seems to have preserved the correct text, cf. *A.P.* 7.726 and *A.P.* 7.733,6 (ἰσοβίους). For the hyperbaton of the definite article τὰν, in line 7, cf. Lapp, *De Callimachi Cyrenaei tropis et figuris*, p. 37.

#### *An Epitaph by Euphorion*

*A.P.* 7.651:

Οὐχ ὁ τρηχὺς ἔλαιος ἐπ' ὀστέα κεῖνα καλύπτει  
οὐδ' ἡ κυάνεον γράμμα λαβούσα πέτρῃ·  
ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Δολίχης τε καὶ αἰπεινῆς Δρακάνοιο  
'Ικάριον ῥήσσει κῦμα περὶ κροκάλαις·  
ἀντὶ δ' ἐγὼ ξενίης Πολυμήδεος ἡ κεινὴ χθών  
ὠγκώθην Δρυόπων διψάσιν ἐν βοτάναις.  
line 1 ἔλαιος Mein. σελι θαῖος P

Translation by Paton (*op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 349):

*"Craggy Elaeus doth not cover those thy bones, nor this stone that speaks in blue letters. They are broken by the Icarian sea on the shingly*

<sup>39</sup> Cf. A.S.F. Gow-D.L. Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, *op. cit.*, II, p. 59.

*beach of Doliche and lofty Dracanon, and I, this empty mound of earth, am heaped up here in the thirsty herbage of the Dryopes for the sake of old friendship with Polymedes".*

Gow-Page<sup>40</sup> noted that this epigram "is an inscription for the cenotaph of somebody lost at sea". In line 1 Gow-Page printed Meineke's alteration ἔλαιος and explained that, if correct, the words τρηχὺς ἔλαιος will refer to a wild olive which stands next to the cenotaph. I would like to add that better sense can be restored to the epigram if we accept the readings of the *apographa*<sup>41</sup> and print line 1 as follows:

οὐχ ὁ λίθος τρηχὺς σε καὶ ὀστέα δειλὰ καλύπτει  
("The rough stone does not cover you and your wretched bones").

The words λίθος τρηχὺς recall *Iliad* 5.308:

ὥσε δ' ἀπὸ ῥινὸν τρηχὺς λίθος.

Note that Euphorion has inverted the Homeric word-order<sup>42</sup>. The noun λίθος refers to the grave-stone, whereas πέτρῃ, in line 2, describes the stele which is inscribed with the epigram.

The dead man had been shipwrecked near the island of Icaria. However, the cenotaph was built in the land of the Dryopians, i.e. in Epirus.

The man's corpse consisted of both flesh and bones: *cf. Odysseey* 11.219: σάρκας τε καὶ ὀστέα, *cf. also Odysseey* 1.161: ἀνέρος οὐδὲ δή που λεύκ' ὀστέα πύθεται ὄμβρω.

### *An Epitaph for Cinesias*

*A.P.* 7.732:

Ὡχιεὺ ἔτ' ἀσκήπων, Κινησίᾳ ἴερμου ἄγριεῖ  
ἐκτίσων Ἄϊδη χρεῖος ὀφειλόμενον  
γῆρα ἔτ' ἄρτια πάντα φέρων· χρηστήν δὲ δίκαιον  
εὐρών σε στέργει παντοβίης Ἀχέρων.  
line 1 Ἐρμόλα υἱ ἐDittenberger : ἄγριε Ἐρμούαρ. Β.

<sup>40</sup> *Cf.* A.S.F. Gow-D.L. Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, *op. cit.*, II, p. 286.

<sup>41</sup> *Cf.* Stadtmueller, *Anthologia Graeca*, II, p. 446.

<sup>42</sup> For similar cases where the Homeric word-order has been inverted, *cf.* G. Giangrande, *Scripta Minora Alexandrina*, I, Amsterdam, 1980, p. 296.

Translation by Paton (*op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 389):

*"Thou art gone, still without a staff, Cinesias, son of Hermolas, to pay the debt thou owest to Hades, in thy old age but bringing him thyself still complete. So all-subduing Acheron finding thee a just debtor shall love thee".*

This epitaph was written by Theodoridas for a certain Cinesias. The critics have been puzzled by the text of line 1<sup>43</sup>. Once again, however, the correct text has been preserved for us by the *apographa*. Cinesias is addressed as the "fierce son<sup>44</sup> of Hermes" (Κινησίᾳ ἄγριε Ἑρμοῦ) because he is a money-lender (χρήστην, line 3). Cf. LSJ s.v. χρήστης II: "*creditor, usurer*". For the fact that Hermes was the god of gain, cf. Herodas 7.74. For the genitive Ἑρμοῦ, cf. LSJ s.v. Ἑρμῆς (3): ὁ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἀστήρ, *the planet Mercury*. Cf. also Monro, *Homeric Grammar*, p. 141: Ὀϊλήος ταχὺς Αἴας ("swift Ajax son of Oileus"). Theodoridas makes the point that the money-lender must now pay his debt to Hades. For the adjective ἄγριε, cf. *A.P.* 8.204:

Ἦνίκα τὸν περίβωτον ἐπ' οὖρεος, ἄγριε Τιτάν,  
 τύμβον ἀνερρήξω, πῶς ἔσιδες νέκυας,  
 ὡς δ' ἔσιδες, πῶς χεῖρες ἐπ' ὀστέα; ἦ τάχα κέν σε  
 τῇ σχέθον, εἰ θέμις ἦν τοῖσδ' ἕνα τύμβον ἔχειν.

Translation by Paton (*op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 489):

*"When, savage Titan, thou didst break into the famous tomb on the hill, how didst thou dare to look on the dead, and, looking on them, how to touch the bones? Verily they would have caught thee and kept thee there, if it were permitted to thee to share their tomb".*

#### *An Epitaph for two Sisters*

*A.P.* 7.733:

ἸΑἰνόμμοιτ' δύο γρῆες ὁμήλικες ἦμεν Ἀναξῶ  
 καὶ Κλεινώ, δίδυμοι παῖδες Ἐπικράτεος,  
 Κλεινώ μὲν Χαρίτων ἱερῇ, Δήμητρι δ' Ἀναξῶ

<sup>43</sup> Cf. A.S.F. Gow-D.L. Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, *op. cit.*, II, p. 544.

<sup>44</sup> Cinesias is, of course, the metaphorical "son of Hermes": cf. LSJ s.v. υἱός "*metaph., Κόρον ὕβριος υἱόν* Orac. ap. Hdt. 8.77".

ἐν ζωῇ πρὸ πόλεως· ἑννέα δ' ἡελίων  
 οἰδωκονταέτηεις ἐπιλείπομεν ἐς τόδ' ἰκέσθαι  
 τῆς μοίρης. ἑτέων δ' οὐ φθόνος, ἴσσοσίη.  
 καὶ πόσιας καὶ τέκνα φιλήσαμεν, αἱ δὲ παλαιαὶ  
 πρῶθ' ἡμεῖς Ἄϊδην πρὴν ἰάνιάμεθα†.

Translation by Paton (*op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 389ff):

*"We two old women Anaxo and Cleno the twin daughters of Epicrates were ever together; Cleno was in life the priestess of the Graces and Anaxo served Demeter. We wanted nine days to complete our eightieth year. . . . We loved our husbands and children, and we, the old women, won gentle death before them".*

In their discussion of this epigram, Gow-Page<sup>45</sup> commented as follows on ἐπιλείπομεν, in line 5: "the meaning, though rather oddly expressed, must be 'we fell short by nine days of dying at the age of eighty', though whether the twins (or contemporaries) died on the same day, nine days before their birthday, or lacked nine days between them does not appear".

I would like to point out that perfect sense can be restored to the epigram if we follow Salmasius<sup>46</sup> and accept the reading ἰσοβίοις Diotimus employed the words ἑτέων δ' οὐ φθόνος ἰσοβίοις in order to make the point that the aged twins were not envious of each other because they had enjoyed an equal length of life. It therefore follows that the twins must have died on the same day.

The reader will note that Gow-Page also placed the word αἰνόμνητοι in line 1, between *crucis*. Here again perfect sense can be obtained if we follow Salmasius and print αἰνόμνητοι. The poet stresses that the two ladies were "law abiding". Writers of epitaphs normally listed the virtues of the dead person<sup>47</sup>. Cf. moreover LSJ s.v. νόμιμος (2), quoting Plato, *Grg.* 504d ν. καὶ κόσμιοι. In other words, the ladies are praised because they have led orderly lives.

It should furthermore be noted that at line 4 Salmasius printed the reading πρόπολος. Thus Anaxo is described as "a priestess" of Demeter: cf. *A.P.* 7.107,2 Δηῶς ... πρόπολος. Finally it should be added that in line 8 Salmasius printed ἀφικόμεθα.

<sup>45</sup> A.S.F. Gow-D.L. Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, *op. cit.*, II, p. 276.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Jacobs, *op. cit.*, I, p. 185. It should be noted that ἰσοβίοις is a rare adjective which is unlikely to have been employed by Salmasius for his own conjecture.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*, Urbana, 1962, p. 290ff.

I would like to suggest that αἱ νόμιμοι, πρόπολος, ἰσοβίοις and ἀφικόμεθα are all genuine readings which Salmasius obtained from sources which are now lost. Similarly at *A.P.* 7.726 the readings κῆϱον, ἀπώσατο and ἐπ' ἡούς have been preserved for us by Salmasius<sup>48</sup>. I therefore propose the following translation for Diotimus' epigram: "We two law abiding (αἱ νόμιμοι) old women Anaxo and Cleno, the twin daughters of Epicrates, were ever together; Cleno was in life a priestess of the Graces and Anaxo was a priestess for Demeter (Δήμητρι δ' Ἀναξώ / ἐν ζῶῃ πρόπολος). We wanted nine days to complete our eightieth year. There is no envy of years for those who live an equal time (ἰσοβίοις). We loved our husbands and children, and we, the old women, came (ἀφικόμεθα) first to gentle death".

Conclusion. The twin sisters are said to have died on the same day and to have left behind their husbands and children<sup>49</sup>. Note the hendiadys, at 7.651.1 (σε καὶ ὀστέα δειλά = "your wretched bones") and at 6.300.1-2 (ἐκ πενίης ... ἐκ τε πενέστεω κῆξ ὀλιγησιτύου Λεωνίδεω = "from the poverty of needy and flour-less Leonidas"). For the *anaphora* δῶρα... δῶρον... at 6.282.6, cf. Breitenbach, *Untersuch. Spr. Eurip.*, p. 230ff., Radinger, *Meleagros*, p. 46, Lapp, *De Callim. tropis*, p. 54ss., and *A.P.* 1.116.2 and 4.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. A.S.F. Gow-D.L. Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, *op. cit.*, I, p. XLV, note 1.

<sup>49</sup> G. Giangrande (*Scripta Minora Alexandrina*, *op. cit.*, III, p. 81f) has well illustrated the quality of the word νόμιμοι in line 1, but did not investigate Salmasius' *Arbeitsweise*: as I have tried to demonstrate, Salmasius must have had access to manuscripts which provided the good readings which he preserves.