

AN EDITION WITH COMMENTARY OF  
SELECTED EPIGRAMS OF CRINAGORAS

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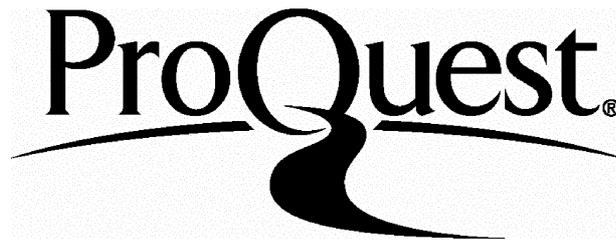
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## ABSTRACT

The present work is an edition with commentary of selected epigrams of Crinagoras, the poet who was among the first Greek authors who wrote poetry for the imperial court of Rome and exercised a decisive influence on Latin court poets of the following century, mainly Martial. I have dealt with all fifty-one of the poet's extant epigrams but I submit only about half of them, being restricted by the word-limit set for Ph.D. Theses by the regulations of the University of London.\* The selection was not an easy one; in the present thesis I have tried to include epigrams which are representative of the subjects Crinagoras writes about and raise interesting issues in regard to language and content. The historical and social context of the epigrams together with a discussion about their possible dating is briefly displayed in the introduction to each one; explicit or implicit information about life and practices of the time is also traced in the commentary on the poems. The most important variants of the mss' readings, scholars' conjectures and, a couple of times, my own suggestions for difficult passages appear in the apparatus criticus and are discussed in the commentary, which constitutes a detailed, word by word analysis of each poem. I offer a brief survey of the usage of the words and expressions in previous poetry, starting from Homer, with special reference to epigram, and discuss the extent to which their present usage is close to or remote from the literary tradition. I also refer to ancient discussions of words and phrases which help to clarify their meaning or explain certain grammatical forms. Crinagoras' poetry is placed in the Greek epigrammatic tradition through observations about motifs and literary *topoi*; moreover, echoes of passages of Homer and other poets in Crinagoras as well as Crinagorean echoes in later poets are investigated, and parallel Latin passages of certain images or phrasings are referred to whenever appropriate. The main stylistic features of Crinagoras' poetry are summarised in the introduction as is also our extant evidence about the poet's life, social status, conditions under which he wrote and relations with other contemporary poets.

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\* The books and articles listed in the bibliography are those consulted for the whole of Crinagoras' work and not only for the submitted epigrams.

## CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	5
ABBREVIATIONS	6
SIGLA	7
INTRODUCTION	
LIFE AND WORK	8
LANGUAGE AND STYLE:	
<i>Dialect</i>	18
<i>Latinisms</i>	18
<i>ἄπαξ λεγόμενα</i>	18
<i>Homericisms</i>	19
<i>Apostrophes</i>	19
<i>Inconcinnitas</i>	21
<i>Structure</i>	21
<i>Brevity</i>	22
METRE:	
General	
<i>Correption</i>	24
<i>Short vowels before mute+liquid or nasal consonants</i>	24
<i>Movable nu</i>	25
<i>Hiatus</i>	25
Hexameter	
<i>Caesuras</i>	26
<i>The syllable before the masculine caesura</i>	26
<i>Bucolic diaeresis</i>	26
<i>Trisyllabic proparoxytone hexameter-ends</i>	26
<i>Spondees</i>	27
<i>Hermann's Bridge</i>	27
<i>Wernicke's Law</i>	28
<i>Meyer's Laws</i>	28

<i>Fifth-foot breaks</i>	29
<i>Elision</i>	29
Pentameter	
<i>Accented pentameter ends</i>	30
<i>The syllable before the caesura</i>	30
<i>Elision</i>	30
<i>Homoioteleuton and agreement between pentameter ends</i>	31
TESTIMONIA	32
COMMENTARY	35
BIBLIOGRAPHY	223

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## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AP</i>	<i>Anthologia Palatina</i>
<i>API</i>	<i>Anthologia Planudea</i>
<i>AApp</i>	E. Cougny, <i>Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina</i> , vol. 3 (Paris 1890)
<i>CEL</i>	<i>Carmina Latina Epigraphica</i> (Leipzig 1895-7, 1926)
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>CIRB</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporiani</i> (Leningrad 1965)
<i>Enc. Brit.</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia Britannica</i>
FGrHist	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (Berlin, Leiden 1923-1999)
Fraser-Matthews	P.M. Fraser-E. Matthews, <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> , vols. I. (The Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica), III A (The Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily and Magna Graecia), III B (Central Greece from the Megarid to Thessaly), (Oxford 1987, 1997, 2000)
Osborne-Byrne	M.J. Osborne-S.G. Byrne, <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> , vol. II (Attica), (Oxford 1994)
<i>GDI</i>	<i>Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften</i> (Göttingen 1884-1915)
<i>GP HE</i>	A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, <i>The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams</i> , 2 vols. (Cambridge 1965)
<i>GP GP</i>	A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, <i>The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip</i> , 2 vols. (Cambridge 1968)
<i>Gr. Gr.</i>	<i>Grammatici Graeci</i> , 6 vols. (Leipzig 1965)
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
K-G	R. Kühner, rev. B. Gerth, <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache</i> , 2 vols. in 2 parts (Hanover and Leipzig 1898)
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> (Zürich, Munich, Düsseldorf 1981-1999)
LSJ	H. G. Liddell and H. S. Scott, rev. R. Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , 9 <sup>th</sup> ed. (Oxford 1940: repr. with a revised supplement: 1996)
Lewis & Short	C. T. Lewis-C. Short, <i>A Latin Dictionary</i> (Oxford 1879, repr. 1966)
<i>MAMA</i>	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua</i>
Migne PG	P. Migne, <i>Patrologia Graeca</i>

<i>MDAI</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>OCD</i>	S. Hornblower-A. Spawforth, <i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> (Oxford 2000)
Page <i>FGE</i>	D. L. Page, <i>Further Greek Epigrams</i> (Cambridge 1981)
Page <i>PMG</i>	D. L. Page, <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> (Oxford 1962)
<i>RE</i>	A. F. von Pauly - G. Wissowa, <i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (1894-1997)
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>TAM</i>	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i>
Thes.	H. Stephanus, <i>Thesaurus Graecae Linguae</i> (Paris 1831-65)

#### SIGLA

P	Codex <i>Anthologiae Palatinae</i> (Palat. 23+Paris.Suppl. Gr. 384)
P <sup>a</sup> P <sup>b</sup>	epigrammatum eorum quae in P bis exarantur prima et altera transcriptio
J	codicis P partim librarius, alibi lemmatista
C	codicis P corrector
Pl	Codex <i>Anthologiae Planudeae</i> (Ven.Marc. 481)
ac	ante correctionem
pc	post correctionem
s.a.n.	sine auctoris nomine
apogr.	apographa
Ap.B.	Apographon cod. Buheriani
Ap. G.	Apographon Guetianum
Ap.L.	Apographon Lipsiense
Ap. R.	Apographon Ruhnkenianum
edd.vett.	editiones veteres
Et. M.	<i>Etymologicum Magnum</i>
<i>Suda</i>	<i>Sudae Lexicon</i>

## INTRODUCTION

### Life and Work

Ὁ ἥθοποιὸς ποὺ ἔφεραν γιὰ νὰ τοὺς διασκεδάσει  
ἀπήγγειλε καὶ μερικὰ ἐπιγράμματα ἐκλεκτά.

Ἡ αἴθουσα ἄνοιγε στὸν κῆπο ἐπάνω·  
κ' εἶχε μιὰν ἐλαφρὰ εὐωδία ἀνθέων  
ποὺ ἐνώνονταν μὲ τὰ μυρωδικά  
τῶν πέντε ἀρωματισμένων Σιδωνίων νέων.

Διαβάσθηκαν Μελέαγρος, καὶ Κριναγόρας, καὶ Ριανός.<sup>1</sup>

Thus opens the poem *Νέοι τῆς Σιδῶνος* (400 μ.Χ.), written in 1920 by Constantinos Cavafis, the poet from Alexandria who enjoyed the scrupulous study of ancient Greek and Byzantine authors, especially Polybius, Plutarch, the Greek Anthology, and other sources of Hellenistic times and late Antiquity, based on which he built the setting of most of his poems. Sixty-seven years after the composition of the “Youths of Sidon”, Odysseas Elytis remarks that there is no other reason for the particular selection in this poem of these three poets from among all the Greek epigrammatists than the “euphonic alchemy” brought about by the juxtaposition of their names: *Μελέαγρος καὶ Κριναγόρας καὶ Ριανός*.<sup>2</sup> Elytis’ interest in Crinagoras’ poetry and the rendering of his epigrams into modern Greek stems from the two poets’ common origin from the island of Lesbos; similar motives moved Elytis to render into modern Greek the poetry of Sappho. The epigrammatist’s case is interesting for his modern fellow-countryman, as Crinagoras’ career outside the island is now safely established by external evidence, apart from the indications offered in the poems.

Fifty-one of Crinagoras’ epigrams have been transmitted to us under his name. Evidence for his life and activity is provided by a number of inscriptions found in Mytilene and published in 1888 by Conrad Cichorius and enriched later by other fragments discovered and published by Paton.<sup>3</sup> These are:

a) *IG* 12.2.54. A small fragment of remains of four lines from which no information can be extracted. It might be supplemented *Κριναγόρ]α[ς] Καλλί[ππου*.

b) *IG* 12.2.35a: it records a reply to a decree of honours conveyed by ten ambassadors on behalf of Mytilene, among which *Κριναγόρας Καλλίππου* appears in the third place.

<sup>1</sup> “The actor they’d brought in to entertain them / also recited a few choice epigrams. / The room opened out on the garden / and a delicate odor of flowers / mingled with the scent / of the five perfumed young Sidonians. / There were readings from Meleager, Krinagoras, Rhianos”, translated by Edmund Keeley and Philip Sherrard.

<sup>2</sup> O. Elytis, *Κριναγόρας, Μορφή στα Νέα Ἑλληνικά* (Athens 1987), 8.

<sup>3</sup> See the introduction of Gow-Page (*GP* 2, 210ff.) and Sherk 145f.; cf. Bowersock (1965) 36f. For the numerous embassies to Caesar from distant kingdoms after Pharsalus, see Bowersock (1965) 11f. For the mistakes Cichorius made in the interpretations of the inscriptions Gow-Page *GP* 2. 211, n. 2.

Since Mommsen plausibly suggested that the author of the letter is Julius Caesar, acknowledging honours from Mytilene after Pharsalus, this identification has been generally accepted by scholarship. The letter must then have been written by Caesar either during his second consulate (48 B.C.) or his second dictatorship (late October of 48-October 47 B.C.), as the phrase τὸ δε[ύτε]ρον in the first line of the inscription suggests. Sherk dates the meeting of the Embassy with Caesar shortly after Pharsalus, on September 48 B.C., after Caesar's crossing of the Hellespont.<sup>4</sup>

c) *IG* 12.2.35b: it records a letter from Julius Caesar to Mytilene, renewing χάριτα φιλίαν συμμαχίαν (l. 20) with the island, in response to the mission of eight ambassadors, among whom Κριναγόρας Καλλίππου occupies the seventh place. The letter can be dated in 45 B.C. from the information provided in ll. 6ff. Γράμματα] Καίσαρος Θεοῦ. [Γάιος Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ αὐτοκράτ]ωρ δικτάτωρ τὸ τρίτον, καθεστάμενος τὸ τέταρτον.

d) *IG* 12.2.35c: it records a treaty between Rome and Mytilene, dated in 25 B.C. from the first line: Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος] Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ἕνατον, Μάρκου Σιλανοῦ ὑ[πάτων. In that year Augustus was in Tarragona in Spain and, although the members of the Mytilenean Embassy are not named, evidence from Crinagoras' epigrams allows us to assume that he travelled from Mytilene to Spain in the year 26-25 B.C. *AP* 9.559=32 GP refers to a voyage in Italy after a long time; 9.516=30 GP is a comment on a Ligurian habit, Liguria being on the route from Italy to Spain; 9.419=29 GP on the Baths of Augustus at the Pyrenees; 7.376=16 GP on the death of Seleucus in the Iberian land. Many other of his epigrams addressed to members of the Augustan family are related to specific incidents and can be thus dated. These are:

9.555=31 GP, description of a small island, 10.24=34 GP, thanksgiving after a storm at sea, probably 45 B.C. (Second Embassy) or 26-25 B.C. (Third Embassy).

9.284=37 GP, on the degradation of Corinth, probably shortly after 44 B.C.

9.81=22 GP, on the disinterment of Nicias of Cos, probably around 30 B.C.

9.545=11 GP: Crinagoras offers Callimachus' *Hecale* to Marcellus as a gift; 27-23 B.C. (perhaps after 25 B.C., see *ad loc.*, intr. note).

9.419=29 GP, on the Baths of Augustus, 26-25 B.C.

6.161=10 GP, on Marcellus' first shave, probably 25 B.C.

7.645=20 GP, on Philostratus' fall from a high position, probably some time after the poet's arrival in Rome, that is after 25 B.C.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> See Sherk 151ff.; for the itineraries of Pompey and Caesar see *id.* n. 18. Appian (*BC* 2.89) records that Caesar, after crossing the Hellespont, was met by envoys of the Ionians, Aeolians and other inhabitants of the area, see Sherk 153.

<sup>5</sup> In their introduction to Crinagoras, Gow-Page date the poem "within a few years following the battle of Actium (31 B.C)." In their introduction to the individual poem, however, they seem to agree with Cichorius' (1922, 314ff.) reconstruction of the probable conditions under which Crinagoras became aware of Philostratus' fall and exile, which point to a date from 25 B.C., that is the poet's arrival at Rome, onwards, as a plausible time for the poem's composition. Moreover Gow-Page's inferences about

9.235=25 GP, on the wedding of Cleopatra-Selene, around 20 B.C.

9.283=27 GP, on the invincibility of Rome in regard to dangers from Germany, probably 16-15 B.C.

*API* 61=28 GP, on Tiberius' victories over Germany and Armenia, probably 15-13 B.C.

6.244=12 GP, on Antonia, soon to become a mother, probably around 15 B.C.

7.633=18 GP, on the death of Cleopatra-Selene, after 5 B.C., see *ad loc.*, intr. note.

The following epigrams can be dated after 25 B.C., during the poet's residence in Rome (a survey of their content will be given below): 7.741=21 GP, 9.239=7 GP, 9.542=39 GP, 9.562=24 GP, *API* 40=36 GP.

Crinagoras' epigrams cover a wide thematic range, comprising four major categories of the subdivisions established by Cephalas: ἐπιτύμβια, ἐρωτικά, ἀναθηματικά, ἐπιδεικτικά.<sup>6</sup> Love epigrams are represented by only two poems, 1 and 2 GP, if we exempt the conventional ecphrastic iambic epigram on an image of Eros in bonds (50 GP). The sepulchral epigrams concern deaths of persons the poet knew from Mytilene or was acquainted with in Rome or during his trips: a woman named Prote, 14 GP; his servant Inachus, 15 GP; Eros, a servant of a fellow member in his Second Embassy, 17 GP; Seleucus, probably a fellow member in his Third Embassy, 16 GP; Cleopatra-Selene, the daughter of Cleopatra of Egypt, 18 GP; Hymnis, a slave-girl, 19 GP; Eunicidas, a deceased villain whom the poet attacks with the pair 40 and 41 GP. Some poems are dedicatory, 8, 9, 42, 43, probably 10 and 13 GP. The erotic, sepulchral, dedicatory epigrams continue the long tradition, Hellenistic and earlier, of treatment of these themes.<sup>7</sup> Some of Crinagoras' poems are notes sent with gifts, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11 GP. Epigrams accompanying presents appear for the first time in the *Garland* of Philip. The poet's presents are designed to suit the recipient, cf. 3 GP, a pen for a boy who has just learnt to write; 6 GP, roses for a lady's birthday; 7 GP, a quintet of lyric books for Antonia, 11 GP, Callimachus' *Hecale* to Marcellus. See also on 5 GP, intr. note.<sup>8</sup> Laurens

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the identification of Germanicus (9.283=26 GP) and their consequent dating of the poem after A.D. 10 are disputable (see Syme 1986, 346f. with n. 5) and cannot thus be included in the list of poems which offer a more or less specific dating.

<sup>6</sup> Without this meaning that these were the *only* Cephalan categories, see Cameron (1993) 134; Cephalas took the seven subdivisions (also sympotic, protreptic, scoptic) from Agathias, see id. 23.

<sup>7</sup> The earliest attested inscriptions in the form of the elegiac distich are sepulchral and dedicatory, dated to the sixth century B.C.; the same tradition continued in the fifth century, and in the course of the fourth the first fictitious epitaphs appear. With the development of "book-poetry" in Hellenistic times the thematology of epigram was extended and enriched: now, together with the traditional dedications and epitaphs, fictitious of course to a large extent, we also have love- and drinking-epigrams, descriptions of works of art, poems which express views and feelings or offer autobiographical information (the so-called "demonstrative" or "epidictic" epigrams) and the themes are handled with characteristic subjectivity. These themes and method of treatment were adapted into the epigram from earlier poetic forms, like elegy, monody, choral lyric and sympotic song, see further *DNP* 3.1108ff.; for a detailed survey see *RE* 6.78ff.; see also Sider 24ff. For an overview of the fresh handling of the erotic, sepulchral, demonstrative epigram and ecphrases by Philip's authors, see Laurens 318ff. For the difficulty of defining the "demonstrative" epigram, which tends "to set a scene or to describe an object", is composed for exhibition and constitutes pure "Buchpoesie", see Gutzwiller 316.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Citroni and Howell on Mart. 1.111, intr. note, Laurens 326ff., Henriksén (2) 52.

(326) holds that we have to do with the “naissance d’un genre, substitut moderne de l’épigramme votive: le cadeau, c’est l’offrande qui se laïcise, se modernise”. This assumption does not fully describe the procedure leading to the formation of the genre of the epigram accompanying a gift, as there do exist literary precedents for this, like Theocritus’ *Distaff* (observed already by Reitzenstein, see *RE* 6.97); as we have seen, epigram encompassed various forms of earlier poetry, and the gift-poem can also be seen in this light. The majority of Crinagoras’ extant poems, however, can be described as “demonstrative” epigrams, ἐπιδεικτικά, dealing with a wide variety of subjects. In general Crinagoras’ poetry is inspired by contemporary events, which can be either political-military, like a Roman soldier saving the legionary Eagle (21 GP), the victory of Germanicus over the Celts (26 GP), the invincibility of Rome in connection with a campaign not mentioned (27 GP), victories of Tiberius from Germany to Armenia (28 GP), Pyrenean waters as witnesses of the glory of Augustus (29 GP), the degradation of Corinth (37 GP), or other: Antonia’s impending child-bearing (12 GP), the fall of a friend from high position (20 GP), Nicias, tyrant of Cos, being disinterred from his grave (22 GP), a goat accompanying Octavian to a boat-trip, (23 GP), a parrot teaching other birds to salute Caesar (24 GP), celebration of the wedding of Juba II and Cleopatra-Selene (25 GP), the poet’s preparation of a journey to Italy (32 GP), an earthquake (33 GP), the poet’s safe landing after a sea-storm (34 GP), the reversal of the fates of two brothers (45 GP), the drowning of a woman while washing clothes (46 GP). Other poems are inspired from observation or pieces of information: the Ligurians’ trick to put dogs off their track (30 GP), a little island with a funny name (31 GP), a strange kind of sheep (38 GP).<sup>9</sup> Some epigrams express a contemplative view on life: the moral of a wayside skull, (47 GP), a foolish hope (48 GP), appreciation of one’s participation in the Eleusinian mysteries (35 GP). The association of 44 GP, on a drowned sailor who envies the pastoral life, with a real event cannot be either established or excluded. Other poems are compliments to various persons: 36 GP to Crispus, 39 GP to the pantomimist Philonides, 49 GP to an actor, probably sepulchral. 50 GP is an *ecphrasis* of an image of a statue of Eros in bonds and 51 GP is a eulogy of the Hellenistic physician Praxagoras. Most of these themes are well represented in our extant Hellenistic epigrammatic tradition. Unexpected events and strange deaths were popular subjects before and during Crinagoras’ times.<sup>10</sup> The epigrams written to praise rich friends and rulers can be seen again in the light of Alexandrian tradition, in which the flattery of kings, as seen for instance in Callimachus’ *The Deification of Arsinoe*, *The Lock of Berenice*, passages of

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the typically Hellenistic interest in wonders of the world and the genre of Paradoxography, for instance Call. Θαυμάτων τῶν εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν γῆν κατὰ τόπους ὄντων συναγωγή, fr. 407 with Pfeiffer *ad loc.*

<sup>10</sup> These often appear in epigrams from the Hellenistic period down to the era of Philip, grouped not only in the seventh but also in the ninth book of the Anthology, cf. Mnasalces 9.390, Bianor 7.644, id. 9.223, id. 9.548, Diod. 7.632, Erycius 9.233, Honestus 9.292, Philip 9.56, etc., cf. also Sullivan (1991) 81, n. 6.

his *Hymns* like *H.* 1.79ff., Theocritus 17, was a common practice. Hellenistic poets praised their rulers in epigrams, as well as in hexameter poems and elegies, cf. anon. *SH* 979, Posid. G-P *HE* 11 and 13, Antip. Sid. *AP* 7.241.<sup>11</sup> However, the Greek epigrams written for Roman patrons are more numerous than those written for Hellenistic ones, as is clear if we compare the *Garland of Philip* with the *Garland of Meleager*.<sup>12</sup> At the Augustan court praise of Octavian and of other rich patrons was of course echoed by all major poets.<sup>13</sup> At this point it is necessary to investigate the nature of Crinagoras' dependence on the family of Augustus.

The poet's high social status was established with the discovery and publication of the inscriptions in which he figures as one of the members of Mytilene's Embassies to Julius Caesar and Octavian. As Gow-Page (*GP* 2, 212) observe, far from being a humble client, the poet "must have been recognized more or less as *par inter primos*, the accredited representative of an illustrious city overseas, acceptable in the highest society at Rome". It would be plausible to assume that Crinagoras enjoyed the help and support of the house of Augustus. Various investigations have been made in pursuit of the specific nature of literary patronage in Greece and Rome. The case of Horace offers us the most concrete evidence for the circumstances of composition of certain of his works, through our knowledge of the grant of his Sabine estate, as well as Augustus' request for the fourth book of *Odes* and the commission of the *Carmen Saeculare*.<sup>14</sup> As far as literary patronage in Rome is concerned, much debate has taken place in regard to the poets' degree of dependence and freedom of literary expression and the extent to which their relation to their patrons can be described as a form of *clientela*. The fact that poets and other men of letters who formed the circle of a rich patron usually had a high social status and anyway moved in the orbit of the upper social and economic class together with the kind of services they rendered to their patron, i.e. the fruit of their intellectual capacities and talent, demonstrates the distinct character of the literary patronage which places it on a quite different level from that of the social patronage.<sup>15</sup> The position of a writer in Roman

<sup>11</sup> See further Hardie 89f., Cameron (1995) 12f., 268ff., 289ff.

<sup>12</sup> See Laurens 325f., Hardie 39.

<sup>13</sup> For a recent survey of the relevant passages of Horace, Vergil and the elegists, see P. White (1993) 125-37, 159f., 189, 196f. and *passim*.

<sup>14</sup> See Gold 140, Bowditch 21. For Augustus' support of talented writers, as well as for other rich patrons apart from Maecenas (for instance Messala, Crispus, Asinius Pollio) and the authors protected by them see Syme (1986) 357ff. Other Greek writers protected by Romans were for instance Nicolaus of Damascus (supported by Augustus, as well as Herod), Philodemus, supported by L. Calpurnius Piso, and Antipater of Thessalonica, supported by L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, cf. Syme (1939) 460, (1986) 358, Wiseman 32, 34, Sider 5f.; also Bowersock (1965) 30-41, Wiseman 45, n. 62. Cf. further the case of Theophanes and Archias, see below. Augustus insisted on the best and demanded it from the writers he carefully chose, cf. Syme (1939) 460, (1986) 359.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. for instance Gold 39ff., 173f., Hardie 41ff.; for Martial's financial dependence and complaints about his "poverty" see Nauta 54ff. Sometimes, however, writers did also perform functions of "lower" dependants, like the morning *salutatio*, see further P. White (1978) 76, Gold 40. As far as the description of the relation between patron and writer as *amicitia* is concerned, one observes that the term was used to denote all kinds of attachment, including various relations of dependence. In general it is misleading to

society and the range of his duties and obligations to his patron depended on his own social status, nationality and talent as well as the status of his patron.<sup>16</sup> In general, as Gold (173) observes, a Greek author did not have the same freedom as a Roman like Horace or Propertius. Crinagoras was not Roman but was both of a high social rank in Mytilene without the need of any Roman's support, and protected by the highest possible persons in Rome, the Augustan family. His case is comparable to that of his fellow-citizen Theophanes, a politician and writer protected by Pompey. Theophanes *also was* of a high social status in Mytilene and belonged to Pompey's group of *amici*, formed by wealthy people two of whom were of senatorial rank.<sup>17</sup> Crinagoras' position in Rome can be seen in the same light. The poet was a man of action, often defiant of danger and highly interested and involved in politics, as is demonstrated by his three attested Embassies, during the last of which, it is interesting to note, he travelled from his island to Tarragona through the Mediterranean sea and then through the Alps, attempting an obviously difficult journey, in the course of which he lost at least one of his comrades (cf. the epitaph on Seleucus, 16 GP, see *ad loc.*, intr. note). It is quite probable that he made other journeys, too, from Mytilene or from Rome, as is suggested by his initiation in the Eleusinian Mysteries (cf. on 35 GP, intr. note; cf. also the possible reference of 23 GP to a voyage in which the poet has accompanied Augustus, see *ad loc.*, intr. note). It can be plausibly suggested that Crinagoras enjoyed the favour of the Augustan family, probably also expressed by gifts, in cash or kind, which ensured for him further social distinction, support and protection. In return the poet could offer praise and contribute to the poetic immortality of Octavian and his family.<sup>18</sup>

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try to apply strict categorisations to the relation between a rich Roman and his entourage, as the important person's group of "friends" could well consist of people who belonged to the equestrian order, see further P. White (1978) 74-82, id. (1982) 58; cf. above, on the circle of Pompeius' *amici*. Nauta however observes that "equestrian rank did not automatically entail wealth", see Nauta 54-5. For a detailed survey of the usage of the words *amicus* and *cliens* see Nauta 12-18.

<sup>16</sup> See Gold 104, 173.

<sup>17</sup> See Gold 91ff. Theophanes presumably had a higher position in Roman society than Archias, protected by Cicero, as he was clearly a man of importance in Mytilene and also protected by Pompey, a more important Roman than Cicero, see Gold 88. For a discussion of the relationship between Theophanes and Pompey and the benefits of each of the parts from the other (restoration of the freedom Mytilene had lost in 79 B.C., Roman citizenship for Theophanes; an advisor, secretary, true friend and means of perpetuation of glory and fame for Pompey) see id. 87-107, esp. 94-7, 104; for the relationship between Archias and Cicero see id. 73-86.

<sup>18</sup> For this reciprocity of "services" between poets and patrons cf. P. White (1982) 59ff., id. (1993) 14ff.; for the age of Martial cf. Hardie 49. While acknowledgement of presents is usual in Statius and Martial, payment in cash is not reported by any poet; this absence of any reference, however, should by no means be taken as meaning that there was no such payment, cf. Hardie 46. The emperor was of course the best patron a poet could have, cf. Juvenal (*Sat.* 7) who holds that he is the *only* good patron; for a survey of imperial patronage, resulting in *beneficia*, *honores* and other facilities for the *amicus*, see further Saller 41-58. Sullivan's suggestion (1991, 84) that Crinagoras' poem on Crispus (36 GP) hints "at expected patronage" is questionable, as it does not seem very probable for a poet of an already high social status supported and protected by the family of Augustus to seek further patronage; note also that the poem ends by stressing the dependence of everyone, including Crispus himself, on Augustus. The epigram could be thus seen as the expression of gratitude for a favour or even only as praise stemming from simple friendship, without any further implications or aim.

Evidence for the composition and performance of poems on contemporary events is provided by Cicero, in regard to Antipater of Sidon and Archias (*De Or.* 3.194, *Pro Archia* 18f.), where the orator reports these poets' talent in the impromptu composition of hexameter verses. These verses could probably be sympotic poetry and occasional poems like epithalamia; other occasions seem unlikely, as extempore verse has to refer to events witnessed by the poet and happening inside the place of recitation.<sup>19</sup> Epigrams of a sympotic theme, therefore, like the erotic 2 GP, on the song of Aristo, and the "philosophical" 48 GP, on the foolish ambition for wealth, might have started as improvisations presented *ατ* a banquet and then been written down. Crinagoras' gift poems (3-7 GP, 6 being associated with the celebration of a birthday, as probably 7) could be regarded as probably recited at a banquet, in the last two cases the banquet celebrating the birthday.<sup>20</sup> The epigrams on various contemporary incidents and other "outdoor" situations by Crinagoras and his contemporary poets were presumably written poetry from the beginning, at first presumably recited to a domestic public. The epigrams were then published, those which started as extempore verse after some polishing; although nothing is known of such publications, the plausibility of this assumption is supported by evidence we have for publications of previous authors like Posidippus and Callimachus.<sup>21</sup>

Parthenius of Nicaea, the famous freedman of Cinna who led a literary career in Rome and largely influenced the neoterics, wrote a poem called Κριναγόρας (see Test. 2); the acquaintance of the two men can be plausibly argued and dated in the forties B.C., most likely during Crinagoras' Second Embassy to Julius Caesar at Rome.<sup>22</sup> The theme of the poem might have been the love of the author's friend; the σκῦλα ἔρωτος which it contains is an epigrammatic *topos* which could, however, not refer to a real situation but

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Hardie 81ff., 100f. For Philodemus' poems, often giving the impression of a sympotic improvisation and in any case presumably recited under such circumstances see Sider 18, 27f. Lucillius complains about a host who bombards his guests with epigrams in 11.137. For Martial's epigrams, often recited *ατ* symposia, where guests also improvised, see Nauta 90ff., especially 95ff. According to Suetonius (*Aug.* 98) Augustus himself improvised two iambic lines on something he noticed outside the dining-room; according to Macrobius (*Sat.* 2.4,31) he also composed an epigram on another, non-sympotic occasion, cf. Nauta 99 with n. 32. Sometimes improvised verses at a symposium were written down before the recitation, see *ibid.* with n. 34.

<sup>20</sup> For indications of this function in Martial, for instance epigrams celebrating the recovery of a friend's illness, rendering thanks for a gift, describing an *objet d'art* (ecphrasis), also on departures, safe returns, birthdays, weddings, possibly but not positively recited at a symposium, see Nauta 101-104; for the presentation of published books of poetry in a symposium see next note. Poems accompanying a birthday gift could be *ατ* just sent to the addressee in writing, see (for Martial) *id.* 105-107.

<sup>21</sup> See Fraser 1.607f., Gutzwiller 15-46, Nauta 91 with n. 2; as far as Greek epigram books in Rome are concerned, evidence is offered by Lucillius who dedicates his *second* book of epigrams to Nero with 9.572 and Leonidas of Alexandria who dedicates his third book to Nero or Vespasian with 6.328. For the certainty of the existence of Philodemian collections, attested by Cicero's account for Philodemus' popularity in Rome, see Sider 28. Martial often mentions symposia as an occasion for the reception of his already published books, see Nauta 139.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Lightfoot 156.

echo the motif from an epigram of Crinagoras.<sup>23</sup> Otherwise Parthenius' work does not seem to have anything in common with that of Crinagoras.<sup>24</sup>

Especially comparable to Crinagoras is his contemporary Antipater of Thessalonica, who also lived in Rome and was protected by L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, mentioned in several of his epigrams; others are inspired by various social or political situations,<sup>25</sup> alongside the vast majority of those which treat conventional epigrammatic themes. For the poetry of Archias we know only what Cicero says in *Pro Archia*, as the epigrams transmitted under this name probably do not belong to the protégé of Cicero.<sup>26</sup> The orator remarks that *omne olim studium atque omne ingenium contulerit Archias ad populi Romani gloriam laudemque celebrandam* (*Pro Archia* 19), mentioning the poet's verses on Marius' victory over the Cimbri and Lucullus' war against Mithridates (19, 21). These are obviously written epics, as opposed to his extempore verse, probably produced on convivial occasions (birthdays, betrothals, companies of friends, etc., for which cf. above, prev. page). The only inference that can be drawn about the relation of Archias' poetry to that of Crinagoras with our extant evidence is that the former's extempore poetry seems to be comparable to that of Crinagoras, as the latter indeed wrote several poems on such occasions. As far as Philodemus, the philosopher who also wrote epigrams and was protected by L. Calpurnius Piso, is concerned, one observes that his poetry, unlike that of Crinagoras, does not give us any information about the author's life; his themes are usually erotic-sympotic, often treated in a satirical mood. Piso is mentioned only in one case, 11.44=27 Sider, an invitation to a dinner; excluding the various amatory scenes, which are probably but not certainly fictitious, a reference to a contemporary event is 9.412=29 Sider, on the death of two friends. What Philodemus has in common with Crinagoras is his high degree of emotion and personal involvement in the events he presents, a feature rarely observed in other Philippan authors.<sup>27</sup> In the few surviving epigrams of Bassus there are no references to contemporary events; his poems are usually of the traditional kind of exercise on mythological, historical, philosophical and other subjects. There are indications that he enjoyed imperial patronage, cf. his poems on the death of Germanicus (7.391=5 GP) and on the Trojan origin of Rome (9.236=6 GP; see also G-P 2.191f.). Exercises on conventional themes constitute the greatest part of the poetry of Philip, the anthologist of the *Garland* who edited the work during Caligula's reign, mostly dedications and accounts of strange events, probably fictitious. Court-

<sup>23</sup> See Lightfoot 74f.; see also on 1 GP, intr. note. Parthenius' fr. 48 might perhaps belong to his Κριναγόρας, as could be gathered from its Mytilenean associations, see Lightfoot 204f.

<sup>24</sup> Apart from the surviving prosaic Ἐρωτικά Παθήματα there is evidence for poetic works of Parthenius. For a survey of Parthenius' elegies see Lightfoot 31-39, 42ff.; for poems in other metres see Lightfoot 39-41.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. his gifts to Piso (*AP* 6.249, 9.93); also his references to current events, military (9.428) or other (for instance 9.215, 7.289, 7.402), see further G-P *GP* 2.18ff.

<sup>26</sup> See G-P *GP* 2.432ff.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Gow-Page *GP* 2.373 with n. 5.

flattery is not absent but is poorly represented in Philip, given the great number of his extant epigrams (6.236=2 GP, 6.240=3 GP, 9.285=4 GP, 9.778=6 GP); possible references to personal experiences are also rarely traced, by contrast with Crinagoras almost all of whose extant poems refer to real events coloured with personal sentiment.<sup>28</sup> Although Crinagoras is a much more interesting poet than Philip, the two authors share, to a certain extent, the taste for word-coinage (see Language and Style, "Ἀπαξ λεγόμενα").<sup>29</sup>

The variety of subjects of the extant epigrams of authors who enjoyed or sought imperial patronage demonstrates the diversity of preferences of the various patrons who encouraged the writing of poems according to their personal taste. Indicative is the case of Philodemus' poetry, the subjects of which are different from the subjects of other authors of a comparable social status. The choice of themes which are mainly (but not exclusively) of an Epicurean morality is due to Piso's Epicureanism, the author's quality as a philosopher and the analogous philosophical orientation of the whole entourage of friends in Naples.<sup>30</sup> The fact that most of these Greek poets who lived and wrote in a Roman environment produced considerable amounts of epigrams not involving any praise of Roman personalities, but concentrating on traditional Hellenistic themes like epigrams on unexpected situations or fictitious sepulchral compositions, which were probably recited in gatherings of patrons and friends, is a further indication of the Hellenic literary interests and tastes of the court which encouraged and appreciated the recitation of poems on various themes of the Greek epigrammatic tradition. By comparison with these poets, Crinagoras' considerable preference for personal experiences and current events over the traditional *topoi* of the genre is impressive. Crinagoras' influence on Antipater is clear; he and Philip often produce variations of Crinagoras' epigrams or echo his phrasings.<sup>31</sup> The first century A.D. poet Leonidas of Alexandria also seems influenced by Crinagoras, cf. his gift-poems (*FGE* 1, 2, 4, 30, 32). In summing up, it is possible to observe that it is Crinagoras who fashioned and established this "renovated" type of court-epigram of the imperial times breathing new air in the epigrammatic tradition while

<sup>28</sup> E.g. 6.251=VII GP with G-P *ad loc.*, intr. comment. Also see the introduction of G-P to Philip, GP 2.327ff.

<sup>29</sup> Philip's preference for these words is much greater than that of Crinagoras; Philip has more than 160 new words in 532 lines (see G-P GP 2.329), while Crinagoras has only 17 in 304 lines.; the considerable quantity of rare words in Crinagoras, however, more than doubles this number.

<sup>30</sup> For Piso's conversion to Epicureanism cf. Sider 17f.; for the association of Philodemus' philosophical opinions and his poetry, cf. id. 24-39. For the subjectivity of the tastes of a patron and the possible gap between these and the ideals of the wider society, Cicero's fierce attack on Piso's encouraging Philodemus to present his Epicurean life-style in his poetry is indicative (*In Pisonem* 70f.): *rogatus, invitatus, coactus, ita multa ad istum de ipso quoque scripsit, ut omnis hominis libidines, omnia stupra, omnia cenarum conviviorumque genera, adulteria denique eius delicatissimis versibus expressit.*

<sup>31</sup> Some random and indicative examples: Antip. 7.216,5f.=167f. GP τίς παρὰ πόντου / πίστις, κτλ. (Crin. 9.276,5=2046f. GP τίς κ' ἐν νηί / θαρσήσαι, κτλ.), id. 6.198,5=637 GP τοίην ἄλλ' ἐπίνευέ (Crin. 6.242,5=1817 GP τῶνδ' ἀπ' ἰούλων); Philip's 7.383=32 GP is probably inspired by Crin. 47 GP.

adjusting the genre to the specific needs of the era and of the author's social and political environment, as it is probably Crinagoras who principally served Martial as a model.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Cf. Sullivan 1991, 84f.; also Holzberg 28. For the comparability of Martial to Leonidas of Alexandria, cf. Hardie 139f.

## Language and Style

### *Dialect*

Crinagoras' language is the conventional epic-Ionic of the epigrammatic genre. Attic forms which the codices transmit, i.e. ἐνεγκ- (7,6 GP, 8,1 GP, 14,4 GP) for ἐνεικ-, Κριναγόρου (15,6 GP) and Εὐνικίδου (41,5 GP) for -εω, τέτταρσι (39,1 GP) and ἀήττητον (31,8 GP) for -σσ-, ἐκυρά (12,5 GP) for -ρή, are unnecessarily changed by Rubensohn to the equivalent Ionic ones. Gow-Page rightly retain them (though not in the last case), as Attic forms did occasionally enrich the conventional Ionic vocabulary of Hellenistic and later poets.<sup>33</sup> A poet's consistent adherence to the same form is not a general rule, cf. the codices' reading Νικίεω in 22,3 GP and P's Ἀράξεω in 38,1 GP, also for instance Diodorus' Ἀίδεω in *AP* 7.624,2 and Ἀίδου in 7.627,2. For the occasional usage of Attic forms instead of the epic-Ionic ones by the epic poets cf. for instance Williams on *Call. H.* 2.7 μακράν. The Doric form ἀγητήρσι in 44,3 GP, retained by Rubensohn, certainly need not be changed as it adds a Theocritean touch to the "bucolic" setting of the epigram.

### *Latinisms*

Living in a Roman environment Crinagoras displays occasional influences from Latin, ὁ πᾶς ἐπὶ σοί ~ *totus tuus* (4,6 GP), θυμοῦ πλείονος, probably influenced by the Latin *multo animo* (3,5f. GP), cf. the unusual implications of the Greek proverb probably influenced by its Latin use in 30,1 GP, see *ad locc.* Τύχαι in *API* 40,1 is used to render the three temples of *Fortuna*. These instances are of course few and exceptional and do not affect the poet's overall style of writing.

### *ἄπαξ λεγόμενα*

Crinagoras likes ἄπαξ λεγόμενα or rare words. Leaving aside the words of dubious authority, we have the following ἄπαξ λεγόμενα: διάγλυπτον (3,3 GP), σηματοέσσα (17,7 GP), διφέω (32,3 GP), τριτοκεῖ (38,5 GP), λαοτέκτονος (40,2 GP), δυσνύμφευτε, κακοσκήνευς (41,7 GP), οἰνοπέπαντοι, ἰτρίνεια, ποπάδες, φιλοσκήπιωι (42,1, 4 and 7ff. GP), εὐπίδακες, πιτυστέπτοιο, λιθηλογέες, ἐλαφοσοΐης (43,1, 3, 7 and 8ff. GP), ὑποβένθιος (44,5 GP).<sup>34</sup> The use of rare words is in accordance with the purely Hellenistic taste for unusual vocabulary and reveals a careful choice of language.<sup>35</sup> Almost half of the ἄπαξ λεγόμενα occur in the

<sup>33</sup> See Williams on *Call. H.* 2.7 μακράν.

<sup>34</sup> Rare (an indicative selection): ἀλικύμονος (2,1 GP), νεόσηκτον (3,2 GP), μεταδόρπιον (4,3 GP), στρηνές (13,2 GP), ἡμιθανής (21,4 GP), ἀμολγεύς, πουλυγαλακτοτάτην (23,1 and 2 GP), ἀμφίκομοι (30,2 GP), νεοτευχέα (33,3 GP), παλιμπρήτοισι (37,5 GP), ψεδναί (38,4 GP), τῶλιγηπελές (40,6 GP), ἰδ', εὐστόρθυγι (42,5 and 7 GP), γερανδρύου (43,5 GP), ἐπροβάτευον, λευκόλοφον (44,1 and 2 GP).

<sup>35</sup> The comparison of Crinagoras with a κόρυμβος, a cluster, usually of ivy, in Philip's *proem* (4.2,7=2634f. GP), employed by Meleager in his *proem* for Leonidas (4.1,15=GP *HE* 3940) should not be taken as a conscious juxtaposition of the two authors in Philip's mind, based on reasons of subject-matter or of style. Even if we accept that Crinagoras had written more dedicatory epigrams than the surviving

two dedicatory epigrams which are, for this reason, partly transmitted by the Suda under the lemmata of unique or rare words and / or meaning of words, especially dedicatory objects or parts of the landscape.<sup>36</sup>

### *Homericisms*

The style is generally elevated; Crinagoras often adapts Homeric forms and expressions in his verse. Cf. for instance 4,1 GP αἰετοῦ ἀγκυλοχείλου, 12,5 GP ὄφρα κε γηθήσειε, κτλ., 14,1 GP τί σε πρῶτον...τί δέ δεύτερον, κτλ., 17,3 GP οὐ νέμεσις, 21,6 GP ἀρηιφάτων...ἐκ νεκύων, 22,5 GP μετοχλίσσαντες ὄχῆας, *ibid.* 1. 6 δισθανέα (this Homeric ἄπαξ λεγόμενον is employed to echo the Homeric situation here, see *ad loc.*), 26,5 GP οἱ δ'...ἀολλέες, 38,4 GP ἀγροτέρων...χιμάρων, 28,3 GP ἥλιος ἀνιών...ὑπὸ χερσὶ δαμείσαν, 35,3 GP ἐπιβήμεναι. In 13 GP the main image of the epigram echoes a Homeric one, see *ad loc.* on ὑπὲρ πεδίων and κώδων χάλκεος.

### *Apostrophes*

It could be suggested that loftiness of style is occasionally achieved by apostrophes without ὦ; although the particle ὦ was empty of meaning in the language of Alexandrian times and was no longer used in polite society,<sup>37</sup> Crinagoras' adherence to Homer can support the assumption that he followed his epic model in this expressive particularity, especially as certain situations in which non-ὦ vocatives are employed do require solemnity and / or seriousness of tone. These cases are 26 GP, on Germanicus, conqueror of the Celts (apostrophe to lands and mountains),<sup>38</sup> 24 (to "Caesar", if by Crinagoras), the prayers 12, 32 and 34 GP (to gods or divine powers: Hera and Zeus, the

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two (42 and 43 GP), which are anyway Leonidean in style (note also the multitude of ἄπαξ λεγόμενα in these two epigrams, a feature which also occurs in Leonidas, cf. next note), his themes distinguish him considerably from the Hellenistic poet. Moreover, the absence of any relation between the other authors coinciding in their flower-representations in the two *proems* (cf. for instance Antipater of Thessalonica and Bacchylides, both compared to στάχυς, Philodemos and Polystratus, both compared to ἀμάρακον) point to different criteria for the choice of these specific plants. The assumption of Gow-Page (GP 2.330) that the first three wreath-components of Philip (στάχυς, κόρυμβος, βότρυς), which correspond to Antipater, Crinagoras and Antiphilus respectively, indicate the rich representation of these three authors in the *Garland*, in fact richer than any other contributor except Philip himself, seems plausible indeed.

<sup>36</sup> Parts of Leonidas' epigrams are also often transmitted by the *Suda* due to the rare vocabulary used in the poems; verses of 28 out of Leonidas' 103 extant epigrams are in the *Suda*, mainly dedicatory poems. Extracts of 22 out of Philip's 80 extant poems are also transmitted by the lexicon for the same reason.

<sup>37</sup> See Gildersleeve-Miller 197, Giangrande, "The Use of the Vocative", 59, F. Williams (1973) 54. For a detailed survey of the use of the vocative in Homer and Hesiod, where the non-ὦ vocatives usually occur in passages of dignity and elevation, where the speaker expresses respect, reserve or distance, see Scott (1903) 192ff.; in two more articles Scott examines the vocative with and without ὦ in later literature, lyric poetry, Herodotus, tragedy, comedy and Plato (1904, 1905), demonstrating the everyday-speech quality of the interjection of ὦ which "was not freely used until the familiar language of comedy, dialectic, and the law courts became the language of literature" (1905, 42-3). For the familiarity the ὦ-vocatives denote in Homer see Scott (1903) 194f.; for the excitement shown by the ὦ-vocative, see Scott 1905, 40f. Apollonius and Callimachus tend to use the non-ὦ vocative in addresses to gods and in contexts of respect, while the non-ὦ vocative is confidential and emotional in tone, see Giangrande, "The Use of the Vocative", 52ff., Mineur on Call. H. 4.1. For Theocritus see F. Williams 1973.

<sup>38</sup> For apostrophes to inanimate objects the ὦ-vocative is used in tragedy, see Scott (1904) 82. Crinagoras, who treats the lands and the mountains as personified objects in these poems, does not conform with this.

personified earthquake,<sup>39</sup> the “holy spirit” of Poseidon). The addresses without in the sepulchral 14 and 16 GP (apostrophe to the dead persons), 25 GP (on the wedding of Juba and Cleopatra-Selene), 51 GP (praise of the physician Praxagoras) can be seen in the same light, or, perhaps more plausibly, can be justified because the addresses are to specific individuals, according to the Alexandrian everyday usage.<sup>40</sup> This is the case also for 1 GP (the poet addressing himself), 45,3 GP (a mother to her children), 39,3 GP (to Philonides, a writer of mimes), 36,2 GP (to Crispus), 32,5 GP (to Menippus, the geographer), 3,2 GP (to Proclus), 4,6 GP (to Leucius), 5,3 GP (to a “son of Simon”). The remaining non-ὦ apostrophes are to objects, in the dedicatory 42 GP and 43 GP, as also in 47 GP (to a skull, presumably a parody of a dedicatory epigram); in his dedicatory poems Crinagoras is imitating Leonidas who occasionally uses this vocative-opening, cf. 3 GP *HE*, an epigram Crinagoras is in fact echoing, see on 43 GP, intr. note. Moreover, in 37 and 17 GP we have apostrophes with and without ὦ to the same object or closely related ones (ὦ ἐλεεινή, referring to Corinth and Κόρινθε in the former poem, ὦ χθών in the latter) which show a random usage in these poems. The ὦ-vocatives ὦ δύστην ὄλβοιο Φιλόστρατε (20,1 GP), ποιμὴν ὦ μάκαρ (44,1 GP), ἄχρι τεῦ, ἄ δέλιαιε...θυμέ (48,1 GP ἀγῶγαι α Homeric expression, see *ad loc.*), ὦ ἄλλιστ’ Ἀίδη (19,3 GP), ὦ...μήτιες (30,5f. GP), ὦ ἴβουλε (50,2 GP) are indeed used in contexts of familiarity and closeness to the addressee, are said in a teasing spirit (the two last cases), or in a tone of excitement and impatience (third and fourth cases; although in the fourth case the address is to a god, the tone is excited and emotional).<sup>41</sup>

The frequency of apostrophes in Crinagoras’ poetry adds to the emotional attachment of the poet to the events he presents.<sup>42</sup> The poet also often personifies objects, cf. the speaking oil-flask, roses, books of poems, island (5, 6, 9, 31 GP), the treatment of parts of the landscape (17 GP ἠρήσαντο...νησοί...κληθείητε καὶ ὑμεῖς, κτλ., 25 GP ἄγχουροι μεγάλοι κόσμου χθόνες...ἐκοιῶσασθε, κτλ., 26 GP οὔρεα Πυρηναῖα καὶ αἱ βαθυαγκέες Ἄλπειες...μάρτυρες ἀκτίων, κτλ., 37 GP οἶους ἀνθ’ οἴων οἰκήτορας, ὦ ἐλεεινή, / εὔραο...Κόρινθε, 28 GP ἥλιος...εἶδε) or other inanimate objects (43 GP σπήλυγγες Νυμφῶν, Πανός τ’ ἠχέσσα καλή...ἰλήκοιτε, 33 GP

<sup>39</sup> The tone of this poem (33 GP) is not entirely serious. The non-ὦ vocative can give an ironical tone of dignity and elevation, see Scott (1905) 40f.

<sup>40</sup> For this usage in Callimachus’ epigrams see F. Williams (1973) 54 with n. 6.

<sup>41</sup> Even in Homer there is no absolute rule, cf. Scott’s conclusion (1904) 81: “In Homer and Hesiod it was found impossible to form any rules for the use of the interjection with the vocative, except negative ones. In Early Epic the interjection was not used in passages of worship, dignity, or elevation. In familiar scenes its use was not obligatory, but only permissive”. Callimachus can also adopt the Homeric usage in certain passages, without this meaning a general conformation to this practice, cf. Mineur on Call. *H.* 4.1.

<sup>42</sup> For the *exclamatio* as an emotive figure see Lausberg 358f., § 809.

ριγηλῆ...ἔνοσι χθονός...ῥύευσ) as if they were persons; this practice also emphasises the poet's emotional tone.<sup>43</sup>

### *Inconcinntas*

Crinagoras occasionally uses the form of syntactical variation otherwise known as *inconcinntas*. We have: 23,3 GP γευσάμενος...ἐπεὶ τ' ἐφράσσατο, 35,5f. GP κῆν ζωῶσιν...κεῖτ' ἄν ἴκηαι / ἐς πλεόνων (temporal participles connected with temporal clauses), 29,1f. GP κῆν μυχὸν Ὀρκυναῖον ἢ ἐς πύματον Σολόεντα / ἔλθη καὶ Λιβυκῶν κράσπεδον Ἐσπερίδων, 20,3f. GP ἢ ἐπὶ Νείλω / <ἢ παρ' Ἰουδαίοις ὦν περίοπτος ὄροις (if Cichorius' supplement is correct; different prepositions connected and expressing slightly differentiated senses of placing, "on", "within"); in 31,5f. GP εὐαγρον ὑπ' ἰχθύσι καὶ ὑπὸ Μαίρη / εὐάνεμον, the two constructions with ὑπό+gen. convey different senses (cause, place).<sup>44</sup> A slight asymmetry occurs in 3,3f. GP εὖ μὲν ἐυσχίστοισι διάγλυπτον κεράεσσιν, / εὖ δὲ ταχυνομένην εὐροον εἰς σελίδα, where the counter-balancing adjectives διάγλυπτον and εὐροον are further defined by a dative and a prepositional group; comparable is 11,3f. GP αἰεῖ δ' Ἐκάλης τε φιλοξείνοιο καλιήν / καὶ Θησεῖ Μαραθῶν οὖς ἐπέθηκε πόνους, where the objects of αἰεῖ, καλιήν and πόνους are differently qualified (adjective in the first case, relative clause in the second), cf. also 12,1f. GP Ἥρη Ἐληθυῶν μήτηρ, Ἥρη δὲ τελείη, / καὶ Ζεῦ γινομένοις ξυνὸς ἅπασιν πάτερ (adjective-predicate), 17,7 GP ὦ χθῶν σηματοέσσα καὶ ἡ παρὰ θινὶ θάλασσα (adjective-prepositional group). Apart from the different meanings of the juxtaposed constructions with ὑπό mentioned above, the qualifications of the island in 31 GP are all asymmetrical in the sense that they are adjectives (or a participle, in the first sentence) differently further defined (τίκτουσαν ἐπ' αὐλακα πῖαρ ἀρότρου...καὶ παντὸς κάρπιμον ἀκροδρύου, καὶ...εὐαγρον ὑπ' ἰχθύσι καὶ ὑπὸ Μαίρη εὐάνεμον λιμένων τ' ἥπιον ἀρτεμίη).

### *Structure*

Characteristic, in Crinagoras' poetry, is the delay of the verb of the main opening sentence, which often comes in the third line. This stimulates the reader's curiosity, builds up the tension of the poem and emphasises the importance of the action presented in it, cf. for instance 10, 13, 19, 23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31, 33, 35, 40, 46, 47, 48, 51 GP. The presumably oral premiere of (some of) the epigrams (see above, Life and Work) renders

<sup>43</sup> See Lausberg 369f., § 826ff. Lausberg (§ 826) remarks that "*Fictio personae* is the introduction of non-personal things as persons capable of speech and other forms of personified behavior... *Fictio personae* is a most emotive figure, produced through the exaggeration of mental creativity".

<sup>44</sup> Pfeijffer (51) defines *inconcinntas* as "the use of unlike syntactical constructions to express ideas which are parallel with respect to their contents". This definition is only half-correct, as in the last case we have the exact opposite, i.e. parallel constructions which express unlike ideas; a full definition should comprise both possibilities. According to ancient grammarians the figure aims at the imitation of the natural style and offers vivacity to the speech, being in fact a characteristic of the αὐστηρὰ ἁρμονία, see further Pfeijffer *ibid.*

this delay more effective.<sup>45</sup> The poet is also very careful in the construction of the epigram, distributing the information in it smoothly and harmonically. The epigram can open with a gnome (for which see on 30,1 GP) or, more generally, with a statement which is explained, justified, exemplified or just developed in the continuation, usually occupying the first couplet (cf. 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 22, 30, 37 GP). In other cases, in reverse, the last couplet (or, more rarely, the last line) resumes and constitutes the peak and the culmination of or the conclusion derived from the situation presented in the poem (cf. 6, 13, 23, 25, 27, 29, 31, 38, 41, 46, 47 GP). The epigram is often symmetrically constructed, dividing the material into two, three or four neat couplets, each of which offers a new piece of information, or encircling the central couplet which conveys the main information with an opening-introductory and a closing-concluding couplet, cf. 1, 2, 9, 11, 13 (for the ring-composition of this epigram see *ad loc.*), 14, 15, 17, 28, 32, 35 GP. The descriptive epigrams in which each line adds new features to the object of description could be seen in this framework, 3, 4, 31, 38, 41, 47 GP.<sup>46</sup> See also on 5 and 43 GP, intr. notes.

#### *Brevity*

Characteristic is also Crinagoras' tendency to offer the least possible information on his theme, thus cutting down the poem to the absolutely necessary. The assumption that the situations treated in his poems were known to his audience justifies the avoidance of tedious and superfluous information which would weaken the epigram's poignancy.<sup>47</sup> This further underlines the exclusivity of the first audience and also suggests the extempore character of some of the epigrams; the specific circumstances and the identification of persons mentioned in the poems would be of no importance to later audiences.<sup>48</sup> Thus 25 GP does not mention the royal couple about to get married, 26 GP does not clarify which Celtic victory of Germanicus the poem is referring to, 27 does not mention the occasion of the suffering of Rome, 6 GP does not name the lady to whom the roses are offered, 28 GP does not give us any clue as to "Nero's" victory over Rhine and Araxes, 31 GP does not mention the name of the island with the funny name, 38 GP refers to the Armenian sheep as if to an audience who knows, see *ad loc.* on l. 1 τῆς ὄϊος. Sometimes, however, the epigram presents a greater difficulty of comprehension due to the lack of further information. Of special interest is Photius' remark about the possible explanation of an epigram by Crinagoras (Test. 4) which shows that the poet's point in

<sup>45</sup> Leaving aside the dedicatory 42 and 43 GP, as the delay of ἀνεθήκατο, ἀνεκρέμασεν and the like is typical in this kind of poem, cf. for instance Leon. 42, 48, 52, 55, 82 GPHE, Philip 17, 18, 19, 21, 22 GP GP, *al.*

<sup>46</sup> Poems, needless to say, can display the structure of more than one "category" simultaneously. A detailed analysis of the style and structure of the distich epigram is the work of M. Lausberg *Das Einzeldistichon* (Munich 1982).

<sup>47</sup> For brevity as a traditional and characteristic quality of epigram see Gutzwiller 3f. with n. 9, 117f.

<sup>48</sup> I owe this point to Prof. Chris Carey.

the now lost epigram was difficult to grasp without a specific mythological knowledge.  
Cf. 30 GP, on the (unexplained) manner  $\dot{\iota}\mu$  which Alpine bandits deceive the dogs.

The above observations on language and style demonstrate the poet's care  
in regard to both the structure of the epigram and the choice of vocabulary. He is much  
*laxer* with metrical licences and especially with hiatus, as will be shown below.

## Metre

Crinagoras' epigrams are written in the traditional elegiac distich, except 40 and 50 GP, written in iambs; the central couplet of 7 GP is iambic which does not scan properly and is perhaps a later interpolation, see G-P on 7, intr. note. Metrical features of the elegiac distich will be elaborated below.

## General

### *Correption*

Correption<sup>49</sup> at the end of the dactyl occurs normally at the first dactyl of the hexameter and pentameter (14,3 and 4, 15,3, 34,2, 36,4, 42,6 GP), or before the bucolic diaeresis in the hexameter and the equivalent position of the pentameter (6,3, 7,5, 9,2, 12,3, 20,2, 29,6, 37,3, 38,2 and 6, 41,5, 42,2 and 3, 43,6, 49,2 GP). However Crinagoras allows correption in other positions, where it is uncommon or normally avoided:

a) at the feminine caesura in the hexameter (4,1 GP ἀγκυλοχείλου, 6,5 GP στεφθῆναι, 17,1 GP ἄλλαι, 19,1 GP Εὐάνδρου, 42,1 GP οἰνοπέπαντοι and 4 δάκνεσθαι, 51,7 GP τοῖοι).

b) between the short syllables of the first dactyl of the hexameter or pentameter (9,1 GP ἦοῖ, 12,1 GP Ἥρη, 16,6 GP κεῖται, 38,6 GP θηλή).

c) between the short syllables of the fifth dactyl of the hexameter (11,5 GP εἴη, 20,1 GP σοι, 22,3 GP ἦδη).

d) other positions: between the two shorts of the first dactyl of the second half of the pentameter (4,4 GP κέντρῳ, 25,2 GP τέμνει); at the end of the fifth dactyl of the hexameter (12,3 GP ἴλαοι).

Usually the syllables shortened with epic correption in the *Garland* are μαι, -εαι, -σαι, -ται of verbs, and -οι, -αι of nouns, adjectives, participles. Crinagoras allows all kinds of endings, -η, -η, -ᾶ, -ει, -οι, -ου, -ω, -ω.<sup>50</sup>

### *Short vowels before mute+liquid or nasal consonants*

These combinations normally

a) cause the lengthening of the preceding short vowel within a word or a word-group<sup>51</sup> and

<sup>49</sup> Not taking into account the correptions of καί, μοι, τοι, που, etc., see Gow-Page GP 1 xxxix, B with n. 4.

<sup>50</sup> See Gow-Page GP 1, xl, b), c).

<sup>51</sup> Word-groups usually consist of article+noun or adjective, preposition+noun or adjective, expressions like τί πλέον, see Gow-Page GP 1 xxxviii-xxxix, A; in Crinagoras for instance 2,2 GP ὁ θρασύς, 6,5

b) leave it short when the vowel is the final vowel of a word (for this tendency and for exceptions in later epigram see Gow-Page *GP* 1 xxxviii-xxxix, Maas § 124, West 1987, 81).

Exceptions of a) in Crinagoras are 28,1 μέτρα, 47,6 GP τῖ πλέον; exceptions of b) 11,6 GP Μάρκελλε, κλεινοῦ, 29,3 GP ἄμα κλέος, 41,6 GP ἔτι χλωρῆς. With lengthening of a particle, also 38,5 GP νηδὺς δὲ τριτοκεῖ; cf. also 21,1 GP μέγα κλέος, which can be probably seen as an “extension of the word-group principle”, cf. the analogous examples mentioned by Gow-Page, *GP* 1 xxxix, with n. 2.

### *Movable nu*

Crinagoras allows it to lengthen a syllable by position twice before the caesura of the pentameter, see below, under Pentameter, *The syllable before the caesura*. In other positions, 25,5 GP παισίν, 27,6 GP ἑσταῖσιν.

### *Hiatus*

Crinagoras is remarkably indifferent to hiatus, offering as many examples as all the other contributors in the *Garland* of Philip. Excluding hiatus in correption and before the pronoun οἱ, the remaining cases in Crinagoras are<sup>52</sup> 6,3, 14,2 and 5, 15,5, 18,1 (*bis*), 19,3, 20,3, 22,1 (*bis*), 27,5, 29,5, 30,6, 31,5, 34,1 and 3, 35,1, 37,1, 38,5, 45,1, 46,6, 47,1 and 4 GP. As far as 22,1 GP μὴ εἴπησ and 48,1 GP ἐπὶ ἐλπίσι are concerned, their inclusion in the cases of hiatus depends on whether we recognise the influence of digamma or not; Crinagoras’ tolerance of hiatus, however, together with the rarity of cases where the digamma is used to avoid hiatus by the authors of the *Garland*, suggests that the poet does not take it into account.<sup>53</sup> Hiatus at the diaeresis of the pentameter is avoided, and probably 16,2 GP does not constitute an exception, see *ad loc.*

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GP ἐπὶ κροτάφοισι, 9,4 GP τῷ πρῶτον, 13,3 GP ὃ πρὶν, 40,1 GP ἀπὸ πλακός, 43,2 GP κατὰ πρεόνος. Δάκρυον is one of the words which are “proner than others to exceptional treatment” (Gow-Page, *ibid.*), cf. 47,4 GP (ἄ), 50,4 GP (iambic, ἄ).

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Gow-Page *GP* 1, xl, C. Crin. 31,8 GP †τῷ ἐπεωρίσθη† included by Gow-Page in their list of passages with hiatus in Crinagoras should probably not be taken into account, as the text is corrupt and uncertain.

<sup>53</sup> See Gow-Page *GP* 1, xli.

## Hexameter

### *Caesuras*

The figures for the caesuras are 86:58 for the feminine caesura, that is 86/144 or 60% third-trochee (feminine) caesuras, against 58/144 or 40% penthemimeral (masculine) caesuras. This is in accordance with the general Hellenistic preference for the feminine over the masculine caesura; closest to Crinagoras in percentage is Meleager, with 61% feminine caesuras.<sup>54</sup>

### *The syllable before the masculine caesura*

Normally this is long by nature. Exceptions in Crinagoras: 6,1 GP ἦνθαι μ̄εν | τὸ πρίν, 22,1 GP θάνατ̄ον | βιότου, 27,1 GP Ὀκεαν̄ος | πᾶσαν, 3 ὄσσ̄ον | βλάψει, 28,1 GP δύσῑες | κόσμου, 41,1 GP δύσβωλ̄ον | θλίβει, out of 58 hexameters with a masculine caesura, that is at a rate of 10.3%, exactly the average rate of this feature in the authors of the *Garland* of Philip; it is interesting to note that as time goes by poets tend to avoid lengthening by position at this point, as the rate in *HE* is 17%, in Philodemus 8.5%, in Philip 2.5%, see further Gow-Page *GP* 1 xlii, Sider 43.

### *Bucolic diaeresis*

72% of Crinagoras' hexameters have the bucolic diaeresis, the same rate as Philodemus (see Sider 42), cf. 88.6% in Callimachus' epigrams, 63.5% in Leonidas, 57.7% in Meleager, see further West (1982) 154, van Raalte 165.

### *Trisyllabic proparoxytone hexameter-ends*

These (including names of persons and places) in Crinagoras are of a rate of 13%, identical with that of Meleager, Philodemus and Palladas, the random standard, see Page (1978) 28.

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<sup>54</sup>Callimachus in his epigrams has 78% feminine caesuras, Leonidas 56%, Philodemus, by contrast to the Hellenistic tendency, only 42%. For figures of the caesuras in the Hellenistic poets see further West (1982) 153, Sider 42.

## *Spondees*

Crinagoras is quite free with spondees; while there is a tendency to avoid spondees after the second foot in elegiac hexameters, only 50% of this poet's lines with spondees (or 39.5% of all his hexameters) have spondees in either of the first two feet.<sup>55</sup> Out of his lines with spondees, 7% (or 8 out of his 144 total hexameters) have a spondee in the fifth foot, i.e. are *spondeiazontes*;<sup>56</sup> among these σάλπιγγος in 13,1 GP is the only occurrence of a trisyllabic last word, while the last word of a *spondeiazon* otherwise consists of either four or six syllables, see G-P GP 1 xliv. Also interesting is the frequency of series of spondees in this author. The longest series are three successive feet; remarkable is the case of 12 GP, where series of triple spondees occur in two successive hexameters: in l. 1 we have spondees at the second, third and fourth feet, and in l. 3 at the first, second and third feet; for the effect see *ad loc.* on l. 1. The first three feet are also spondaic in 13,5, 15,1, 27,3 GP. Two successive spondaic feet occur in the first and second feet at a rate of 17% out of all hexameter lines of Crinagoras (or 21% of his lines with spondees),<sup>57</sup> and in the second and third feet at a rate of 7.6% out of all his hexameter lines (or 9.6% of his lines with spondees).<sup>58</sup> 27,1 GP is a rare example where the two successive spondees are in the third and fourth feet.

## *Hermann's Bridge*

Crinagoras respects this, i.e. he does not allow a word end between the short syllables of the fourth foot. 14,1 GP τί | δὲ δεύτερον εἶπω, 19,3 GP τί | πρόωρον ἐφίεις, 30,1 GP καὶ | ὑπ Ἴλλιας ἄκρας do not count as violations of the Bridge, as τί and καὶ are prospective monosyllables.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>55</sup>Against 84.8% in Callimachus' epigrams, 67.72% in Leonidas, 67.75% in Meleager. See further the list of van Raalte, 163.

<sup>56</sup>Against 0% in Callimachus' epigrams, 2.91% in Leonidas, 0.38% in Meleager, see van Raalte 163; *spondeiazontes* are rare in the *Garland* of Philip as well, the majority being found, apart from Crinagoras, in Antipater, Bianor and Zonas, see Gow-Page GP 1 xliv.

<sup>57</sup>6,5, 15,5, 18,1 and 5, 20,1, 31,1,3 and 5, 32,3, 33,1, 34,3, 35,1, 37,1, 38,3, 39,1, 41,7, 42,3, 43,1,2 and 4, 44,5, 45,1 and 5, 51,1 and 7 GP.

<sup>58</sup>6,1, 15,3, 17,5, 25,5, 30,5, 31,7, 36,1,3 and 5, 41,1 and 5, that is in all the hexameters of the poem.

<sup>59</sup>See Gow-Page GP 1 xliii, G; also West (1982) 155.

## Wernicke's Law

In Crinagoras there are no occurrences of a word with a final syllable lengthened by position when it ends at the contracted biceps of the fourth foot. This is known as Wernicke's Law; the second biceps follows this tendency but less strictly (West 1982, 37, cf. Gow-Page *GP* 1, xliv, H, I). 13,3 GP ὁ | πρίν (second biceps) does not count as an exception because the article is a prepositive.<sup>60</sup>

## Meyer's Laws

Meyer's First Law (against word ending  $x - \upsilon$  or  $x - \bar{\upsilon}$  in the second foot) is often ignored: with a word of three or more syllables, 6,5 GP καλλίστης: στεφθῆναι, 11,3 GP ἀείδει δ': Ἐκάλης, 13,1 GP Τυρσηνῆς: σάλπιγγος, 14,1 GP δειλαίη: τί σε πρῶτον, κτλ., 16,1 GP δειλαίῳ: τί κεναῖσιν, κτλ., 17,1 GP ἠρήσαντο: καὶ ἄλλαι and 3 κληθείητε: καὶ ὑμεῖς, 20,5 GP ὀνειῖοι: καμάτους, 25,1 GP ἄγχοιροι: μεγάλοι, 33,1 GP ῥιγηλή: πασῶν, 45,5 GP ὄψεσθαι: Νῦν δ' οἱ μέν, κτλ., 51,7 GP θνητοῖσιν δ': εἰ τοῖσι ἐπήκεον; with a disyllabic word, 1,1 GP κῆν ῥίψης: ἐπὶ λαιά, 2,3 GP ὁ ψεύστης δ': ὑπὸ νύκτα, 8,3 GP νίκης | κλεινόν: ἄεθλον, 10,3 GP ξαιθῆν | πρῶτον: ἔκειρε, 11,3 GP τοῖσι γὰρ | οὐμὸς: ὄμαιμος and 5 δαίμονες | ἀλλὰ: δέχοισθε, 18,1 GP καὶ αὐτῆ: ἤχλυσεν, 20,1 GP ὦ δύστην': ὄλβοιο, 22,1 GP μὴ εἴπησθε: θάνατον, 29,5 GP οἴσι γὰρ | οὐδὲ: πέριξ δρυτόμοι, 31,5 GP καὶ πολλοῖς: εὐαγρον, 32,5 GP σύν τί μοι | ἀλλά: Μέμππε, 37,5 GP ἢ τοῖσι: διὰ πᾶσα, κτλ., 42,3 GP καὶ δειναί: δάκνεσθαι. The law goes unobserved in 26 out of 144 hexameter lines, that is at a rate of 18%, or 12 out of 144 lines (8.3%), if we count only the words with three syllables and over.<sup>61</sup>

Crinagoras breaks once Meyer's Second Law, which forbids a word of the shape  $\sim$  – to stand before the caesura, in 44,5 GP ἔδυν | ὑποβένθιος. Antipater and Philip break the law more often, cf. Gow-Page *GP* 1, xliv, K.

According to Meyer's Third Law word ending after the third and simultaneously the fifth principle of the hexameter is avoided (cf. West 1982, 197). There is only one

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Gow-Page *GP* 1, xliv, West (1982) 37 with n. 15; for the expression τὸ πρίν, τό taken together with the following word in epic, see id. 26. In general, even with a natural long final syllable, word-division at the contracted biceps is rare anywhere else but the first foot (id. 37 with n. 16); in Crinagoras we have 45,5 GP νῦν δ' | οἱ μέν (second biceps). In 6,1 GP ἦνθει | μέν (if we accept P's reading, for which see *ad loc.*; second biceps), μέν is a postpositive; in the same line we have τὸ | πρίν, where τό is an article, therefore a prepositive, and the expression is anyway taken together in the epic; in 18,5 GP καὶ | κάλλος (second biceps) καί is a prepositive; prepositive is also εἰ, as a conjunction, in 31,1 GP τῆν εἰ | καὶ με and 50,7 GP εἰ | τοῖσι (both at the second biceps). The same goes for 20,5 GP τοῖς | σοῖς (third biceps), as τοῖς is an article, and so a prepositive.

<sup>61</sup> While Hellenistic poets break the law with remarkable rarity, Callimachus twice, Nicander three times, see West (1982) 155 with n. 51.

exception in Crinagoras,<sup>62</sup> 38,3 GP χαῖται δ' οὐ μήλοισ ἴατε που μαλακοῖς ἐπὶ μαλλοῖς†.

### *Fifth-foot breaks*

There is a tendency, in Hellenistic poets, and notably Callimachus, Apollonius and Theocritus, to avoid placing words shaped | – – | or | ~ – | so that they end in the fifth princeps (cf. Maas § 97, West 1982, 155). Crinagoras observes this except for 12,1 GP Ἥρη (in the same line there is a masculine caesura, which makes the phrasing also violate Meyer's Third Law, see above), 5 μήτηρ, 29,1 GP πύματον, 38,3 GP ἄμαλακοί (also a violation of Meyer's Third Law).<sup>63</sup> Lines, however, with words ending in the fifth princeps and consisting of more syllables (that is not being of the shape | ~ ~ – |) are not rare in Crinagoras: 2,3 GP Καφηρείης, 3,3 GP διάγλυπτον, 10,1 GP ἀνερχόμενος, 13,1 GP διαπρύσιον, 34,3 GP διωκομένω, 41,7 κακοσκηνεὺς, 47,3 GP ἀτυμβεύτου, 48,3 GP διαγράψεις.<sup>64</sup>

### *Elision*

Elisions at the caesura are avoided; exceptions are 12,3 GP νεύσαιτ' | Ἄντωνίη, 19,3 GP ἄλλιστ' | Αἴδη (masculine caesura). At the bucolic diaeresis in 30,1 GP ὑπ' | Ἄλπιος ἄκρας. Elision is also avoided between the short syllables of the fifth foot; exception: 21,5 GP ὡς ἴδ' ὑπ' | ἐχθοροῖς.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>62</sup> 12,1 GP Ἥρη Ἐληθιῶν μήτηρ, Ἥρη δὲ τελείη is not an exception, because δέ is a postpositive; for the appositives, especially monosyllabic ones, not being separated from the words they belong with by the caesuras cf. West 1982, 26, 1987, 9. Together with Crinagoras, Parmenion, Philodemus and Philip are not strict in following the tendency of a masculine caesura followed by bucolic diaeresis, see Gow-Page GP 1 xlili F. Hexameters with a masculine caesura and without a bucolic diaeresis have a secondary caesura after the fourth princeps, that is after the seventh element (hepthemimeral caesura: see Maas § 93).

<sup>63</sup> Plutarch calls such verses κακόμετροι, citing an epigram with masculine caesura which has a word of the shape | ~ ~ – | (βασιλείς) ending at the fifth princeps of the hexameter, which thus breaks Meyer's Third Law.

<sup>64</sup> For fifth-foot word breaks in the *Garland of Philip*, not uncommon in Philodemus and Philip, apart from Crinagoras, see further Gow-Page GP 1 xliiv, J. The break after ἐρημαῖον in 9.439,1 ἐρημαῖόν: τε does not count, as τε is a postpositive, cf. Gow-Page *ibid*.

<sup>65</sup> Not included by Gow-Page in their list of exceptions (GP 1 xlili, 1, iv), although the elided word is not a preposition or a δέ, με, σε etc. which they do not take into account. These cases in Crinagoras are 9,5 GP τῶνδ' ἀπ' ἰούλων, 26,5 GP εἶπε δ' Ἐἰνυά, 34,3 GP διωκομένω ὑπ' ἀρήτη, 48,5 ταῦτα δ' ἀμυδρά.

## Pentameter

### *Accented pentameter ends*

With the passing of time there is a tendency to avoid accented pentameter ends, so that we reach from 17% in Callimachus' epigrams to 1.5% already in Antipater of Sidon, 3% in Antipater of Thessalonica and 1% in Philip; with 7.6% Crinagoras constitutes an exception to the authors of Philip's *Garland*, though the most striking one is that of Philodemus (13%), see further Page (1978) 30, West (1982) 159, 162.

### *The syllable before the caesura*

Lengthening by position in the syllable before the diaeresis of the pentameter becomes more avoided as time goes on. Theognis, for instance, has a rate of 15.5%, Callimachus in the epigrams 13%, Antipater of Sidon 5.8%, Meleager 9.5%, Apollonides, Bianor and Philip 0%. Crinagoras, with 14/144 or 9.7% is the only Philippan author who seems indifferent to the tendency.<sup>66</sup> Particularly rare is the lengthening by means of paragogic *nu*, 13,6 GP ἤχησεν, 23,4 GP νηυσίν.

### *Elision*

This is avoided before the diaeresis of the pentameter. Exception in this poet: 34,4 GP πρηεῖ' | ἀσπασίω; one or two exceptions also in other authors of the *Garland*.<sup>67</sup> Gow-Page further observe that in the second half of the pentameter elision becomes rarer the farther the line advances. In Crinagoras: after the first short of the first dactyl we have two (7,6 and 20,6 GP) out of the twenty-six in the *Garland*; after the second short of the first dactyl we have eight (10,2, 16,6, 17,8, 19,4, 22,4, 25,2 and 4, 51,4 GP) out of the thirteen of the *Garland*; after the long of the second dactyl we have two or three ([24,6], 27,6, 41,8 GP) out of the ten in the *Garland*.<sup>68</sup> These figures, especially the frequency of the elision after the second short of the first dactyl, show that Crinagoras does not make any particular effort to avoid elision in advanced positions of the second half of the

<sup>66</sup> For the rule, figures and further discussion see Maas § 22, Gow-Page *GP* 1 xli, D with n. 3, Page (1978) 30f.

<sup>67</sup> Gow-Page *GP* 1 xliii, 2, I, West (1982) 158. Elisions of δέ, με, σε τε, are disregarded in this position; such are not uncommon in Crinagoras: 2,2 GP ἐκ μολπῆς δ' | ὁ θρασύς, 11,6 GP κλεινοῦ τ' | αἶνον, 22,4 GP νεκρὸς δ' | ἦλθεν, 27,6 GP φύλλων δ' | αἶα, 28,4 GP δούλοις δ' | ἔθνεσι, 31,6 GP λιμένων τ' | ἦπιον, 32,4 GP ἀρχαίην τ' | ἄξειν, 35,2 GP χερσαίας τ' | οὐκ, 42,4 GP πυκναί τ' | ἰτρίνεαι, 43,4 GP λιθηλογέες θ' | Ἑρμέω, 45,6 GP ἄψευστον δ' | ἵκετο, 47,2 GP ἀγλώσσου θ' | ἀρμονίη.

<sup>68</sup> For the figures in the *Garland* see Gow-Page *GP* 1 xliii, 2, ii.

pentameter, by contrast with the attention he pays to avoid <sup>int</sup>elision between the two halves of the pentameter, where his care is comparable to that of the other poets.

*Homoioteleuton and agreement between pentameter ends*

Together with the licence  $\dot{\iota}\nu\lambda$  hiatus, the pentameter technique is very characteristic of this poet's style. Crinagoras has an exceptionally high rate of 44/144, or 30.5% homoioteleuton between the two halves of the pentameter; closest to him, in Hellenistic epigram, is Nicias with 33%, while the average is 15-16%; Philodemus' 22% is also considered high, see further Sider 44.<sup>69</sup> Crinagoras is also very fond of the grammatical agreement between the pentameter ends (noun+adjective/participle/pronoun, regardless of which comes first and regardless of the rhyme, which anyway occurs for most of the agreeing pairs), with a rate of 56/144, or 38.3%, close to that of Anyte who has 38.5%, Mnascalas who has 36.8%, Callimachus in the *Aetia* and *Hymn 5* an average of 37.5% (while in the epigrams only 16.1%); other epigrammatists like Asclepiades and Leonidas display lower rates, 14.7% and 22.6% respectively, see Slings 37. Philodemus has 31.6% (see Sider 44); Crinagoras' rate demonstrates his personal taste for such phrasings and does not reflect any general epigrammatic tendency  $\dot{\iota}\nu\lambda$  this direction, cf. Argentarius' 19.2%, Antiphilus' 14.5%, Bianor's 16.4%

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<sup>69</sup> For homoioteleuton in general see Norden (1974) 83ff., Lausberg 323, § 725-8. The pentameter homoioteleuta in Crinagoras occur at 3,2, 5,2, 6,2 and 4, 7,2, 8,2, 10,2, 11,6, 12,6, 13,2 and 4, 14,6, 16,2 and 6, 20,4, 21,2, 4, 6 and 8, 22,2, 25,2, 27,2, 28,2, 29,2 and 6, 30,2, 32,4, 33,4, 35,4, 37,6, 38,2, 4, 6 and 8, 43,4, 6 and 8, 44,2, 46,2 and 4, 48,2, 49,2, 51,4 and 6 GP.

## Testimonia

1 Strabo 13.2,3, enumerating famous Mytileneans: καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ Ποτάμων καὶ Λεσβοκλήης καὶ Κριναγόρας καὶ ὁ συγγραφεὺς Θεοφάνης.

*But Potamon, Lesbocles, Crinagoras and Theophanes the historian (were born) in my time.*

2 Parthenius fr. 13 Lightfoot:

Κριναγόρας

ἀμφοτέροις ἐπιβὰς Ἄρπυς ἐληΐσατο

*Et Gen* α 1225, ii. 223.6 Lassere-Livadaras (cf. *EtMag* 148.32): "Ἄρπυς· ὁ Ἔρως· ἡ χρῆσις παρὰ τῷ Παρθενίῳ ἐν Κριναγόρα· Ἄμφοτέροις...ἐληΐσατο. Εἴρηται δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἀρπάζειν τὰς φρένας· οὕτως Διονύσου ὁ τοῦ Φιλοξένου.

*Bestriding him with both feet the Snatcher despoiled him.*

*Harpys: Eros. The usage occurs in Parthenius' Crinagoras: "Bestriding him with both feet", etc. The name derives from the fact that it snatches away the wits: so Dionysius the son (?) of Philoxenus.<sup>70</sup>*

3 Philip *AP* 4=I.2,7f. GP: πρέψει...ὡς δὲ κόρυμβος / Κριναγόρας.

*Crinagoras will adorn (the wreath) like ivy-berries.<sup>71</sup>*

*For the comparison see under Language and Style.*

4 Photius *Bibl.* 150a,20ff. (on the fifth book of the *New History* of Ptolemy Hephaestion): ἡ δὲ ε' βίβλος, ὡς μετὰ Ἀμύκου, φασίν, Ἰάσων, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ Πολυδεύκης ἐμαχέσατο· καὶ ὁ χῶρος μαρτυρεῖ Ἰησόνιος αἰχμὴ καλούμενος, καὶ πηγὴ ἀνατέλλεται ἀγχοῦ Ἑλένη καλουμένη. Ἐκ τούτου λύεται καὶ τὸ Κριναγόρου ἐπίγραμμα.

*The fifth book reports that people say that Jason and not Polydeuces fought with Amycus; and the place testifies this, called "Jason's pike"; and a spring flows nearby, called "Helen". In this way Crinagoras' epigram can also be explained.*

Geist's assumption (49f.) that *AP* 14.59

<sup>70</sup> Lightfoot's translation.

<sup>71</sup> Translation of Gow-Page.

Υίας πεντήκοντα μιῆ ἐνὶ γαστρὶ λαβοῦσα  
 μηλιστῶν (sic) πάντων ἕκτανον ἡγεμόνα.  
 Αὐτὰρ ὁ δὲς τέθνηκεν, ἐπεὶ δύο γαστέρες αὐτόν  
 τίκτον, χαλκείη καὶ πάρος ἀνδρομέη

could be Crinagoras' epigram mentioned by Photius, is not plausible; the sources of book 14 are Diodorus, Diogenes Laertius, Pausanias, Plutarch, Herodotus.<sup>72</sup> Riddles are not among the poetic themes of Crinagoras and the other well-known epigrammatists of Hellenistic and imperial times.

5 IG 12.2.35a, 1ff.: [Γράμματα Καίσαρος Θεοῦ.]

[Γάιος Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ αὐτοκράτωρ ... τὸ] | δεύτερον Μυτιληναίων ἄρχουσι |  
 βουλῆ δῆμῳ χαίρειν· εἰ ἔρρωσθε, καλῶς ἂν] ἔχοι· κἀγὼ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ  
 στρατεύ[ματος ὑγίαινον. Ποτάμων Λεσβώνακτος, ...]καφένους, Κριναγόρας  
 Καλλί[που, Ζωίλο[ς Ἐπιγένους ...]τας Δικαίου, Ἵβρίας Διοφάντου,  
 Ἴστιαῖος ... Δημήτριος Τιμαίου οἱ πρεσβευταὶ ὑμῶν συνέ-|τυχόν μοι..... καὶ  
 τὸ ψήφισμα ὑμῶν ἀπέ]δωκαν καὶ περὶ τῶν τιμῶν διελέχθησαν | ... ]ν  
 κατωρθώκαμεν, καὶ εὐχαριστήσαντες | ... ἐνέ]τυχον μετὰ πολλῆς φιλοτιμίας  
 καὶ εἰς | ... ]ων ἔχειν. Ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπήνε]σα διὰ τὴν προθυμίαν  
 αὐτῶν καὶ φιλοφρόν]ως ἀπεδεξάμην, ἡδέως τε τὴν πόλιν | ὑμῶν εὐεργετεῖν  
 πειράσομαι καὶ κατὰ τ]οὺς παρόντας καιροὺς καὶ ἐν τοῖς μετὰ ταῦ]τα  
 χρόνοις, κτλ.

*Gaius Caesar imperator... for the second time, greets the authorities of the Mytileneans, the Council and the people; I hope you enjoy good health; also I and the army are in good health. Potamon son of Lesbonax..., Crinagoras son of Callippus, Zoilus son of Epigenes, ... son of Dicaeus, Hybrias son of Diophantes, Istiaeus..., Demetrius son of Timaeus, your ambassadors, met me and handed to me your decree and spoke to me about the honours... we reached, and having given thanks... I met with much munificence and in... And I praised the men for their promptness and received them with kind disposition, and gladly will I try to benefit your city in both the present time and in the future, etc.*

IG 12.2.35b: Γράμματα] Καίσαρος Θεοῦ.

(14ff.) Περὶ ὧν π]ρεσβευταὶ Μυτιληναίων Ποτάμων Λεσβώνακτος, Φαιίας  
 Φαινίου τοῦ Καλλί[π]που, Τ]έρφης Διοῦς, Ἑρώδης Κλέωνος, Διῆς  
 Ματροκλέους, Δημήτριος Κλεωνύμου | Κριναγόρας Καλλίππου, Ζωίλος  
 Ἐπιγένους λόγους ἐποίησαντο χάριτα φιλίαν συμμα]χίαν ἀνευεοῦντο, ἵνα τε

<sup>72</sup> For the sources of book 14 see Buffière, Budé vol. 12, p. 34ff.

έν Καπετωλίω θυσ[ί]αν ποιῆσαι ἐξῆ ἅ τε αὐτοῖς | πρότερον ὑπὸ τῆς  
συγκλήτου συγκεχωρημ[έ]να ἦν, ταῦτα έν δέλτῳ χαλκῇ | γεγραμμένα  
προσηλῶσαι, κτλ.

*On which matters, Potamon son of Lesbonax, Phaenias son of Phaenias of Callippus, Terpheus son of Dies, Herodes son of Cleon, Dies son of Matrocles, Demetrius son of Cleonymus, Crinagoras son of Callipus, Zoilus son of Epigenes, ambassadors of the Mytileneans, came to words with me, renewed the good will, friendship and alliance, to enable them to make a sacrifice on the Capitolium and to nail up, written on a bronze tablet, those decisions which had previously been taken by the Senate, etc.*

IG 12.2.54,5 (fort.) Κριναγόρ]α[ς Καλλί]ππου.

*Crinagoras, son of Callippus.*

## GP 1

AP 5.119=GP 1

Κῆν ῥίψης ἐπὶ λαιὰ καὶ ἦν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ῥίψης,  
Κριναγόρη, κενεοῦ σαυτὸν ὑπερθε λέχους,  
εἰ μή σοι χαρίεσσα παρακλίνοιτο Γέμελλα,  
γνώση κοιμηθεῖς οὐχ ὕπνον ἀλλὰ κόπον.

Κριναγόρου [J] εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐρωμένην Γέμελλαν PI VII,172 Κριναγόρου

1 λαιὰ CPI: λαιᾶ P 3 Γέμελλα P: Γέμιλλα PI

*Whether you throw yourself on the left, or on the right, upon your empty bed, Crinagoras, unless charming Gemella should lie down beside you, you shall experience, in your sleep, not sleep but exhaustion.*

Crinagoras spends a restless night in the absence of his mistress, Gemella. Apart from 50 GP, “a conventional meditation on a statue of Eros in chains”,<sup>73</sup> two erotic epigrams of the poet survive, the present one and 2 GP, in which he describes how he fell in love while listening to Aristo singing. Parthenius wrote a poem entitled *Crinagoras*, the surviving pentameter of which says ἀμφοτέροις ἐπιβάς “Ἄρπυς ἐλήισατο (fr. 14 Lightfoot), on which Lightfoot (156) observes “Crinagoras himself may be the one represented as a victim of love; there may even be an echo of his own poetry”, see also ead. 74f. and intr., *Life and Work and Test.* 2.

**1:** The chiasmus together with the (almost) symmetrical repetition of the two sentences around the trochaic caesura (κῆν-verb-supplement, καὶ ἦν-supplement-verb) stresses the uneasiness of the poet and paints, with the very structure of the verse, his throwing himself *on the left* (left hemistich) and *on the right* (right hemistich).

κῆν...καὶ ἦν: cf. the same structure and morphological variation in a poem also on vain efforts, those to conceal old age with cosmetics, Antiphilus AP 11.66,1ff. Κῆν τείνης...καὶ βάψης...καὶ ἦν ἔτι πλείονα ῥέξης, κτλ.; Mart. 5.1,5, 9.60,1. In the same *sedes*, that is at the beginning of the two hemistichs, we have *seu* in Mart. 14.11,1 and in the pentameter in 11.45,2. For the disjunction cf. the openings of Crin. 29 GP κῆν μυχὸν Ὀρκυναῖον ἢ ἐς πύματον Σολόεντα / ἔλθη, 27 GP οὐδ’ ἦν Ὀκκαυδὸς... οὐδ’ ἦν Γερμανίη.

ἐπὶ λαιὰ...ἐπὶ δεξιὰ: using λαιᾶ Crinagoras offers a variation of the Homeric ἐπὶ δεξιὰ - ἐπ’ ἀριστερά; the disjunction of our poem is comparable to Hector’s famous contempt for the signs of the birds, *Il.* 12.239-40

...τῶν οὐτι μετατρέπομ’ οὐδ’ ἀλεγίζω,

<sup>73</sup>Lightfoot 156.

## GP 1

εἴτ' ἐπὶ δεξι' ἴωσι πρὸς ἡῶ τ' ἠέλιόν τε,  
εἴτ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοί γε ποτὶ ζόφον ἠερόεντα.

In Homer the expression, without the disjunction, occurs once more in *Il.* 7.238 οἶδ' ἐπὶ δεξιά, οἶδ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ νωμῆσαι βῶν. The present variation further consists in the reversal of the usual order, i.e. first right and then left. For the image of “tossing about” in bed in Homer, see below on ῥίψης...σαυτόν.

ἐπὶ λαιά: Homer always has ἐπ' ἀριστερά, as *Ap. Rh.* 2.1266; λαιός is rarer than ἀριστερός, and frequently describes the left hand with or without χεῖρ, hence P's reading λαιᾶ can be explained, cf. for instance *Tyrt.* 15,3 λαιᾶς χειρός, *Aesch. Pr.* 714 πρὸς λαιᾶ χερί, *Ap. Rh.* 1.495, 2.678 λαιῆ, *Paul Sil. AP* 6.84,1 σάκεος τρύφος, ὦ ἐπι λαιὰν / ἔσχεν. Ἐπὶ λαιᾶ occurs at *Arat.* 160, see next note.

ῥίψης...σαυτόν: sleeplessness is often associated with anxiety (*Aesch. Ag.* 891ff., *Sept.* 287, *Soph. Tr.* 27ff, *Eur. El.* 617, id. *Hipp.* 375f., *Aristoph. Nub.* 1-23, see Hutchinson on *Aesch. Sept.* 287). Jacobs<sup>1</sup> compared Crinagoras' image with the Homeric *Il.* 24.4f, 10f.

οὐδέ μιν ὕπνος  
ἦρει πανδαμάτωρ, ἀλλ' ἐστρέφετ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα

. . . . .  
ἄλλοτ' ἐπὶ πλευρᾶς κατακείμενος, ἄλλοτε δ' αὐτε  
ὕπτιος, ἄλλοτε δὲ πρηγής·

describing Achilles' inability to sleep in sorrow for Patroclus, echoed by *Juv.* 3.279ff. (cf. *Sen. Dial.* 9.2,12). Jacobs further compared similar scenes of erotic uneasiness in bed in Latin literature: *Ovid Am.* 2,1ff., *Prop.* 2.17,3f. *quotiens desertus amaras / explevi noctes fractus utroque toro*, id. 2.22b,47f. *quanta illum toto versant suspiria lecto*; cf. also id. 1.14,21 *et miserum toto iuvenem versare cubili*, *Cat.* 50.11, *Juv.* 13.218, *Val. Flacc.* 7.21. In the sense of “toss about”, as in fever, we find the verb ῥιπτάζω in Hippocrates, describing the patient's uneasiness in bed: the sick boy ἐρριπτάζετο *Epid.* 4.31, the patient ῥιπτάζει αὐτὸς ἑαυτόν *Morb.* 2.69, cf. *Mul.* I.2, *Coac.* 2.45, *Acut.* 2.18.<sup>74</sup> For sleeplessness associated with erotic anxiety (also see below on γνώση...κόπον), cf. the possible implication at *Aristoph. Lys.* 26f. ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πρᾶγμα ἀνεζητημένον / πολλαῖσί τ' ἀγρυπνίαισιν ἐρριπτασμένον (see Henderson *ad loc.*).

At *Tr.* 118 Euripides depicts Hecuba's anguish with her tossing on the bed of calamity, which he then compares to a ship tacking about in the sea; also cf. the shifting

<sup>74</sup>Crinagoras depicts his anguish implying perhaps the restlessness of fever, using medical terms (cf. also on *Crin.* 15,4 GP). For the common motif of the burning of love see on *Crin.* 2,3f. GP πυρὸς ἐμὴν μετέβη...ἐς κραδίην. For a discussion of love as disease, and especially as a disease that can only be cured with the fulfilment of the desire, in early Greek poets, see Cyrino *passim*; in regard to later poetry, cf. Medea's symptoms in the fourth book of Apollonius' *Argonautica* on which the author (168) observes: “In the tradition of the erotic lyrics of Sappho, the Hellenistic poets favor the deliberate combination of physical and mental symptoms in their sophisticated representations of pathological love”. For Hellenistic poets' usage of medical terminology for the description of love as fever see White 1981, 134.

## GP 1

from one side of the boat to the other, as it tacks about, in Aristoph. *Ran.* 536ff., cf. Taillardat § 39. The same maritime image of men in a boat tossing about in the sea recurs in Arat. 156ff., to which Crinagoras makes a very skilful and interesting allusion:

Εἰ δέ τοι Ἠνίοχον καὶ ἀστέρας Ἠνίοχοιο  
σκέπτεσθαι δοκέοι καὶ τοι φάτις ἦλυθεν Αἰγός  
αὐτῆς ἡδ' Ἐρίφων, οἳ τ' εἶν ἄλλι πορφυρούση  
πολλάκις ἐσκέψαντο κεδαιομένους ἀνθρώπους,  
αὐτὸν μὲν μιν ἅπαντα μέγαν Διδύμων ἐπὶ λαιά  
κεκλιμένον δῆεις·

The Kids watch men who toss about on the sea,<sup>75</sup> and the Charioteer lies on the left of the Twins: Crinagoras, another “Charioteer”, tosses about in bed on the left and on the right because his own “Twin”, Gemella, does not lie down beside him. Note the classical metaphor of love as horsemanship in regard to Crinagoras’ allusion to Ἠνίοχος, cf. Theogn. 1251 ἠνιοχόν τε ποθῶν, Anacreon fr. 15,4 and 72,3ff. Page *PMG*, id. 1267ff., Hermesianax fr. 7.83f. Powell.<sup>76</sup> The “Twins”, furthermore, exactly like the “Charioteer”, also have sexual connotations, see below on Γέμελλα.

Κριναγόρη: the apostrophe of the poet to his heart often occurs in personal poetry, especially when frustrating situations are described, cf. *Od.* 20.18 τέτλαθι δῆ, κραδίη with Russo *ad loc.*, Arch. fr. 128 West θυμέ, θύμ' ἀμηχάνοισι κήδεσιν κυκώμενε, cf. Theogn. 696, 877 etc.; in the Anthology cf. Crin. 48,1 GP ἄχρι τεῦ, ἃ δείλαιε, κεναῖσιν ἐπ' ἐλπίσι, θυμέ; in love epigrams poets often address their soul, especially when they confront love troubles, Mel. *AP* 12.117,3 ποῖ, θυμέ, τρέπη; id. 12.141,1-2 ὦ μέγα τολμᾶν / θυμέ, etc. The self-address of the poet by name, however, occurs rarely in the Anthology: Asclep. 12.501,1 Πῦν' Ἀσκληπιάδη· τί τὰ δάκρυα ταῦτα;<sup>77</sup> for

<sup>75</sup> As they are associated with stormy weather, see Kidd on Arat. 158.

<sup>76</sup> Also Aristoph. *Vesp.* 501, *Pax* 900f., *Lys.* 60 and 677, *Thesm.* 153; cf. the Platonic metaphor of love with the chariot and the soul as the charioteer at *Phdr.* 246aff., see Bowra 272, 295, Kirkwood 163f., Elliger 167f. The suggestion that Crinagoras has in mind the passage of Aratus is further supported by the reference to the catasterism of the goat whose milk Octavian tasted in relation to the goat who fed Zeus at Crin. 23,5f. GP, same image and expression as Aratus 163, lines immediately following the passage about the Charioteer and the Twins (see *ad loc.*). This may be an indication that the two poems were written in the same period of time (for the dating of 23 GP see intr. note *ad loc.*). The assumption that the poet wrote both poems on the ship, accompanying Octavian in his journey, justifies the absence of Gemella as well as the implication of the marine image of the boat tacking about in the sea. It would be perhaps plausible, therefore, to assume that there was a copy of Aratus’ work on the ship, to serve as a guide to the stars and the weather; for Aratus’ popularity in Rome from the first century B.C. as well as for the influence of the *Phaenomena* on and their translation by Romans see Kidd 41-3, 46. For the popularity of the work in Octavian’s court the translation of the *Phaenomena* by Cicero and “Germanicus” is indicative (for a discussion about the identity of the author, the predominant candidate being Germanicus, the son of Antonia Minor and Drusus and nephew of the emperor Tiberius, see Baldwin *passim*).

<sup>77</sup> Gow-Page observe that we cannot be sure whether Asclepiades is addressing himself or is being addressed by a friend who accompanies his drinking; see GP *HE ad loc.*; cf. the poem of Hedylus that Athenaeus cites (GP *HE* 1855-6, Hedylus V 3-4) ἀλλὰ κάδοις Χίου με κατὰβρεχε καὶ λέγε “παίζε / Ἡδύλε”· μισῶ ζῆν ἐς κενὸν οὐ μεθύων. In Flaccus *AP* 5.5,5 it is the lamp that addresses the poet.

this apostrophe in Latin love poetry cf. Propertius 2.8.17 *sic igitur prima moriere aetate, Properti?* In Catullus the apostrophe occurs in strong moods either of wrath or despair;<sup>78</sup> 8.1, 52.1,4, 76.5, 79.2; cf. also 51.13 *otium, Catulle, tibi molestum est*.

Crinagoras refers to himself by name in poems which accompany various gifts (3,5; 4,6; 5,4 GP), always as the subject of πέμπει. In Crin. 51 GP the vocative Πρηξαγόρη is at the same *sedes* as in the present epigram. For the mention of the names of both poet and mistress cf. Stat. Flacc. *AP* 5.5, Rufinus 5.9, with Lightfoot 156.

ὑπερθε λέχους: the common phrase in erotic epigrams is ὑπὲρ λεχέων or λέκτρων: Diosc. *AP* 5.55,1 Δωρίδα...ὑπὲρ λεχέων διατείνας, Paul. Sil. 5.275,3 ἐπέβην λεχέων ὑπερ, id. 5.283,1f., *AApp* 6.316,2; in the singular, Strato 12.210,1. "ὑπερθε with bed goes back to Homer, where it is used for the clothes stretched over the bed or on the floor, *Od.* 7.336ff.: δέμνι' ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ θέμεναι... στορέσαι τ' ἐφύπερθε τάπητας, *Od.* 20.2f., also in Ap. Rh. 4.1141, description of the preparation of the wedding bed of Jason and Medea.

On the expression "on the bed" as indicative of the pleasures of love cf. Sappho fr. 94 L-P καὶ στρώμν[αν ἐπ]ὶ μολθάκαν...ἐξίης πόθο[ν ]ίδων; see also next note.

κενεοῦ...λέχους: in Latin poetry the "empty bed" describes, too, an erotic abandonment and loneliness, cf. Ov. *Am.* 3.5,42 *frigidus in viduo destituere toro*, Prop. 2.9,16 *Scyria nec viduo Deidamia toro*, 4.7,6 with Rothstein *ad loc.* In Greek poetry the "empty bed" usually denotes loss and death: Soph. *Ant.* 424f. ὅταν κενῆς εὐνῆς νεοσσῶν ὀρφανὸν βλέψῃ λέχος, Eur. *Alc.* 945 γυναικὸς εὐνὰς ἄν εἰσίδω κενάς,<sup>79</sup> Peek 1522=Kaibel 418,8 ὑστατίου καὶ κενῶιο λέχους, Ap. Rh. 3.662, Kaibel 1046,12. Through the connotations of this phrasing Crinagoras' suffering might be compared to a state of bereavement, to the loneliness he would endure if Gemella were dead. For a lonely night cf. also Sappho fr. 168b L-P.

Rubensohn emends to λέχευς, cf. κάλλευς at Crin. 7,6 GP, unnecessarily (cf. intr. under Language and Style, Dialect), as the poet is not always consistent with the same grammatical form, cf. εἶδος at 14,3 GP.

**3f.**: Jacobs<sup>2</sup>, followed by Gow-Page, took γνώση as the apodosis of παρακλίνωιτο, comparing Mel. *AP* 5.214,3f. εἰ δ' ἀπὸ σεῦ με / ῥίψαις, οὐκ οἴσει, id. 215,5 εἰ καὶ με κτείναις, λείψω φωνήν. Rubensohn (111) held that γνώση is the apodosis of κῆν ῥίψης...καὶ ἦν...ῥίψης, comparing Crin. 29,1ff. GP κῆν.../ ἔλθη.../ ... εἶσιν, cf. above on κῆν...καὶ ἦν. A plausible assumption would be that γνώση is the apodosis of

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Fordyce on Catullus 68.135.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Eur. *Alc.* 1174f. ὅταν θρόνους τῆσδ' εἰσίδω πάντας κενούς, / κενούς δὲ παρθενῶνας. Cf. the occurrence of κενεός in descriptions of a mournful situation in epigrams, Mel. *AP.* 7.468,6 κενεὰς ὠδίνας, id. 7.476,5 κενεὰν εἰς Ἰαχέροντα χάριν; very common is the epitaphs' "empty grave", Perses *AP* 7.539,6 κενεὸν σῆμα, Marc. Arg. 7.395,1 οὗτος ὁ Καλλαίσχρου κενεὸς τάφος, Jul. Aeg. 7.592,6 κενεῶ σῆματι, etc.

## GP 1

both subordinate clauses; for optative with εἰ in protasis with future indicative in the apodosis see K-G II (2) 478, b, Goodwin 188, § 499. Ἐάν+subjunctive can be seen as expressing a general condition (“whenever you are turning in an empty bed...”) <sup>80</sup>. The condition that Gemella should lie with the poet is presented as open in the future but of a vague likelihood; the supposition with the optative in the protasis expresses a weak possibility, cf. id. 5, § 16. For subjunctive with εἰάν in the protasis with indicative in the apodosis see K-G II (2) 475.

χαρίεσσα: the adjective describes a woman for the first time in Hes. *Th.* 247 χαρίεσσα δέμας. In love poetry the epithet is a commonplace for the beloved, starting from Sappho fr. 108 L-P ὦ καλά, ὦ χαρίεσσα, cf. Theocr. 18.38 ὦ καλά, ὦ χαρίεσσα κόρα, id. 3.6 ὦ χαρίεσσ’ Ἀμαρυλλί, id. 10.26, 13.7, 14.8, Paul. Sil. 5.275,1 χαρίεσσα Μενεκρατίς, id. 5.252,1, id. 5.286,7, anon. *API* 324,3, etc. <sup>81</sup> In Crinagoras the adjective occurs two more times at the same *sedes* to describe beautiful ladies in funeral poems, Cleopatra-Selene in 18,3 and Prote in 14,3 GP.

σοι...παρακλίνωτο: the verb is characteristic of love epigrams, cf. Posid. 5.186,3 ὅσον παρ’ ἐμοὶ κέκλισαι χρόνον, Strato 12.209,1f., id. 12.232,2, cf. anon. 5.2,1ff. τὴν καταφλεξίπολιν Σθενελαίδα...γυμνὴν διὰ νυκτὸς ὄλης παρέκλινεν ὄνειρος.

Γέμελλα: for the rare Latin name see *Pros. Imp. Rom.* s.v., 138-41; In the masculine form it occurs once more in the Anthology, Leont. Schol. 7.575,3 λέχος κόσμησε Γεμέλλου, also at verse-end. <sup>82</sup> The author of *AApp* 1.182 is called Gemellus, cf. Kaibel 998,9 and 999,6; Gemella is also the name of a city, Appian *Iber.* 68. In regard to the present passage Lightfoot (156) observes: “the absence of a Greek pseudonym for Gemella is notable; it would have rendered Gemella, presumably a *libertina*, anonymous among the hordes of Chloes, Lydias, Delias, and other ladies of the acquaintance of Horace and others. The closest parallel for the nakedly Roman name in the epigrams of the Anthology seems to be Philodemus’ Flora (*AP* 5.132.7=12 GP and Sider)”. The name Gemella, however, constitutes, as we have seen, part of the allusion to a passage about the Twins of Aratus’ *Phaenomena*, see above on ῥίψης...σαυτόν. The “Twins” have moreover sexual associations as they can denote testicles as well as ovaries in medical writers, and are used in playful exploitation of this sense by Marcus Argentarius (*AP* 5.105,4) and Philodemus (5.126,6 and 11.318,4), see Sider on Phld. 22,6 and 31,4. The Greek names of the loves of Roman poets have pastoral, mythological, or other connotations, cf. Boucher 515ff. Sullivan 79, Lyne 200 with n. 30; following Philodemus,

<sup>80</sup> See LSJ s.v. εἰ B II 2. Dr. Stephen Instone drew my attention to this nuance.

<sup>81</sup> As the beloved seems to the lover’s eyes to have been favoured by the Graces, see Hunter on Theocr. 13.7.

<sup>82</sup> For the possible identification of this Gemellus with a 5th century prefect of Constantinople see Waltz *ad loc.*

## GP 1

Crinagoras is the Greek lover of a girl with a Latin name, playing with the literary tradition and imitating by contrast his Roman fellow-poets.

γνώση...κόπον: the two possible translations are: a) *Nosset te compositum esse non ad somnum sed ad lassitudinem* (the two accusatives as objects of κοιμηθείς, Dübner, Rubensohn), b) “You shall know, lying in bed, not sleep but exhaustion”, (the two accusatives as objects of γνώση, Waltz, Paton, Gow-Page).<sup>83</sup> The first construction can be supported by the many occurrences of ὕπνος as the object of κοιμᾶσθαι, *Il.* 11.241 κοιμήσατο χάλκεον ὕπνον, *h. Merc.* 289 ὕστατον ὕπνον λαύσης, *Call. AP* 7.451,1f., *Mel.* 7.4189,2, *Pompeius* 7.219,4, *Carphyllides* 7.260,7f., *Dionysius* 7.78,2. For the other alternative Gow-Page cite *Aesch. Ag.* 2 and *Hom. Od.* 20.4, with the verb κοιμᾶσθαι referring to one in bed but not asleep, see Fraenkel on *Ag.* 2, cf. *Sappho fr.* 168B,4 L-P ἐγὼ δὲ μόνα κατεύδω. I think that the second construction is more probable, but κοιμᾶσθαι should not be necessarily taken to mean “in bed”; the notion of exhaustion in one’s sleep is a paradox suiting the erotic theme of the poem (see below) and also ending the poem with a poignant image. For the construction cf. *Aesch. Ag.* 1424f. ἐὰν δὲ τοῦμπαλιν κραίνη θεός, / γνώση διδαχθείς ὄψε γοῦν τὸ σωφρονεῖν. For the attribution of κόπος to γιγνώσκειν in the sense “learn”, “experience”, cf. *Theocr.* 3.15 μῦν ἔγνω τὸν ἔρωτα with Hunter *ad loc.*, comparing *On. Met.* 13.762 *quid sit amor sensit*.

For the pleasure of sleep with one’s mate, cf. *Od.* 23.254f.; for the motif of restless sleep without one’s lover cf. Callimachus’ or Rufinus’<sup>84</sup> παρακλαυσίθυρον *AP* 5.23, also *Stat. Flacc.* 5.5,5. Jacobs compared the present κόπον with Propertius’ *fractus* (2.17,4), “bruising my limbs”. Sleep is, of course, traditionally seen as relieving exhaustion cf. *Il.* 23.232, *Od.* 5.471f., *Od.* 12.281, *Od.* 6.2; in the Anthology cf. anon. *AP* 9.141,6 τὸν δ’ ὕπνω πουλὺς ἔριψε κόπος; in an erotic context, Rufinus *AP* 5.47,3f., where labour-relieving sleep prevents the poet from enjoying his mistress’ charms, νῦν δ’ ὅτε μοι γυμνὴ γλυκεροῖς μελέεσσι πέπλησαι, / ἔκλυτος ὕπναλέω γυῖα κέκμηκα κόπῳ. The paradox of sleep offering exhaustion instead of rest to the lover occurs in *Mel. AP* 12.127,5ff. λυσίπνοος δ’ ἑτέροις ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ πόνον ὕπνος ἔτευξεν / ἔμπνον πῦρ ψυχῇ κάλλος ἀπεικούσας.

Ὑπνος scanned with ὕ, as in Attic drama, occurs elsewhere in the Anthology in *Phaennus* 7.197,2, *Ammianus* 11.14,1, *Lucillius* 11.101,1, id. 11.264,1, id. 11.277,1.

οὐχ...ἀλλά: the figure κατ’ ἄρσιν καὶ θέσιν (or *correctio*) is common in Callimachus, see *H.* 1.1.70ff, 2.110f, 5.134f., Bornmann on id. *H.* 3.33; see further Lausberg 347 (1). Other occurrences of the figure in the Anthology, at the end of the

<sup>83</sup> Beckby’s translation is more free and avoids the problem: “ach, du findest nicht Schlaf, müde nur wirst du im Bett”.

<sup>84</sup>For the attribution of the poem see the discussion in Page 103ff., Pagonari-Antoniou *ad loc.* For the motif of the erotic ἀγρυπνία in New Comedy, epigram and the magical papyri see Thomas 195-206.

## GP 1

poem, making an emphatic point are e.g. Phld. 7.222,8 μὴ βάτον ἀλλ' ἀπαλᾶς...κάλυκας, Antip. Sid. 7.424,10 οὐ λάλον, ἀλλὰ καλᾶς ἔμπλεον ἀσυχίας, Antip. Thess. 9.77,5f. οὐκ ἀετός, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ θοῖναν / γῦπες, anon. 11.53,2 οὐ ῥόδον, ἀλλὰ βάτον, see further Geoghegan on Anyte 21,3. For the figure in Latin see Fordyce on Catullus 115,8 and for more examples in the Greek Anthology and Martial see Siedschlag 65-8.

GP 3

AP 6.227=GP 3

Ἄργυρέον σοι τόνδε γενέθλιον ἐς τεδὸν ἡμᾶρ,  
 Πρόκλε, νεόσμηκτον †δουρατίνη† κάλαμον,  
 εὖ μὲν ἐυσχίστοισι διάγλυπτον κεράεσσι,  
 εὖ δὲ ταχυνομένην εὔροον εἰς σελίδα,  
 5 πέμπει Κριναγόρης, ὀλίγην δόσιν ἄλλ' ἀπὸ θυμοῦ  
 πλείονος, ἀρτιδαεῖ σύμπνοον εὐμαθίη.

Κριναγόρου Μυτιληναίου *Suda* s.v. ἀρτιδαεῖ (1+πέμπω, ἀρτιδαεῖ, κτλ.) caret P1

2 δουρατίνη C: δουρατίνη P 6 ἀρτιδαεῖ *Suda*: -δαῆ P | σύμπνοον *PSuda*: σύμπονον *apogr.* L |  
 εὐμαθίη P: ἐργασίη *Suda*

*This spear-like silver pen, newly polished, neatly carved with well-divided tips, smoothly flowing on the hurried page, Crinagoras sends you for your birthday, Proclus, a little gift but from a big heart, to accompany your lately-learnt scholarship.*

Crinagoras sends Proclus a silver pen as a gift. For poems accompanying presents see on 5 GP pref. The assemblage of rare or unique words (νεόσμηκτον, ἐυσχίστοισι, διάγλυπτον, ταχυνομένην, ἀρτιδαεῖ) as well as the equally unusual expressions (κεράεσσι for the pen's nibs, ταχυνομένην σελίδα, the page "hurried" by the writing on it) is not uncommon in the "epideictic" poems of Crinagoras, cf. intr. under Language and Style, ἅπαξ λεγόμενα. Here this elaboration is in accordance with the rarety and elaboration of the gift itself. The occasion for the gift described in the present poem is not mentioned (Crin. 5 and 6 GP are birthday-presents; 4 GP is a "dinner-gift", see *ad loc.*, intr. note; in 7,5 GP the day described as "the holy day" for Antonia might denote the Saturnalia). The Saturnalia can be a plausible candidate for this occasion, as people used to exchange gifts on these days, see Howell on Mart. 5.18,1. Gifts for the Saturnalia in the Anthology are Antip. Thes. 6.249 (a candle), Leon. Alex. 6.322 (the epigram itself, cf. Mart. 5.18 with Howell *ad loc.*, intr. note and Leary 1996, 5); books 13 and 14 of Martial's epigrams consist of series of poems, each designed to accompany a particular gift for the Saturnalia, see further Leary (1996) 1ff., (2001), 1ff. Editors suggest that the recipient is a child who has just begun to learn to read and write; this assumption can be further supported by Martial's poems on Saturnalian gifts for children, 14.19, 35, 54, 168, *al.*, see further Leary (1996) 5 and on Mart. 14.19,2. For the gift cf. Mart. 14.38, bundles of pens. A *puer*, perhaps a young slave but possibly a child, is the recipient of a *graphiarium*, a style-case in Mart. 14.21, see Leary on l. 2. Gow-Page plausibly assume that Proclus was the son of a person of high social rank, worthy of an expensive gift, cf. on ἀργύρεον.

**1 ἀργύρεον:** ἀργύριον *Suda*. The form occurs at verse-beginning also in *Il.* 23.741, 11.31, *Od.* 15.104, *al.*, Statyl. Flaccus *AP* 5.5,1. As Leary notes on the lemma of Mart. 14.120, silver was commonly offered at the Saturnalia (cf. Mart. 14.97, silver dishes inlaid with gold, 120, a silver spoon, 179, a silver statuette of Minerva, *al.*); poor people were forbidden to offer silver beyond their means by the Saturnalian law-giver's legislation according to Lucian *Sat.*, see Leary on Mart. 14.93, lemma.

**νεόσμηκτον:** a Homeric ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, *Il.* 13.342 θωρήκων τε νεοσμήκτων, then rarely, cf. the conjectural νεοσμήκτω τε μαχαίρη in Euphorion fr. 132 Powell, Call. fr. 676,2 νεοσμήκτους ἄστριας, Nonnus *D.* 27.17 νεοσμήκτου δὲ σιδήρου...αἴγλη, Plut. *Aem.* 32 χαλκῶ νεοσμήκτω καὶ σιδήρῳ. Hesych. has νεοσμήκτων· νεωστὶ ἐσμηγμένων, as LSJ s.v. “newly cleaned” (σμήχω); Gow-Page remark, however, that there is no point in describing an unused object as “fresh-cleaned” and suggest “recently polished”, as in Call. *loc. cit.* *Suda* offers the meaning “newly sharpened”,<sup>85</sup> see s.v. νεόσμηκτον· νεόθηκτον καὶ νεοκάθαρον, sense accepted by Waltz for the present passage (“taillée à neuf”); the pen, of course, is unused, so there is no need for it to be sharpened and the sense “newly polished” seems to be the most plausible here.

**δουρατίην:** critics have suggested several readings: δουράτιον Toup, δουράτεον Brunck, accepted by Jacobs, δουρατίου Bothe, νεοσμήκτω δούρατι σὺν Diels, δικρατίην Geist, δούρατι ἐν (*in theca lignea*) Rubensohn, Δωριακὸν Sitzler, δογματίη Desrousseaux. Geist's suggestion δικρατίην (=δικρανίην) again, “double headed”, “like a pitchfork”, referring to the pen's divided nib, although far-fetched and not likely, offers a better meaning than the other suggestions. Pezopoulos' δουνακίην, accepted by Beckby, is the strongest candidate: δόναξ is used for “pen” in Damocharis *AP* 6.63,5, Paul. Sil. 6.64,3, id. 6.66,8, in order to avoid repetition with καλάμους previously mentioned, cf. also δόναξ in Philip 6.62,2, Paul. Sil. 6.65,5, σμίλαν...δουνακογλύφον in Phantias 6.295,1; cf. *h. Merc.* 47 δόνακες καλάμοιο. For the formation Pezopoulos (181) compares κάλαμος βομβυκίας, ἐνούχιας, συριγγίας, χαρακίας, Theophr. *HP* 4.11,1ff. These terms describe various kinds of reed in Theophrastus; δόνακες in the Homeric hymn mean “stalks of reed”; with this reading in the present poem we would have “a silver reed-pen” and the adjective should be taken as generic and not as referring to the actual material of the pen. Gow-Page defend the reading of the codex suggesting that Crinagoras has, as he often does, created a form δουρατίας, “spear-like”, referring to Buck-Petersen 172; this formation is possible (cf. Theophrastus' terms for the various kinds of reed in -ίας, see above) and on these grounds the reading of P could be retained.

<sup>85</sup>For the pens' sharpening cf. Damocharis *AP* 6.63,4 εὐγλυφῆας καλάμους: γλύφειν κάλαμον, *temperare calamum, acuere*, see Daremberg-Saglio s.v. *Calamus*; also cf. the various expressions for the sharpening (of Jul. Aeg., Damocharis, Paul. Sil.), see on ἐυσχίστοισι.

### GP 3

For two or more adjectives applied on the same noun see on Crin. 5,1 GP *χάλκεον...ἔργον*.

*κάλαμον*: “pen”, also at the end of the pentameter in Damocharis *AP* 6.63,4, Paul. Sil. 6.64,2, Jul. Aeg. 6.68,4.

**3f.** *εὖ μὲν...εὖ δέ*: the anaphora of these word-groups in the beginning of two consecutive verses occurs in Theogn. 845f., Leon. *API* 182,5f. (iambic); in Call. *AP* 7.415,1f., Antip. Thess. 10.25,5f., anon. *API* 324,3f., we have this anaphora in two consecutive lines but in different *sedes*, as well as in Qu. Sm. 7. 45, 9.463; in id. 7.608, *Il.* 2.382, *Od.* 6.318, Hes. *Op.* 349, Soph. *Tr.* 229, Eur. *IA* 990, the scheme occurs within the same line, and in *Od.* 188ff. the *εὖ μὲν...εὖ δέ* recurs in the opening of two non-consecutive lines. Cf. Crin. 12,1 GP “*Ἥρη...Ἥρη*”, see *ad loc.*

The accumulation of *εὖ-* in ll. 3 and 4, regarded as inelegant by Gow-Page, stresses the notion of easiness and fluency (see next note). An analogous extreme example of alliteration from the repetition of *δάκρυ-* and *αἰ-* is Mel. *AP* 7.476.

*ἔυσχίστοισι*: a rare word, mainly prosaic; the poet uses it again in 42,1 GP *ἔυσχίστοιό τε ῥοιῆς / θρύμματα*. The adjective is a synonym for *ἔυσχιδής*, and the description of a pen by Jul. Aeg. *AP* 6.68,4 probably recalls the present passage: *λίθος ἔυσχιδέων θηγαλή καλάμων*; [Oppian] also uses a similar expression to describe the “branching” horns of the stags, *Cyn.* 2.211 *ἔυσχιδέων κεράων*. For the divided nibs cf. Damocharis *AP* 6.63,4 *μεσοτόμους...καλάμους*, Paul. Sil. *AP* 6.64,3 *ὄξυντῆρα μεσοσχιδέων δονακῆων*, id. 6.65,5 *δισσὸν ὀδόντα / θήγεται*. Note the use of compounds with *εὖ-* to qualify writing and its instruments, cf. *εὖροον* in l. 4 which implies the idea of smoothness and fluency, see *ad loc.*; cf. Damocharis *AP* 6.63,4 *εὐγλυφῆας καλάμους* and 5 *δονάκων εὐθηγέα κόσμον*, Paul. Sil. 6.65,10 *εὐγραφέος τέχνης*, id. 6.66,6 *εὐγραφέων καλάμων*. Other adjectives with *εὖ-* in Crinagoras: 42,7 GP *ἔυστόρθυγι*, 43,1 GP *εὐπίδακες*, 4 *εὐθήροιο*, 36,4 GP *εὐσοκίτην*; for the frequency of these compounds in Leonidas see Gow-Page on *HE* 1955; in Hellenistic and later poets, see White on Theocr. 24.8; cf. also on Crin. 42,1 GP.

*διάγλυπτον*: here only. Homer has *διαγλάψασα*, *Od.* 4.438 *εὐνάς δ' ἐν ψαμάθοισι διαγλάψασ' ἄλιησιν*, “scooped”, “make hollow”, cf. Schol. *διαγλύψασα*, *διακοιλάνασα*, ἐκ τοῦ γλάφω, also Ebeling s.v. *διαγλάφω*, Hesych.: *διαγλάψας· διαγλύψας, διασκαλεύσας*; for the connection between *γλύφω* and *γλάφω* see Chantraine (1968), Frisk s.v. *γλαφυρός*. For *διαγλύφω* in the sense “make hollow” cf. Ael. *NA* 14.7 *καλιὰν ἐργάζεται ταπεινὴν ἐν τῷ δαπέδῳ, τὴν ψάμμον διαγλύψασα τοῖς ποσί*, Nonnus *D.* 44.271 *διαγλύψασα* in the Homeric *sedes* of *διαγλάψασα*. Rather than having the sense “divided”, therefore (LSJ s.v.), *διάγλυπτον* should here mean “carved”, “made hollow”, as the tip of the pen is indeed hollow, cf. the sketches of pens which have survived in Daremberg-Saglio 811f. Cf. Damocharis *AP* 6.63,4 *μεσοτόμους εὐγλυφῆας καλάμους*.

### GP 3

κεράεσσι: the form is Homeric, *Il.* 13.705, *Od.* 19.563, also *Call. H.* 2.62, in the *Anthology Perses* 6.112,1, *Samus* 6.116,3; in the same *sedes*, *Ap. Rh.* 1.431, 3.1297, *Qu. Sm.* 9.396. Crinagoras' usage of κέρας for the points of the writing-reed is unparalleled. Cf. the description of the work resulting to the making a pen of a reed in anon. *AP* 9.162,3f. λεπτά τορήσας / χείλεα.

ταχυνομένην: ταχύνειν is not Homeric, but frequent in Attic drama (for the usage of vocabulary of drama cf. on *Crin.* 13,1 GP). The idea of swiftness implies liquidity, cf. ὠκύροος for rivers, *Il.* 5.598, 7.133, ὠκυρόης *Ap. Rh.* 2.349, 650, also cf. *Antip. Thess. AP* 9.417,4 πίδακος ἐκ τυφλῆς οὐκ ἐτάχυνεν ὕδωρ. The page is "hurried" by the pen, as it runs on its surface, in an image that recalls the swiftness of the ships on the sea, cf. σπερχομένη for the ship in *Od.* 13.115, *Ap. Rh.* 4.934, ὠκύαλος in *Il.* 15.705, *Od.* 12.182, *al.* In *Petr.* 5 it is the pages that "run", *det pagina cursum*, cf. *Mart.* 9.77,2 *facunda...pagina*.

εὐροον: a Homeric rarity, *Il.* 7.329 εὐροον ἀμφὶ Σκάμανδρον, 21.130 ποταμός περ εὐροος ἀργυροδίνης,<sup>86</sup> *Ap. Rh.* 4.269 ποταμός Τρίτων εὐροος, anon. 11.343,3. The "fluency" of the pen on the page can be connected with the fluency of the words the script represents (cf. the probable reading of *Eur. fr.* 439,3 Nauck εὐρόοισι στόμασι with Nauck's apparatus, *Cyrill. Al. fr. In sancti Pauli Epist. I ad Corinth.* 286,22 ὁ πρόχειρός τε καὶ εὐρους [sc. λόγος] καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ γλώσσης ἰὼν τῆς ἄγαν εὐτροχωπάτης, *Evagr. Hist. Eccl.* 191,3 ἔτοιμος ἦν τὰ ὦτα, καὶ τὴν γλώσσαν εὐρους, and/or with the liquid ink it contains, cf. *Damocharis AP* 6.63,3 γραφικοῖο δοχεῖα κελαινοτάτοιο ρεέθρου (the ink-wells); the implication of liquidity is further suggested by ταχυνομένην, see prev. note. For compounds with εὐ- in a similar context see above on ἐυσχίστοισι.

εἰς σελίδα: cf. *Philip AP* 6.62,1 μόλιβον, σελίδων σημάντορα πλευρῆς, *Phanias* 6.295,3 σελίδων κανόνισμα φιλόρθιον (the ruler), *Paul Sil.* 5.254,6 νῶτον ὑπὲρ σελίδος. In Crinagoras' age σελίς indicates the column of a papyrus roll rather than the page of a codex, as the codex is used after A.D. 200, see Sider on *Phld.* 4=*AP* 11.41,2.

ὀλίγην...πλείονος: for the traditional modesty of the person who offers the gift see on *Crin.* 4,5 GP. Here the modesty of the poet is in contrast with the elaborate description of the gift which is, in fact, rare and expensive, cf. *Theocr.* 28.24f. ἦ μέγала χάρις / δῶρω σὺν ὀλίγῳ, contradicting the high quality of the distaff the poet is sending *Theugenis* (ἐλέφαντος πολυμόχθῳ γεγενημέναν, l. 8, εὐαλάκατος Θεύγενις, l. 22). For the expression cf. *Od.* 6.208 δόσις δ' ὀλίγη τε φίλη τε (repeated in 14.58), φίλη having been given a passive meaning (cf. schol. ὀλίγη μὲν τῷ διδόντι, φίλη δὲ τῷ λαμβάνοντι, "alms cost little and please the recipient", Gow on *Theocr. loc. cit.*) or an active meaning ("with love", see Hainsworth on *Od.* 6.208). The expression in

<sup>86</sup>This line was rejected by Aristophanes.

### GP 3

Crinagoras' poems supports the active sense of φίλη in the Homeric passage, and the Theocritean expression should rather be seen in this light (for a discussion of the difficulty of μεγάλα χάρις of l. 24 see Gow *ad loc.*), cf. also Philemon fr. 168 Kock ἅπαν διδόμενον δῶρον, εἰ καὶ μικρὸν ἦ, / τμέγιστόν ἐστι μετ' εὐνοίας διδόμενονι. For ὀλίγην δόσιν cf. Jul. Aeg. *AP* 6.25,5 εἰ δ' ὀλίγου δώρου τελέθει δόσις, 6.152,3 ἔργων ἔξ ὀλίγων ὀλίγην δόσιν.

ἀπὸ θυμοῦ: self-variation with 4,5 GP ἀπό...φρενός, see *ad loc.* The phrase ἀπὸ θυμοῦ is usually found in literature meaning “away from one’s heart”, cf. *Il.* 1.562f. ἀπὸ θυμοῦ / μᾶλλον ἐμοὶ ἔσσει; the sense “from one’s heart”, like ἀπὸ φρενός, is rare (cf. Hesych. ἀπὸ θυμοῦ· ἀπὸ ψυχῆς. ἢ ἄπωθεν τῆς ψυχῆς) and perhaps here influenced by the Latin idiom, cf. Antiphilus 6.250,2 τὸν σὸν ἀπὸ κραδίης, a latinism, see on 4,5 GP also see next note.

θυμοῦ πλείονος: θυμός, here “soul”, is usually qualified in Greek literature, in the sense of “spirit” or “strength”, by μέγας (cf. the Homeric expression, e.g. *Il.* 7.25, also μεγάλοι φρένες, e.g. *Il.* 9.184), ὀλίγος (cf. *Il.* 1.593, “little strength”), μείζων (cf. Eur. *Med.* 108 “greater passion”) but never with πολὺς or πλείων; in Herodian 8.3,8 ὀργῆ καὶ θυμῷ χρώμενος πλείοι, θυμός is “anger” (“becoming more angry”); Crinagoras' expression is probably influenced by the Latin one, cf. Cic. *Att.* 7.16,2 *multo animo*, “great heart”, although here *animus* has the sense of “courage”; for latinisms in Crinagoras see on 4,6 GP ὁ πᾶς ἐπὶ σοί. For the comparative without a second element of comparison, see K-G II (2) 305, n. 7.

ἀρτιδαεῖ: “newly learnt”, here only, ἀρτιμαθεῖ given by *Suda* as a synonym, Eur. *Hec.* 687 ἀρτιμαθῆ νόμον. In the Anthology Theocr. 9.437,2=Gow IV ἀρτιγλυφές (see Gow *ad loc.*), Heraclitus 7.465,1 ἀρτίσκαπτος, Zonas 6.22,1 ἀρτιχανῆ, 1.4 ἀρτίδορον, are also ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, cf. the rare ἀρτίχουν Zonas *loc. cit.*, ἀρτιφουῶς anon. 6.21,6; παντοδαῆς is also a unique word, Diog. Laert. 7.57,2, as well as πρωτοδαῆς, Opp. *Hal.* 4.323.

σύμπνοον: “which will follow your...”; there is no need to change P's reading to σύμπουον, accepted by Jacobs and Gow-Page; for the word cf. Agath. *AP* 11.372,1 ἀδερκέει σύμπνοον αὔρη, Greg. Naz. *AP* 8.79,6 (same *sedes*) Βασιλείω σύμπνοα ἰρὰ φέρον (“I entered priesthood in union with Basil”, Paton); for the metaphorical usage of συμπνέω, “go along with”, see LSJ s.v. 1.

εὐμαθίη: there is no reason to accept, with Jacobs, *Suda*'s ἐργασίη; if the objection to P's reading is that -μαθ- repeats -δαεῖ, one can argue that εὐμαθίη can have a wider meaning than just “easiness in learning”; cf. Call. *AP* 6.310,1 εὐμαθίην ἠτεῖτο “learning”, Leon Alex. 6.325,3f. Μουσῶν στίχον, ... / ... φιλίας σῆμα καὶ εὐμαθίης,<sup>87</sup>

<sup>87</sup>Cf. the same pair of notions in Leon. Alex. *AP* 9.353,1f. καὶ λόγον ἱστορίη κοσμούμενον ἠκρίβωσας / καὶ βίον ἐν φιλίη, Πάππε, βεβαιότατον, where ἱστορίη is “learning”, “scholarship”.

### GP 3

also the closing word of the poem, where “learning” can be interpreted as “scholarship”, Apollonides 9.280,3f. Μουσάων δ’ ἐπὶ χεῖρα βαλὼν πολυῖστορι βίβλω, / εἶδεν ὑπὲρ κορυφῆς σύμβολον εὐμαθίης, Mel. 12.257,8 σύνθρονος ἴδρυμαι τέρμασιν εὐμαθίας (“learned work”), cf. *AApp* 3.116,5f. κόσμῳ δέ / παντὶ ἐῆς προλιπὼν σύμβολον εὐμαθίης, “doctrine” (of Euclides), all at the end of the pentameter. In Crinagoras, one might observe on the other hand, pleonastic expressions do occasionally occur, see on 30,2 GP. For the formation of εὐμαθίη cf. Cramer *Anecd. Gr.* 2.229,24 Τὰ παρὰ τὸ παθεῖν καὶ μαθεῖν διαφοροῦνται καὶ προπαροξύνονται· ὁ δὲ πολιτικὸς διὰ τοῦ ι, οἶον...Εὐμάθεια καὶ Εὐμαθία.

GP 4

AP 6.229=GP 4

Αἰετοῦ ἀγκυλοχείλου ἀκρόπτερον ὄξυ σιδήρῳ  
 γλυφθὲν καὶ βαπτῆ πορφύρεον κυάνῳ,  
 ἦν τι λάθη μίμνον μεταδόρπιον ἔγγυς ὀδόντων  
 κινῆσαι πρηεῖ κέντρῳ ἐπιστάμενον,  
 5 βαιὸν ἀπ' οὐκ ὀλίγης πέμπει φρενός, οἶα δὲ δαιτός  
 δῶρον ὃ πᾶς ἐπὶ σοί, Λεύκιε, Κριναγόρης.

Κριναγόρου caret P1

1 ἀγκυλοχείλου Salm.: ἀγκυλόχειλος P 3 ἔγγυς P: ἐντός Hecker 4 κινῆσαι P: ἐκκινῆσαι Valckenaer 5 φρενός C: -νας P | δαιτός Salm.: δαιτός P 6 ὃ πᾶς Hecker: ὄπασσ' P

*A pointed feather of a crooked-beaked eagle, carved with the knife and dyed with purple cyanus, skilled in removing with gentle spike whatever remains hidden about the teeth after supper, Crinagoras your devoted friend sends you, Lucius, a small token of a large affection, as a dinner-gift.*

Crinagoras sends a tooth-pick made of an eagle's feather as a gift to Lucius. For poems accompanying presents see on 5 GP, intr. note. For tooth-picks see *RE* s.v. *dentiscalpium*; they were made of mastic-wood (Mart. 6.74,3) or feather (Martial mentions both in 3.82,9 *pinnas rubentes* [where the quills are red, see below on κυάνῳ] *cuspidisque lentisci*, probably also in 14.22, cf. Leary *ad loc.*, on lemma, Grewing on 6.74,3); in Petronius 33 we have a *pinna argentea*, a silver tooth-pick; bronze ones are often found, see *RE loc. cit.*, Daremberg-Saglio 2.102. No Greek equivalent is attested: the modern term ὀδοντογλυφίς was formed in later times, see Andriotes s.v. Pollux (2.96) mentions an instrument for cleaning the teeth: καὶ τὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἐργαλεῖα, ὀδοντοξέστῃς, καὶ ὀδοντάγρα. For dental care in Rome see Leary on Mart. 14.22, lemma.

Martial mentions toothpicks, *inter alia*, as presents exchanged for the Saturnalia, 7.53,3; cf. also 14.22, description of a toothpick as a present for the Saturnalia; this holiday can be possibly suggested as the occasion for the composition of the present poem. For Saturnalian gifts associated with dinner in regard to the hosts' practice of offering guests the utensils they had used during the banquet of the festivities see Leary on Mart. 14.93, lemma. It is interesting to note that, while other gifts Crinagoras makes are rare and costly (3 GP a silver pen, 5 GP an oil-flask, probably made of Corinthian bronze, cf. *ad loc.*, 6 GP, a garland of winter roses), the present one is cheap and trivial, cf. Mart. 14.22 *lentiscum melius: sed si tibi frondea cuspis / defuerit, dentes pinna levare potest*, id. Mart. 7.53,1ff., where the poet tells us of how "a stingy patron sent him seven of them

in a miscellaneous exchange of cheap Saturnalian presents” (Mohler 255). In regard to Crinagoras’ toothpick Mohler comments that οἶα δὲ δαιτὸς δῶρον (Il. 5f.) is an apology, as it were, for the quality of the gift. The triviality of the present gift together with the grandiloquent description of its manufacture (Il. 2ff.) that is in comic contrast with its actual value, can suggest a deliberately teasing pleasantry on the poet’s part towards his addressee, cf. below on ἦν τι.

**1f. αἰετοῦ...ἀγκυλοχείλου:** cf. *Il.* 16.428, *Od.* 22.302, *Hes. Sc.* 405 αἰγυπιοὶ γαμψώνυχες ἀγκυλοχεῖλαι, *Od.* 19.538 μέγας αἰετὸς ἀγκυλοχείλης. For the Homeric text the reading -χειλ- is preferable against -χηλ-, since in *Il.* 16.428 and *Od.* 22.302 ἀγκυλοχῆλαι would actually constitute a repetition of γαμψώνυχες, as Eustathius has already observed (on *Il. loc. cit.*, 1068), cf. also Stanford and Fernández-Galiano on *Od. loc. cit.*;<sup>88</sup> the reading -χηλ- can be explained as a mistake, since both -χειλ- and -χηλ- were written XEΛ in Attic and Ionic script, see Janko on *Il.* 16.428; as Janko observes, ἀγκυλοχῆλαι is right in *Batr.* 294, where the curved claws of the crabs are described; as for *Arist. Equ.* 197, the reading is, of course, βυρσαιετὸς ἀγκυλοχήλης, cf. the explanation given in 204f.: τί δ’ ἀγκυλοχήλης ἐστίν; Αὐτό που λέγει, / ὅτι ἀγκύλαις ταῖς χερσὶν ἀρπάζων φέρει; Aristophanes might have had -χηλ- in his Homeric text (cf. Bechtel 1914, 7), or he might be playfully altering his Homeric text (-χείλης) to make his pun, see Janko *loc. cit.*; for χείλος as the birds’ beak, cf. *Eur. Ion* 1199, *Call. fr.* 194,82, *Mnasalcas AP* 9.333,4, *Opp. Hal.* 3.247. Ἀγκυλοχείλης as the reading accepted in a later period can be supported by *Alciphron* 3.59 γαμψώνυχα καὶ μέγαν αἰετόν, γοργὸν τὸ βλέμμα καὶ ἀγκυλοχείλην τὸ στόμα. A most useful contribution to the problem is the discussion by the second century A.D. grammarian Herodian, who summarises the ancient debate on it and says that the word was derived by some from χηλή, despite the (established) Homeric reading ἀγκυλοχειλ- (*Gr. Gr.* 3.2,361f.): τινὲς θέλουσι τὸ ἀγκυλοχείλης εἶναι σύνθετον ἀπὸ τοῦ χηλή τοῦ θηλυκοῦ ὀνόματος, ὅπερ σημαίνει τὸν ὄνυχα, ἵνα ἢ ἀγκυλοχήλης διὰ τοῦ ἠ καὶ κατὰ τροπὴν Βοιωτικὴν τοῦ ἠ εἰς τὴν εἰ δίφθογγον γίνεται ἀγκυλοχείλης διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου, ἔθος γὰρ ἔχουσιν οἱ Βοιωτοὶ πολλάκις τὸ ἠ εἰς τὴν εἰ δίφθογγον τρέπειν. Τὸ γὰρ Λάχης Λάχεις λέγουσι διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου καὶ τὸ λέβης λέβεις ὁμοίως.<sup>89</sup> Ἔστιν ἀντιθεῖναι τοῖς λέγουσι τὸ ἀγκυλοχείλης παρὰ τὸ χηλή οὕτως· οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τρέπουσι τὸ ἠ εἰς τὴν εἰ δίφθογγον, ἠνίκα μὴ τρέπεται τὸ ἠ εἰς ᾶ παρὰ τοῖς Δωριεῦσιν οἷον τὸ λέβης καὶ πένης οἱ Βοιωτοὶ διὰ τῆς εἰ διφθόγγου γράφουσι λέβεις καὶ πένεις λέγοντες, ἐπειδὴ

<sup>88</sup> Although the use of synonyms is often found in Homeric formulae which, however, belong to an expanded expression like θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα, πόλεμόν τε μάχην τε (see Hainsworth 1968, 82f.), not similar to the present case.

<sup>89</sup> Eustathius in his comment on the word (on *Il.* 16.428) knows and refers to the explanation of the word’s spelling with -ει- from χηλή through the change in the Boiotian dialect, but ignores Herodian’s discussion and dismisses it on grounds of meaning.

ἐπὶ τούτων οὐ τρέπουσι τὸ ἦ εἰς  $\bar{\alpha}$  οἱ Δωριεῖς (...) Εἰ ἄρα οὖν τὸ χηλή λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς Δωριεῦσι χαλά κατὰ τροπὴν Δωρικὴν τοῦ ἦ εἰς  $\bar{\alpha}$ , ὡς παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ ἐν Φοινίσσαις (1032) 'χαλαῖσι τ' ὤμοσίτοις' ὁδηλοῦσι οὐ δύνανται αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι οἱ Βοιωτοὶ διὰ τῆς  $\bar{\epsilon}$  διφθόγγου. Οὐκ ἄρα οὖν τὸ ἀγκυλοχείλης σύνθετόν ἐστι ἀπὸ τοῦ χηλή, ἀλλ' ἔστι παρασύνθετον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγκυλόχειλος συνθέτου ἀπὸ τοῦ χεῖλος; cf. also *Gr. Gr.* 3.2,683, 4.1-2,166f. Herodian (3.2,683) also explains the grammatical form of ἀγκυλοχείλης, answering the possible objection that a first declension adjective like ἀγκυλοχείλης is likely to be a compound of χηλή rather than χεῖλος (as held also by modern scholars, cf. for instance Bechtel 1914, 7): τὰ ἀπὸ εἰς ος εἰς ης γινόμενα βαρύτονα, εἴτε ἀπλᾶ εἴτε παρασύνθετα, εἰς τὴν οὐ δίφθογγον ἔχει τὴν γενικὴν οἶον Ἄραξος Ἀράξης Ἀράξου, Λάπιθος Λαπίθης Λαπίθου, (...) οὕτως καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγκυλόχειλος ἀγκυλοχείλης ἀγκυλοχείλου γέγονεν, καὶ εὐλόγως εἰς τὴν οὐ δίφθογγον ἔσχε τὴν γενικὴν.

**ἀκρόπτερον:** elsewhere only in [Opp.] *Cyn.* 4.127 and (frequently) in *Cyranides*. The poet uses another compound with ἀκρο- in 18,1 GP, ἀκρέσπερος, also in the same *sedes*, before the bucolic diaeresis, for which see *ad loc.*

**ὄξυ:** there is an ambiguity about whether the adjective refers to the ἀκρόπτερον before or after the carving (for the latter interpretation cf. the translation of Waltz, “une plume...aiguisée avec un fer”, cf. also Paton’s translation). Gow-Page avoid the decision by translating faithfully to the Greek text, “this pointed wing-tip...carved with the knife”. It seems plausible to assume that the carving aims to sharpen the wing-tip, cf. for the phrasing Hdt. 7.69 λίθος ὄξυς πεποιημένος, *AApp* 1.125,5 ἔγχος ὄξυνας σιδήρω. Πρηνεῖ κέντρῳ in l. 4 continues to play with the ambiguity in regard to sharpness, see *ad loc.*

**σιδήρω / γλυφθέν:** cf. *h. Merc.* 41 γλυφάνῳ πολιοῖο σιδήρου, Julian Aeg. *AP* 6.68,7 γλυπτῆρα σιδήρεον, *AApp* 3.48,1 Ἐγλυψέν με σίδηρος. An intention to make an etymological play between the Latin *scalpo* (<*dentiscalpium*) and its Greek equivalent γλύφω (see Lewis & Short s.v. *scalpo* I) cannot be excluded. In epigrams the participle occurs in two passages in the extant Posidippus, on a chariot carved on stones, Bastianini-Gallazzi Col. I,39, GP *HE* 3168=Bastianini-Gallazzi Col. III,2.

**βαπτῆ...κυάνῳ:** enallage for βαπτὸν πορφυρέη κυάνῳ; for the figure cf. Kost 49, Lausberg 235f. For adjectival enallage, not unusual in Hellenistic and later poets, Theocritus, Nicander, Nonnus, see Giangrande (1980) 63 with n. 59.

**βαπτῆ:** literally “dipped”, hence “dyed”, cf. Dunbar on Aristoph. *Av.* 287; on clothes cf. for instance id. *Pl.* 530 ἱματίων βαπτῶν; Gow-Page compare Eur. *Hipp.* 122 βαπτὰν κάλλισι...παγάν, with a similar use of enallage. Βαπτός is happily combined with the adjective πορφυρέη, as the former together with πορφύρα forms compounds referring to the act of purple-dying, as πορφυρόβαπτος, πορφυροβαφής, πορφυροβάφος, see LSJ

## GP 4

s.v. πορφυρόβαπτος; cf. also Aesch. *Eum.* 1028 φοινικοβάπτοις...έσθήμασι, Antip. Sid. *AP* 6.206,4=GP *HE* 201 βαπτὸν ἀλὸς πολιῆς ἄνθεισι κεκρύφαλον, see Gow-Page *ad loc.* In an elegant expression, Crinagoras produces an interesting antithesis between the dark-red crimson which βαπτὸς with πορφύρεος implies, and the actual blue cyanus which completes the phrase.

πορφύρεον: the word is usually translated as “purple”, but its meaning was not specific in antiquity; in Homer it has a wide range of applications, qualifying textiles (φάρσα, χλαῖνα, πέπλος, τάπησ, *Il.* 8.221, *Od.* 4.115, *Il.* 24.796, 9.200, *al.*, see Handschur 128, n. 4), blood (*Il.* 17.361 with Edwards *ad loc.*), clouds, the sea (*Il.* 16.391, 21.326, *Od.* 6.53), also death (*Il.* 5.83, 16.334, 20.477), cf. Hesych. s.v., πορφύρεος θάνατος· ὁ μέλας καὶ βαθὺς καὶ παραχώδης. For a discussion of the various meanings attributed to the word (“red”, “shining”, “colourful”) in the epic but also in literature in general see Handschur 127ff.; in the chromatic spectrum πορφύρεος could designate several nuances of red, as well as of blue, even black (id. 128, cf. *RE* s.v. “purpura”, 23.2, 2003). As in the present poem any shade of red is in fact excluded, since κύανος produces blue pigment (see next note), it can be plausibly suggested that πορφύρεος indicates some shade of blue. Crinagoras in 6,2 GP use the adjective in the sense “red” to describe rose buds.

κύανω: in Homer we have τοῦ δ' ἦ τοι δέκα οἴμοι ἔσαν μέλανος κύανιο, / δώδεκα δὲ χρυσοῖο καὶ εἴκοσι κασσιτέριοιο (of Agamemnon's breastplate, *Il.* 11.24f.) and περὶ δὲ θριγκὸς κύανιο (*Od.* 7.87). Hainsworth comments on *Il.* 11.24 that the word can indicate “the natural mineral lapis lazuli, its imitation in glass paste, or the blue-black alloy known as niello”, the latter being the “most likely in the decoration of a breastplate”; for lapis lazuli cf. Theophr. *De lap.* 31 with Caley-Richards *ad loc.* (126). Theophrastus categorises the kinds of cyanus, all of which produce pigments, thus (*ibid.* 55): γένη δὲ κύανου τρία, ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, καὶ ὁ Σκύθης, καὶ τρίτος ὁ Κύπριος. Βέλτιστος δ' ὁ Αἰγύπτιος εἰς τὰ ἄκρατα λειώματα, ὁ δὲ Σκύθης εἰς τὰ ὑδαρέστερα; in this passage the (natural) lapis lazuli<sup>90</sup> can be identified with the Scythian cyanus, the (natural) azurite with the Cyprian one and the (artificial) blue frit with the Egyptian cyanus (see Caley-Richards 183f.). The cyanus pigment, like all ancient pigments, was available and used only in the form of powder (see id. 184) and its colour varied from very dark to very light blue.<sup>91</sup> The tooth-picks made of feathers in Mart. 3.822,9 are red, *pinnae rubentes*.

For the gender of κύανος, occasionally feminine, see LSJ s.v. Crinagoras is perhaps playfully echoing Mel. *AP* 4.1,40, where the flower κύανος is also feminine, πορφυρέην κύανον.

<sup>90</sup>Clearly distinguished from azurite which is a carbonate of copper, cf. Forbes 295.

<sup>91</sup>See Theophr. *De lap.* 55 with Caley-Richards *ad loc.* (186) and cf. Handschur 160f.

## GP 4

3 ἦν ΤΙ: very frequent phrase in drama; here it has a humorous nuance, as occasionally in the Anthology, cf. Nicarchus *AP* 5.40,7, 11.73,7, Archias 9.27,2.<sup>92</sup> The teasing opening of the third line is in contrast with the pompous first couplet; comparable is Crin. 33 GP, where the solemn first couplet (ρίγηλή... ἔνοσι χθινός, κτλ.) is followed by the humorous request for the safety of the poet's *new* house (οἰκία μοι ῥύεϋ νεοτευχέα).

μίμνον: "remaining", as in Crin. 27,3f. GP ἄχρι κε μίμνη / ...θαρσαλέη; the poet uses the verb in the sense of "wait" in 6,6 GP μίμνειν ἠρινὸν ἠέλιον; in Homer cf. *Il.* 24.382=*Od.* 13.364 ἵνα περ τάδε τοι σόα μίμνη.

μεταδόρπιον: a Homeric ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, *Od.* 4.194 οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ γε / τέρπομ' ὀδυρόμενος μεταδόρπιος, in the same *sedes*, before the bucolic diaeresis; in Homer it means "during", "in the middle" of the supper (as Eustathius interprets it, cf. West *ad loc.*), while in its rare occurrences afterwards it has the sense "after the supper", cf. Pind. fr. 124,4 ἐρατᾶν ὄχημ' αἰδιᾶν / τοῦτό <τοι> πέμπω μεταδόρπιον, Strato *AP* 12.250,1 Νυκτερινὴν ἐπίκωμος ἰὼν μεταδόρπιον ὦρην.

ἐγγὺς ὀδόντων: Hecker's conjecture ἐντός, accepted by Rubensohn, Dübner, Stadtmüller, Paton, Beckby, Waltz, does improve the sense (cf. for instance the pair with μίμνειν in Qu. Sm. 7.132 οἱ δ' ἄρα τείχεος ἐντός ὑποπτώσσοντες ἔμιμνον); it is not absolutely necessary, however, as the difference between "in" and "near" the teeth is not one of a substantial importance.

4 κινῆσαι: Valckenaer's suggestion ἐκκινῆσαι, "scrape off", accepted by Jacobs, a very rare word, cf. Hdt. 7.239 τὸν κηρὸν αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ δελτίου) ἐξέκνησε, is very tempting, as it describes the act of cleaning the teeth with a tooth-pick after dinner better than κινῆσαι, and the Latin *scalpo* (*dentiscalpium*) is equivalent to ξέειν that ἐκκινῆσαι also means (cf. Lewis & Short s.v. *scalpo* I). Κνάω is a Homeric ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, *Il.* 11.639 and a mainly prosaic word, see Hatzikosta on Theocr. 7.110.

πρηεῖ κέντρῳ: an oxymoron,<sup>93</sup> as κέντρον is expected to be qualified by ὀξύ, cf. Theogn. 847f. κέντρῳ / ὀξεί, Aristoph. *Vesp.* 225f. κέντρον / ὀξύτατον, Call. fr. 380,1f., anon. *AP* 6.45,1, cf. Nonnus *D.* 5.511, 11.236, *al.* For other oxymora in Crinagoras see on 35,3f. GP ὄφρ' ἄν...ἴδης. Note the playful antithesis with ἀκρόπτερον ὀξύ in l. 1, the "gentle sting" of the tooth-pick coming from a "pointed" ἀκρόπτερον. Waltz remarks: "Parce que ce cure-dents est en plume et non en métal (or, argent ou bronze) comme les cure-dents plus luxueux; peut-être aussi, le bain de κύανος en avait-il amolli la pointe".

ἐπιστάμενον: for ἐπίστασθαι of objects, cf. Philip *AP* 6.38,6 (of the flint, dedicated by a fisherman to Posidon) σπέρμα πυρὸς σώζειν πέτρον ἐπιστάμενον, Nicarchus

<sup>92</sup> For the authorship see GP GP on Archias 25 intr. note.

<sup>93</sup> For the figure see Lausberg 358, § 807. In poetry cf. for instance Musaeus 237 εὐνήσ κρυφίης τηλεσκόπον ἀγγελιώτην, 263 νυμφοκόμοιο...παρθενεῶνος with Kost *ad locc.* and p.16.

#### GP 4

6.285,5f. (of the house-wife's gear) *κακῶν λιμηρὰ γυναικῶν / ἔργα, νέον τήκειν ἄνθος ἐπιστάμενα.*

**5 βαιόν...φρενός:** self-variation with 3,5f. GP *πέμπει Κριναγόρης, ὀλίγην δόσιν ἄλλ' ἀπὸ θυμοῦ / πλείονος*, in both phrases the smallness of the present being emphatically opposed to the size of the giver's feelings (also see next note). The expression *ὀλίγη φρήν* is unattested in Greek in this sense ("small affection") and it is presumably used by the poet as the opposite of *θυμὸς πλείων*, which seems to be a Latinism, see *ad loc.* and intr. under Language and Style, Latinisms.

**βαιόν:** the adjective is post-Homeric, often occurring in poetry and esp. in tragedy; in Crin. cf. 31,2 GP, as an adverb 16,4 GP. For the poet's modesty in regard to the quality of the gift cf. Antip. Thess. AP 9.93,1ff. Ἀντίπατρος Πείσωι γενέθλιον ὤπασε βίβλον / μικρὴν, κτλ., cf. Leon. Alex. 6.321,4, Mart. 9.54,11 *mittimus ergo tibi parvae munuscula chortis*; comparable is the expression of Antiphilus' modesty of circumstances in 6.250,1ff., contrasted with his feelings, cf. below on *ὁ πᾶς ἐπὶ σοί*. One could observe that the tooth-pick of feather is indeed a modest gift, by contrast to the silver pen of 3 GP (cf. *ad loc.*, l. 5f.). Quoting Crin. 3 GP and 7 GP (a book of lyric poetry for Antonia), Laurens (327) remarks that "le cadeau est modeste mais utile ou approprié à la personnalité du destinataire". Analogous is the modesty of the dedicator of an offering to a god, for instance Crin. 42,8 GP *ἀντίθεται λιτὴν δαῖτα* (see *ad loc.*), cf. the view that the epigram accompanying a present is a modernisation of the dedicatory epigram, see on Crin. 5 GP, intr. note.

**οὐκ ὀλίγης:** for the figure of litotes see Lausberg 268f., § 586-8; cf. Crin. 15,2 GP *οὐ κείνης ἦδε χεριοτέρη*, 40<sup>3</sup>GP *οὐκ ἀνδρὸς ἐσθλοῦ*.

**ἀπ' ...φρενός:** *φρήν* here is "heart", as often in Homer, lyric and tragic poetry, cf. for instance *Il.* 10.10 *τρομέοντο δὲ οἱ φρένες ἐντός*, 9.186 *φρένα τέρπεσθαι φόρμιγγι*, *al.*, *Pind. P.* 1.12 *κῆλα δαιμόνων θέλγει φρένας*. Rubensohn (25) suggests that both *ἀπὸ φρενός* and *ἀπὸ θυμοῦ* in Crinagoras are Latinisms and render the phrase "ex animo". The expression *ἀπὸ φρενός*, however (leaving aside *ἀπ' ὀλίγης φρενός*, for which see above, on *βαιόν...φρενός*) is not unattested in Greek; it occurs mainly in Aeschylus, cf. the similar phrasing *Ag.* 805 *οὐκ ἀπ' ἄκρας φρενός* (cf. Fraenkel *ad loc.*) also *ibid.* 1491 *φρενὸς ἐκ φιλίας τί ποτ' εἶπω*; *Ch.* 107 *ὁ ἐκ φρενὸς λόγος*, *Th.* 919 *ἐτύμως δακρυχέων ἐκ φρενός*. In an analogous context, cf. *AApp* 1.126,1f. *Οὐ δοῖεν σεμνᾶς ἂν ἀπὸ φρενὸς ἄξια Μοισᾶν / δῶρά σοι Ὠγυγίων υἱὲς Ἐρεχθοιδᾶν*.

**οἶα δέ:** "as", often in the neuter plural and strengthened by particles, see LSJ s.v. V 2. In a different meaning Crinagoras uses the expression in 8,2 *οἶα Προμηθείης μνημα πυρικλοπίης*, see *ad loc.*

**δαιτός / δῶρον:** "a dinner gift", "a gift suitable for the dinner". *Δαιτός* occurs often in Homer in the end of the hexameter, cf. for instance *ἔντεα δαιτός Od.* 7.232, and the

#### GP 4

analogous expression ἀναθήματα δαιτός *Od.* 1.152, 21.430, probably “proper accompaniments of feasting” (see West on *Od.* 1.152).

ὁ πᾶς ἐπὶ σοί: Hecker’s correction restores good sense (the corruption can be easily explained by the context, as ὀπάζειν is frequently used for present. -dedications in the Anthology, for instance Philip *AP* 6.103,7, Antip. Sid. 6.118,4, Euphorio 6.279,2). The expression does seem to be a Latinism, cf. Cic. *Fam.* 15.7 *et sum totus vester et esse debeo*, cf. above on βαίων...φρενός. Rubensohn compares this with another phrase, also influenced by the Latin idiom, Antiphilus 6.250,2 τὸν σὸν ἀπὸ κραδίης, see also intr. under Language and Style, Latinisms.

ΛΕΥΚΙΕ: it has been suggested that <sup>the</sup> recipient of the gift might be Lucius Julius Caesar, son of Agrippa and Julia (17 B.C.-A.D.2). Waltz remarked that the feather of the eagle particularly suits a member of the royal family (for the eagle as the bird of Zeus and kings see Thompson 3f.). Being a common *praenomen*, however (cf. Mócsy, all. 168), Lucius is not necessarily to be connected with this person, cf. Gow-Page *ad loc.* The Latin *Lucius* and *Lucullus* are sometimes spelt Λεύκ- in Greek; in the Anthology the other occurrences are Apoll. 10.19,4= GP 26, Polystratus 7.297,3; the spelling Λουκ- occurs in later epigrammatists, see Gow-Page on Apoll. *loc. cit.* Although Λεύκιος is also a Greek name (Bechtel 1917, 278, cf. also for instance an occurrence from Samos in the sixth century B.C., see Fraser-Matthews I) and the poem does not offer us any information on the recipient’s nationality, the very nature of Crinagoras’ present, that is a tooth-pick the use of which is unattested in Greece (cf. intr. note), suggests that he is Roman.

Κριναγόρης: see on Crin. 5,4 GP.

## GP 5

AP 6.621=GP 5

Χάλκεον ἀργυρέω με πανείκελον †'Ινδικὸν† ἔργον,  
ὄλπην, ἠδίστου ξείμιον εἰς ἐτάρου,  
ἦμαρ ἐπεὶ τόδε σεῖο γενέθλιον, υἱὲ Σίμωνος,  
πέμπει γηθομένη σὺν φρενὶ Κριναγόρης.

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Κριναγόρου *Suda* s.v. ὄλπη (om. υἱὲ Σίμωνος) caret Pl

†'Ινδικὸν *CSuda*: εἰδικὸν P ut videt, 'Ισθμικὸν Geist

In ext. marg. λήκυθον. ὄλπισ· οἰνοχόη. λήκυθος δὲ ἐστὶν ἐλαιοδόχον ἀγγεῖον ἢ οἰνηρόν. In inter. marg.: ζήτει ὄλπιν· λήκυθον.

*Me, an Isthmian work of bronze, very much like a silver one, an oil-flask, a gift to a sweetest friend's house, since this is your birthday, son of Simon, Crinagoras sends you with a rejoicing heart.*

Crinagoras sends a bronze oil-flask as a birthday present to Simon's son. For oil-flasks as presents cf. Mart. 14.52-53; these are made of horn, cf. Leary *ad loc.*, lemmata. For the poet's gifts accompanied by epigrams see intr. under Life and Work; cf. the gifts of Antipater of Thessalonica to Piso and the presents of Antiphilus to ladies of high rank, accompanied by poems, 6.249, 9.93, 6.250, 6.252. For birthday-presents cf. Leon. Alex. 9.355; the latter sends his poems themselves as birthday-presents, cf. 6.321, 325, 328, 329, as also does Antipater of Thessalonica (9.93, 9.428, the latter not on occasion of a birthday). Birthday-poems are Tib. 2.2, Prop. 3.10, Mart. 4.1, 10.24, 12.60, see further Murgatroyd on Tib. 1.7, intr. note, esp. p. 211, Cairns (1972) 113 with n. 14, Henriksen (2) 25.

The structure of the epigram is very similar to the dedicatory Crin. 8 GP, also a single-sentence poem of four lines: the offered object opens the poem, the first three lines add more detail, the recipient comes at the end of the third line, the verb which denotes the offer (πέμπει, θῆκ') opens the final verse and the poem closes with the name of the person who offers the gift. Similar is the structure of the six-line 3 and 4 GP, with slight variations: in 3 Κριναγόρης does not close the poem but comes in the last hexameter, and in 4 πέμπει is in the final hexameter but does not appear as its first word. For the structure of dedicatory epigrams see further on 43, intr. note; for Crinagoras' carefulness in the structure of his poems see intr., under Language and Style, Structure.

1 the line is encased by χάλκεον and ἔργον, that is by an adjective and a noun in agreement, a feature attested from Homer to Nonnus, see Wifstrand 133ff., Kost 52f., McLennan on Call. *H.* 1.60 (for two or more adjectives qualifying the same noun see

below on χάλκεον...ἔργον). In Crinagoras cf. 6,5 GP καλλίστης... γυναικός, 10,1 GP ἔσπεριου...πολέμοιο, 13,1 GP Τυρσηνῆς...σάλπιγγος, 48,4 GP κτητόν...αυτόματον.

χάλκεον...πανείκελον...ἔργον: cf. Antip. Thess. AP 9.238,1 τόδε χάλκεον ἔργον Ὀνατᾶ, anon. 9.785,1 and 9.810,2 χρύσειον ἔργον, Critias fr. 2.1 West κότταβος ἐκ Σικελῆς ἐστὶ χθονός, ἐκπρεπὲς ἔργον. The adjective in Homer usually qualifies ἔγχος or δόρυ (e.g. *Il.* 3.317, 5.620, 13.247, *Od.* 1.104, *al.*) but also ξίφος, ἔντεα, σάκος, see LSJ s.v. For a domestic vessel, cf. Aesch. *Ch.* 686 λέβητος χαλκίου. For the application of two or more adjectives to the same noun cf. Crin. 3,1f. GP ἀργύρεον.../...νεόσμηκτον δουρατῆν κάλαμον, 25,1 GP ἄγχουροι μεγάλοι κόσμου χθόνες, 23,1f. GP αἰγὰ με τὴν εὐθῆλον.../ πούλυγαλακτοτάτην, 19,2 GP κούρην αἰμύλον εἰναέτιν. For the epic diction see Bühler 96, 212ff.

ἀργυρέω...πανείκελον: Jacobs, followed by Gow-Page, observed the difficulty of a bronze oil-flask being “very like” a silver one and suggested that Crinagoras means a flask of litharge, comparing Achaeus fr. 19 λιθάργυρος ὄλπη and Stes. fr. 11 Page *PMG* λιθαργύρεον ποδαιπιτήρα; λιθάργυρος, however, is a lead monoxide,<sup>94</sup> and it seems very unlikely that the poet should describe this item as “brazen resembling silver” in such a confusion between copper and lead. White (1992, 63) suggested that the bronze oil-flask shone like silver, comparing Triphiod. 98 ἀργυροδίνει χαλκῶ. For Triphiodorus’ passage ὀρείχαλκος has been suggested, which could in fact constitute a possible candidacy for the present poem as well: ὀρείχαλκος, which *Suda* describes as ὁ διαυγῆς χαλκός, ὁ δόκιμος, is a metal difficult to identify.<sup>95</sup> The problem, however, could be offered a more convincing solution if the present poem is seen in the light of Pliny’s description (already observed by Rubensohn, *ad loc.*) of the three kinds of “Corinthian Bronze”, i.e. alloys of copper with silver, gold, or both, the bronze resembling in colour the predominant metal in each case, *HN* 34.3,8 *eius aeris tria genera: candidum argento nitore quam proxime accedens, in quo illa mixtura praevaluit*, etc., cf. *ibid.* 37.12,49.<sup>96</sup> For Corinthian Bronze, its great value and its popularity in Rome, cf. Henriksen on Mart. 9.57,2, Leary on id. 14.43, lemma. Gifts made of this material are Mart. 14.43 (a *candelabrum*), 172, 177 (statuettes), all presented by Martial as expensive presents of high quality, cf. the silver pen Crinagoras sends to Proclus, see on 3 GP, intr. note.

<sup>94</sup>For this and other ores of lead in antiquity, see Ramin 145f.

<sup>95</sup>Gerlaud in the *Budé* edition of Triphiodorus (accepting Merrick’s alteration to ἀργυροειδέι), comments that the expression probably denotes *orichalcum* which is, according to Theopompus, an alloy of ψευδάργυρος and χαλκός (Jacoby *FGrH* 2b 115, F.112, cf. also Strabo 13.1,56), see also Dubielzig *ad loc.* For the metal see Allen-Halliday-Sikes on *h.* 6.9, Bulloch on Call. *H.* 5.19, G-P on GP 2260=Erycius 6.234,5 ὀρείχαλκου λάλα κύμβαλα.  
*καὶ*

<sup>96</sup>Cf. Guimla-Mair and Craddock 6f. According to a wide-spread story from the first century AD onwards, these alloys became fashionable by accident, when, during the destruction of Corinth by Mummius in 146 B.C., a building containing gold, silver and huge quantities of copper caught fire and the three metals fused together, see Plut. *Mor.* 395c, Pliny *HN* 34.3,6, Jacobson-Weitzman 238f., Jacobson 60 with n. 5.

The exact nature of this alloy has been the object of investigation. For the view that Corinthian Bronze did not in fact contain precious metals, only a high proportion of tin (which moreover made the vessel significantly resistant to corrosion), as manufacturers were able to produce golden or silver colour without any use of these metals in the alloy, see Emanuele 352. Pliny's account of the production of the alloy, however, has been recently proven by experiment. In their article on Corinthian Bronze, Jacobson and Weitzman have investigated the production of alloys of copper with silver or gold as described in the Leiden papyrus X, dated in early fourth century A.D. but reflecting metallurgical knowledge which dates before the first century A.D., see Jacobson 61ff., also Jacobson-Weitzman 241ff. A parallel passage in regard to the ambiguousness of the description of the metal is Mart. 8.50,5f. *vera minus flavo radiant electra metallo / et niveum felix pustula vincit ebur*, where the metal described was made of silver and some sort of bronze, cf. Goold (*Loeb Classical Library*) *ad loc.*

For πανείκελον cf. Call. fr. 1.31 θηρὶ μὲν οὐατόεντι πανείκελον ὀγκήσαιτο / ἄλλος (here as an adverb), then frequent in Nonnus and Oppian, cf. also Paul. Sil. AP 5.255,7, anon. 9.699,2, at the same *sedes*, before the bucolic diaeresis.

μῆ: cf. the speaking roses in Crin. 6 GP; gifts are often the speakers in epigrams, cf. Antip. Thess. 6.241, 6.249, 6.335, 9.541, Antiphilus 6.252, Diodorus 9.776, Philip 9.778.<sup>97</sup>

† Ἰνδικὸν† ἔργον: as the fame of Corinthian bronze is well attested (Pliny *HN* 34.3, Schol. on Theocr. 2.156),<sup>98</sup> Rubensohn and Stadtmüller accept Geist's Ἰσθημικόν, while all other editors accept C's and *Suda's* Ἰνδικόν. One may observe that, while commercial relations between Rome and India indeed existed during the imperial period<sup>99</sup> and Indian gems and pearls were famous (cf. Dio Cass. 72.17,3, 59.17,3, 74.5,1, [Lucian.] *Amor.* 41.11, Athen. 2.1,15) and there is evidence moreover for other precious stones and minerals from India,<sup>100</sup> the importation from India to Rome of an item of such a "Greek" usage as the ὄλιπη (see next note) seems quite unlikely.<sup>101</sup> Geist's Ἰσθημικόν, accepted by Stadtmüller and Rubensohn (for the word cf. Strabo 8.6,20 ὁ Ἰσθημικὸς

<sup>97</sup> As well as in dedications, cf. for instance Call. AP 6.310, id. 6.351, Antip. Sid. 6.93, Philip 6.107, Apollon. 6.239, etc. For the convention of objects as speakers in poetry see Cairns (1972) 216.

<sup>98</sup> For bibliography on evidence of metalworking in Corinth from as early as the fourth century B.C. see Jacobson-Weitzman 237, n. 1.

<sup>99</sup> See *RE* 9.2.1321.; for golden and silver coins of Augustus and Tiberius discovered in Maharashtra and in the Coimbatore District see Begley-De Puma 40, 116.

<sup>100</sup> For ivory cf. Mart. 5.37,5; for vessels of myrrhina and onyx of Indian origin in Rome see Warmington 239; for a detailed discussion of precious items from India known to the ancient world see id. 235ff.

<sup>101</sup> Although India is rich in gold and bronze, cf. Paus. 3.12,4; Warmington takes Crinagoras' poem to refer to "Chinese Tutenague or white copper" (see Warmington 257), but the fact remains that metals were in fact more often imported to than exported from India, see id. 256ff.; for steel from India see id. 257f.; gold was both imported and exported from the country, see id. 258. As far as copper is concerned, the Indians required it from Europe for coinage, see id. 268f.; we have archaeological evidence for the importation of bronze from Rome to India (bronze statuettes, vessels and medallions found in Kolhapur) see Begley-De Puma 82ff.; for imported objects of other material found elsewhere in India see id. *passim*.

ἀγών, Paus. 5.2,1 Ἴσθμικαὶ σπονδαί, cf. Moretti n. 60,19 παίδας Ἴσθμικούς, frequently in agonistic inscriptions), should not be overlooked as it suits the plausible suggestion of the poet's reference to Corinthian Bronze. For the use of Isthmus in a reference to Corinth, cf. Nonnus *D.* 41.97 Ἴσθμιον ἄστν Κορίνθου; cf. also Statius' *Isthmiacus*=Corinthiacus with reference to Corinth's fire which resulted to the production of the alloy, in accordance with Pliny's description, *Silv.* 2.2,68 *aeraque ab Isthmiacis auro potiora favillis*.<sup>102</sup> For the "Corinthian metal-works" cf. Athen. 9.488c Ἀπελλῆς μὲν οὖν ὁ τορευτής...ἐν τισι Κορινθιακοῖς ἔργοις.

Alan Griffiths suggests that a possible solution which would explain the corruption more easily would be the alteration of P's εἰδικόν to a vocative, perhaps Ἐνδিকে (Euboea, V B.C, see Fraser-Matthews I s.v.) or the more common Εὔδικε (among its many occurrences also in Mytilene, A.D. III, see Fraser-Matthews s.v.).<sup>103</sup> the corruption might have in this case occurred because of the influence of πανείκελον...ἔργον. In this way we have the name of the addressee together with his patronymic as is the norm, see below on υἱὲ Σίμωνος. For the poet's tolerance of hiatus see intr. under Metre, Hiatus.

ὄλπην: cf. *Suda* s.v. ὄλπη· ἡ λήκυθος; cf. *Od.* 6.79, cf. 215, δῶκεν δὲ χρυσῆν ἐν ληκύθῳ ὑγρὸν ἔλαιον. Also at verse-beginning in Leon. 6.293,3 and 7.67,5, Philip 6.251,6, Archias 7.68,5. On Theocr. 2.156 τὰν Δωρίδα...ὄλπαν, the scholiast states that ὄλπη is usually made of leather, but the epithet "Dorian" might indicate that it is brazen, as the Corinthian χαλκώματα were famous; for a discussion of the epithet in Theocritus see Gow *ad loc.* In the present poem the oil-flask is metallic, cf. Theocr. 18.45 ἀργυρέας ἐξ ὄλπιδος ὑγρὸν ἀλειφαρ. Ὀλπαι contained the oil that men carried with them to the gymnasium, see Gow on Theocr. *loc. cit.* Corinthian Bronze was used for the manufacture of small domestic items, such as plates, bowls, lamps, washing basins, which, due to their material, were harder than simply bronze ones and whose depletion-gilded (not simply gold / silver coated) surface, moreover, protected them from corrosion, see Jacobson-Weitzman 238.

ἠδίστου...ἐτάρου: probably playing with the Homeric κήδιστος ἐτάρων, *Od.* 10.225. Ἡδύς of persons is post-Homeric, frequent in Sophocles, "kind", "welcome", *Ph.* 530 ἠδιστος δ' ἀνὴρ, *OT* 82, *El.* 929. For later poets' use of meanings of words found in tragedy see on Crin. 13,1 GP.

ξείνιον: gift of friendship, hospitality, usually in plural in Homer; in singular *Od.* 9.356, 9.365, 20.296, always in the corresponding *sedes* of the hexameter, i.e. before the bucolic diaeresis. In the Anthology the form occurs always in the plural and in the same *sedes* of

<sup>102</sup>A playful Homeric allusion is also formed with this reading: the poet might be playing with the Homeric Ἴσθμιον, a necklace offered as a present by the suitors to Penelope, *Od.* 18.300 ἐκ δ' ἄρα Πεισάνδροιο Πολυκτορίδαο ἀνακτος / Ἴσθμιον ἤνεικεν θεράπων, περικαλλές ἄγαλμα.

<sup>103</sup>Also in anon. *AP* 7.298,6, unnecessarily altered to Θεύδικε or Κλεύδικε, cf. G-P on *HE* 3869.

## GP 5

the pentameter as in Crinagoras; cf. Mnasalces 6.9,4, anon. 5.200,4 and 5.205,6, Theaetetus *API* 233,6.

εἰς ἑτάρου: for the elliptical use of εἰς+gen., (sc. δόμον, οἶκον), cf. *Il.* 24.482 ἀνδρὸς ἐς ἀφνειοῦ, *Od.* 2.195 ἐς πατρός, see Chantraine (1963) 105, LSJ s.v. I.4.c. For ἑταῖρος / ἑταρος in Homer cf. Chantraine (1958), 150; Crinagoras uses both forms, in different *sedes*, always in a construction with εἰς: 32,1f. GP ἐς γὰρ ἑταίρους / στέλλομαι, 36,3f. GP τί γὰρ ἀνδρὶ τοσῶδε / ἀρκέσει εἰς ἑτάρων μυρίον εὐσοίην;

ἦμαρ...γενέθλιον: cf. Crin. 3,1 GP γενέθλιον ἐς τεδὸν ἦμαρ, 6,3f. GP γενεθλίη...τῆδε/ ἦοι; similarly Leon. Alex., *AP* 9.349 γενέθλιον ἦμαρ, cf. id. 9.353,3 γενέθλιον ἠριγένειαν, 9.355,1 γενεθλιακαῖσιν ἐν ὥραις.

ἐπεὶ: in the same *sedes* and phrasing, with omission of ἐστί, Leon. Alex. 9.345,3 ζῆλος ἐπεὶ μανίης μείζον κακόν, cf. Antip. Thess. 11.23,6 ἐπεὶ πεζοῖς ἀτραπὸς εἰς ῥῖδην.

σεῖο: for the Homeric genitive form see Chantraine (1958) 243, cf. Crin. 19,4 GP σεῖο ποτ' ἐσσομένη.

υἱὲ Σίμωνος: Gow-Page suggest that the expression might be a paraphrase of Σιμωνίδη, though this could have been easily accommodated to the verse, comparing Theogn. 469. If the assumption that the name of the addressee appears in the first line is valid (see above on Ἴσθμικὸν ἔργον), cf. Dion. Cyz. *AP* 7.78,3ff. Ἐρατόσθενες... / Ἀγλαοῦ υἱέ (the name of the father appears two lines after the vocative Ἐρατόσθενες), anon. 7.338, Ἀρχίου υἱὲ Περικλεες, Anyte *AP* 6.153=Geoghegan 2,1f. ὁ δὲ θεὸς Ἐριασπίδα υἱὸς / Κλεύβοτος (cf. Geoghegan 33f.), cf. also *AP* 6.139, 140, 144,1, 155,1-4, 278,1f., 9.328,3, *al.* The absence of the addressee's name is peculiar but not impossible if the recipient of the present is a youth, cf. Phaedimus 6.271,1 Ἄρτεμι, σοὶ τὰ πέδιλα Κιχησίου εἶσατο υἱός, where the infant appears as a co-dedicator together with his mother, see GP *HE* 2901f. Σίμων is the name of Sappho's father, according to the *Suda*; the name is well attested in the islands, among which Chios and Samos, see Fraser-Matthews I s.v.<sup>104</sup>

4: cf. similar endings of other gift-accompanying poems of Crinagoras, 3,5f., 4,5f. ἀπ' οὐκ ὀλίγης πέμπει φρενός. For the expression *hoc tibi mittit* cf. Mart. 3.1,1, 5.1,7, 6.1,1, 7.80,4, see further Siedschlag 7.

γῆθομένη...φρενί: cf. the Homeric γέγηθε...φρένα (ποιμήν, Νηλεὺς, *al.*), *Il.* 8.559 with Kirk *ad loc.*, 11.683, *Od.* 6.106, cf. *h. Cer.* 232, *Ven.* 216, *Ap. Rh.* 4.93. In Homer φρήν in the singular is never accompanied by an adjective (in the plural, *Il.* 24.114 φρεσὶ μαινομένησιν, *Od.* 3.266 φρεσὶ...ἀγαθῆσι); cf. Pind. *O.* 8.24 ὀρθᾶ...φρενί, *P.* 2.57

<sup>104</sup>Geist's change to Λίβωνος is totally unnecessary, cf. Cichorius (1888) 3.

## GP 5

ἐλευθέρα φρενί, 6.52 γλυκεῖα δὲ φρήν; also Crin. 10.24,1 Φρήν ἱερή. Here φρήν has the sense of “heart”, see on Crin. 4,5 GP.

Κριναγόρης: also last word of the poem in 4 GP; see also above, intr. note.

## GP 6

AP 6.345=GP 6

Εἶταρος ἦνθει μὲν τὸ πρὶν ῥόδα, νῦν δ' ἐνὶ μέσσω  
χείματι πορφυρέας ἐσχάσαμεν κάλυκας  
σῆ ἐπιμειδήσαντα γενεθλίη ἄσμενα τῆδε  
ῆοι νυμφιδίων ἀσσοτάτη λεχέων.

5 Καλλίστης στεφθῆναι ἐπὶ κροτάφοισι γυναικός  
λώιον ἢ μίμνειν ἠρινὸν ἠέλιον.

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τοῦ αὐτοῦ [sc. Κριναγόρου] caret P1

1 ἦνθει μὲν P: ἠνθοῦμεν ap. B. 3 γενεθλίη Reiske: γενέθλη P 4: ἀσσοτάτη: -τη P 5 καλλίστης  
Reiske: -στη P | στεφθῆναι P: ὀφθῆναι ap. B.

*Roses used to bloom in spring; yet now in mid-winter we opened our purple cups,  
smiling gladly on this day, your birthday, very near to your bridal bed. Better is it to be  
wreathed on the temples of a beautiful lady than to wait for the sun of spring.*

Crinagoras is sending winter-roses as a birthday present to a lady who will soon get married. As her name is not mentioned, the case is open for speculation. Cichorius (1888, 57) suggested that the lady might be Antonia Minor, daughter of M. Antonius and Octavia, born in 36 B.C., at the time about to get married to Nero Claudius Drusus (probably 18 B.C., see Kokkinos 11). In the Palatine codex, the poem is preceded by Crinagoras' poem on Marcellus' *depositio barbae* on his return from the Cantabrian war of 25 B.C., a repetition of AP 6.161, which does not appear between AP 6.344 and 6.345 in any of the modern editions; Alan Cameron observed on the one hand that Crinagoras' 6.345 is isolated from any Philippan context and, on the other, that the second occurrence of 6.161 before 6.345 offers a better text (cf. τέλσα for the τέρμα of the first occurrence in line 2): he therefore goes on to assume that the two poems were juxtaposed in Philip's Garland (granted, moreover, that they both begin with ε) and that the lady of 6.345 is Julia Major, Octavian's daughter who married Marcellus in 25 B.C., as "in addition to the preliminary alphabetical arrangement of his material, Philip also juxtaposed poems on related themes".<sup>105</sup> The candidacy of Antonia, on the other hand, can be supported by the two further epigrams Crinagoras wrote for her, 12 GP, on her child-bearing, and 7 GP, accompanying a book of poems as a present to her on a festive occasion.

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<sup>105</sup>See Cameron (1980) 129; for the thematical connection of the epigrams, alongside the external framework of the alphabetical arrangement of the *Garland* by Philip, see id. 1967, 339f., 1993, 40-3.

## GP 6

For the common theme of winter flowers cf. Martial 4.22,5f. (*lilia*), 4.29,3f. (*rosae*); as presents, 6.80 *ut nova dona tibi, Caesar, Nilotica tellus / miserat hibernas ambitiosa rosas*, 13.127 *dat festinatas, Caesar, tibi bruma coronas; / quondam veris erat, nunc tua facta rosa est*; Martial offers his friend Caesius Sabinus a wreath of flowers which he does not name in 9.60. For winter roses cf. also Lucian *Nigrin.* 31, *Paneg.* 3.11,3, Athen. 196d, *al.*, see Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Od.* 1.38,4, who describe them as “an extravagance admired by court-poets and deplored by moralists”, cf. Seneca’s disapproval at *Ep.* 122.8 *non vivunt contra naturam qui hieme concupiscunt rosam?* See also Hehn 257, Grewing on Mart. 6.80, intr. note. For the popularity of the wreath as a gift which symbolised mutual friendship in Antiquity see Henriksén (2) 52. Crinagoras is in the habit of offering expensive presents, with the exception of the tooth-pick, see on 4 GP, intr. note.<sup>106</sup>

Similar is the theme of Antiphilus *AP* 6.252=GP Antiphilus 2 GP, on a quince preserved in winter and offered to a lady, cf. Gow-Page *ad loc.*, Autore 10f. The opposite, i.e. the preservation of liquids, usually wine, in a cool environment achieved by snow or ice, was a common practice in ancient Greece continued also in Rome, see Curtis 296, 419, cf. Mart. 14.116-118, poems on flagons for iced water. For winter species of fruits or vegetables normally growing in summer cf. the winter-mushroom, see Brothwell 86; also the winter-cherry, ἀλικάκκαβον, Diosc. 4.71.

For poems accompanying presents as well as for the *genethliacon* in Roman poetry see on Crin. 5 GP, intr. note; see *ad loc.* on με also for the gifts as speakers. In the present poem Love, “a standard feature of elegiac genethliaka, and associated with birthdays in real life” (Cairns 1972, 113) is happily combined with the lady’s birthday, not only through the actual temporal association of the lady’s birthday with her marriage, but also through the erotic connotations of the roses and their association with bridal occasions, cf. also the attribution of their colour to the blood of Eros, see below on εἶαρος...ρόδα, πορφυρέας...κάλυκας, νυμφιδίων...λεχέων.

**1 εἶαρος...ρόδα:** the rose is so closely associated with spring that Hesychius cites ἐάριον as a synonym of ρόδον, see Hesych. s.v. ἐάριον. Cf. Pind. *P.* 4.64 φοινικανθέμου ἦρος ἀκμῆ, id. fr. 75.15ff.; also anon. *AP* 9.383,8 εἰαρινῶν...ρόδων, Rhianus 12.58,3f., Peek 1595=Kaibel 570,3f., Peek 1482a=Kaibel 544,1, Nonnus *D.* 2.132f., Cic. *Verr.* 2.5,27 *cum rosam viderat, tum incipere ver arbitrabatur.*, see further Bulloch on Call. *H.* 5.27-8, Grewing on Mart. 6.80,2.

The lengthened first syllable of the genitive and dative of εἶαρ is post-Homeric, first at [Hes]. fr. 70.13, although Homer uses εἰαρινός, see Wyatt 150f., Reed on Bion fr. 2.1, where εἶαρος also opens the hexameter, as in Euphorion fr. 40,3 Powell. In

<sup>106</sup> Laurens (327) comments, à propos the present of winter roses from both Crinagoras and Martial that “l’esprit courtisan adopte tout naturellement les formes de l’esprit précieux”.

## GP 6

Hellenistic poetry the genitive also occurs at Theocr. 7.97, 13.26; dative at id. 12.30, Call. *H.* 2.81, Alex. Aet. fr. 1.2 Powell, Rhianus fr. 76,3 Powell.

Ῥόδον, which does not appear in Homer, first occurs at *h. Cer.* 6, see Richardson *ad loc.* The rose, Ῥόδον, is the plant most frequently mentioned by Sappho, see Waern 4; for the association of the rose with Eros see Joret 52, Gow on Theocr. 10.34 and Gow-Page on Mel. *AP* 5.136,5 (GP *HE* 4226).<sup>107</sup> Roses (and other flowers) often crown the beloved, cf. the garlands Meleager plaits for Heliodora, *AP* 5.136,4f., 5.147,4; also id. 5.143. Ῥόδον, the most beautiful of all flowers, is also the plant sacred to Aphrodite, cf. the comparison of beautiful women with it, see below on καλλιστης...γυναικός; for its appearance on marital occasions see below on νυμφιδίων...λεχέων.

ἦνθει μέν: ἦνθοῦμεν ap. B., on which Jacobs observed that there is no reason to reject P's reading, as the poet can say *olim rosae verno tempore florebant: nos autem nunc calices media hyeme reclusimus*. In favour of the candidacy of ἦνθοῦμεν could be the observation that the scribe by mistake split the verb of the next line, writing ἐσχάσα μέν, without this being of course a sufficient indication for the first person plural in the first case. In regard to the change of P's reading ἦνθει to ἄνθει (Gow-Page), one can observe that this is totally unnecessary, as the usage of the unaugmented form is not general in Crinagoras, cf. for instance 9,3 GP εὔξατο, but also 18,1 GP ἤχλυσε, 19,3 GP ἤρπασας, cf. also intr. under Language and Style, Dialect.

For the expression cf. Theocr. 5.131 ὡς ῥόδα κισθὸς ἐπανθεῖ, Strato *AP* 12.234 ῥόδον ἀνθεῖ; for the schema Atticum in a similar context cf. Theogn. 1.537 ῥόδα φύεται.<sup>108</sup>

μέν τὸ πρίν: for three long monosyllables in succession cf. Crin. 15,1 GP Γῆ μεῦ καί, 35,1 GP εἰ καί σοι; the lengthening of three consecutive short monosyllables by position is unusual, but cf. for instance one by nature and two by position in Leon. *AP* 6.289,3 ἄ μέν τόν.

The expression τὸ πρίν is common in Homer and tragedy; for the contrasting pair with the present, νῦν, cf. *Il.* 6.125, 13.105, *Od.* 4.32, Archil. fr. 172,3 West, Agath. *AP* 6.76,2f., Antiphilus 7.176,3 (the pair being in the same *sedes* and in a similar expression to that of our poem) ταρχύθη γὰρ ἐγὼ τὸ πρίν ποτε, νῦν δ' ἀροτῆρος /... μ' ἐξεκύλισεν ὕψις, anon. 11.297,2ff., *AApp* 1. 187,2, 2.123,3, 2.325,1f. Τὸ πρίν appears with μέν immediately following quite often, *Il.* 24.543, *Od.* 3.265, 21.32, Nic. *Th.* 366, Paul. Sil. *AP* 5.230,3, Agath. 9.662, but whether this could be in favour of the reading ἦνθοῦμεν (see prev. note) is doubtful, as the poet should not necessarily be reproducing the norm; for μέν preceding τὸ πρίν, though not immediately, cf. *Il.* 6.124f., *Od.* 4.31f.

<sup>107</sup>For its association with the Muses and Graces see Joret 53f., Murr 79f., cf. the dedications of roses to Muses, Theocr. *A.P.* 6.336,1f., and Nymphs, Sabinus 6.158,1, Leon. 6.154,5f.

<sup>108</sup>For examples of this schema in poetry, as well as in prose, see K-G II (1) 64. In Hellenistic and later poetry cf. for instance Theocr. 6.11 τὰ δέ νιν καλὰ κύματα φαίνει, Antip. Sid. *AP* 12.97,5, Paul. Sil. 5.255,11, Strato 12.3,1,f. In Crinagoras again at *API* 61,1f. τὰ Νέρωνος / ἔργα...ἴκετο.

For the contrast with the following νῦν, cf. anon. *AP* 9.325,1ff., Simias 6.113,1ff., Glaucus 12.44,1ff., see further Siedschlag 30.

Cf. the analogous expression and image in Martial 13.127 (see above, intr. note).

ἐνὶ μέσσω / χείματι: cf. Antiphilus *AP* 6.252,5 ὥρης χειμερίας σπάνιον γέρας. The same paradox of flowers blooming in the winter occurs at Aristoph. fr. 569,1f. ὄψει δὲ χειμῶνος μέσου... / στεφάνους ἴων, <ρόδων, κρίνων>. Note the emphasis on the contrast between the usual and the exceptional, achieved with the two antithetical words opening the first and the second line, εἶαρος / χείματι respectively. With ἐνὶ μέσσω χείματι, Crinagoras might intend a variation of the phrase χείματι μέσσω which occurs at the end of the hexameter in Theocr. 7.111 ἐν ὄρεσι χείματι μέσσω,<sup>109</sup> cf. the phrase at verse-end also at *AApp* 1.116,5 χείματι μέσσω, Qu. Sm. 11.377 περὶ χείματι μέσσω. Cf. also [Opp.] *Cyn.* 1.129 χείματι δ' ἐν μεσάτῳ μέσου ἡματος ἀγρώσσοιεν, Hor. *Epist.* 1.15,4f. *gelida cum perluor unda / per medium frigus* (see Hatzikosta on Theocr. 7.111).

Note the adjective / noun enjambment; such enjambments are rare in Homer except with πᾶς, πολὺς, ἄλλος see McLennan 50 and Appendix 1. In the present poem enjambment also occurs in the next couplet, τῆδε / ἦοι; elsewhere in Crinagoras, 9,1f. GP τελείω / Ζηνί, 18,1f. GP ἀντέλλουσα / Μήνη, 19,1f. GP ἄθυρμα / οἰκογενές, 20,1 GP ἐκεῖνα / σκῆπτρα, 21,1f. GP Κυνέγειρον / ναυμάχον, 25,1f. GP Νεῖλος / πιμπλάμενος, 32,3f. GP νήσους / Κυκλάδας, 41,5f. GP ἡμιπύρωτα / λείψανα, 44,5f. GP ταύτην / θίνα, 45,1f. ἐλεεινή / μήτηρ, 48,5f. ἀμυδρά / εἶδωλα; with noun / predicative 14,5f. GP ἅπαντα / δεύτερα, 16,3f. Σέλευκος / ἄρτιος, 18,3f. Σελήνην / ἄπνουν.

**2 πορφυρέας...κάλυκας:** the phrase recurs at Rufinus *AP* 5.48,2 (same *sedes*) πορφυρέης...κάλυκος; cf. Leon. Alex. 6.324,2 ρόδων...κάλυκας, Cyrus 7.557,3 ρόδων...καλύκεσσι, Marianus 9.669,5f εἶαρι θάλλει / ὑγρὸν ἴον ροδέη κιρνάμενον κάλυκι, “Plato” *API* 210,5 ἐν καλύκεσσι ρόδων. Red is the typical colour of the rose, cf. Pind. *I.* 3-4.18b φοινικ<έοι>σιν... ρόδοις, Leon. *AP* 6.154,6, Nonnus *D.* 12.111, also see Clementi on *Perv. Ven.* 22. The rose owes its birth and / or colour to the blood of Adonis, Bion *Ad.* 66, or to that of Aphrodite herself, *Geop.* 11.17, Claudian *Rapt.* 2.122f., *Perv. Ven.* 22f.; Philostr. at *Epist.* I mentions both versions, see Joret 47ff., Gow on Theocr. 10.34, Reed on Bion *Ad.* 66.

Crinagoras uses πορφύρεος again at 4,2 GP on a wing-tip dyed in cyanus, the colour of which is in fact blue; for the various shades described by πορφύρεος from Homer onwards, see *ad loc.* As the adjective here designates a rose, its meaning can be hardly any other than red (for Homeric “blutrot” cf. *Il.* 17.360f., see Handschur 130), cf. Rufinus *AP* 5.35,6 πορφυρέοιο ρόδου, Antip. Sid. 7.23,2 λειμώνων πορφυρέων

<sup>109</sup>For the expression cf. Theocr. 12.30 εἶαρι πρώτῳ.

πέταλα, Mel. 9.363,2, Triphiod. 96.<sup>110</sup> For its association with festivity cf. Sappho 98a4 L-P πορφύρω κατελιξαμέ[να πλόκω], a purple headband that recurs in Theogn. 828, the purple colour symbolising splendour and happiness, see van Groningen *ad loc.* It can be suggested that in his πορφύρεος Crinagoras combines the natural colour of the roses with the colour suiting the lady's elegance and the luxury appropriate to her royal status.<sup>111</sup>

ἔσχάσαμεν: the only other known occurrence of the verb in the sense of “open” (without any force exercised) is Lyc. 28 σχάσασα βακχεῖον στόμα. Its frequent usage by medical writers in the phrase φλέβα σχάζειν, or even without φλέβα, as “bleed” (see LSJ s.v. 1), may be exploited here, with its juxtaposition to πορφυρέας, as an allusion to the blood-like redness of the rose, closely related, as we have seen, to the flower's origin (see previous note).

For gifts as speakers see intr. note. The first person here, with the roses' spontaneous volition to participate in the celebration of the lady's birthday, further emphasises the importance of the occasion and the significance of the lady herself.

ἐπιμειδήσαντα...ἄσμενα: the verb ἐπιμειδιᾶν only here in the Anthology; the participle occurs in the same *sedes* in Homer, *Il.* 4.356, 10.400, 8.38, *Od.* 22.371 τόν δ' (τήν δ') ἐπιμειδήσας προσέφη. The metaphor of “laughing” plants is Aristophanic, *Pax* 599f., where they are ἄσμενα as well: ὥστε σέ τ' ἀμπέλια / καὶ τὰ νέα σικίδια / τᾶλλα θ' ὀπόσ' ἐστὶ φυτά / προσγελάσεται λαβόντ' ἄσμενα; Meleager also likes this metaphor, *AP* 5.147,2 τὰ γελῶντα κρίνα, id. 5.144,5. It recurs in Nonnus *D.* 3.15, cf. the metaphor ἀνθεμόεν γελώσα, “laughing like a flower” at id. *ibid.* 11.498; cf. Opp. *Hal.* 1.458f. For “smile” cf. *h. Apol.* 118 μείδησε δὲ γαῖ' ὑπένερθεν.<sup>112</sup>

The phrase stresses further the roses' good will, see prev. note.

γενέθλιη...ἠοῖ: cf. Crin. 9,1 GP ἠοῖ ἐπ' εὐκταίη; see on Crin. 5,3 GP ἡμαρ γενέθλιον.

4 νυμφιδίων...λεχέων: Eur. *Med.* 999 νυμφιδίων ἔνεκεν λεχέων, *Alc.* 885f. νυμφιδίους / εὐνάς, Ap. Rh. 1.1031 νυμφιδίους θαλάμους καὶ λέκτρον ἰκέσθαι, cf. 4.1160 νυμφιδίαις...προμολήσιν, νυμφίδιος θάλαμος / οἱ in Diosc. *AP* 7.407,6, Leon. 9.322,8, Peek 704=Kaibel 431,1.

<sup>110</sup>For red roses in lyric poetry see Stulz 181ff.

<sup>111</sup>For the association of purple with high political, social and economic status in antiquity see Reinhold *passim*; for the Hellenistic world 29ff.

<sup>112</sup>Aristophanes was the first to use the verb “to laugh” for plants, though it is found in earlier poetry as a metaphor for objects, for instance for χθών in Homer, *Il.* 19.362, see Taillardat §37, the basic meaning of γελᾶν being “to shine”, see Edwards on *Il. loc. cit.*, Richardson on *h. Cer.* 14 γαῖά τε πᾶσ' ἐγέλασσε, Allen-Halliday-Sikes on *h. Apol.* 118, West on Hes. *Th.* 40 γελᾶ δέ τε δώματα, Stanford 115ff. As Stanford observes, Demetrius' condemnation of the phrase ἐγέλα που ῥόδον ἠδύχροον on the grounds that γελᾶν implies a sound (*Eloq.* 188) is not justified, as “laughter” has a primarily visual, not auditory sense; this can be further demonstrated by Crinagoras' “smiling roses”, cf. μειδιᾶν at *h. Apol.* 118.

Apart from a birthday-present, the garland, and especially that of roses, is not irrelevant to the lady's forthcoming wedding, Crinagoras is perhaps elegantly implying: in Bacchyl. *Dith.* 3. (Maehler 17), 114ff. Aphrodite sends Amphitrite a crown of roses for her marriage; garlands of roses are also cast, *inter alia*, upon the newly-wedded couple Menelaus and Helen at Stesich. fr. 8 Page *PMG*, see Maehler on Bacchyl. 17, 114ff, cf. the γαμήλιον στέφος at Bion *Ad.* 88, Colluth. 30, Nonnus *D.* 47.326, see Reed on Bion *Ad.* 88.

ἀσσοτάτη: see on Crin. 48,2 GP.

5f.: for other poems of Crinagoras ending with a *gnome* see on 30,5f. GP. For concluding the poem which accompanies a gift to a lady with reference to her qualities, physical, social, mental or more than one, cf. Crin. 7,6 GP κάλλεος καὶ πραπίδων ἕξοχ' ἐνεγκαμένη; cf. also Leon. *Al.* *AP* 9.355,4 δῶρα τὰ καὶ λέκτρων ἄξια καὶ σοφίης. The roses' wish to crown the lady is comparable to the longing of the Lock of Berenice to have remained on her head, Cat. 66.39f. *invita, o regina, tuo de vertice cessi, / invita.* The wish to be close to the lady's body is a common motif of love-poems, expressed by the lover who longs to be an object worn by the lady, and it is first attested in Attic drinking-songs, cf. Page *PMG* *Carm. Conv.* fr. 18 εἶθ' ἄπυρον καλὸν γειοίμην μέγα χρυσίον, / καὶ με καλὴ γυνὴ φοροίη καθαρὸν θέμενη νόον, anon. *AP* 5.83 εἶθ' ἄνεμος γενόμεν, σύ δὲ <δὴ> στείχουσα παρ' αὐγᾶς / στήθεα γυμνώσας καὶ με πνέοντα λάβοις, anon. 5.84, Theophanes 15.35, Strato 12.190, *Anacreont.* 22, Nonnus *D.* 15.259ff., see further Page *FGE* 318ff., Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 8.36-7.

καλλίστης...γυναικός: cf. Aristoph. *An.* 1537 καλλίστη κόρη, Leon. *AP* 6.286,5 κουρᾶν καλλίστη Διός, "Ἄρτεμι. The rose is appropriate to crown a beautiful lady, as it is the favourite flower of the goddess of beauty, see Hehn 254f., Joret 50f.: Eur. *Med.* 838ff. Κύπριν... / αἰὲ δ' ἐπιβαλλομένην / χαίτεσιν εὐώδη ῥοδέων πλόκον ἀνθέων, Paus. 6.24,7 ῥόδον μὲν καὶ μυρσίην Ἀφροδίτης...ἱερά, Nonnus *D.* 12.110f. Ζεὺς ἐπένευσεν ἔχειν.../ καὶ ῥόδα φοιτίσσοντα ῥοδόχροι Κυπρογενεῖη; the goddess is occasionally represented with roses on her head, see *RE* 6.2463. Accordingly, the rose is the prettiest flower (cf. *Anacreont.* 42.6, Rhianus *AP* 12.58,4), and the beauty of a person is often compared to it, for instance Mel. *AP* 5.144,3f., Mac. *Cons.* 11.374,7, Cyrus 5.557,3.

The line is encased by an adjective and a noun in agreement, see on Crin. 5,1 GP.

στεφθῆναι: ap. B. has ὀφθῆναι, accepted by Jacobs (as *elegantior*), Dübner, Waltz, Paton, but there is no need to change στεφθῆναι, cf. *Il.* 5.739 ἦν περὶ μὲν πάντη φόβος ἔστεφάνωται, 15.153 ἀμφὶ δὲ μιν θυόεν νέφος ἔστεφάνωτο, *Od.* 10.195 τὴν πέρι πόντος ἀπείριτος ἔστεφάνωται: for the use of the passive verb (always in the perfect tense) in Homer, see Worthen 3f., Hainsworth on *Il.* 11.36-7, Edwards on *ibid.* 18.485; Jacobs<sup>2</sup> compared Ap. Rh. 3.1214f. περίξ δέ μιν ἔστεφάνωντο /

## GP 6

...δράκοντες, [Opp.] *Cyn.* 2.379 λάχνη πορφυρέσσα δ' ἐπὶ χροῶς ἐστεφάνωται.<sup>113</sup>

ἐπὶ κροτάφοισι: the phrase is a Homeric rarity at the same *sedes*, *Od.* 18.378, 22.102 καὶ κυνέην πάγχαλκον, ἐπὶ κροτάφοισ' ἀραρυῖαν, cf. *Hes. Sc.* 137. Temples are often crowned with flowers, cf. *Mel. AP* 5.147,1ff. Πλέξω λευκίον, /...πλέξω καὶ φιλέραστα ῥόδα, / ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ κροτάφοις μυροβοστρύχου Ἥλιοδώρας / εὐπλόκαμον χαίτην ἀνοβολῆ στέφανος, cf. *Antiphanes* 11.168,3, *Philip* 11.33,4.<sup>114</sup> For the girls' practice of decorating their hair with flowers cf. for instance *Sappho fr.* 98,8f. L-P; wreaths, however, also adorned necks, see *Waern* 8.

6 λώϊον: an epic word, always in the neuter form in Homer, see *Chantraine* (1958) 255 with n.2; for the phrase λώϊον (ἐστί)+inf. see *K-G II* (2) 76 §31.

μίμνειν: for the poetical form of μένω in the sense of "wait", cf. *Il.* 8.565 ἐϋθρονον ἦω μίμνον, 9.662 ἦω δῖαν ἔμιμνευ, *Hes. Op.* 630 ὠραῖον μίμνειν πλόον, cf. *Eur. Rh.* 66 ἡμέρας μεῖναι φάος.

ἥρινὸν ἥελιον: cf. *Nonnus* 1.357 εἰαρινῶ Φαέθοντι, *A.P.* 9.384,4 εἰαρινῆς... ἀγλαίης; cf. *Nonnus* 38.384 εἰαρινῆς δὲ Πελειάδος. For the contracted form ἥρινός, cf. *Solon* 13.19, *Pind. P.* 9.46, *Aristoph. Av.* 683, *Eur. Supp.* 448, see *Barrett* on *id. Hipp.* 77.

The poem displays a ring-composition, as it opens and closes with two antithetical pairs, of two lines each, that express a "paradox" and surround the two central lines which offer the information about the occasion of the poem; roses usually bloom in spring - *these* bloom in winter: roses usually like the sun of spring - *these* ones prefer the beautiful lady's temples and, by implication, to die before seeing the sun of spring-time. The ring-composition is further underlined by the first and last words of the epigram: εἶαρος-ἥρινὸν ἥελιον. Cf. the same structure in *Crin.* 13 GP, see *ad loc.* For the opening and closing of the epigram with the same notion / image, cf. *Crin.* 23 GP Αἴγα... Αἰγιόχου, see *ad loc.* For the careful structure *Crinagoras* gives his poems see *intr.* under *Language and Style, Structure.*

<sup>113</sup> Equally unnecessary and not deserving further discussion are *Hecker's* σκεφθῆναι and *Knaack's* θρυφθῆναι.

<sup>114</sup> For the habit of men putting garlands of flowers on their heads during a symposium see *Joret* 99ff., *Pagonari-Antoniou* on *Call.* 43,3f.

GP 8

AP 6.100=GP 8

Λαμπάδα, τὴν κούροις ἱερὴν ἔριν, ὡκὺς ἐνέγκας  
οἶα Προμηθείης μνήμα πυρικλοπίης  
νίκης κλεινὸν ἄεθλον ἔτ' ἐκ χερὸς ἔμπυρον Ἑρμῆ  
θῆκεν ὁμωνυμῆ παῖς πατρὸς Ἀντιφάνης.

Κριναγόρου ἀνάθημα Ἑρμῆ παρὰ Ἀντιφάνους caret Pl

1 λαμπάδα C: -δι P | ἐνέγκας Ap.B.: ἐναγκάς P 2 πυρικλοπίης P: πυροκ- C 3 ἔτ' Ap.L, in marg.: om. P | χερὸς Dorville: χείρ- P | θῆκεν P: θῆκ' ἐν Boissonade

*The torch, object of the boys' holy strife, which he bore swiftly as a memorial of Prometheus' theft of the fire, a glorious prize of victory, Antiphanes, son of a like-named father, dedicated from his hand, still alight, to Hermes.*

Dedication to Hermes by Antiphanes, winner in a torch-race. *IG* 3.106-111, 122-24 and 2.1223 from Attica, *IG* 12.9.946 from Chalcis, Moretti n. 57 from Delos (see further *ad loc.*) are dedicatory inscriptions of the Roman period from victors of the λαμπαδηδρομία. For Aegean islands cf. further *IG* 11.4,1555-62 (Delos, III B.C.), also inscriptions from Syros, Chalcis, see *RE* s.v. λαμπαδηδρομία (*RE* 12.1.570). A victor in a torch-race is the subject of Dioscorides' attack in *AP* 11.363 because of his low social origin, see Gow-Page *HE* 1697ff. The torch-race was held at Attic festivals such as the Panathenaea, the Hephaestia and the Promethea (cf. Deubner 211f.),<sup>115</sup> but it was also widely spread throughout Greece into Roman times, see Gardiner (1910), 292, (1955), 143. For torch-races in festivals in honour of Hermes and attestations of the god's cult in Lesbos see below on Ἑρμῆ. For inscriptional evidence of the function of Gymnasia in Lesbos in the Imperial period cf. *IG* 12.2,134, 208, 211, 258; for Eresos in III B.C. see Delorme 121; for Mytilene, in I B.C., see id. 211f. It would be plausible to assume that the poem was written in the period when Crinagoras was in Lesbos: the youth is likely to have won in a local torch-race. In Italy, an event during which the poet should have the opportunity to meet Greek athletes was the Sebasta Romaia (see on 13 GP, intr. note), in which there is no attestation of the torch-race, see Geer 211ff.

For the custom of the winners of competitions of dedicating their prize to the god who protects the specific contest (or art), cf. Hes. *Op.* 656ff., where the poet dedicates to the Muses the tripod he got as a prize for a musical competition, cf. West on 658, see also

<sup>115</sup>But also in the Bendideia, Anthesteria, Epitaphia (see Sitlington-Sterrett 402ff.): the races were further related to the cult of Pan, Theseus, Nemesis and chthonian deities, see id. 397-400, Frazer 2.392, Broneer 149f., Parke 171ff., Simon 53f., Kephaliidou 50, n.52.

below on λαμπάδα. Other dedications of winners in the Anthology are anon. 6.7 (to Apollo, after a victory in boxing), anon. 6.49 (Delphi, horse-race), Philip 6.259 (Hermes, boys' contest), Asclep. 6.308 (Muses, boys' contest), "Simon." 13.19 (a multiple victory, see Page *FGE* 262ff.). In 6.7 the object is only called περικαλλές ἄγαλμα and not specified; in 6.49 it is a tripod, in 6.259 and 13.9 statues, in 6.308 a comic mask.

Since here the present dedicator appears to be a single runner, Gow-Page suppose that the race here is between individuals and not a relay. In the case of a team race the whole team was regarded as the victor, in Athens the competition being between the *phylae*.<sup>116</sup> Our evidence records both tribal and individual victories (see Kyle 191),<sup>117</sup> but it has been assumed that the single person described as the winner of the race was not an individual runner, only the last one of his team, who represented the others.<sup>118</sup> As Gow-Page (on *HE* 43=Alc. Mess. *AP* 12.29,2) observe, however, it is impossible to conceive the contest described in Paus. 1.30,2 as a relay: ἐν Ἀκαδημία δέ ἐστι Προμηθέως βωμός, καὶ θεοῦσιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες καιομένας λαμπάδας· τὸ δὲ ἀγώνισμα ὁμοῦ τῷ δρόμῳ φυλάξει τὴν δᾶδα ἔτι καιομένην ἐστίν, ἀποσβεσθείσης δὲ οὐδὲν ἔτι τῆς νίκης τῷ πρώτῳ, δευτέρῳ δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ μέτεστιν· εἰ δὲ μὴδὲ τούτῳ καιοίτο, ὁ τρίτος ἐστὶν ὁ κρατῶν· εἰ δὲ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀποσβεσθείη, οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ὄτῳ καταλείπεται ἡ νίκη.<sup>119</sup>

The whole poem consists of a single sentence; see on Crin. 5 GP, intr. note.

**1 λαμπάδα:** at the opening of the poem also in Moschus *API* 200, Antip. Thess. *AP* 6.249, anon. 14.107. The word denotes an offering and also appears without the demonstrative pronoun in Antip. Thess. *loc. cit.*, *AApp.* 1.206,2, see below.<sup>120</sup> Λαμπάς does not occur in Homer. For the λαμπαδηδρομία as a memorial of Prometheus' act, see below on Προμηθείης...πυρικλοπίης and for λαμπαδηφόροι see on ἐνέγκας. Prometheus steals the fire from Zeus and conceals it ἐν κοίλῳ νάρθηκι in Hes. *Op.* 51ff. and *Th.* 566f.; the god is often represented with a torch in his right hand,<sup>121</sup> cf. Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 2.602 ἰὼ Προμηθεῦ δαδοῦχε καὶ πυρφόρε, Eur. *Ph.* 1121f. δεξιᾷ δὲ

<sup>116</sup>Cf. Kephaliou 31 with n.12.

<sup>117</sup>For artistic representations of team torch-racing see Harris plates 24-28, Kephaliou 31 with n. 10.

<sup>118</sup>Jüthner 152f.; the scholar suggested, however, that the possibility of a simplification of the contest in the course of time, which resulted in a single runner, cannot be excluded and Crinagoras' poem should be perhaps seen in this light; Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 314 more firmly denies the possibility of individual runners.

<sup>119</sup>This logical conclusion is reached by Sitlington-Sterrett who sees two subdivisions in the foot torch-race, the single runners' contest and the relay (405f.; for the other kind of torch-race, on horse-back, see *id.* 402f., Harris 181); cf. Gardiner (1910), 292f., (1955) 143, Frazer 2.392, Parke 45, 171.

<sup>120</sup>Dedicated objects appear quite frequently without τόνδε, τοῦτον and the like in the Anthology, cf. for instance Leon. 6.200,3, 204, 1ff., Archias 6.195,2 (here a single offering), Antip. Sid. 6.174,3ff., Phalaecus 6.165,1ff. Crinagoras may use the demonstrative pronoun, as in 3,1ff. GP ἀργύρεόν σοι τόνδε...κάλαμον...πέμπει, or not, as in 4,1ff. GP αἰετοῦ...ἀκρόπτερον...πέμπει, 5,1ff. GP χάλκεον...ἔργον...πέμπει, cf. also on 43,2 GP σκολιοῦ...πρέονος.

<sup>121</sup>See Jebb on Soph. *OC* 55. While he very seldom appears in literature between Hesiod and the fifth century, the god is commonly represented in archaic art, see Griffith 3, with n. 10.

λαμπάδα / Τιτὰν Προμηθεὺς ἔφερεν ὡς πρῆσων πόλιν, Julian *API* 87,1 Τέχνης πυρσὸν ὄπασσα φερέσβιον.

For the traditional dedicatory offering of the victor's prize, see Rouse 151ff.; for the λαμπαδηδρομία see also Kephaliou 88, the dedication of the prize often accompanied by the sacrifice of a bull. A usual prize for the Attic torch-race, as well as for other contests, was a hydria, see id. 31 and 102f., cf. Parke (1977) 46, Simon 64; sometimes a shield (see Sitlington-Sterrett 414). A λαμπάς as a dedication at first seems to constitute the instrument of the victory (for this category of offerings see Rouse 160ff., Harris 145, Kephaliou 89): a torch is dedicated after a victory in the torch-race in *AApp* 1.149=*IG* 3.124 Λαμπάδα νικήσας σὺν ἐφήβοις τήνδ' ἀνέθηκα / Εὐτυχίδης, παῖς ὦν Εὐτυχίδου Ἀσθμονεὺς. In the present poem the torch is called the ἄθλον of the victory; the same happens in Kaibel 943=*IG* 3.123 (Attica, A.D. II): [ἄ]θλα τὰ τῆς νίκης Ὀράριος Ἑρα[κλείδου] / [λα]μπάδας Ἑρμείαι θῆκε καὶ Ἑρακ[λεί] (see Rouse 153). Analogous are the prizes recorded in a third-century B.C. inscription from Ceos (*IG* 12.5.647,27), containing arrangements for a festival: here the prizes for archery are a bow and a quiver (first), a bow (second); for the javelin three spears and a helmet (first), three spears (second), see also Gardiner (1910), 151, Golden 112. Likewise, one could assume that the torches mentioned in the present epigram and the Attic inscription are prizes which coincide with the instrument of the victory,<sup>122</sup> cf. also below on ἔτ' ἔμπυρον.

**κούροις:** Antiphanes is presumably an adolescent, cf. *IG* 3.124 ἐφήβοις, *IG* 2.111 [το]ὺς ἐφήβους λαμπ[άδα] | νικήσ[α]ς, *IG* 2.1096; there were torch-races for boys, ephebes, and men (Gardiner 1910, 247;<sup>123</sup> cf. *IG* 3.108, 110 τὴν λαμπάδα τῶν ἀνδρῶν) those of the lower ages were perhaps the most characteristic; the torch-race is especially connected to the ephebes, see Gardiner (1910) 293. The training of the teams of boys and ephebes for one of the torch-races was the duty of the gymnasiarch, who often offers dedications to the gods, participating in the victory of his team, see *RE* s.v. λαμπαδηδρομία (12.1.575), also Gardiner (1910), 501, Sitlington-Sterrett 415f., Kephaliou 31, Sekunda *passim*, esp. 153-8.

Κοῦρος can indicate a boy or even a baby, Hesych. s.v.: παῖς, νέος, υἱὸς ἄρρην, νεαίας, νήπιον; cf. Theodoridas *AP* 6.155,2 κῶρος ὁ τετραετής, Mel. 9.331,1, Phaedimus 6.271,6, Diodorus 6.348,3, Apollonides 7.742,2, as it can be a synonym of ἔφηβος, Eust. *Od.* 1788,56 Ἀχαιοὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους κούρους καλοῦσιν;<sup>124</sup> cf. Diodorus

<sup>122</sup> Although the prize for the winner of the torch-race mentioned in the inscription from Ceos is a shield.

<sup>123</sup> For the flexibility of the term "boy", which can denote, according to the festival, the age 12-18, or a subdivision of it, i.e. a lower part, the other(s) being ephebes (or, furthermore, younger, middle, older ephebes), see id. *ibid.* 271f., also Frisch 179ff.

<sup>124</sup> Ancient commentators tended to identify the epic κούροι with the ephebes, but the word in the epic bore quite different connotations; in Homer κούρος can describe all ages of young male people, from infancy (*Il.* 20.124) to manhood (Penelope's suitors, *Od.* 21.30, *al.*), see Ebeling s.v.: the term in fact designates the members of the social elite, see Jeanmaire 31f.

9.219,5 κοῦρος ἔτ' ἀρτιγένειον ἔχων χνόον, id. 9.405,3, anon. *API* 344,1; cf. Mel. *AP* 12.101,5, Rhianus 121,4, Mel. 159,3, where the word describes an adolescent (for the age of the ἐρώμενος, i.e. between 12 and 18, see Buffière 611ff.).

ἱερήν: the torch-race is called ἱερὰ λαμπάς in Plut. *Solon* 1.4.<sup>125</sup> The adjective underlines the religious character of the contest and its association with ritual festivals.

ἔριν: “subject of strife”; Gow-Page compare Crin. 47,4 GP εἰνόδιον δάκρυ and Antip. Thess. *AP* 7.705,5 Αἰγείδαις μεγάλην ἔριν; cf. also the friendly rivalry of the three girls in making a piece of embroidery in Leon. 6.286,6 τὴν τριπόνητον ἔριν.

ὠκύς: always as an adjective in Homer. As an adverbial predicate cf. Antiphilus *AP* 9.14,3 μάρψας δ' ὠκύς ἔρῳ ἐπὶ χθόνα, Moschus 2.112 ὠκύς δ' ἐπὶ πόντον ἵκανε, [Opp.] *Cyn.* 1.523 ὡς ὁ γε καγχαλόων ὠκύς θόρειν, Nonnus *D.* 11.197 καὶ αὔριον ὠκύς ὀδεύσεις, 17.394 ὠκύς ἵκανε.

ἐνέγκας: Rubensohn unnecessarily changes to ἐνεικ- as he does with all other occurrences of this Attic form, see intr. under Language and Style, Dialect. Λαμπαδηφόροι was the name of the runners (Aesch. *Ag.* 304, Bekker *Anecd. Graeca* s.v. λαμπαδηφόροι δὲ καλοῦνται, ὅτι τὰς λαμπάδας ἔφερον; also πυρσοφόροι, see Hesych. s.v.), as well as the victors, see Hesych. s.v. λαμπάς: ...καὶ ὁ νικήσας λέγεται λαμπαδηφόρος. Φέρειν suits the deed of Prometheus, who is Πυρφόρος (Aesch. fr. 208), cf. for instance Soph. *OC* 55 ὁ πυρφόρος θεός; also see on λαμπάδα.

οἶα: Gow-Page remark that οἶα is superfluous since we have μνήμα and do not need a comparison, and compare Crin. 4,5f. GP οἶα δὲ δαιτός / δῶρον and Philip *AP* 4.1,4 ὡς ἴκελον στεφάνοις, see GP *GP* 2628-31. Paton's translation “as if mindful of how Prometheus...” is not satisfactory, because the lampadedromia *is*, in fact, a memorial of Prometheus' act, see next note. Οἶον, however, can be a synonym of ὡς, ἄτε, see LSJ s.v. III.3; for the omission of the participle ὄν see K-G II (2), 102, cf. for instance Hdt. 1.66 οἶα δὲ ἔν τε χώρα ἀγαθῇ καὶ πλήθει οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον, αὐτίκα καὶ εὐθηνήθησαν, “since their land was good and their men were many, very soon they began to flourish”. Crinagoras seems to be saying that Antiphanes “bore the torch swiftly, as it is a memorial of Prometheus' theft”, i.e. swiftness naturally suits an act like the theft of the fire.

Προμηθείης...πυρρικλοπίης: in poetry cf. for instance Nic. *Al.* 273 Προμηθείοιο κλοπὴν, Strato *AP* 12.220,1 τὸ πῦρ κλέψας...Προμηθεῦ. On the λαμπαδηδρομία being a memorial of Prometheus' act cf. Hyg. *Astr.* 2.15 *praeterea in certatione ludorum cursoribus instituerunt ex Promethei similitudine ut currerent lampadem iactantes*, see West on Hes. *Th.* 567, Sitlington-Sterrett 394f. For the adjective cf. Ap. Rh. 3.845 φάρμακον...Προμήθειον, Call. fr. 192,3 ὁ πηλὸς ὁ Προμήθειος with Pfeiffer *ad loc.*

<sup>125</sup>For other names of the contest see Sitlington-Sterrett 418f.

Stadtmüller, Waltz, Beckby, Gow-Page print P's πυρι-, while Geist, Rubensohn, Dübner and Paton accept the Corrector's πυροκλοπίης. Defending P's reading, Gow-Page remark that the huge frequency of compounds with πυρι- could have influenced the formation of this word which is a ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, even if πυρι- has here a genitive and not the usual dative sense; πυρι- takes this function in later epic, cf. πυρίπαις, the "son of fire" for Dionysus in [Opp.] *Cyn.* 4.287, πυρίπνοος in Lycophron 1314 but πύρπνοος in Eur. *El.* 472 and *Med.* 478, πυριτρόφους τε ριπίδας in Philip *AP* 6.101,2, cf. Debrunner 18, Schwyzer 1.446. For formations with ι instead the expected ο in the stem, see further Schwyzer 1.447f.

μνημα: "remembrance", three times in Homer, *Od.* 15.126 (δῶρον) μνημ' Ἑλένης χειρῶν, 21.40 μνημα ξείνοιο φίλοιο, *Il.* 23.619 τάφου μνημ'. As in Homer, in the present poem the μνημα is an object, a λαμπάς, cf. Theogn. 1358 ζυγὸν...ἀργαλέον μνημα φιλοξενίης, see van Groningen on id. 112: "il a toujours le sens plus concret de l'objet qui garantit le souvenir...Mais de temps en temps la nuance s'affaiblit", cf. Aesch. *Pr.* 841 (Ἴόλιος κεκλήσεται) τῆς σῆς πορείας μνημα, Pind. *I.* 8.74f. Νικοκλέος / μνάμα πυγμαίου κελαδῆσαι.

3 νίκης...ἄθλον: ἄθλον, a prize, is Homeric, *Il.* 23.262, 413, 620, 640. In Homer the word denotes a variety of prizes, like women, horses, armour, tripods; in Hesiod tripods (*Op.* 654ff.); in Pindar vases of metal (*O.* 9.95ff., *N.* 10.43ff.), clothes (*O.* 9.104f., *P.* 4.253, *N.* 10.44), see further Kephaliidou 66. For the expression, "prize of victory", cf. *AApp* 1.207,2 νίκης ἄθλον ἔλαβεν; the phrase occurs often in Nonnus: *D.* 10.389 νίκης δ' ἦεν ἄθλα, cf. also 19.119 and 197, 33.69, 37.116, 37.706 ἀέθλια (-ον)...νίκης. In later sources apart from a prize ἄθλον can also denote a present or a valuable object, see Kephaliidou *ibid.*

κλεινόν: for κλέος in a similar context cf. Pind. *P.* 9.70 πόλιν...κλεινάν τ' ἀέθλοισι, Bacch. 8.31 Maehler κλεινοῖς ἀέθλοισι (=games), Soph. *El.* 681 κλεινὸν Ἑλλάδος / πρόσχημ' ἀγῶνος Δελφικῶν ἄθλων χάριν.

ἔτ'...ἔμπυρον: the torch must still be alight at the end of the contest, as Pausanias emphasises, see above, intr. note. One could probably assume that the torch Antiphanes held while running is also given to him as a prize; for the coincidence of the instrument of victory with the prize see above on λαμπάδα. The sentence should not be taken literally, i.e. one should not imagine that the torch was hung up while still alight in the temple; the expression serves to stress the winner's quickness to dedicate the torch and also offers the image vividness and tension, cf. Philip *AP* 6.38,2 κώπην, ἄλμης τὴν μεθύουσαν ἔτι, dedication by a fisherman of his oar, among other instruments of his work, to Posidon. For an opposite idea, the dedicated object seen as having lost its previous quality, cf. Anyte 6.123,1f. "Ἔσταθι τεῖδε, κράνεια βροτοκτόνε, μηδ' ἔτι λυγρόν / χάλκεον ἀμφ' ὄνυχα στάζε φόνον δαίτων, cf. also Moero 6.119,3, see Geoghegan on Anyte 1,1, Seelbach on Mnasalcas 7=*AP* 9.324, intr. note; see also below.

Paton and Gow-Page prefer to take ἐκ χερῶς with ἔμπυρον rather than with θῆκεν and render “alight in his hands”. While on the level of meaning the two phrasings differ only in a slight nuance, syntactically the first one is difficult, as ἐκ involves the sense of movement and its interpretation as “in” seems a forced effort; “from one’s hand”, however, suits the act of dedicating something to a god very well; in a similar context Aesch. *Sept.* 700 ὅταν ἐκ χερῶν θεοὶ θυσίαν δέχωνται, cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 495 θύρσον τόνδε παράδος ἐκ χεροῖν. This construction again does not obscure the impression that the torch is still alight in Antiphanes’ hand when he offers it: “c’est de sa propre main, tandis qu’il brûlait encore, que l’a consacré à Hermès Antiphanès” (Waltz). Moreover it further underlines the notion that the torch has just arrived at the temple from the dedicator’s hands, thus its previous condition is still fresh, cf. Mnasalcas *AP* 9.324,1f. ἂ σῦριγξ...τίπτ’ ἀπὸ ποιμενίου χείλεος ὧδε πάρει;

The elided ἔτ’ occurs again at the same *sedes* in Crin. 9,3 GP.

Ἐμπυρος is not Homeric, but in *Il.* 23.702 we have τρίποδ’ ἔμπυριβήτην, “made for standing on fire”. Ἐμπυρος occurs often in tragedy and Nonnus, usually in the sense of “burning”, as in Leon. *AP* 9.24,2 ἔμπυρος ἥλιος. For “alight”, as here, cf. Archias 10.7,7 (βωμὸν) θυόεντα καὶ ἔμπυρον, Tzetzes *Exeg. Il.* p. 40,15f. (Hermann) δαλὸν ἔδοξε καθ’ ὕπνουσ ἰδεῖν ἔμπυρον ἐκπεπτωκότα τῆς μήτρας αὐτῆς (Hecuba).

Ἐρμῆ: the inscriptions *IG* 3.106, 11.4.1156-57, 1159-62 (see above, intr. note) are also dedications to Hermes by winners of the torch-race, cf. also Collitz III 3058 στεφανωθεῖς τᾷ λαμπάδι τῶν ἀνήβων τὸ ἄθλον Ἐρμᾶ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ (cf. Rouse 153, n. 12). Gow-Page observed that the offering of a torch-race victor to Hermes may be related to his cult,<sup>126</sup> or to the fact that the god was regarded as the patron of athletics in general, comparing Kaibel 943 (see above on λαμπάδα), “Anacreon” *AP* 6.143,3f.; for Herms in the stadium cf. Philoxenus *AP* 9.319, see Gow-Page on *HE* 3036. For Hermes (together with Heracles) as a patron of the gymnasia and the numerous dedications of winners to him see *RE* s.v. Hermai, 3.6 (8.1.701f.), Enagonios (5.2.2544), Delorme 339ff. A collection of ancient passages referring to Hermes and other ἐναγῶνιοι θεοὶ is made by Kephaliḍou, 85, n. 25; see also *ibid.* for further bibliography on these gods. For attestations of the cult of Hermes in Lesbos see *RE* s.v. Lesbos (12.2,2124), Hermes (8.1.752); for evidence of the cult of Hermes Enagonios specifically in Mytilene in I B.C. see Delorme 211f.

4 ὀμωνυμῖη... Ἀντιφάνης: for ὀμωνυμῖη, a rare word in poetry, see on Crin. 17,2 GP. Boissonade’s θῆκ’ ἐν, accepted by Rubensohn, Stadtmüller and Waltz, does not

<sup>126</sup>Cf. the inscriptional evidence of a torch-race at the Hermaia, see Sitlington-Sterrett 404, Frazer 2.391. Hermes, after all, is the runner *par excellence*; for his function as the gods’ messenger and his protection of wayfarers see for instance *RE* s.v. Hermes (8.1.777, 781), Farnell 5.20ff., cf. on Crin. 43,6 GP. The god appears on Attic vases with presentations of contests as running ahead of the chariot’s horses, see Kephaliḍou 155, 159 with n. 37.

offer any help, as the dative function is not eliminated (the interpretation of Waltz “*en inscrivant le nom de son père, qui est aussi le sien*” can be hardly drawn from θῆκ’ ἐν ὀμωνυμίῃ); ὀμωνυμίας, suggested by Brodaeus and Salmasius, as another word for ὀμώνυμος is an unnecessary neologism; the suggestion of Jacobs<sup>2</sup> ὀμωνύμιος would be a good candidate if the reading of the codex was not supported, as Gow-Page observed, by Peek 1931,6 (Laconia, A.D.II) Πρατεόνικος / οὔνομά μοι, τοῦμοῦ πατρὸς ὀμωνυμίῃ.

The father’s name frequently occurs with the name of the victor in dedicatory inscriptions, cf. *IG* 3.106 Ἄντιοχος Φαιδρίου, 107 Ἐράτων Ἐράτωνος, 124,2 Εὐτυχίδης παῖς ὦν Εὐτυχίδου; in a sophisticated expression, Crinagoras avoids the straightforward repetition of the father’s name, cf. Anyte *AP* 6.153=Geoghegan 2,3f. Ἄριστοτέλης δ’ ἐπόησεν / Κλειτόριος, γενέτα ταῦτ’ ὀνομα, Antip. Sid. 6.206,9 πατρὸς Ἄριστοτέλους συνομώνυμος, Archias 6.207,8 οὔνομ’ Ἄριστοτέλεω πατρὸς ἐνεγκαμένα, Kaibel 818,3 Νικιέης, οὗ πατρὸς ὀμ[ώ]νυμος, 821,3, 963,2, 967,2, Peek 710,2, 717,2, 964=Kaibel 274,4, Peek 1244,3, 1331=Kaibel 311,3, cf. also Eur. *Heracl.* 31 ταῦτ’ ὄνομα παῖς πατρὸς κεκλημένος; for the juxtaposition cf. also id. *Heraclid.* 115 ἔσθλοῦ πατρὸς παῖς Δημοφῶν ὁ Θησέως. For the custom, first appearing in the 5th century B.C., whereby the son was named after the father, see Geoghegan 40. The name Ἄντιφάνης,<sup>127</sup> however, which means “the one who shines back”, too appropriate for a torch-bearer, might lead us to the assumption that the poem is a rhetorical exercise rather than a genuine dedication; cf. the playful treatment of Γέμελλα in 1,3 GP, Σελήνη in 18 GP and Πρώτη in 14,5; also 18 GP, where the poet bids a group of islands to change their name to Erotides, due to the burial of the beautiful boy Eros in them, see *ad loc.*; for the etymological play as a characteristic of Hellenistic poets see O’Harra 21-42. For a pun with the stem φαν- cf. Meleager’s play of φανίου as a noun and as a proper name, *AP* 12.82=GP *HE* 4336ff., see Taraní 79 with n. 79.

<sup>127</sup>This common name is richly attested in the islands and also in Mytilene, see Fraser-Matthews s.v.

## GP 10

AP 6.161=GP 10

Ἐσπερίου Μάρκελλος ἀνερχόμενος πολέμοιο  
 σκυλοφόρος κραναῆς τέλσα παρ' Ἰταλίας  
 ξαιθὴν πρῶτον ἔκειρε γενειάδα. βούλετο πατρίς  
 οὕτως καὶ πέμψαι παῖδα καὶ ἄνδρα λαβεῖν.

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In cod. P bis extat, hic (P<sup>a</sup>) et post 6.344 (P<sup>b</sup>)

P<sup>a</sup> ἀνάθημα παρὰ Μαρκέλλου (Κριναγόρου delevit C et pergit in rasura) P<sup>b</sup> ὑπάτου Κριναγόρου Pl VI, 134 Κριναγόρου

2 τέλσα P<sup>b</sup>: τέρμα P<sup>a</sup>PlSuda

*Returning laden with spoils from the western war to the bounds of craggy Italy, Marcellus shaved his blond beard for the first time. This was what his homeland wanted, to send him out a boy and take him back a man.*

Marcellus shaves his beard for the first time. The war mentioned here is Augustus' Cantabrian campaign of 26-25 B.C., where young Marcellus together with the future emperor Tiberius served as military tribunes, see on 11 GP, intr. note. Allusion to this war is made by Virgil in the passage about Marcellus, *Aen.* 6.878ff. *heu prisca fides invictaque bello / dextera! Non illi se quisquam impune tulisset / obvius armato*, etc., cf. Austin on ll. 879ff. The composition of the present epigram can be therefore placed in the year 25 B.C.; Marcellus' marriage to Julia must have taken place shortly after the ceremony celebrated in Crinagoras' poem.

Other epigrams celebrating the dedication of a boy's hair are Crinagoras 9 GP, Euphorion AP 6.279, Theodoridas 6.156; a first shave, Antipater of Thessalonica 6.198; Apollonidas 10.19 celebrates the first shave of Caligula, which we know took place when he was seventeen, see below on ξαιθὴν γενειάδα. Usually the celebration includes a dedication of the first hair to a god and, although there is no such indication in our poem, it is not difficult to imagine it, as Gow-Page observe (intr. note); Greeks used to dedicate hair to Apollo, Artemis, Zeus, (Rouse 241f., Eyben 693). For the Roman Empire we have evidence of dedications of the first down to Jupiter, Venus, the Lares; the *depositio barbae* was accompanied by a celebration and feast (see Carcopino 160f.). In general see further Marquardt I 599, Citroni and Howell on Mart. 1.31, intr. note, Carcopino 160f., Eyben 693. For the age of the first shaving see below on ξαιθὴν...γενειάδα.

The poem is repeated in the sixth book of the Palatine codex after 344, the second occurrence giving τέλσα where 161 gives τέρμα. Cameron (1993, 44) has observed that "on every occasion when the repeated poem appears both times embedded in a *Garland*

sequence there are textual variants and the answer is obvious. Cephalas had *two different copies* of both *Garlands*?. The critic plausibly suggests that Cephalas excerpted from start to finish from both his exemplars and left his two sets of excerpts separate to avoid the difficulty of integrating them into one sequence; the repeated poems were carelessly copied twice by Cephalas (see Cameron 1993, 44f.). In the case of the present duplication the first occurrence (6.161) is between Antipater of Sidon (6.159 and 160) and Meleager (6.162 and 163), while the second one (after 6.344) is before another Crinagorean poem (6.345=6 GP; for the possible thematical relation between the two cf. intr. note *ad loc.*) but, like the first instance, also not in a Philippan sequence. This cannot prevent us, however, from holding that the two epigrams come from two different sources, see Cameron (1993) 45, n. 40.

ἔσπερίου...πολέμοιο: as a geographical term, “western”, in Homer only in *Od.* 8.29 ἢ πρὸς ἠοίων ἢ ἔσπεριων ἀνθρώπων. Cf. Theocr. 7.53 ἐφ’ ἔσπεριος Ἐρίφοις, Arat. 407 ὑφ’ ἔσπερίην ἄλα, the western sea, anon. *AP* 9.210,7f. ἔσπερίης ἀλὸς ἀνδρας / καὶ Πέρσας ὀλέσεις, Nonnus *D.* 39.4f. παρὰ Κελτούς/ ἔσπεριω...ῤεέθρω. Callimachus also uses the adjective in a reference to a historical event, the Galatian invasion of Greece in 280-79 B.C. in fr. 379 and *H.* 4.174, cf. Mineur on 171ff. and Pfeiffer on fr. 379.

The first line is encased in an adjective and the noun it qualifies, see on 5,1 GP. In the present instance note the morphological variation in the genitive of the forms, -ου, -οιο. The position of the word at the opening of the poem stresses the remoteness, hence the dangerousness of the expedition; the next verse, built up in a crescendo of importance, will paint more emphatically Marcellus’ image as a hero, and, after the presentation of his first shaving, the actual subject of the epigram, in the third verse, everything will be summed up in the concluding declaration of his advance from childhood to manhood in the last line; thus Marcellus’ image as a man is emphatically stressed in the whole epigram. Note that the first three lines open with adjectives qualifying the three main images of the poem: the war (ἔσπερίου), Marcellus (σκυλοφόρος), the beard he shaves (ξαιθήν). For the poet’s carefulness in the construction of the epigram see intr. under Language and Style, Structure.

Μάρκελλος: the name of the young man appears in the first line, almost at the beginning of the poem, as in Euphorion *AP* 6.279 and Theodoridas 6.156.

ἀνερχόμενος: the sense of “return”, is Homeric, *Il.* 4.392 ἄψ ἄρ’ ἀνερχομένω πυκινὸν λόχον εἶσαν ἄγοντες, 6.187, *Od.* 1.317, elsewhere cf. for instance Ap. Rh. 4.1776f. For the return from battle cf. Ap. Rh. 3.912f. πολυθαρσέος ἐκ πολέμοιο / ἄψ ἀνιών. For a safe return from a distant journey in the Anthology cf. Laureas *AP* 12.24,1 Εἴ μοι χαρτὸς ἐμὸς Πολέμων καὶ σῶος ἀνέλθοι, Stat. Fl. 12.26,1.

In the present passage ἀνέρχεσθαι is constructed with a simple genitive without the preposition ἐκ or ἀπό, as usually happens when the verb has a further definition of

## GP 10

place; for this rare construction cf. Ap. Rh. 3.1229f. περίτροχον ἔπλετο φέγγος / ἡελίου, ὅτε πρῶτον ἀνέρχεται Ὀκεανοῖο, where the verb has of course the sense “rise”, for which the construction with preposition is also more regular, cf. for instance Soph. *Ph.* 624f. ἐξ ἄδου θανῶν / πρὸς φῶς ἀνελθεῖν, Eur. *Herc.* 607 ἀνελθῶν ἐξ ἀνηλίων μυχῶν / Ἄιδου.

πολέμιοι: the form often occurs in Homer at verse-end, *Il.* 2.368, 4.240, 4.335, 5.318, 6.330, *al.*, as always in Ap. Rh., for instance 1.1052, 2.912, 1222, 3.1259. For the sense “return from the war”, cf. *Il.* 5.409 ἐλθόντ’ ἐκ πολέμοιο καὶ αἰνῆς δηϊοτήτος, 6.501f., 13.211f.

σκυλοφόρος: the word occurs elsewhere only in Dion. Hal. 2.34 τὸν δὲ Δία τὸν Φερέτριον, ᾧ τὰ ὄπλα ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἀνέθηκεν, εἴτε βούλεται τις Τροπαιοῦχον εἴτε Σκυλοφόρον καλεῖν ὡς ἀξιοῦσί τινες; cf. Antip. Thess. *AP* 9.428,1 Θρηκίης σκυληφόρε, addressed to L. Calpurnius Piso, for his war against the Thracians between 11 and 8 B.C; Gow-Page comment at *GP* 75 that Antipater is perhaps echoing Crinagoras here. As Gow-Page observe, the meaning is likely to be “laden with spoils”, rather than a “second Jupiter” (alluding to Jupiter Feretrius, as Rubensohn [56f.] holds for both Crinagoras and Antipater). Cf. also Sec. *API* 214,1 σκυλοχαρεῖς... Ἐρωτας.

κραναῆς... Ἰταλῆς: in Homer the adjective always qualifies Ithaca, *Il.* 3.201 (on the roughness of Ithaca see Kirk *ad loc.*), *Od.* 1.247, 16.124, 15.510. Pindar uses the adjective for Delos (*I.* 1.3f.) and for Athens (*O.* 7.83, 13.38, *N.* 8.11) which is the city typically qualified by it, cf. Aristoph. *Ach.* 75 Κραναὰ πόλις, *Lys.* 481 of the Acropolis (see further Dunbar on *An.* 123); [Moschus] applies it to Tiryns, *Meg.* 38. In the Anthology cf. Agath. 7.614,8 καὶ ποτὶ τὰν κραναὰν Μοψοπίαν δραμέτην (same *sedes*); Antipater of Sidon uses it for Cnidos, *API* 167,1. Antipater of Thessalonica uses it of Babylon (*AP* 9.58,1). Now Italy is described as broad or full of shoal-water in the Anthology, Alc. Mess. *API* 5,2 καὶ Τίτος εὐρείας ἄγαγ’ ἀπ’ Ἰταλίας, anon. 7.714,1 Ῥήγιον Ἰταλῆς τεναγώδεας ἄκρον αἰείδω, cf. Strabo 4.6,1 καὶ τὰ καλούμενα Σαβάτων Οὐάδα, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τενάγη. The whole of Italy is in fact provided with a rocky “backbone”, the Apennines, but, exactly like Greece, has fertile plains as well, cf. Strabo 2.5,28 ταῦτα δ’ (sc. the Apennines) ἐστὶν ὄρεινὴ ράχις διὰ τοῦ μήκουσ ὄλου τῆς Ἰταλίας διαπεφυκυῖα ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν, τελευτῶσα δ’ ἐπὶ τὸν Σικελικὸν πορθμόν, cf. 5.1,3; also 5.3,1 ἅπασα ἢ Ἰταλία θερμμάτων τε ἀρίστη τροφὸς καὶ καρπῶν ἐστίν, ἄλλα δ’ εἶδη κατὰ ἄλλα μέρη τῶν πρωτείων τυγχάνει. The country, therefore, can indeed be described as κραναή. Gow-Page comment on the use of the adjective by Antipater of Thessalonica for Babylon (see on *GP* 583), either that Antipater has never seen the city, or that the adjective had become stereotyped for fortified cities. If the latter assumption is true, κραναή is here further suitable in view of the effect of the country’s presentation as powerful and firm. The fact that Italy is a country, not a city, should not be regarded as an

obstacle, as the adjective was originally attributed to an island, Ithaca, cf. its usage for Delos in Pind. *I.* 1.3f. and on other islands in Ap. Rh. 1.608 (Lemnos), 4.580 (the island of Electra); a wider region can be also qualified by it, cf. *AApp* 3.333,8 κραναή Λιβύη. What is more, the Homeric connection of the adjective with Ithaca stresses the idea of the homeland that Italy is for Marcellus, and who “sends” him, as her child, to the campaign (see on πέμψαι).

**τέλσα:** τέρμα, transmitted by P<sup>a</sup>, P1 and *Suda* occurs in similar expressions, cf. Nonnus *D.* 3.348 Λιβύης παρὰ τέρμα, 38.329 Νότιον παρὰ τέρμα; cf. Hdt. 7.54 ἐπὶ τέρμασι τοῖσι ἐκείνης (sc. Εὐρώπης), Orph. *H.* 11.23 ἐπὶ τέρματα γαίης, Opp. *Hal.* 1.82 ἐφίκετο τέρμα θαλάσσης. Τέλσα, however, transmitted only by P<sup>b</sup>, is accepted by all editors and, as the *lectio difficilior* (given moreover Crinagoras’ tendency to use rare or unique forms)<sup>128</sup> might be correct; the alteration of τέλσα to τέρμα is of course more likely than the opposite change.<sup>129</sup> The word appears three times in Homer, *Il.* 18.544 and 13.707 τέλσον ἄρούρης, 18.547 νειοῖο...τέλσον, cf. schol. on 13.707 τέλσον δὲ τὸ βάθος ἢ τὸ πέρασ τῆς γῆς, ὅπερ τέμνει τὸ ἄροτρον; cf. Ap. Rh. 3.412 τέλσον ἄρότρον, Nic. *Th.* 546 χυτῆς παρὰ τέλσον ἄλως (note the similarity to the syntax of the present verse: preposition, word-order). It appears occasionally in later writers, cf. Greg. Naz. *Carm* P.G. Migne 37.674,4 and 1542,4. Jacobs<sup>2</sup> observed an instance of similar phrasing which may defend the present usage, Paul. Sil. *Ecphr. Hag. Soph.* 148f. σῶν ἐτάυσσειν ὑπέρβια μέτρα θοώκων/ τέλσα παρ’ ἐσχατόντα κατ’ ὠκεανίτιδας ἀκτάς (Justinian, of the power of Constantinople); this is not the only other appearance of the word in the plural; in the same work of Paulus Silentarius there is ἀνοτήρ occurrence, 820 περὶ τέλσα μέσου τροχάοντα μελάθρου, τέλσα μελάθρου also conjectured for *ibid.* 424. For the formation of the noun cf. Herodian *Gr.* 3.2.109,26 τέλσον· βαρυτόνως ὡς μέτρον. Ἐγένετο δὲ παρὰ τὸ τέλος ἐν ὑπερθέσει τοῦ σ καὶ προσόδῳ τοῦ ν, also Eust. 956.5ff. Hesychius has τέλσα[ς]· στροφάς, τέλη, πέρατα, a reading with a separate entry in LSJ (i.e. apart from τέλσον), as if from the (elsewhere unattested) form τέλση (ἦ).

**3f.: ξανθὴν...γενειάδα:** γενειάς, a Homeric ἀπαξ λεγόμενον (in the plural, *Od.* 16.176), normally describes a fully grown beard, cf. for instance δάσκιος γενειάς in Aesch. *Pers.* 316 and Soph. *Tr.* 13. At Christod. *AP* 2.212 and 2.278 the word has the sense of “chin”. For a man’s first hair on the chin other terms are preferred: Antipater in 6.198,1 and Crinagoras in 9,5 GP use ἱουλον, Apollonidas in *AP* 10.19,1 and Crinagoras in 9,4 GP πρῶτον θέρος and ἔαρ respectively, Apollonidas in *AP* 10.19,2 γενύων ἠιθέους ἔλικας, cf. Herodas 1.52 τοὺς ἱουλον ἀνθεῦντας.<sup>130</sup> In Theocr. 2.395, where

<sup>128</sup> See intr. under Language and Style, “Ἀπαξ λεγόμενα.

<sup>129</sup> In cases of variants between readings in two occurrences of an epigram in P, P1’s reading agrees sometimes with the P<sup>1</sup> and sometimes with P<sup>2</sup>, see Cameron (1993) 45.

<sup>130</sup> For more examples with ἱουλος see Headlam on Herodas 1.52.

a similar expression of “blond beard” occurs, τοῖς δ’ ἦς ξανθοτέρα μὲν ἐλιχρῦσοιο γενειάς, / στήθεα δὲ στίλβοντα πολὺ πλέον ἢ τύ, Σελάνα,<sup>131</sup> the youths described obviously have a proper beard. In Latin, however, apart from the usual *lanugo*, *barba* is also used to denote the first hair, cf. Ov. *Met.* 12.395 *barba erat incipiens, barbae color aureus*, *Fast.* 3.60 *suberat flavae iam nova barba comae*, *Lucret.* 5.673–4 *et in pubem molli pubescere veste/ et pariter mollem mollis demittere barbam*. Eyben notes that “*barba* refers to this initial growth only when it is further defined, as in *prima, incipiens, mollis barba*” or *aureus*.<sup>132</sup> For this first hair as yellowish, cf. *Strato AP* 12.10, 1f., *Ov. Met.* 6.718, *Hel. Aeth.* 7.10. The blond colour, however, not only denotes youth but is also a feature of beauty, see further Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 12.395. In the present poem, therefore, ξανθὴ γενειάς could be taken as referring to the first down, influenced by the Latin usage of the term *barba*, or denote a proper beard, as usually the first hair was left to grow to a full beard and then shaved and dedicated, see Eyben 693. Octavian performed his *depositio barbae* in 39 B.C., at the age of twenty-four (see Marquardt I 599f., *Carcopino* 160), but an earlier age was more usual: Caligula and Nero performed the ceremony when they assumed the *toga virilis*, that is in the seventeenth year of their age (cf. *Carcopino* 160, *Marquardt I* 123ff., 600), which is also the case for Marcellus. At this age it is difficult to speak of a proper beard, though not completely impossible; a fully grown beard is a sign of virility and maturity (Eyben 693) and such a reference, albeit exaggerated, is apt for the purpose of the present poem which stresses Marcellus’ masculinity throughout, cf. above on ἐσπερίου...πολέμοιο.

ἜΚΕΙΡΕ: in cases of shaving or cutting one’s hair the middle form is usually preferred: Antipater at *AP* 6.198,2 has κειράμενος (but at *ibid.* 4 κείραι), Apollonides in 10.19,2 κείρεο; cf. *Il.* 23.46 κείρασθαί τε κόμην, *ibid.* 135f. θριξί δε πάντα νέκυν καταείνυσαν, ἄς ἐπέβαλλον / κειρόμενοι, *Od.* 4.198, 24.46.

ΒΟΥΛΕΤΟ ΠΑΤΡΙΣ: the concept of the homeland or city as wishing something, and analogous expressions, are not rare in poetry and prose: Eur. *Heraclid.* 329f. αἰεί ποθ’ ἦδε γαῖα τοῖς ἀμηχάνοις / σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ βούλεται προσωφελεῖν, *Ag. Ran.* 1424f. ἡ πόλις γὰρ δυστοκεῖ. - Ἔχει δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ τίνα γνώμη; - Τίνα; / Ποθεῖ μὲν, ἐχθαίρει δέ, βούλεται δ’ ἔχειν, anon. *API* 354,1f. (on the statue of Porphyrius the charioteer) Αἰδομένη χαλκῷ σε πόλις, τριπόθητε, γεραίρει· / ἤθελε γὰρ χρυσῷ· ἀλλ’ ἶδεν ἐς Νέμεσιν; cf. *Polyb.* 9.40,1 τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτον ἦθος βούλεται διαφυλάττειν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡ πόλις.

Οὕτως καί: οὕτως can refer to both the following and the preceding sentence, see K-G II (1) 646, 660, n. 1. Οὕτως καί often introduces the second element of comparison, referring back to the previously mentioned situation introduced with ὥς, cf. for instance

<sup>131</sup> Cf. *Nonnus D.* 40.417 στίλβων ξανθὰ γένεια καὶ ἀστερόεσσα/ὕπημην.

<sup>132</sup> See Eyben 692 with n. 9, 693.

Theocr. 2.24ff. χῶς αὐτα (the bay) λακεῖ μέγα καππυρίσσα / .../ οὕτω τοι καὶ Δέλφιδι ἐνὶ φλογὶ σάρκ' ἀμαθύνει, Call. *AP* 7.89,15f. τὴν δ' ὀλίγην ὡς κείνος ἐς οἰκίον ἤγετο νύμφην, / οὕτω καὶ σύ γ' ἰὼν τὴν κατὰ σαυτὸν ἔλα, Nonnus *D.* 29.95ff. καὶ ὡς Ἰάκιθον Ἀπόλλων / ἔστενευ ... / οὕτω καὶ Διόνυσος ἀνέσπασε πολλάκι χαίτην. It can also introduce, however, a situation generally compared with the one previously mentioned in a new sentence, after a full-stop or a semi-colon; cf. Crin. 27,5 GP οὕτως καὶ ἱεραὶ Ζηνὸς δρύες, “Diog. Laert.” *AP* 7.126,3 οὕτω καὶ Φιλόλαον ἀνεῖλε Κρότων ποτὲ πάτρην, Honestus 9.230,3 οὕτως καὶ σοφίης πόνος ὄρθιος. In the present epigram Marcellus’ returning from the war and shaving for the first time (ll. 1-3) are put in parallel, through οὕτως, with his country’s wish to “send him a boy and receive him a man” (l. 4); οὕτως therefore refers Italy’s wish back to the events presented in the first part of the poem. All editions, with the exception of Jacobs<sup>1</sup> and Gow-Page, print a comma after οὕτως; there are two possibilities: a) οὕτως takes no comma and will refer to the following καὶ πέμψαι...λαβεῖν (his country wanted to send him *thus* a boy and take him back a man); b) οὕτως refers to βούλετο, takes a comma after it and καὶ πέμψαι παῖδα καὶ ἄνδρα λαβεῖν is an epexegetis to Italy’s wish. In this case, however, the two καί’s would perhaps add too much emphasis to the country’s wish about the boy’s *both* going and returning.

πέμψαι...λαβεῖν: for the contrast “go child-return adult”, cf. [Theocr.] 27.65 παρθένος ἔνθα βέβηκα, γυνὴ δ' εἰς οἶκον ἀφέρπω; for phrases conveying a similar contrast and also concluding the epigram in Martial, cf. 1.62,6 *Penelope venit, abit Helene*, 6.71,6 *vendidit ancillam, nunc redimit dominam*, 6.80,10 *mitte tuas messes, accipe, Nile, rosas*, cf. 3.4,7f. *poeta / exierat: veniet, cum citharoedus erit*.<sup>133</sup> Martial closes an epigram with an opposite contrast to the present one; he prays to Apollo that a beautiful slave boy is shorn but not made a man (for this pederastic wish cf. below on παῖδα...ἄνδρα), 1.31,8 *tonsum fac cito, sero virum*.

πέμψαι παῖδα: πέμπειν is very usual for messengers or soldiers of a city; cf. for instance Hdt. 1.73.1,2 ἀλλὰ περὶ ὧν ἡ πόλις ἔπεμψεν, Dem. *De fals. leg.* 147.8 ἐφ' οἷς ἡ πέμψασα πόλις τῶν αὐτῆς ἀπέστη, Strabo 17.3,13, Eur. *Suppl.* 458. Italy, however, is here a mother who sends her son to the war as a boy and receives him as a man: for the image of a parent sending his / her child to the war, cf. *Od.* 24.311 ὡς χαίρων μὲν ἐγὼν ἀπέπεμπον ἐκεῖνον, Eur. fr. 360 Nauck τὰ μητέρων δάκρυ' ὅταν πέμπη τέκνα / πολλοὺς ἐθήλυν' εἰς μάχην ὀρωμένους, Ar. *Lys.* 549f., Diosc. *AP* 7.434,1f. Πέμπειν can be used for “seeing off” someone who departs for a journey, cf. the series of poems -variations of one another- in *AP* 12.24-27, of Laureas

<sup>133</sup>This motif might have its origins in popular poetry. For an exact parallel in modern Greek traditional verse, cf. the lullaby Ἦπε ποὺ παίρνεις τὰ παιδιὰ, ἔλα πάρε καὶ τοῦτο / μικρὸ μικρὸ σοῦ τό δωκα, μεγάλο φέρε μοῦ' το (Politis 148,1f.).

## GP 10

and Stat. Flaccus, for instance σωόν μοι Πολέμωνα μολεῖν, ὅτ' ἔπεμπον, Ἄπολλον, / ἠτούμην, κτλ. (Flaccus 12.25), cf. next note.<sup>134</sup>

παῖδα...ἄνδρα: for the stages of a man's age, cf. for instance Xen. *Symp.* 4.17 ὥσπερ γε παῖς γίγνεται καλός, οὕτω καὶ μειράκιον καὶ ἀνὴρ καὶ πρεσβύτης. Martial expresses for a beautiful young slave the opposite wish of that of Crinagoras for Marcellus: that Spendophoros will return from Libya, where he accompanies his master in a military office, still a boy (cf. the wishes in pederastic poems of the Anthology, prev. note), 9.56, 11f. *dum puer es, redeas, dum vultu lubricus, et te / non Libye faciat, sed tua Roma virum*, with Henriksén *ad loc.*

λαβεῖν: for a country as the subject cf. Eur. *Herc.* 416f. τὰ κλεινὰ δ' Ἑλλάς ἔλαβε βαρ- / βάρου κόρας λάφυρα. The verb, in the sense of "receive" a person, occurs at *Od.* 7.254ff. Καλυψὼ...ἦ με λαβοῦσα / ἐνδυκέως ἐφίλει etc. For parents receiving the son from the war, cf. δέχεσθαι: *Il.* 18.89f. παιδὸς ἀποφθιμένοι, τὸν οὐχ ὑποδέξειαι αἴτις / οἴκαδε νοστήσαντ', Erycius *AP* 7.230,1 ἀνικ' ἀπὸ πτολέμου τρέσαντά σε δέξατο μάτηρ, Qu. Sm. 10. 141f., cf. of a husband *Od.* 19.257f.

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<sup>134</sup> In these epigrams we have a teasing reversal of the ceremony of the dedication of a youth's beard to the god; here the blooming of the adolescent's beard is precisely what the lover does not want, and declares that he will not sacrifice to the god if the youth returns different from what he was before he left (the very opposite, one could observe, of the wish of Italy for Marcellus). In 12.24 and 12.26 the lover leaves the boy himself to carry out the sacrifice, if manhood is what he had wished for, an occasion actually longed for and celebrated by the youths and their families. For the usual theme of hair as ruining a boy's attractions cf. Howell on Mart. 1.31, 8.

GP 11

AP 9.545=GP 11

Καλλιμάχου τὸ τορευτὸν ἔπος τόδε· δὴ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ  
 ὤνῆρ τοὺς Μουσέων πάντας ἔσεισε κάλους·  
 αἰεῖδει δ' Ἐκάλῃς τε φιλοξείνοιο καλιήν  
 καὶ Θησεῖ Μαραθῶν οὓς ἐπέθηκε πόρους.  
 5 τοῦ σοι καὶ νεαρὸν χειρῶν σθένος εἴη ἀρέσθαι,  
 Μάρκελλε, κλεινοῦ τ' αἴνον ἴσον βίότου.

Κριναγόρου Pl I<sup>b</sup> 37,1 Κριναγόρου Schol. Ar. Ald. Eq. 756 s.a.n. (1-2)

2 κάλους PPI: -λως edd. vett. 4 οὓς P: τοὺς Pl 5 νεαρὸν PPC: -ρῶν P<sup>acc</sup>PI

*This well-chiselled poem is by Callimachus; the man shook all the Muses' sail-reefs above it; he sings of the hut of hospitable Hecale and the labours Marathon set for Theseus. May it be granted to you, Marcellus, to attain the youthful strength of his hands and a fame equal to his glorious life.*

Crinagoras offers Callimachus' *Hecale* to Marcellus. M. Claudius Marcellus, Octavian's nephew from the first marriage of his sister Octavia with Gaius Claudius Marcellus, was born in 42 B.C.; Octavian not only married him to his daughter Julia (25 B.C., cf. Dio Cass. 53.28), but also adopted him (cf. Plut. *Ant.* 87 ἅμα παῖδα καὶ γαμβρὸν ἐποίησατο Καῖσαρ). Marcellus died in the pestilence of 23 B.C., see further *RE* 3.2764ff., cf. Syme (1939) 219, 389, (1986) 23. The young man was much loved and lamented by the Roman people (cf. Tac. *Ann.* 2.41) and his death inspired some of the most moving lines in Latin poetry, Virgil's *Aen.* 6.860ff. and Propertius' 3.18. The youth served as a military tribune in Spain together with the future emperor Tiberius in 26-25 B.C., see *RE* 10.345, Syme (1939) 332, (1986) 348; he died in 23 B.C, a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the present epigram. The time of the poem's composition can be placed in the period 25-23 B.C., if we accept that Crinagoras wrote it some time after he had returned to Rome after his Third Embassy to Augustus in Tarragona (26-25 B.C.); otherwise it is possible to suggest that he met Marcellus in Rome in 27 B.C., before they both set out for Spain. This is Cichorius' assumption (1888, 54), stemming from the fact that the poem does not convey any reference to Marcellus' military exploits in Spain.<sup>135</sup>

<sup>135</sup> Augustus had already left Rome for Spain in late spring 27 B.C., see Syme (1986) 38. One could wonder, however, why, if Crinagoras was in Rome in 27 B.C., the Mytilenean Embassy did not arrange their trip so as not to miss Octavian for such a short time. It seems perhaps more probable that the poet did not arrive in Rome while Marcellus was still there, but offered him *Hecale* after their return to Rome, that is after 25 B.C.

For the popularity of *Hecale* in Rome in the times of Ovid and later, see Hollis 31ff. For the young Roman aristocrats' taste for Greek literature in the Augustan era see further Syme (1986) 350. Our sources praise Marcellus for his *pietas* and *virtus* (cf. the notion of virility recurrent throughout the poem, see below on κλεινοῦ βιότου and the poem praising his achievements in the Cantabrian war Crinagoras wrote for him, 10 GP) but also for his lively spirit and strong intelligence, cf. Sen. *Cons. ad Marc.* 2.3 *adulescentem animo alacrem, ingenio potentem*, see further *RE* 3.2770.

For other presents that Crinagoras sends to various persons, including members of Octavian's household, see intr. Epigrammatists usually send their own poems as presents, *AP* Antip. Thess. 9.93 (to Piso, for his birthday), Leon. Alex. 6.328 (probably to Nero, see Page *FGE* 519). Antipater sends Piso a volume of his poems for his birthday 9.93; Leonidas of Alexandria occasionally sends epigrams as birthday presents: to Nero or Vespasian (6.321, see Page *FGE* 514), to an Eupolis (6.325), to Agrippina (6.329). The present poem is comparable to the epigrams of Callimachus and Leonidas on Aratus' *Phaenomena*, which probably also accompanied copies of the book (see Gow-Page *HE* on Call. 56 and Leon. 101) and to which Crinagoras is alluding, see below on Καλλιμάχου...τόδε and τορευτόν.

1 Καλλιμάχου...τόδε: the opening recalls the openings of Callimachus' and Leonidas' epigrams on Aratus, *AP* 9.507 and 9.25 respectively, 'Ἡσιόδου τό τ' ἄεισμα καὶ ὁ τρόπος and γράμμα τόδ' Ἀρήτοιο δαήμονος, for which see further Gow-Page *HE* on Leon. 101 intr. note. Both phrases occupy, as in the present poem, the first four feet of the line and in Callimachus there is also alliteration of τ, as in Crinagoras. τορευτόν: "worked in relief", "chased", cf. Honestus *AP* 7.274,4 πέτρος ἐγὼ τὸ μάτην γράμμα τορευθὲν ἔχω (of an inscription). To praise the author of *Hecale*, Crinagoras uses a term recalling a key-word of Callimachean criticism in his description of Antimachus' *Lyde* (fr. 398) as καὶ παχὺ γράμμα καὶ οὐ τορόν. Antipater of Sidon (*AP* 7.409,1ff.) defends Antimachus saying "Ὀβριμον ἀκαμάτου στίχον αἴνεσον Ἀντιμάχοιο, / ... Πιερίδων χαλκευτὸν ἐπ' ἄκμοσιν, εἰ τορόν οὖας ἔλλαχες, κτλ.; here Antipater picks τορόν from Callimachus' view of the author of *Lyde* and combines it with the *Aetia* prologue, see further Skiadas (1965) 123, Cameron (1995) 333f.<sup>136</sup> Thus Crinagoras, through the word τορευτόν together with the whole opening of the epigram which recalls another instance of Callimachean criticism (see prev. note) alludes to notorious literary controversies involving the author of the poem he is presently offering as a gift. On Crinagoras' passage Auguste Couat (409) remarks: "the word

<sup>136</sup> For τορός as "clear", "distinct", of literary style, see LSJ s.v. 2, Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 398, Gutzwiller 220. Antipater's description of Antimachus' work as χαλκευτὸν ἐπ' ἄκμοσιν is commented upon by Cameron as a "rather inappropriate image" which derives from Pind. *P.* 1.87 ἀψευδεῖ δὲ πρὸς ἄκμοι χάλκευε γλώσσαν, where it has a different meaning, "speaking the truth" (Cameron 1995, 333, n. 144). Antipater's image, however, is in fact to be seen as an example of the use of vocabulary of metal work for literary style.

## GP 11

τορευτόν summed up for the Alexandrians the greatest praise that could be given to a poetic composition. Above all else, it designated attention to detail and perfection of form". For the metaphor of work on stone for the elaboration of poetry, cf. the use of the word in Dionysius of Halicarnassus referring to literary style, *Comp.* 25 ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων οὐ γραπτοῖς ἀλλὰ γλυπτοῖς καὶ τορευτοῖς ἐοικότας ἐκφερόντων λόγους (on Plato and Isocrates), *Thuc.* 24 καθ' ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν τῆς φράσεως μορίων ῥιζῶν καὶ τορευῶν. Τορεύειν is often confused with τορνεύειν, cf. LSJ s.v. τορεύω *passim* and can be a synonym of τορέειν, see LSJ s.v. II. Cf. also Eust. on *Od.* 5.246 (1532,11ff. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τορῶ...καὶ ὁ τορὸς λόγος καὶ ὁ τεκτονικὸς τὸρος καὶ τὸ τορεύειν καὶ ὁ τὸρνος γίνεται; in fact there is a connection between the two words, see Chantraine (1968) and Frisk s.v. τὸρνος. For the literary style cf. also the metaphor of chiselling and filing, see Gow-Page *HE* on 1593; Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 25 (see above), Diosc. *AP* 7.411,3f. Αἰσχύλος ἐξύμνησεν, ὁ μὴ σμιλευτὰ χαράξας / γράμματα, Aristoph. *Ran.* 901, id. *Th.* 54 (cf. Taillardat 442, § 758), Plato *Phaedr.* 234e. In Latin cf. Prop. 2.34,43 *angusto versus includere torno*, Hor. *Epist.* 2.91f. *mirabile visu / caelatumque novem Musis opus*, see further Stark and Brink on Prop. and Hor. *loc. cit.* respectively. Propertius' reference to Antimachus in the following lines can suggest he has in mind τορόν, the word Callimachus uses in his criticism of Antimachus and, at the same time, the word's associations with τὸρνος on literary style.

Crinagoras' τορευτόν denotes a well-shaped, fine work, while Callimachus had described the verses of Aratus as λεπταί / ῥήσιες, ll. 3f. The meaning of the two qualifications is almost identical, cf. the fine metal work Plutarch attests that the son of Aemilius Paullus became keen on, *Aem. Paul.* 37.3 εὐφυᾶ μὲν ἐν τῷ τορεύειν καὶ λεπτουργεῖν γενέσθαι φασίν. The identification of τορευτόν with λεπτόν is further suggested by the opposition between παχύ and τορόν in Call. fr. 398; for a revision of the bibliography on the classical and Hellenistic usage of the word λεπτός and a further discussion, see Cameron (1995) 323ff. The critic observes that "in the eyes of posterity it was Callimachus who came to embody λεπτότης, especially (through Virgil) at Rome" (327).

ἔπος τόδε: for the expression also in Call. *AP* 7.272,5 and Anyte 7.724,3, same *sedes*. Cf. the quintet of lyric books as a gift to Antonia, Crin. 7,1f. GP ἐν τεύχεϊ τῷδε / πεντάς, the silver pen for Proclus, 3,1f. GP ἀργύρεόν σοι τόνδε.../ ...κάλαμον. Ἔπος as indicating an epic poem occurs first in Pindar, *N.* 2,1f. ὄθεν περ καὶ Ὀμηρίδαι / ῥαπτῶν ἐπέων τὰ πόλλ' ἀοιδοί, cf. Hdt. 2.117, Thuc. 1.3. The word can also designate poetry in general, for instance Pind. *O.* 3.8 φόρμιγγά τε ποικιλόγαρυν καὶ βοᾶν αὐλῶν ἐπέων τε θέσιν, cf. its Homeric sense, as song accompanied by music, *Od.* 8.91, 17.519. In regard to the work of a specific poet cf. in the Anthology Theocr. 7.664,6, on Archilochus, and Antip. Sid. 7.713,2, on Erinna.

ἐπ' αὐτῷ: Gow-Page translate “above it”, Paton “in it”, Waltz, more freely, “pour l'ecrire”. The latter translation renders more correctly the point of the sentence, which means that “he made every effort for it”, i.e. to write it. In this sense, that is “for someone's sake”, the phrase occurs in *Il.* 21.585 τετεύχεται ἄλγε' ἐπ' αὐτῇ, 9.492 ἐπὶ σοὶ μάλα πόλλ' ἔπαθον.

ὠνήρ: cf. the use of the form with a touch of grandeur for an artist or a man of letters, cf. Theocr. *AP* 9.598,1ff. ὠνήρ / ...Πείσανδρος (for whom see Gow on Theocr. ep. 22, intr. note), id. 9.600,1f. ἄ τε φωνὰ Δώριος χώνηρ ὁ τὰν κωμωδίαν / εὐρῶν Ἐπίχαρμος, Diosc. 7.707,3f. ἐκισσοφόρησε γὰρ ὠνήρ / ἄξια Φλιασίων (for the tragic poet Sositheus, Gow-Page *HE* on Diosc. 23 intr. note). Cf. the same spirit in Alexander Aetolus' presentation of the tyrant Agathocles, fr. 5.5 Powell ἔγραφε δ' ὠνήρ / εἶ παρ' Ὀμηρείην ἀγλαίην ἐπέων. The present phrasing recalls Damag. 7.355,3 ἦν δ' ὠνήρ Μουσέων ἱκανὴ μερίς (on Praxiteles, an artist not to be confused with the famous sculptor, see Gow-Page *HE* on Damagetus 8, intr. note).

πάντας...κάλους: the metaphor indicates one's great effort at something: Eur. *Med.* 278 ἐχθροὶ γὰρ ἐξιᾶσι πάντα δὴ κάλων, id. *Heraclid.* 837 φόνοιον ἐξίει κάλων, Ar. *Equ.* 756 νῦν δὴ σε πάντα δεῖ κάλων ἐξιέναι σεαυτοῦ, Plato *Prot.* 338a, Luc. *Alex.* 57, Dio Chrys. 4.81f., also see Page on Eur. *Med.* 278. The present phrase is a proverb, cf. Photius and *Suda* s.v. πάντα κάλων σείειν· παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν πάσῃ προθυμίας χρωμένων· παρήκται δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ ἄρμενα χαλώντων. The proverb is also πάντα κάλων κινεῖν, given as a parallel of πάντα λίθον κίνειν in schol. on Ar. *Eq.* 756.

Σείειν is commonly used of hair, cf. Agath. *AP* 5.273,2, leaves, cf. Antistius 11.40,4, earthquakes, cf. Lucillius 11.83,2; an imitation of the present passage might be traced in Antip. Thess. 9.186=GP 103,1f. Βίβλοι Ἄριστοφάνευσ θεῖος πόνος αἴσιν Ἀχαρνεὺς / κισσοδὲ ἐπὶ χλοερὴν πουλὺς ἔσεισε κόμην. In the present poem Callimachus “shook *all* (πάντας) the Muses' sail-reefs” above his *Hecale*, i.e. made every possible effort. In Antipater the ivy “waved its green hair” over Aristophanes' works *in masses* (πουλὺς), meaning that the plays gained huge success in the theatre (for this symbolic quality of ivy see G-P on *GP* 653ff.). Cf. the use of σείειν of reins, cf. Soph. *El.* 711ff. οἱ δ' ἅμα / ἵπποις ὀμοκλήσαντες ἡμίας χεροῖν / ἔσεισαν, Eur. *IA* 151 σεῖε χαλινοῦς; cf. the metaphor with the reins in Plato *Prot.* 338a χαλάσαι τὰς ἡμίας τοῖς λόγοις. Callimachus is thus implicitly envisaged as the captain of the ship of poetry who makes every effort to achieve the perfection of his work. In *N.* 5.51 ἀνὰ δ' ἰστία τεῖνον πρὸς ζυγὸν καρχασίου, Pindar expresses his enthusiasm for Themistius, the victor's grandfather, suggesting that Themistius is a fair wind to which the poet can let his sails, in other words the poet's inspiration, see Péron 49ff., Pfeijffer 83f.<sup>137</sup> The

<sup>137</sup> For the image of sails in literature, usually elaborating the idea of one's adaption to circumstances, see Pfeijffer 184ff. For the common motif of the “ship of the city” in tragedy, see Péron 263ff.

poetry is therefore a ship on which the poet, as its captain, manoeuvres the sails;<sup>138</sup> for the ship of poetry cf. also Pind. *P.* 2.62 εὐαιθέα δ' ἀναβάσομαι στόλον, *ibid.* 67f. τόδε μὲν κατὰ Φοίμισσαν ἐμπολάν / μέλος, *P.* 10.51ff., *N.* 3.26f., 4.69f. The same image is suggested by the Muses' "fair wind", *N.* 6.27f. εὐθύν' ἐπὶ τοῦτον, ἄγε, Μοῖσα, / οὔρον ἐπέων εὐκλεᾶ, *P.* 4.2/3f. Apart from Pindar, there is an example from Gregory of Nazianzus with the speaker "stretching the sails" in regard to poetry, *Carm.* Migne PG (37) 1533.8 μῆδ' ὄλον ἐξεπέρησα λόγων πόρον, ἰστία τείνας. It should be finally noted that Crinagoras' πάντας κάλους, denoting "every possible effort", resembles the expression πλήρῃσιν ἰστιούς, "with full sails", i.e. "with all heart and might", cf. Philostr. *VS* 1.25,5, *Suda* s.v. ἰστιόν, Pfeijffer 185. Hollis (9f.) remarks that this expression in Crinagoras' poem indicates the rich diversity of authors and genres which have been used by Callimachus in writing *Hecale*.

P's and Pl's κάλους can be retained (Gow-Page alone among modern editors print κάλως, adopted by older editors of Pl [see Stadtmüller's apparatus], Jacobs<sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup>, Holtze), as the epic-Ionic form of the otherwise standard Attic expression, cf. for instance Eust. 1271.5 [on *Il.* 22.310] κάλον τὸ σχοινίον. Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς καὶ κάλως κάλως παρ' Ἀπτικοῖς, used by Homer and Herodotus, cf. *Od.* 5.260 τῶν ἰστιῶν τοὺς κάλους, Hdt. 2.36.

**Μουσέων:** Callimachus is very fond of references to the Muses, especially when he intends to define his "new" art and, more generally, to describe and defend his work, cf. 1.2, 1.24; in this form cf. fr. 2.2 Ἡσιόδῳ Μουσέων ἔσμος ὄτ' ἠντίασεν, 112.9 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Μουσέων πεζὸν ἔπειμι νομόν, 538,1 Μουσέων δ' οὐ μάλα φιδὸς ἐγώ.

**3f.:** Note the central position of the presentation of the theme of *Hecale*, symmetrically encompassed by the first and third distich, the one on Callimachus, the other on Marcellus. The central distich also offers a symmetrical and balanced presentation of the two themes of Callimachus' poem, Hecale's hut and the fight with the bull. What it is interesting to observe, nevertheless, and critics have failed to comment upon, is that in reality the two themes of *Hecale* were not equal in length and importance; Theseus' heroic achievement was subordinate to the scene in Hecale's hut and the figure of Hecale herself who opens and closes the poem (cf. Hollis 6, Cameron 1995, 443). For the sake of the direction he intends for his epigram, however, Crinagoras ignores this distribution of importance in Callimachus' poem and gives the same length to Hecale's hospitality and to Theseus' fight in Marathon so that he can close his poem with the wish of equal accomplishments for Marcellus.

**ἀείδει:** in the Anthology, of poets, cf. Antip. Sid. 7.27,3 (on Anacreon) ὑγρά δὲ δερκομένοισιν ἐν ὄμμασιν οὔλον ἀείδεις, anon. 7.664,6 (on Archilochus), ἔπεά τε ποιεῖν πρὸς λύραν τ' ἀείδειν. Poets often use the verb to speak *of* their work in the

<sup>138</sup> Cf. Pind. *P.* 1.91f. ἐξίει δ' ὡσπερ κυβερνάτας ἀνήρ / ἰστιόν ἀνεμόεν.

first person, cf. for instance Theogn. 4, Pind. *N.* 5.50, *N.* 10.31. Callimachus often does the same, especially in pieces of programmatic importance: fr. 1.33 δρόσον ἦν μὲν αἰείδω, 612.1 ἀμάρτυρον οὐδὲν αἰείδω, *H.* 2.106; cf. *H.* 1.1, *ibid.* 92, *H.* 2.31, 392.1.

With the α lengthened in the first syllable of the verse the word occurs for the first time in *Od.* 17.519. Cf. also Theocr. 7.41 (with Gow and Hatzikosta *ad loc.*), Call. 260.66=74.25 Hollis. In other metrical positions but always in the thesis of the foot, cf. Theocr. 16.3, 18.36, 24.77, Call. fr. 26.8, 75.5. In the Anthology this is comparatively rare, cf. Leon. 6.120,2, Antip. Thess. 9.92,2, 9.428,3, all at verse-opening.

The verb is translated by the editors as “he sings” and it is generally taken as referring to the poet, Callimachus. It could be also taken, however, as referring to the poem itself: the notion of a book or poem speaking is not unattested, cf. Antip. Thess. *AP* 9.428=GP 1,3, also verse-beginning, where the speaker is the epigram itself. Cf. moreover the image of Homer’s stilus “shouting” at Peek 1729,1f. Commenting on this notion, Reitzenstein compares Posid. *GP HE* 17,5f. Σαπφῶαι... / φθεγγόμεναι σελίδες; also Anyte *AP* 7.724,3 ἀλλὰ καλὸν τοι ὑπερθευ ἔπος τόδε πέτρος αἰεῖται, Mel. 7.428,19 τὸ δ’ οὖνομα πέτρος αἰεῖται and Euphorion 7.651,2 ἡ κυάνεον γράμμα λαλοῦσα πέτρῃ (the grave-stone “singing” the announcement written on it).<sup>139</sup>

Ἐκάλης...καλιήν: the phrase echoes Call. fr. 263=Hollis 80,3f. σεῖο φιλοξείνοιο καλιῆς / μνησόμεθα. Hollis comments *ad loc.*: “Crinagoras picked out these words to represent one of the two main themes of the poem”, the other one being the battle with the bull which he presents in the next verse, see above on 3f. In Greg. Naz. *Carm.* 2.1.16,77 (Migne 37.1259) the combination of the two words, φιλοξείνοιο φυτοῦ καθύπερθε καλιήν, strongly suggests that the author, Callimachus’ “most enthusiastic reader” in the fourth century (Cameron 1995, 335), consciously produces a variation of the Callimachean phrasing.<sup>140</sup> In verse-ending καλιή occurs also in Crin. 43,3 GP, in the sense of “shrine”; for the various meanings of the word see *ad loc.*

Φιλόξεινος in Homer occurs only in <sup>the</sup> *Odyssey* and always refers to people, 6.121, 8.576, 9.176, 13.202. Crinagoras produces a variation of the Callimachean phrase applying the adjective to Hecale and not to the hut (for the word not qualifying a person cf. Call. *H.* 4.156 [Κέρκυρα], “Diog. Laert.” *AP* 7.98,3 [Κόρινθος], Colluthus 254 [θάλαμοι], Nonnus *D.* 32.291, 41.98 [πυλεών], 43.164 [θάλασσα]).

καὶ Θησεῖ...πόνους: the expression is Homeric, cf. *Il.* 17.158 ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσι πόνον καὶ δῆριν ἔθεντο, 21.524f. πᾶσι δ’ ἔθηκε πόνον, πολλοῖσι δὲ κῆδε’ ἐφήκεν, / ὥς Ἴαχλιν εὖς Τρώεσσι πόνον καὶ κῆδε’ ἔθηκεν, for which cf. further Richardson *ad loc.* Note the juxtaposition of subject and indirect object in 21.525, as in the present instance.

<sup>139</sup>See Reitzenstein 219ff. For more examples of gravestones conceived as speaking in sepulchral poems, see Geoghegan on Anyte 4,3.

<sup>140</sup>For Callimachean echoes in Gregory see Cameron (1995), 334ff., Hollis 165, 321.

Μαραθῶν: For the reference to Marathon in *Hecale* cf. Call. fr. 253=40.1 Hollis ἐς Μαραθῶνα κατέρχομαι, 260=69.8 Hollis Θησεὺς οὐχ ἐκὰς οὔτος, ἀπ' εὐδρύου Μαραθῶνος / ζῶν ἄγων τὸν ταῦρον. For the personification of the place in which something happens, and its handling as if it was responsible for the event, cf. Call.H. 5.90 ὦ ὄρος, ὦ Ἑλικῶν... / ἦ μεγάλ' ἀντ' ὀλίγων ἐπράξασο, κτλ.; also cf. Soph. *OT* 1391 Ἴω Κιθαιρῶν, τί μ' ἐδέχου; τί μ' οὐ λαβῶν / ἔκτεινας εὐθύς; The personification of Marathon recalls the hero who gave his name to the place (cf. Paus. 1.15,3 and 32,4, 2.1,1, see further *RE* 14.1428, *LIMC* s.v. Marathon).

οὔς: as Gow-Page observe, the relative pronoun is postponed as in Crin. 26,3, 34,2, 51,3ff. GP. The reading of Pl τοῦς, accepted by Rubensohn, could be correct, recalling the Homeric usage of the article as relative, see Monro 182f., § 262, Chantraine (1958) 277f. § 130, (1963) 166 § 248-50. As the *lectio difficilior* it is likely to have been changed to the Attic οὔς. A counter-argument for this reading could be the coincidence of sound effect with the following τοῦ.

5f. τοῦ: for the relative pronoun as a demonstrative αὐτὸ the beginning of the sentence cf. for instance in the Anthology Leon. 6.131.4.

σθένος εἶη ἀρέσθαι: the expression κῦδος (usually, but also εὐχος and κλέος) ἀρέσθαι, “to win glory”, is a common Homeric formula, almost always at verse-end, cf. *Il.* 7.203 δὸς νίκην Αἴαντι καὶ ἀγλαὸν εὐχος ἀρέσθαι, 12.407 χάζετ', ἐπεὶ οἱ θυμὸς ἐέλιπετο κῦδος ἀρέσθαι, 16.87f., 17.16, 20,502, *al.* Elsewhere cf. Peek 24, same *sedes* [οἶδε δ' ἐπειγόμενοι πατέρων κλέος ἴσον [ἀρέ]σθαι.

σθένος...βιότου: cf. *Il.* 7.205 ἴσην ἀμφοτέροισι βίην καὶ κῦδος ὄπασσον. Crinagoras modulates the Homeric formula κῦδος ἀρέσθαι, “attain glory”, to “attain strength and praise”, combining in this way the Homeric formula with another instance from the *Iliad*.

νεαρὸν...σθένος: Bücheler (511) compares Plutarch's description of Theseus at *Thes.* 14 νέον ὄντα κομιδῆ. For the association of power and youth, cf. Eur. *Herc.* 232 εἰ δ' ἦ νέος τε κάτι σώματος κρατῶν, anon. *API* 383,4f. τὸ δὲ σθένος / ἦν τις νεάζων. For the “power of the hands”, cf. *Od.* 21. 283 χειρῶν καὶ σθένεος πειρήσομαι, Pind. *N.* 10.90, cf. *Il.* 20.360f. For the wish to be young and strong, cf. the Homeric formula εἶθ' ὡς ἠβῶοιμι, βίη δέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἶη, *Il.* 7.157, 11.670, 23.629, *Od.* 14.468, 14.503. Cf. also *Il.* 4.314 ὡς τοι γούναθ' ἔποιτο, βίη δέ τοι ἔμπεδος εἶη.

Νεαρὸς is a Homeric ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, *Il.* 2.289 παῖδες νεαροί. If P's reading after the correction is correct we here have an adjectival enallage, the phrase standing instead of νεαρῶν χειρῶν σθένος, which is Pl's and P's reading before the correction, also possibly correct.

αἶνον...βιότου: for the wish of unfading glory in one's life, cf. *Od.* 7.333 τοῦ μὲν κεν ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν / ἄσβεστον κλέος εἶη (for Alkinous; cf. the same motif

## GP 11

for the dead, *Od.* 4.584 χεῦ ’ Ἀγαμέμνονι τύμβον, ἴν’ ἄσβεστον κλέος εἶη). Cf. also Eur. *IA* 566 ἔνθα δόξα φέρει / κλέος ἀγήρατον βιοτᾶ, id. *Cycl.* 202 ἀλλ’ εἰ θανεῖν δεῖ, κατθανώμεθ’ εὐγενῶς, / ἧ ζῶντες αἶνον τὸν πάρος συσώσομεν.

Αἶνος occurs twice in Homer, *Il.* 23.652 and 795 meaning a “tale”; in Hes. *Op.* 202, *al.* it is used of fables, proverbs, riddles. It is through the meaning of tale that the notion of praise derives, cf. Eust. 1322.3ff., see further Richardson on *Il.* 23.651-2.

κλεινοῦ...βιότου: κλεινός is not Homeric; Homer uses κλειτός, *Il.* 3.451, *Od.* 6.56, *al.* For a glorious βίος, cf. for instance Eur. *Andr.* 319 ὦ δόξα δόξα, μυρίοισι δὴ βροτῶν / οὐδὲν γεγῶσι βίοντων ὄγκωσας μέγαν. Marcellus’ anticipated glorious life is to be seen in the context of the glory of Rome, as he was the intended heir of Augustus (cf. Dio Cass. 53.30, Syme 1986, 41, 83); the glory of Rome (also through its ancestor, Troy) was of course a recurrent motif in Augustan court poetry, cf. for instance Virg. *Aen.* 6.64f. *ingens / gloria Dardaniae*, 6.756f., 7.1ff. 11.430f.

The idea of manhood recurs constantly in the poem, from ὠνήρ in the opening of the second line through the labours of Theseus in Marathon in the second couplet, to the explicit wish for Marcellus’ strength and glory elaborated in full in the final couplet. We therefore have the triptych poet - mythological hero - real hero, the first two parties employed to prepare and highlight the achievements of the last one with which the crescendo of the poem culminates. The whole picture is further coloured by the persistent epic references (see above, *passim*) with the help of which Marcellus is seen in the heroic light of the κλέα ἀνδρῶν.

GP 12

AP 6.244=GP 12

Ἥρη Ἐληθυῶν μήτηρ, Ἥρη δὲ τελείη,  
καὶ Ζεῦ γινομένοις ξυνὸς ἅπασι πάτερ,  
ὠδίνας νεύσαιτ' Ἀντωνίη Ἰλαοὶ ἐλθεῖν  
πρηείας μαλακαῖς χερσὶ σὺν Ἠπιόνης,  
5 ὄφρα κε γηθήσειε πόσις μήτηρ θ' ἐκυρά τε·  
ἡ νηδὺς οἴκων αἶμα φέρει μεγάλων.

Κριναγόρου caret Pl

1 Ἐληθυῶν Ap. B.; Εἰληθ- P, Εἰλειθ- C | δὲ P: τε Dorville | τελείη C: τελέσει ut vid. P 2 πάτερ P: πατήρ Reiske 4 πρηείας C: πρησεῖ- ut vid. P | Ἠπιόνης C: -νίης P 5 ἐκυρά P -ρή Geist 6 ἡ νηδύς C: ἦν ἡδύς P: ἦ νηδύς Sitzler

*Hera, mother of Eileithyiai, Hera Teleia and Zeus, common father to all that are born, be gracious and grant that gentle pangs come to Antonia with the soft hands of Epionê, so that husband, mother and mother-in-law may rejoice. Her womb bears the blood of great houses.*

A prayer that the pregnant Antonia may have an easy birth. More usually, women in epigrams offer thanks accompanied by dedications to the goddesses of birth (Artemis, Eileithyia) after a successful child-bearing cf. Leon. AP 6.200 and 202, Nicias 6.270, Phaed. 6.271, Perses 6.272 and 274; for a prayer before the childbirth cf. Nossis 6.273 (for the ascription of the poem see G-P HE on Nossis 12); in Callimachus' prayer of AP 6.146 the woman has given birth to a girl and prays for a boy. A laudatory poem for the expected child of Domitian is Mart. 6.3, cf. Grewing 86f. For Philip's skilful thematical arrangement of the H sequence 6.240-244 (Philip 240 a dedication to Artemis, daughter of Zeus; Crinagoras 242=9 GP a dedication to Artemis together with Zeus Teleius; Diodorus 243 a birthday-sacrifice to Hera; Crinagoras 244=12 GP a prayer to Hera), see Cameron (1993) 42.

It is generally accepted that the Antonia of the present poem is Antonia Minor, born in 38 B.C., daughter of Marcus Antonius and Octavia, Octavian's sister. She married Nero Claudius Drusus around 18 B.C. (see on Crin. AP 6.345 intr. note) and had three children, Nero Claudius (commonly called Germanicus), Livilla and Claudius, the future emperor. Antonia's mother-in-law mentioned here is Drusus' mother Livia, who later divorced her husband and married Octavian (see RE 1.2640, n. 114). Gow-Page observe that the epigram must refer to the birth either of Germanicus (born 15 B.C.) or of Livilla (12-11 B.C., see Kokkinos 13), and not Claudius (born in 10 B.C.), as Antonia's mother, Octavia, who died in 11 B.C., is still alive (l.5), cf. also Rubensohn 13. Cichorius (1888,

58) observed that the poem is more likely to be associated with Antonia's first birth, as the absence of any reference to a brother of the expected baby implies. The child is not necessarily Germanicus, then, but perhaps another baby that died at birth or in its infancy, as Suetonius attests that Drusus had several children by Antonia, of whom only three survived (*Claudius* 1.6), see Kokkinos 11 with n. 16. The composition of the poem can be therefore placed between 18 and 15 B.C.

**1** Ἡρη...Ἡρη: for the anaphora cf. the opening of Crin. 15 GP, see *ad loc.* The figure is very common in Hellenistic poetry, cf. Call. *H.* 1.6f. Ζεῦ...Ζεῦ with McLennan *ad loc.*; see also see Legrand 376ff. on Theocritus, Williams on Call. 2.1f., Lausberg 281, § 629, cf. also below, on δέ. The vocative here is without ῶ, as the invocations of gods usually are in early epic, which suggests a loftiness of style.<sup>141</sup> The solemnity of the occasion is further stressed with the striking series of spondees in this and the following hexameter,<sup>142</sup> see intr. under Metre, Spondees; cf. also below, on l. 5.

Ἐληθυῶν μήτηρ: Cook lists the passages where Hera alone is mentioned as the mother of Eileithyia (singular: Pind. *N.* 7.2, Plut. ap. Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* 3.1,5, Paus. 1.18,5) or Eileithyiai (plural: *Il.* 11.270f., the present poem and Ael. *HA* 7.15; we can add Nonnus *D.* 48.795 Ἡραίας δὲ θύγατρας).<sup>143</sup> Hera is a goddess of birth, among her other aspects, and it has been suggested that Eileithyia was at first an epithet of hers, as the cults of Ἡρα Εἰλείθυια in Attica and Argolis attest (see Cook 1906, 367f., Pingiatoglou 94, West on Hes. *Th.* 922). As an epithet, however, Εἰλείθυια is also associated with other goddesses, like Artemis, Hecate, Selene, Hebe, Themis (see Cook 1906, 368, Pingiatoglou 91ff.). Hera as mother neatly corresponds to Zeus as father in the next line; the two gods are given equal length of presentation, one line each. Cf. the phrasing of Philodemus, *AP* 10.21=8,2 Sider, Κύπρι Πόθων μήτηρ ἀλλοπόδων, in a poem which is full of cletic anaphora, see Sider on 1, Κύπρι.

For the etymology of the name of Eileithyia, the predominant view being that it derives from the stem ἐλευθ-, see Pingiatoglou 11.<sup>144</sup> For the form Ἐλ- see the note of Gow-Page *ad loc.*; it occurs in all the Pindaric passages (*P.* 3.9, *O.* 6.42, *N.* 7.1, *Pae.* 12.17); also in Call. *H.* 4.257, 6.131. For the different spellings of the name (Εἰλείθυια, Ἐλείθυια, Ἰλείθυια, Εἰλειθοῦη etc.), see *RE* 5.2102, Schulze 260f.; the Homeric spelling is Εἰλείθυια. The form Εἰλήθυια occurs in inscriptions, Call. *H.* 4.132, as well as in many epigrams in the Anthology, which are usually altered by the Corrector to Εἰλειθ-; Call. *AP* 6.146, Leon. 6.220.1, Nicias 6.270,2, Perses 6.274,3, Mac. Cons. 7.566,1, see Gow-Page on Call. *HE* 1153, Leon. 2199 and Gow on [Theocr.] 27.29f.; Ἐληθ- occurs at

<sup>141</sup> See Scott (1903) 192ff. See also intr. under Language and Style.

<sup>142</sup> Long syllables were seen as producing an effect of grandeur, and were used in invocations of the gods at libations (σπονδαί) or other solemn occasions, cf. Dion. Hal. *Comp. Vreb.* 17f., see further West (1982) 55 with n. 66.

<sup>143</sup> Zeus and Hera together are their parents at Hes. *Th.* 922f, Apollod. 1.3,1 and Diod. 5.72.

<sup>144</sup> It is noteworthy that the modern Greek equivalent to the ancient goddess of birth is St. Eleutherios.

Antip. Thess.*AP* 9.238,6 (corresponding *sedes* in the pentameter) and is left unchanged by the Corrector.

“Ἡρη...τελείη: τέλειος is an epithet usually attributed to Zeus, to whom Crinagoras attributes it in 6.242=9,1f. GP. For Hera, as the goddess of marriage, cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 214. (cf. *ibid.* 835 γαμηλίου τέλους), id. fr. 383, Pind. *N.* 10.18 (schol.: ἔστι γὰρ αὐτὴ γαμηλία καὶ ζυγία. Ἔστι δὲ ὁ γάμος τέλος διὰ τὸ τελειότητα βίου κατασκευάζειν), schol. on Aristoph. *Th.* 973 Ἡρα τελεία καὶ Ζεὺς τέλειος ἐτιμῶντο ἐν τοῖς γάμοις ὡς πρυτάνεις ὄντες τῶν γάμων. Τέλος δὲ ὁ γάμος; cf. also Diod. Sic. 5.73, see Sommerstein on Aesch. *Eum.* 214, Bury on Pind. *loc. cit.*, Roscher s.v. “Teleia, Teleios”, Farnell 1.157, Bolkestein *passim*.<sup>145</sup> For the use of epithets which are compounds with τελ- in apostrophes to gods, see Keyssner (1932) 117-9.

δέ: Dorville suggested τε which is adopted by all editors except for Gow-Page, but there is no reason for such an alteration; for δέ in the second element of an anaphora with no μέν in the first, see Denniston 163, n. 2.

2 Ζεῦ...πάτερ: the concept of Zeus as “father of men and gods” is Homeric, cf. *Il.* 1.544, 4.68, 5.426, *al.*, see Dee 74. Zeus is the father of men not in the literal sense but in the sense of “our father which art in heaven”, see Kirk on *Il.* 1.544, cf. Nilsson 716f. (Zeus is also the *pater familias*), Kerényi (1976) 47ff.; for the description of Zeus and other gods as parents of people in apostrophes in literature see Keyssner (1932) 23-8. For the apostrophe Ζεῦ πάτερ in the Anthology cf. for instance Nicander 7.526,1, Strato 12.179,6, anon. *API* 262,4; in a prayer Jul. Pol. 9.9,2.

Reiske’s changing of P’s πάτερ to πατήρ, accepted by Dübner, Paton and Gow-Page, is not necessary: in regard to “Ἡρη...μήτηρ (l. 1), i.e. a double apostrophe where one term is vocative and the other nominative, cf. *Il.* 3.276 Ζεῦ πάτερ... Ἡέλιός τε, *Od.* 19.406 γαμβρός ἐμός θύγατέρ τε, Aesch. *Pr.* 88ff ὦ δῖος αἰθὴρ...παμμῆτόρ τε γῆ.<sup>146</sup> In regard to the nominative ξυνός, the adj. nominative + name vocative is attested in Homer (*Il.* 4.189 φίλος ὦ Μενέλαε) and accepted as grammatically correct by Aristarchus.<sup>147</sup> Cf. the same usage in Crin. 32,5 GP σύν τί μοι ἀλλά, Μένιππε, λάβευ φίλος, cf. *ad loc.*

For the construction (dative + noun) cf. K-G II (2) 429.

<sup>145</sup>In 1901 Bayfield interpreted Hera’s original epithet *teleia* as “Wife”, “Queen”; Bolkestein holds that the epithet was not connected to marriage at first (cf. Zeus τέλειος, the “fulfiller”), and suggests that Hera τελεία, probably denoting her as adult, was eventually associated her with marriage in a society where every adult was married. Kerényi’s interpretation of the epithet of the archetypal divine couple, in regard to the expression τέλος ὁ γάμος, is that Hera *teleia* attained completion in marriage and Zeus *teleios* was “the bringer to perfection”, which is not far from the general sense of the term, the “fulfiller”, see Kerényi (1976) 98f., 104.

<sup>146</sup>See Humbert 242, Monro 116, § 164. For later literature as well as for examples in modern Greek, see Schwyzer 2.63, η, 1.

<sup>147</sup>See Friedlaender 18, Giangrande (1970) 50; also Schwyzer 2.63, η, 2.

γινόμενοις: “all who are born”; for γιν- instead of γιγν-, see Thes. s.v. “γίγνομαι et γίνομαι”. Γιν- is in our Homeric manuscripts but it is impossible to trace the date at which this spelling got into the Homeric text, see Chantraine (1958) 12f. In his comment on *Il.* 10.71 ἄμμι / Ζεὺς ἐπὶ γεινομένοισιν ἔει κακότητα βαρεῖαν, Leaf defends γειν- against γιν- on the ground that the former, aor. participle (from γεινόμενος with metrical lengthening, see Schulze 182-91, West on Hes. *Th.* 82), is the proper tense to express “at the moment of birth” and further maintains that the real meaning of γινόμενος is not *nascens* (as opposed to *natus*, according to Schulze), but “becoming”, as is shown in its only occurrence in Homer at *Od.* 4.417. True as this may be for the epic (also note that in all its occurrences in the Anthology, the present participle γινόμενος or γιγν- has only the sense “become”), we find γιγνόμενος unambiguously as *nascens* in later literature, cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 347 γιγνομέναισι λάχη τάδ’ ἐφ’ ἀμὶν ἐκράνθη, Eur. fr. 839,12 Nauck θηήσκει δ’ οὐδὲν τῶν γιγνομένων, cf. the examples from Philemon and Menander in Schulze 190.

Both gods whom the poet addresses are given qualifications that relate them to birth: Hera is the mother of Eilethyiai and Zeus is the father of all that are born; cf. Artemis’ association of her task to help women at their childbearing with her own birth in *Call. H.* 3.21ff.

ξυνός: = κοινός, “common”, first in Homer, *Il.* 15.193 γαῖα δ’ ἔτι ξυνὴ πάντων, 18.309 ξυνὸς Ἐινυάλιος, cf. with dative *ibid.* 16.262 ξυνὸν κακὸν πολέεσσι, Archil. fr. 110 West ξυνὸς ἀνθρώποις Ἄρης, Pind. *O.* 3.18 φύτευμα ξυνὸν ἀνθρώποις, [Theocr.] 23.24 ξυνὸν τοῖσιν ἐρῶσι τὸ φάρμακον. Usually the adjective refers to a whole group of people, while it is seldom used of two persons or groups, see Mineur on *Call. H.* 4.171. For its occurrence in epigrams cf. Geoghegan on Anyte 20=*AP* 7.190,2.

**3:** for the elision at the caesura see intr. under Metre, Elision.

νεύσαιτ’...ἐλθεῖν: νεύειν+inf. in the sense of “grant” (see LSJ s.v. 2), occurs at *Il.* 8.246 νεῦσε δέ οἱ λαὸν σόον ἔμμεναι, Pind. *O.* 7.67ff. ἀλλὰ Κρόνου σὺν παιδὶ νεῦσαι,... γέρας ἔσσεσθαι, cf. Phaedimus *AP* 6.271,6 Ἄρτεμι,...νεῦσον ἰδεῖν, κτλ. Agath. *AP* 6.41,5f. εἰ δ’ ἐπινεύσης / τὸν στάχυν ἀμῆσαι. For νεύειν in this sense cf. also *h. Cer.* 445 with Richardson *ad loc.*, Soph. *OC* 248 ἀλλ’ ἴτε, νεύσατε / τὰν ἀδόκητον χάριν, id. *Phil.* 484, Eur. *Alc.* 978. The divine assent, expressed with the nodding of the head, is irrevocable, cf. *Il.* 1.524ff.; also Athena’s nod in *Call. H.* 5.131ff., see Bulloch *ad loc.*

ὠδῖνας...ἐλθεῖν: the noun appears once in Homer (*Il.* 11.270, in association with the “daughters of Hera”, see οἱ Ἡρη...μήτηρ) and once in *h. Apol.* 92; for parallels to the present phrase cf. LXX *Jes.* 37.3 ὅτι ἦκει ἡ ὠδὶν τῇ τεκούσῃ (for the later form ὠδὶν see LSJ s.v.1), Antiphil. *AP* 7.375,3f. ὑπήλυθον αἱ κακόμοιροι / ὠδῖνες, Opp. *Hal.* 4.198f. ἰκάνεται Εἰλειθυίης / κῦμα πόνων. Cf. *Call. AP* 6.146,1f., see below on σύν.

ἴλαοι: for the conventional appeal to gods with this epithet cf. Aristoph. *Th.* 1148 ἤκετε δ' εὐφρονες, ἴλαοι, Herondas 4.11 ἴλεω δεῦτε, *H.Orph.* 18.19 ἴλαον ἀγκαλέω σε μολεῖν, *ibid.* 35.6 ἴλαον ἦτορ ἔχουσα / βαῖν', *al.*, see Keyssner 91f. In the Anthology cf. for instance Satyrius 6.11,5 (to Pan), Rhianus 6.278,3 (Apollo), Antiphilus 6.199,4 (Artemis), Phld. 6.349,5 (various sea-deities). The penultimate is usually short, . ας here, while in rare cases it is lengthened (e.g. *Il.* 1.583), see Gow on Theocr. 5.18.

**4:** the construction of the line is very unusual. The hyperbaton with the preposition σύν after both the noun and the adjective is probably unique here; usual hyperbata with σύν consist of the preposition between adjective and noun, cf. for instance Crin. 5,4 GP γηθομένη σύν φρενί, Mnasalcas *AP* 6.264,5 ἀνδρὶ κορυσσαμένα σύν ἀριστέι, Diod. 7.624,6 νηὶ τε σύν πάσῃ, Duris 9.424,2 νυκτὶ σύν ἀστεμφεῖ, Cornelius *API* 117,2 βριαραῖς ἀνθετο σύν παλάμαις, Ap. Rh. 3.126 κενεαῖς σύν χερσί, Theocr. 16.107 Μοῖσαισι σύν ἀμετέραισιν. Relatively comparable, though not with σύν following the adjective and the noun, but involving a genitive in the construction, is *h. Cer.* 5 κούρησι σύν Ὀκεανοῦ βαθυκόλοισι, Eur. *IA* 1067f. ὅς ἤξει χθόνα λογχήρεσι σύν Μυρμιδόνων / ἀσπισταῖς.

For the image of the gentle-handed Epione helping the pregnant woman, Jacobs<sup>2</sup> compared Maximus Astr. *Περὶ καταρχῶν* 205ff. οὐ μὲν δὴ κύνουσαν, ὅτ' ἀμβλώσειε, γυναῖκα / ρεῖά κεν οὐδ' αὐτὴ Παιηοῖς ἰήσαιτο / Ἴππίωνη χεῖρεσσιν ἀκεσφορίην ἐπάγουσα.

πρηείας: the adjective here refers to ὠδῖνας in self-variation with 51,6 GP πρηείης... Ἴππίωνης. Note the oxymoron, emphasised by the enjambment and the placing of the noun and the qualifying adjective at the beginning of the two consequent lines, cf. 35,4 GP νύκτας ἴδης, see on 4,4 GP πρηεῖ κέντρῳ.

The adjective is conventionally used for the goddess of child-birth, cf. Pind. *O.* 6.42 πραῦμητιν τ' Ἐλειθυῖαν, *IG* 7.3101,3 Ἀρτέμισιν πρα[ε]ρίαις, cf. Hor. *Carm. Saec.* 14 *lenis, Ilithyia*, also Ov. *Am.* 2.13,21 *lenis ades precibusque meis fave, Ilithyia*, see Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 202,9 and 18. For πραῦς as a conventional epithet of gods, see Keyssner 97. For the notion of “soft” birth-pangs cf. Plato *Theaet.* 149c-d (the midwife) δύναται ἐγείρειν τε τὰς ὠδῖνας καὶ μαλθακώτερας, ἂν βούληται, ποιεῖν, Plut. *Mor.* 658f. (the moon) μαλθακώτερας παρέχουσα τὰς ὠδῖνας.

μαλακαῖς χερσί: cf. the “soft (i.e. “healing”) hand” of the physician at Pind. *P.* 4.271 χρῆ μαλακὰν χέρα προσβάλλοντα τρώμαν ἔλκεος ἀμφιπολεῖν, id. *N.* 3.54f. Ἀσκληπιόν / τὸν φαρμάκων δίδαξε μαλακόχειρα νόμον. Ἴππίοχειρ is an epithet of Ὑγεία at *H.Orph.* 23.8, 29.18, 84.8 and Apollo at *AP* 9.525,8, cf. Herondas 4.17f. τὰς νούσους ἀπέψησας / ἐπ' ἠπίας σὺ χεῖρας, ὦ ἄναξ, τείνας (to Asclepius), see further Headlam *ad loc.* and Keyssner 93f. Μαλακαῖς χερσί occurs at the same *sedes* at Adaeus *AP* 9.544=9,2 GP, here denoting the delicacy of the artist's hands and, consequently, work, see Gow-Page *ad loc.*, cf. also above on πρηείας.

σύν: Stadtmüller suggested (χερσὶν) ὑπ' Ἡπιόνης; although the construction would be less unusual with ὑπό (cf. *Il.* 8.359 χερσὶν ὑπ' Ἀργείων φθίμενος, see above on 4), there is no need to change the text, as ὑπό χερσὶ implies a violent action, cf. Crin. 28,3 GP ὑπό χερσὶ δαμείσαν, the usual Homeric expression, see *ad loc.*; σύν χερσὶ, on the contrary, is more natural here, as the preposition denotes the help which Epione's "soft hands" will offer the pregnant Antonia: for this meaning of σύν see Chantraine (1963) 135, § 198; note the occurrences with verbs of movement, *Il.* 1.179 οἴκαδ' ἰὼν σύν ἡυσί τε σῆς καὶ σοῖς ἐτάροισι, 5.219, *al. ἴονα* different nuance of σύν + χερσὶ cf. for instance *AP* 14.12 σοὶ δ' ἄρα κουφοτέρησιν ἐγὼ σύν χερσὶν ἰκάνω, *Ap. Rh.* 3.126 βῆ κενεαῖς σύν χερσὶν ἀμήχανος (cf. Campbell *ad loc.*), *Od.* 11.359 πλειότερη σύν χειρὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδ' ἰκέσθαι. In a similar context cf. *Call. AP* 6.146,1f. καὶ πάλιν, Εἰλήθυια, Λυκαϊνίδος ἐλθὲ καλεύσης / εὖλοχος ὠδίνων ὦδε σύν εὐτοκίῃ.

Ἡπιόνης: Ἡπιόνη is Asclepius' wife, rarely mentioned in literature, cf. Paus. 2.27,5, 2.29,1; Macedonius *Il.* 20f., p. 139 Powell Ἴασώ Ἀκεσώ τε καὶ Αἴγλη καὶ Πανάκεια / Ἡπιόνης θυγατρὲς σύν ἀριπρέπτω Ὑγιεία, Herondas 4.6 Ἡπιώ, perhaps a diminutive form of Ἡπιόνη, see Headlam *ad loc.* Tzetzes comments on *Lyc.* 1054 that Ἡπιος was the former name of Asclepius, ὁ Ἀσκληπιὸς πρότερον Ἡπιος, διὰ τὸ πρᾶον καὶ ἡσυχον, θεραπεύσας δὲ Ἀσκλην τὸν Ἐπιδαύρου τύραννον ὀφθαλμιῶντα ἐκλήθη Ἀσκληπιός; cf. *Et. M.* s.v. Ἡπιος· ὅπως πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ Ἀσκληπιός· ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν τρόπων, ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης καὶ τῆς τῶν χειρῶν ἡπιότητος. ᾧ καὶ γυναῖκα παραδίδωσιν Ἡπιόνην, κτλ.

Note the accumulation of words denoting gentleness in l. 4.

5: Gow-Page comment that "the Homeric tone is appropriate to the solemnity of the occasion", cf. the Homeric vocabulary and phrasing ὄφρα κε, γηθέω, ἐκυρή, cf. also above on Ἡρη...Ἡρη, see further intr. under Language and Style, Homericisms.

For the conjunction with double τε in a parataxis of three elements, cf. for instance *Il.* 1.460 ἔδειραν, μηρούς τ' ἐξέταμον κατὰ τε κίνση ἐκάλυψαν, see further Denniston 497f. In the Anthology cf. for instance Antiphilus 9.192,3f. ἅ μία μὲν μημιθμόν Ἀχιλλέος, ἔργα τε χειρός / Ἐκτορέας, δεκέτους τ' ἄλλα λέγει πολέμου, anon. *API* 262,1f. Ὁ τραγόπους...αἶ τε γελῶσαι / Νύμφαι... ἢ τε καλὴ Δανάη; for τε at the end of the parataxis cf. for instance Theodoridas 7.238,3 νηὶ τε σύν φόρτῳ τε, *Agath.* 9.204,3 εἰμὶ μέλας τρηχὺς τε, *Leo Philos.* 9.361,6 οὐρόν τε προέηκεν ἀπήμονά τε λιαρὸν τε, anon. 9.615,7 ταμίης τε πατῆρ τε. In a similar context, of the hopes of the parents of Regulus' son, cf. *Mart.* 6.38,9 *di, servate, precor, matri sua vota patrique.*

ὄφρα κε γηθήσειε: γηθέω is a Homeric verb which Crinagoras uses in the middle voice at 5,4 GP γηθομένη σύν φρενί. *Ap. L* has γε γηθ- and Reiske read γεγηθήσειε, as if from the verb γεγηθέω, but there is no such need. For a similar phrasing cf. *Antip.*

Sid. *AP* 7.26,3f. σπεισον γάνος, ὄφρα κεν οἴνω / ὄστέα γηθήση τάμὰ νοτιζόμενα; for ὄφρα κε + opt. following an imperative, Gow-Page noting the rarity of the construction of our passage, see K-G II (2) 386 and Goodwin § 329,<sup>148</sup> close parallels to the present construction are Qu. Sm. 3.69f. τλήτω...ὄφρα κέ οἱ μέλαν αἶμα...χυθείη, Nonnus *D.* 1.14 στήσατε...ὄφρα φανείη, 27.201f. ἐλθέτω... ὄφρα... ἐπικλαύσειε, 35.120 φαίδρυνε τεδὸν δέμας ὄφρα φανείης, 48.885 ἔσσο φύλαξ...ὄφρα κεν εἴη.

πόσις: lawful husband, cf. Eust. on *Il.* 24.763 ζητητέον, εἴ τις ἐστι διαφορὰ πόσιος καὶ ἀνδρός, καθὰ ὁ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Τραχινίαις ἐμφαίνει, ὅπου ἡ Δηϊάνειρα δέδουκε μή ποτε ὁ αὐτὴν ἔχων Ἑρακλῆς τῇ μὲν αἰχμαλώτῳ Ἰόλῃ εἴη ἀνὴρ, αὐτῇ δὲ πόσις (*Soph. Tr.* 550f.). This distinction, however, is not always kept, as Andromache calls Hector ἀνερ in *Il.* 24.725 and Helen describes Paris as her πόσις in 24.763, cf. ἀνὴρ as husband in Eur. *Or.* 561; for the interchangeability of the terms and a brief account of the relevant discussion, see Davies on *Soph. Tr.* 550-1. At the same *sedes* in the Anthology cf. Philip 7.186,5, anon. 7.667,3, Jul. Aeg. 7.600,3.

ἐκυρά: Hesych.: ἐκυρά· ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ ἀνδρός· πειθερά. Ἑκυρή is a Homeric rarity: *Il.* 22.451, 24.770 (ἐκυρὸς *ibid.* 3.172); it occurs rarely in literature, Ap. Rh. 4.815, Qu. Sm. 13.524, three times in Nonnus. Eustathius comments on *Il.* 6.378 (Eust. 648.49) λέγεται δὲ ἐκυρὸς μὲν, ὡς εἰς ἔ ἦτοι εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἔχων τὴν κύρην ἢ τὸ τῆς ἀγχιστείας κύρος. Διὸ καὶ δασύνεται κατὰ τὴν ἄρχουσαν παρά γε τοῖς πλείοσι. Geist's alteration of P's ἐκυρά to ἐκυρή, accepted by Stadtmüller, Beckby, Waltz and Gow-Page (Gow-Page accept the other Attic forms transmitted by the codices, see intr. under Language and Style, Dialect) is not necessary, as the poet does occasionally use Atticisms, see intr. under Language and Style, Dialect.

For Antonia's settling in the house of her mother-in-law after her marriage, where she remained after the sudden death of Drusus (9 B.C.), whom she greatly lamented, see Kokkinos 16, 158f.

ἦ: Stadtmüller and Gow-Page print Sitzler's alteration to ἦ of P's ἦ which is probably due to the quite frequent occurrence of the exclamatory particle at the opening of the last sentence of epigrams, cf. for instance Antip. Thess. 9.417,5, Archias 9.343,5, after the bucolic diaeresis: at verse-opening Antiphilus 9.156,5, Archias 7.214,7, Paul. Sil. 9.396,5, *al.* The manuscript's reading, however, can be retained, as ἦ underlines the emphatic reference to νηδύς, "this womb", recalling the Homeric "article-demonstrative pronoun", see LSJ s.v. ὁ, ἦ, τό A.1.I, Chantraine (1963) 158ff.; cf. especially § 239: "associé à un substantif, l'article conserve souvent une valeur proprement démonstrative", also *ibid.* §240. Likewise the article opening the final sentence in Bassus *AP* 9.236,5f. ἦ γὰρ ἐν

<sup>148</sup>In the present poem the imperative is replaced by a milder form, νεύσαιτ', a pure optative (see Goodwin § 722) that expresses a wish-request.

ὄπλοις / ἠγέρθη κόσμου παιτὸς ἄνασσα πόλις, was unnecessarily changed by Huet to ἦ.

νηδύς...φέρει: in the sense of “womb” νηδύς occurs also at Crin. 38,5 νηδύς δὲ τριτοκεῖ. Elsewhere cf. for instance *Il.* 24.496 ἐννεακαίδεκα μὲν μοι ἰῆς ἐκ νηδύος ἦσαν, Hes. *Th.* 460 νηδύος ἐξ ἱερῆς μητρὸς πρὸς γούναθ’ ἵκοιτο, Aesch. *Eum.* 665, Eur. *Bacch.* 527. Crinagoras says “her womb carries”; the more usual expression is “carry in one’s womb”, cf. *Il.* 6.58f. ὄν τινα γαστέρι μήτηρ / κοῦρον ἐόντα φέροι, Ap. Rh. 4.1328 and 1354 κατὰ νηδύος ἕμμε φέρουσα (a metaphor where Argo is the Argonauts’ mother), [Opp.] *Cyn.* 3.517 ὅτε γαστρὶ φέρωσι πολύσπορον ὠκὺν ὀιστόν, Nonnus *D.* 47.698 γαστρὶ φέρουσα τεδὸν τόκον.

Νηδύς occurs also at Alcæus 9.519,2, Nic. *Al.* 416; νηδύς mostly in Attic drama and Nonnus, Call. *H.* 3.160, see Pfeiffer and Bornmann *ad loc.*; cf. *Gramm. Graeci* IV.1.332,5f. Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τὸ νηδύς κατὰ ποιητικὴν ἐξουσίαν συστέλλει τὸ ὕ, ὡς παρὰ Καλλιμάχῳ, κτλ.

αἷμα: for “blood” in the sense of kinship, cf. for instance *Il.* 4.611 αἵματος εἰς ἀγαθοῖο, 19.105 αἵματος ἐξ ἐμεῦ εἰσίν, 19.111 οἷ σῆς ἐξ αἵματος εἰσὶ γενέθλης, Pind. *N.* 11.34 αἶμ’ ἀπὸ Σπάρτας, Aesch. *Eum.* 606, id. *Th.* 141.

οἴκων...μεγάλων: for the idea of a royal house cf. the “houses” in tragedy, for instance Aesch. *Cho.* 861f. Ἀγαμεμνονίων / οἴκων, id. *Eum.* 751 οἶκον ψῆφος ὤρθωσεν μία, Soph. *Ant.* 594 λαβδακιδᾶν οἴκων, id. *El.* 978 τὸν πατρῶον οἶκον; for the Augustan house cf. Philo *Flacc.* 23.3, 49.3, 104.5 ὁ Σεβαστὸς οἶκος, cf. *domus Augusta* or *Augusti*, Ov. *Pont.* 2.2,74, 3.1.135, Tac. *An.* 6.51.

## GP 13

AP 6.350=GP 13

Τυρσηνῆς κελάδημα διαπρύσιον σάλπιγγος  
πολλάκι Πισαίων στρηνὲς ὑπὲρ πεδίων  
φθεγξαμένης ὁ πρὶν μὲν ἔχει χρόνος ἐν δυσὶ νίκαις·  
εἰ δὲ σὺ καὶ τρισσοὺς ἤγαγες εἰς στεφάνους  
5 ἀστοῖς Μιλήτου, Δημόσθενες, οὐ ποτε κώδων  
χάλκεος ἤχησεν πλειοτέρῳ στόματι.

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Κριναγόρου caret P1

2 πεδίων C: -ιον P 4 εἰς Bothe: εἰς Brunck, εἰ P 5 ἀστοῖς scripsi: ἀστοῖς Stadtmüller, -ὸς P  
ἤχησεν C: ἤχειον P

*The Tyrrhenian trumpet's piercing clangour has often sounded shrilly over the plains of Pisa for double victories; but when you brought three crowns to the citizens of Miletus, Demosthenes, never has the brazen trumpet sounded with a louder voice.*

A celebration of Demosthenes' triple victory at Olympia. Gow-Page list the three possibilities concerning the occasion of the poem: a) Demosthenes won three athletic victories at the same Olympic festival, b) he won a third victory, after two previous ones, c) he won three victories in the contest for trumpeters. The last possibility is weak: the trumpet's "sounding many times in Olympia" seems far more likely to indicate the marking of the victories of athletes than victories in the trumpet-competition. Moreover, three victories in this competition would not be exceptional: the trumpeter Herodorus won at ten successive περιόδοι (rounds of the four great festivals: Olympian, Pythian, Nemean, Isthmian Games), according to Athenaeus (10.414f.) and at seventeen according to Pollux (4.89), see Harris 170.<sup>149</sup> The extraordinary nature of Demosthenes' accomplishment favours the assumption that he had won three victories in the same contest, as otherwise the deed is not so remarkable as the tone of the poem implies: cf. for instance "Simon." Page *FGE* 25=*API* 24=Ebert n. 61 Μίλωνος τόδ' ἄγαλμα καλοῦ καλόν, ὃς ποτὶ Πίσση / ἐπτάκι νικήσας, ἐς γόνατ' οὐκ ἔπεσεν (for which see Page's intr. note), *IG* 5.1.1108,2 πεντάκις Ὀλυμπιονίκαν, Moretti n. 86,3 νικήσας τρίς Ὀλύμπ[ια], *AApp* 1.291,2ff. Ἑλλαδικαὶ νικ[αι] τ[ρε]ῖς καὶ δέκα τὰς [Νεμέη τε / καὶ π]αρὰ Πειρήνην Κασταλίην τ' ἔλ[α]βον, / τρεῖς δ' ἔτι καὶ Ζεῦ]ς οἶδεν Ὀλύμπιος, κτλ., *AApp. add.* 1.86b,3 νικῶ[ν] παγκράτιον τρίς

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<sup>149</sup>For the competition cf. for instance Paus. 5.22,1; it was included in the Olympic games from 396 B.C., see Gardiner (1910) 139, Harris 170.

## GP 13

Ὀλύμπια, δις ἐν Πυθοῖ, κτλ.,<sup>150</sup> for two victories in the same Olympic contest see below on δυοὶ νίκαις. For three victories in the same contest, other than the Olympic one, attested in inscriptions, cf. Moretti n. 45,8f. Λύκαια τᾶ αὐτᾶ ἄμέρα στάδιον, δίαυλον, | ὀπλίταν, Moretti n. 61,7ff. Ῥωμαῖα τὰ τιθέμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ | δάμου παῖδας Ἴσθμικοὺς στάδιον, δίαυλον, | πένταθλον τᾶ αὐτᾶ ἄμέρα. In an inscription from Miletus of 20 B.C. written on the base of a statue, the honoured athlete has won victories in various contests, including the Olympic games, among which a triple victory on the same day at Pythia (l. 2f.) Πύθια ἄνδρας στάδιον, [δί]αυλον, ὀπλίτην ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρα and Actia (l. 10f.) ἄνδρας στάδιον, δίαυλον, ὀπλίτην ἐν τῇ | [αὐ]τῇ ἡμέρα (Gerkan-Krischen n. 369=Moretti n. 59). The name of the athlete as well as the number and the contests of his Olympic victories are lost, but an inscription from Olympia mentions the victory of a Milesian in the diaulos in the same Olympiad, so diaulos is certainly among the victorious contests of the athlete of the inscription from Miletus: the space there seems to allow only one more word, so ὀπλίτην is a likely conjecture, see Robert (1937) 141.

A celebration of an analogous performance is Alc. Mess. *AP* 9.588 (=Ebert n. 67), on the triple victory of the famous Cleitomachus from Thebes in the same Isthmian contest, in wrestling, boxing and the pancration; the event is recorded by Paus. 6.15,3ff., see further G-P *HE* on Alc. Mess. 17 intr. note, Ebert on n. 67. Other commemorations of athletic victories in the Anthology are the inscriptional (or imitations of inscriptional poems) “Simon.” *API* 2=*FGE* “Simon.” 30 (at Olympia, wrestling), *API* 3=*FGE* 42 (Isthmia and Pythia, pentathlon), *API* 23=*FGE* id. 31 (Pythia, boxing), *FGE* id. 29 (two Olympiads, boxing). Another case of non-dedicatory epigram on an athletic victory in the sixth book of the Anthology, like the present one, is Antip. Thess. 6.256 (at Olympia, boxing), which has a rather demonstrative character and which is, as Gow-Page observe, “strangely misplaced among the ἀναθηματικά of book 6, even if, as seems possible, they once stood on a votive statue of Nicophon”. For this and other instances of epigrams not strictly corresponding to the Cephalan classification in *AP* 6, 7, 9, *al.* see Cameron (1993) 30f.<sup>151</sup> For poems accompanying presents, something which might also have been taken as “dedication” in a wider sense, see intr. under Life and Work.

If we accept the possibility that the epigram was written in Italy, apart from the Demosthenes known as a lover of Julia (see below on Δημόσθενης), another, otherwise unknown, Greek athlete who might have visited the country to participate in an athletic

<sup>150</sup>For three or more victories in different contests in epigrams, cf. also for instance *AApp* 1.102,1f. Μουσοπάλης νικῶ δις Ὀλύμπια Πύθια τ’ ἄνδρας, / τρίς Νεμέα, τετράκις δ’ Ἴσθμῶ ἐν ἀγχιάλῳ, κτλ., “Simon.” *FGE* 35=*AP* 13.14=Ebert 15,3f., id. *FGE* 43=*AP* 13.19, Moretti n. 25=Ebert n. 39,3ff., Moretti n. 29 (III)=Ebert n. 43,3, Ebert n. 50,3.

<sup>151</sup>The assumption that the poem constituted an inscription on an image or statue lacking any reference to the dedication is easier for Antip. 6.256 than for the present epigram whose “demonstrative” character seems to ring through the lines.

contest could be the Demosthenes of the present poem. In this period a contest called “Sebasta Romaia” was taking place in Naples (see Geer *passim*, Robert [1937] 144, Gough 128f.) and its importance was so great that emperors occasionally attended them: the games were instituted in honour of Augustus and his presence in the festival in A.D. 14, shortly before his death, is well attested, see Geer 214 with n. 28 and 216. One could perhaps assume that the poet accompanied Augustus on that occasion and met the athlete there.<sup>152</sup>

Gow-Page observed that the present poem suggests that the trumpet, apart from denoting the beginning and the ending of each race (cf. Paus. 6.13,9, Soph. *El.* 711, see also *RE* 18.1,17, Harris 180f.), also proclaimed the victor. Crinagoras’ epigram, however, is not our only source for the trumpet’s use for the proclamation of the victor; our further evidence is both literary (Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 78.16 *tubicen praedicationi nominis nostri silentium faciens*), and archaeological, for which see Kephaliidou 60f. with note 46.<sup>153</sup>

The pompous style of the first two lines (note the *spondeiazon* of l. 1), as well as the elevated vocabulary and tone of the whole poem, seem intended to recall Pindar (cf. below on κελάδημα and Πισαίων...πεδίων); more specifically, it could be suggested that the poem recalls an Olympian written also for a τρισολυμπιονίκαν (opening word of the poem, see below on δυσι νίκαις), *O.* 13.29ff.:

δέξαι τέ οἱ στεφάνων ἐγκώμιον τεθμόν, τὸν ἄγει πεδίων ἐκ Πίσας,  
 πεντάθλω ἅμα σταδίου νικῶν δρόμον· ἀντεβόλησεν  
 τῶν ἀνὴρ θνατὸς οὐπω τις πρότερον.

**1 Τυρσηνῆς...σάλπιγγος:** the earliest reference to the trumpet as an Etruscan invention is Aesch. *Eum.* 567f. Τυρσηνική / σάλπιγξ (see Sommerstein *ad loc.*; also Jebb on Soph. *Aj.* 17), which became a cliché in tragedy, cf. Eur. *Heraclidae* 830, *Ph.* 9, *Ph.* 1377, see Mastronarde *ad loc.*, cf. Tymnes *AP* 6.151,3 Τυρσηνὸν μελέδαμα. Σάλπιγξ occurs once in Homer, *Il.* 18.219, known to the poet but not to the heroes, see Edwards *ad loc.*, also below on φθεγξαμένης. For the use of tragic expressions by Hellenistic and later epic poets cf. Vian (1959) 168; cf. τοι with an apostrophe to a person, Crin. 17,3 GP.

<sup>152</sup>Cf. Suetonius’ information that Augustus had participated in a banquet with young athletes in Capreae before attending the contest in Naples, *Aug.* 98,3. The anonymous athlete from the Milesian inscription of 20 B.C. (Gerkan-Krischen n. 369) had won, among other contests, in the Σεβαστὰ Ῥωμαῖα τὰ τιθέμενα [ὑ]πὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας (l. 12f.); for “Romaia”, taking place in several Greek cities during the imperial period, see Moretti 138ff.

<sup>153</sup>For the heralds’ announcing of the victor cf. Diog. Laert. 6.43,3, Pollux 4.91, *AApp* 1.145. The relationship between heralds and trumpeters is close, cf. Paus. 5.22,1, Pol. 18.46, Appian *BC* 4.89; also the successive discussion of the two in Pollux 4.85-94. On the battle-field, the trumpet served not only to announce the beginning and the ending of the battle (cf. Pollux 4.86f), but also to proclaim the victory (cf. for instance Ael. Arist. *Ath.* 16.17); according to Pollux (4.87) its use had been expanded from the battle to the athletic contests. For a bibliography on the distinction between military and athletic trumpet as well as the trumpet contests see Kephaliidou 61, n. 47.

The line is encased by an adjective and a noun in agreement, see on Crin. 5,1 GP.

κελάδημα: κελαδεῖν is a word systematically used by Pindar, usually with a deity as an object (see further Gerber on *O.* 1.29), but also employed for the praise of a winner, cf. *I.* 8.62 Νικοκλέος μνάμα πυγμαχου κελαδησαι, see Slater s.v. κελαδέω, cf. intr. note. In the Anthology we have κελάδημα elsewhere only in Christod. 2.43; κελαδεῖν in Pamphilus 9.57,2, of the swallow; cf. κέλαδος in anon. 9.372,6 (see below on φθεγξαμένης), Marc. Arg. 9.87,6, Antip. Sid. 9.159,4, Mel. 7.196,6 and κελάδειν in Posid. GP HE 3166. The adjective κελαδαινός also occurs in the Anthology, Marc. Arg. 9.270,3, Antip. Thess. 9.421,1, anon. 9.524,11. Κελάδημα, which is not a Homeric word, occasionally appears in Attic drama (cf. Eur. *Ph.* 213, Aristoph. *N.* 583), frequently in this *sedes* in Nonnus, *D.* 3.24, 6.203, 8.363, 36.91, *al.* In regard to the sound of a trumpet cf. Eur. *Ph.* 1102 παιὰν δὲ καὶ σάλπιγγες ἐκελάδουν ὁμοῦ, Nonnus *D.* 22.247f., [Opp.] *Cyn.* 4.398. Rubensohn compares anon. *AP* 6.51,5f. βαρυφθόγγων ἀλαλητόν / αὐλῶν, Phalaecus 6.165,3 καὶ κορυβαντείων ἰαχήματα χάλκεα ῥόπτρων, Diosc. 6.220,15 λαλάγημα (here “noisy instrument”, see Gow-Page on *HE* 1553).

διαπρύσιον: “penetrating”, always as an adverb in Homer, ἦυσεν δὲ διαπρύσιον, *Il.* 8.227, 11.275, *al.*; as an adjective cf. *h. Ven.* 19 διαπρύσιόι τ’ ὀλολυγαί, Soph. *OC* 1479 ὄτοβος, Eur. *Hel.* 1308 κέλαδος, Call. *H.* 4.258 ὀλολυγή.

πολλάκι: in the usual Homeric *sedes*, for instance *Il.* 1.396, 3.232, 9.490, *al.* Πολλάκι, πολλά, πάντα frequently serve as foils preparing the following climax of the speech in Attic prose and drama (for tragic diction see above on Τυρσηνῆς...σάλπιγγος), see Fraenkel (1960) 1ff., Race 112, with n. 194. For the feature in Homer, see id. 33ff.

Πισαίων...πεδίων: the same phrase in anon. *AP* 9.362,2, cf. Nonnus *D.* 37.138 πέδον Πισαῖον, Pind. *O.* 13.29 πεδίων ἐκ Πίσας (see intr. note), cf. Moretti n. 43=Ebert n. 68,1f. Πρῶτος ἐγὼ Τρώων Πισάτιδος ἔρνει ἐλαίας / στεφθεῖς καρύχθην, cf. also below on ἤχησεν...στόματι; cf. also Moretti n. 30=Ebert n. 49,3 Πισαῖον ἄεθλον. Pisa was a fountain at Olympia after which the whole area was named, cf. Strabo 8.3,31. Πῖσα, Πισαῖος occasionally stand for “Olympia”, “Olympic” in epigrams, cf. Alc. Mess. *AP* 12.64,1, Archias 9.19,6, Antip. Thess. 7.390,3, Lucill. 11.258,1, id. 11.81,3, anon. *API* 54,4, “Simon.” *API* 24,1.

ὑπὲρ πεδίων: in the whole poem Crinagoras is probably playing with *Il.* 18.220ff., where Achilles shouts “with brazen voice”, compared to a trumpet, see below on κώδων χάλκεος; for the sound which spreads “over Pisa’s plains”, cf. *Il.* 18.228 τρὶς μὲν ὑπὲρ τάφρου μεγάλ’ ἴαχε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς; note further that the trumpet of our poem also sounds three times to mark Demosthenes’ three victories.

στρηνές: “harshly”, a rare word, probably connected with *strenuus* (see Chantraine 1968 and Frisk s.v.), Ap. Rh. 2.323, Antip. Thess. 7.287,3, where it is also used as an adverb. Cf. στρηνός in Nicostratus fr. 38 and στρηνόφωνος in Callias fr. 37 Kassel-Austin.

φθεγξαμένης: in Homer the verb that describes the sound of the trumpet is ἴαχε, *Il.* 18.219 (in a metaphorical phrase that renders the sound of the voice of Achilles, see below on κῶδων χάλκεος); for φθέγγεσθαι describing the sound of an instrument cf. Theogn. 532 αὐλῶν φθεγγομένων, 761 φόρμιγξ δ' αὖ φθέγγοιθ' ἱερὸν μέλος (see van Groningen *ad loc.*), Xen. *An.* 4.2,7, 5.2,14 καὶ ἡ σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγετο; cf. the metaphorical use of the sound of the trumpet in [Nonnus] *Par.* 5.143 φθέγγεται αὐτοβόητα λόγῳ σάλπιγγι σιωπῆς. In a context with κελάδημα cf. anon. *AP* 9.372,6 μουσεῖῳ φθεγγόμενος κελάδῳ.

ὁ πρίν...χρόνος: cf. Soph. *Ph.* 1224 ἐν τῷ πρίν χρόνῳ, also Eur. *Andr.* 5. The phrase is mainly prosaic, cf. Thuc. 1.23,3, 4.2,1, 4.41,32, frequent in Hippocrates. For prosaic words in Hellenistic poetry cf. Giangrande *L'humour* 15ff.

ἔχει: Rubensohn compared Phantias *AP* 12.31,2 βαιὸς ἔχει τὸν σὸν ἔρωτα χρόνος, Antiphilus 9.192,8 εἶπεν ἔχειν αἰὼν ἔνδεκα Πιερίδας, Peek 1736=Kaibel 558,1f. Σεμνὴν Πηνελόπην ὁ πάλαι βίος, ἔσχε δὲ καὶ νῦν / σεμνὴν Φηλικίταν, κτλ.

δυσι νίκαις: for two victories in the same Olympic festival, cf. Schol. Pind. *O.* 13.1a Τρισολυμπιονίκαν· παρόσον τρεῖς νίκας αὐτοῖς συμβέβηκε γενέσθαι, τῷ μὲν παιδὶ δύο κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν, πεντάθλῳ καὶ σταδίῳ ἀγωνισαμένῳ, τῷ δὲ πατρὶ Θεσσαλῷ τοῦνομα πρῶτον ἐν τῇ ξθ' Ὀλυμπιάδι. Cf. also Ebert n. 37=Moretti n. 21,3f. οὐ γὰρ τις Ὀλυμπία ἐστεφανώθη / ὠύ[τὸ]ς [ἀνή]ρ πυγμῆ παγκρατίῳ τε κρατῶν, on the Thasian Theagenes; the same accomplishment was achieved also by the Theban Cleitomachus, see Paus. 6.15,3, cf. intr. note; also the athlete from Miletus, see intr. note.<sup>154</sup> For two victories in the same contest, other than the Olympiad, cf. *ibid.* ll. 7ff. ἐννέα δ' Ἴσθμιάδων νίκαι δέκα, δις γὰρ ἄυσεν / κῆρυξ ἐγ κύκλῳ μῦνον ἐπιχθονίων / πυγμῆς παγκρατίου τ' ἐπινίκιον ἤματι τῷτῳ, Ebert 47,1f. (two victories in the same Pythian contest, the information reconstructed by other inscriptional evidence, see Ebert on n. 47), Kaibel 942=Moretti n. 55 (boxing and pancration in the same day at an unnamed contest).

4f. εἰ: “citing a fact as ground of argument”, see LSJ s.v. B. VI; Rubensohn compares Antip. Thess. *AP* 9.418,7, Paul. Sil. 5.291,1, Ap. Rh. 1.1285.

καί: “you won even three victories”; for this use of καί, “even” (ascending climax), see Denniston 293, II, A i.

τρισοῦς...ἀστοῖς: Stadtmüller's conjecture ἀστούς, accepted by Gow-Page, Beckby, Waltz, in combination with Brunck's εἰς, is preferable by comparison to other suggestions more radical and less natural on the level of meaning (e.g. Brunck's τρισσοῦς ἤγαγες εἰς στεφάνους ἀστὸς Μίλητον Δημόσθενες, Jacobs' τρισσοῦς ἤλασας εἰς στεφάνους, Hecker's εἰ δέ σε καὶ τρισσοῦς ἤγαγεν εἰς στεφάνους,

<sup>154</sup>In different Olympiads it is of course a frequent achievement, cf. for instance *AApp* 1.102,1f. Μουνοπάλης νικῶ δις Ὀλύμπια Πύθιά τ' ἄνδρας, κτλ., “Simon.” *FGE* 35=*AP* 13.14,3f. Ὀλυμπία δις, cf. above, intr. note.

Reiske's τρισσοὺς ἤγαγες εἰς στεφάνους ἀστὸν Μιλήτου Δημοσθέενε', accepted by Rubensohn and Paton); it results, however, in a rather difficult and unusual sense, τρισσοὺς ἤγαγες εἰς στεφάνους ἀστοὺς Μιλήτου, "you brought the citizens of Miletus to (receive) three crowns": the epigrammatic parallels defend the general meaning (Kaibel 938,4 εὐόλβου δὲ πάτρας ἄστῳ καλὸν στεφαν[ῶ, see also below on ἤγαγες...Μιλήτου), but not, of course, the sense ἄγω τινὰ εἰς στεφάνους. The problem could be easily cured with the smallest possible cost if we read τρισσοὺς ἤγαγες εἰς<sup>155</sup> στεφάνους / ἀστοῖς Μιλήτου, Δημόσθενες: now we have an emphatic juxtaposition of the three crowns and the uniqueness of the victor which creates a crescendo of intensity culminating in the final statement about the unrepeated loudness of the trumpet. For the antithesis "one-three", cf. for instance Eur. *IA* 1137 [δαίμων] εἰς τριῶν δυσδαιμόνων, *Or.* 1244 τρισσοῖς φίλοις γὰρ εἰς ἀγών, Antip. Sid. *AP* 6.287,2 τὰν μίαν αἰ τρισσαὶ πέζαν ὑφηνάμεθα, anon. 12.89,1 Κύπρι, τί μοι τρισσοὺς ἐφ' ἓνα σκοπὸν ἤλασας ἰούσ;, Nonnus *D.* 36.109 τρισσοῖς δ' ἀθανάτοισι μίαν ξυνώσατο φωνήν. For εἰς without a qualified noun, cf. Eur. *IA* 1358 καὶ μαχεῖ πολλοῖσιν εἰς; for the word-order cf. Opp. *Hal.* 4.376 πολλαῖς δ' εἰς ἀλόχοις πέρι μάρναται. To the possible objection that the word-order ΤΡΙΣΣΟΥΣ ΗΓΑΓΕΣ ΕΙΣ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥΣ would render difficult the reading εἰς, as ΕΙΣ followed by an accusative strongly suggests the prepositional construction to the reader, one could argue that the aspirations and accents were not absent from Hellenistic script, especially when identically spelled words had to be distinguished from one another, see Laum 357ff., 454ff.; for εἰς followed by an accusative, as in our poem, cf. anon. *AP* 7.323,1 Εἰς δὴ ἀδελφειοῦς ἐπέχει τάφος.<sup>156</sup>

ΤΡΙΣΣΟΥΣ: for three victories in (different) contests, cf. Pind. *P.* 8.79f. "Ἡρας τ' ἀγῶν' ἐπιχώριον / νίκαις τρισσαῖς, ὠριστόμενες, δάμασσας ἔργω; in the same contest, cf. Alc. Mess. *AP* 9.588,6 τοὺς τρισσοὺς Ἰσθμόθεν εἶλε πόνους, see intr. note.

ἤγαγες...Μιλήτου: cf. Kaibel 938,4 (see above on τρισσοὺς...ἀστοὺς) *AApp* 1.291,7f. οὐκ ἂν τις ἀριθμήσειεν / οὖς ἀν' Ἀχαιίδα] γῆ[ν ἢ]γαγόμεν στεφάνους; also an inscription from Priene, opening thus: πρᾶτος ἀπ' ἀντιπάλων εἰς πατρίδα

<sup>155</sup>Εἰς was already proposed by Bothe, but without any other change: τρισσοὺς ἤγαγες εἰς στεφάνους ἀστὸς Μιλήτου leaves ἤγαγες without the required indirect object.

<sup>156</sup>Cf. also Soph. *OC* 563f εἰς πλείστ' ἀνὴρ...ἤθησα κινδυνεύματα. For the frequent contrast between "one" and "many" in Greek literature see Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 1455, quoting examples from Aeschylus to Plato and remarking that "it is one of the quasi-rhetorical effects, many of them pre-rhetorical, sought in elevated style". For this antithesis in Tragedy see also Collard on Eur. *Supp.* 936. Although one would expect the εἰς which follows the personal pronoun to be accompanied by ὦν, μόνος or both (cf. Plato *Gorg.* 475e ἐμοὶ δὲ σοὶ ἐξαρκεῖς εἰς ὦν μόνος, 472b ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σοὶ εἰς ὦν οὐχ ὁμολογῶ, 472c ἐὰν μὴ ἐγὼ σοὶ μαρτυρῶ εἰς ὦν μόνος), one could observe that ὦν and μόνος are not strictly necessary, cf. Eur. *IA* 1358, Opp. *Hal.* 4.376 (see above, comment on τρισσοὺς...ἀστοῖς), also Greg. Naz. *Carm. Dogm.* 508,3 σοὶ ἐνὶ πάντα μένει; in Aesch. *Eum.* 199ff. αὐτὸς σύ τούτων οὐ μεταίτιος πέλη, / ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἔπραξας, Canter suggested εἰς, usually accepted by editors: for a defence of the preposition see Sommerstein *ad loc.*

τάνδε Πρι[ά]ναν / παῖς Πυθοτίμου κλεινὸν ἄγαγον γέρας, see Peek (1979) 220, Posid. Bastianini-Gallazzi Col. XIII,31f. ἵπ[ποι]...ἀγάγομες στέφανον, see Bastianini-Gallazzi *ad loc.* Cf. also Alc. Mess. *AP* 9.588,7f. ἐπτάπυλοι δέ / Θῆβαι καὶ γενέτωρ ἐστέφεθ' Ἑρμοκράτης, Moretti n. 25=Ebert n. 39,1f. Πλῆϊστοῖς δὴ Σικυῶνα πάτρην, [Σω]σιστράτου υἱέ,/ Σώστρατε, καλλίστοις τ' ἠγλαίσας στεφάνοις, Moretti 64=Ebert 76, B. 9f. κυδαίνω γενέτην ἔμδον Εἰρηναῖον/ καὶ πάτρην Ἐφεσον στέμμασιν ἀθανάτοισ; cf. also an inscription from Miletus (2nd half of the 2nd cent. B.C.) Moretti n. 52=Ebert n. 74,2 Μίλητος δὲ τεᾶς κῦδος ἔδεκ[τ]ο πάλα[ς], see further Ebert on n. 12,4 (=“Simon.” *API* 2=*FGE* “Simon.” 30).

Δημόσθηνες: the name is rare in this period and Cichorius (who maintained that Demosthenes was a trumpeter), identified him with one of the lovers of Augustus' daughter Julia, brought to trial in 2 B.C. (Macr. *Sat.* 1.11,17); the scholar moreover associated the present Demosthenes with M. Antonius Demosthenes whose name appears in *CIL* 6.4264, an inscription from Livia's *columbarium*, see further Cichorius (1922) 318f. The name occasionally appears in inscriptions from Miletus, see Kawerau-Rehn n. 137,6, 122,<sup>||</sup> 34 (IV B.C.), 151,23 (II B.C.), Gerkan-Krischen n. 336 (A.D. II).

κώδων / χάλκεος: cf. Antip. Sid. *AP* 6.46,3 χαλκοπαγῆ σάλπιγγα; χάλκεος is an epic adjective rarely found in tragedy, Aesch. *Ch.* 686, Eur. *Ion* 1, cf. Crin. 5,1 GP, also at verse-beginning. For the phrase cf. Soph. *Aj.* 17 where Athena's voice is compared to the instrument, χαλκοστόμου κώδωνος ὡς Τυρσηνικῆς with Schol.: κώδων καλεῖται τὸ πλατὺ τῆς σάλπιγγος· ἀπὸ μέρους δὲ τὴν σάλπιγγα φησί. Note that Achilles' voice is described as ὄπα χάλκεον in *Il.* 18.222, shortly after the simile in which his voice is compared with the sound of the trumpet, cf. *Il.* 5.785 Στέντορι...χαλκεοφώνῳ, see Stanford on Soph. *loc. cit.* Κώδων is the curved mouth of the trumpet which belongs to the sixth type of the σάλπιγξ, to which alone the epithet “Tyrrhenian” is restricted by the Scholiast on *Il.* 18.219. By repeating the opening idea (Τυρσηνῆς κτλ.), the phrase encloses the poem in the notion of the triumphant trumpet; for the carefulness of the structure Crinagoras gives his poems see intr., under Language and Style, Structure. One can further observe that the epigram displays an antithetically constructed ring-composition:

	1. 1: Trumpet
Past:	1. 2: Olympia, place of the games
	1. 3: a double victory
	_____
	1. 4: a triple victory
Present:	1. 5: Miletus, the victor's homeland
	1. 6: Trumpet

### GP 13

ἤχησεν...στόματι: cf. Call. fr. 757 φθέγγεο κυδίστη πλειότερη φάρυγι with Pfeiffer *ad loc.*; there are more examples in Latin: Cic. *De Off.* 1.18,61 *quasi pleniore ore laudamus*, Hor. *Od.* 2.13,26 *sonantem plenius aureo... plectro*. For the general image cf. Moretti n. 43=Ebert n. 68,1ff. Πρῶτος ἐγὼ Τρώων... / καρύχθην, .../ ... Νεμέα τ' ἴαχεν ἀθλοφόρον, cf. above on Πισαίων...πεδίων.

Paton, following Rubensohn, prints ἤχησει; there is no reason to change C's correction, however, as since the poem opens with the trumpet's previous utterances, it is far more natural for the poet to conclude by saying that the trumpet has never sounded so loudly in the past, than to assert that a louder sound will be never heard again, i.e. such a deed will surely never be achieved in the future.

GP 15

AP 7.371=GP 15

Γῆ μεν καὶ μήτηρ κικλήσκετο, γῆ με καλύπτει  
καὶ νέκυν· οὐ κείνης ἦδε χεριοτέρη.  
ἔσσομαι ἐν ταύτῃ δηρὸν χρόνον, ἐκ δέ με μητρός  
ἤρπασεν ἡελίου καῦμα τὸ θερμότατον.  
5 κείμαι δὲ ξείνῃ ὑπὸ χερμάδι μακρὰ γοηθεῖς  
Ἴναχος εὐπειθῆς Κριναγόρου θεράπων.

[C] Κριναγόρου [J] εἰς Ἴναχον τὸν Κριναγόρου θεράποντα ἐπὶ ξένης τελευτήσαντα P1 I<sup>b</sup> 2  
εἰς θάνατον scriptoris nomen om. Plan.

5 δὲ P1<sup>bc</sup>: δ' ἐν PPI<sup>bc</sup>, δὴ Rubensohn

*Earth was the name of my mother; earth is also covering my body; no worse is this earth than that. In this I will be a long time; from my mother I was seized by the sun's hottest blaze. I lie under a foreign stone, Inachus, the loud-lamented obedient servant of Crinagoras.*

Epitaph for Inachus, the poet's faithful servant. Peek includes it in his epitaphs assuming that it is inscriptional (Peek 1703); for further discussion of this possibility see on Crin. 16 GP, intr. note. Stadtmüller compared Peek 213=Kaibel 623

Σῆμα Φιλείνω τοῦτο φίλῳ δεῖμεν θεράποντι  
Ἴπποκράτης πάσης εἵνεκεν εὐνοίης.

For epitaphs on servants see Lattimore 281ff., and the detailed monograph of Raffeiner; epitaphs for young slaves are often found on inscriptions in the first century B.C.; Martial offers various examples of such poems, cf. 1.88 on Alcimus, 5.34, 5.37 and 10.61 on Erotion, 11.91 on Canace, 6.28-29 on Glaucus, a freedman, see further Citroni on Mart. 1.88 intr. note, Kay on Mart. 11.91 intr. note. In the Anthology cf. Diosc. 7.162 and 7.178, Apollon. 7.180, Antip. Thess. 7.185 (the slaves speaking also in the first person), Call. 7.458, Leon. 7.663, Damascius 7.553. Lattimore observed that epitaphs which show a cordial relation between masters and servants are of a later period; sometimes the servant's own virtues are praised, see on εὐπειθῆς θεράπων. We have two more epigrams by Crinagoras on the death of young slaves, 17 and 19 GP.

Γῆ...μήτηρ: the concept of Earth as the mother of all creatures is a commonplace, cf. *h. XXX* ("To Earth, mother of all"), 1 Γαῖαν παμμήτειραν, Mel. AP 7.461, 1 παμμήτωρ γῆ, Peek 441=Kaibel 606, 4 γῆς ὧν πρόσθε γόνος μητέρα γαῖαν ἔχω, Peek 1702=Kaibel 75, 2, Peek 1887, 1; cf. Zonas AP 11.43 Δός μοι τοῦκ γαίης

## GP 15

πεπονημένον ἄδὺ κύπελλον,/ ἄς γενόμεν καὶ ὑφ' ἧ κείσομ' ἀποφθίμενος.<sup>157</sup>  
 Cf. the play between Earth as parent and as place of burial at Mac. Cons. *AP* 7.566,1  
 Γαῖα καὶ Εἰλείθια, σὺ μὲν τέκες, ἧ δὲ καλύπτεις, Peek 1039= Kaibel 563  
 Τρεινακρία γαῖα με λοχεύσατο.../... / κουρίδιος δὲ πόσις κρύψε χθονὶ τῆδε  
 καλύψας, κτλ., Peek 1184=Kaibel 402 γαῖά με τίκ[τ]εν.../(...) / ἀνέρα σεμνὸν γῆ  
 [μ]ήτηρ ἐκάλυψε θανόντ[α].

Γῆ is presumably the proper name of the speaker's mother; the name is relatively common; in Fraser-Matthews I s.v. we have an occurrence from Lesbos, III. B.C.; it is also quite frequent in Asia Minor, cf. *MAMA* 4.172,1, 5.141,3, 7.59,1, *TAM* III 91.1, 382,1, *al.* Raffeiner (28f. with n. 1) holds that it is hard to decide whether Earth is the name of the slave's mother or the term refers to the common motif of the "Mother Earth", but clings to the latter assumption, citing Peek 1702 (see above) and 1759=Kaibel 156 which bears a certain resemblance to the present poem:

Γαῖα μὲν εἰς φάος ἦρε, Σιβύρτιε, γαῖα δὲ κεύθει  
 σῶμα, πνοὴν δὲ αἰθὴρ ἔλαβεν πάλιν, ὅσπερ ἔδωκεν  
 πατρὶ δὲ σῶ καὶ μητρὶ λιπῶν λύπαις ὑπ' ἀνάγκης  
 ὄχου ἀναρπασθεὶς ἑπτὰ ἔτη γ[ε]γ[ο]νῶ[ς].

and also Eur. *Suppl.* 531f, Plato *Leg.* 12.985e. The first four lines of Crinagoras' epigram, however, are built on the very contrast between "this" earth and "that" mother, and would lose their entire meaning if we did not accept that Inachus' real mother was actually called "Earth"; cf. especially l.2 οὐ κείνης ἦδε χερειότερη, which is pointless if the two "Earths" were not clearly distinguished.

**γῆ...γῆ:** anaphora is a figure frequent in Hellenistic poetry, see on Crin. 12,1 GP "Ἡρη... Ἡρη. Anaphora is also quite common in epitaphs, cf. for instance Peek 1981=Kaibel 550,1 Κλαίει μὲν...κλαίει δ', Peek 1243=Kaibel 564,1 and 4 κλαύσατε...κλαύσατε, Peek 1763=Kaibel 651,5 ἴσχεο...ἴσχε, Kaibel 994,6 ἄξια... ἄξια, *al.* (see Kaibel ind. IV, s.v. anaphora). Note the opposition between life and death, cf. Peek 2040=Kaibel 243,15 ὄλβιε καὶ ζωῆς, ὄλβιε καὶ θανάτου.

**κικλήσκειτο:** the verb, poetic for καλεῖν, is Homeric, both in the sense of "summon", and "name"; in the middle voice (κικλήσκειτο, ται, ῶμαι) it is rare in the epic and occurs always at the same *sedes* as in the present poem, *Il.* 10.300, *Od.* 15.403, *h.Apoll.* 372, *Batr.* 27. At this *sedes* also in Ap. Rh. 3.200; in the Anthology, cf. Euenus 9.602,5, Xenocrates *API* 186,1; in sepulchral epigrams cf. Peek 781=Kaibel 698,6 Ἐκλεκτός τοι ἐγὼ κικλήσκομαι, Peek 947,5 Σύμη δὲ Ἑρμογένου κικλήσκομαι, same *sedes*. The verb is also frequent in tragedy, see LSJ s.v. κικλήσκω. Peek, followed by Raffeiner, surprisingly prints κικλήσκειται which does not scan.

<sup>157</sup>Cf. Griessmair 21, Skiadas (1967) 81, n. 4.

καλύπτει: for the common idea of earth covering the dead, cf. for instance Paul. Sil. *AP* 7.560,1 σε...γαῖα καλύπτει, Mac. Cons. 7.566,1 (see above on Γῆ...μήτηρ); cf. the Homeric χυτή κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει, *Il.* 6.464; also the sepulchral epigram on Homer *AP* 7.3,1 τὴν ἱερὴν κεφαλὴν κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει, Peek 781=Kaibel 698,1 Παῖδά με τεθνεῖωτα ἱερὴ κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει / νηπίαχον.

καὶ νέκυν: cf. the similar phrasing, also in an enjambment, in Antiphil. *AP* 9.294,3f. ἀσπίς ἔχει με / καὶ νέκυν. For νέκυσ as a predicate, cf. Antip. Thess. 7.287,1 Καὶ νέκυν...ἀνιήσει με θάλασσα (same *sedes*), Philip 7.382,1 Ἐπίρω μ' ἀποδοῦσα νέκυν, τρηχεῖα θάλασσα. For the emphatic repetition “and...and”, cf. Crin. 18,5f. GP κείνη γὰρ καὶ κάλλος...καὶ θάνατον κείνης κτλ., 45,3f. GP καὶ νέκυν οὐ σέο...καὶ ζωῖς οὐ σὲ μετεσόμενον.

οὐ...χερειοτέρη: χερειότερος is a Homeric rarity: there are two occurrences in the *Iliad*, 2.248 and 12.270; in the former the adjective is also in a figure of *litotes*, οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ σέο φημὶ χερειότερον βροτὸν ἄλλον; cf. the same figure with χερείων at *Il.* 1.114, *Od.* 5.211, 8.585, 17.176; the same figure with the adjective also at verse-end in Apollon. *AP* 10.19,6 οὐ γὰρ δὴ πλούτου Μοῦσα χερειοτέρη.

ἔσσομαι...χρόνον: Jacobs' compared Soph. *Ant.* 76 ἀεὶ γὰρ ἀεὶ κείσομαι (for the preference of ἐκεῖ instead of the first ἀεὶ see Jebb *ad loc.*). Crinagoras uses the expression δηρὸν χρόνον again at 32,2. This epic phrase (*Il.* 14.206, 305, *h. Cer.* 282; same *sedes* as here in *h. Min.* 14, Ap. Rh. 3.811, [Opp.] *Cyn.* 2.291) is frequent in tragedy, cf. δαρὸν χρόνον in Aesch. *Supp.* 516, Soph. *Aj.* 414f., Eur. *IT* 1339, *Or.* 55, *Herc.* 702. More usually δηρὸν occurs alone, as an adverb, see Allen-Halliday-Sikes and Richardson on *h. Cer.* 282, Björck 126.

ἐν ταύτῃ: cf. Leon. *AP* 7.506,11 ἦόνι δ' ἐν ταύτῃ κακὰ λείψανα.../ ἔκρυψαν (same *sedes*). Cf. the body of Plato covered ἐν κόλποις of the Earth, anon. *AP* 7.61, Speusippus *API* 31,1, also Peek 1236=Kaibel 346,2 κούρην ἐν χθονὶ κρυπτομένην, Peek 312,1 ἐν χθονὶ τῆδε, 440,3 ξείνη δ' ἐν γαίῃ, 1080,2f. αὐτοῦ δὲ τέθαμμαι / τῆδ' ἐνὶ σωρῶ, cf. ἐνὶ τύμβῳ, for instance Peek 437,1, 439,1, 464,1, 1438,3. For the convention of the description of the location of the grave see below on κείμει...χερμάδι.

ἐκ δέ...ἥρπασεν: the model of the ἀρπαγή of a child from the mother is the rape of Persephone by Hades, cf. *h. Cer.* 2f. ἦν Ἄιδωνεύς / ἥρπασεν, Hes. *Th.* 914 ἦν Ἄιδωνεύς ἥρπασεν ἧς παρὰ μητρός, cf. Eur. *Hec.* 513 ὄλωλας, ὦ παῖ, μητρός ἀρπασθεῖς ἄπο. The concept of Hades' “seizing” humans, especially at a premature age, is very common in the sepulchral epigrams, cf. Call. 7.80,6 ἀρπακτῆς Ἀΐδης, Jul. Aeg. 7.599,5f. ἐξῆρπασεν ἐκείνην / εὐρυβίης Ἀΐδης ἀνδρὸς ἀπ' ἀγκαλίδων, Antip. Sid. 7.711,5f., Mel. 7.476,7f., anon. *AP* 7.221,6, Lucian 7.308,1f., Jul. Aeg. 7.603,1f., id. 7.601,3, Agath. 7.574,3f.; cf. Crin. 19,3 GP ἥρπασας, ὦ ἄλλιστ' Ἀΐδη. For Hades as the power responsible for death and who “snatches” people in epitaphs, see Lattimore 147f., cf. Alexiou 230, n. 68.

Although the verb usually takes ἀπό or παρά, its construction with ἐκ is not impossible, cf. Peek 952=Kaibel 571,1 Νύμφαι κρηναῖαί με συνήρπασαν ἐκ βιότοιο; also Eur. *Ph.* 1456 ἤρπασ' ἐκ νεκρῶν ξίφος.

The mention of Inachus' relationship to his mother, although such a reference is not common in epitaphs on slaves, implies his young age; cf. Peek 1576=Kaibel 624,6ff. (Raffaener n. 22)

ἄρτι δὲ καὶ γονέων ἐλπίδ' ἐμὴν στερέσας  
οὐ δέκα [πέ]νθ' ἐτέων οὐδ' εἴκοσι τέρμ' ἐνιαυτῶν  
ἐκτελέσας γοερὸς οὐκ ἔσορῶ τὸ φάος.  
τοῦνομά μοι Ὑπατος· λίτομαι δ' ἔτι τὸν συνόμαιμον  
τούς τε γονεῖς κλαίειν μηκέτι τούς τάλανας.

Also cf. Peek 1237=Raffaener n. 51, a stele raised by a slave-couple for their daughter.

ἠελίου καῦμα: cf. Hes. *Op.* 414f. ἦμος δὴ λήγει μένος ὀξέος ἠελίοιο / καύματος εἰδαλίμου, Soph. *OC* 350 ἠλίου τε καύμασι, Ant. 417 κατέστη λαμπρὸς ἠλίου κύκλος / καὶ καῦμ' ἔθαλπε, also Orph. fr. 264 τὸ [δ' αὐτοῦ] ἔτος Ἥλιος καύσωνι ῥίψει. Καῦμα is a Homeric ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, *Il.* 5.865. As Gow-Page comment ad loc., the assumption of Waltz that Inachus must have come from a hot country is unjustified; the poem only says that the heat of the sun was the cause of his death. Cf. the description of the tyrant Clearchus' elimination of the citizens by the marshiness of the place they had encamped ἐν τοῖς κυνικοῖς καύμασιν, during the hottest days of summer, Polyaeus 2.30,3. Cf. also *Il.* 22.29ff. κύν' Ὀρίωνος... / φέρει πολλὸν πυρετὸν δειλοῖσιν βροτοῖσιν, Hes. *Op.* 587f. ἐπεὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ γούνατα Σείριος ἄζει, / ἀναλέος δέ τε χρῶς ὑπὸ καύματος, the pestilence due to Sirius' heat at Ap. Rh. 2.516ff. and quotations from medical writers on the fevers during those days (see Petropoulos 103); cf. also Qu. Sm. 8.31 Σείριος, ὅς τε βροτοῖσι φέρει πολυκηδέα νοῦσον, Stat. *Sil.* 2.1,216 implacido letalis Sirius igni, where the heat of Sirius is numbered among other causes of men's death. For a summer disease cf. also Pind. *P.* 3.50 ἢ θερινῶ πυρὶ περθόμενοι δέμας, probably fever or sunstroke, see Young 41, Jacob ad loc. An old woman also dies from the heat while gathering heads of corn in Philip *AP* 9.89. A slave dies from fever at Peek 1862=Kaibel 247,2.

τὸ θερμότατον: cf. Anyte *API* 228=Geoghegan 8,4 θερμῶ καύματι, see Geoghegan ad loc., where he defends this reading against Kaibel's change to θερινῶ, citing Hdt. 3.104 καυμάτων τῶν θερμοτάτων (on the heat of the day). For the word-order cf. Crin. 23,1 GP αἰγά με τὴν εὐθηλον, 24,2 GP ψιττακὸς ὁ βροτόγηρυς.

κεῖμαι...χερμάδι: Gow-Page prefer the reading δ' ἐν of P and P<sup>ac</sup> (as do Geist, Dübner, Stadtmüller, Beckby and Paton) on the grounds that "it is the country rather than the tombstone which is 'foreign', and ξείνη χερμάς would be an unusual phrase". The construction here, however, is smoother and more natural with ξείνη qualifying χερμάδι: as Gow-Page comment, χερμάς here marks the grave as in Apollonides 7.693,1 Γλῆνιν

παρηουῖτις ἀμπέχω χερμάς;<sup>158</sup> the attribution of the adjective ξείνος to a grave is not unattested in the Anthology, cf. Diosc. 7.76,2 ξείνω...τάφω, Diod. 7.74,1 τοῦτο Θεμιστοκλεῖ ξένον ἥριον εἶσατο Μάγνης, Agath. 7.552,6 ξείνον...τάφον. For the phrasing cf. for instance Hes. *Th.* 301 κοίλη ὑπὸ πέτρῃ, Peek 477=Kaibel 309,2 κοίλης κατὰ πέτρας. Although the phrasing accepted by Gow-Page is not impossible, cf. Peek 702,4 ἐν γὰρ Ῥηναία κεῖμαι ὑπὸ σπιλάδι, the present expression seems more elegant with the sepulchral stone qualified by an adjective, cf. for instance anon. *AP* 7.324,1 ὑπὸ πλακὶ τῆδε τέθαμμαι, Alc. Mess. 7.1,4 ἀκταίη θῆκαν ὑπὸ σπιλάδι, Antip. Thess. 7.287,2 ἐρημαίη κρυπτόν ὑπὸ σπιλάδι, as is usually the case for the description of the grave (for instance anon. *AP* 7.615,2 ὑπὸ τῷδε τάφω, Peek 701=Kaibel 241,1, Peek 428=Kaibel 297,1 τῷδ' ὑπὸ τύμβω, *al.*) and the earth (for instance Peek 440,3, see above on ἐν ταύτῃ, Antip. Thess. *AP* 7.185,2 κεῖμαι παρθενικῇ τῆδε παρὰ ψαμάθω; note that κεῖμαι precedes the description of the location, as in the present poem and by contrast to Peek 702,4). Cf. the similar phrasing of a slave's epitaph, Peek 480=Kaibel 119,1f. see below on εὐπειθής... θεράπων. For the idea of "lying in a foreign land", see on Crin. 16,5f. GP; for a slave having died away from his homeland cf. Peek 836,2 ἦς γαίας τηλοῦ σῶμ' ἀνέπαυσε πόνων, see Raffener 14ff. For the convention of describing the place where the tomb was situated in sepulchral epigrams, see Geoghegan on Anyte 10,1 and 12,6, also cf. Crin. 16,6 GP.

Rubensohn altered to δῆ (which occurs indeed often in the Anthology at this *sedes*, for instance Anyte 6.312, Andronicus 7.181,1, Nicias 7.200,1, etc.), comparing Antip. Thess. *AP* 7.286,2 κεῖσαι δῆ ξείνη γυμνὸς ἐπ' ἠϊόνι, cf. Moero 6.119,1 κεῖσαι δῆ, for a votive offering. Pl's δέ, however, can be retained; the particle can actually have the sense of δῆ or οὔν (see Denniston 170, ii).

μακρὰ γοηθείς: the adverbial use of the adjective in the neuter plural is Homeric; in the sense of "loudly" cf. *Il.* 2.224 μακρὰ βοῶντα, 18.580 μακρὰ μεμυκῶς, which are a "formular adaptation" of the μακρά referring to distance, qualifying βιβάς etc. in Homer, see Kirk on *Il.* 2.224; in the Anthology cf. Antigonus *AP* 9.406,1 τὸν οὐκέτι μακρὰ βοῶντα / βάτραχον. The expression is very frequent in Aristophanes: *Av.* 1207, *Pl.* 111 οἰμῶξει μακρά, *Th.* 211f. μακρά / κλαίειν, *Eccl.* 125, *Pl.* 612, *Lys.* 520.

Γοεῖν is conventional in sepulchral poems and generally in a context of mourning, especially of the parents, cf. *Il.* 21.123f. and 22.352f. σὲ...μήτηρ / ἐνθεμένη λεχέεσσι γοήσεται, 24.664, Nonnus *D.* 29.119, 35.382, id. *ibid.* 46.271, *al.*, cf. Crin. 45,3f. GP νέκυν οὐ σέο, τέκνον, ...γοήσειν / ἦλπισα. A slave has been γοερός to his parents and master in Peek 1576,8, see above on ἐκ δέ... ἥρπασεν.

<sup>158</sup> The usual meaning of χερμάς is "pebble"; in the Anthology cf. Paul. Sil. 6.84,4, Antip. Thess. 9.3,4, Bianor 9.272,5. A bigger block of stone is denoted at Lyc. 20 and 616, see LSJ s.v. II. Not in Homer, though χερμάδιον is a common Homeric word, cf. *Il.* 4.518, 5.302, 8.321, *al.*

\*Ἰναχος: the name is rare; Bechtel (1917, 555), among other names after rivers, cites an occurrence from Pergamos; there is also an inscription from Athens (A.D. I-II), see *MDAI* (Athen), 67 (1942), 219; Peek 1729 (Kos, II-I B.C.) is an epitaph on an Inachus, presumably a slave (see also Raffeiner 29f.); the name also occurs in inscriptions from the Black Sea, *SEG* 16.441,1, *CIRB* 397,1. Names after rivers are independent from the region where the river is, cf. the examples of Inachus, mentioned above; also Attic slave-names as Σκάμανδρος, Σαγγάριος, cf. [Αμυμ]ώνη, see Fragiadakis 339, 367f., s.vv., the slave of Larisa called Στρυμών in *IG* 9. (2) 553,20. A Persian slave is called Εὐφράτης in Diosc. *AP* 7.162,1=GP *HE* 1641, cf. Gow-Page *ad loc.* For names of men after rivers see Robert (1974, 206), R. Parker 60. Note the delay of the appearance of the name, cf. Crin. 9 GP (the name of his brother Euclides also appearing at the beginning of the last pentameter), as elsewhere in Crinagoras, 4, 10, 23, 40, 42, 43 GP, see also intr. under Language and Style, Structure. The delay of the appearance of the name of the dead is common in sepulchral epigrams, cf. Antip. Thess. *AP* 7.39, Antip. Sid. 7.218, Leon. 7.440, anon. 7.691, Mart. 5.37, 6.29, 6.76, see Grewing on Mart. 6.28,4.

The present poem opens with a reference to the dead man's mother and ends with the presentation of the deceased himself (note Γῆ and Ἰναχος at the beginning of the first and the last verse respectively), while the main part of the poem is occupied by the contrasting pair of the two "Earths".

εὐπειθῆς...θεράπων: another θεράπων is speaking at Peek 480=Kaibel 119,1f.

Συνναδεὺς θεράπων Ἀπολλώνιος ἐνθάδε Μόσχου  
λιτῆ ὑπὸ στήλῃ κέκλιμαι ὠκύμορος, κτλ.

The term describes a slave also at Peek 213=Kaibel 623,1, Peek 737,6, 1202,1, 1430,1. Θεράπων denotes a personal attendant in Homer, cf. *Il.* 1.321, 5.48, 6.53, 7.122, etc. For the occurrence of the term in epitaphs on slaves, see Raffeiner 95f. Maintaining Gschnitzer's (1963) categorisation of the terms applied to servants, Raffeiner remarks that, as θεράποντες were primarily free attendants, who did not exist any more in the classical period,<sup>159</sup> the term can be regarded as a synonym of οἰκέτης for classical and later times, οἰκέτης stressing the human relation between master and servant, the "helper" (see Gschnitzer 1963, 1302ff. and Raffeiner 47, n. 2, 96, n. 5; on the trustful relationship between Crinagoras and Inachus, Raffeiner 29). For the affection between servants and masters in slaves' epitaphs, cf. also Grewing 211f.<sup>160</sup>

Εὐπειθῆς in the sense of "obedient" is a mainly prosaic word, frequent in Plato, for instance *Leg.* 715c, 890c, *Phdr.* 217d; for the use of prosaic words and expressions in Hellenistic poetry see on Crin. 30,1 GP ὄπου. For epithets which describe servants in

<sup>159</sup>For the Homeric free status of θεράποντες see Gschnitzer (1963)130, (1976) 82ff., especially 85.

<sup>160</sup>Raffeiner further observes that, by contrast with scripts of emancipation, where the slave is described as σῶμα ἀνδρεῖον or γυναικεῖον, these terms are never used in epitaphs (with only one exception, ἀνδράποδον in Peek 1835,2 Iconion A.D. II); this shows that nothing contributed to the realisation of the equality of all men more than death, see Raffeiner 95f. with n. 7.

## GP 15

epitaphs, cf. Raffeiner 95, also citing έτοιμος, εϋνους, ήπιος, πιστός, φιλοκύριος, σώφρων, *al.* For the servant's qualities cf. Peek 88=Kaibel Add. 313a (see Lattimore 281, Raffeiner n. 12) Νύσης εϋτάκτου τε καὶ έργάτιδος τόδε σήμα, Kaibel 60=Peek 1490,2 σώφρων καὶ χρηστή καὶ έργάτις πᾶσαν ἔχουσα ἀρετήν, Kaibel 481=Peek 1526 τὴν σὴν εϋνοϊαν καὶ πίστιν, Φαῖδρε, καλοῦντες / ἐν βιοτοῖς μέτροις οὔποτε παυσόμεθα. On the dead servant's devotion, affection and deserving of his master's sorrow cf. also Stat. *Silv.* 2.6 *passim* and 10f. *pium sed amore fideque / has meritum lacrimas*.

Κριναγόρου: the poet mentions his name, as elsewhere in his epigrams, cf. 1,2; 3,5; 4,6; 5,4 GP.

Rubensohn changed to Κριναγόρω unnecessarily, see intr. under Language and Style, Dialect.

GP 16

AP 7.376=GP 16

Δείλαιοι, τί κεναῖσιν ἀλώμεθα θαρσήσαντες  
 ἐλπίσιν ἀτηροῦ ληθόμενοι θανάτου;  
 ἦν ὄδε καὶ μύθοισι καὶ ἤθεσι πάντα Σέλευκος  
 ἄρτιος, ἀλλ' ἤβης βαιὸν ἐπαυρόμενος  
 5 ὑστατίοις ἐν Ἰβηρσι τοκέων δίχα τηλόθι Λέσβου  
 κεῖται ἀμετρήτων ξείνος ἐπ' αἰγιαλῶν.

[C] Κριναγόρου [J] εἰς Σέλευκον νέον τελευτήσαντα PI III<sup>b</sup> 5,13 Κριναγόρου

2 ἀτηροῦ PPI: -ῶ C | ληθόμενοι Salm.: αἰθ- P, αἰσθ- PI | θανάτου P: θανάτῳ C, βιότου PI 5  
 τοκέων scripsi: τόσον PPI

*Wretched men, why do we wander confiding in empty hopes, forgetful of ruinous death?  
 This Seleucus was perfect in all, words and character, yet, enjoying only briefly his  
 prime, among the outermost Iberians he lies, away from his parents, far from Lesbos, a  
 stranger on unmeasured shores.*

Epitaph for Seleucus, a fellow-countryman of Crinagoras, who died away from home, plausibly in Spain (see below on ὑστατίοις ἐν Ἰβηρσι). Peek takes it to be inscriptional (Peek 1682), listing it with other inscriptional epitaphs opening with a rhetorical question, see below.

A proper *epicedion* consists on introduction, *laudatio*, *lamentatio*, *descriptio morbi*, *consolatio*, see Henriksén on Mart. 9.86, intr. note. Literary epitaphs usually balance between the form of funerary inscriptions and *epicedia*, comprising some of the *epicedion*'s sub-divisions; in the present epigram we have an introduction (ll. 1-2), the *laudatio* (ll. 3-4.) and finally the inscriptional convention of the place of burial (ll. 5-6). The pessimistic philosophical overview of life which opens the poem (which could be here seen as conveying the lament), is again not absent from sepulchral inscriptions, cf. the instability of life at Peek 789= Kaibel 699,5f. (Rome A.D. III) ἄστατος ὄντως / θνητῶν ἐστι βίος καὶ βραχὺς οὐδ' ἄποιος. Cf. also the pessimism in Latin epitaphs, e.g. CLE 801,1 (Rome) *Quid sumus aut loquimur, vita est quid denique nostra?*, etc., see Lattimore 263, Lier 470ff.<sup>161</sup> Inscriptional epitaphs opening with a gnome are listed by Peek, 1636-1669; Peek 1679-1682 are epitaphs opening with a rhetorical question about

<sup>161</sup>Epitaphs sometimes convey a consolation asserting that death is inescapable and common to all men; at other times the epitaphs' moral is Epicurean, stressing in a "light" tone the need to enjoy life as much as one can, since death will deprive one of such pleasures, see Lattimore 250ff., 260ff.

the uselessness of human efforts and qualities. The brevity of development of the *laudatio* of Seleucus here together with the burial *topos* in the final couplet shortens the distance of the present poem from inscription; whether it constituted a real epitaph or not it is impossible to decide with safety. As far as Crinagoras' other funeral epigrams are concerned, we observe that the sub-divisions of the *epicedion* occasionally appear, also intermingled with the inscriptional *topoi*, to a greater or lesser extent: in 14 GP we have *lamentatio* and *laudatio* throughout; in 17 GP the major part of the poem is occupied by an interesting and conceptually original *laudatio*, while the final couplet conveys the common *topos* of *terra levis*; 18 GP is a *laudatio* throughout; finally 15 GP and 19 GP are closer than any other to the inscriptional form, as in the former we have the conventional information about the death and burial place as well as a brief praise of the dead and the latter is a short epigram consisting in the *topos* of the question about the injustice of the *mors immatura*.

In AP 7.286,3 Antipater of Thessalonica wonders about the usefulness of wealth in regard to death. For a philosophical introduction in funeral poems in the Anthology cf. Call. AP 7.519,1 Δαίμονα τίς δ' εὔ οἶδε τὸν αὔριον, κτλ., Autom. 7.534,1, anon. 7.327,1f., and the similar, as far as the motif of "light hopes" is concerned, Diotimus 7.420,1 Ἐλπίδες ἀνθρώπων ἐλαφραὶ θεαί, κτλ. For epigrams opening with questions to express lament (see Siedschlag 21), cf. Call. AP 7.519, Antip. Sid. 9.151, Agath. 9.153, anon. 7.328, anon. 12.100. For Crinagoras' poems opening with a gnome see on 30,1 GP.

**1f. δέιλαιοι:** the adjective never occurs in Homer in the uncontracted form;<sup>162</sup> the form is frequent in tragedy (for instance Soph. *Ant.* 1272, *Tr.* 1243, *OT* 1347, Eur. *Med.* 1265, *Hec.* 156, *El.* 183). In the Anthology it is usually associated with the misfortune of death: anon. 7.334,4 μητέρα δειλαίην, Eutolmius 7.611,2 δειλαίη μήτηρ; it is very often used for the dead, Erycius 7.397,1, Leon. 7.654,5 and 7.662,3, Perses 7.730,1, Autom. 7.534,3. Crinagoras uses again the adjective at 14,1f. GP and 46,4 (of the dead); in 48,1 GP it refers to the soul. For the unhappiness of humanity in a funeral context, cf. Stat. *Silv.* 2.1,222f. *nos anxia plebes, / nos miseri*, etc. Cf. intr. note.

**κεναῖσιν...ἐλπίσιν:** for the "empty hopes" see on Crin. 48,1 GP, the expression placed there, too, in the opening sentence of the poem, and also in a rhetorical question. In regard to the deceitfulness of hopes for humans, Jacobs<sup>1</sup> compared Maced. AP 10.70,3f. βροτὸς δ' εὔ οἶδα καὶ αὐτὸς / θνητὸς ἔων· δολιχαῖς δ' ἐλπίσι παιζόμενος and Horace 1.4,15 *vitae summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare longam*; Stadtmüller compares Diotim. 7.420,1 (see intr. note). Cf. also the farewell to Hope and Fortune in Latin epitaphs, *CIL* 6.1174

*Evasi, effugi. Spes et Fortuna, valete,*

<sup>162</sup> Δειλός, however, is very usual: in vocative e.g. *Il.* 11.441, *Od.* 11.618, 18.389.

*nil mihi vobiscum est, ludificate alios,*

*ibid.* 9.4756, 11.6435, see Bowra (1960) 126f.

For θαρσήσαντες ἐλπίσιν cf. Aesch. *Pr.* 536f. ἡδύ τι θαρσαλέαις / τὸν μακρὸν βίον τείνειν ἐλπίσι. For the verb's construction with the dative, see LSJ s.v. 3.

ἀλώμεθα: for the figurative usage of the verb with reference to a state of mind, cf. Soph. *Aj.* 23 ἴσμεν γὰρ οὐδὲν τρανές, ἀλλ' ἀλώμεθα, on which editors comment that it constitutes a unique occurrence of ἀλᾶσθαι in this sense, the metaphor elsewhere made with πλανᾶσθαι, cf. Hdt. 6.37, Plato *Hipp. Ma.* 304c, etc., see Jebb, Kamerbeek, Stanford *ad loc.*; the latter further associates the passage with ἄλῃ in the sense of distraction of mind at Eur. *Med.* 1285.

ἀτηροῦ...θανάτου: the (not Homeric) adjective is a mainly poetic word, often occurring in tragedy to describe a misfortune, cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1484 ἀτηρᾶς τύχας, *Pr.* 746 ἀτηρᾶς δύης, Eur. *Andr.* 353 αἱ γυναῖκες ἐσμέν ἀτηρὸν κακόν, Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1299 ἀτηρότατον...κακόν. Elsewhere in the Anthology only in Antip. Thess. 9.23,6, qualifying ναυτιλίη, Stat. Fl. *API* 211,2, on Aphrodite.

P's αἰθόμενοι (to suit which C has corrected the case of θανάτου to dative), a concessive participle, "why do we wander heartened by empty hopes, while we are burnt by ruinous death" creates an unattested expression, that of being "burnt by death".<sup>163</sup> In Philip *AP* 6.5,8=2687 *GP* *GP* all codices transmit the equally rare expression πολλοῖς αἰθόμενος καμάτοις, changed by Scaliger to ἀχθόμενος due to the uncommonness of the notion "being burnt by labours"; the two similar occurrences of rare expressions with αἰθεσθαι might put into question the need for change in both cases. Planudes' αἰσθόμενοι βίτου does not offer a satisfactory meaning.<sup>164</sup> Salmasius' ληθόμενοι does offer the most straightforward possible meaning, the corruption of ΛΗΘ, or rather of ΛΙΘ, as Dübner suggested (an easy spelling mistake, due to the iotacism), to ΛΙΘ being indeed not improbable in *καριτάλ* script. The oblivion of death (cf. Pall. *AP* 11.62,4 λήθην τοῦ θανάτου) may constitute a play with the common notion of death as the place of Λήθη, cf. "Simon." *AP* 7.25,4 Λήθης...δόμων, Aristoph. *Ran.* 186 τὸ Λήθης πεδίον, cf. Theogn. 705 [Περσεφόνη] βροτοῖς παρέχει λήθην, Antip. Sid. *AP* 7.711,6 and Dionysius 7.716,2 Λήθης...πέλαγος, Antip. Sid. 7.498,8 Λήθης... λιμένα, Peek 868,6 Λάθας...δόμον.<sup>165</sup>

<sup>163</sup>By contrast to other metaphors with fire, like that of the burning of love, e.g. Theocr. 2.134 and 7.102, Xen. *Cyr.* 5.1.15, Posid. or Asclep. *AP* 5.209,3.

<sup>164</sup>For the sense *have perception of* see LSJ s.v. αἰσθάνομαι II and cf. for instance Plato *Polit.* 285a ὅταν...τὴν τῶν πολλῶν τις πρότερον αἰσθηταὶ κοινωνίαν, Philo *De spec. leg.* 1.62,3 καὶ οὐκ αἰσθάνεται τὰς τοῦ βίου φροντίδας, *AApp* 4.100,2 τῆς τοῦ θανάτου πικρίας οὐκ αἰσθάνη.

<sup>165</sup>The concept of Hades as the place of λήθη, λησμοιιά, often recurs in traditional modern Greek lamentations, cf. for instance Κόρη μου, σε κλειδώσανε κάτω στὴν Ἰλθησμόνη (Politis 206,1), see Skiadas (1967) 87, n. 3.

**3f. ἦν ὄδε...Σέλευκος:** for the phrasing cf. Leon. *AP* 7.35,1 Ἄρμενος ἦν ξείνοισιν ἀνὴρ ὄδε καὶ φίλος ἀστοῖς / Πίνδαρος, Peek 905, opening with the same hexameter, see further Gow-Page *HE* on Leon. 99, intr. note. For the imperfect ἦν, referring to the happy past in sepulchral poems, cf. Skiadas (1967) 86, where he comments on Peek 868, opening with Ἦν ὄσα τερπνὰ τοκεῦσι, and also cites (n. 4) Peek 1021=Kaibel 565,1 ἦν ὄτε, κτλ., 902=Kaibel 254,1 ἦν χρόνος, ἡνίκα, κτλ.; cf. the same phrase, colouring the opening of Theocr. 7 with a sense of remoteness, and Gow's comment that the words imply that "the epoch referred to is closed, or the state of affairs no longer existing, not that it belongs to the distant past". A reference to the virtuous past of the dead occurs for instance in Peek 887-913. The "contrast theme" between past and present is typical in a funeral context, see Lattimore 174ff.

The demonstrative pronoun often occurs in sepulchral epigrams, although it usually refers to the tomb, rather than the dead (Nicarchus 7.159,4 τάφος ὄδε, Erycius 7.397,1, 15.30,1, etc.); for the dead cf. Diosc. 7.410,1 Θέσπις ὄδε, *AApp* 2.98,1 βασιλεὺς ὄδε, *ibid.* 100,1 υἱὸς ὄδε Στροφίου Πυλάδης.

**καὶ μύθοισι καὶ ἦθεσι:** cf. the Homeric ἀπαξ λεγόμενον βουλῆ καὶ μύθοισι, *Il.* 4.323. In regard to the following motif of ἦθη, cf. the qualities of the dead in an epitaph from Theodosia, Peek 1468=Kaibel 538,3 (see Lattimore 196) ἦθος, νοῦς, ἀκμή; for the moral qualities of the dead cf. for instance Peek 755=Kaibel 103,1 τὸν ἔξοχον ἐν πραπίδέσσι, Peek 1696,3 ἦτις ζῆσε καλῶς κὲ (sic) σεμνῶς, 1773,3 ἠγορέης καὶ σωφροσύνης μέγα ἄγαλμα, cf. also Peek 1754-1758, 1764, 1772, 1886, *al.*, cf. Skiadas (1967) 66ff. and below on ἄρτιος.

Cichorius (1888, 56) made the plausible assumption that Seleucus was a member of the Third Embassy; Gow-Page observed that the couple "words and thoughts" indicate the youth's quality as a diplomat who died either on his way to meet Augustus at Tarragona or on his way back. This plausible assumption reinforces the view that the Iberians mentioned are those of Spain, and not those of Asia, as Brodaeus maintained (see Jacobs<sup>1</sup> *ad loc.* and below, on ὑστατίους ἐν Ἰβηρσι).

**πάντα:** in a funeral context, cf. Greg. Naz. 8.108,1 ἄκρον ἅπαντα, "excelling in everything".

**Σέλευκος:** the name is very common both in central Greece and the islands, see Fraser-Matthews and Osborne-Byrne s.v.

**4 ἄρτιος:** Seleucus' "perfection" in μύθοισι and ἦθεσι recalls the Homeric *υσε* of the adjective (though in a different sense, that of "becoming") of both "words" and "thoughts", *Il.* 5.326 and *Od.* 19.248 οἱ φρεσὶν ἄρτια ἦδη, *Il.* 14.92 and *Od.* 8.240 ἄρτια βάζειν; cf. the elegy's "rightness" of thought, Solon fr. 6.4 West ἀνθρώποις ὀπόσοις μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ἦ, Theogn. 154 and 946, Pind. *O.* 6.94 ἄρτια μηδόμενος. As Gow-Page comment *ad loc.*, the adjective is seldom used of persons in this sense of

perfection, cf. the same meaning and construction at Diod. Sic. 3.33,6 ἀρτίους...τοῖς σώμασιν.

For Seleucus' excellence in regard to conventional epithets which describe the virtues most admired, cf. ἀριστος in IG 2.12300, ἀγαθώτατος in IG 14.1782, 1939 and the many occurrences of χρηστός, see Tod 184ff. For the *laudatio* of the dead in sepulchral epigrams in general, see Lattimore 290-9, cf. also Grewing on Mart. 6.28,6f. *castus moribus, integer pudore, / velox ingenio, decore felix.*

ἀλλ': Seleucus was perfect in everything; *yet* he died; the idea that death does not spare the good constitutes a complaint rather than a consolation, see Lattimore 259. The “paradox” of someone dying *despite* his qualities occurs in an epitaph of VI B.C from Athens (Kaibel 517,1a=Peek 1223,2) ὡς καλὸς ὦν ἔθανε; this antithesis is a tragic *aporia* expressing a restrained protest against Death who does not respect youth and beauty, as Skiadas observes commenting on the inscription;<sup>166</sup> cf. also Kaibel 790,6 ' Ἄλλ' ἔθνησκες.

ἦβης...ἐπαυρόμενος: the verb, usually constructed with the genitive, first appears in Homer, *Il.* 1.410, 13.733, 15.17. In a funeral context IG 12 (7) 302,3ff. οὐ βιότοιο / οὐδὲ φάους γλυκεροῦ πολλὸν ἐπαυρόμενον, cf. *Trag. Adesp.* 95,4 Radt μικροῦ δὲ βιότου ζῶντ' ἐπαυρέσθαι χρεών; for the motif of brevity of life in sepulchral poems see further Grewing on Mart. 6.28,3 (p. 215). The expression “to taste” life is common in epitaphs, cf. Kaibel 421,1 Τυτθὸν γευσάμενη βιότου φωτός, Peek 878,4 καὶ γλυκεροῦ μερόπων γευσάμενα[ν] βιότου, Peek 974=Kaibel 587,1 μήπω γευσάμενος ἦβης, Peek 975=Kaibel 576,1, Peek 976=Kaibel 540,1, Peek 2003,13.<sup>167</sup> Βαίον as an adverb occurs often in Sophocles, *Aj.* 90, *Phil* 20, *Tr.* 335, *OC* 1653.

On the common motif of the ἦβη of the deceased in sepulchral poems, cf. “Simon.” *AP* 7.300,2 ἐρατῆς ἦβης πρὶν τέλος ἄκρον ἰδεῖν, Leon. 7.466,1f ἐν ἦβης / ἀκμῇ, Agath. 7.602,3, anon. 7.558,5, Paul. Sil. 7.560,8, *al.*; cf. also the youths having died at the peak of their age for instance in Kaibel 151=Peek 1162, Kaibel 209=Peek 1504, Kaibel 231=Peek 945, Kaibel 669=Peek 908. In a context of death (of Patroclus and Hector), ἦβη first appears in Homer to describe the youth “left behind” together with manhood, *Il.* 16.857 and 22.363: (ψυχῆ) λιποῦσ' ἀνδροτῆτα καὶ ἦβην.<sup>168</sup>

<sup>166</sup>See Skiadas (1967), 32; cf. Peek 868,4 οὐδέ οἱ εἰμέροεν κάλλος ἔρυκε μόρον, see Skiadas (1967) 87. For the close relation of the above cited epitaph from Athens with the literary elegy (cf. the antitheses at Theogn. 665f. καὶ σώφρων ἦμαρτε,... / καὶ τιμῆς κακὸς ὦν ἔλαχεν), see Friedländer 86. For the notion that the best and those beloved by the gods die young see Lattimore 183, 259f., Griessmair 101f.; this complaint is a common topic of modern Greek lamentations as well, see Skiadas (1967) 33.

<sup>167</sup>Griessmair (22) remarks that the verb γεύεσθαι, apart from expressing the joy of life (cf. the adjectives γλυκὺς, ἡδύς, ἡμερτός, ποθητός conventionally applied to ζωὴ and βίος), further implies the *temporary* character of the pleasures of life.

<sup>168</sup>For the expression ἦβης ἄνθος and the notion of the *loss* of ἦβη in Homer, lyric poetry and epitaphs, see Skiadas (1967) 39ff. with n. 2. Also see Lattimore 195f.

ἕσχατοις ἐν Ἰβηρσι: remoteness of peoples in literature is traditionally described with ἔσχατος, cf. *Od.* 1.23 Αἰθίοπας τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίεται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν, also *Od.* 6.204f. (of the Phaeacians), *Il.* 10.434 (of the Thracians); cf. anon. *AP* 7.626,1 ἔσχαται Λιβύων Νασαμωνίδες, Agath. 4.3,88, also on Libya, *AApp* 3.76,1 (Indus), Theocr. 7.77 (Athos, Caucasus). For the sense of remoteness in regard to western peoples cf. Hdt. 2.33 Κυνησίοισι, οἱ ἔσχατοι πρὸς δυσμέων οἰκέουσι τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένων, 4.49 ἐκ Κελτῶν, οἱ ἔσχατοι πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμέων μετὰ Κύνητας οἰκέουσι τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, Call. *H.* 4.174 ἀφ' ἔσπερου ἔσχατόωντος. Cf. also Catull. 11.2 *in extremos...Indos*, 11f. *ulti-/mosque Britannos*.

Ἰστιάτιος is a poetic word for ἕσχατος, seldom used locally, cf. *Il.* 15.634 πρώτησι καὶ ἕσχατίησι βόεσσιν. For the construction cf. *SEG* 4.719,1 (see below on κείται...ἐπ' αἰγιαλῶν).

Brodaeus' suggestion that the people mentioned are the Iberians of Asia (like e.g. Ἰβηρ in *API* 39,1) is not likely, although the region had indeed developed diplomatic relations with Rome (see OCD s.v. Iberia); Crinagoras' participation in the Embassy to Augustus in Spain (Third Embassy, 26-5 B.C., see intr.) supports the possibility that the poet was moved and wrote an epigram on the death of a friend and fellow-diplomat of his.

τοκέων δίχα: the codices' reading τόσων δίχα is problematic, as, in the sense "so far from", it is actually a repetition of the following τηλόθι Λέσβου; such a repetition could be perhaps supported by similar tautologies like for instance that of Anyte *AP* 7.646=Geoghegan 7,3f. μέλας.../... κυάνεος θάνατος, defended by Geoghegan (87) on grounds of an analogous Homeric practice, cf. *Od.* 7.34 νηυσὶ θοῆσι πεποιθότες ὠκείησι.<sup>169</sup> Without entering into a discussion of this particular Homeric phrasing which has provoked various explanations (cf. Stanford and Hainsworth *ad loc.*), one can observe that the present poem's consecutive repetition δίχα τηλόθι Λέσβου is a quite different case. Desrousseaux's reading τόσων δίχα ("dépouillé de tant de qualités" τόσων referring to the qualities of Seleucus previously described) points to the need of a genitive with δίχα, but this construction and meaning is neither natural nor logical. Stadtmüller mentions but rejects the possible emendation to γονέων; it seems, however, that the most plausible suggestion would be a reference to Seleucus' parents at this point. Emending to τοκέων δίχα would offer a satisfactory meaning: Soph. *El.* 1137 κακῶς ἀπώλου σῆς κασιγνήτης δίχα, Peek 754,8f. τηλοῦ μὲν τοκέων, τ[ηλοῦ δ' ἀλόχοιο ποθεινῆς] / ὤλετο καὶ πατρὸς ἄ[μμορος Λύσουνης], Paul. Sil. *AP* 7.560,2 τῆλε θάνες γονέων, Qu. Sm. 5.540f. ἀποτηλόθι πατρὸς / καὶ τοκέων εἴρυσσας, cf. Nonnus *Par.* 3.22 δίχα πατρὸς ἀξιτόκου. ΤΟΚΕΩΝ could be easily corrupted to ΤΟΚΩΝ; -ον can be explained by the proximity of βαιόν in the previous line. For the

<sup>169</sup> For the use of synonyms in Homeric formulae see Hainsworth (1968), 82f.

synizesis at this *sedes* in Homer cf. πολέας at *Il.* 1.559 and 2.4, πελέκεας at *Il.* 23.114, ἐπηετανόν (-α) at Hes. *Op.* 607 and *h. Merc.* 113 respectively, ἰκέτεω at *Il.* 24.158, 187, ἐρέω at Hes. *Op.* 202, see Christ 27ff., K-G I (1) 227, West (1966) 100,<sup>170</sup> note πολέων at *Il.* 16.655. In Apollonius a synizesis of a trisyllabic word like the suggested one occurs six times in this *sedes*, almost always followed, too, by a word belonging with it, often an adverb or a preposition in anastrophe 1.1243 Πηγέων σχεδόν, 2.50 στηθέων ἔξ, 2.845 Μουσέων ὑπο, 3.755 στηθέων ἔντοσθεν, 3.962 στηθέων, 4.896 Μουσέων μία; cf., also at this *sedes*, Solon fr. 13,51 West Μουσέων πάρα. With this reading the line furthermore acquires a neat construction, forming a harmonious tricolon, cf. Crin. 5,1 GP χάλκεον ἀργυρέω με πανείκελον † Ἴνδικόν† ἔργον; for the figure cf. Lausberg 325f., § 733; 419f., § 933. The asyndeton thus formed is a word-group asyndeton, see Lausberg 316, § 711, b.

τηλόθι Λέσβου κεῖται: the theme of death away from one's homeland is common in sepulchral poems, cf. Leon. *AP* 7.715, Phalaecus 13.27, Theodoridas 7.722, Nicet. Eug. 9.101.<sup>171</sup> For the expression "away from the fatherland", cf. Peek 1334=Kaibel 186,5 τηλόθι γὰρ πατρὸς Βειθυίδος ὤλεσα θυμόν (Corcyra, A.D. II);<sup>172</sup> also Antip. Thess. 7.398,5 κεῖται δ' Αἰολίδος Σμύρνης ἑκάς, Agath. 7.552,5f. Μοῖραν, / ἧ μοι τῆλε πατρὸς ξεῖνον ἔδωκε τάφον, Paul. Sil. 7.560,2 τῆλ' ἔθανες γονέων. The phrase τηλόθι πατρὸς is common in Homer (also in the same *sedes* at verse-end), especially on death or loss away from home: *Il.* 1.30, 16.461, 18.99, *Od.* 2.365; cf. the same idea with the expression τῆλε φίλων καὶ πατρίδος αἵης, *Il.* 11.817, 16.539, *Od.* 24.290.

6 κεῖται...ἐπ' αἰγιαλῶν: the image is common in sepulchral epigrams on shipwrecks, cf. Damag. *AP* 7.497,6 γυμνὸς ἐπ' ἀξείνου κείμενος αἰγιαλοῦ, Antip. Thess. 7.286,2 κεῖσαι δὴ ξείνη γυμνὸς ἐπ' ἠϊόνι, cf. Xenocritus 7.291,6, Leon. 7.652,6, id. 7.665,7f. The image of someone lying on the shore usually refers to shipwrecked men in epigrams; the present poem does not offer us any information on the circumstances of Seleucus' death (for the omission of information known to the audience of the epigrams see intr. under Language and Style, Brevity). It is plausible to assume that here "shores" stand for "land" and denote that Seleucus is lying dead in a foreign country, cf. Mart. 10.26,4 *hospita Lagei litoris umbra iaces*, on a Roman centurion who died in

<sup>170</sup> Although in the Anthology synizesis of words like τοκέων usually occurs before a caesura (e.g. Mel. 4.1,58 Μουσέων, Call. 5.6,6 Μεγαρέων, Jul. Diocl. 6.186,6 ἡμέων, Theocr. 6.338,4 Μουσέων, *al.*), other positions are not impossible, cf. the synizesis of the same vowels (εω) in Crinagoras 9.234=48,5 GP Μουσέων, 9.599=32,3 GP διφέω, both at the thesis of the first foot; in Apollonius a synizesis in this *sedes* occurs six times, 1.665, 2.903, 3.162, 3.207, 3.289, 4.1429.

<sup>171</sup> See Viansino on Agath. 8 = *AP* 7.552,6.

<sup>172</sup> For this and more examples of the common motif of death away from the fatherland, see Lattimore 199ff.; death away from home is always a great misfortune, cf. the idea in traditional modern Greek lamentations, see Skiadas (1967) 91, n.2, Alexiou 118f.

Egypt. “Shores” stand for “land” also in Mart. 3.1,1f. *longinquis mittit ab oris / Gallia*, etc.

In regard to the idea of death in a foreign land, cf. Crin. 15,5 GP κείμαι δὲ ξείνη ὑπὸ χερμάδι, similarly to Antip. Thess. 7.286,2, cf. Agathias 7.552,6 ξείνον τάφον and Silentiarius’ 7.560,1 ἐπὶ ξείνης σε, Λεόντιε, γαῖα καλύπτει (see also previous note). In this epigram, however, Crinagoras attributes the adjective ξείνος to the dead man himself, as at Kaibel 702=Peek 731,1f. Ἐνθάδε κείμαι...ξένον.../ παιδίου; cf. Leon. AP 7.661,3 εἶ ἔθαψαν ἑταῖροι ἐπὶ ξείνης ξένον ὄντα, Theodoridas 7.722,2 ξείνον ἐπὶ ξείνη Κεκροπία φθίμενον, Peek 990,1 ξείνος ἐνὶ ξείνοισι ἔθανον Πατρο(ε)ῖνος.

ἀμετρήτων αἰγιαλῶν: Gow-Page suggest that the adjective, “unmeasured”, in the sense of “untrodden” seems more suitable here, cf. Waltz’s “inexploré”. This sense is supported by a parallel in Quintus: ἀτρυγέτοισι παρ’ αἰγιαλοῖσιν, 6.334, cf. id. 9.402 ἔρημαίοισιν ἐπ’ αἰγιαλοῖσι.<sup>173</sup> For a similar image of a shipwrecked man lying on a beach away from home, cf. Leon. AP 7.652,5f. χῶ μὲν που καύηξιν ἢ ἰχθυβόροις λαρίδεσσιν / τεθρήνητ’ ἄπ’ οὐς εὐρεῖ ἐπ’ αἰγιαλῶ. Crinagoras may also have in mind, and be playing with, the vastness of the sea, cf. Antiphilus 9.34,1, anon. 9.362,4 ἀμετρήτοιο θαλάσσης, in combination with the “length” of the shore, cf. *Il.* 2.210 αἰγιαλῶ μεγάλῳ, Ap. Rh. 4.1288 δολιχοῦ... αἰγιαλοῖο, Opp. *Hal.* 1.246 δολιχοῖσι...αἰγιαλοῖσι.

<sup>173</sup> After demonstrating that Anyte’s ῥαδινάν...ἡτόνα (Geoghegan 12=AP 7.215,6) indicates a “long” beach, Geoghegan goes on to suggest that the “long beach” is a “sandy beach” (cf. Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 602,2, δολιχὰς θίνας) and also that “the notion of a ‘long beach’, in Greek, refers not to the length of the beach seen as running parallel to the coast-line, but to the length of the sandy area stretching, at right angles to the coast-line from where the waters break up to where the sand finishes and gives way to vegetation”. He compares Anyte’s sea-creature (presumably a dolphin) which got stranded and died in the shallow waters of such a sandy beach with Crinagoras’ sailor who got stranded and was buried on a “long beach”, and maintains that the same notion as that of a “long beach” is expressed by βαθύς and εὐρύς, also applied to beaches: θίνα βαθύν Theocr. 22.32, ἀκτὴν εὐρεῖαν Ap. Rh. 1.1361 (one could also add Leon. AP 7.652,6 εὐρεῖ ἐπ’ αἰγιαλῶ). The analogy of Anyte’s and Crinagoras’ expression disappears if we accept the interpretation of the adjective ἀμέτρητος as “untrodden”; but even in the sense of “vast”, it is difficult to imagine ἀμέτρητος as referring to the breadth of the shore which, for all its possible extension, can hardly be described as “immeasurable”, while its length easily can.

## GP 16

On the vastness of the sea cf. Ov. *Ib.* 147 *sive per immensas iactabor naufragus undas*, *Tr.* 1.2,39 *nescit in immenso iactari corpora ponto*. The adjective *immens<sup>4</sup>* occurs often in Ovid at the same *sedes* of the pentameter as ἀμετρήτων in Crinagoras, cf. *Am.* 2.11,24, *Tr.* 3.7,40, 4.8,38, *Fasti* 4.944. For “shore” standing for “land”, cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.96 *nullaque mortales praeter sua litora norant*.

GP 17

AP 7.628=GP 17

Ἐρνήσαντο καὶ ἄλλαι ἔδον πάρος οὔνομα νῆσοι  
 ἀκλεές, ἐς δ' ἀνδρῶν ἦλθον ὁμωνυμίην·  
 κληθείητε καὶ ὑμεῖς Ἐρωτίδες· οὐ νέμεσις τοι,  
 Ὀξεῖαι, ταύτην κλήσιν ἀμειψαμέναις.  
 5 παιδὶ γάρ, ὃν τύμβῳ Δίης ὑπεθήκατο βώλου,  
 οὔνομα καὶ μορφὴν αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν Ἔρωσ.  
 ὧ χθῶν σηματοέσσα καὶ ἡ παρὰ θινὶ θάλασσα,  
 παιδὶ σὺ μὲν κούφη κείσο, σὺ δ' ἡσυχίη.

[C] Κριναγόρου [J] εἰς παιδίον εὐμορφότατον ἐν νήσῳ τελευτήσαν καὶ ταφέν, ἐξ οὗ αἱ νῆσοι Ἐρωτίδες et ad v. 7 εἰς παιδίον παρ' αἰγιαλὸν τεθαμμένον, supra quod lemma C notavit ζήτηι εἰ ἔν ἐστι τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, cf. lemma juxta AP 7.606,2 et 7.627,4 PI III<sup>a</sup> 20,12 Κριναγόρου

3 ὑμεῖς Stephanus: ἄμμες PPI 4 Ὀξεῖαι Stadtmüller: -αις Geist et Hecker, ὄξει P, ἔξει C, ὄξει an ἔξει incertum PI, inter quod et ταύτην lacunam unius vel duarum litterarum reliquit PI 5 τύμβῳ PPI: -ου Rubensohn | Δίης Brodaeus in sensu "Diae insulae"; nomen domini in voce sensit Hecker; Διῆς Cichorius: δίης PPI | ὑπεθήκατο Grotius: -ατε PPI | βώλου PPI: -ω Rubensohn 7 χθῶν Lascaris: χθὸν PPI

*Other islands also have renounced their own inglorious name and have come to be called after men; so be you called "Love's islands". No wonder, Oxeiai, if you take this name in exchange. For Eros himself gave his name and beauty to the boy whom Diēs laid in a grave, beneath a heap of earth. Grave-yard land, and you, sea near the shore, lie the one light on the child, the other calm.*

On a beautiful boy named Eros buried in the islands called Ὀξεῖαι. From IG 12.2.35b,15 (see intr.) we learn that one of Crinagoras' fellow-envoys to Rome in 45 B.C. was called ΔΙΗΣ, cf. on l. 5; it is logical to assume, therefore, that his servant, Eros, died during the journey and was buried on the nearest island and so to date the poem in that year. A comparable etymological play is given by Apollonius in his account on the etymology of the name of the Muse Erato, 3.3ff. σὺ γὰρ καὶ Κύπριδος αἶσαν / ἔμμορες, ἀδμητῆας δὲ τεοῖς μελεδήμασι θέλγεις / παρθενικὰς· τῷ καὶ τοι ἐπήρατον οὔνομ' ἀνήπται.

For *epicedia* see on Crin. 16 GP, intr. note; for epitaphs on slaves see on Crin. 15 GP intr. note and *passim*. The praise of the beauty of the dead lady is a commonplace in epitaphs; for a slave-girl cf. Peek 1164=Kaibel 727=Raffaener n. 12,12f. κάλλος δ' αἶ

μετὰ μοῖραν Ἴμαζόνος ἔσχεν ἄπιστον, / ὥστε νεκρᾶς πλέον ἢ ζώσης ἐς ἔρωτα φέρεσθαι (cf. Raffeiner 38f.); also see below on οὔνομα...ἔδωκεν. The praise of the beauty of a male also occurs in funeral poems and refers to a young man or a boy, cf. the eighteen-year-old youth at Peek 586,1f. Εὐτυχέος κρύπτω θαλερὸν δέμας, ὠκυμόριοι / παιδός, the eight year-old child at Peek 575,1f. ὡς φυτὸν ἀρτιθαλές, δροσεροῖς παρὰ νάμασιν αὔξον, / ὡς ῥόδον ἀρτιφυῆς προφανέν, καλὸν ἄνθος ἐρώτων, the thirteen-year-old boy at Peek 810,6 κάλλει καὶ πιτυταῖς τερπόμενον πραπίσιν, cf. also *AApp* 1.125=Kaibel 790,1, Peek 1420=Kaibel 233,1, Peek 1732,4ff., *Stat. Silv.* 2.1,40ff., see further Grewing on *Mart.* 6.29,5/6. In the present epigram a sexual relation between the boy and his master is implied, cf. the same possible implication in *Mart.* 6.28,2, where the boy is described as *cari deliciae breves patroni* (see Grewing *ad loc.*), id. 1.31,2 *Encolpos, domini centurionis amor*, cf. below on αὐτὸς... Ἔρωτος.

**1f.** Gow-Page mention some examples of changed island-names: Paros was previously called Ἡερίη according to Archilochus (*ap.* Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* 6.8 p.256b), Zacynthus Ἰρίη according to Pliny *NH* 4.54. We can add Callimachus' account of Delos, previously Ἀστερίη (*H.* 4.40), Samos, previously Παρθενίη (*ibid.* 49, see Mineur *ad loc.*), the island of Hephaestus Lipara, previously Μελιγουνίς (*H.* 3.47f). Furthermore we learn from Hellenicus (*FgrH* 4F77) that Corcyra was previously called Drepane, which is the only name Apollonius uses for the island, cf. Mineur on *Call. H.* 4.156, O'Hara 30. According to *Ap. Rh.* 2.295ff. the Στροφάδες took their name because there the Boreads ὑπέστρεφον after pursuing the Harpies, while previously the islands were called Πλωταί. Gow-Page remark that Crinagoras' own island came to ἀνδρὸς ὁμωνυμῆ, formerly Issa and then Lesbos, after a son of Lapithes, *Lyc.* 219f. For a person giving his name to an island cf. Apollonius' account (1.623ff.) that Sicinus was called Oenoe after the so-called nymph, but then changed its name after Sicinus, the nymph's son. Cf. also the account of the same author (4.1762ff., following Callimachus, fr. 112,1 Καλλίστη τὸ πάροιθε, τὸ δ' ὕστερον οὔνομα Θήρη) about Thera, see below on ἀμειψαμέναις; also the case of the island which constituted Diomedes' place of burial, *Strabo* 6.3,9 Ἐν δὲ τῇ πλησίον (τῆς Ἀπουλίας) θαλάττῃ δύο νῆσοι Διομήδειοι προσαγορευόμεναι, ὧν ἡ μὲν οἰκεῖται, τὴν δ' ἐρήμην φασὶν εἶναι· ἐν ἧ καὶ τὸν Διομήδην μυθεύουσιν ἀφαισθηναί τινες; cf. *AApp* 2.61

Αἰνητὸν πάντεσσιν ἐπιχθονίοις Διομήδῃ·

ἥδ' ἱερά κατέχει νῆσος ὁμωνυμῆ.

For several persons giving their name to Thessaly cf. *Rhianus* fr. 25 Powell. For more examples illustrating the etymological interest of Hellenistic poets in place-names, see further O'Hara 21-42, Hollis (1990) 350 with n. 56. For Callimachean and general Hellenistic interest in the μετονομασία of islands see Mineur on *Call. H.* 4.37, Capovilla 97, Pfeiffer (1968) 135.

ἤρνησαντο...οὔνομα: in the sense of “renounce”, cf. Aristodicus *AP* 7.473,2=GP *HE* 770 ζῶαν ἀρνήσαντο, Colluth. 175f. ἀλλὰ σὲ πᾶσαι / σήμερον ἤρνησαντο, Nonnus *D.* 36 Μῆτερ...τεῖν ἤρνησαι κούρην, 5.581 ἀέκων ἤρνησαι νύμφην. The phrase became common in Christian writers, in regard to faith in God, for instance *Aproc.* 3.8,4 οὐκ ἤρνησω τὸ ὄνομά μου, St. Justin *Apol.* 96.2,7 ἀρνεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

ἑόν: “their own”; cf. Nonnus *D.* 38.151f., see below on οὔνομα...ἔδωκεν. Here the use of the pronoun is emphatic, cf. on Crin. 18,2 GP.

πάρος: the word is Homeric (*Il.* 4.73, 22.403, *al.*) and frequent in tragedy.

οὔνομα ἀκλεές: the phrase once again in Aristoph. *Lys.* 853f. οὐ γὰρ ἀκλεές τοὔνομα / τὸ σόν (though here with a sexual allusion, see Henderson *ad loc.*).<sup>174</sup> Crinagoras might be referring, with an *oppositio in imitando*, to a passage about the etymology of a nymph’s name, Ap. Rh. 1.1068ff. ἦν καλέουσιν / Κλείτην, δυστήνοιο περικλεές οὔνομα νύμφης, see O’Hara 28. Cf. also the epic formula ὄνομα κλυτόν, *Od.* 9.364, 19.183, see Kost on Mus. 186.

The epithet usually occurs in Homer in its epic form, ἀκλει- or ἀκλεε- (see Chantraine 1958, 74), *Il.* 12.318 ἀκλεές, 22.304 ἀκλειῶς, *al.* (the epic form ἀκλει- also in Ap. Rh. 3.932, Call. fr. 365), but the form ἀκλε- is also found in Homer (*Il.* 7.100 ἀκλεές, as an adverb), and can be accepted, see Leaf and Kirk *ad loc.*; in poetry this form recurs in Pindar, *O.* 12.15 and fr. 105b,3.

ἔς...ὄμωνυμίην: for post-Homeric phrases with ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ or εἰς, “come to, into”, see LSJ s.v.B, for instance Hdt. 6.86, Soph. *OC* 1164 ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν, Thuc. 2.39,4 ἐς αὐτὰ ἐλθοῦσι, “come to the test”.

Ὀμωνυμία is a prosaic word, see LSJ s.v.;<sup>175</sup> its only other occurrence in the Anthology is Crin. 8,4 GP ὄμωνυμία παῖς πατρὸς Ἀντιφάνης, also cf. *AApp.* 6.298,5 ἀνδρὸς Ἀλεξητήρος ὄμωνυμίην. Ὀμώνυμος, however, is a Homeric ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, *Il.* 17.720 and is not rare in poetry. For the etymological play of the first two lines, οὔνομα...ὄμωνυμίην, see below on κλήσιν.

3 κληθείητε καὶ ὑμμες: the Aeolic and epic form ὑμμες (see Chantraine 1958, 268f.) occurs only once more in the Anthology, anon. 9.134,4. Crinagoras is using the milder optative, instead of an imperative;<sup>176</sup> his phrasing recalls the similar Homeric imperatives *Il.* 1.274 ἀλλὰ πίθεσθε καὶ ὑμμες, 23.469 ἀλλὰ ἴδεσθε καὶ ὑμμες, both at the same *sedes*. Note that in the rare occurrences of the form in Hellenistic poetry, it usually appears as the subject of an imperative: Ap. Rh. 4.195ff. ἀτὰρ ὑμμες...σώετε (same *sedes*), Theocr. 7.115 ὑμμες δ’ ... βάλλετε, id. 8.67 μηδ’ ὑμμες ὀκνεῖθ’.

<sup>174</sup>Cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 1028 ὀλοίμην ἀκλεῆς ἀνώνυμος, to which Aristophanes might be alluding, to produce an even funnier effect, given that the Euripidean line is uttered by the chaste hero.

<sup>175</sup> For the use of prosaic words in Hellenistic poetry see on Crin. 30,1 GP ὄπου.

<sup>176</sup> For this use of the optative in exhortations see Goodwin 291, § 725.

Ἐρωτίδες: in Theocr. 4.59 we read τὰν κυάνοφρον ἔρωτίδα, which Gow translates “the dark-browed darling” and maintains that the word should be taken as a noun, though it is an adjective at Nonnus *D.* 32.28; as an island-name it can be regarded as a noun, cf.

Ἐρωτίς as a proper name, see Fraser-Matthews s.v. Another group of islets also in the Corinthian Gulf is called Ἀλκυονίδες νῆσοι.

οὐ νέμεσις: the phrase in Homer is taken to mean “no cause for anger that”, as νέμεσις in Homer implies the wrath of gods or men for an erroneous act, see Kirk on *Il.* 3.156.<sup>177</sup> The meaning of the phrase in later literature, however, has raised much controversy: in Call. *AP* 7.525,5=21 Pf=29 GP<sup>178</sup> it has been explained as *idque si merito contigit* (Jacobs), *nec mirum* (Schneider), “c’est justice” (Cahen), etc., see Gow-Page and Pagonari-Antoniou *ad loc.* Its occurrence in other passages, however, like Call. *H.* 3.64, the present poem and later passages from Nonnus demonstrates that it has become a standard expression meaning “no wonder”, see Köhnken 430ff.; the scholar puts in parallel (435, n. 39) the present epigram with Greg. Naz. *AP* 8.152, on the grave of Helladios, whose burial with the other martyrs is not to be a surprise, as he has been a martyr himself. The phrase occurs usually in the same *sedes* in Nonnus, for instance *D.* 5.290, 19.134, 34.324, *al.*; the comparison of Cadmus with Eros at *D.* 4.238f. is perhaps inspired by Crinagoras’ epigram

Αὐτὸς Ἔρως πέλεν οὗτος ὁ ναυτίλος· οὐ νέμεσις γάρ  
 ὕλα τεκεῖν πλωτῆρα θαλασσῆν Ἀφροδίτην·

τοῖ: cf. the usage of τοῖ in exhortations, Denniston (540, [4]); in *Il.* 2.298 αἰσχρόν τοι δηρόν τε μένειν κενεόν τε νέεσθαι the exhortation is also realised with a third-person phrasing.

4 Ὁξεῖται: in regard to ἔξει, and other readings and suggestions which Stadtmüller lists in his apparatus, it could be enough to observe that a verbal form is unnecessary here, as by reading some form of Ὁξεῖται we actually hear the island’s former name. Gow-Page, who adopt the vocative Ὁξεῖται, remark that metrical reasons cause the conflation of the expected construction of οὐ νέμεσις with personal dative and infinitive, ὑμῖν ἀμείψασθαι, to a dative participle, ἀμειψαμέναις; one can notice, however, that the expression can be found without the infinitive, cf. Jul. Aeg. *AP* 9.739,3 οὐ νέμεσις δὲ μύωπι, Clem. Al. *Protr.* 4.55,1 οὐ νέμεσις τοίνυν οὐδὲ Ἰππωι ἀπαθανατίζουσι τὸν θάνατον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ. Although Stadtmüller’s Ὁξεῖται, accepted by Paton and Gow-Page, makes the expression more lively with the direct address to the islands,<sup>179</sup> it

<sup>177</sup> Other occurrences in Homer: *Il.* 14.80, *Od.* 1.350.

<sup>178</sup> If the final couplet does belong to the epigram, see the discussion of Gow-Page and Pagonari-Antoniou *ad loc.*

<sup>179</sup> Such are frequent in Crinagoras not only to persons (3,2 GP Πρόκλε, 4,6 GP Λεύκιε, 11,6 GP Μάρκελλε, 20,1 GP Φιλόστρατε, etc.), but also to places: 25,1 GP ἄγχουροι...χθόνες, 26,1 GP οὔρεα Πυρρηναῖα, 37,3 GP Κόρινθε, cf. 28,1 GP ἀντολαί δύσιες, 43,1 GP Σπήλυγγες Νυμφῶν εὐπίδακες, cf. intr. under Language and Style, Apostrophes.

would be also possible to retain Hecker's Ὀξειαις, accepted by Rubensohn, Dübner, Beckby and Waltz, and translate “no wonder then if Oxeiai take that name in exchange”; then in this sentence we would have a switch of person comparable to Crin. 6,1f. GP εἶαρος ἦνθει μὲν τὸ πρῖν ῥόδα, νῦν δ' ἐνὶ μέσσω / χεῖματι πορφυρέας ἐσχάσαμεν κάλυκας.

For the Oxeiai, a group of rocky islands in the Corinthian Gulf, at the mouth of *the* river Achelous, see *RE* 18.2.2003. Antip. Thess. mentions the islands at *AP* 7.639,2 as dangerous for ships. In *Od.* 15.299 a group of islands are described as ἔνθεν δ' αὖ νήσοισιν ἐπιπροέηκε θοῆσιν, on which the scholiast comments that the adjective is a metaphor for “sharp”, ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ κίνησιν ὀξέος ἐπὶ τὸ κατὰ σχῆμα; Strabo identifies them with the Ὀξειαι, 8.3,26: Θοᾶς δὲ εἶρηκε τὰς Ὀξειας· τῶν Ἐχινάδων δ' εἰσὶν αὗται, πλησιάζουσαι τῇ ἀρχῇ τοῦ Κορινθιακοῦ κόλπου καὶ ταῖς ἐκβολαῖς τοῦ Ἀχελώου, also id. 10.2,19, on which Hoekstra is sceptical, see on *Od. loc.cit.*<sup>180</sup> The Echinades retain their name to the present day and one of them is still called Ὀξειά.

κλήσιν: Crinagoras avoids the repetition of οὔνομα here, while at l. 6 it is remote enough not to annoy; cf. his variation Μήνη - Σελήνη in 18,2f. GP, cf. *ad loc.* For Hellenistic poets' use of synonyms see Giangrande (1976) 145f., Chryssafis, Index s.v. Synonyms, Anyte *AP* 7.208=Geoghegan 9,3f. αἶμα / φόνω with Geoghegan on φόνω. Note moreover the etymological play between κλήσιν and κληθείητε in the previous line as well as that between οὔνομα and ὀμωνυμία in ll. 1-2, further appropriate for a poem which is itself about an etymological association; the juxtaposition of words with the same stem in two neighbouring verses is in fact a feature of Hellenistic and late Greek epic poetry, cf. Ἐνυάλιον - Ἐνυώ in two consecutive lines in Crin. 26,4f. GP.<sup>181</sup> In the sense of “name”, the word is rare and mainly prosaic (see above on ἐς...ὀμωνυμία), cf. Plato *Pol.* 262d βάρβαρον μιᾷ κλήσει προσειπόντες αὐτό, *ibid.* 287e, 305e; in the Christian epigram *AP* 1.106, the only other occurrence of κλήσις in the Anthology, the word has the same sense and refers also to a change of name: a hall, formerly *Chrysotriclinium* is now called *Christotriclinium* (ll. 14f.).

ἀμειψαμέναις: ἀμείβω, -ομαι is usually constructed with an accusative and a genitive, cf. *Il.* 11.547 γόνυ γουνὸς ἀμείβων, *Soph. Tr.* 736f. λώους φρένας / τῶν νῦν παρουσῶν τῶνδ' ἀμείψασθαι, *Eur. Hel.* 1186f. πέπλους μέλανας...λευκῶν ἀμείψασ', see Diggle 63 with n. 67. The occurrence of the genitive is not necessary, cf. for instance Solon fr. 27,6 West χροίης ἄνθος ἀμειβομένης and also the usage of Apollonius in a passage to which Crinagoras might be alluding, 4.1762ff. Αὐτεσίωνος

<sup>180</sup>For further discussion of the figure of *metalepsis* in regard to the Homeric passage and the identification of θοῶς with ὀξύς in the sense “fast” but also “sharp” in this context in Antiquity, see Lausberg 259f., § 571.

<sup>181</sup> See *White Studies in LateEpic Poetry*, select index s.v. repetition, id. (1989) 18f., 39f.

ἐὺς παῖς ἤγαγε Θήρας / Καλλίστην ἐπὶ νῆσον, ἀμείψατο δ' οὔνομα Θήρας /  
 ἐξ ἔθεν, an island also taking its name from a man, see intr. note.

**5 παιδί:** it is not easy to decide about the age of Eros, as παῖς can describe a child, an adolescent, but also an eighteen-year-old young man (Mel. 12.125,2; see Dover 1978, 85f.); it would be plausible to suggest, however, that Eros was an adolescent; the term implies his status as a slave (see LSJ s.v. III), and also constitutes a hint to Diēs' sexual relationship with him, especially since the predominant idea of the poem is the boy's beauty and association with Love.

**Διῆς...βώλου:** there is no objection today<sup>182</sup> that ΔΙΗΣ is a proper name; Kaibel first noted the parallel with *AApp* 2.361 (=Peek 309=Kaibel 329, Mytilene, A.D. I-II, see Cichorius 1888, 53), which points to the correct reading of the line:

Τὴν κῦνα Λεσβιακῆ βῶλω ὑπεθήκατο Βάλβος  
 εὐξάμενος κούφην τῆ κατὰ γῆς σκύ[λα]κ[ι]  
 δουλίδα καὶ σύμπλον πολλῆς ἀλός·

Cf. also Heges. *AP* 7.276,4 τῆδ' ὀλίγη θῆκαν ὑπὸ ψαμάθω. For τύμβος βώλου as a "mound of earth", cf. *AApp* 2.524,12 βαιὸν [τυμβ]ήρει βῶλον ἐπισ[κ]εδάσαι, Antip. Sid. 7.209,2 ἥριον ἐκ βώλου διψάδος.

Βῶλος (usually fem.), a clod of earth, soil, is a Homeric ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, *Od.* 18.374 εἴκοι δ' ὑπὸ βῶλος ἀρότρω; it occurs often in sepulchral epigrams designating the earth that covers the dead man, cf. Diosc. *AP* 7.76,4, Addaeus 7.238,2, Mel. 7.470,7, Leon. 7.656,1, Peek 757,7, 853,1, *al.*, see Geoghegan on Anyte 9,4. For the common phrase in sepulchral poems τίθημι (έν) τύμβω, cf. Parmenion *AP* 7.185,3f., Phaedimus 7.739,2; for the middle form cf. anon. 7.340,1 Νικόπολιν Μαραθῶνις ἐθήκατο τῆδ' ἐνὶ πέτρῃ, Diosc. 7.178,1f., Peek 809,2.

One of Crinagoras' fellow-envoys to Caesar in Rome in 45 B.C. (see intr. inder Life and Work, also Test. 5) is called ΔΙΗΣ (ΔΙΗΣ ΜΑΤΡΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ) and the genitive of the name of the father of another one is ΔΙΟΥΣ, *IG* 12.2.35b15; the name appears in other inscriptions too, some of which come from Lesbos, see Fraser-Matthews I s.v. As far as accentuation is concerned, Bechtel (1917, 134 and 151) accepts Δίης (>Δίης), in accordance with Ἐλευθύης and Ζώης; since we have the genitive ΔΙΟΥΣ, however, the declension cannot be like that of Ζώης the genitive of which is Ζώητος. In Posidonius *FgrHist* 36F49.32 (p. 244) Jacoby=253,51 Edelstein-Kidd the genitive Διοῦς or Διέους is Kaibel's conjecture for the διευς of the codex, see Jacoby's and Edelstein-Kidd's apparatus.<sup>183</sup> On this possibility (Διῆς - Διέους, Διοῦς) one can observe the following. Grammarians tell us that there are three grammatical possibilities for a περισπώμενον

<sup>182</sup> Rubensohn accepted Herwerdens' ἰδίης ὑπεθήκατε, Jacobs and Dübner read δίης ὑπεθήκατε, *divinae supposuistis glebae*; Brodaeus accepted Δίης in the sense of *Diae insulae* (cf. Stephanus s.v. εἰσι καὶ δ' νῆσοι Δῖαι λεγόμεναι).

<sup>183</sup> The reading Διέους could be perhaps retained, as such contracted genitives occur, apart from poetry, in prose and in inscriptions, see K-G I (1) 435.

name or adjective: 1) first declension contracted names like Ἑρμῆς, Θαλῆς, 2) third declension contracted names, compounds of κλέος (Ἡρακλῆς, Περικλῆς etc.), 3) third declension contracted adjectives deriving from an adjective in -ήεις like ἀργήεις - ἀργῆς, the genitive of which is ἀργῆντος, see K-G I (1) 385f. and 470, Herodian *Gr. Gr.* 3.1,65,9ff. and 3.2,683. 1) and 3) are excluded, of course, as they form a different genitive that of the present ΔΙΗΣ. Now ΔΙΟΥΣ is not the only recorded form: inscriptions from Delos document the genitive form Διέους, see Robert (1938) 180f. with n. 4, Dow 312. This form suggests that the name should be added to the περισπώμενα declined like those that are compounds with -κλέος.<sup>184</sup> As far as the genitive ΔΙΟΥΣ is concerned, cf. Chandler 191, § 673, *Gr. Gr.* 3.2,683 Ἡρακλῆς Ἡρακλέος Ἡρακλοῦς, 3.2,331 Ἡρακλῆς Ἡρακλέους Ἡρακλοῦς. ἰστέον, ὅτι ἡ Ἡρακλοῦς γενικὴ οὐχ εὑρίσκεται ἐν χρήσει. There are two possibilities therefore: a) we have to do with a case where the rare form of the genitive in -οῦς is actually in use, b) a distinction has to be made between the names Διῆς - Διέους and Δίης - Δίους. The declension of the latter would be analogous to that of Σωκράτης, Διομήδης, etc., although this analogy is not entirely satisfactory as the names thus declined are either compounds or foreign names like Φαρνάκης, see K-G I (1) 471f., cf. Herodian *Gr. Gr.* 3.1,68,18ff. The closest analogy for the formation of Δίης - Δίους would be that of Ἄρης - Ἄρους, cf. Herodian *Gr. Gr.* 3.2,682,10ff., Chandler 180, § 639. The possibility of Διῆς - Διούς cannot be totally excluded although proper names declined in this way and not being capitalised adjectives are very rare, cf. Ἴμφῆς, see Chandler 180, § 638. The name Διεύς (see Robert 1938, 180f., n. 4) is of course of a different formation.

**6 οὔνομα...ἔδωκεν:** cf. Nonnus *D.* 38.151f. Ἡέλιος δέ / υἱέι δῶκεν ἔχειν ἐὸν οὔνομα μάρτυρι μορφῇ / ἄρμενον; for the connection of “name” and “form” cf. “Plato” *AP* 9.51,2 οὔνομα καὶ μορφὴν καὶ φύσιν ἠδὲ τύχην, Aesch. *Pr.* 210 Γαῖα, πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφὴ μία and the allusion to Hecuba’s shape (of a dog) to the name of her tomb, Eur. *Hec.* 1271f. Also cf. Prop. 1.20,5, on a boy bearing the name of Hylas and also sharing his beauty, *est tibi, non infra speciem, non nomine dispar, / Theodamanteo proximus ardor Hylae.*

Crinagoras exploits the possibilities that the boy’s name offers him, as he does with Cleopatra-Selene (18 GP) and Prote (14 GP). For similar puns in sepulchral poems, cf. for instance Peek 412=Kaibel 342,1 Ἄνθος ἀνερχόμενον Στεφαινηφόρος ἐνθάδε κεῖται, Peek 629=Kaibel 659 [Ἄνθος] ὄρας γαίης τὸ ποθούμενον ἐν στεφέεσσιν / οὔνομά μοι τόδ’ ἔφν’ Ἰάκιθος ἐνθάδε κεῖμαι, Peek 1038=Kaibel 577,1f. Ἄνθος ἐγὼ λεγόμεν... / ἀνθήσας δὲ καλῶς ἔτεσιν δυσὶν οὐκ ὀλοκλήρο<ι>ς, κτλ. In the Anthology cf. Julian Aeg. 7.599,1f.

<sup>184</sup> The genitive Διήους is also attested in inscriptions from Delos (see Dow 312). We might here have an extension of ε to η, frequent in Greek, cf. Herodian *Gr. Gr.* 3.2,481,11ff., 3.2,563,26ff.

## GP 17

Οὔνομα μὲν ΚΑΛΗ, φρεσὶ δὲ πλέον ἢ προσώπῳ,  
κάτθανε· φεῦ, Χαρίτων ἔξαπόλωλεν ἔαρ.

Also id. 7.561,3, Antip. Thess. 9.517,2f. (see G-P on GP 95); cf. Mel. 5.154,2 ἔστι καὶ ἐκ μορφᾶς ἅ Τρυφέρα τρυφερά, see further Weinreich (1926), 90f., Grewing on Mart. 6.8,5, see also next note.

αὐτὸς... Ἔρως: the concept that the beautiful boy is “shaped by Eros himself” recalls the Meleagrian AP 5.155

Ἐντὸς ἐμῆς κραδίης τὴν εὐλαον Ἥλιοδώραν  
ψυχὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἔπλασεν αὐτὸς Ἔρως.

The expression αὐτὸς Ἔρως is not rare; starting from Call. fr. 67.1, cf. Mel. AP 12.132a,4, 12.86,2, Myrinus 7.703,4, Nonnus D. 19.237, 29.333, 47.312.

The motif of Eros shaping or giving his beauty to a mortal is characteristic of Meleager: AP 5.195,5f. (Ζηνοφίλας) ὤπλισεν / γλυκὺ κάλλος Ἔρως, id. 5.196,1f., id. 12.56,2ff., id. 12.577f., Diosc. 12.37,1f, cf. Leon. 7.449, see the intr. note of Gow-Page on HE Mel. 40=AP 5.196).<sup>185</sup>

Ἔρως as a proper name is not rare, cf. Peek 401 (Rome III-II B.C.), 618 (Argolis I B.C.), Fraser-Matthews s.v., IG 2.11346-8; in *ibid.* 11348 Eros is the name of a slave. Cf. Martial's epitaphs for a young slave girl called Erotion, 5.34, 5.37, 10.61; for slave-names formed from Eros, see Howell on 5.34,3. For slaves having “speaking names” cf. Mart. 6.52, where the dead slave boy is called Pantagathus, see Grewing *ad loc.* l. 2 and on 6.28,4; another slave boy is called Encolpos, perhaps a nickname given to him by his master (see Citroni and Howell on Mart. 1.31,2); another one is called Earinus, and Martial makes the most of the connotations of this name, cf. 9.11,2, 9.12,1, 9.13,4, 9.16,2.

**7f.:** for the apostrophe to both earth and sea with the request to be gentle towards the dead, cf. Mart. 6.68,12 (also in the concluding pentameter) *sit, precor, et tellus mitis et unda tibi* (cf. Autore 39, Grewing on Mart. *loc. cit.*).

ὦ χθών: apostrophes to earth are a commonplace in sepulchral poems, cf. for instance Antip. Sid. AP 7.14,1, Erycius 7.368,5f., anon. 7.321,1, Bassus 7.372,1, Mac. Cons. 7.566,1. In Greek lament earth is frequently addressed with the request to treat the dead kindly, see Alexiou 45, 147, see also below on κούφη... κεῖσο. The apostrophe ὦ χθών occurs in Hegesippus AP 7.276,5=GP HE 1929,<sup>186</sup> for the phrasing cf. Peek 850=Kaibel 430,3<sup>3</sup> ὦ χθών ἀμμοφανής, οἶον δέμας ἀμφικαλύπτεις, ἀμμοφανής also being a ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, like Crinagoras' σηματοέσσα (see next note). Jacobs<sup>2</sup> compared Leon. 7.503,1 ἀρχαίης ὦ θινὸς ἐπεστηλωμένον ἄχθος.

<sup>185</sup>It seems that the Alexandrian Cavafis, with his broad knowledge of and love for Hellenistic history and poetry, had in mind such poems when he wrote: Κ' εἶδα τ' ὠραῖο σῶμα ποῦ ἔμοιαζε / σὰν ἀπ' τὴν ἄκρα πείρα του νὰ τῶκαμεν ὁ Ἔρως - πλάττοντας τὰ συμμετρικά του μέλη μὲ χαρά· (“Στοῦ καφενείου τὴν εἴσοδο”).

<sup>186</sup>It is interesting to note that in this case also P's and Pl' s reading is χθόν, as in the present epigram.

σηματόεσσα: the epithet only here. For other ἄπαξ or rare adjectives of the same formation, cf. πινόεσσα in Ap. Rh. 2.301 and Antip. Sid. *AP* 7.146,1,<sup>187</sup> πνιγόεσσα in Alcaeus 7.536,3 and Nic. *Th.* 425, ῥυπόεις, ἔσσα in Leon. 6.293,3, Nic. *Al.* 470 and Antip. *Thess.* 11.158,3,<sup>188</sup> ὑαλόεσσα in Rufinus 5.48,1, δειματόεις in Apollon. 9.244,1, καμπυλόεσσα in Jul. Aeg. 6.28,2, ῥακόεσσα in anon. 6.21,3 and (-εις) in Antiphilus 11.66,1, ὀλισθήεσσα in Paul. Sil. 9.443,3. Numerous such adjectives occur in Nicander: cf. further ἐγκατόεις in *Th.* 580, βατόεις in *Al.* 267, κληματόεσσα in *Al.* 95 and 530. Cf. also αἰετόεις in [Opp.] *Cyn.* 3.117, ἐρπετόεν *ibid.* 2.274. ὕδατόεις appears first in [Theocr.] 25.89 and then often in Nonnus, see Chryssafis *ad loc.* For such rare adjectives in classical poetry cf. μελιτόεις in Pind. *O.* 1.98, θανατόεις, ῥόεν in Eur. *IA* 1287 and Soph. *Ant.* 1262 respectively.

παρὰ θινὶ θάλασσα: the usual Homeric expression is παρὰ θῖν' ἄλος (*Il.* 1.316, 327, 11.62, *Od.* 6.94, *al.*) or θαλάσσης (*Il.* 1.34, 9.182, *Od.* 13.220, *al.*), a variation of which we can call Crinagoras' ἡ παρὰ θινὶ θάλασσα. The phrase is almost always found as παρὰ θῖνα; with the dative Qu. Sm. 7.413 παρὰ θίνεσι; cf. Crinagoras' 46,1 GP παρὰ κροκάλαισι θαλάσσης. Παρά often occurs in sepulchral poems to describe the location where the death took place or the tomb was situated (see Geoghegan on Anyte 12,6 κεῖμαι δὲ ῥαδινὰν τάνδε παρ' ἡῖόνα): one can observe Crinagoras' freshness in regard to this usage, as, instead of saying κεῖσαι παρὰ θῖνα (sc. Eros), he addresses the land and also the sea which is παρὰ θινί, with the request to be kind to the dead boy. The address to earth is a commonplace (see next note); on the appeal to the calmness of the sea, cf. the fear of dead men, buried on the shore, that the sea may wash them out: Ascl. *AP* 7.284, Diocles 7.393, cf. Leon. 7.283, Philip 7.382.

8 κούφη κεῖσο: the prayer that the earth (sometimes the tomb, Bassus *AP* 7.372,6, Philip 7.554,5) which covers the dead be light, commonly at the close of the poem, is a *topos* in sepulchral epigrams, the words used being mostly κοῦφος, ἐλαφρός, γῆ, χθῶν and κόμης, cf. Theocr. *AP* 7.658,4, Call. 7.460,2f., Mel. 7.461,2, Diod. 7.632,5f., Peek 559,4, 567,1, 1577,1, 1938,4, 2018,11; the motif first appears in Eur. *Alc.* 463 κούφα σοι χθῶν ἐπάνωθε πέσοι, cf. id. *Hel.* 851ff. The common phrase in Latin epitaphs is *sit tibi terra levis*, see further Welles 82f., Lattimore 65-74, Cumont 46, Pagonari-Antoniou on Call. 26,2f., Henriksén on Mart. 9.29,11, Grewing on id. 6.52,5/6, where the prayer is also that earth will be light on a young slave-boy; the same wish for a slave-girl at Mart. 5.34,9f.; cf. also Laurens 319. At 41,8f. GP Crinagoras curses a dead villain that earth may not lie light on him with analogous antithetical phrasings to these of the present poem: ὦ χθῶν σηματόεσσα - χθῶν ὦ δυσνύμφευτε; παιδὶ σὺ μὲν κούφη κεῖσο.

<sup>187</sup>Also Hipp. *Mul.* 2.187.

<sup>188</sup>Also in medical writers, see Geffken (1896), 72.

## GP 17

σὺ δ' ἡσυχίη - μὴ κούφη κέκλισο, μηδ' ὀλίγη. Cf. also Διῆς ὑπεθήκατο βώλου - ὑπὸ δύσβωλον θλίβει χθόνα.../ ὄστέα...τύμβος.

ἡσυχίη: the rare adjective is a Homeric ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, *Il.* 21.598 ἡσύχιον... μιν...ἔπεμπε; also Pind. *P.* 9.40 Ἀσύχιον εἰράναν, Hdt. 1.107 τρόπου...ἡσυχίου. In regard to the tranquillity of the sea, cf. anon. *AP* 9.362,3 (on the river Alpheus) ἡσύχιος τὸ πρῶτον, Eur. *Hec.* 901 πλοῦν...ἡσυχον, schol. on Aristoph. *An.* 778 καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ἡσύχασεν, cf. also Satyrus *AP* 10.6,4 γαληναίη δὲ θάλασσα, Theaet. 10.16,7 ὑπνώει δὲ θάλασσα.

GP 18

AP 7.633=GP 18

Καὶ αὐτὴ ἤχλωσεν ἀκρέσπερος ἀντέλλουσα  
 Μήνη, πένθος ἔδον νυκτὶ καλυψαμένη.  
 οὐνεκα τὴν χαρίεσσαν ὁμώνυμον εἶδε Σελήνην  
 ἄπνουν εἰς ζοφερὸν δυομένην Ἄϊδην·  
 5 κείνη γὰρ καὶ κάλλος ἑοῦ κοινώσατο φωτὸς  
 καὶ θάνατον κείνης μῖξεν ἑῷ κνέφει.

[C] Κριναγόρου [J] εἰς Σελήνην τινὰ [C] γυναῖκα [J] ὁμώνυμον σελήνης δι' ὑπερβολὴν  
 κάλλους [[τεθνηκυῖαν erasum]] caret Pl

5 κείνη Ap.G.: -νη P

*The moon herself darkened as she rose at nightfall and veiled her mourning with night,  
 on seeing her graceful namesake Selene setting breath-bereft into gloomy Hades; with  
 her she had shared the beauty of her light and with her death she mingled her darkness.*

On the death of a lady called Selene. It is generally accepted that the poem refers to Cleopatra-Selene, daughter of Antony and Cleopatra, on whose marriage with Juba, king of Mauretania, Crinagoras wrote another epigram (25 GP).

For the girl's name Selene (and her brother, Alexander's, "Sun"), see Plut. *Anton.* 36 προσαγορεύσας τὸν μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον, τὴν δὲ Κλεοπάτραν, ἐπίκλησιν δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἥλιον, τὴν δὲ Σελήνην, Dio Cass. 50.25,4, cf. Suet. *Cal.* 26.1. Cleopatra was born around 40 B.C.; after her parents' death she followed Octavian in Rome where she walked in his triumph in 29 B.C., cf. Dio Cass. 51.21,8. She was raised by Octavia, Antony's deserted wife, and in c. 20 B.C. she married Juba II, the son of Juba I, king of Numidia, who had been also brought to Rome and had walked in the triumph of Julius Caesar, after the latter's victory over Juba I in 46 B.C., cf. Plut. *Caes.* 55, *Ant.* 87, see Gsell VIII 207, 217f., Macurdy (1932) 224f., (1937) 53. Juba II married Glaphyra in 7 B.C. and their marriage lasted until c. A.D. 3, i.e. between the death of Glaphyra's first husband and Glaphyra's third marriage which was a brief one, as she died in 5-6 A.D., see Macurdy (1932) 227, (1937) 53, 58f. Regling's publication of coins from El Ksar, among which some bear Cleopatra's name, dateable to A.D. 11-17, puts into question the assumption that Juba was a widower when he married Glaphyra or that he divorced Cleopatra who anyway died at some time we do not know. One must suggest that either coins with the queen's head continued to be struck after her death, or that the couple were

re-married after Juba's separation from Glaphyra,<sup>189</sup> a couple's re-marriage is indeed not seldom attested in history, as Regling (12) observes.<sup>190</sup> Her death is usually placed, by scholars who hold that the issue of coins with Cleopatra's head was posthumous, between 8 B.C and A.D. 12. Astronomical data for total eclipses of the moon at its rising (ἀκρέσπερος ἀντέλλουσα, l. 1 of the present poem), point to the eclipse of the 23<sup>rd</sup> of March, 5 B.C., with that of the 3<sup>rd</sup> of May, A.D. 3 as a second candidate, see Macurdy (1937) 61f.

The poem is thematically similar to Antip. Sid. *AP* 7.241, on the death of a Ptolemaic prince which was followed by an eclipse of the moon. Cf. now also Poseid. Col. VIII,13f. Bastianini-Gallazzi κυάνεον νέφος ἦλθε δι' ἄστεος ἠνίκα κούρην / τοῦθ' ὑπὸ σῆμα τιθεῖς ἔστεινεν Ἡετίων. On the present poem Waltz suggested that the words could imply that the moon was covered by a cloud, or that "à peine est-elle sortie de l' ombre qu'elle y rentre, *spontanément*." An eclipse coinciding with Cleopatra's death, however, being a much more striking phenomenon, is more likely to be meant by the poet, cf. the same circumstance in Antip. Sid. 7.241,7f. Moreover, the eclipse is traditionally connected with death and misfortune, cf. *Od.* 20.351-7, where the prophet Theoclymenus hints at the imminent murder of the suitors, mentioning a series of signs, among them: an eclipse of the sun (see Préaux 123-8). In an article of 1959, Mugler offered an interpretation of the term καθαίρεσις of the moon<sup>191</sup> which demonstrates its relation to death: the Homeric terminology for closing the eyes of a dead is ὀφθαλμούς / ὄσσε καθαιρεῖν (*Il.* 11.452f., *Od.* 11.425f., 24.294ff.); likewise, an eclipse of a celestial body is in fact the deity behind it closing his/her eyes, as the notion of stars "seeing" everything is common in Greek poetry (see below on Μήνη...εἶδε). Cf. also the examples of celestial bodies conceived as "eyes" of the sky that Ludwig cites in his discussion of "Plato" *AP* 7.670 (see below on ὁμώνυμον Σελήνην): Aesch. *Sept.* 389f. λαμπρὰ δὲ πανσέληνος /...νυκτὸς ὀφθαλμός, πρέπει; of the sun, Soph. *Tr.* 102, Aristoph. *Nub.* 285, Eur. *IT* 194.

<sup>189</sup> Regling 11-12. Macurdy in 1932, 228 accepted the possibility that the couple ~~were~~ re-married, while in 1937, 55f., following Gsell (220ff.) he rather inclined towards the view that the coins were struck after Cleopatra's death.

<sup>190</sup> See further the introductory essay of Gow-Page *ad loc.* For coins of Juba and Cleopatra with a crescent see also Moutsopoulos 67. For further appearances of the moon in the form of a crescent on Greek and Roman coins, reliefs and sepulchral steles, often related to beliefs in the catasterism of the soul, see Moutsopoulos 73ff.

<sup>191</sup> Traditionally eclipses of the moon were attributed to magic, especially of Thessalian witches, and καθαίρεσις, "drawing down" was the term used to describe the phenomenon before the time of Democritus (cf. Schol. on Ap. Rh. 3.533). For the interpretation of the term see Mugler (1959) 51ff. Cf. a passage of the Anthology where the concept of the Moon's eye occurs in combination with the eclipse (14.140,1ff.)

Ζεῦ μάκαρ, ἦ ρά τοι ἔργα τὰδ' εὔαδεν, οἶα γυναῖκες  
Θεσσαλικάι παίζουσι; Μαραίνεται ὄμμα Σελήνης  
ἐκ μερόπων, κτλ.

For historical misfortunes, deaths and other calamities associated with eclipses see Préaux 125ff.

**1 καὶ αὐτὴ ἤχλυσεν:** cf. the emphasis on the same reaction of Selene on the death of a Ptolemaic prince at Antip. Sid. *AP* 7.241,7 καὶ δ' αὐτὰ διὰ πένθος ἀμαυρωθεῖσα Σελάνα / ἄστρα καὶ οὐρανίας ἀτραπιτοὺς ἔλιπεν. The moon has become dimmed also (but this time by the shining of the sun) at Leon. 9.24,1 Ἄστρα μὲν ἡμαύρωσε καὶ ἱερὰ κύκλα σελήνης. For the emphatic expression cf. for instance Pind. *N.* 1.50 καὶ γὰρ αὐτά, Soph. *Aj.* 1365 καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐνθάδ' ἔξομαι, Eur. *Or.* 763 καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς οἴχομαι; cf. the emphatic reference to other gods at Crin. 17,6 GP αὐτός... Ἔρωσ, 51,1 GP αὐτός... Φοίβοιο πάϊς.

Gow-Page remark that this is an extreme example of Crinagoras' indifference to hiatus (for which see intr. under Metre, Hiatus). Older editors tried to avoid it by printing καὶ αὐτὴ δ' (Reiske), καὐτὴ δὴ ῥ' (Jacobs), καί ῥ' αὐτὴ (Dübner); cf. Antip. Sid. *AP* 7.241,7 καὶ δ' αὐτά... Σελάνα. P's reading, however, can be defended by similar cases: Jacobs<sup>2</sup> compared Ap. Rh. 1.886 καὶ Ὑψιπύλη ἠρήσατο and 1.602 θρηϊκίη, ἡ τόσσον; cf. also Antip. Thess. *AP* 6.335,1 Καυσίη, ἡ τὸ πάροιθε (although the correction in the latter case makes the hiatus more tolerable, cf. intr. under Metre, Hiatus). The spondaic opening here adds gravity and seriousness to the tone of the poem. **ἤχλυσεν:** the form is a Homeric rarity, *Od.* 12.406, 14.304 ἤχλυσε δὲ πόντος. The verb is rare in later poetry before Crinagoras, cf. Call. fr. 319,1, Ap. Rh. 3.962f. Cf. also Qu. Sm. 1.598, on Penthesileia's defeat, ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ νύξ / ὀφθαλμοὺς ἤχλυσε.<sup>192</sup> Cf. the occurrence of ἀχλύς in the ominous vision of Theoclymenus at *Od.* 20.356f., together with the ζόφος of death and an eclipse of the sun:

ἱεμένων Ἐρεβόσδε ὑπὸ ζόφον· ἠέλιος δέ  
οὐρανοῦ ἔξαπόλωλε, κακὴ δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν ἀχλύς.<sup>193</sup>

For nature's participation in the lament for divine or heroic figures (cf. Theocr. 1.132f., Bion's Ἐπιτάφιος Ἀδώνιδος 32ff.) but also humans (Moschus' Ἐπιτάφιος Βίωνος 3ff.), see Alexiou 56, 166. Cf. below, on δυομένην.

In Triphiod. 517 Helen is shining like the moon when it is full and not when πρωτοφαῆς ὑπὸ μηνὸς ἀνίσταται ἄσκιον ἀχλύν; the similarity of context and vocabulary might suggest a reference to the present poem.

<sup>192</sup> Ἀχλύς, the "mist" in one's eyes, is a common Homeric formula, cf. *Il.* 5.127, 15.668, 20.321; as a metaphor of death *Il.* 16.344, 20.421, *Od.* 22.88; cf. Mugler's demonstration of stars being eyes which see from the sky (1959) 52f. and *passim*.

<sup>193</sup> For celestial bodies participating in the mourning, cf. the sky and stars dimming and the moon being bloodstained or setting in grief for Christ (see Alexiou 71 and 221, n. 40) in *Anaphora Pilati*, Tischendorf 417A σελήνη δὲ τὸ φέγγος ὡς αἱματίζουσα διέλιπεν, and in traditional modern Greek laments on the Crucifixion:

Βλέπει τὸν οὐρανὸν θαμπὸ καὶ τ' ἄστρα φουρκωμένα  
καὶ τὸ φεγγάρι τὸ λαμπρὸ στὸ αἷμα βουτηγμένο (*Laographia* 1934, 251.57f.),  
Ὁ οὐρανὸς ταραχτήκε καὶ ἡ θάλασσα στεριεῖει  
καὶ τὸ φεγγάρι τὸ λαμπρὸ καὶ κείνο βασιλεύει (*ibid.* 255.42-3)

ἀκρέσπερος: at the end of evening, at nightfall; the scholiast at Nic. *Th.* 25 ἀκρέσπερος εὔδης, correctly renders κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς νυκτός, see Gow on Theocr. 24.77, where we have the adverbial neuter ἀκρέσπερον αἰίδουσαι, denoting also the late evening. See also White *ad loc.*, for more examples of ἄκρος indicating time: Pind. *P.* 11.10 ἄκρα σὺν ἑσπέρα, Arat. 775 ἄκρη νυκτί, Theocr. 11.37 χειμῶνος ἄκρω;<sup>194</sup> for compounds in -εσπερος, frequent in Hellenistic poetry, cf. Giangrande (1965) 280; in the Anthology Diosc. 7.31,7 φιλέσπερον ἄνθος, anon. 5.305,1 ὑφεσπέρα, Dosiadas 15.26,11 τριεσπέροιο. In Crinagoras we have another compound with ἀκρο- in 4,1 GP ἀκρόπτερον at the same *sedes*, before the bucolic diaeresis, cf. *ad loc.*

ἀντέλλουσα: for the rise of the moon cf. Ar. *Nub.* 754 εἰ μῆκέτ' ἀνατέλλοι σελήνη, Nonnus *D.* 1.175 Ἡελίω σελάγιζε συναντέλλουσα Σελήνη, 28.230f. Σελήνη / ...ἐναντέλλουσα. For the poetical form ἀντ-, cf. for instance Theocr. 13.25 ἀντέλλοντι Πελειάδες, Marc. Arg. *AP* 9.87,4, id. 10.4,7, Strato 12.225,1.

**2f. Μήνη...εἶδε**: Crinagoras uses the alternative name of the moon, so as to refer to Cleopatra with her second name, Σελήνη, in the next line, without repeating the term; for the use of synonyms by Hellenistic poets see on Crin. 17,4 GP κλήσις; cf. also the variation Σελήνη-Μήνη in *H. Orph.* 9,1ff., Nonnus, *D.* 4.221f., 6.75f., 11.186ff., *al.* Μήνη is a comparatively rare word, only twice elsewhere in the Anthology, Marc. Arg. 5.16,1 and id. 5.110,6; elsewhere, *Il.* 18.374, 23.455, *h.* 32,1, Sappho fr. 96,8 L-P (dub.), Pind. *O.* 3.20, Aesch. *Pr.* 797, Ap. Rh. 3.533 and 4.55 and a few more occurrences, see Gow-Page on Marc. Arg. 1=*AP* 5.16,1.

For the concept of the moon “seeing” from the sky what happens on earth, cf. Marc. Arg. *AP* 5.16,1 Μήνη χρυσόκερως, δέρκη τάδε, Ap. Rh. 4.55 φοιταλέην εἰσιδοῦσα θεὰ ἐπεχήρατο Μήνη. The notion of sun and stars “seeing” human affairs is common in Greek literature: *Il.* 3.276f. Ζεῦ.../ Ἡέλιός θ', ὅς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς, *Od.* 11.109, 12.323, *h. Cer.* 70, *al.* Also cf. anon. *AP* 9.384,2 δέρεται Ἡέλιος, 14.140,2 ὄμμα Σελήνης (see intr. note), Catullus 7.7f. *aut quam sidera multa... /furtivos hominum vident amores.*<sup>195</sup>

πένθος ἑόν: Gow-Page remark that the moon may have a special interest in her namesake, but the stress of the possessive pronoun seems excessive (for the emphasis the pronoun conveys cf. for instance *Il.* 23.295 τὸν ἑόν τε Πόδαργον, also Hes. *Op.* 58, Pind. *P.* 2.92); already from Homer, however, the pronoun does not necessarily have the emphatic sense “his own”, but can simply mean *suus*, *eius*, cf. for instance *Il.* 1.533 ἑὸν πρὸς δῶμα, *Od.* 13.52 ξεῖνον πέμπωμεν ἔην ἑς πατρίδα, 8.524 ἑῆς...πρόσθεν πόλιος, see Ebeling s.v. ἑός. The emphatic use of the pronoun is apt for Crin. 17,1 GP ἑόν...οὔνομα; in the present poem the two further occurrences of the pronoun, ll.5-6

<sup>194</sup> Here rather the middle of the winter, see Gow and Hunter *ad loc.*

<sup>195</sup> See Mugler 1959, 52f., Richardson on *h. Cer.* 70, Fordyce on Cat. 7.8.

έοῦ...φωτός, ἐῶ κνέφει do not seem to convey any particular stress, cf. Ap. Rh. 4.26 κύσσε δ' έόν τε λέχος, 3.847, 4.1113f.; in the Anthology cf. Antip. Sid. 6.219,8, Alc. Mess. 7.412,4. For similar phrases in a context of pain cf. Palladas AP 9.183,5 νῦν όσίως στένε καὶ σὺ τεδόν πάθος (on the goddess Fortune), Jul. Aeg. API 113,2 ἄλγος έόν (the pain of Philoctetes).

For the moon's πένθος cf. Antip. Thess. AP 7.241,7.

νυκτὶ καλυψαμένῃ: the image of covering something / someone with "night" is Homeric; at *Il.* 5.23, 5.507 a god is protecting men with the darkness he sends to the field of battle. "Covering with darkness", however, primarily indicates death, *Il.* 13.424f. ἔτετο δ' αἰεὶ / ἠέ τινα Τρώων έρεβεννῇ νυκτὶ καλύψαι; on eyes: τὸν δέ σκότος όσσε κάλυψεν, *Il.* 4.461, 4.503, 6.11, 13.575, *al.* (cf. Tarrant 182), cf. also Aesch. *Sept.* 403 θανόντι νύξ έπ' όφθαλμοῖς πέσοι, Eur. *Ph.* 950, Anyte AP 7.646,3f., Peek 1880=Kaibel 99,2,<sup>196</sup> Leon. AP 7.440,1, cf. the metaphor for Christ in the *Epitaphios Threnos* of Good Friday, ὑπὸ γῆν έκρύβης ὡσπερ ἥλιος, νῦν καὶ νυκτὶ τῇ τοῦ θανάτου κεκάλυψαι (Stasis 1.30, see Alexiou 66). Καλύπτειν is further appropriate in this context, as women traditionally covered their head in mourning, cf. Eust. on *Il.* 24.93f. (1340,62ff.) "Ότι διὰ πένθος τὸ έπὶ Ἀχιλλεῖ, καὶ ταῦτα ζῶντι ἔτι, κάλυμμα ἠέ θέτις ἔλε κυάνεον, ὡς εἰκός τοῖς έπὶ νεκροῖς παθαινομένους, also Plut. *Mor.* 267a.

**3 οὔνεκα**: Crinagoras uses the conjunction in its Homeric sense "because", "since", *quia*, *Il.* 1.11 οὔνεκα τὸν Χρῦσην ἠτίμασεν, 1.111, 2.580, 6.386, *al.*, see Cunliffe s.v. 3. In the same sense and *sedes* in the Anthology: Phaedimus 6.271,3, Erycius 7.377,3, anon. 7.714,3, Cyrus 9.809,2, anon. API 42,3.

χαρίεσσαν: for the adjective see on Crin. 1,3 GP.

ὀμώνυμον...Σελήνην: as elsewhere (Eros 17 GP, Prote 14 GP), Crinagoras exploits the associations which the name of the deceased makes; cf. Diog. Laert. 3.29 about the epigrams Plato is supposed to have written for a pupil of his called Star, AP 7.669 (1 Page FGE), 7.670 (2 Page FGE).

Ὀμώνυμος occurs always at the same *sedes* in the Anthology: Mel. 7.421,11, anon. 9.646,1, Antip. Thess. 11.24,3, anon. 15.7,7, as well as in Homer (ἄπαξ), *Il.* 17.720; it does not recur in early epic.

**4 ἄπνουν**: Waltz suggests that the term implies the ἄπνοια as a phase of the agony of death, used by the medical writers. The word, however, indicating simply the dead ("breath-bereft", "lifeless") occurs often in literature, cf. Diosc. 7.229,1 έπ' άσπίδος ἦλυθεν ἄπνους, Leon. 7.652,6 τεθρήνητ' ἄπνους, Marc. Arg. 7.374,3f. ἄλλά με δαίμων / ἄπνουν αἰθυίαις θῆκεν ὁμορρόθιον (same *sedes*), Peek 731=Kaibel 702,1

<sup>196</sup>For more examples of death approaching the eyes, see Geoghegan on Anyte 7,3f.

Ἐνθάδε κείμε (sic.) ἄναυδον, ἄπνου, ξένον... / παιδίον, cf. ἄπνοος at Ap. Rh. 4.1403.

ζοφερόν... Ἄϊδην: the adjective occurs in Hes. *Th.* 814 χάεος ζοφεροῖο, imitated by Nonnus *D.* 7.111 χάεος ζοφεροῦς πυλῶνας. On death, cf. Peek 1511,8 πικρὸς ὄδε ζοφερᾶ τύμβος ἔδεκτο [ο κόνει], Peek 992=Kaibel 310,3 κείμαι δ' ἐν Ἄϊδην ζοφερὴν ἐπικεί[μενος ἀχλύν], Peek 1165=Kaibel 727,15 Μαρκιανὴν Ἐλίκην ζοφερός τάφος ἔνθα καλύπτει. The association of Hades with ζόφος is first found in Homer, *Il.* 15.191 Ἄϊδης δ' ἔλαχε ζόφον ἠερόντα; for the conventional association of light with life and darkness with death see Lattimore 161, Skiadas (1967) 41, n. 1, Alexiou 153, 168ff., 187-9, cf. Tarrant 182. In the present poem Hades stands for the Homeric “house of Hades”, cf. next note. Note the ὁμοιοτέλευτον in ll. 3 and 4 (Σελήνην- Ἄϊδην) and the alliteration of ν in the same lines.<sup>197</sup>

δυομένην: for the setting of the moon, cf. Sappho fr. 168B,1f. L-P δέδυκε μὲν ἅ σελάννα/ καὶ Πληγάδες, Bion 11.5f. σελαναία...δύειν. The concept of the dead having “set” in Hades is Homeric: *Il.* 3.322 τὸν δὸς ἀποφθίμενον δῦναι δόμον Ἄϊδος εἴσω, 7.131 θυμὸν ἀπὸ μελέων δῦναι δόμον Ἄϊδος εἴσω, *Od.* 10.174f. καταδυσόμεθ' .../ εἰς Ἄϊδαο δόμους. The image of a lady named Selene “setting” into Hades, moreover, might be a reminiscence of the Homeric threat of Helios that he will go down to Hades and shine there, *Od.* 12.383 δύσομαι εἰς Ἄϊδαο καὶ ἐν νεκύεσσι φαείνω: this reversal of the natural order can be put in parallel with the “paradox” of Crinagoras’ Selene setting in the gloom of Hades.<sup>198</sup> Note also the contrast between the real moon “rising” in the first line, and her namesake lady “setting” in the fourth which constitutes the nucleus of the poem, as it conveys the main, delayed, information, that the beautiful lady is dead;<sup>199</sup> cf. an analogous contrast in Peek 585=Kaibel 568,3f. ἦτις ἐνὶ ζωοῖσιν ὄκως ἀνέτελλεν ἑῶς, / νῦν δύνει δ' ὑπὸ γῆν ἔσπερος ἐν φθιμένοις. Autore (36) compared Mart. 1.101,5 *ad Stygias... descenderet umbras*; the shadows of Styx is a commonplace in Latin poetry, cf. for

<sup>197</sup>For the ὁμοιοτέλευτον between the hemistichs of the pentameter in Crinagoras see intr. under Metre.

<sup>198</sup>Cf. the image of Christ, compared to the sun, setting beneath the earth, and Mary, compared to the moon, fading away in the Epitaphios Threnos of Good Friday, Δύνεις ὑπὸ γῆν, Σῶτερ, ἦλιε τῆς δικαιοσύνης· ὄθεν ἡ τεκοῦσα σελήνη σε ταῖς λύπαις ἐκλείπει, σῆς θέας στερουμένη (Stasis 2.25); also the idea of Christ’s “setting beauty”, ὦ γλυκύ μου ἔαρ, γλυκύτετόν μου τέκνον, ποῦ ἔδυσου τὸ κάλλος; (Stasis 3.16). For the comparison of the beloved one, who is now lost, to a star, closely related to the contrast between life (light) and death (darkness) cf. also Eustathius *Hysmine and Hysminias* 10.381f. Cf. also the comparison of cities with stars: anon. *API* 295,2 (Colophon), see also GP *HE* 3048; in laments, cf. Polystratus *AP* 7.297,1 (of Corinth) and the image of the fallen Constantinople the *Threnos for Constantinople* Ἦσον φωστῆρας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἄστρον τῆς Ἀφροδίτης (see Alexiou 66ff., 160 and 188). Cf. the combination of the two ideas, the dead being a setting star and nature’s participation in the sorrow, in a poem from Ritsos’ *Epitaphios*, a collection modelled on traditional Greek verse:

Βασίλψες ἀστέρι μου, βασίλψε ὄλη ἡ πλάση·  
κι' ὁ ἦλιος, κουβάρι δλόμαυρο, τὸ φέγγος του ἔχει μάσει.

“You have set, my star, the whole creation has set; and sun, an all-black bobbin, has folded up his light”.

<sup>199</sup>For the carefulness with which Crinagoras structures the epigrams see intr. under Language and Style.

instance *Ov. Met.* 1.139, 10.13, *Mart.* 6.18,2, 9.51,3, 11.84,1, 12.52,12, *Luc.* 6.653 *Stygias...descenderit umbras.*

**5 κάλλος...φωτός:** for the idea of the beauty of the moon's light, cf. *h. Merc.* 141 καλὸν δὲ φῶς κατέλαμπε Σελήνης (see Allen-Halliday-Sikes *ad loc.*), cf. *h. XXXII* (to Selene), 7 λοεσσαμένη χρῶα καλόν, *Sappho fr.* 34,1 L-P κάλαν σελάναν, *Pind. O.* 10.73 εὐώπιδος σελάνας ἔρατὸν φᾶος, *Aristoph. Nub.* 614f. φῶς σεληναίας καλόν.<sup>200</sup>

The notion of the "shining" beauty of a human is Homeric: *Il.* 3.392 κάλλεΐ τε στίλβων καὶ εἵμασιν, *Od.* 6.237, cf. *Agath. AP* 11.64,8 μαρμαρυγῆς κάλλους, *Mel.* 12.84,4, *id.* 12.110,1; cf. *Od.* 15.108 ἀστῆρ δ' ὡς ἀπέλαμπεν, *Kaibel Add.* 306a,2 τὸν...ὡς ἀστέρα λαμπόμενον. Jacobs remarked that poets were in the habit of comparing beautiful men and women to the moon, and cited *h. Ven.* 89f. ὡς Σελήνη / στήθεσιν ἀμφ' ἀπαλοῖσιν ἐλάμπετο, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι, *Musaeus* 55ff. Ἥρω / μαρμαρυγὴν χαρίεντος ἀπαστράπτουσα προσώπου, / οἷά' τε λευκοπάρης ἐπαντέλλουσα Σελήνη. One can add further examples; *Hes.* fr. 142,4 Θηρῶ τ' εὐειδέα, ἰκέλην φαέεσσι σελήνης, *Sappho fr.* 96,6ff. L-P νῦν δὲ Λύδαισιν ἐμπρέπεται γυναῖ-/κεσσιν ὦ ποτ' ἀελίω / δύντος ἀ βροδοδάκτυλος μήνα / πάντα περρέχοισ' ἄστρο, fr. 34 L-P (see Bowra 1961, 234, Kirkwood 128), *Theocr.* 2.79 στήθεα δὲ στίλβοντα πολὺ πλεόν ἢ τύ, Σελάνα,<sup>201</sup> *Qu. Sm.* 1.36ff., *Triphiod.* 514ff., cf. *Nonnus D.* 5.487f., 18.115, *Heliodorus* 3.6,17, *Claudian* 10.243f, *al.*<sup>202</sup>

**κοινώσατο:** "shared" the beauty of her light. Note that the only other occurrence of the verb in the Anthology is Crinagoras' poem on Cleopatra's wedding, 25 GP. The verb is used mainly by the dramatists, cf. for instance *Soph. Ant.* οὐτ' ἐθέλησας οὐτ' ἐγὼ κοινωσάμην, *Eur.* fr. 65,10 N κοινώσεται χοροῦ παρθένος. Cf. also *Pind. N.* 3.11f. ἐγὼ δὲ κείνων τέ νιν ὀάροις / λύρα τε κοινάσομαι, see Bury *ad loc.*

**μίξεν:** the form occurs at the same *sedes* at *Paul. Sil. AP* 5.290,4. In a context of grief, cf. anon. *API* 83,4 δάκρυα τοῦς λύπης πάντας ἔμιξε πόνους. Reiske suggested δειξεν, but there is no reason to change the verb, especially since it corresponds to κοινώσατο of the previous line, as Jacobs observed, comparing *Antiphilus AP* 7.375,4 σεισμῶ δ' ἄλλον ἔμιξα φόβον.

**κνέφει:** elsewhere in the Anthology only in *Diosc.* 6.220,5 ἐσπέριον στείχοντες ἀνὰ κνέφας. *Hesychius* has κνέφας· ἐσπέρα, σκοτία νύξ, κενὴ φάους. The usual declension of the noun is κνέφας τας, cf. *Suda* s.v. κνέφας. As Gow-Page observe, the statement of *Suda* s.v. κνέφει· σκότῳ, ἀπὸ τῆς κνέφος εὐθείας. Οὕτως

<sup>200</sup>For expressions describing the moon's light in Greek poetry see Mugler (1960) 41.

<sup>201</sup>For discussion of the moon-like shining bosom (or ornaments) of Aphrodite at *h. Ven.* 89 in regard to the folksong *Politis* 83.28 τὸν ἥλιο βάζει πρόσωπο καὶ τὸ φεγγάρι στήθος, see *Promponas* 1.189.

<sup>202</sup>For more examples and a detailed account of the comparison of a person to the moon in literature, see *Kost* on *Musaeus* 57, *Gerlaud* on *Triphiod.* 514-21, *Nisbet-Hubbard* on *Hor.* 2.5,19. Cf. also *Skiadas* (1965) 79ff.

Αίλιανός, explains the editors' κνέφει at Aelian *NA* 5.43, while codd. give κνέφαι; this lemma of the *Suda* constitutes Aelian's fr. 153 Hercher=156 Domingo-Forasté; cf. fr. 342,1 Hercher=339,1 Domingo-Forasté where codex F of the *Suda* gives κνέφει. These are the only occurrences of the dative κνέφει in extant literature (for the dative κνέφα, cf. Xen. *Hell.* 7.1,15, *Cyr.* 4.2,15 ἄμα κνέφα, the word here having the sense of "morning twilight" as in Aristoph. *Eccl.* 290); for the declension of the noun as κνέφος -ους cf. Aristoph. *Eccl.* 290 πρὸ πάνυ τοῦ κνέφους,<sup>203</sup> Et. M. s.v. κνέφας: εἴρηται δὲ καὶ κνέφος ὡς οὐδας οὐδος, Photius *Lex.* s.v. κνέφας and κνέφος. The occurrence of the word in this context is further apt, cf. the frequent Homeric image of the sun setting and going into κνέφας, cf. *Il.* 1.475, 11.194, 17.455, *Od.* 3.329, 5.225, 9.168, *al.*

The two first and the two last lines of the poem are built on the contrast, and, at the same time, on the mixture of light and darkness: ἤχλυσε-ἀντέλλουσα-νυκτί, κάλλος φωτός-κνέφει, which is parallel to the close relation but also contrast between moon and lady skilfully painted by the poet. The crescendo of the presentation of this relation are the two central verses, where the "one" Moon sees the "other" setting in Hades, an image which suggests simultaneously two opposite ideas: the mortality of the human Selene, but also the very paradox of this mortality, as δυομένην implies her identification with the celestial Selene, but ἄπνου and Hades remind us of her tragic human state. The poem is constructed on contrasts mingled with one another: human-celestial, life (light)-death (darkness) and the extreme ends of sublimity and depth: the Moon is rising to the sky, but the lady goes down into Hades. For the construction of Crinagoras' epigrams see intr. under Language and Style, Structure.

<sup>203</sup> Note the uniqueness of this form of the genitive commented on by Eustathius, 1354.1ff. (cf. κνέφατος in Pol. 8.26,10 and κνέφαος in *Od.* 18.370, Arat. 472 and 872); for discussion of the formation of κνέφος from κνέφας see Eust. *loc.cit.*, Herodian in *Gr. Gr.* 3.1.393,29, 3.2.281,13.

GP 22

AP 9.81=GP 22

Μὴ εἴπῃς θάνατον βίτου ὄρον· εἰσὶ καμοῦσιν  
 ὡς ζωοῖς ἀρχαὶ συμφορέων ἕτεραι.  
 ἄθρει Νικιέω Κώου μόρον· ἤδη ἔκειτο  
 εἰν Ἄϊδη, νεκρὸς δ' ἦλθεν ὑπ' ἡέλιον.  
 5 ἄστοι γὰρ τύμβοιο μετοχλίσσαντες ὀχῆας  
 εἴρυσαν ἐς ποινὰς τλήμονα δισθανέα.

[C] Κριναγόρου [J] ὅτι καὶ νεκροὶ πολλάκις πάσχουσιν ἀνάσθητα μὲν, ἀλλ' ὅμως  
 πάσχουσιν. Καὶ βλέπε τὸν Μαυρικίου τάφον καὶ τὸν Ἀμαντίου, ὧν ὁ μὲν ἐξεβλήθη καὶ  
 κατεσκάφη, ὁ δ' ἐξερρίφη καὶ κατεσπάρη, ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ Λέοντος, ὁ δ' ἐπὶ Ῥωμανοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα  
 βασιλέων. Τί δ' ἂν εἴποις περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων; PI Γ<sup>a</sup> 36,7 Κριναγόρου  
 1 βίτου P: -τῆς PI | καμοῦσιν PI: -σι P 2 ἕτεραι P: -ρων PI 5 ἄστοι PPI<sup>PC</sup>: αἰτοὶ PI <sup>aC</sup> |  
 μετοχλίσσαντες PI: -λήσαντες P 6 ἐς P: εἰς PI | δισθανέα Brodaeus: δυσθ- PPI

*Do not say that death is the limit of life; there are for the dead, as for the living, new  
 beginnings of sufferings. Look at the fate of the Coan Nicias; already he lay in Hades,  
 yet, dead, he came under the sun. For his fellow-citizens forced apart the fastenings of  
 his tomb and dragged the wretched man out to pay a penalty with a second death.*

On the violation of Nicias' grave. Jacobs cites Ael. *VH* 4.7 οὐκ ἦν ἄρα τοῖς κακοῖς  
 οὐδὲ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κέρδος, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ τότε ἀναπαύονται· ἀλλ' ἢ παντελῶς  
 ἀμοιροῦσι ταφῆς, ἢ καί, ἐὰν φθάσωσι ταφέντες, ὅμως καὶ ἐκ τῆς τελευταίας  
 τιμῆς, καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ πάντων σωμάτων ὄρμου, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐκπίπτουσι. Aelian  
 then mentions the example of the Spartan Pausanias whose body was cast outside the  
 state's boundaries by his fellow-citizens. Similar maltreatment was inflicted on the dead  
 body of Amasis by Cambyses according to Hdt. 3.16.

The tyranny of Nicias in Cos is mentioned by Strabo 14.2,19, Plut. *Brut.* 994 and  
 Aelian *VH* 1.29, and also attested by coins and inscriptions, see Syme (1961) 27. Herzog  
 (189ff.) first identified the tyrant with Cicero's friend and man of letters *Nicias Cous* (*Att.*  
 7.3,10, cf. *ibid.* 12.26,2); for his career see Syme 25-28, Bowersock (1965), 45f.  
 Although it has been suggested that Nicias had been presumably able to do good for his  
 island, being a friend of Brutus and Cassius in difficult times (cf. Syme 1961, 27),<sup>204</sup> not  
 only was he deposed, but even his dead body suffered at the hands of his fellow-citizens.

<sup>204</sup>Cf. also the inscriptions nn. 76-80 in Paton and Hicks, in all of which Nicias is described as τοῦ  
 δάμου υἱὸς φιλόπατρις, ἥρωσ, εὐεργέτας τᾶς πόλιος σωτηρίας.

The hatred of the Coans may be explained if we connect it with the order issued by an Antonian admiral to cut down the sacred trees of Asclepius in Cos in order to build ships the year before the battle of Actium (see Dio 51.8,3, Bowersock *loc. cit.*); the assumption that Nicias was not a really vile ruler who deserved such treatment is supported by the absence of any personal attack by the poet and the rather sympathetic tone of the epigram. Herzog (213f.), followed by Stein (*RE* 17.334), puts Nicias' overthrow soon after the battle of Actium. Nicias, who was supported by Antony, and had not included Octavian in his friends, since the latter was but a child during Nicias' residence in Rome, could not expect any favour from him; cf. Bowersock (1965, 45f.), who, following Syme (28), puts the tyrant's death shortly after his downfall, c. 30 B.C. If this dating is correct, the poem must have been written in Lesbos.

The violation of the grave is a supreme insult, cf. the inscriptional warnings and curses to anyone who might disturb the resting place of the dead, for instance Peek 1370-83; also St. Gregory's *AP* 8.179-254 Κατὰ τυμβορύχων; see further Lattimore 106ff., Watson 7f., 111ff.

The poem opens with a generalising statement (dead people can still suffer) which is then illustrated with an example, the main subject of the epigram; see below on ἄθρει...μόρον and intr. under Language and Style, Structure. For Crinagoras' poems opening with a gnome see on Crin. 16 GP intr. note and 30,1 GP. A similar opening to the present one is the following, in the *AP* sequence, Antip. Thess. 9.82 μηδ' ...ὄλοῦν πίστευε θαλάσση, κτλ.

Cameron (1993, 115f.) was the first to use the lemma of the epigram to draw conclusions about the date of *AP* and put it after the fall of Romanus I (944) and before the reign of Romanus II (959-63), i.e. between 944 and 959, during the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus.

**1f.:** the exhortation seems to be a playful variation of Call. *AP* 7.451,2=41 GP *HE* θνάσκειν μὴ λέγε τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς; in Callimachus, the reader is advised to think that good men are not subject to death; here Crinagoras invites us to believe that death is not the limit of life (a paradox which is further emphasised by the juxtaposition of the two extreme opposites, θάνατον-βιότου), yet not because good people "do not die",<sup>205</sup> but, on the contrary and quite unexpectedly, because a dead man can die twice.

For μή + aorist-subjunctive, see K-G I (1) 237,3. For the hiatus see intr. under Metre, Hiatus.

**βιότου ὄρον:** cf. Hdt. 1.32 ἐς γὰρ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οὖρον τῆς ζόης ἀνθρώπων προτίθημι, id. 1.216 οὖρος δὲ ἡλικίης, Bacchyl. 5.143f. μοῖρ' ἐπέκλωσεν τότε / ζωᾶς ὄρον ἀμετέρας ἔμμεν, cf. Ov. *Tr.* 1.9,1 *vitae...tangere metam*, Virg. *Aen.*

<sup>205</sup>For the euphemism of sleep for death, see Gow-Page and Pagonari-Antoniou on Call. *loc. cit.*; the figure is more common in Christian inscriptions, see Lattimore 164f.

12.546 *mortis erant metae*, modelled on the Homeric *Il.* 7.104 θανάτοιο τελευτή, variant of βιότοιο τελευτή (see Leaf *ad loc.*) which recurs at *Il.* 16.787. The expression βιοτῆς ὄρος recurs at Antip. Thess. *AP* 9.112,3=GP *GP* 101 in the same *sedes* and coincides with P1's reading βιοτῆς in the present passage, "probably an interpolation *metri gratia*" (Gow-Page), accepted by all editors but Gow-Page who defend P's βιότου on grounds of Crinagoras' tolerance of hiatus (see intr. under Metre, Hiatus).

καμοῦσιν: the term for the dead is Homeric; the interpretations given are "those who have passed through the toil of life", "men outworn", "those that endured ill in life", or "those who succumbed to the toils of life", the latter perhaps best suiting the past aorist, see Leaf on *Il.* 3.278, Stanford on *Od.* 11.476. In the Anthology, cf. Archias 7.68,3 ὑπ' εἰδώλοισι καμόντων, anon. 7.12,3, cf. Theocr. 17.49 στυγνὸν αἰὲ πορθμῆα καμόντων, see Rossi *ad loc.*

**2f. ἀρχαὶ συμφορέων**: in *Od.* 8.81 we have πήματος ἀρχή; the usual phrase, which occurs often in tragedy (for instance Soph. *Aj.* 282, Eur. *El.* 907, *Tr.* 919, *IA* 1124), is ἀρχὴ κακῶν, first in *Il.* 11.604 κακοῦ δ' ἄρα οἱ πέλεν ἀρχή, cf. Hdt. 5.97.

Beckby suggests that Antiphilus' *AP* 7.176 is modelled on Crinagoras' poem (on a corpse uncovered by the plough). Cf. a similar theme in Antiphilus' 7.175, on a farmer ploughing a grave-yard. Archias 7.278,7f. also treats the theme of the dead man's uneasiness (due to the sound of the sea): μόχθων οὐδ' Ἄϊδης με κατεύνασεν, ἠνίκα μῦνος / οὐδὲ θανῶν λείη κέκλιμαι ἠσυχίη.

The opposition of the two antithetical terms ὄρον - ἀρχαί is emphasised, as they are both placed before a strong pause in the two first lines: ὄρον stands before the bucolic diaeresis and also a colon in the first line, and ἀρχαί is at the caesura of the pentameter in the second. For the contrasting pair "beginning-end", cf. Theogn. 607, Hdt. 7.51, Plato *Parm.* 137d, *Leg.* 715e.

ἕτεροι: all editors accept P's ἕτεροι; P1's ἐτέρων<sup>206</sup> is perhaps due to the frequency of the expression "other (=new) misfortunes", cf. Eur. *Herc.* 1238 κλαίω χάριν σὴν ἐφ' ἐτέραισι συμφοραῖς, Hes. *Th.* 602 ἕτερον δὲ πόρεν κακόν, Eur. *Hec.* 690 ἕτερα δ' ἀφ' ἐτέρων κακὰ κακῶν κυρεῖ, Aristoph. *Av.* 992 ἕτερον αὖ τουτὶ κακόν, *al.*; this expression could have influenced P1's reading but the possibility that it could constitute the original reading cannot be positively excluded. For the phrasing "there are other...", cf. for instance *Od.* 1.394 βασιλῆς...εἰσὶ καὶ ἄλλοι, Aristoph. *Av.* 1525 εἰσὶν γὰρ ἕτεροι βάρβαροι θεοί, κτλ., Mac. Cons. *AP* 5.245,7f. εἰσὶ γὰρ ἄλλαι / κρέσσονες...ἐργάτιδες.

**3f. ἄθρει...μόρον**: the phrase opens the paradigm (Nicias' fate) that supports the previous advice ("do not say that death is the limit of life"); likewise Cadmus' advice to

<sup>206</sup>Cameron (1993, 346) holds that Stadtmüller, Waltz and Beckby mistakenly report that P1 gives ἕτεροι too, like P, but this is not quite precise: these editors just do not mention that P1 has ἐτέρων.

Pentheus to revere Dionysus is followed by the paradigm of Actaeon's fate, opening with the same expression, Eur. *Bacch.* 337 ὄραῖς τὸν Ἀκταίωνος ἄθλιον μόρον, κτλ.<sup>207</sup> Μόρον ἀθρεῖν occurs three times in the *Dionysiaca*: in 9.76, μόρον οὐρεσίφοιτος ἐσαθρήσειεν Ἀγαυή / Πειθέος ὀλλυμένοιο, also 47.171 and 204; in all these Nonnian passages, ἀθρεῖν has the proper sense of “look”; for the present metaphorical “look with the mind's eye” (cf. ὄραῖν in Eur. *Bacch.* 337), e.g. Eur. *Bacch.* 1281 ἄθρησον αὐτό, see LSJ s.v. 2, II; also *Suda* s.v. ἀθρεῖν· τὸ ἐπισκοπεῖν καὶ μετ' ἐπιτάσεως ὄραῖν. It can be suggested that when Nonnus writes *D.* 9.76, he has in mind *Bacch.* 1281, as the messenger's bidding to Agave, ἄθρησον αὐτό, refers exactly to Pentheus' death.

For μόρος cf. Et. M. s.v.: ὁ θάνατος...παρὰ τὸ μείρω μόρος, ὁ μεμερισμένος τοῖς πᾶσιν, Schol. on Eur. *Hec.* 1121 μόρος οὐ μόνον ὁ θάνατος ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ τύχη. The sense of “destiny” is Homeric, cf. *Il.* 20.30, 21.517, *al.*; the two senses, “destiny”, “death” are not always absolutely distinguished, cf. *Il.* 6.357 οἷσιν ἐπὶ Ζεὺς θῆκε κακὸν μόρον, 21.133 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ὀλέεσθε κακὸν μόρον, *Od.* 1.166 νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν ὡς ἀπόλωλε κακὸν μόρον, see also Ebeling s.v.

ἦδη: cf. Crin. 32,2 GP ὧν ἦδη δηρὸν ἄπειμι χρόνον.

ἔκειτο / εἶν Ἀΐδη: Hades has here the rare sense of “tomb”, cf. Hesych. s.v. αἶδας· τύμβος; Rubensohn further cites Peek 773=Kaibel 573,7 ὅς <σ>φισι τῶσδε τάφως ἐνεώσατο, τείχισε δ' Ἀιδαν. The usage is also found in Christian writers, cf. Basil. *Hom. in pass. dom.* 28.1061,18 ὁ σκυλεύων τὸν ἄδην, Ps. Macarius *Hom. spir.* 50.11,75 οὐχὶ ἄδης καὶ τάφος καὶ μνημεῖον. By referring to the tomb as Ἀιδης, the place of darkness *par excellence*, Crinagoras sharpens the contrast with the following ἦλιος (see next note).

ὑπ' ἡέλιον: in the same *sedes* at Apollon. *AP* 7.180,6, Peek 704=Kaibel 431,6; the construction with the accusative also at *Il.* 5.267 ὅσσοι ἔασιν ὑπ' ἡῶ τ' ἡέλιόν τε. By using the phrase “under the sun”, which is a periphrasis for “living” (also cf. for instance *Il.* 4.44f. αἶ γὰρ ὑπ' ἡελίῳ τε καὶ οὐρανῷ ἀστερόεντι / ναιετάουσι πόλῆες ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων, Eur. *Alc.* 151 γυνή τ' ἀρίστη τῶν ὑφ' ἡλίῳ) in this context, Crinagoras underlines the reversal of the natural order in Nicias' fate; this effect is further achieved by the juxtaposition of Nicias' lying in Hades (ἦδη ἔκειτο/εἶν Ἀΐδη), to his “coming to light”, that is a reversal of the rule according to which deceased people “abandon light” and “come to Hades”,<sup>208</sup> and, more importantly, constitutes a clever twist of a Homeric situation, see below on *δισθανέα*. Rubensohn compared the paradox of the Crinagorean Nicias' fate with Peek 1169=Kaibel 642,9 καὶ πάλιν εἶδε

<sup>207</sup> Crinagoras' line of argument can be described as an *exemplum ex maiore ad minus ductum*, while Euripides' argument is an *exemplum totum simile*, the similarity being on the same level of importance, see Quint. *Inst.* 5.11,9ff., Lausberg 199, also id. 165.

<sup>208</sup> For the traditional antithetical pair light (life)- darkness (death), see on Crin. 18,4 GP. For the expression “live under the sun” in contrast to “being in Hades” in Homer, cf. *Od.* 15.349f. ἦ που ἔτι ζῶουσιν ὑπ' αὐγὰς ἡελίοιο, / ἦ ἦδη τεθνάσι καὶ εἶν Ἀΐδαο δόμοισι.

τὸ φῶς νεκρὸς ὢν, on a man having left Rome, died and been buried in Egypt and having been unburied and brought back to Rome by his wife.

**ἄστοί:** the word is a Hoeromic rarity, *Il.* 11.242, *Od.* 13.192. For the dead man's relation to his fellow-citizens in funeral epigrams cf. Peek 1288=Kaibel 185,17 ποθεινὸς ἀστοῖς, Leon. *AP* 7.35,1 φίλος ἀστοῖς, "Plato" 7.99,5 κείσαι...τίμιος ἀστοῖς, Zenodotus or Rhianus 7.315,5 μηδ' ἀστοῖσι φιληθεῖς / Τίμων.

**5 μετοχλίσσαντες ὀχῆας:** the phrase is Homeric, *Il.* 24.566f. οὐδέ κ' ὀχῆα / ρεῖα μετοχλίσειε θυράων ἡμετέρων; the verb recurs at *Od.* 23.187 ἀνδρῶν δ' οὐ κέν τις ζωὸς βροτὸς.../ ρεῖα μετοχλίσειεν; for the preferability of the form ὀχλίσ- rather than ὀχλήσ- see Leaf on *Il.* 24.566. The verb is rare and, after Homer, occurs in Hellenistic and later poetry; ὀχλίζειν in Callimachus (*H.* 4.33, see Mineur *ad loc.*) and Apollonius (4.962); ἀνοχλίζειν in id. 1.1167; μετοχλίζειν occurs at Lyc. 627, and several times in Nonnus. Notable is [Nonnus'] usage of the verb in a context similar to that of Crinagoras, of the removal of the rock of the tomb of Christ at *Par.* 20,5 λίθον οὐδαίολο μετοχλισθέντα θυρέτρον.

**6 εἴρυσαν ἐς ποινάς:** "dragged to punishment", echoes the Homeric use of the verb as to "drag off" the enemy's dead body, cf. *Il.* 24.16 τρις δ' ἐρύσας περὶ σῆμα (sc. Ἔκτορα), *ibid.* 4.467 νεκρὸν γὰρ ἐρύοντα ἰδών..., *ibid.* 15.351 ἀλλὰ κύνες ἐρύουσι πρὸ ἄστεος ἡμετέροιο. Ποινή does not occur in the plural in Homer but is frequent in tragedy; in the Anthology only in Agath. 5.302,3f.

**τλήμονα:** the adjective is often attributed to the dead, cf. Leon. *AP* 7.656,2, id. 7.478,2, Archias 7.278,6, anon. 7.482,4, cf. Crin. 14,1 GP δειλαίη.

**δισθανέα:** cf. Lyc. 156 δις ἠβήσαντα, Dosiadas *AP* 15.26,2 μέροψ δισαβος. Brodaeus' correction, accepted only by Gow-Page is ingenious, as "dying twice" suits Nicias' fate better than "dying hard";<sup>209</sup> the form is a Homeric ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, *Od.* 12.21;<sup>210</sup> the preference of δισθανέα over δυσθανέα is reinforced if we observe that Crinagoras is actually reversing the Homeric situation: Circe says to Odysseus' comrades σχέτλιοι, οἳ ζῶντες ὑπήλθετε δῶμ' Αἴδαο / δισθανέες, ὅτε τ' ἄλλοι ἅπαξ θνήσκουσ' ἄνθρωποι; Nicias also died twice, but under exactly opposite conditions: νεκρὸς δ' ἦλθεν ὑπ' ἠέλιον (l. 4). For this "double death" which the dead man has suffered at the hands of the violators, cf. Greg. Naz. *AP* 8.184,4 στήλη γράψατε νεκρόφονον, "the murderer of the dead".

<sup>209</sup>Cf. Eur. *Ion* 1051 δυσθανάτων κρατήρων πλήρωμα; Galen. *In Hipp. Prorrh. i comm. Iii* Kühn 16.631,12 Τὸ δυσθάνατον σημαίνει μὲν ποτε καὶ τὸ βραδυθάνατον, σημαίνει δὲ καὶ τὸ σὺν ὀδύνη θνήσκειν.

<sup>210</sup> For its formation, instead of the expected διθανής, see Bechtel 1914, 103.

## GP 22

With this final word, the poem is enclosed in the idea of death (cf. θάνατον at the opening of the epigram), which does not fail to recur in almost every line: καμοῦσιν, μόρον, Ἄϊδη, νεκρός, τύμβοιο.

Αἰγά' με τὴν εὖθλον, ὅσων ἐκένωσεν ἀμολγεύς  
 οὔθατα πασάων πουλυγαλακτοτάτην,  
 γευσάμενος μελιηδὲς ἐπεὶ τ' ἐφράσσατο πῖαρ  
 Καῖσαρ, κῆν νηυσὶν σύμπλοον εἰργάσατο.  
 5 ἤξω αὐτίκα που καὶ ἐς ἀστέρας· ᾧ γὰρ ἐπέσχον  
 μαζὸν ἐμὸν, μείων οὐδ' ὅσον Αἰγιόχου.

[C] Κριναγόρου ἐπὶ τῇ αἰγί ἧς ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸ γάλα ἤσθειεν καὶ πλέων σύμπλοον ταύτην ἐκόμιζεν. PI I<sup>a</sup> 32,20 Κριναγόρου

3 ἐφράσσατο PI: -ασατο P 4 εἰργάσατο P: ἠγάγετο PI

*I am the goat with the heavy udders, the richest in milk of all whose breast the dairy-pail has drained; when Caesar tasted and marked my cream, sweet like honey, he made me his fellow-voyager even on shipboard. Soon I shall perhaps reach the stars; for he to whom I offered my breast is not the least inferior to the Aegis-bearer.*

On a goat which accompanied Caesar on a sea-journey, due to her delicious milk. According to Cichorius (1888, 58), the poem refers to Augustus' voyage to Greece and Asia in 22-19 B.C.; Geist (4), followed by Hermann (223), maintained that the voyage of the epigram is Augustus' visit to Gaul and Spain in 27 B.C. There is always the possibility, however, as Gow-Page remark, of another, short and unrecorded trip, although the goat's use as a supply of milk might suggest a long journey. It is very probable that Crinagoras accompanied Octavian on his trip, as Bowersock (36, with n. 5) suggests; this might be the implication of Crin. 1 GP, see *ad loc.*, on 1f. ῥίψης...σαυτόν.

The goat here hopes to be catasterised; the most famous example of this sort of court flattery is of course the Callimachean Lock of Berenice, fr. 110, in which the lock also speaks in the first person. The reference in the present poem is to the catasterism of the goat who fed Zeus, see below on ἤξω...ἀστέρας. Other catasterised animals are the lion of Nemea (cf. Mart. 9.71,7f.), which Zeus placed in the heavens to honour his son, and the golden ram that carried Phrixus and Helle, sacrificed by Phrixus in Colchis, see Weinreich (1928) 111, Bömer on Ov. *Fast.* 3.852, Henriksén on Mart. 9.71,7.

For animals speaking in the first person in epigrams of the Anthology cf. the horses in anon. 9.20 and 21, the nightingales in Philip 9.88, the dolphin in Antiphilus 9.222, the oxen in Antiphilus 9.299. A goat speaks of her distress because she suckles a wolf in anon. 9.47. The closest parallel to the present poem is Apollonides 9.287=GP GP 1255ff., on an eagle which appeared in Rhodes during the residence of Tiberius there (see G-P intr. note). The eagle's boasting is comparable to the boasting of the present goat;

the tone of the two poems is different in that the eagle speaks proudly of his famous life before he came to Rhodes which he deems worthy abandoning to be tamed by Tiberius. The goat's pride, on the contrary, springs from the very fact that she offered her milk to Octavian; the tone of the present poem is lighter and gentle shades of irony can be discerned throughout, with the skilful allusiveness in the use of words and images which can prevent one from agreeing with the comment of Waltz that it is "un médiocre produit de la poésie de cour", see below *passim*.

1f. αἶγά με: cf. the similar opening of Crin. 5 GP χάλκεον...με.

εὐθηλον...πουλυγαλακτοτάτην: cf. Crin. 38 GP, on an Armenian sheep, ll. 5-6: ἐκ δὲ γάλακτος / θηλή ἀεὶ μαστοῦ πλήθεται οὔθατίου. One can notice that θηλή, οὔθατίου, γάλακτος correspond to εὐθηλον, οὔθατα, πουλυγαλακτοτάτην, as a self-variation, too careful to be fortuitous, on the same theme, where each word is changed from noun to adjective and vice-versa.

εὐθηλον: the word is used mainly of animals, cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 737 εὐθηλον πόριν, *IA* 579 εὐθηλοι δὲ τρέφοντο βόες, cf. Leon. *AP* 6.263,3 εὐθηλήμονα μόσχον. In Lyc. 1328, however, we have μαστὸν εὐθηλον θεᾶς.

ἐκένωσεν: in regard to the sense of the following ἀμολγεύς (see next note), one may notice that although the verb normally takes a person as subject (cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 730, *Rh.* 914, *Med.* 959, *Ion* 447, Call. *AP* 6.121,3), a metaphorical usage with the milk-pail as subject could not be excluded, cf. Aesch. *Supp.* 659f. λοιμὸς ἀνδρῶν / τάνδε πόλιν κενῶσαι.

ἀμολγεύς: elsewhere in poetry only in [Theocr.] 8.87 (see Gow *ad loc.*), where the Scholiast says ἀγγεῖον δεκτικὸν γάλακτος, cf. also Eust. on *Il.* 15.321 (1018,24) παρὰ Θεοκρίτῳ ἀμολγεύς ποιμενικὸν ἀγγεῖόν ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ ἀμέλγουσιν, cf. id. on *Od.* 9.223 (1625,5f.). It is interesting to note that although LSJ gives the same translation for ἀμολγεύς in both the present and the Theocritean passage, "milk-pail", it also gives for πελλαυτήρ the sense "one who milks into a pail". In fact there was confusion about the words, probably having both meanings, in Antiquity; Hesychius, says πελλαυτήρα· ἀμολγέα but also πελλητήρ· πολυφάγος. ἀμολγός, which suggests that with πελλητήρ Hesychius means a person. In Athen. 11.495e we read Κλείταρχος δὲ ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις πελλητήρα μὲν καλεῖν Θεσσαλοῦς καὶ Αἰολεῖς τὸν ἀμολγέα, πέλλαν δὲ τὸ ποτήριον. Φιλίτας δ' ἐν Ἀτάκτοις τὴν κύλικα Βοιωτοῦς (fr. 5 Dettori). In this passage one might suggest that the "drinking-cup" and the cylix are more logically juxtaposed to the "milk-pail" than to the "person who milks". If ἀμολγεύς, as seems likely, can have both meanings, the "milk-pail" and the "person who milks", the latter is more suitable here, though the former cannot be totally excluded, see prev. note. For a collection of passages on related words (πέλλα, πελίκη, πελλίς) and further discussion see Dettori 69ff.

οὔθατα: in the Anthology the word has its primary sense of an animal's udder (as usually in literature, cf. McLennan on Call. *H.* 1.48, see also below on ἐπέσχον μαζόν), and can be connected with richness and abundance, cf. *AP* 3.10,5 ἀφνεδὸν οὔθαρ, Polyaeus 9.1,1 δορκάδος ἀρτιτόκοιο τιθηνητήριον οὔθαρ. In a context with ἀμέλγω or a word of the same stem, cf. Mac. Cons. 9.645,8 ὀπώρη / οὔθατος ἐκ βοτρώων ξαιθὸν ἀμελξε γάνος (a metaphor of wine taken from the grapes in autumn); cf. also the only literal use of οὔθαρ in Homer, *Od.* 9.439-40 θήλειαι δὲ μέμηρον ἀνήμελκτοι περὶ σηκούσ· / οὔθατα γὰρ σφαραγεῦντο,<sup>211</sup> comparable to Nic. *Th.* 552f. οὔθατα μόσχου / πρωτογόνου, στέργει δὲ περισφαραγεῦσα γάλακτι, id. *Al.* 357-8 μαστοῦ δὲ ποτὸν μοσχηδὸν ἀμέλγα, / οἴη τ' ἐξ ὑμένων νεαλῆς ὑπὸ οὔθατα μόσχος.

πασάων: the form stresses the goat's superiority compared to the others of its kind: it appears once in Homer (*Od.* 6.107), used also as a partitive genitive, to indicate Artemis' taller height <sup>with</sup> regard to that of the nymphs, in parallel to Nausicaa's superiority <sup>with</sup> regard to her maids, πασάων δ' ὑπὲρ ἧ γε κάρη ἔχει ἡδὲ μέτωπα. In the Anthology the form occurs in Apollon. 9.257,2 on the superiority of a spring: ἡ Καθαρή (Νύμφαι γὰρ ἐπώνυμον ἔξοχον ἄλλων / κρήνη πασάων δῶκαν ἐμοὶ λιβάδων), where, as in the present epigram, the spring is speaking in the first person. Cf. the similar use and construction of the genitive by Apollonius, 1.113 πασάων προφερεστάτη ἔπλετο νηῶν, 1.1122 πασάων πανυπέρταται ἐρρίζωντο, an imitation of which seems to be Qu. Sm. 5.462 πασάων μάλα πολλὸν ὑπερτάτη ἐρρίζωται. In Quintus and Nonnus the form is always a partitive genitive (Qu. Sm. 1.36, 2.437, Nonnus *D.* 3.426, 12.27, 34.40). πουλυγαλακτοτάτην: a goat famous for the abundance of its milk was the Scyrian breed, cf. Pind. fr. 106,2f. Σκύριαι δ' εἰς ἀμελξιν γάλαγος / αἴγες ἔξοχώταται, also Ael. *NA* 3.33,5 αἴγες αἰ Σκύριαι γάλα ἀφθονώτατον παρέχειν, ὅσον οὐκ ἄλλαι αἴγες.

The compound is rare and prosaic, cf. Aristot. *PA* 688b οὐ πολυγάλακτον (of the lion), Schol. on Theocr. 1.25 (αἰγά τέ τοι δωσῶ διδυματόκον...) φησὶ δὲ πολυτόκους, πολυχόλους, ἦγουν πολυγαλάκτους, Schol. on Arat. 1100 πολυγάλακτον γὰρ προσδοκῶσι τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, Athan. *Theol. Caec. Nat.* 28.1020,52 πολυγάλακτον πρόβατον. For analogous formations cf. Crin. 29,3 GP πουλυσέβαστος; elsewhere in the Anthology cf. for instance Mac. Cons. 5.243,1 φιλοπουλυγέλωτα, Philip 6.101,3 πουλύτρητον, id. 7.383,7 πουλυμερῆς. In Homer there are various occurrences of χθῶν πουλυβότειρα (for instance *Il.* 3.89, 195, 265, 6.213, *al.*). Cf. also the Callimachean πουλύμυθοι (fr. 192,14), πουλυκτέανος (*H.* 2.35), πουλυμέλαθρε (*H.* 3.225), πουλυμέδιμνε (*H.* 6.2 and 119). This impressive superlative compound occupies

<sup>211</sup> The other two occurrences of the word in Homer are *Il.* 9.141 and 283, οὔθαρ ἀρούρης.

the whole second hemistich, cf. Cat. 68.112 *Amphitryoniades*,<sup>212</sup> its content and application to the goat<sup>172</sup> in an almost comic contrast with its pomposity, which further renders the court-flattery-character of the poem lighter and more allusive, teasing and charming.

γευσάμενος...ἐπεὶ τ' ἐφράσσατο: the figure is ἐν διὰ δυοῖν, the same notion being expressed with two terms (although γεύεσθαι and φράζεσθαι are not, of course, synonyms, the notion they convey is the same, “when he tasted and marked”, i.e. *when he came to know my milk*), cf. Hdt. 1.84 ἐφράσθη καὶ ἐς θυμὸν ἐβάλετο; also *Il.* 21.60ff. δουρὸς ἀκωκῆς ἡμετέροιο / γεύσεται, ὄφρα ἴδωμαι ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἠδὲ δαείω / ἢ ἄρ' ὁμῶς καὶ κεῖθεν ἐλεύσεται, κτλ.; cf. also Soph. *El.* 26, Eur. *Hel.* 39, 226, 1042, 1108, Theocr. 7.57, 16.61 with Gow *ad locc.* Crinagoras' phrasing could be seen as further lightening the tone of the poem, cf. Richardson on *Il.* 21.61: “the expanded expression is presumably designed to increase the irony”. The present figure can be described as Lausberg's “mentally variable paraphrase” which “is related to *de eadem re dicere*. It consists in the main idea being analysed into co-ordinated component ideas”, see Lausberg 375, § 838.

3 γευσάμενος: in Homer the verb is used metaphorically, cf. *Il.* 20.258 γευσόμεθ' ἀλλήλων χαλκήρεσιν ἐγχείησιν, 21.61 (see prev. note), *Od.* 17.403 προικὸς γεύσεσθαι Ἀχαιῶν, 20.181, 21.98. The participle occurs in a literal usage in the Anthology in Alc. Mess. 7.55,6 καθαρῶν γευσάμενος λιβάδων, Autom. 11.361,5 γευσάμεναι.../ οὐ θέρεος κριθήν, οὐκ ἔαρος βοτάνην, cf. anon. 6.42,2 τοῦ φιλοκαρποφόρου γευσάμενος θέρεος.

μελιηδές: in Homer the adjective is usually applied to wine (μελιηδέα οἶνον, *Il.* 4.346, 6.258, *Od.* 3.46, etc.), but also to a fruit (*Il.* 18.568, *Od.* 9.94), wax (*Od.* 12.48), metaphorically to the soul (*Il.* 10.495), the day of return (*Od.* 11.100), sleep (*Od.* 19.551). In the Anthology we have the Homeric sweetness of wine in anon. 9.580,7 and of a fruit in Gaetul. 6.190,3f. μελιηδές...σῦκον. Metaphorically cf. μελιηδέα μολπήν, φωνήν in anon. 9.504,2, Cyrus 15.9,7.

For the poetic periphrasis μελιηδὲς πῖαρ cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 708 λευκοῦ πόματος, for “milk”, also *AApp* 6.264,22, see below; the poet denotes honey also in a periphrasis, μελισσῶν / ἀμβροσίη in 42,2f. GP. The present periphrasis is very successful for the further reason that milk is traditionally connected with honey, as a nourishment as well as a liquid for libations, especially in a pastoral setting, cf. for instance [Theocr.] 27,9 μέλι καὶ γάλα πίνω with Gow *ad loc.*, Alc. Mess. *AP* 7.55,3f., Antip. Thess. 9.72,1f., also Theocr. 5.53f.; cf. the Dionysiac miracles with nature automatically producing milk and honey, see Dodds on Eur. *Bacch.* 711, Nonnus *D.* 22.16ff.; for the connection of the two

<sup>212</sup>Comparable but less striking are Erycius *AP* 6.234,4 πολυαστράγαλον, Leon. 6.288,2 φιλοεργόταται, Automedon 12.34,2 and Strato 12.208,4 μακαριστότατον, which also occupy almost the whole second hemistich of the pentameter.

liquids see further Usener *passim*, also cf. Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 7.246. The μελίκρατον, furthermore, is a drink of milk and honey used for libations to the dead, see Willink and Benedetto on Eur. *Or.* 115. For the proverbial sweetness of honey see Gow on Theocr. 3.54; for the sweetness of milk cf. *Od.* 4.88=*Batr.* 38 γλυκεροῖο γάλακτος, Call. *H.* 4.274 γλυκὺν ἔσπασε μαζόν, Paus. 4.35,11, Luc. *Dial. Deor.* 10.4,10; also *AApp* 6.264,21f.<sup>213</sup> αἶγες θαλεροῖς μαστοῖς καταβεβριθυῖαι / αὐτόματοι γλυκὺν νᾶμα συνεκτελέουσι γάλακτος. The periphrasis μελιηδὲς πῖαρ, moreover, might be seen as constituting a first allusion to the story of the goat that fed Zeus (see below on ἤξω...ἀστέρας and ἐπέσχον μαζόν), fully developed in the last couplet of the poem, through the possible reminiscence of the Callimachean passage about Amaltheia and the connection of milk and honey, *H.* 1.48f. σὺ δ' ἐθήσαο πίονα μαζόν / αἰγὸς Ἀμαλθείης, ἐπὶ δὲ γλυκὺν κηρίον ἔβρωσ.

ἐπέι τ': Homeric, cf. *Il.* 11.87, 11.562 (same *sedes*), 12.393; rare elsewhere in poetry, cf. Ap. Rh. 4.323, Nic. *Th.* 285.

ἐφράσσατο: for the sense “perceive, observe”, see LSJ s.v. II 4. The middle aorist is mainly Epic; for ἐφράσσατο cf. *Il.* 24.352, *Od.* 4.529, at the same *sedes*; at different *sedes* *Od.* 3.288f, 4.444. Cf. also Hes. *Th.* 160, Call. fr.80.14 νόον δ' ἐφράσσατο σεῖο, Arat. 1062 ὄσσα δ' ἐνὶ σχίνου ἀροτῆρ ἐφράσσατο καρπῶ, Nic. *Th.* 502, Opp. *Hal.* 2.194, Nonnus *D.* 5.399, 8.38, 37.351, all at the same *sedes*.

πῖαρ: the only other occurrences of the word in the Anthology are Crinagoras' 30,4 GP νεφροῖς πῖαρ...ῶσον and 31,3 GP ἐπ' αὐλακα πῖαρ ἀρότρου, comparable to the Homeric οὔθαρ ἀρούρης, see above on οὔθατα. Πῖαρ appears three times in Homer, *Il.* 11.550, 17.659 βοῶν ἐκ πῖαρ ἐλέσθαι, *Od.* 9.135 ἐπεὶ μάλα πῖαρ ὑπ' οὔδας (cf. οὔθαρ ἀρούρης); one might observe that, as οὔθατα and πῖαρ, used by the poet for the description of the goat, are employed by Homer in descriptions of the fertility of the ground, this constitutes a further suggestion of abundance and fecundity in the present poem. In a context of animals and their dairy products cf. the Homeric πίονος αἰγός, *Il.* 9.207, πίονα μῆλα, *Od.* 9.217, *al.*; also Hes. *Op.* 585 τῆμος πιόταταί τ' αἶγες, Nic. *Al.* 141 γάλα πῖον, *ibid.* 77 (γάλα) πελλίσιν ἐν γρώνησιν ὅτ' εἶαρι πῖον ἀμέλξαις. Cf. also Solon 11.2 Linforth πῖαρ ἐξέλη γάλα, where the word probably indicates butter (for this and the subsantival use of the word see Linforth *ad loc*). In this poem πῖαρ probably indicates the rich, creamy quality of the goat's milk (cf. LSJ s.v. πῖαρ b).

4 Καῖσαρ: at verse-opening also in Crin. 29,3 and 36,6 GP. The delay of the subject and of the main verb is impressive and helps to build up the reader's curiosity about the

<sup>213</sup> The poem is a translation of Virgil's 4<sup>th</sup> Eclogue; there is no word by word correspondence of the Greek poem to the phrasing of the original.

theme of the poem, cf. on 15,6 GP Ἴναχος. For this technique see intr. under Language and Style, Structure.

κῆν νηυσίν: “even on board”, cf. Crin. 40,5 GP καὶ ζοφώδης...νέκυς; for this nuance of καὶ see Denniston 293, ΠΑ; cf. the Homeric καὶ εἰν Ἄϊδαο δόμοισι, “even in Hades”, see Richardson on *Il.* 23.19. In the Anthology cf. for instance Call. 9.336,4=GP *HE* 1320 πεζὸν κάμῃ παρωκίσατο with Gow-Page *ad loc.* For the dative νηυσί cf. Call. *H.* 3.227, Ap. Rh. 4.453. In Homer, although the construction παρά or ἐπὶ νηυσίν is more usual, ἐν(ι) νηυσίν does also occur, for instance *Il.* 2.351, 7.389, 11.659, 13.628, cf. below on εἰργάσατο.

σύμπλοον: not Homeric. Cf. its use of an animal which accompanied its master on the sea *AApp* 2.361,1ff. Τὴν κύνα Λεσβιακῆ βάλῳ ὑπεθήκατο Βάλβος /.../ δουλίδα καὶ σύμπλοον πολλῆς ἁλός. In the Anthology it usually describes the boat of the dead sailor, Etruscus 7.381,4 σύμπλοος εἰς ἄγρην, σύμπλοος εἰς Ἄϊδην, Jul. Aeg. 7.585,7f. σκάφος... /...σύμπλοον ἐς βίον, ἐς θάνατον. Cf. ὁμόπλους in Antiphilus 7.635,1 Ναῦν Ἱεροκλείδης ἔσχεν σύγγηρον, ὁμόπλοον / τὴν αὐτὴν ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου σύνοδον. For σύμπλους of persons cf. Eur. *Hel.* 1207 σύμπλους πόσει, *IA* 666 ἀγεῖν σύμπλοον ἐμέ. It is interesting to notice the use of σύμπλοον together with ἄγω in Dioscorides’ two poems on the same erotic subject *AP* 5.53,4 σύμπλοον σύμ με λαβῶν ἀπάγου and 5.193,4 σύμπλοον σὺν με λαβῶν ἀγέτω (cf. also Eur. *IA* 666), also cf. Apollod. 1.129,8 αὐτὴν ἄξειν γυναῖκα καὶ εἰς Ἑλλάδα σύμπλοον ἀγάγηται, which could support Planudes’ ἠγάγετο instead of εἰργάσατο, see also next note. The adjective contributes to the lightness of the tone of the poem, as the goat is described with a term which suggests equality with Caesar (while the dog in *AApp* 2.361 is a δουλίς), cf. the boat of the dead sailors of the Anthology, instrument but also faithful companion of their toil.

εἰργάσατο: the word, in the sense of “render”, is very rare, cf. Luc. *Dial. Mar.* 11.2 (Ἡφαιστος) ὄλον ξηρὸν εἰργασται, Ael. *VH* 3.1 ἐργάζονται τὸν Πηγεῖον ἐκεῖνοι μέγαν. In the Anthology the form appears almost always at the end of the pentameter (for instance 6.286,2, 9.680,2, 741,4, 10.54,2, 11.14,6, *API* 112,4). The decision between P’s εἰργάσατο and Pl’s ἠγάγετο is not easy; ἠγάγετο can be supported by its occurrence in a context with σύμπλοον (see prev. note), although Planudes does occasionally offer better readings, see Gow-Page *HE* xxxix ; cf. ἠγάγετο at the end of the pentameter in “Diog. Laert.” *AP* 7.127,4, Peek 1925=Kaibel 560,2, *AApp* 3.82,2; also *Il.* 7.389f.=22.115f. ἐνὶ νηυσίν / ἠγάγετο. The corruption of ἠγάγετο to εἰργάσατο could be persuasively explained as an influence of ἐφράσ(σ)ατο above.

ἦξω...ἀστεράς: cf. Nonnus *D.* 23.310 ἴξομαι ὑψικέλευθος ἐς οὐρανόν, 47.701 ἴξεται ἀστερόφοιτον ἐς οὐρανόν. ἦξω occurs at verse-opening also in Theogn. 477, Philip *AP* 9.293,6, Theocr. 4.47 (ἦξω). The reference is to the catasterism of the goat who fed Zeus, cf. above on μελιηδές and below on ἐπέσχον μαζόν and on Αἰγιόχου.

For the overall connection of the present poem as well as Crin. 1 GP with Arat. 156ff., see on Crin. 1,1 GP The poet might be also playfully alluding to Odysseus' boasting in *Od.* 9.19f. εἴμ' Ὀδυσσεύς Λαερτιάδης, ὃς πᾶσι δόλοισιν / ἀνθρώποισι μέλω, καὶ μευ κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει. A possible reference to Hor. *Od.* 1.2,45 *serus in caelum redeas* cannot be excluded; here Horace hopes for Augustus' long life so that he may return *later* to the stars;<sup>214</sup> by contrast, the goat thinks that she might reach the stars *soon*. It has been suggested that Crinagoras makes an allusion to Octavian's sign in the zodiac cycle, *capricornus*, in Greek Αἰγόκερως, see Demandt 75; for Capricorn as Octavian's sign cf. Manil. *Astr.* 2.509, "Germanicus" *Aratea* 558ff.; for this and for the further auspicious connotations of Capricorn and its connection with the Julian family and Augustus in particular see Barton 40ff. The suggestion of such an implication in the present passage can be further supported by the fact that Αἰγόκερως was associated with the goat that fed Zeus in Crete, for which see Kidd 289.

αὐτίκα που: as Gow-Page comment, here αὐτίκα has the sense "soon in the future", as in Call. *AP* 5.23,6 ἡ πολὴ / αὐτίκ' ἀναμνήσει ταῦτά σε πάντα κόμη. One can plausibly suggest that in the present poem the word does have the sense "soon in the future", as in Callimachus, while in Crin. 9,5 GP, αὐτίκα τῶνδ' ἀπ' Ἰούλων / Εὐκλείδην πολίτης ἄχρισ ἄγοιτε τριχός, the meaning rather seems to be just "in the future".<sup>215</sup> For a "soon", "immediate" arrival cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 639 εἰς προνώπι' αὐτίχ' ἦξει, *IT* 1080 ὡς αὐτίχ' ἦξει τῆσδε κοίρανος χθονός, Xen. 2.5,34 αὐτίκα ἦξειν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, Plato *Symp.* 175b. The goat, of course, cannot speak of an immediate catastrophe but of one belonging to the more or less near future; note the slight reservation (που) that adds elegance to the flattery.

ἐπέσχον / μαζόν: μαζός is rarely used for an animal's udder, the common term being οἶθαρ. Here the poet achieves a variation of vocabulary avoiding the repetition of οἶθαρ (l. 2). In Homer and most of Greek literature μαζός refers to men and women; for animals, cf. Eur. *Cycl.* 55, 207 (sheep), see McLennan on Call. *H.* 1.48; Crinagoras uses μαστός for a sheep's udder in 9.430,6, cf. *ad loc.*; it denotes a goat's udder also in anon. *AP* 9.47,1. For the expression cf. Hom. *Il.* 22.83 εἴ ποτε τὸν λαθικηδέα μαζὸν ἐπέσχον. Crinagoras is suggesting the divinity of Octavian by an explicit allusion to Arat. 163 αἶξ ἱερή, τὴν μὲν τε λόγος Διὶ μαζὸν ἐπισχεῖν, cf. above on ἦξω...ἀστέρας and on μελιηδέες, see also next note. For the story see McLennan on Call. *H.* 1.48f.

<sup>214</sup> For this notion in regard to the fate of the soul see Nisbet-Hubbard *ad loc.* For the catastrophe of Augustus cf. also Ov. *Met.* 15.838f. with Bömer *ad loc.* The first three books of the *Odes* of Horace were published in 23 B.C., see Nisbet-Hubbard (1975) xxxvii.

<sup>215</sup> In the editions of Gow-Page (*HE*, *GP*) there is a contradiction regarding the meaning of the word in Crinagoras and Callimachus; Gow-Page compare the use of the word in the present epigram with Crin. 9,5 GP to which they give a future sense and compare to Callimachus' use (see G-P on *GP* 1817), but, inconsistently with their comment, they translate Crin. 9,5 = *GP* 1817 "presently",<sup>u</sup> sense that, in *HE* 215, they also give to the Callimachean line ("presently, not necessarily in the immediate future")!

(Callimachus makes Amaltheia herself the goat), Kidd on Arat. 163, *LIMC* s.v. Amaltheia.

**6:** the belief that kings are appointed by Zeus is found already in Homer (*Il.* 9.98). Hellenistic poets, above all, developed the idea in their praises of the Ptolemies; for a collection of passages see Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Od.* 1.12,50. The emperor was commonly called “god” in later times; for the era of Domitian, cf. the numerous references of Martial to the emperor as *deus* or *Juppiter*, for instance 6.10,3 and 9, 7.2,6, 8.2,6, *al.*; cf. Leon. Alex. *AP* 9.352,4 Οὐρανίοιο Διός id. 9.355,3 Ποππαία, Διὸς εἶναι (see Page *FGE* on 1973 and 1984). Horace is the first to call Octavian “god”, cf. *Od.* 3.5,2f. *praesens divus habebitur / Augustus*, although Augustus is not equal, but second to Zeus in Hor. *Od.* 1.51, see next note. Cf. also Virg. *Ecl.* 1.6f., cf. Clausen on l. 7, Beller 69f., Grewing on Mart. 6.11,9. Ovid often places Augustus in parallel with Jupiter and his palace with the abode of the gods, cf. *Met.* 1.168ff., where the Milky Way and gods’ residence is likened to the Palatine; the poet refers to Augustus as “Jupiter” in *Fast.* 1.650 and on many occasions he likens Augustus more or less directly to the father of gods, *Tr.* 1.1,81ff., 1.5,75ff., *al.*, see further K. Scott 52ff.; for the cult of Augustus in his life-time and afterwards see Taylor 224ff. In the Anthology cf. Philip on Caligula *AP* 9.307=5,3f. GP θεόν.../...Ζῆνα τὸν Αἰνειάδην, 9.778=6,6 GP θεοῖς; cf. also Apollonides 9.287=23,6 GP Ζῆνα τὸν ἑσσόμενον, of Tiberius (see G-P intr. note on Apollonides 23). Crinagoras’ flattery is implicit and not *devoid* of subtlety and wit, as we have seen, see above on πούλυγαλακτοτάτην, γευσάμενος ἐπεὶ τ’ ἐφράσσατο, next note and on Αἰγιόχου. If *AP* 9.562=24 GP is indeed by Crinagoras, the direct attribution of divinity to Augustus (*δαίμων*, 1.6) is much more unsophisticated and servile. μείων οὐδ’ ὅσον: probably an *oppositio in imitando* of the Homeric *Il.* 527-9 Λοκρῶν δ’ ἠγεμόνευεν Ὀϊλῆος ταχὺς Αἴας / μείων, οὐ τι τόσος γε ὅσος Τελαμώνιος Αἴας, / ἀλλὰ πολὺ μείων. *Μείων* is a Homeric rarity, elsewhere only in *Il.* 3.193 μείων μὲν κεφαλῇ Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδαο. Horace says that Octavian is “lesser” only than Zeus, *Od.* 1.57 *te minor*, 51 *tu secundo / Caesare regnes* (cf. prev. note). Given that the last couplet refers to the catastrophe of the goat who fed Zeus and, more specifically, to Aratus 163, one could observe that the poet might be further playfully alluding to Leon. *AP* 9.25,5f. (on Aratus) αἰνεῖσθω δὲ καμῶν ἔργον μέγα καὶ Διὸς εἶναι / δεύτερος, ὅστις ἔθηκ’ ἄστρα φαινότερα, cf. Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Od.* 1.12,51.

οὐδ’ ὅσον: the phrase is usually at the same *sedes* of the pentameter in the Anthology, Leon. 5.188,4, Mel. 5.212,6, Leont. Schol. 7.573,4. It is very common and colloquial; in poetry elsewhere cf. for instance Hes. *Op.* 41, Theocr. 9.20, 30.6, Ap. Rh. 1.290, 1.482, 2.190, Opp. *Hal.* 2.6.

Αἰγιόχου: as Gow-Page comment, the word always accompanies the name of Zeus in Homer and Hesiod, and it is first found alone in Pindar *I.* 3.76, with the gloss Δί in the

text. Its only other occurrence in the Anthology is anon. 9.474,4, where it also appears together with the name of Zeus. For its rare occurrence alone, cf. Opp. *Hal.* 3.9-10: Ἑρμεία...φέρτατε παίδων / Αἰγίοχου. The last word of the epigram corresponds to its first, enclosing thus the whole poem in an etymological pun on αἶξ and Αἰγίοχος; apart from the poet's obvious intention to compare Augustus to Zeus and suggest his deification, the last word is further adding an etymological comment on the god's epithet.<sup>216</sup> Cf. the discussion by West (1978) 366ff., who derives the epithet of the god from the bird αἶξ, and the reply of Hooker, 113ff., who clings to the traditional explanation "the aegis-bearer". The issue had, in fact, raised a long debate in Antiquity; cf. Hdt. 4.189, where αἰγίς is connected with αἶξ, cf. Macan *ad loc.*; Euripides derives αἰγίς from αἴσσω (*Ion* 996f.), but αἴσσω and αἶξ are also connected, cf. Et. Magn. s.v. αἶξ· παρὰ τὸν αἶξω μέλλοντα τὸν δηλοῦντα τὸ ὄρμῳ, κτλ.; cf. *ibid.* s.v. αἰγίς· ἡ τοῦ Διός, ἔνθεν αἰγίοχος...οὐχ, ὡς τινές φασιν, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀμαλθείας αἰγὸς τῆς ἀναθρεψάσης τὸν Δία, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τὰς συστροφὰς τῶν ἀνέμων ποιεῖν κινουμένων, αἰγίδες καὶ καταγίδες· τὸ δὲ αἰγίς παρὰ τὸ αἴσσω, τὸ ὄρμῳ; cf. also *ibid.* s.v. Αἰγίοχος· παρὰ τὸ ὄχη, ὃ σημαίνει τὴν τροφήν, καὶ τὸ αἶξ αἰγὸς. Λέγουσι γὰρ αὐτὸν τεθλακέναι Ἀμάθειαν τὴν αἶγα. Οἱ δέ, ὅτι σκεπαστήριον ἦν αὐτῷ αἰγίς, ἀπὸ Κρητικῆς αἰγὸς ληφθεῖσα. Ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ καταγίξειν τοῖς ἀνέμοις καὶ πνεύμασι· καλεῖται γὰρ αἰγίς ὁ ἄνεμος, also Schol. on Opp. *Hal.* 1.10, see further Frisk s.v. αἰγίς. A similar pun appears in Nonnus *D.* 27.290ff., where αἰγίς is the goatskin cape of Pan.

<sup>216</sup>For a detailed survey of the etymological interest of Hellenistic poets in the names of people, places, gods, see O'Hara 21ff.; for Virgil's etymologies concerning the names of gods see id. 67ff.

GP 27

AP 9.291=GP 27

Οὐδ' ἦν Ὀκεανὸς πᾶσαν πλήμυραν ἐγείρη  
 οὐδ' ἦν Γερμανίη ῥῆνον ἅπαντα πίη,  
 ῥώμης δ' οὐδ' ὅσσον βλάψει σθένος, ἄχρι κε μίμνη  
 δεξιὰ σημαίνειν Καίσαρι θαρσαλέη.  
 5 οὕτως καὶ ἱεραὶ Ζηνὸς δρῦες ἔμπεδα ῥίζαις  
 ἐστᾶσιν, φύλλων δ' αἶα χέουσ' ἄνεμοι.

Κριναγόρου [C] εἰς ῥώμην τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ ἀήττητον αὐτὴν τότε εἶναι, νυνὶ δὲ πάσης  
 δρυὸς ἐστὶν ἐλεεινότερα PI<sup>a</sup> 5,9 Κριναγόρου εἰς ῥώμην

1 πλημύραν P: πλήμυραν CPI 2 Γερμανίη P: -νῆ PI | ἅπαντα CPI: πάντα P 3 δ' P: om. PI 5  
 οὕτως P: -τω PI

*Not even though Ocean rouse all her flood, not even though Germany drink the whole Rhine, they shall injure not in the least the strength of Rome, as long as she remains confident in Caesar who rules aright. So the holy oaks of Zeus stand rooted firm and the withered leaves are scattered by the winds.*

Rome is invincible as long as she trusts in Caesar. Several attempts have been made at an identification with historical events of the circumstances the poem is referring to. As Gow-Page observed, the opening sentence bears ambiguous points which imply a disaster Rome suffered in the area of Germany-Gaul: πλήμυρα implies a flood over land (more plausibly than a storm at sea, see below *ad loc.*) but it could also be taken metaphorically to denote a flood of enemies, especially in a coastal area. The “drinking of the whole Rhine”, again, is normally used for “dwelling” in a country, but the intended emphasis of the negative conditional disjunction makes it hard to take it in that sense and rather points at the “drinking” of a river in the case of an invasion; another reading, however, is possible, which also denotes an invasion (see below on Γερμανίη... πίη). We therefore need an occasion in Roman history which combines military failure and a flood, metaphorical or literal. The following events have then been proposed:

a) The *clades Lolliana* in 16 B.C. (for which see Gow-Page on 21 intr. note), suggested by Norden and accepted by Cichorius, Waltz, Beckby. The Sugambri, Tencteri and Usipetes who defeated the Roman forces under Lollius came from the lower Rhine; the “flood of enemies” is taken by Norden to be a metaphor for an invasion of the hostile forces across the Rhine near the sea (cf. below on Ὀκεανός; similarly Jacobs<sup>2</sup>: *si Oceanus omnes suas copias [i.e. populos ad Oceanum habitantes] emiserit Germaniaeque turba*

*sua emissa Rhenum siccaverit, ut Persarum olim copiae flumina Graeciae*),<sup>217</sup> as Gow-Page observe, the whole Rhine was not concerned in the *clades Lolliana*, but “it was natural to expect that the disaster would be followed by a general invasion”. One should perhaps note, however, that the *clades Lolliana* was actually not regarded as such a grave catastrophe for Roman arms, see below.

b) The *clades Variana* in A.D. 9 (for which see Gow-Page on 21, intr. note) is rejected by Gow-Page on the grounds that it was not connected with a sea-flood either in a literal or a metaphorical sense; the same can be said, however, for the *clades Lolliana*, which, as Suetonius (quoted by Gow-Page in 21 intr. note) reports, was “rather a disgrace than a disaster” (*Aug.* 23); on the contrary the *clades Variana* was a serious disaster indeed, see Gow-Page on 21 intr. note.

c) The events of A.D. 15-16 (Rubensohn, Stadtmüller): Tacitus (*Ann.* 1.63ff.) reports the danger the forces under Germanicus and his officers were found in and the panic which seized the Roman camp in a campaign against Arminius, victor of the other great Roman disaster, the *clades Variana*. At the equinox of that year two legions under Vitellius were caught in a flood by the Northern Sea, *quo maxime tumescit Oceanus*, see Tac. *Ann.* 1.70. One can observe that the events of this year indeed combine both military hardship and misfortune by sea-flood and thus constitute a most likely candidate as the source of inspiration of the present poem. In A.D. 16, again, the fleet of Germanicus was attacked by a heavy sea-storm which caused a great disaster; as Gow-Page observed, there is no report of any defeat on land in this case (though “successes” and “misfortunes” in general were indeed mentioned by Tiberius in a letter recalling Germanicus to Rome: *satis iam eventuum, satis casuum*, Tac. *Ann.* 2.26): but the most important objection to this identification comes from the speculation that *πλήμυρα* denotes a flood-tide rather than a storm at sea. Valid as this argument may be, one might note that this occasion can not be excluded: Tacitus reports that the Romans, for all their misfortunes, made a new attempt against the Germans, whose general cry was “the Romans are invincible, proof against every disaster” (Tac. *Ann.* 2.25). As the historian attests, this demoralisation of the Germans was reported to Rome from prisoners: it cannot be excluded, then, that the poet too heard this piece of information in this way and used it as the material for the present epigram.

The confidence in Augustus and the safety his presence assures is a motif that recurs in Horace: *Od.* 3.14,14ff. *ego nec tumultum / nec mori per vim metuam tenente / Caesaræ terras*, 4.5,17ff, 25ff. *quis Parthum paveat, quis gelidum Scythen, / quis Germania quos horrida parturit / fetus, incolumi Caesare?*, 4.14,43f., 4.15,17ff. Cf. also

<sup>217</sup>As a further reinforcement of this assumption Norden (1917, 669, n. 2) cited certain cases of peoples who have been (or who have been said to have been) driven away from their homes due to a flood which inundated their territories (Flor. 1.38, Strabo 7.2,1) but it does not seem very obvious how these cases of natural tidal waves can be connected to their poetical extension to a metaphorical human “flood” of enemies.

Mart. 2.91,1 *Rerum certa salus, terrarum gloria, Caesar*. For the attack of enemies upon each other compared to a tempest in Homer see below on 5f.

**1f.:** for the opening (οὐδ' ἦν...οὐδ' ἦν) cf. Crin. 1,1f. GP κῆν...καὶ ἦν, see *ad loc.* For Homeric parallels for this form of asyndeton cf. *Od.* 22.221ff. οὐδέ τοι ὕλας / ...οὐδέ θύγατρας / οὐδ' ἄλοχον κεδνήν, cf. οὐδ' ...καὶ οὐκ (*Il.* 1.96), see Chantraine (1963) 338f.; for the figure οὐδέ...οὐδέ in literature in general see K-G II (2) 294.

The poem is constructed on an ἀδύνατον which demonstrates the invincibility of Rome; not even if x happens (impossible) can Rome be injured; this type of geographical adynaton can be found in a positive form (as long as x happens - which cannot be otherwise, e.g. as long as a ship goes from the Nile into the sea, Posidippus GP *HE* 3142ff. - will y take place; for epigrams see Dutoit 36ff.; for Latin together with Greek examples see Smith on Tib. 1.4,65-6) as well as in a negative one (first x - an adynaton - will happen and then will y come true, see Smith *op. cit.*, Canter 33 (type I), Gow on Theocr. 1.132; for both positive and negative adynata in Greek epigrams see Race 109f. Comparable to the present passage, as a piece of court poetry, is Mart. 9.1,1ff., where natural elements are called upon to assert the firmness of Domitian's *Templum gentis Flaviae* (see further Henriksén [1] 55ff.) *Dum Iamus hiemes, Domitiamus autumnos, / Augustus annis commodabit aestates, /... / manebit altum, Flaviae decus gentis*, etc. The present ἀδύνατον can be described as a “potential” one, cf. *Il.* 9.379 οὐδ' εἶ μοι δεκάκις τε καὶ εἰκοσάκις τόσα δοίη.../οὐδ' ὅσ' ἐς Ὀρχομενὸν ποτινίσεται,.../ οὐδ' εἶ μοι τόσα δοίη ὅσα ψάμαθός τε κόνις τε, / οὐδέ κεν ὧς ἔτι θυμὸν ἐμὸν πείσει Ἄγαμέμνων, κτλ., also Theogn. 701ff., Stat. *Sil.* 2.2,36ff. Archilochus 122,6ff. West offers an example of geographical potential adynata, see Race 28; see also below on ἄχρι κε and Γερμανίη. . .πίη.<sup>218</sup>

**Ὠκεανός:** like the image of Germania “drinking” a river (see below on Γερμανίη...πίη), Ocean also appears as a foil in an ἀδύνατον in Latin literature: Sen. *Oed.* 505 *Oceanus clausum dum fluctibus ambiet orbem* (see Dutoit 127; for this Homeric sense of Oceanus, as a river that encircles the world, see LSJ s.v.1).

Norden (1917, 669) observed that Ocean and the Rhine are often coupled in literature in regard to the area of Germany; for Ὠκεανός (cf. Γερμανικὸς Ὠκεανός in Ptol. 2.3,4), standing for the Northern Sea, together with the Rhine, cf. Pliny *NH* 4.19 *maria circa oram ad Rhenum septentrionalis oceanus* (in an account of the seas round the coast of France). Tacitus speaks of an island which “is washed by the Ocean in front but by the Rhine on its rear and sides, the *insula Batavorum*, modern Beturve, *Hist.* 4.12: in 5.23 he states that “the mouth of the Maas discharges the water of the Rhine into the Ocean”; the Rhine is attainable if one moves along the coast of *Oceanus*, also id. *Ann.*

<sup>218</sup> For adynata in general in Latin poetry see Shackleton-Bailey (1956) 277, Hine on Sen. *Med.* 373-4; for a discussion of the figure as a stylistic feature see Rowe *passim*. For geographical adynata see Dutoit 168f. For ἀδύνατα as a form of priamel see Race 28f.

1.63, *Germ.* 34. Cf. also Zosim. 4.35,4 Παραχρήμα τὸν ὠκεανὸν ναυσὶ διαβάντες ταῖς τοῦ Ῥήνου προσωρμίσθησαν ἐκβολαῖς, Lib. 3.137 Ἔστι γένος Κελτικὸν ὑπὲρ Ῥήνον ποταμὸν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὠκεανὸν καθήκον, Dio 39.49,1, 44.42,4, 54.32,2, Athen. 279a-b, Strabo 7.2,4. For the Mare Germanicum as a sub-division of the Northern Ocean see K. F. Smith 460.

πᾶσαν: cf. the similar image in Qu. Sm. 14.635 πᾶσαν ἀνεπλήμμυρε θάλασσαν.

πλήμυρα: the word can mean flood or a tidal wave, never in extant literature a storm; but this does not totally prevent us from relating the occasion to the events of 16 B.C., see intr. note. The Homeric and classical form is πλημυρίς, cf. *Od.* 9.486 (ἄπαξ λεγόμενον in Homer), where the word describes the tidal wave caused by the rock Polyphemus cast at Odysseus' ship; for the derivation of the word from πλήμη, "flood-tide" (for which cf. for instance Polyb. 20.5,11), like ἀλμυρίς > ἄλμη see Bechtel 1914, 278f., also Et. M. s.v. πλημμυρίς, see below; as flood-tide cf. Hdt. 8.129, Ap. Rh. 2.576; metaphorically Aesch. *Ch.* 185 σταγόνες ἄφραστοι δυσχίμου πλημυρίδος (of tears), also cf. Eur. *Alc.* 184. The later form πλήμυρα first in Theophrastus *Sign.* 29, then for instance in Dion. Hal. 1.72, Plut. *Rom.* 3. The correct form of the word was a subject of controversy in Antiquity; Photius in his *Lex.* says s.v.: πλήμυρα· οὐ πλήμη λεκτέον· καὶ πλημμυρίδα. The Corrector and Planudes have πλήμμουρα, printed by Dübner and Paton, while P reads πλημύρα; sometimes the word is spelled πλημμ- (for instance Schol. on *Od.* 9.486, see below; this spelling also in Et. Mag. s.v. πλημμυρίς, despite the statement about the word's derivation, incompatible with the spelling -μμ-: τοῦτο ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθω πλήσω πλήμη καὶ πλημμύρα), as if from πλήν and μύρω, see Schmidt II 263. The paroxytone form of the word is a later form also used in modern Greek, see Andriotes s.v. πλημμύρα.

ἐγείρη: Gow-Page cite Hdt. 7.49,2 ἐγειρομένου χειμῶνος and Dion. Perieg. 202 πλημυρίς ἐγείρεται; add Sext. Emp. 719 ἐαυτῷ γὰρ ἐγείρει κακῶν πλήμμουραν.

Γερμανίη...πίη: the present image recalls another ἀδύνατον (of the type first x will happen, then y will come true, see on 1f.), and it could be suggested that Crinagoras has it in mind; Norden (1917, 673f.) already observed the similarity with a Vergilian passage, probably echoed in Seneca: Virg. *Buc.* 1.61ff.<sup>219</sup> *ante... / aut Ararim Parthus bibet aut Germania Tigrim, / quam* etc.: the impossible here, serving also as a foil, is that the Germans will drink from a river so far away; similarly Seneca uses the ἀδύνατον of Indians drinking from Araxes and Persians from the Rhine, *Med.* 373f. For the expression "drinking the river" in the sense "dwell in the area where the river flows", cf. Crin. 28,5f. GP, see *ad loc.* According to this reading the meaning here should be "even if Germans dwell on the whole of the Rhine" but one can wonder whether the exaggeration of this statement would be striking enough to justify the emphasis needed for the priamel (cf.

<sup>219</sup>For the date of Virgil's *Bucolics* (~43-40 B.C.) see Saint-Denis in the Budé edition, 4.

intr. note). As Gow-Page note, Norden's suggestion (see Norden 1917, 673ff.) that *πίη* stands here for *ἐκπίη*, comparing Hdt. 7.21 (where the water of the rivers of Greece is drunk dry by the Persian invading troops: *κοῖον δὲ πινόμενον μιν ὕδωρ οὐκ ἐπέλιπε, πλὴν τῶν μεγάλων ποταμῶν*;) cannot be excluded: in that case the phrase implies a huge invasion across the Rhine, see intr. note. Paton suggested that the phrase means "not though the Germans become so numerous that they drink up the Rhine, as Xerxes' army drunk up whole rivers".

To mitigate the difficulty of the expression, Alan Griffiths suggests 'Ρῆνον ἄπαντ' ἀφίη; for the use of the verb with connection to water cf. for instance Dio Cass. 75.13,4 *χιόνος τε οὖν αἰεὶ διὰ ταῦτα πεπλήρωται καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐξ αὐτῆς παμπληθὲς ὑπὸ τὸ θέρος ἀφίησιν* (of Mount Atlas), Arist. *Probl.* 935b25 ἡ δὲ πηγὴ συναφίησι μετὰ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ γῆν, Joh. Chrys. *In princ. act.* P.G. Migne 51.88,28 οὐδὲ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Νεῖλον, οὐδὲ τὸν Ἰνδὸν Γάγγην, ἀλλὰ μυρίουσ ἀφίησι ποταμοῖς αὕτη ἡ πηγὴ, the subject of ἀφιέναι being an area or, more usually, the spring.<sup>220</sup> Another suggestion can be 'Ρῆνον ἄπαντα ἱῆ, as *ιέναι* is also not uncommonly used for a river or a spring, (LSJ s.v. I 4), cf. *Il.* [21.158] Ἄξειοῦ, ὃς κάλλιστον ὕδωρ ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἱησιν, Aesc. *Pr.* 812 Βυβλίλων ὀρῶν ἄπο / ἱησι σεπτὸν Νεῖλος εὐποτον ῥέος, *Od.* 7.130 (κρήνη) ἱησι, 11.239 ὃς πολὺ κάλλιστος ποταμῶν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἱησι (the verb is used intransitively in the passages from the *Odyssey*). In *Il.* 12.24ff. the image is comparable to the present one, as we hear about the future destruction of the wall of the Achaeans by Zeus' rain, Poseidon's sea-waves and Apollo's turning the rivers of Troy against it: τῶν πάντων ὁμόσε στόματ' ἔτραπε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων, / ἐννήμαρ δ' ἐς τεῖχος ἱεὶ ῥόον, κτλ. For the poet's indifference at hiatus, see intr. under Metre, Hiatus.

The consonantalization of ι+vowel in Γερμανίη (which Gow-Page call synizesis, but see West 1982, 14) occurs again in the same word in the same *sedes* in Crin. 28,4 GP; elsewhere in the *Garland* of Philip only in Diocles AP 7.393,4=GP GP 2081 ραχίαις. For the occasional similar trisyllabic scansion of Αἰγυπτίη from Homer to Nonnus (for instance *Il.* 9.382, *Od.* 4.83, Nonnus *D.* 3.282, *al.*), see Borthwick 433.

'Ρώμης δ': Gow-Page held that δέ "is rather likelier to be original than intrusive here", citing Timocreon *PMG* fr. 1,1ff. and two Homeric examples of the appearance of δέ in the *apodosis* of conditional clauses, *Od.* 16.274f. εἰ δέ μ' ἀτιμήσουσι... / σὸν δὲ φίλον κῆρ / τετλάτω, 276f. ἦν περ...ἔλκωσι.../ σὺ δ' εἰσορόων ἀνέχεσθαι; such an occurrence is in fact characteristic of epic diction and appears frequently in Herodotus (cf. further *Il.* 4.262, 5.260, *al.*, Hdt. 3.36, 4.65, 68, 94, *al.*, see Monro 305ff., Denniston 180) from which one can infer that Crinagoras is indeed consciously using a Homeric

<sup>220</sup> For water as an offensive weapon cf. for instance Scamander's assault on Achilles (*Il.* 21.234ff.), Poseidon's waves sent against Odysseus (*Od.* 5.366f.) and Hippolytus (Eur. *Hipp.* 1205ff).

idiom and there is no need to doubt P's wording. For more examples of *δέ* in the *apodosis* in poetry (Pind. *O.* 3.43, Soph. *OT* 302, *Ant.* 234), see Denniston 181.

*οὐδ' ὅσσον*: "not in the least", a common expression in Hellenistic poetry, cf. Call. *H.* 2.36f. *οὐποτε Φοίβου / θηλείαις οὐδ' ὅσσον ἐπὶ χνόος ἦλθε παρειαῖς* with Williams *ad loc.*, Ap. Rh. 1.482 *οἷς οὐδ' ὅσον ἰσοφαρίζεις / ἠγορέην*, 2.181, 2.189, 4.1700. In the Anthology cf. Asclep. 12.153,2 *οὐδ' ὅσσον παίζων εἰς ἔμ' ἐπιστρέφεται*, Call. 12.150,9 *οὐδ' ὅσον ἀττάραγόν σε δεδοίκαμες*, Mel. 5.139,4 *οὐδ' ὅσον ἀμπνεῦσαι βαιὸν ἐῶσι χρόνον*; for lists of passages see Gow on Theocr. 9.20, Headlam on Herodas 7.33.

*βλάψει σθένος*: cf. the coinage of the adjective *σθενοβλαβής*, "weakening", [Opp.] *Cyn.* 2.82 *σθενοβλαβέος Κυθερείης*. *Σθένος* is here employed according to its later usage describing moral strength as well as physical, cf. Aesch. *Pr.* 105 *ἀνάγκης σθένος*, Soph. *OT* 369 *τῆς ἀληθείας σθένος*.

While in Homer *βλάπτειν* means "disable" (*Il.* 21.571, *Od.* 13.22), or "distract the mind" (of gods, *Od.* 14.178), in the present poem it has the post-Homeric sense "injure": *βλάπτειν τὴν πόλιν* occurs in App. *BC* 2.131 and *Hann.* 28, with two accusatives, in the sense of "lose".

*ἄχρι κε μίμνη*: cf. Call. fr. 388,9 *μέχρις κε μένη μέγας εἶν ἀλλ' ἰμύδρος*.<sup>221</sup> Without any certain knowledge about the context of the lines, it is evident from this and the following verse (*ἄχρι τέκη Παλλά[ς] κῆ γάμος*] Ἀρ[τ]έμιδι) that a series of *ἀδύνατα* is called upon to demonstrate the impossibility of another situation (perhaps the overturning of Berenice's happiness or her failing to fulfil a vow, see Pfeiffer *ad loc.*); if Crinagoras has the Callimachean passage in mind,<sup>222</sup> he reverses the structure of the *ἀδύνατον*, as the *μέχρις κε* of Callimachus introduces the foil, while in Crinagoras the similar temporal expression belongs to the climax.

For *κε* following conjunctions introducing subordinate clauses in Homer (*ὥς κε*, *ὄφρα κε*, *ὄφρα κ'*, *κτλ.*) see Chantraine (1963) 347f.

*δεξιὰ σημαίνειν*: as Stadtmüller observed, the phrase echoes Arat. 5f. *ὁ δ' ἦπιος ἀνθρώποισι / δεξιὰ σημαίνει* (on Zeus, which recalls *Il.* 9.236 *Ζεὺς...ἐνδέξια σήματα φαίνων*, see Kidd and Hainsworth on Aratus and Homer *loc. citt.* respectively); thus the poet achieves an allusive parallelism of Caesar with Zeus, cf. Crin. 23,5f. GP, where the equation of Octavian with the father of the gods is also implied through a passage from Aratus, see *ad loc.* For the popularity of the *Phaenomena* in the court of Octavian, see on 1,1f. GP *ρίψης...σαυτόν*.

<sup>221</sup> According to Pfeiffer; Trypanis supplements *φανῆ*.

<sup>222</sup> An assumption further reinforced by the fact that the incident Callimachus is referring to (the Phocceans abandoning their city and throwing a red-hot lump into the sea, vowing that they will never return as long as the lump remained under water, see Hdt. 1.165) is a well-known proverbial *adynaton*, cf. Hor. *Epod.* 16.25-35, see Dutoit 85, Rowe 394 with n.22, Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 388,9.

For the use of σημαίνειν of oracles see LSJ s.v. I 3; this word introduces the reader to the image of the sacred oak-trees of Zeus and smoothes the passage from the opening image of the waves to the closing image of trees, see below on 5f. The dative Καίσαρι belongs to θαρσαλέη and δεξιὰ σημαίνειν is a loose epexegetis (for the infinitive as an apposition or an epexegetis see K-G II [2] 43). Hillscher suggested Καίσαρα, in a construction similar to Soph. *Ant.* 668ff. τοῦτον ἄν τὸν ἄνδρα θαρσοίην ἐγὼ / καλῶς μὲν ἄρχειν, εὖ δ' ἄν ἄρχεσθαι θέλειν /...μένειν δίκαιον κἀγαθὸν παραστάτην.

θαρσαλέη: the adjective in Homer is usually attributed to πολεμιστής (*Il.* 5.602, 6.493, 22.269, *al.*). In the Anthology it occurs at the end of the pentameter also in Marc. Arg. or Phld. 6.246,6 (for Stadtmüller's suggestion καρχαλέην see G-P on GP 1390; for the authorship see Sider intr. note to 35); in a predicative use comparable to the present one, cf. Call. *H.* 3.80 μάλα θαρσαλέη...προσελέξασ, 4.200 θαρσαλέη τάδ' ἔλεξας (for the supplement of these words by later codices see Pfeiffer *ad loc.*). For the adjective describing a people cf. anon. *AP* 9.125,1 θαρσαλέοι Κελτοί.

**5f.:** as Rubensohn noted, the image recalls *Il.* 12.132ff. ἔστασαν ὡς ὅτε τε δρύες οὔρεσιν ἰψικάρηνοι / αἶ τ' ἄνεμον μίμνουσι καὶ ἕτερον ἥματα πάντα / ῥίζησιν μεγάλησι διηνεκέεσσ' ἀραρυῖαι and Virg. *Aen.* 4.441ff., where Aeneas' decisiveness is compared to oaks which resist the battering of the winds. The Homeric passage seems to constitute the model of Ap. Rh. 3.968ff., where Jason and Medea are compared to oaks or firs, see Hunter on Ap. Rh. 3.967-72; comparison of people to trees is common in literature, especially in a description of stability and firmness, Catull. 64.105ff., Virg. *Aen.* 7.586ff.: oaks are particularly relevant to this feature, cf. Hor. *Od.* 3.10,17, Ov. *Met.* 8.743, Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 8.743-4. Here Crinagoras, in a variation of the traditional pattern, compares not two individual units (tree-man) but two situations, as he does in 10 GP: Marcellus first cut his beard after coming back victorious from the western war as his homeland wished to send him a boy and receive him a man. Another famous image with oak-trees shaken by the wind is the Sapphic comparison fr. 47 L-P, its closest literary parallel being Hes. *Op.* 509ff., see Elliger 164.

The attack of a hero or a group of warriors on the enemy is occasionally compared to a tempest in Homer: for Hector *Il.* 11.297f. (Ἴσος ἀέλλη, κτλ.), 305f. (ὡς...βαθείη λαίλαπι τύπτων), 13.137ff. (a boulder, pushed by the winter rain); for two throngs of enemies falling on one another *Il.* 13.334ff., 13.395ff., see also Edwards on *Il.* 17.53-60, Hainsworth on 11.297, cf. Janko on 13.795-9. The image of oak-trees being stripped of their leaves but remaining firm in their place might also be seen as an *oppositio in imitando* of *Il.* 17.55ff.: here the fallen Euphorbus is compared to an olive-tree which quivers gently in the breezes full of its white blossoms, but is brought to earth by the sudden tempest; Crinagoras' oak-trees, on the contrary, lose some of their leaves in the tempest but continue to stand upright thanks to their stable roots. While the poem opens

with the image of a storm at sea, and Rhine's waves, finally the stability of Rome is not compared to the firmness of a rock, as probably expected (cf. the comparison at Soph. *OC* 1240ff. with Jebb *ad loc.*), but, instead, with the firmness of the oak trees in the wind; this could be explained by the opportunity the oak-trees offer the poet to imply further the parallelism of Augustus with Zeus, already prepared for with δεξιὰ σημαίνειν, see *ad loc.* and next note. The two incompatible, as it were, images, are linked and reconciled with χέουσ' of the last line which fits both waters and the leaves, cf. below on φύλλων...ἄνεμοι.

Ending the epigram with an image put in parallel with and illustrating the content of the previous lines is a feature found already in Hellenistic epigrams, cf. Asclep. *AP* 5.210, Rhianus 12.121, Posid. *API* 119; in Philip's *Garland* cf. Marc. Arg. 5.110, Automedon 11.29, Antiphilus 9.413, Antip. Thess. 9.93. Cf. also Mart. 1.107, 7.25, 7.42, 9.81, *al.*, see further Siedschlag 63f.

οὕτως καί: for other examples of the expression introducing the second term of the comparison in the final couplet or line of epigrams, cf. Crin. 10,4 GP (see next note), Call. *AP* 7.89,16, Diog. Laert. 7.126,3, Honestus 9.230,3. In verse-beginning in the epic cf. *Il.* 9.524, Arat. 704, 1129, often in Nonnus. P's οὕτως might be correct; the same form is used by Crin. in 10,4 GP and Honestus *loc. cit.*, while οὕτω occurs in Call. and Diog. Laert. *loc. cit.*

ἱεραὶ...δρύες: the reference is to the sacred oak of Zeus in Dodona whose voice was heard prophesying, first mentioned in Homer, *Od.* 14.327f=19.296f. ἐς Δωδώνην... ὄφρα θεοῖο / ἐκ δρυὸς ὑψικόμοιο Διὸς βουλήν ἐπακούσαι, also Hdt. 2.55 who reports the legend of the dove sitting on an oak-tree in Dodona and declaring that there must be an oracle of Zeus in that place; cf. also Aesch. *Pr.* 833 αἱ προσήγοροι δρύες, Soph. *Tr.* 171f. ὡς τὴν παλαιὰν φηγὸν αὐδήσαί ποτε / Δωδῶνι δισσῶν ἐκ πελειάδων ἔφη, Plato *Phaedr.* 275b, Paus. 7.21, Lucian *Amor.* 31, *Suda* s.v. Δωδώνη; Zeus was worshipped as Φηγωναῖος, as Steph. Byz. attests s.v. Δωδώνη, because ἐν Δωδώνη πρῶτον φηγὸς ἔμαντεύετο. For the god's cult in Dodona and the sacred oak, see further Parke 20ff., Hoekstra on *Od.* 14.327-8, Lloyd on Hdt. *loc. cit.*, Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 7.523-613 (p.331f.), Jebb *Appendix* on Soph. *Tr.* 1166. Crinagoras refers to Zeus' oaks as Aeschylus does in *Pr.* 833, while most ancient references are to a single oak, cf. Griffith *ad loc.* For sacred trees of other gods in literature cf. for instance Theocr. 2.121 λεύκαν, Ἡρακλέος ἱερόν ἔρνος with Gow *ad loc.*, Demeter's sacred αἴγειρος, Call. *H.* 6.40 ξύλον ἱερόν, see also Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 743-4, Visser 154f.

Similar phrasings to the present one are Virg. *Georg.* 3.332 *magna Iovis antiquo robore quercus*, Ov. *Met.* 7.623 *sacra Iovi quercus*. For the oak as the sacred tree of Jupiter in Rome see Parke 21f.

ἔμπεδα: Crinagoras uses ἔμπεδος also in a context of description of royal dominion in 25,6 GP ἔμπεδον...σκηπτρον, see *ad loc.* For the use of a neuter adjective as an adverb in Homer cf. *Il.* 17.434 ὥς τε στήλη μένει ἔμπεδον, see further Monro 129.

ἔσταῖσιν: this shorter form of the perfect (see LSJ s.v. ἴστημι II 1) recurs in the Anthology in Theod. 9.743,2, also beginning of the pentameter.

φύλλων...ἄνεμοι: Gow-Page compared *Il.* 6.147 φύλλα τὰ μὲν τ' ἄνεμος χάμαδις χέει; cf. further Call. *Hec.* fr. 260=69,11 Hollis οὐχὶ νότος τόσσην γε χύσιν κατεχεύατο φύλλων, whereon Pfeiffer cited *Od.* 5.487, Nonnus *D.* 3.250 φύλλα τὰ μὲν κατέχευαν ἐπὶ χθονὶ θυιάδες αὔραι, 12.137; also *Od.* 5.483 φύλλων γὰρ ἔην χύσις ἦλιθα πολλή, 19.443, Qu. Sm. 3.325, 9.503, Lucill. *AP* 11.107,1. Cf. also the adjective φυλλοχόος, Ap. Rh. 4.217, Nonnus *D.* 11.514 φυλλοχόοις ἀνέμοις, Call. *Hec.* fr. 69,12 with Hollis *ad loc.*

αὔα: in the Anthology cf. Ariston 6.303,3 αὔην / ἰσχάδα, Apollon. 6.105,4 τρύφος ἄρτου / αὔον, Antip. Thess. 9.231,1 αὔην με πλατάνιστον, Eryc. 9.233,1 αὔα... γεράνδρα; the word is Homeric, for instance *Od.* 5.240 and 18.309 (δένδρα, ξύλα) αὔα; it occurs also in Opp. *Hal.* 5.411 αὔα δὲ γυῖα, frequently in Nicander, *Th.* 83 αὔα...φύλλα, 97, 628, 881. Defined by a partitive genitive the word is found in Paus. 10.31,1 τὰ αὔα τῶν δερμάτων, as opposed to the soft and slippery νεοδάρτοις βύρσαις. Crinagoras uses the partitive genitive again in 23,2 GP πασάων πουλυγαλακοτάτην. The choice of the partitive genitive here (the *dry* leaves, and not *all* the leaves are carried away), might be seen as an effort of the poet to play down even more the importance of the damage the Roman army suffered.

Ἄντολαι δύσιες κόσμου μέτρα· καὶ τὰ Νέρωνος  
 ἔργα δι' ἀμφοτέρων ἴκετο γῆς περάτων.  
 ἥλιος Ἀρμενίην ἀνιῶν ὑπὸ χερσὶ δαμείσαν  
 κείνου, Γερμανίην δ' εἶδε κατερχόμενος.  
 5 Δισσὸν ἀειδέσθω πολέμου κράτος· οἶδεν Ἀράξης  
 καὶ Ῥῆνος δούλοις ἔθνεσι πινόμενοι.

PI IV<sup>a</sup>, 5,1 Κριναγόρου εἰς Νέρωνος [sc. εἰκόνα] caret P

3 Ἀρμενίην edd. vett.: Ἀρμονίην PI

*Sunrises and sunsets are the world's limits; and the deeds of Nero have passed through both boundaries of the earth. The sun saw Armenia subdued by his hands, as he rose, and Germany, as he went down. Let us sing his twofold victory in war; Araxes and Rhine know it, drunk by enslaved peoples.*

Praise of Nero who has defeated Rome's enemies from Armenia to Germany. For the identification of "Nero" with the future emperor Tiberius and the probable dates of the campaigns mentioned, cf. Gow-Page intr. note; 20 B.C. is a likely date for the events of Armenia, as Tiberius went there to place Tigranes on the throne of Armenia, see *RE* 10.1.481, Cichorius (1922) 313. The dating of his German achievements is more difficult, as Tiberius often performed expeditions in the area. Tiberius accompanied Augustus to Gaul in 16 B.C. and in the next year he and his brother Drusus organised campaigns that brought Tiberius along the Rhine valley, see *RE* 10.1.482, Cichorius (1922) 314, Seager 23f. Other expeditions of Tiberius in Germany are also recorded: in 9-8 B.C., he took the place of the dead Drusus as head of the armies of the Rhine; in 7 B.C. he was again in Germany (see *RE* 10.1.484, Seager 28), as also between A.D. 4 and 6 (*RE* 10.1.488, Seager 38f.). These candidacies, however, are not as strong as the campaign of 16-15 B.C., which is closer to the Armenian campaign: *δισσὸν κράτος* suggests that there was no great time between the campaigns here celebrated, cf. G-P intr. note, Cichorius (1922) 314.<sup>223</sup> Note that Tiberius is called *maior Neronum* in Hor. *Od.*

<sup>223</sup>If one were to trace a piece of further flattery in the poem as the reference to Helios might possibly allude also to Rhodes, the Sun's own island (cf. Pind. *O.* 7.54ff.; cf. also the literary exploitation of the Sun's island in regard to Tiberius' residence in it in Antiphilus *AP* 9.178 and Apollonides 9.287), this should lead one to accept a later dating for the celebrated campaign and the consequent composition of the poem, i.e. after the period Tiberius spent in Rhodes (6 B.C. - A.D. 2, cf. Suet. *Tib.* 10.2-11.1), which leaves his residence in Germany in the years A.D. 4-6 as the only possible period. As 16-15 B.C. is a more likely dating, however, this further allusion to the Sun is not very likely, unless one accepts that it could imply Tiberius' visit to the island on his way home from Armenia in 20 B.C., for which see *RE* 10.1.481, Seager 20 with n. 5.

4.14.14, cf. id. *Ep.* 1.12,26 *Claudi...Neronis*; cf. also the reference to Tiberius as Νέρων in Antiphilus *AP* 9.178=6,4 GP, Apollon. 9.287=23,4 GP. This reference in Crinagoras is a further indication that the epigram does not refer to his residence in Germany in A.D. 4-6, as Tiberius dropped the name “Nero” after his adoption by Octavian in A.D. 4, see Gow-Page on Antiphilus 6 intr. note.

For the geographical expansion of the Roman Empire in praise of members of the royal household, cf. Crin. 29,1ff., 26,1f., 27,1ff. GP, see also below, on ἀμφοτέρων. Nero’s deeds extend to East and West which are subdued by his hand; for the common motif of geographical extremities summoned to demonstrate the power of Rome, cf. Hor. *Od.* 1.12,53ff. *ille seu Parthos Latio imminentis / egerit iusto domitos triumpho, / sive subiectos Orientis orae / Seras Indos*, etc., id. *ibid.* 3.3,45ff., 4.14,41ff., id. *Carm. Saec.* 53ff., Stat. *Silv.* 4.1,41ff., Mart. *On Spect.* 3, 7.6 and 7.7, *al.* Geographical extremities are also summoned to demonstrate Messala’s glory in [Tib.] 3.7,137ff. Augustus is constantly concerned for possible plotting in the subdued areas in Hor. *Od.* 3.29,25ff., see further Nisbet-Hubbard on *Od.* 1.12,56, Murgatroyd on Tib. 2.5,57-8; for a collection of passages on the geographical expansion of the Roman *imperium* in Latin literature see Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 15.829-31. Cf. also below on 3f., and οἶδεν... πινόμενοι.

As Gow-Page observe, the poem is out of place among descriptions of works of art. A possible explanation of the presence of this “demonstrative” epigram in the section of the “descriptive” poems of the Planudean codex could be offered by the content of the poems following Crinagoras’ epigram in the Planudean codex; *API* 61, 62, 63, 64 have the same uninterrupted sequence in the fourth<sup>224</sup> part (ἐκφραστικά ἐπιγράμματα) of the Planudean Anthology, i.e. IV<sup>a</sup>, 5.1, IV<sup>a</sup>, 5.2, IV<sup>a</sup>, 5.3, IV<sup>a</sup>, 5.4 respectively, as they are all poems not included in P;<sup>225</sup> *API* 62 and 63 are epigrams about the stele of the emperor Justinian in the Hippodrome and refer to his power with similar terms to those of Crinagoras; Ὑψός, Ἰουστινιανέ, τὸν κράτος· ἐν χθονὶ δ’ αἰεὶ / δεσμὸς ἔχει Μήδων καὶ Σκυθέων προμάχους (62,5f.), ἔστι δ’ Ἰουστινιανός, ὃν ἀντολίης ζυγὸν ἔλκων / στῆσεν Ἰουλιανός, μάρτυρα Μηδοφόνον (63,3f).<sup>226</sup> Cf. *API* 65 (IV<sup>a</sup>, 5.7),1f. Ἐκθορὲς ἀντολίηθε, φαεσφόρος ἥλιος ἄλλος, / Θευδόσιε... / Ὠκεανὸν παρὰ ποσσὶν ἔχων μετ’ ἀπίρονα γαῖαν, on the statue of Theodosius I, see Aubreton *ad loc.* n. 1. It should be perhaps added that epigrams IV<sup>a</sup>, 5.5 and IV<sup>a</sup>, 5.6 of the Planudean codex appear as *AP* 9.820 and 821 and they are also associated with Justinian: 820 refers to a place decorated by Justinian (P’s lemma reads εἰς εἴσοδον τῆς

<sup>224</sup> According to Aubreton’s numeration.

<sup>225</sup> For explanation of the absence in the Palatine codex of poems known to Planudes, due to accidental loss of P’s exemplar or Planudes’ occasional use of sources other than those of P, cf. Gow (1958) 45, 55, Cameron (1993) 219.

<sup>226</sup> For this Julian, a consul in the times of the emperor Justinian and his successor, Justin II (in an office comparable, one could observe, to that of Tiberius under Augustus), see Aubreton 252, n. 8.

Ἡρίας, for which see Waltz-Soury *ad loc.*, n. 1) and 821 to the same, according to P's lemma, though without any reference to the specific object: Κοίρανοι (sc. Justinian and Theodora), ὑμετέρην ἀρετὴν κάρτος τε καὶ ἔργα / αὐδήσει χρόνος αἰέν, ἕως πόλος ἀστέρας ἔλκη. It seems, therefore, that Planudes incorporated the present poem in this specific position of his book of "descriptive" epigrams, although it is not descriptive, and not in his book I (ἐπιδεικτικά), induced by its content and style.<sup>227</sup> The misplacement of "demonstrative" epigrams by Planudes in his "ecphrastic" book is not unparalleled: *API* 8, 12 and 13 were originally placed by Planudes in book IV from book I, see Gow (1958) 55.

1 ἀντολῆαι δύσιες: cf. Apollonius' account of the vast distance that separates Colchis and Libya, regarded as the two extremes of East and West, 1.83ff.

ὅππότε κάκεινους Λιβύη ἐνι ταρχύσαντο,  
τόσσον ἐκὰς Κόλχων, ὅσσον τέ περ ἡλίιο  
μεσσηγὺς δύσιές τε καὶ ἀντολαὶ εἰσορόωνται.

The expression also occurs in Aratus 61f. ἦχι περ ἄκραι / μίσγονται δύσιές τε καὶ ἀντολαὶ ἀλλήλησι, where, however, it designates the risings and settings of the stars and not of the sun, see further Kidd *ad loc.* Ἄντολή is a poetic parallel for ἀντολή, found notably in later literature, often in Nonnus, cf. *D.* 2.185, 401, 525, *al.*, *Orph. h.* 12.12 δώδεκ' ἀπ' ἀντολιῶν ἄχρι δυσμῶν ἄθλα διέρπων, *Arg.* 369, 564, *al.*, *Qu. Sm.* 2.118 ἠδὲ καὶ ἀκαμάτου πέρατα χθονός, ἀντολίας τε / ἡλίου, καὶ πᾶσαν ἀπ' ὠκεανοῖο κέλευθον, κτλ., 13.341 ἄχρισ ἐπ' Ἄντολήν τε καὶ ἀκάματον Δύσιν ἐλθεῖν, *al.* It also occurs in Byzantine epigrams, cf. Leont. Schol. *API* 37,3, anon. *ibid.* 63,3, *Maced. AP* 5.223,4, *Paul. Sil.* 5.301,3. In the same praising spirit East and West are boundaries traversed by the fame of the charioteer Constantinus in Byzantine epigrams, cf. anon. *API* 369,1ff. Ἄντολῆς, δύσιός τε, μεσημβρίας τε, καὶ ἄρκτου / σὸς δρόμος ὑψιφαῆς ἀμφιβέβηκεν ὄρους, / ἄφθιτε Κωνσταντῖνε; cf. also *AApp* 3.333,8, anon. *AP* 9.692. Cf. also St. Gregory's description of his mother's "gathering" her children from the extremes of earth, *AP* 8.36,2f. καὶ ἐκ περάτων συνάγειρεν / ἀντολῆς δύσιός τε. The poetic form ἀντολή is a Homeric ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, *Od.* 12.4 ἀντολαὶ Ἡελίοιο and occurs often in tragedy; for the epic form of the preposition ἀνά cf. ἀντίθεται in *Crin.* 42,8, GP.

For δύσιες cf. the Homeric μάντιες etc., see Chantraine (1958) 216ff.; cf. *Crin.* 30,1 GP Ἄλπιας and 6 μήτιες, 43,6 GP ἰδρύσιες.

κόσμου μέτρα: μέτρον here is "limit", cf. *LSJ* s.v. I 3 b; *LSJ*, however, recognises the sense mainly of time, in the expression ἦβης μέτρον, as the Homeric ὄρμου μέτρον

<sup>227</sup>The opposite is usually the case for the Planudean ἐκφραστικά and Palatine's ἐπιδεικτικά: for a detailed discussion and tracing of the explanation of the merging of Planudes' descriptive epigrams in book 9 of the Palatine Anthology see Aubreton *Anthologie Grecque XIII*, 34ff., Gow (1958) 51ff., Cameron (1993) 219ff. Note the lack of distinction between ἐπιδεικτικά and ἐκφραστικά in the poem of *AP* 9, see *id. ibid.* 53f.

can be interpreted as the “goal” that the anchorage is (LSJ), or as a “little more than a periphrasis”, quite like ἡβης μέτρον, see Stanford and cf. Hoekstra on *Od.* 13.101. In many passages μέτρα, qualified by a substantive of indefinite vastness, is used “of the rules and formulae known to the expert”, West on *Op.* 648 δειξω... μέτρα...θαλάσσης, quoting various examples of similar phrases (μέτρον σοφίης, ἄστρον, θαλάσσης) with a verb (or its implication) of knowledge. In our poem κόσμου μέτρα is free from any such implication, and simply denotes the “limits” of the world, while Palladas *AP* 11.349,1, perhaps echoing Crinagoras’ first couplet, does conform with the usage observed by West: σὺν μετρᾶς κόσμον καὶ πείρατα γαίης. Skiadas (1965, 99) mentions Crinagoras’ ἀντολῆαι δύοσιες κόσμου μέτρα as an epigrammatic example of poetic designation of the Οἰκουμένη.

**2:** cf. Cic. *Rep.* 3.24 *noster hic populus...cuius imperio iam orbis terrae tenetur*, also see below on 3f.

**ἔργα:** “deeds”, as for instance *Od.* 1.338 ἔργ’ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε; Nero’s actions, however, are deeds of war, cf. the usual meaning of the word in the *Iliad*, see LSJ s.v. I. 1.

**δι’...ἵκετο:** cf. *Il.* 14.287 ἐλάτην...ἦ...δι’ ἠέρος αἰθέρ’ ἵκανε, *Ap. Rh.* 3.1357f. ἵκετο δ’ αἶγλη / νειόθεν Οὐλυμπόνδε δι’ ἠέρος, 4.968 τοὺς δ’ ἄμυδις βληχὴ τε δι’ ἠέρος ἵκετο μήλων, cf. 3.275 Ἔρωσ πολιοῖο δι’ ἠέρος ἴξεν ἄφαντος, with Campbell *ad loc.* In Crinagoras the verb is intransitive, as in *Ap. Rh.* 3.275 (cf. *Qu. Sm.* 10.458 ἵκετο...δι’ οὐρεος). The poet uses the epic expression in variation, as here the deeds of Nero do not pass through the air, according to the conventional phrase, but through the boundaries of earth.

Crinagoras might be here playing with the Homeric τάχα δ’ ἵκετο ἔργ’ ἀνθρώπων, *Il.* 19.131 (of Ate, “reaching the tilled fields of men”),<sup>228</sup> turning the Homeric object into the subject of ἵκετο and giving ἔργα a different sense.

**ἀμφοτέρων:** the poet likes to exploit the notion of two geographical areas joined under a sole power, cf. 29,6 GP ἠπείρων...ἀμφοτέρων, where two of the farthest parts of the Roman empire (Libya and the Germanic *Hercynia Silva*) are also employed to demonstrate Augustus’ fame, 25,6 GP ἠπείροις...ἀμφοτέραις, of Egypt and Libya, united under the dominion of Juba II and Cleopatra-Selene. See below on 3f.

**γῆς περάτων:** Crinagoras uses the Attic forms (see below on Ἥλιος...ἀνιών) for the epic πείρατα γαίης, *Il.* 14.200, 14.301, *Od.* 4.563,<sup>AM</sup> expression closely associated with the Ocean, see West on *Hes. Th.* 335; cf. also Alcaeus 350,1 L-P ἐκ περάτων γᾶς. Here, defined by ἀμφοτέρων, the phrase denotes the two extremes of earth, east and west; the repetition of the sense of the opening phrase (ἀντολῆαι δύοσιες) thus encloses the first couplet in the notion of the world’s boundaries which is nicely implied by the

<sup>228</sup>For the meaning of ἔργα here see Leaf *ad loc.*

very structure of the couplet. The sun rises from πείρατα in Ap. Rh. 2.164f., cf. 1.1280f. (for this and for the Attic form πέρατα see below on "Ἥλιος...ἀνιῶν"). For a discussion about the interpretation of πεῖραρ in Homer see Onians 310ff. For the survivals of the Homeric formula in modern Greek folk-songs, see Promponas II 125ff.

Cf. Thallus *AP* 6.235,2f. Ἑσπερίους μέγα χάρμα καὶ ἠώιους περάτεσσι / Καῖσαρ (for the various possibilities for the identification of this "Caesar", see G-P on Thallus 2).

**3f:** Hor. *Od.* 4.15,14ff. *imperi / porrecta maiestas ad ortus / solis ab Hesperio cubili,* Ov. *Pont.* 1.4,29f. *Caesaris ira mihi nocuit, quem solis ab ortu / solis ad occasus utraque terra tremit,* Sall. *Cat.* 36 *cum ad occasus ab ortu solis omnia domita armis parerent.* Cf. also Ov. *Pont.* 3.1,127f. *qua* (sc. Octavian's wife) *nihil in terris ad finem solis ab ortu / clarius excepto Caesare mundus habet.* Note that in the present poem, as in Ov. *Pont.* 1.4,29, the sun rises in the hexameter and falls in the pentameter, the metre imitating, as it were, its content; by contrast with Ovid's chiasmic construction, Crinagoras' couplet is enclosed by the sun's course ("Ἥλιος...ἀνιῶν - κατερχόμενος), imitating thus the celestial circle, cf. the structure of the first couplet, see prev. note,<sup>229</sup> similar is the structure of Ov. *F.* 5.557f. *seu quis ab Eoo nos impius orbe lacesset, / seu quis ab occiduo sole domandus erit.* For further passages where the *imperium* is defined by Sun's course see Bömer on Ov. *F.* 5.557. For the care Crinagoras devotes to the structure of his epigrams see intr. under Language and Style, Structure.

The extremity of "polar" areas located where the sun rises and sets is Homeric, cf. *Od.* 1.23ff. Αἰθίοπας τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίεται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν, / οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ὑπερίονος οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος; the present image of ζsun who "sees" people in his rising and setting could be seen as a reversal of the image in *Od.* 11.15ff.

οὐδέ ποτ' αὐτοῦς  
ἠέλιος φαέθων καταδέρκεται ἀκτίνεσσι,  
οὔθ' ὀπότε ἂν στείχησι πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα,  
οὔθ' ὄτ' ἂν ἄψ ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν προτραπήται,<sup>230</sup>

repeated in Hes. *Th.* 759ff. For the pairing of the sun's rising and setting cf. also *Od.* 12.380f. χαίρεσκον μὲν ἰὼν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα, / ἦδ' ὀπότε ἄψ ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν προτραποίμην. As in the present poem, in *Od.* 11.15ff. and 12.380f. the sun's rising and setting are symmetrically arranged too in the two successive verses.

<sup>229</sup>Even with the latest dating of our poem (~A.D. 6), it precedes the composition of Ovid's *Epistulae ex Ponto*, which are dated between A.D. 11-12 and 14, see Galasso 13f. As far as Hor. *Od.* 4.15,14ff. is concerned, the composition of the fourth book of Horace's *Odes* is dated in a period of years up to 13 B.C. (cf. Nisbet-Hubbard 1970, xxxvii), and, as the present epigram is likely to have been written around 15 B.C. (see intr. note), a possible relation between the two passages could be suggested.

<sup>230</sup>For discussion of the preference of ἐπιδέρκεται over καταδέρκεται see Heubeck *ad loc.* For the use of this Homeric image in anon. *API* 303, on Homer, see Skiadas 1965, 98ff.

Ἡλιος...ἀνιών: Homeric (cf. *Il.* 8.538, 18.136, *Od.* 12.429, *al.*), but again (as with γῆς περάτων) with the Attic form instead of the epic ἥλιος<sup>231</sup> which usually occurs in the epigrams; for ἥλιος in the Anthology cf. Philip *AP* 11.347,3, Strato 12.178,4, ἄλιος at anon. 7.125,1; ἥλιος in verse-beginning also in Palladas *AP* 11.301,1. In the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* the phrase does not occur in the nominative, but in [Hom.] *Ep.* 3,3 we have ἥελιός τ' ἀνιών, cf. Ap. Rh. 2.164f. ἥελιός... / ἐκ περάτων ἀνιών, Qu. Sm. 8.1f. ἥελιοιο φάος... / ἐκ περάτων ἀνιόντος. Crinagoras does not say that the sun rises from the πέρατα, but, as the account about Armenia and Germany which the sun sees in its rising and setting explains and develops the first couplet of the poem, it is evident that the poet regards these two areas as marking the πέρατα, here east and west as the geographical outer limits of the world; πείρατα can be also seen as the boundary line between earth and sky, i.e. the horizon, in Apollonius probably denoting simply the extreme east, see Mooney *ad locc.*, Mineur on Call. *H.* 4.169.

Ἄρμενίην: cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.12,26f. *Claudi virtute Neronis / Armenius cecidit.*

ὑπὸ χερσὶ δαμείσαν: “subdued”, a usual Homeric expression, in the epic designating killing in battle, cf. *Il.* 10.452 ἐμῆς ὑπὸ χερσὶ δαμείς, 2.860, 3.352, *al.*; for this construction of ὑπό in Homer see Chantraine (1963), 140f. § 208. Cf. Hor. *Od.* 1.12,53f. *Parthos .../...domitos* (cf. above, intr. note).

4 κείνου: in the same *sedes* frequently in Homer, *Il.* 3.411, 14.368, *Od.* 3.88, 4.109, *al.*; in the Anthology, cf. Call. 12.51,2, Strato 12.11,2. The pronoun, also at verse-beginning, refers again to “Nero”, i.e. Tiberius, in Apollonides 9.287,5=23 GP; Crinagoras uses it again for “Caesar”, probably Augustus, in 36,6 GP.

Γερμανίην: with Γερμανίην and Ἄρμενίην standing in corresponding *sedes* of the two successive lines and also forming a ὁμοιοτέλευτον, the poet stresses the analogy of the situation of the subdued Armenia and Germany, further suggested by the smooth regularity of the sun’s movements which accompany each of the areas, and emphatically symbolise the concept of Nero’s universal achievements. Γερμανίη stands at the same *sedes* and has the same prosody in Crin. 27,2 GP, see *ad loc.*

εἶδε: for the notion of <sup>the</sup>sun “seeing” human affairs, see on Crin. 18,2f. GP. Also see above on 3f. For the image of something seen on arrival and departure cf. Call. *H.* 4.41ff. (Delos is seen by the sailors who came to Ephyra, but no longer seen by them on their way back). As Gow-Page (cf. also Beckby’s apparatus) observe, Pl has εἶδε and not εἶχε, as Jacobs, Dübner and Rubensohn report.

κατερχόμενος: κατέρχεσθαι is seldom used of the sun’s setting, cf. Arat. 584 ἥελιοιο κατερχομένοιο. The participle twice in Homer, *Od.* 9.484=541 κατερχομένης ὑπὸ πέτρης.

<sup>231</sup> See also intr., under Language and Style, Dialect.

5f. δισσόν: not in Homer, common in drama, see Geoghegan on Anyte 20,3. At the beginning of the verse, cf. Leon. 6.200,4 δισσόν...κῦμ' ἐλόχευσε τέκνων, Polystratus 12.91,1 δισσός Ἐρωσ, Thallus 7.373,1, Antip. Thess. *API* 131,4, *al.*

ἀειδέσθω: for the middle form in the sense of “to be sung”, “praised”, cf. Pind. *P.* 5.24 κᾶπον Ἀφροδίτας ἀειδόμενον, 8.25f. πολλοῖσι μὲν γὰρ ἀείδεται / νικαφόροις ἐν ἀέθλοις (Aegina), cf. Soph. *OT* 1094 χορεύεσθαι, with Jebb *ad loc.* In the Anthology cf. Mel. 4.1,44, Antip. Sid. 7.14,2, anon. *API* 42,4.

πολέμου κράτος: cf. “Simon.” *AP* 7.296,7f. μέγα δ' ἔστενευ Ἀσις ὑπ' αὐτῶν / πληγεῖσ' ἀμφοτέραις χερσὶ κράτει πολέμου, on those who fell in Cimon's last campaign in Cyprus in 449 B.C. For κράτος as “victory” see Thes. s.v., cf. *Il.* 6.387, 11.753, *Od.* 21.280, Soph. *Ph.* 838, *El.* 85 νίκη τ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν καὶ κράτος τῶν δρωμένων, cf. also Dem. 19.130 κράτος καὶ νίκη πολέμου, see Jebb on Soph. *El.* 84f.

οἶδεν...πινόμενοι: for reference to the rivers of the conquered areas cf. Hor. *Od.* 4.14,45ff. *te, fontium qui celat origines, / Nilusque et Hister, te rapidus Tigris, / te beluosus qui remotis / obstrepit Oceanus Britannis./...venerantur*, Mart. 7.80,11 *captivo ...ab Histro*, id. 7.84,3, id. 9.5,1 *summe Rheni domitor* (of Domitian, in regard to his achievements in Germany, cf. Henriksen *ad loc.*), Sil. It. 15.79f.; cf. also the series of rivers in Messalla's triumphal procession in Tib. 1.7,11f., cf. Murgatroyd on ll. 11-12. Also Luc. 1.19, Agath. *AP* 9.641,1ff., see further below on Ἀράξης καὶ Ῥῆνος and on ἔθνεα. In a similar context, of the subdued people who “drink” the rivers of their areas, cf. Hor. *Od.* 4.15,21ff. *non qui profundum Danubium bibunt / edicta rumpent Julia*, Mart. *On Spect.* 3,5 *qui prima bibit deprensi flumina Nili.*

οἶδεν: οἶδεν after the bucolic diaeresis, opening a sentence and referring back to the previous one, also occurs in Theocr. 7.99 οἶδεν Ἀριστις; Rubensohn compares Gaetulicus *AP* 7.71,3 οἶδε Λυκάμβης, / μυρόμενος τρισσῶν ἄματα θυγατέρων; also comparable, in a similar construction is Palladas *AP* 9.165,7 οἶδεν Ὀμηρος, / καὶ Δία συγγράψας τῇ γαμετῇ χόλιον. While rivers are usually passive, simply “drunk” by the people of their areas (see below on πινόμενοι), here, Araxes and Rhine retain their traditional quality as waters “being drunk” but have also become the subjects who “know”. Very similar to the present image and phrasing (note οἶδεν at the same *sedes* and the participle attributed to the river), is anon. *API* 183,5f. οἶδεν ἅπας μοι / ἠώου δμηθελς Ἰνδὸς ἀπ' Ὠκεανοῦ (of Dionysus' skills at war). Rhine “knows” the Emperor's arrival in Mart. 8.11,1 *Pervenisse tuam iam te scit Rhemus in urbem.*

Ἀράξης καὶ Ῥῆνος: Araxes and Rhine are also connected by Crinagoras with Germany (27,2 GP) and Armenia (38,1f. GP, cf. *ad loc.*), both in the expression “the rivers are being drunk” by Germany and the Armenians respectively (see below, on πινόμενοι); the two rivers are mentioned, in a context of captive peoples and, metaphorically, their rivers (Euphrates, Rhine, Araxes) led in Augustus' triumphal

procession in Virg. *Aen.* 8.727f.; for the idea of the enslaved Rhine cf. also Stat. *Silv.* 1.1,51 *captivi...Rheni*, Mart. 2.2,3 *domito...Rheno*, cf. Henriksén on Mart. 9.1,3. The reference to Araxes only in Crinagoras in the Anthology. Cf. Luc. 1.19f. *sub iuga iam Seres, iam barbarus isset Araxes* (if it were not for the civil war), etc., see above on οἶδεν...πινόμενοι.

δοῦλοις: δούλη only twice in Homer, *Il.* 3.409 and *Od.* 4.12. As an adjective it occurs less often, cf. for instance Soph. *OC* 917 πόλιν...δούλην, *Tr.* 52 γνώμαισι δούλαις, 302 δοῦλον...βίον, Alc. Mess. *API* 5,3 δοῦλον ζυγόν.

ἔθνεσι: in the same *sedes* in [Opp.] *Cyn.* 4.11 (of animal tribes). In Homer the word designates groups of animals, while it is used of races and nations in later epic, Ap. Rh. 2.1205, 4.646, Theocr. 17.77, see Rossi *ad loc.* and Chryssafis on [id.] 25.185. In the Anthology cf. anon. 6.343,1f. Ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες / παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἔργμασι ἐν πολέμου, Agath. 9.641,1ff. Ἐσπερίην ὑψαύχεννα, καὶ μετὰ Μήδων / ἔθνεα... / Σαγγάριε, .../ οὕτω ἐδουλώθης, κτλ. Cf. also Mart. 7.7,4f. *domantem regna perfidae gentis / te*, id. 7.84,4 *perdomitis gentibus*, 8.65,8 *domitis gentibus*. For the “dative of agent” as equivalent to ὑπό+gen. in passive constructions, see K-G II (2) 422f. c).

πινόμενοι: cf. Crin. 27,2 GP Γερμανίη Ῥῆνον ἅπαντα πίη (see *ad loc.*), 38,1f. GP Ἀράξω / ὕδωρ πιλοφόροις πίνεται Ἀρμενίοις; “drinking a river” is a widely spread expression for denoting dwelling in the area where the river is, *Il.* 2.824f. οἱ δὲ Ζέλειαν ἔλαιον ὑπαὶ πόδα νείατον Ἰδης, / ἀφνειοί, πίνοντες ὕδωρ μέλαν Αἰσήποιο, Aesch. *Ag.* 1157 ἰὼ Σκαμάνδρου πάτριον ποτόν, Call. *H.* 1.40f., in Latin Hor. *Od.* 4.15,21 (see above on οἶδεν...πινόμενοι), id. *ibid.* 2.20,20 *Rhodanique potor*, Mart. 7.88,6, see further Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. *Od.* 2.20,20, Norden (1917) 673, McLennan on Call. *loc. cit.*, Hine on Sen. *Med.* 373-4. Seneca uses the expression with Araxes in *Phaedr.* 58 *fera quae gelidum potat Araxen* (of wild animals) and, in an ἀδύνατον, in *Med.* 372 *Indus gelidum potat Araxen*, see on Crin. 27,2 Γερμανίη...πίη. Araxes, as the river of an enslaved country, is drunk by the Roman people in Luc. 7.188 *Armeniumque bibit Romanus Araxen*.

The whole poem is constructed on repeated references to local polarities which surround the main information in the central couplet, i.e. the account about the double victory of Nero in Armenia and Germany, emphatically elaborated with the image of the rising and setting sun; in the opening and closing couplets; the idea of doubleness and geographical extremity recurs in every single sentence: ἀντολῆαι δύσεις, ἀμφοτέρων...περάτων, δισσὸν... κράτος, Ἀράξης καὶ Ῥῆνος.

Ἔρδοι τὴν ἔμαθέν τις, ὅπου καὶ ὑπ' Ἄλπιος ἄκρας  
 ληϊσταὶ λασίαις ἀμφίκομοι κεφαλαῖς  
 φωρῆς ἀπτόμενοι φύλακας κύνας ᾧδ' ἀλέονται·  
 χρίονται νεφροῖς πῖαρ ἔπεστιν ὅσον  
 5 ψευδόμενοι ρινῶν ὄξυν στίβον. ᾧ κακὸν εὐρεῖν  
 ῥήϊτεραι Λιγύων μήτιες ἢ ἀγαθόν.

Κριναγόρου ἀδιανόητον παντελῶς P I<sup>a</sup> 60,1 Κριναγόρου [om. 1-4]

4 ἔπεστιν ὅσον Heyne: ἀπεστινόσου P 5 κακὸν P: καλ- P 6 ῥήϊτεραι P: -ροι P | ἀγαθόν  
 p<sup>margin</sup>: -θῶν P

*Every man to his trade; and the shaggy shock-headed bandits under the Alpine peaks, when they lay hands on a robbery, escape the watch-dogs in this way: they grease themselves with as much fat as covers kidneys, deceiving the nostrils' keen tracking. Oh, Ligurian cleverness, readier at finding evil than good!*

Ligurian bandits anoint themselves with kidney-fat to throw the hounds off the scent. The assumption that Crinagoras might have become aware of the Ligurians' practice on his way to meet Octavian in Tarragona, during his Third Embassy, 26-5 B.C., is plausible, as Liguria is on the road from Italy to Spain; it is difficult to imagine that this awareness is the result of "personal observation" as Gow-Page suggest (cf. Griffiths 218), but it is plausible to assume that the poet heard about this practice while journeying through the area. On the location of Ligurians cf. Strabo 2.5,28 ἔθνη δὲ κατέχει πολλὰ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο (sc. the Alps) Κελτικὰ πλὴν τῶν Λιγύων· οὗτοι δ' ἑτεροεθνεῖς μὲν εἰσι, παραπλήσιοι δὲ τοῖς βίοις· νέμονται δὲ μέρος τῶν Ἄλπεων τὸ συνάπτον τοῖς Ἀπεννίνους ὄρεσι, μέρος δέ τι καὶ τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὄρων κατέχουσι, 4.6,1, 5.1,10. For their hard life and strong physical constitution cf. Dio Cass. 4.20, οἱ δὲ ταύτην τὴν χώραν οἰκοῦντες Λίγυες νέμονται γῆν τραχεῖαν καὶ παντελῶς λυπρὰν· τῶν δ' ἐγχωρίων ταῖς ἐργασίαις καὶ ταῖς τῆς κακοπαθείας ὑπερβολαῖς φέρει καρποὺς πρὸς βίαν ὀλίγους. Διὸ καὶ τοῖς ὄγκοις εἰσὶ συνεσταλμένοι καὶ διὰ τὴν συνεχῆ γυμνασίαν εὐτονοὶ· τῆς γὰρ κατὰ τὴν τρυφὴν ῥαστώνης πολὺ κεχωρισμένοι ἐλαφροὶ μὲν ταῖς εὐκινησίαις εἰσίν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἀγῶσι ταῖς ἀλκαῖς διάφοροι, id. 5.39. They occasionally practised agriculture, hunting and robbery as well as piracy, cf. Dio Cass. 5.39, Piganiol 25ff. See further *RE* s.v., Piganiol *passim*.

The obscurity of the exact point of the practice of the people in the Alps which is left unexplained (see below on ὄσον), together with the presumably bad condition of the text the scribe was copying, as we might assume from the repeated mistakes in our text, has probably resulted in his comment that the poem is ἀδιανόητον παντελῶς. For anointing oneself with fat for other purposes cf. Ael. *NA* 1.37 θηρίων δὲ ἀλεξιφάρμακον ἦν πάντων πιμελή ἐλέφαντος, κτλ., for the same cf. also *ibid.* 10.12. Another peculiar practice is reported by Aelian in *ibid.* 9.54: ἀκούω δὲ ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς κύνας τοὺς οἰκουροὺς ἵνα μὴ ἀποδιδράσκωσι τετέχνασται ἐκεῖνο. Τὴν οὐρανὸν αὐτῶν καλάμῳ μετρήσαντες χρίουσι τὸν κάλαμον βουτύρῳ, εἶτα μέντοι διδόασιν αὐτοῖς περιλιχηθήσασθαι αὐτόν. In *ibid.* 9.55 Aelian also describes how dogs will not bark if one approaches them holding the tail of a cat which is then left to go unharmed. Deceit of hunting dogs by other means is reported by Plutarch in his account of how the cruel tyrant Alexander dressed men in the skins of boars or bears and set his hunting dogs upon them, *Pel.* 29.4. Although human scent is not presented as eliminated by the cold in the present poem, it would be plausible to assume that the deception of the dogs by the Ligurian bandits is indeed facilitated by the cold climate of the Alps, cf. Xen. *Cyn.* 8.2 ἡ γὰρ χιῶν καίει τῶν κυνῶν τὰς ῥίνας, τοὺς πόδας, τὴν ὀσμὴν τοῦ λαγῶ ἀφανίζει διὰ τὸ ὑπέρπαγες. For the scenting ability of the “watch-dogs” see below on ῥινῶν.

Another account of a strange local custom is Archias *AP* 9.111=18 GP, on the Thracian habit of mourning new-born babies and calling the deceased happy.

1 ἔρδοι τὴν ἔμαθέιν τις: Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1431 ἔρδοι τις ἦν ἕκαστος εἰδείη τέχνην; the phrase is proverbial, “every man should practise his own art”, with the implication “or it will be <sup>the</sup>worse for him”, as Gow-Page remark, see also Blaydes and MacDowell on Aristoph. *loc. cit.* The expression was often used in Latin in the time of Cicero, cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1.18 *quam quisque norit artem, in hac se exerceat*, *Ep. Att.* 5.10, Hor. *Ep.* 1.14,44, the implication in these passages being the same as in Aristophanes. Gow-Page cannot understand why Crinagoras uses this phrase at the beginning of the present epigram which conveys a story quite different from what the reader expects to hear after such an opening; having in mind that Crinagoras’ poetry does display occasional Latin influences (see intr. under Language and Style, *Latinisms*, also Griffiths 218), we can notice that the proverb in Latin does not always have the implication “or it will be <sup>the</sup>worse for him”, cf. Prop. 2.1,43ff., see Otto 37.

Other poems of Crinagoras open with a gnome: 16 GP (see also *ad loc.*), 22 GP (see also *ad loc.*), 28 GP. 38 GP ends with a similar proverbial expression, ἄλλα γὰρ ἄλλοῖαι πάντα φέρουσι γέαι, cf. *ad loc.*, on l. 8, see also intr. under Language and Style, Structure. A famous example of an opening gnome followed by exemplifying cases is Soph. *Ant.* 332ff. πολλὰ τὰ δεινά, κτλ., echoing Aesch. *Ch.* 585ff., see Griffith on

Soph. and Garvie on Aesch. *locc. citt.* respectively, Race 13ff., 89f. For gnome generally as a form of priamel see also Race 29f. Cf. also next note.

ὄπου: in a loose causal sense, cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 8.4,31 ἢ που αὐτός γε πολλὰ ἔχει, ὄπου γε καὶ ἡμῶν ἐκάστῳ τοσαῦτα δέδωκεν, see K-G II (2) 461, cf. also Hdt. 1.68,2 4.195,2. Comparable is the use of ὀππότε in anon. *AP* 7.543,1=Page *FGE* 1288 also clarifying an opening gnome with a specific example, πάντα τις ἀρήσαιτο φυγεῖν πλόον, ὀππότε καὶ σύ, / Θεύγενες, ἐν Λιβυκῶ τύμβον ἔθει πελάγει, cf. also Antiphilus *AP* 7.176,5f.=GP *GP* 939f. ἢ ῥα κακῶν θάνατόν τις ἔφη λύσιν, ὀππότε ἔμεῖο, / ξεῖνε, πέλει παθέων ὕστατον οὐδὲ τάφος, “in view of the fact that”, attested in Theogn. 748, Xen. *Cyr.* 8.3,7, Hdt. 2.125,7, see Gow-Page on *GP* 939; cf. also the rare causal sense of ἀνίκα in Call. *GP HE* 1241, with Gow-Page *ad loc.* One could possibly suggest that with this prosaic usage of the word, the poet is further adding a touch of narrative colouring to his account οὗτ' ἄρα this strange, Herodotean-type practice. For Hellenistic poets' use of prosaic words and expressions see Giangrande 1975, *L'Humour des Alexandrins*, 15f.; in Crinagoras cf. on 38,3 GP ἄτε που.

ὑπ' ἄκρας: cf. Ap. Rh. 2.371 Θεμισκύρειον ὑπ' ἄκρην, Opp. *Hal.* 2.400 προβλήσιν ὑπ' ἄκρας, though in these passages ἄκρα has the sense of headland, cape (see LSJ s.v. 1). Verse-end is the usual *sedes* of ἄκρα (-η), cf. the same form in *Il.* 4.425; in *Od.* 8.508, as in Leon. *API* 230,3 the word designates a height, a hill (both verse-end). The Ligurians live under the Alpine crests, that is on the slopes of the Alps, cf. Florus 1.19,4 *Liguras, imis Alpium iugis adhaerentis inter Varum et Magnum flumen*, etc.

Ἄλπιας: the accusative plural only here; self-variation with 9.283,1 Ἄλπεις; for the form see on δύσιες, *API* 61,1. For the variants for “Alps”, Ἄλπις, Ἄλπεις, Ἄλπεῖα ὄρη, Ἄλπια ὄρη, see Thes. s.v.; for a similar phrase cf. Paul. Sil. *Ecphr.* 520 Ἄλπειων σκοπέλων.

2 ληϊσταί: Homer has ληϊστήρ, cf. *Od.* 3.73, 16.426, *al.* The Ionic form also in Leon. *AP* 7.654,1, Antip. Sid. 7.745,1; cf. in verse-opening Apollonides 9.257,3 ληϊστής, Antip. Sid. *loc. cit.*,8, Antip. Thess. 7.640,4 ληϊστέων.

λασίαις...κεφαλαῖς: cf. [Theocr.] 25. 257, Qu. Sm. 11.471 λασίοιο καρῆατος, id. 12.143 λάσιον δὲ κάρη, see Campbell *ad loc.* In Theocritus and Quintus 12.143 the phrase describes the head of animals (the lion of Nemea, the Wooden Horse respectively), while in Quintus 11.471 it refers to a human head. Λάσιος in Homer describes the shagginess of animals (*Il.* 24.125, *Od.* 9.433); it is also used metaphorically (λάσιον κῆρ, *Il.* 2.851, 16.554) and it refers once to a human body-part, στήθεσσι λασίοισι (of Achilles), *Il.* 1.189; see also Chryssafis on [Theocr.] 25.134. For the notion of a “hairy” head, cf. Crin. 47,1 GP βρέγμα πάλαι λαχναῖον. Here the shagginess the adjective denotes (together with the following pleonastic ἀμφίκομοι, see next note), emphasises the barbarian nature of the Ligurians, cf. Nonnus *D.* 27.215 βάρβαρα...βόστρυχα χαίτης, Clem. Al. *Paed.* 3.3.24,2 καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν οἱ Κελτοὶ καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι

κομῶσιν, ἀλλὰ οὐ κομμῶνται· ἔχει τι φοβερὸν τὸ εὐτριχὸν τοῦ βαρβάρου, App. *Iber.* 284 μετά τε κραυγῆς καὶ θορύβου βαρβαρικοῦ καὶ κόμης μακρᾶς, κτλ. Furthermore it adds a playful colour to the image of the shaggy Ligurians stealing

hairy flocks, cf. the usage of λάσιος to qualify the hair of animals in Homer and Theocritus 7.15 λασίοιο δασύτριχος...τράγοιο (note the similar pleonasm, see next note), id. *AP* 9.437.17 λάσιον τράγον.

ἀμφίκομοι: with hair all around their heads; the poet takes the epithet which is used metaphorically in Homer (α ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, *Il.* 17.677 θάμνω ὑπὲρ ἀμφικόμω, cf. Antiphilus 7.141,3 πτελέησι...ἀμφικομεῦσι), and applies it to human hair in its literal sense to stress the shagginess of the Ligurians' heads with a pleonastic expression, λασίαις ἀμφίκομοι κεφαλαῖς (for such pleonasms in Crinagoras see on 38,6 GP οὔθαπίου). For the Ligurians' shagginess cf. Pliny *NH* 3.135, Dio Cass. 54.24 Λιγύων τῶν κομητῶν, Lucan 1.442 *et nunc, tonse Ligur, quondam per colla decore / crinibus effusis toti praelate Comatae*. The Ligurians' custom of letting their hair grow long caused Transalpine Gaul to be called "Gallia Comata", in distinction from "Gallia Togata", Cisalpine Gaul, see Getty *ad loc.*

Note the alliteration of κ and λ in the first two lines.

3 φωρηῆς: "theft"; the word is rare in poetry, *h. Merc.* 136, 385 (here perhaps with a different meaning, cf. Allen-Halliday-Sikes *ad loc.*, Reed on Bion fr. 11,6), Bion fr. 11,6, Nic. *Al.* 273.

ἀπτόμενοι: "lay hands upon", "take", as in *Od.* 2.423, 15.288 ὄπλων ἄπτεσθαι, *ibid.* 4.60 σίτου θ' ἄπτεσθον, Hdt. 4.196 τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἄπτεσθαι.

φύλακας κύνας: the image of watch-dogs is Homeric, occurring also in a context of theft (simile with a lion trying to seize a sheep), *Il.* 12.302f. βώτορας ἄνδρας / σὺν κυσὶ καὶ δούρεσσι φυλάσσοντας περὶ μῆλα, probably echoed in Qu. Sm. 13.46f., in an analogous simile (with a wolf) ἀλευόμενος δ' ἄρα φῶτας / καὶ κύνας, οἳ ῥά τε μῆλα φυλασσέμεναι μεμάσασιν (see also on ἀλέονται); Aeschylus uses the image of the watch-dog metaphorically in *Ag.* 607 δωμάτων κύνα (of Clytaemnestra), 896 τῶν σταθμῶν κύνα (of Agamemnon). For the expression cf. also Nonnus *D.* 16.388 σκύλακας...φυλάκτορας; in the Anthology for instance Tymnes 7.211,1f. κύνα... /...Εὐμήλου πιστότατον φύλακα, Nossis 9.604,3 οἰκοφύλαξ σκυλάκαινα.

ἀλέονται: of a wolf, also trying to escape the watch-dogs, cf. Qu. Sm. 13.46f., see on φύλακας κύνας; for the expression cf. also *Il.* 2.393 φυγέειν κύνας. Ἄλεομαι, an epic word, occurs in Homer in both its uncontracted and contracted form (ἀλεῦμαι; in this form it also appears three times in Theognis); in a construction with the accusative, "avoid", cf. *Il.* 6.226 ἔγχεα δ' ἀλλήλων ἀλεώμεθα, 13.184 ἠλεύατο χάλκεον ἔγχος. Crinagoras might be possibly alluding to a Homeric scene, while playing with the different meanings of ἀλεομαι: in *Il.* 18.586 (description of Achilles' shield), the verb occurs in the same *sedes* to describe a situation quite opposite from that of the present poem: in Homer

the dogs who guard the herd are too scared to fight off the intruders, so the lions devour a bull while the dogs *flee away* (see LSJ s.v. ἀλέομαι 2):

Οἱ δ' ἦ τοι δακέειν μὲν ἀπετρωπῶντο λεόντων,  
ἰστάμενοι δὲ μάλ' ἐγγύς ὑλάκτεον ἔκ τ' ἀλέοντο.

**4 χρίονται:** in Homer the verb often describes anointing with oil after bathing, *Od.* 4.49, 17.88, also with the phrase λίπ' ἐλαίῳ, for instance *ibid.* 3.466, 6.96. Cf. Eust. on *Od.* 1.251 ἰστέον ὅτι ἰσοδυναμοῦντων κατὰ νοῦν τοῦ τε χρίω καὶ τοῦ ἀλείφω τὸ μὲν χρίω παρὰ τὸν χροῦν ἐρρέθη, ὅς χρίεται, τὸ δὲ ἀλείφω παρὰ τὸ ἀλέω. As Gow-Page observe, the verb requires a dative, but the dative of πῖαρ is attested only by the *Suda*. A construction of χρίομαι with the accusative is attested in *Ep. Hebr.* 1.9 ἔχρισέ σε ὁ θεὸς σου ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιάσεως.<sup>232</sup>

**νεφροῖς:** in poetry the word mainly appears in Aristophanes, *Ran.* 1280, *Lys.* 962 (here in the singular); cf. however, ἐπινεφρίδιον, *Il.* 21.204, to describe an unpleasantly naturalistic scene (cf. Richardson *ad loc.*), see below on ἔπεστιν. Waltz cites Plin. *HN* 28.143 *a renibus autem omne laudatissimum est*, referring to the kidney-fat of the ruminants, but observes that Crinagoras should specify the animal whose kidney-fat Ligurians use and accordingly suggested νεβροῖς, based on Plin. *HN* 28.150, where we learn that serpents keep away from those who rub themselves with the suet of a stag or a fawn. The phrasing ἔπεστιν ὅσον, however, which Waltz retains, renders the alteration impossible, although the absence of a reference to a specific animal does constitute a problem, see on ὅσον.

**πῖαρ:** Hesych.: πῖαρ· τὸ κράτιστον. καὶ στέαρ· ἢ τὸ πέρασ. καὶ λιπαρόν.<sup>233</sup> In Homer πῖων typically refers to animals and their fat, for instance *Od.* 9.464 μῆλα πῖονα δημῶ, 14.419 ἦν...μάλα πῖονα, *Il.* 11.773 πῖονα μηρία καίε βοός, *al.*, cf. Crin. 23,3 GP, where πῖαρ describes the goat's "rich" milk, see *ad loc.* For the fat of the kidneys see next note.

**ἔπεστιν:** Gow-Page remark that the emendation is convincing, as νεφροῖς requires ἔπεστι(ν); we should further note that this reading is supported by the notion that there is fat on the kidneys, human or of animals, *Il.* 21.204 δημόν ἐρεπτόμενοι ἐπινεφρίδιον (fish and eels devouring the fat of the dead Asteropaeus' kidneys), cf. *Suda* s.v. ἐπινεφρίδιον· τὸ ἐπὶ τοῖς νεφροῖς λίπος. For the huge quantity of the kidneys' fat, and especially the kidneys of sheep (see next note), cf. Aristot. *Part. Anim.* 672a ἔχουσι δ' οἱ νεφροὶ μάλιστα τῶν σπλάγχων πιμελήν, κτλ., *ibid.* 672b, *HA* 520a τῶν δὲ σπλάγχων περὶ τοὺς νεφροὺς μάλιστα πῖονα γίγνεται τὰ ζῶα...περίνεφρα δὲ

<sup>232</sup>Et.M. 669,49 πηλὸν ἔχριον τὸ πρόσωπον is altered by the editors to πηλῶ, perhaps unnecessarily; in *Suda* s.v. Θέσπις, the codices transmit readings with both the dative and the accusative: χρίσας τὸ πρόσωπον ψιμίθιον /ψιμιθίω.

<sup>233</sup>In the Homeric βοῶν ἐκ πῖαρ ἐλέσθαι (*Il.* 11.550, 17.659) the substantival usage is in fact preferred to the adjectival, "cream of the herd", see the notes of Leaf and Hainsworth *ad loc.*, also Cunliffe and Ebeling s.v., and on Crin. 12,3 GP.

γίγνεται τὰ στεατώδη μᾶλλον, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ζώων πρόβατον, Plin. *NH* 11.81 *animalia in renibus pinguissima, oves quidem letaliter circum eos concreto pingui*, cf. Aristotle's account of the danger<sup>5</sup> of the accumulation of too much fat around the sheep's kidneys, *Part. Anim.* 672b.

Ἔπεστι occurs always at the same *sedes* in the Anthology, cf. Leon. 7.273,6, Antip. Sid. 7.353,6, Perses 7.730,2, anon. 7.329,4, anon. 9.611,2, Ascl. 12.36,2.

ὄσον: the relative is postponed, as on several occasions in Crinagoras, 26,3, 24,2, 51,4 GP.

Ὄσον is usually overlooked by editors who translate “they grease themselves with the fat that covers kidneys” (Gow-Page), “Fett, das die Nieren umgibt” (Beckby), as if it were ὄ; the pronoun, however, indicates that Ligurians anoint themselves with *all* the fat that is on kidneys, “ils s’enduisent de toute la graisse qui entoure les rognons” (Waltz); the absence of the reference to the animal whose fat they are using could perhaps lead us to the interpretation “they anoint themselves with *so much* fat, as that which is on the kidneys” (in general), i.e. they are totally covered with it. On the other hand, the absence of reference to the animal might be due to the poet's certainty that the reader can only think of sheep; the problem of why the “guardian-dogs” (which normally protect flocks or herds) are “deceived” could be then offered the following explanation: the robbers anoint themselves with fat from the animal they intend to steal to obtain a scent identical to that of the flock so as not to alert the dogs, which are accustomed to this particular odour, while they steal the animals. The strongest candidate is, of course, sheep: not only is it the animal which has larger quantities of fat than any other animal (see previous note), but we also have testimony that the Ligurians did live on them which leads to the logical conclusion that this animal constituted indeed their main fat-producing source.<sup>234</sup>

5f. ψευδόμενοι: “deceive”, cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1208 Λοξίαν ἐψευσάμην; with two accusatives, Soph. *OC* 1145f. οὐκ ἐψευσάμην / οὐδέν σε, πρέσβυ (see Jebb *ad loc.*), Eur. *Alc.* 808 εἰ μή τι σός με δεσπότης ἐψεύσατο.

ῥινῶν: for the dogs' keen scenting cf. Soph. *Aj.* 8 κυνὸς Λακαίνης...εὐρίνος βάσις with Jebb *ad loc.*, [Opp.] *Cyn.* 2.456 εὐρίνοιο κυνός, cf. id. *ibid.* 4.357; also Nonnus *D.* 5.231f. πῶς νοερῶ μυκτῆρι... /...κύων μαντεύεται ὀδμήν. In plural the word can mean “nostrils” but “nose” as well (for Homer see Cunliffe and Ebeling s.v.). Although it is hunting dogs which are usually qualified as “keen-scented” (cf. also next note), watch-dogs of a flock are also sharp in scent so as to mark any impending danger, cf. the description of wolves attacking the fold in Ap. *Rh.* 2.123f. πολλοὶ λύκοι ὀρμηθέντες / λάθρη εὐρίνων τε κυνῶν αὐτῶν τε νομήων, κτλ.

<sup>234</sup> Cf. Strabo 4.6,2 ζῶντες ἀπὸ θρεμμάτων τὸ πλεον καὶ γάλακτος καὶ κριθίνου πόματος. For θρέμμα as meaning mainly a tame animal, especially referring to sheep and goats, see LSJ s.v. 1.

ὄξυν στίβον: cf. [Opp.] *Cyn.* 4.66 ὄξύταται ῥινῶν ὀσφρήσιες, of the “sharpness” of wild animals’ scenting. The adjective is often used of the senses, cf. *Il.* 17.675 ὄξύτατον δέρκεσθαι, Pind. *N.* 10,62f. ὄξύτατον / ὄμμα, see further LSJ s.v. II.

Gow-Page notice the boldness of this unique usage, as “the concrete ‘track’ stands here for the abstract ‘tracking’”; in Hesychius, however, we find s.v. στίβος· τρίβος, ὁδός. καὶ ἡ ἵχνους ζήτησις. Another peculiarity about the use of the word στίβος here, is that, while the poem is about deceiving watch-dogs, Crinagoras uses the word στίβος as if they were hunting dogs, cf. Opp. *Hal.* 2.289ff. Ὡς δ’ ὅτ’ ἀνά ξυλόχους ὀφίων στίβον ἐξερεείνων / βριθόκερως ἔλαφος ῥινήλατον ἵχνος ἀνεύρε, 4.275ff., [Opp.] *Cyn.* 4.357ff. The use of the word, however, can be seen in the light of poetic licence to imagine the (“keen-scented”) watch-dogs as chasing the bandits after the theft,<sup>235</sup> and thus to condense this image in the phrase ῥινῶν ὄξυν στίβον.

ὦ κακόν...ἀγαθόν: for moralising conclusions in Crinagoras cf. 38,8, 12,6, 46,5f., 50,8, 51,7f. GP; a *gnome* is also the final couplet of 6 GP. For the villainous cleverness of the Ligurians cf. Strabo 5.2,5 καὶ παρώξυναν αὐτοὺς (sc. the inhabitants of Pisa) οἱ Λίγυες, πονηροὶ γείτονες παρὰ πλευρὰν ὄντες.

κακὸν...μήτιες: cf. the expression κακὸν (-ά) μητίεσθαι or μήδεσθαι, for instance *Il.* 15.27, 21.413, *Od.* 1.234, Ap. Rh. 4.744. For κακὸν as a substantive see LSJ s.v. B.

εὐρεῖν: using the verb in its proper sense, “find”, the poet may be playing with the Homeric phrase κακὸν εὐρετο, *Od.* 21.304 (also cf. 24.462), where εὐρίσκεσθαι has the sense of “get for oneself” (see LSJ s.v. IV) in combination with Theogn. 1370, πολλὸν δ’ εὐρέσθαι ῥήτερον ἢ τελέσαι (of Eros); the Theognidean usage is similar to that of Crinagoras and is also comparable to the Homeric κακὸν εὐρετο, cf. Hudson-Williams on Theogn. *loc. cit.*

ῥήιτεραι: “readier at finding”; for the construction of ῥάδιος with the infinitive see LSJ s.v. A.1. This construction with ῥήιτερος occurs in Homer, *Il.* 18.258 ῥήιτεροι πολεμίζειν ἦσαν Ἀχαιοί, 24.243f. ῥήιτεροι γὰρ μᾶλλον Ἀχαιοῖσιν δὴ ἔσεσθε / ...ἐναιρέμεν; in the present poem the degree of the adjective is of course due to the comparative structure ῥήιτεραι εὐρεῖν κακὸν ἢ ἀγαθόν. ῥήιτερος occurs also at verse-beginning in Ap. Rh. 1.104 and 629, Opp. *Hal.* 1.288 and 3.64. Crinagoras’ phrasing recalls Theogn. 1370, see previous note.

μήτιες: cf. the epithets of Hermes, the deceiver *par excellence* among the gods, in *h. Merc.* 405 and 514, δολομήτης, ποικιλομήτης. For “wisdom” in the position of the subject of the sentence, as the agent of an act, cf. *Od.* 9.414 ὡς ὄνομ’ ἐξαπάτησεν ἔμὸν καὶ μήτις ἀμύμων; with εὐρίσκειν, Opp. *Hal.* 2.88 μήτις ἀνεύρατο γαστέρι

<sup>235</sup>Cf. the Indian ants chasing the Indians after the latter have filled their sacks with the gold the ants have carried forth from their holes, Hdt. 3.105.

### GP 30

φορβήν. In <sup>the</sup> nominative plural here only; in Aesch. *Ch.* 626 γυναικοβούλους τε μήτιδας φρενῶν the word means “plans”, while in the sense of “wisdom”, “wits”, as in our poem, it occurs in *h. Ven.* 249 ἐμοῦς ὄαρους καὶ μήτιας.

GP 35

AP 11.42=GP 35

Εἰ καὶ σοὶ ἐδραῖος ἀεὶ βίος, οὐδὲ θάλασσαν  
 ἔπλωσ, χερσαίας τ' οὐκ ἐπάτησας ὁδοὺς,  
 ἔμπης Κεκροπίης ἐπιβήμεναι, ὄφρ' ἂν ἐκεῖνας  
 Δήμητρος μεγάλων νύκτας ἴδῃς ἱερῶν.  
 5 Ἴῶν ἄπο κῆν ζωοῖσιν ἀκηδέα, κεῦτ' ἂν ἴκηαι  
 ἐς πλεόνων, ἔξεις θυμὸν ἐλαφρότερον.

Κριναγόρου PI I<sup>b</sup> 27,3 Κριναγόρου

3 ἂν P: ἐν PI | ἐκεῖνας Brunck: -αις PPI 4 Δήμητρος PI: -ριος P | μεγάλων Brunck: -λας PPI 5 κῆν  
 Brunck: κην P: κὰν PI

*Even if your life is always sedentary and you have neither sailed the sea nor trodden roads on land, still, set foot on Attica to see those nights of the great mysteries of Demeter. From those you will get a heart that is care free among the living and lighter when you go to join the majority.*

A praise of the Eleusinian Mysteries, through the exhortation *to* abandon a stay-at-home life, to go to Attica and see them. For the cult and mysteries of Demeter and Kore in Eleusis see for instance Farnell 3.129ff., Mylonas and Kerényi *passim*, Richardson 17ff. In historical times the Mysteries were open to everyone, regardless of sex, age or local origin, see Richardson 17. It is plausible that Crinagoras himself was an initiate, as Geist (4) supposed; Geist further observed that the assumption that the poem is associated with the initiation of Octavian in 21 B.C. (Jacobs; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 93) is not supported by the text; of course such an association could not be totally excluded. Another poem which probably betrays its author's initiation into the mysteries is Posidippus *SH* 705, see Dickie (1998) 65ff. Theodorid. *AP* 7.406=GP *HE* 3558-61 and anon. *SH* 980 also hint at the initiation of Euphorion and Philicus respectively in mysteries; it has been suggested that Euphorion was initiated in the mysteries of Aphrodite and the Corcyrean Philicus *in* the Eleusinian mysteries, see Dickie (1998) 54ff., 58ff. For Posidippus' initiation in the Dionysiac mysteries of Pella see further Dickie (1995) 83, cf. P. Mil. Vogl. VIII 309, col. VII 14-19 and 20-23 with Bastianini-Gallazzi on VII 20-23 intr. note.

The poet addresses an unnamed friend or the reader, in the second person singular, as he does in 22 GP; cf. his address in the second plural in 16 GP. Addresses in the second singular are not rare in "demonstrative" or "exhortatory" epigrams, cf. Phld. *AP* 10.103, Eratosthenes 9.444, Crates 9.497, Marc. Arg. 10.4, anon. 10.40, Photius or Leo 9.203, cf. also the exhortations of Lucian in 10.26-27, Paul. Sil. in 9.767-769, Agath.

9.643, 10.68, Palladas 10.78, 47, 60, 78; also cf. Ammianus 9.573,1 μή...ἄνθρωφ', Palladas 10.77,1 Τίπτε...ἄνθρωπε. Given the unlikelihood that the poem is associated with Octavian's initiation to the Mysteries, the aorist tenses might suggest that Crinagoras is addressing a fellow-countryman of his who has never travelled away from Lesbos; one could then assume that the epigram was written during a time the poet was in the island, probably before his third and longest Embassy to Rome in 26-25 B.C.

Aubreton wonders if the poem is in its correct place here; one could observe that Planudes included it in his first book, the "epideictic" epigrams, rather than in the second, "satirical and convivial"; in his first book he included twenty-six other poems of *AP* 11, too,<sup>236</sup> many of which also neither deal with "convivial" themes (11.1-64) nor are satirical (11.65-442), cf. for instance Ammianus 11.15 (satirical), Nicarchus 11.18 (satirical? "demonstrative"?), anon. 11.282 and 420, Philo 11.419 (philosophical reflections rather suitable to a demonstrative context), Agath. 11.352, anon. 11.356, Palladas 11.385, anon. 11.416 ("demonstrative", in any case not satirical).<sup>237</sup> It could be assumed, therefore, that the present poem was included in "demonstrative" poems in Planudes' sources. Its position in P could be explained if we notice that the poem stands in fact in a reverse alphabetical order of Philippan authors (*AP* 11.23-46). Granted that Philip generally arranged his epigrams alphabetically and not thematically (see Cameron 1993, 35f., 40), one could assume that P's scribe ran through his exemplar from end to beginning and copied backwards an excerpt from the Philippan sequence as it perhaps stood in Cephalas (who often transcribed long unbroken sequences from his three original collections to provide his arrangement with richer variety, see Cameron 1993, 124) and carelessly included here the present poem, too.<sup>238</sup>

**1ff. εἰ καὶ σοί:** Jacobs<sup>2</sup> observed: *dura productio enclitici pronominis*. For the poet's indifference to hiatus see see intr. under Metre, Hiatus. For two cosequent long vowels in hiatus cf. 19,3 GP ὦ ἄλλιστ', 23,1 GP μὴ εἶπης (probably, see intr. under Metre, Hiatus); similar to the present passage is Agath. *AP* 11.376,9 ἦ σοί, ἦ τῶ ἐλόντι, verse opening.

**ἔμπης:** for ἔμπης, the epic form for ἔμπας as "still", "nevertheless", see LSJ s.v. II and III. For the phrasing "even if...still...", cf. Soph. *Aj.* 562f. τοῖον πυλωρὸν φύλακα Τεῦκρον ἀμφί σοι / λείψω τροφῆς ἄοκνον ἔμπα κεί τανῦν / τηλωπὸς οἰχνεῖ, id. *ibid.* 121f. ἐποικτίρω δέ νιν / δύστηνον ἔμπας, καίπερ ὄντα δυσμενῆ, where Jebb compares *Il.* 24.523 ἄλγεα δ' ἔμπης / ἐν θυμῷ κατακεῖσθαι ἔασομεν,

<sup>236</sup>See Aubreton *AP* XI, 5 with n. 1.

<sup>237</sup>For the pederastic 11.22 and 51-53, also included by Planudes in *AP* I<sup>a</sup> and I<sup>b</sup>, which, in this case, implies a misclassification in Planudes' sources, see Cameron (1993) 228; love in general and for boys in particular is, of course, a sympotic theme (cf. Giangrande "Sympotic Literature", 129ff.), and it would be plausible to assume that Cephalas regarded them as convivial as well as pederastic (Cameron 1993, 228).

<sup>238</sup>For book 11 being Cephalan see Cameron (1993) 134. Analogous are the "misfits in almost every Philippan sequence in *AP*, clearly the result of Cephalas' carelessness" (Cameron 1993, 35).

ἀχνύμενοί περ; also Pind. *N.* 4.36 ἔμπα, καῖπερ ἔχει βαθεῖα ποντίας ἄλμα / μέσσον, ἀντίτειν' ἐπιβουλία; in all the passages ἔμπης precedes the adversative particle,<sup>239</sup> while Crinagoras is using the terms in an opposite order, the εἰ καὶ clause followed by ἔμπης as an emphatic particle in a construction similar to Soph. *OT* 302 εἰ καὶ μὴ βλέπεις, φρονεῖς δ' ὅμως. For the various shades of the conditional εἰ καὶ see Denniston 303ff. Crinagoras opens two other poems with a similar phrasing: 1 GP κῆν...κῆν ῥίψης, 19 GP κῆν...ῆ...ἔλθη.

Ἐμπης with an exhortation followed by a final clause with ὄφρα occurs once in Homer, *Od.* 23.83 ἀλλ' ἔμπης ἴομεν μετὰ παῖδ' ἐμόν, ὄφρα ἴδωμαι / ἄνδρας μνηστῆρας τεθνηότας.

ἔδραϊος...βίος: “sedentary”, a mainly prosaic word, cf. Hesych.: Διφρίς, ὁ ἔδραϊος καὶ καθήμενος ἀεὶ, οἶον ἀργός; Hipp. *Art.* 53 ἢ σκυτίης ἔργα ἢ χαλκείης ἢ ἄλλο τι ἔδραϊον ἔργον, Xen. *Lac.* 1.3 οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν τὰς τέχνας ἐχόντων ἔδραϊοὶ εἰσι, see further Thes. s.v. For the expression cf. Plut. *Mor.* 1129d ἡσυχία δὲ κωφὴ καὶ βίος ἔδραϊος ἐπὶ σχολῆς ἀποκείμενος οὐ σώματα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχὰς μαραίνει, Herodian *Gr. Gr.* 3.118 ἢ ὅτι βίῳ ἔδραϊῳ οὐ χρῶνται οὕτω λέγονται, διὰ τὸ ἐφ' ἁμαξῶν φέρεσθαι, Max. Soph. *Dial.* 13.7a1 Πολιτείαν ὁρᾷς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον, οὐχ ἔδραϊον οὐδὲ ἡπειρωτικόν, ἀλλὰ νεῶς ὀλκάδος, ἐν πελάγει πλατεῖ περαιούμενος. For attributing to life an epithet which indicates its quality, its character, cf. the philosophic terminology for the different kinds of life, for instance Aristot. *NE* 1.5,1f. διὸ καὶ τὸν βίον ἀγαπῶσι τὸν ἀπολαυστικόν - τρεῖς γάρ εἰσι μάλιστα οἱ προύχοντες, ὃ τε νῦν εἰρημένος καὶ ὁ πολιτικὸς καὶ τρίτος ὁ θεωρητικὸς, cf. *Suda* on the proverbial expressions with “life”: Βίος ἀκαιθώδης. ὁ τραχὺς καὶ σκληρὸς, καὶ παλαιός. Καὶ Βίος ἄλλεσμένος. ὁ εὐχερὴς καὶ ἡδύς, κτλ. For the playful contrast with ἐπιβήμεναι see below *ad loc.*

ἀεὶ βίος: at the same *sedes* in Crin. 20,3 GP, Jul. Aeg. *AP* 9.446,5.

θάλασσαν ἔπλωσ: the construction of πλεῖν + acc. is a Homeric ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, *Od.* 3.71 πλεῖθ' ὑγρὰ κέλευθα, cf. Colluth. 205 ἔπλεεν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης; the expression τὴν θάλατταν πλεῖν occurs in the orators, cf. Andoc. *Myst.* 137, Lys. *And.* 19, Isocr. *Peri Eir.* 20, Antiph. 100.<sup>240</sup>

χερσαίας...ὁδοῦς: cf. Nonnus *D.* 3.290, 4.287, 43.301 χερσαῖον ὁδίτην; id. *ibid.* 37.268 χερσαίην...πορείην. In regard to the previous θάλασσαν, cf. the frequent use of words with the stem χερσ- in a context of such a contrast, first in Homer: *Il.* 14.394 οὔτε θαλάσσης κύμα τόσον βοᾶα ποτὶ χέρσον, *Od.* 6.95 λάιγγας ποτὶ χέρσον ἀποπτύεσκε θάλασσα, *ibid.* 9.486, 542, 9.147. Cf. also Eur. *Andr.* 457 ναύτην ἔθηκεν

<sup>239</sup>For the Pindaric passage, where ἔμπης may also refer back to the previously mentioned general statement, see Fennell *ad loc.*

<sup>240</sup>The more usual construction is ἐπιπλεῖν+acc., for instance *Il.* 6.292 ἐπιπλῶς εὐρέα πόντον, *Od.* 9.227 and 470 ἐπιπλεῖν ἀλμυρὸν ὕδωρ, Hes. *Op.* 648, Antiphilus *AP* 7.635,4.

ἀντὶ χερσαίου κακόν, Antiphil. *AP* 9.14,8 ἄγρης χερσαίης...καὶ εἰναλίης, see LSJ s.v. χερσαῖος I.

For the expression “tread the roads”, literally or metaphorically, cf. Pind. *P.* 2.85 πατέων ὁδοῖς σκολιαῖς, Qu. Sm. 6.488f. ἡ δ’ ἑτέρη μακάρων πέλεται ὁδός, οὐδέ μιν ἄνδρες / ῥηιδίως πατέουσιν, Call. *Aet.* fr. 1.25 τὰ μὴ πατέουσιν ἄμαξαι, [Opp.] *Cyn.* 1.20 τρηχεῖαν ἐπιστείβωμεν ἀταρπόν, / τὴν μερόπων οὐπω τις ἔῃς ἐπάτησεν ἀοίδαῖς, see Pfeiffer on Call. *loc. cit.*

Note the striking alliteration of σ in the first three lines.

**3f. Κεκροπίης:** for Attica, as often in the Anthology, for instance Diodor. 7.40,2 and 7.235,4, Theodorid. 7.722,2, Jul. Aeg. *API* 157,2, cf. Schol. on Ap. Rh. 1.95 Κεκροπήθεν· ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. Κεκροπία γὰρ λέγεται ἡ Ἀττικὴ ἀπὸ Κέκροπος τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος. For the name see Jacoby *FgrHist* III b Supp. 2.295, n. 45.

**ἐπιβήμεναι:** the form occurs in the same *sedes* usually in Homer, cf. *Od.* 7.196 and 12.282 γαίης ἐπιβήμεναι, 14.229 Τροίης ἐπιβήμεναι, also in the same *sedes* in *Il.* 9.133, 9.275, 19.176, Ap. Rh. 3.1236. Note the poet’s playful use of the contrasting pair ἔδραϊος-ἐπιβήμεναι, the latter having also the sense “mount”, cf. the riding image at Eur. *Rh.* 783 λύκους ἐπεμβεβῶτας ἔδραϊαν ῥάχιν.<sup>241</sup>

Infinitive for imperative (cf. Call. *AP* 6.147,3, 7.520,3, 7.521,3) first occurs in Homer, for instance *Od.* 16.150ff. ἀλλὰ σύ γ’ ἀγγείλας ὀπίσω κίε μηδὲ κατ’ ἀγρούς / πλάζεσθαι μετ’ ἐκείνον κτλ., see further K-G II (2) 21.

**ὄφρ’ ἄν...ἴδης:** for ὄφρα + subjunctive see K-G II (2) 385.

According to ancient sources (cf. Plut. *Alc.* 22.3, *Suda* s.v. ἐπόπται, etc., see Richardson 20f.), participation in the Mysteries was divided into two stages, μύησις and ἐποπτεία, the latter being more important and revealed only to select initiates, see Mylonas 274, Kerényi (1967) 95ff.; in the *Homeric Hymn* the emphasis is also put on the ἐποπτεία, cf. 1.480 with Richardson *ad loc.*; for further passages see on 5f. Cf. also Eur. *Herc.* 613 τὰ μυστῶν ὄργι’ εὐτύχησ’ ἰδῶν and id. *Hipp.* 25 σεμνῶν ἐς ὄψιν καὶ τέλη μυστηρίων with Barrett *ad loc.*; see also next note. Antipater of Thessalonica in *AP* 11.23,4 says Μίνω θᾶσσον ἐποψόμεθα, which probably indicates the poet’s knowledge of the Mysteries, cf. Aubreton *ad loc.*

Note the playful oxymoron in the expression “seeing the nights”; cf. the oxymoron at Crin. 12,3f. GP ὠδῖνας...πρηείας and 4,4 GP πρηεῖ κέντρῳ, see *ad loc.*

**ἐκείνας...νύκτας:** as Gow-Page comment, P’s ἐκείναις is “a mere slip” and Pl’s ἐν ἐκείναις, which refers the pronoun back to ὁδοῦς, results in an impossible phrasing and meaning. As far as Scaliger’s suggestion, approved by Geist and Jacobs, ὄφρα κ’

<sup>241</sup>Cf. the play with the erotic sense of ἐμβατεῖν in poetry, see Giangrande “Symptotic Literature” 110f.

ἐπαινήσ (sc. Δήμητρος)<sup>242</sup> is concerned, one can observe that there is no need for such a change in the text, since the expression “those (famous) nights” is perfectly satisfactory: note its occurrence in a similar context in Antiphil. *AP* 9.298, where, thanks to his participation in the Eleusinian mysteries, a blind man regains his sight:

Σκίπων με προς ἡνὸν ἀνήγαγεν ὄντα βέβηλον  
οὐ μόνον τελετῆς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡλίου  
μύστην δ' ἀμφοτέρων με θεαὶ θέσαν, οἶδα δ' ἐκείνη  
νυκτὶ καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν νύκτα καθηράμενος, κτλ.

For the phrase cf. also Call. fr. 75.44 νυκτὸς ἐκείνης, Pfeiffer citing Eur. *IT* 205 νυκτὸς κείνας and id. *Ph.* 1675 νύξ...ἐκείνη; add Triphiod. 665 νυκτὸς ἐκείνης.

The activity of the initiates took place mainly during the night, cf. Eur. *Ion* 1077 ὄψεται ἐννύχιος ἄπνους ὦν, Aristoph. *Ran.* 341 νυκτέρου τελετῆς; for the term μυστηριώτιδες νύκτες see Mylonas 258 with n. 153. “Nights” could here have a wider sense, referring to the Mysteries in general, or it could be referring specifically to the sacred nights of the festival, that is the sixth and seventh day of the Mysteries (Boedromion 20 and 21; night of 20th to 21st and of 21st to 22nd) when the celebration of the special rites of the *epopteia* took place, see Mylonas 274ff.

μεγάλων...ἱερῶν: as Gow-Page observe, in support of Brunck’s attribution of μεγάλων to ἱερῶν, against P and Pl’s μεγάλας (sc. νύκτας, retained by Dübner and Paton) and Stadtmüller’s μεγάλης (sc. Δήμητρος, accepted by Beckby and Aubreton),<sup>243</sup> νύκτας already has an adjective (ἐκείνας) and ἱερῶν needs one much more than Δήμητρος; one can further add that Crinagoras is referring to the Great Mysteries in contrast<sup>with</sup> the Lesser ones (cf. Plato *Gorg.* 497c with the schol.); the former were held in Agrae (cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἄγρα χωρίον, Eustath. 361.36, etc.) and constituted a preparation for the Great Mysteries, held in Eleusis (see Mylonas 240, Richardson 20). Although scholarship has not been univocal on the identification of the deity honoured in the Lesser Mysteries,<sup>244</sup> ancient sources (Douris, the scholiast of Aristophanes) actually state that Persephone was honoured in these and Demeter in the Great Mysteries, see Mylonas 240f.; the Great Mysteries are called ἐποπτικά in Plut. *Demetr.* 26.1f. (for *epopteia* being a stage of the Great Mysteries see above on ὄφρ’ ἄν...ἴδης). Therefore the reference to Demeter on one hand and the emphasis on the sight, on the other, might serve as an indication that Crinagoras has in mind the Great Mysteries, which further favours the attribution of μεγάλα to ἱερά; the corruption could be explained by the influence of the following νύκτας. Ἱερά here, of course, does not refer to the sacred

<sup>242</sup> A rare epithet of Persephone, *Il.* 9.457, *Od.* 10.491 and 564, Hes. *Th.* 768, see West *ad loc.*

<sup>243</sup> For the application of the epithet to the goddess, cf. Paus. 8.31.2 θεαὶ δὲ αἱ Μεγάλαι Δημήτηρ, κτλ., also *AApp* 1.59.3; cf. Call. *H* 6.121 μεγάλα θεὸς εὐρύνασσα, see Bruchmann 75.

<sup>244</sup> For the view that the Lesser Mysteries were celebrated in honour of Iacchus, see Rohde 220; Iacchus was in later years confused with Dionysus who was never worshipped in the Mysteries, see further Mylonas 238, 241.

objects demonstrated by the Ἱεροφάντης to the participants of the Eleusinian Mysteries (cf. Plut. *Alc.* 22.3 ἔχοντα στολήν οἴανπερ ὁ Ἱεροφάντης ἔχων δεικνύει τὰ ἱερά), but has the sense of “rites”, indicating the Mysteries themselves, cf. LSJ s.v. 1c, Hdt. 1.172 ἰδρυθέντων δέ σφι ἱρῶν ξεινικῶν, Dem. 57.3 τῶν ὑμετέρων ἱερῶν καὶ κοινῶν μετεῖχον.

Note the alliteration of π in l.3.

**5f.** in the *Homeric Hymn* (480ff.), the poet asserts the blessed state of those who have *seen* (for which see above, on ὄφρ’ ἀν...ἴδης) the Mysteries as well as the sad post-mortals fate of the uninitiated:

ὄλβιος ὅς τὰδ’ ὄπωπεν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων  
 ὅς δ’ ἀτελής ἱερῶν, ὅς τ’ ἄμμορος, οὐ ποθ’ ὁμοίων  
 αἴσαν ἔχει φθίμενός περ ὑπὸ ζόφῳ εὐρώεντι.

Lobeck (69ff.) lists passages echoing the lines; cf., *inter alia*, Pind. fr. 137a ὄλβιος ὅστις ἰδὼν κεῖν’ εἶσ’ ὑπὸ χθόν’ / οἶδε μὲν βίου τελευτάν, / οἶδεν δὲ διόσδοτον ἀρχάν, Soph. fr. 837 Radt, Aristoph. *Ran.* 455f.; for further passages concerning beliefs<sup>about</sup> the privileged situation of the initiates in the other world see Allen-Halliday-Sikes and Richardson on *h. Cer.* 480-2, cf. also Rohde 223 with n. 22. While the Homeric hymn and Sophocles’ passage mention the unhappy state of the uninitiated in Hades,<sup>245</sup> Crinagoras omits the post-mortals punishment of the uninitiated and stresses the joyful mood of the initiate both when living and after death; the initiate indeed does not only hope for a better state after death, but enjoys it in this life, too: “both knowledge and beatitude became his possession the moment he beheld the vision” Kerényi (1967, 15) remarks, citing, together with Crinagoras’ poem, Cic. *Leg.* 2.14,36 *neque solum cum laetitia vivendi rationem accepimus sed etiam cum spe meliore moriendi*; cf. also Aristid. *Eleus.* 2.30 Κ ἀλλὰ μὴν τό γε κέρδος τῆς πανηγύρεως οὐχ ὅσον ἡ παροῦσα εὐθυμία...ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς ἡδίους ἔχειν τὰς ἐλπίδας, see further Richardson on *h. Cer.* 480-2, Dickie (1998) 62, 75. For a general discussion of the Eleusinian beliefs in regard to the fate of the soul see Rohde 219ff.

The words τῶν...ζωοῖσιν are totally without accentuation in P.

τῶν ἄπο: for such a construction, with the relative pronoun in anastrophe, cf. τῶν ἄπο in *AApp* 3.101,1, and at verse-beginning always in Nonnus, *D.* 18.71, 37.54, 40.232; also id. *ibid.* 13.341, 31.176 τῆς ἄπο, anon. *API* 187,2 τοῦ δ’ ἄπο, Leon. *AP* 6.302,8 ὦν ἄπο (verse-beginning), Mnasalcas 9.333,3 ἦς ἄπο. For anastrophe of the preposition cf. also Crin. 45,1 GP παίδων ἀλλαχθέντι μόρω ἔπι.

κῆν ζωοῖσιν: P1’s κὰν is accepted by Rubensohn, Beckby and Aubreton, while the other editors keep P’s κῆν. As such Atticisms occasionally appear in Crinagoras’

<sup>245</sup> Cf. also Plato *Rep.* 365a, *Phaedo* 69c, Pausanias’ account at 10.31,9 of Polygnotus’ depiction of the sufferings τῶν τὰ δρώμενα Ἐλευσίτι ἐν οὐδενὶ θεμένων λόγῳ.

conventional Ionic and are generally not rare in Hellenistic poetry (see intr., under Language and Style, Dialect, and on Crin. 28,3 GP ἥλιος... ἀνιών), it is really difficult to decide between the two forms and Pl's reading could be correct.

Crinagoras uses the form in a different expression again at 45,4 GP ζωῶς μετεσσόμενον, "be among the living", also in a context of opposition between the living and the dead. For this complementary or contrasting pair cf. Leon. *AP* 7.67,7f. πάνθ' ὅσα κῆν ζωῶς ἐπεπάμεθα, ταῦτα παρ' Ἄδαν / ἔρχομ' ἔχων, "Plato" 7.670, Geminus 9.288,6, *AApp* 3.153,2; cf. the expression "neither living nor dead", see Collard on Eur. *Supp.* 968-70. Note also a similar phrasing to the present passage at Bacchyl. 1.70ff.

ὅσον ἂν ζῶη λάχε τόνδε χρόνον τι-  
 μάν· ἀρετὰ δ' ἐπίμοχθος  
 μέν, τελευταθεῖσα δ' ὀρθῶς  
 ἀνδρὶ καὶ εὔτε θάνη λεί-  
 πει πολυζήλωτον εὐκλείας ἄγαλμα.

The poet stresses the privileged state of both living and dead initiates, which is quite unusual, as the reference is usually to the benefits after death in relevant passages, see above on 5f.

ἀκηδέα...ἔξεις θυμόν: ἀκηδέα θυμόν ἔχειν is a Hesiodic formula, *Th.* 61, *Op.* 112, 170, see West *Th.* p.78; in Hesiod the expression always refers to the gods; in the Anthology it is used for a mortal once again at Lucian 7.308,1 (a "care-free" child seized by Hades).<sup>246</sup> By linking the two phrases which refer one to the present and the other to the life after death and by applying only one term, θυμός, to both situations, Crinagoras is using *thymos* in an unusual context, as the word, by contrast to ψυχή, does not normally occur in connection with life after death (see Furley 4-5).

κεῖτ' ἂν ἴκηαι: the form always at verse-end in Homer and Apollonius. The same phrasing occurs at Ap. Rh. 3.944 εὔτ' ἂν ἴκηαι, cf. 3.1109 ὄτ' Ἴωλκὸν ἴκηαι; also *AP* 7.544,1 Φθίαν...ἦν ποθ' ἴκηαι.

Note the striking alliteration of κ in l. 5.

ἔς πλεόνων: the expression is a euphemism for the dead, the "majority": Aristoph. *Eccl.* 1073 ἢ γραῦς ἀνεστηκυῖα παρὰ τῶν πλείονων; at Leon. *AP* 7.731,6=GP *HE* 2464 the phrasing is similar to that of the present poem, κῆς πλεόνων ἦλθε μετοικεσίην; the expression occurs in Latin, Plaut. *Trin.* 291 (translating from Philemon) *ad plures penetravi*, Petr. 42.5 *abiit ad plures*, *Carmen Arvale* 4 *incurrere in pleores*. Cf. the oracles at Polyb. 8.28,7 and Paus. 1.43,3 with the expression μετὰ τῶν πλείονων; Call. *AP* 7.317,2=GP *HE* 1270 ὑμέων γὰρ πλείονες εἶν' Αἰδῆ with G-P *ad loc.* and

<sup>246</sup>In her categorisation of the usages of θυμός in Greek literature, Darcus-Sullivan (151) classifies this Hesiodic ἀκηδέης θυμός in the group of passages where θυμός can be described as affected by a person, for it functions "as an object which the person himself can affect".

van Leeuwen, Rogers and Ussher on Aristoph. *Eccl.* 1073, Hollis on Call. *Hec.* fr. 145 (=358Pf.), where the phrase also occurs in connection with the post-mortal fate of the dead:

εἰ δὲ Δίκη σε  
παρ πόδα μὴ τιμωρὸς ἐτείσατο, δις τόσον αὖτις  
ἔσσεται, ἐν πλεόνεσσι παλίντροπος

Note that Hades is often described by epithets like πολυδέκτης, πολυδέγμων, πολυσημάντωρ, πολύξεινος, see Richardson on *h. Cer.* 9; the expression is preserved in the present day: “στοὺς πολλούς”, see Rohde 570, n. 124. Crinagoras is careful to refer to the dead as “the majority”, and not as φθίμενοι or θανόντες, usual for the pair living-dead, since he intends to stress the idea of the continuation of life and, moreover, a better life for the immortal soul after its departure from this world.

ἐλαφρότερον: ἐλαφρός is a Homeric word, e.g. *Il.* 5.122, 23.628, *al.* The idea of a “light heart”, in the sense of a relieved soul after death, occurs at Plot. 4.3.32,25 (ἡ ψυχὴ) ἐλαφρὰ καὶ δι’ αὐτῆς, “light and alone by itself”, cf. the soothed soul of a living person at Men. 663 Kassel-Austin ἰατρός ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις λόγος νόσων / ψυχῆς γὰρ οὗτος μόνος ἔχει κουφίσματα, schol. on *Il.* 15.393 καὶ Μένανδρος...πρὸς τὸ μὴ συγκαταπίπτειν τῷ σώματι τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀλλ’ ὑπερορᾶν τὸ βᾶρος τοῦ σώματος. The expression occurs, in a different meaning, of a joyful heart, without concerns, at Theogn. 884 (sc. θυμέ) θωρηχθεῖς δ’ ἔσαι πολλὸν ἐλαφρότερος, cf. Simon. fr. 86f. West κουφὸν ἔχων θυμὸν πολλ’ ἀτέλεστα νοεῖ, [Opp.] *Cyn.* 4.372 μείδησέ τε θυμὸς ἐλαφρός; a fearful heart Triphiod. 148 ἐλαφροῦ δείματα θυμοῦ.

For the comparative degree, i.e. “lighter” by comparison <sup>with</sup> the souls of those not initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries, cf. Isocr. *Paneg.* 28 οἱ μετέχοντες...ἡδίους τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσι, Cic. *Leg.* 2.14 *cum spe meliore moriendi*, Aristid. *Eleus.* 2.30 Κ ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς ἡδίους ἔχειν τὰς ἐλπίδας (cf. above, on 5f.), see Richardson 312.

GP 37

AP 9.284=GP 37

ὄλους ἀνθ' οἴων οἰκήτορας, ὦ ἐλεεινή,  
 εὔραο· φεῦ μεγάλης Ἑλλάδος ἀμμορίης.  
 αὐτίκα κλιγύπτου χθαμαλωτέρη εἶθε, Κόρινθε,  
 κεῖσθαι καὶ Λιβυκῆς ψάμμου ἐρημοτέρη,  
 5 ἦ τοίοις διὰ πᾶσα παλιμπρήτοισι δοθεῖσα  
 θλίβειν ἀρχαίων ὀστέα Βακχιαδῶν.

[C] Κριναγόρου εἰς τὴν κατάπτωσιν τῆς Κορίνθου caret Pl

2 ἀμμορίης Reiske: ἀμμορίη P 3 κλιγύπτου Geffcken: γαίη P, γᾶς ἢ C, γαίης Hecker, Γάζης Salmasius, δ' Αἰγείρης Jacobs<sup>2</sup> 5 δοθεῖσα Salmasius: δεθεῖσα P

Lament for Corinth which is now inhabited by slaves. The city was destroyed by L. Mummius in 146 B.C.; most of the men were killed and the women and children were sold as slaves and the area became *ager publicus*, the Isthmian games being transferred to Sicyon. In 44 B.C., by order of Julius Caesar, *libertini* from Italy were brought and settled in the city; by 31 B.C. Corinth had again become a place of importance; see Plut. *Caes.* 57 Καρχηδῶν καὶ Κόρινθος...αἷς καὶ πρότερον τὴν ἄλωσιν καὶ τότε τὴν ἀνάληψιν ἅμα καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἀμφοτέραις γενέσθαι συνέτυχε, Paus. 2.2,2, 2.3,1, 7.16,7f., 17.3,15, Dio Cass. 43.50, Diod. Sic. 32.27,3; the *libertini* included Greeks as well, cf. Plut. *Ant.* 67 οὗτος ἦν Θεόφιλος Ἰππάρχου πατὴρ τοῦ πλείστον παρὰ Ἀντωνίῳ δυνηθέντος, πρώτου δὲ πρὸς Καίσαρα τῶν ἀπελευθέρων μεταβαλομένου καὶ κατοικήσαντος ὕστερον ἐν Κορίνθῳ. Interesting is Strabo's account about the new inhabitants' behaviour, 8.6,23; as they were removing the ruins of the city, καὶ τοὺς τάφους συνασκάπτοντες εὑρισκόν ὄστρακίων τορευμάτων πλήθη, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ χαλκῶματα· θαυμάζοντες δὲ τὴν κατασκευὴν, οὐδένα τάφον ἀσκευώρητον εἶσαν, ὥστε εὐπορήσαντες τῶν τοιούτων καὶ διατιθέμενοι πολλοῦ Νεκροκορινθίων ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν Ῥώμην.

Cichorius (1888, 51ff.), assumed that the epigram was written when Crinagoras was on his way to Rome (Third Embassy, 26-5 B.C., to Augustus), in anger about the traffic in *necrocorinthia*;<sup>247</sup> Gow-Page, followed by Hartigan, plausibly suggest that the poem was written shortly after the settlement of the *libertini* in Corinth. The anger about the quality of the new inhabitants who insulted the Corinthian graves in this shameful manner suggests a date close to 44 B.C., that is some time after Crinagoras' return from his Second Embassy to Caesar (45 B.C.); as Hartigan (11) observes, there is no reason to

<sup>247</sup>The association of the poem with Strabo's account of the event was first made by Bücheler, 510f.

*What dwellers and in what others' place you have found for yourself, o pitiable! Woe for the great misfortune of Hellas! I would have you lie lower than Egypt, Corinth, and more deserted than Libyan sand, rather than be surrendered whole to such slaves, sold over and over again, and vex the bones of the ancient Bacchiads.*

assume that the poet never left his island except to go to Rome. This is a very plausible suggestion indeed, as we have evidence for at least one more voyage of Crinagoras, his visit to Attica and his initiation in the Eleusinian Mysteries (35 GP). The writing of the present poem, however, does not necessarily imply a voyage of the author to Corinth; it is logical to suppose that the news travelled around Greece and of course reached Lesbos. It can be suggested therefore that the poem was written in Lesbos shortly after 44 B.C.

Other poems of the Anthology lamenting the past glory of Corinth are Antip. Sid. 9.151, Polystratus 7.297; cf. Antip. Sid. 7.493=GP HE 68 on a mother who killed her daughter and herself at the sack of Corinth by L. Mummius. On the sad fate of other cities or islands cf. Antip. Thess. 9.408 and 550 on Delos, id. 9.421 on the Cyclades, Alpheus 9.101 and others (see G-P GP on Alpheus IX intr. note) on Mycenae, Alpheus 9.104 on Argos, Bianor 9.423 on Sardis, Duris 9.424 on Ephesus, Antip. Thess. 7.705 on Amphipolis, Barbucallus 9.425-427 on Berytus, Agathias 9.152-5 on Troy, cf. also Siedschlag 53 with n. 1. For poems of the Anthology about cities in general, see Hartigan *passim*.

οἴους ἀνθ' οἴων: as Gow-Page comment, the phrase has a tragic ring; its usage is frequent in Sophocles, cf. *Aj.* 503 οἴας λατρείας ἀνθ' ὅσου ζήλου, *ibid.* 557 οἴος ἐξ οἴου τράφης, *ibid.* 923 οἴος ὦν οἴως ἔχεις, *Ant.* 942 οἴα πρὸς οἴων ἀνδρῶν πάσχω, *Tr.* 1045 οἴαις οἴος ὦν ἐλαύνεται, *Eur. Alc.* 144 οἴας οἴος ὦν ἀμαρτάνεις. In all the above examples but *Aj.* 557 and *Alc.* 144, where there is a flattering paralleling of the two terms of the comparison, the expression emphasises an antithesis, mostly that of the unworthy present situation of the hero and his / her own quality, as in the present poem. Geffcken (1916, 137) compares with *Leon. AP* 7.740,6 φεῦ, γαίης ὄσσης ὅσσον ἔχει μόνιον (contrast between Cretho's past wealth and his present share of land, i.e. his grave), and "Plato" 7.268,4 τόσσον ἄγος τόσσου κέρδεος ἀράμενος, which Stadtmüller further compares with *Jul. Aeg.* 7.591,2 and *Antip. Thess.* 7.625,5f. A strong contrast is expressed in Peek 17,1 ἠοῖον ἀγῶνα μάχῃς τελέσαντες.../ φουχᾶς δαιμονίῳς ὀλέσατ' ἐμ πολέμοι, see Skiadas (1967) 56.

For the question "how..." or "where is your past glory" in laments on cities, cf. *Antip. Sid.* 9.151,1ff. Ποῦ τὸ περίβλεπτον κάλλος σέο, Δωρὶ Κόρινθε;, etc., see Alexiou 83ff., 222 n. 4; cf. also *Agath. AP* 9.153,1 ὦ πτόλι, πῆ σέο κείνα τὰ τείχεα, κτλ. (on Troy).<sup>248</sup> For the lamenting effect of rhetorical questions in epigrams cf. also Siedschlag 21.

οἰκήτορας: the word has often a nuance of pride, cf. the oracle of Delphi to the Spartans at *Hdt.* 7.220 ὦ Σπάρτης οἰκήτορες εὐρυχόροιο, κτλ.; cf. also *Aesch. Supp.*

<sup>248</sup>Cf. for instance the persistent questions "how have you fallen", "where is your glory" in the laments for Constantinople of Emmanuel Georgillias (*Legrand Bibl.* I. 174 ll. 73f., 144ff., 150ff.) and of the bishop of Myrrha Matthew (id. *ibid.* II, 315ff., ll. 2375, 2400, 2425, etc.). Georgillias is also referring to the destruction of Corinth, among that of other Greek cities, by the Turks, *loc. cit.* ll. 78, 83 ὦ Κόρινθος πολύθλιβος πολὺ κακὸν τὸ εἶδες.

952 τῆσδε γῆς οἰκήτορας, Soph. *OC* 728 χθονὸς τῆσδ' εὐγενεῖς οἰκήτορες, Eur. *Supp.* 658, παλαιᾶς Κεκροπίας οἰκήτορας; cf. Crinagoras' ἀρχαίων Βακχιαδῶν (l. 6), which stresses the unworthiness of Corinth's present in comparison to her past inhabitants, encircling the whole poem between the two.

εὐραο: for the middle verb, cf. LSJ s.v. IV, "get for one's self", Aesch. *Ag.* 1588 μοῖραν ἠύρετ' ἀσφαλῆ, cf. id. *Sept.* 880, *Od.* 21.304. For the later form εὐράμην for εὐρόμην cf. Antiphilus *AP* 9.29,1 ἠύραο, Jul. Aeg. *API* 181,2 εὐραμένη, anon. *ibid.* 351,3 εὐραο, Eust. 650,47; cf. id. 1144,21ff. τὸ δὲ ἀρέσθαι μέσος δεύτερος ἀόριστός ἐστιν ὁμοῖος τῷ εὐρέσθαι· ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν ἔχει πολλὴν χρῆσιν ὁ πρῶτος ἀόριστος,...τοῦ δὲ εὐρέσθαι οὐχ οὕτως. Cf. Phryn. *Ecl.* 115 Rutherford εὐρασθαι οὐκ ἐρεῖς προπαροξυτόνως διὰ τοῦ α, ἀλλὰ παροξυτόνως διὰ τοῦ ε εὐρέσθαι, see Rutherford 215ff., K-G I (2) 104. For the resolution of ω in αο in the arsis of the foot, see Chantraine (1958), 52f.

ὠ ἐλεεινῆ: the adjective is Homeric, *Il.* 21.273, 23.110, *Od.* 8.531, *al.* In sepulchral epigrams it often describes the misery either of the deceased or of those left behind, cf. for instance Antip. Thess. *AP* 7.286,5, Bianor 7.396,5, same *sedes*, as well as at Crin. 45,1 GP. For the apostrophe with ὠ see intr. under Language and Style, Apostrophes.

μεγάλης...ἀμμορίης: ἀμμορίη (misfortune) is a Homeric ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, *Od.* 20.76 μοῖραν τ' ἀμμορίην τε καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, elsewhere only in our epigram and *AP* 9.786,3=Page 69.<sup>249</sup> The codex has ἀμμορίη, the genitive being Reiske's conjecture, accepted by Jacobs<sup>1</sup> and Jacobs<sup>2</sup>; Geist, Rubensohn, Dübner, Beckby, Paton, who take μεγάλης with ἀμμορίης, and render "the great calamity to Greece" (Paton). Rubensohn compared Antistius *AP* 7.366,3 φεῦ πόσον ἄλγος Ἑλλάδι and Antip. Thess. 7.367,4 φεῦ κείνης, Ἥλιε, θευμορίης. Waltz and Gow-Page retain P's reading; Gow-Page cite two Sophoclean passages with φεῦ+voc. instead of the more common φεῦ+gen., *Aj.* 983 φεῦ τάλας and *Ant.* 1300 φεῦ φεῦ μάτερ ἀθλία, φεῦ τέκνον; add also for instance Eur. *Phoen.* 1296 φεῦ δᾶ, Xen. *Ag.* 7,5 φεῦ ὦ Ἑλλάς. Defending the same reading, Stadtmüller cites passages where the adjective "great" qualifies Greece, Eur. *Med.* 440 and *Tr.* 1115 Ἑλλάδι τᾶ μεγάλα, *IA* 1378 Ἑλλάς ἡ μεγίστη. This possibility cannot be excluded; one might assume, however, that in the present poem it is not very likely for Greece to be described as μεγάλη for all the past glory the term could be seen as referring to and for all the scornful tone against the *libertini* and the feeling of the Greeks' wounded pride the poem conveys. A "big misfortune of Greece" would seem more suitable here, cf. the expression συμφορὴ μεγάλη at Hdt. 3.117, 4.79, 5.35, 8.100; also Pind. *O.* 7.77 λύτρον συμφορᾶς οἰκτρᾶς and the Homeric μέγα πῆμα at *Il.* 3.50,

<sup>249</sup>Russo-Galiano comment *ad loc.* that, although the scholia interpret "good and ill fortune", the Greek more likely means "what is fated and what is not fated". Crinagoras' usage, however, is in accord with the interpretation of the scholia (see Ebeling s.v.), as in this context ἀμμορίη can only mean "ill fate", cf. Giangrande (1992) 26. For the problem of meaning in Page *FGE* 69,3 see the discussion *ad loc.*

6.282, 9.229, 17.99, *al.*, Hes. *Th.* 592, *Op.* 56.<sup>250</sup> Since it is more probable that μεγάλη qualifies ἀμμορίη, then, Reiske's conjecture could be accepted. The juxtaposition of three genitives with the same ending, however, could perhaps point to the change of μεγάλης to μεγάλη, which would be a construction of φεῦ with the vocative.<sup>251</sup> This would create a hiatus at the diaeresis of the pentameter which is rare among the *Garland* authors but not unattested, see G-P *GP* I.xli. and intr. under Metre, Hiatus.

αὐτίκα: Crinagoras uses the word in senses not recognised by LSJ, cf. id. *AP* 6.242,5, 9.224, Call. 5.23,6; here the nearest sense seems to be “presently”.

καίγύπτου χθαμαλωτέρη: Rubensohn writes †καὶ γὰρ ἡ; The most popular correction is γαίης (Hecker, followed by Dübner, Stadtmüller, Paton and Waltz), but as Gow-Page remark, the expression “lower than earth” is unparalleled and unconvincing. Giangrande (“Fifteen Hellenistic Epigrams” 39) defends the reading γαίη χθαμαλωτέρη, rendering “O Corinth, I would have you lie as soil (γαίη) both (καὶ...καί) more low and more deserted than Libya (χθαμαλωτέρη...ἐρημοτέρη) rather than be...” and comparing with Alpheus' expression (9.101,2) οὐ πολλῶ γ' αἰπύτεραι πεδίων, of the ruins of old cities: “Corinth has been destroyed, and reduced to γαίη, just as Mycenae was reduced to πεδία.” The structure of the sentence in Crinagoras' poem, however, is very unsatisfactory, as the emphatic 'καὶ...καί (moreover at the same *sedes* of the two consecutive lines) points to the need of the first comparative (χθαμαλωτέρη) to be symmetrical to the second one (ἐρημοτέρη), and thus to be also preceded by a genitive, i.e. a word to counter Libya. Hartigan discusses Lumb's (64) suggestion κάργειης, observing that the Argive plain is actually “low and watery at its edge”, citing Paus. 2.37,5, but she observes that the problem here is Argos' proximity to Corinth (see Hartigan 12, n. 29); in regard to Pausanias' passage one could also add that the extremely deep Alcyonian lake (through which Dionysus went down to Hades to bring up Semele) is not necessarily identified with the whole of the Argive plain. Hartigan further mentions the suggestion of Dr. David Vessey αἰγιαλοῦ: “would you lay even lower than the shingly beach, even more deserted than the Libyan sands...”,<sup>e</sup> reading which offers a contrast between sands, those beneath the sea and those in the desert (see Hartigan *ibid.*); this comparison, however, is not satisfactory, as the text seems indeed to need a coupling of Libya with another place. Salmasius suggests Γάζης, the city having been destroyed by Alexander Iannaeus (c. 98 B.C.);<sup>252</sup> as Gow-Page remark, however, it is doubtful whether

<sup>250</sup> A similar exclamation occurs in Georgillas' lament, in regard to the villainy of the conquerors, 1.123f [ῆ] φοῦρκωσις Ἀνατολῆς ἐπήρασι τὴν πόλιν, / οἱ Τούρκοι σκύλοι ἀσεβεῖς ὦ συμφορὰ μεγάλη!

<sup>251</sup> The juxtaposition of three genitives in Crin. 41,7f. GP κακοσκημεῦς ἐπὶ τέφρης / ἀνδρός is a different case, as the different endings do not cause any syntactical confusion.

<sup>252</sup> Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* 13.364 ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος τούτους ἀναιρεῖ καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν ἐπικατασκάψας ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, Strabo 16.2,30 καὶ ἡ πόλις...ἔνδοξός ποτε γενομένη, κατὸ πασμένη δ' ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ μένουσα ἔρημος; (for further details and for the adjective ἔρημος describing the city, see *RE* 7.883).

this city of Judaea was so well-known as to serve as a proverbial example. Jacobs conjectured δ' Αἰγείρης, καίγειρης printed by Beckby (the town being also Jacobs' conjecture for Bianor *AP* 9.423,7, accompanying Bura and Helice as cities swallowed by the sea).<sup>253</sup> The most plausible reading, however, is Geffcken's suggestion καίγυπτου, supported by Theocr. 17.79 χθαμαλά Αἴγυπτος,<sup>254</sup> Alan Griffiths (218) further notes the occurrence of the two lands as a complementary or contrasting pair in Crin. 25,4 GP ἐν γένος Αἰγύπτου καὶ Λιβύης θέμεναι and Antiphilus 9.413,5f. οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐλαξ / Αἰγύπτου Λιβύης ψάμμου ἐπιστρέφεται. Borthwick also remarks that the contrast of Egypt with Corinth is suitable here as the crags and the hollows of Corinth are proverbial, cf. Strabo 8.6,23. For these reasons Αἰγύπτου seems the most plausible suggestion.<sup>255</sup>

Hesychius has χθαμαλός· ταπεινός, ἴσος, ὀμαλός, κοῖλος (the word has the same derivation as χθών, χαμαί, and couples with ὀμαλός, see Chantraine 1933, 245); Homer uses the word in the sense of "low", *Il.* 13.683, *Od.* 11.194, 12.101. On χθαμαλός describing a land, cf. Mnasalcas *AP* 9.333,1 χθαμαλὰν χθόνα πόντου (see *GP HE* 22659), Dio Chrys. 1.6,2, Philo *De Aet.* 118,3.

εἶθε...ῆ: αἰ+inf. of a wish occurs twice in Homer, very rare in later literature, cf. *Od.* 7.311ff. αἰ γὰρ...ἐμὸς γαμβρὸς καλέεσθαι, 24.376ff. αἰ γὰρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη...ἐφεστάμεναι καὶ ἀμύνειν. Hainsworth on *Od.* 7.311-14 explains the figure as a blend of the wish (αἰ γάρ + opt.) and prayer (apostrophe to the god + inf.), while Chantraine (1963, 229 and 318) sees it as a result of the use of the infinitive after ὄφελον; this view is further supported by phrases like *Il.* 14.84 αἰθ' ὄφελλες...στρατοῦ ἄλλου / σημαίνειν, Plato *Rep.* 432c εἰ γὰρ ὄφελον κατιδεῖν. Cf. moreover the ὄφελον, "I ought", of the mourner from Andromache's lament to modern Greek dirges, expressing the wish he/she had died before experiencing the death of the beloved one (Alexiou 180); for the impossible wish in laments see below on Λιβυκῆς...ἐρημοτέρη.

Ἦ is equivalent to μάλλον...ῆ, as in Crin. 44,4 GP; cf. *Il.* 1.117 βούλομαι ἔγωγε λαὸν σόον ἔμμεναι ἢ ἀπολέσθαι, *Hdt.* 9.26,7 οὕτω ὦν δίκαιον ἡμέας ἔχειν τὸ ἕτερον κέρας ἢπερ Ἀθηναίους, *Soph. Aj.* 966 ἐμοὶ πικρὸς τέθηκεν ἢ κείνοις γλυκὺς: see Kamerbeek *ad loc.* The expression εἶθε κτλ. has, of course, the sense of βούλομαι which appears in this construction, especially in Homer, see K-G II (2), 303,2.

<sup>253</sup>Cf. their fate mentioned by Philo at *De Aet.* 140,4 κατὰ Πελοπόννησόν φασι τρεῖς "Αἰγειραν Βοῦράν τε καὶ ὑψηλὴν Ἐλίκειαν / τείχεσιν ἢ τάχ' ἔμελλε περὶ βρούα μυρία φύσειν".

<sup>254</sup>See Geffcken (1916) 137, also citing Plin. *NH* 6.166, where the level of the Red Sea is reported to be 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> feet above that of the land of Egypt. "Low Egypt" indicates the Delta and the Nile valley, see Gow on Theocr. 17.79. The Scholiast says: χθαμαλά, ἢ ὑπτία· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὄρη ἐν ταύτῃ, see further Borthwick 433.

<sup>255</sup>While Borthwick's (432f.) Αἰγυπτίης creates a discord with Λιβυκῆς ψάμμου; the adjective Αἰγυπτίης would "balance Λιβυκῆς in the pentameter" (Borthwick 433) if both adjectives qualified ψάμμου. Αἰγυπτίης, however, qualifies an understood χώρας or γῆς, which renders this balance impossible.

The same construction occurs at Antip. Thess. 9.408,1f. (GP GP 711f.)  
Εἴθε...πλάζεσθαι.../ ἦ...στῆναι.

Κόρινθε: Stadtmüller remarks that Crinagoras is imitating Ant. Sid. 9.151,1 Δωρὶ  
Κόρινθε, with the apostrophe to the city at the end of the pentameter.

Λιβυκῆς...ἐρημοτέρη: for ἐρήμος - ἐρημαῖος applied to a deserted city cf.  
Pompeius AP 9.28,1 (on Mycenae), Alpheus 9.101,4 (on the same); also Antonius  
9.102,3 (on the same), Antip. Thess. 9.408,5 (on Delos), id. 9.421,6, id. 9.550,5f. Cf.  
Eur. fr. 828 Nauck αἱ γὰρ πόλεις εἶσ' ἄνδρες, οὐκ ἐρημία, *Tr.* 26f. ἐρημία γὰρ  
πόλιν ὅταν λάβῃ κακῆ, / νοσεῖ τὰ τῶν θεῶν, κτλ.. For the exaggerating  
comparison cf. Alpheus 9,101,4, Pompeius 9.28,2 ἀμαυροτέρη παντὸς ἰδεῖν  
σκοπέλου; a close parallel to Crinagoras' image is Duris 9.424,2f., Libya compared to  
Ephesus, destroyed by a flood, with Gow-Page on *HE* 1775f.

Libya is sandy (Hdt. 2.12) and its solitude is typical in literature, cf. id. 2.32 τὰ  
δὲ κατύπερθε τῆς θηριώδεος ψάμμος τέ ἐστι καὶ ἄνδρος δεινῶς καὶ ἔρημος  
πάντων; cf. Eur. *Hel.* 404, Ap. Rh. 4.1384, anon. AP 7.626,1ff. The "Libyan sand" is  
usually a symbol of desolation, cf. Antiphilus AP 9.413,6, Stat. Fl. 7.290,2, or of infinite  
number, anon. 12.145,3f. ἴσον...Λιβύσσης / ψάμμου ἀριθμητὴν ἀρτιάσαι ψεκάδα,  
Catullus 7.3, Virg. *Georg.* 2.105f., see Gow-Page GP on Antiphilus 1037-8, Mynors on  
Virg. *Georg.* 2.103-8.

The expressions where the Libyan sand symbolises infinite number usually  
describe an ἀδύνατον: "it would be easier to count the Libyan sand than, etc."<sup>256</sup> In the  
present poem the phrase combines, as it were, the two common literary usages of the  
Libyan sand: it symbolises solitude and, moreover, together with the notion of the  
lowness of Egypt, forms an ἀδύνατον which does not involve the commonplace  
impossibility of counting the sand, but belongs to the type of Sappho fr. 156 L-P πόλυ  
πάκτιδος ἀδυμελεστέρα... / χρύσω χρυσοτέρα, i.e. an exaggerating comparison with  
things which display *par excellence* the feature mentioned.<sup>257</sup> The "Libyan sand" also  
occurs as the second element of comparison, "lighter than the Libyan sand", at Antiphilus  
AP 9.310,2 ψῆγμ'... / Λιβυκῆς κουφότερον ψαμάθου. Comparable to the present  
ἀδύνατον, in that it involves the predicament of cities, is Eur. *IA* 952ff.: Achilles swears  
that Agamemnon will not touch Iphigeneia unless the order of things is so overturned that

<sup>256</sup>The impossibility of counting the grains of the sand is proverbial: Zenob. 1.80 Ἄμμον μετρεῖν ἐπὶ  
τῶν ἀδυνάτων καὶ ἀνεφίκτων; for this ἀδύνατον in Pindar, see Dutoit 10ff. Waltz compares the  
"souffrances des amours garçonnees assimilées aux ἀδύνατα" (AP 12.145,3f.) with Apollo's declaration  
at Hdt. 1.47 Οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμου τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης.

<sup>257</sup>Demetr. *Eloc.* 127: τὸ δὲ "χρῶσω χρυσοτέρα" τὸ Σαπφικὸν ἐν ὑπερβολῇ λέγεται καὶ αὐτὸ  
καὶ ἀδυνάτως, πλὴν αὐτῷ γε τῷ ἀδυνάτῳ χάριν ἔχει, οὐ ψυχρότητα. Cf. also Sappho fr 31.4 L-P  
χλωροτέρα δὲ ποίας, *Il.* 10.437 λευκότεροι χιόνος, 18.610 θῶρ κα φαεινότερον πυρὸς αὐγῆς,  
Pind. *N.* 4.81 Παρίου λίθου λευκοτέραν, *al.*, see Tzamali on Sappho fr. 98a,7, Lausberg 411, § 910,3.

a barbarian dwelling becomes a city and Phthia disappears.<sup>258</sup> Crinagoras' ἀδύνατον is difficult to categorise (cf. the classification of Canter and Dutoit), as it further combines the feature of lament: it could be described as “I would prefer A (which is an ἀδύνατον but also something *worse* than the actual fact), rather than B (a reality which the author is thus presenting as utterly shocking).” On the exaggerating wishes of the mourners in laments, Alexiou (181) observes: “Often the hyperbole of the wish is designed to impress upon the dead the extremity of the mourner’s grief... Frequently wish is a fanciful flight into the realm of the unreal and the impossible”.<sup>259</sup>

Finally, one can note that Crinagoras’ verses form a priamel, where the foil is the situation of Egypt and Libya, and the climax is that of Corinth; cf. Theognis’ statement (783-8) that he has visited beautiful places like Sicily, Euboea and Sparta, but none is more dear to him than Megara, his own town.<sup>260</sup> In a negative comparison Crinagoras is saying: “Egypt is low and Libya is deserted, but Corinth, in her present state, is more appalling than both”.

ΤΟΙΟΙΣ: the pronoun, “such” stands instead of τοιοῖσδε, implying bad quality, cf. *Il* 2.120f μὰψ οὔτω τοιόνδε τοςόνδε τε λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν, *ibid.* 799 ἀλλ’ οὔπω τοιόνδε τοςόνδε τε λαὸν ὄπωπα, here indicating the excellence of the warriors.

ΠΑΛΙΜΠΡΗΤΟΙΣΙ: Crinagoras speaks contemptuously of the freedmen as if they were not only slaves, but also slaves of the worst quality; cf. Pollux 3.125 ὁ δὲ πολλάκις πραθείς, ὃν εἶποι τις ἂν παλίμπρατον, παλίμβολος ἂν λέγοιτο, Menand. fr. 379 Körte παλίμβολος, τρίπρατος, Harpocration 143.11, Bekker *Anecd.* 291.29 παλίμβολος· ὁ δοῦλος ὁ διὰ πονηρίαν πιπρασκόμενος καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλους δεσπότης κεκτημένος.<sup>261</sup> Ancey (140), based on Strabo’s account of the reselling of the *necrocorinthia* (see intr. note), suggested παλιμπρήταισι, from the rare word παλιμπρήτης, the person who “sells again”, cf. Socr. *Epist.* 1,1 τοὺς σοφιστὰς καὶ Σωκράτην φαίνη ὑπονοεῖν παλιμπράτην τινὰ εἶναι παιδείας.

ΔΙΑ...ΔΟΘΕΪΣΑ: Salmasius corrected P’s δεθεῖσα to δοθεῖσα; Jacobs saw that διά belongs with δοθεῖσα. Suggestions like διάπασμα (Reiske), διάπαστα (sc. ὅστ’εα,

<sup>258</sup> See Dutoit 19 and Canter 33f., who cites the Euripidean example, classifying it: “things or conditions utterly impossible, or believed to be so, are true or would prove true sooner than the thing or condition mentioned by the writer could be true or capable of realization”. The ἀδύνατα in Hellenistic epigrams usually declare that the fame of a person will not perish “as long as...” (referring to the natural order), see Dutoit 36ff., cf. Race 109f.

<sup>259</sup> For an impossible wish in view of the destruction of a town, cf. the lament of Emmanuel Georgillas for Constantinople: the poet also wishes to have experienced worse (and impossible) catastrophes rather than have Constantinople taken by the Turks (Legrand I 173, ll. 117ff.):

Νᾶχεν ἀστράψειν οὐρανός, νᾶχε κάγῃ ἢ ὄρα·  
ἥλιος, σελήνη μηδαμοῦ νὰ μ’ εἶχαν ἀνατελεῖν,  
καὶ τέτοια ἔμερα μελανὴ νὰ μ’ εἶχεν ξημερώσει,  
εἰς τοῦ μαῖου τοῦ μηνὸς σ’ τὰς εἴκοσι ἑννέα, κτλ.

<sup>260</sup> See Race 70; for a definition and features of the priamel, see ixff., 7ff. and *passim.*; cf. also Gutzwiller 72 with n. 65.

<sup>261</sup> On the villainy of the present inhabitants, cf. also the lament of the bishop Matthew for Constantinople in Legrand II 313, ll. 2320, 2378, 2420, etc.

Harberton), διέπειν σε, διέπουσι or διόποισι (Stadtmüller) are far-fetched and unnecessary. The reading διὰ...δεθεισα (accepted by Giangrande 1975, 39) “tied up to the slaves” does not make any sense; for διαδίδωμι in the sense of “hand over”, cf. Pind. *Pae.* 7b 16 ἐμοὶ τοῦτον διέδωκαν ἀθάνατον πόνον. For the *tnesis* cf. Crin. 25,1f. GP διὰ...τέμνει, 28,2 GP δι’...ἔκετο, 32,5 GP σὺν...λάβειν. For πᾶσα in the sense of “all” (LSJ s.v. Π), referring to the “entire” city, cf. for instance *Il.* 13.13 ἐφαίνετο πᾶσα μὲν Ἴδη, *Ap. Rh.* 3.792 πόλις περὶ πᾶσα βοήσει (for the preference of the sense “the whole city” against “every city” see Hunter *ad loc.*), id. *ibid.* 894, *Eur. Ion* 1225, *Hadrian AP* 9.387,6 Θεσσαλίην κείσθαι πᾶσαν ὑπ’ Αἰνεάδαϊς.

θλίβειν...ὄστέα: the expression has been taken to refer to the necrocorinthia (Bücheler 510, Cichorius [1888] 51f.); as θλίβειν, however, does not mean to dig up, but to press upon, θλίβειν ὄστέα, taken literally, does not, of course, concern the necrocorinthia (cf. Hartigan 12); an allusion to them, however, cannot be excluded. In Polystratus’ poem on the fall of Corinth (*AP* 7.297,3f.) there is also a reference to ὄστέα: the bones of her men killed in the battle against Mummius are left unwept and deprived of κτέρεα, the funeral honours, by the Romans, and this is presented as retribution for the deeds of their ancestors, the sack of Troy by the Achaeans:

δοριπτοίητα δὲ νεκρῶν  
ὄστέα σωρευθεῖς εἰς ἐπέχει σκόπελος.  
Τοὺς δὲ δόμον Πριάμοιο πυρὶ πρήσαντας Ἀχαιοῦς  
ἀκλαύστους κτερέων νόσφισαν Αἰνεάδαϊ.

Through the reference to the ancestors of the Corinthians, the Bacchiads, Crinagoras may also be alluding to the present shameful attitude of the new inhabitants to the city’s graves, which consists, too, in the deprivation of the dead of their κτέρεα, and be linking, so to say, the present to the past (Αἰνεάδαϊ, Βακχιαδῶν, last word of both poems), as Polystratus does, though in a different manner and spirit.

θλίβειν, “press”, is a Homeric ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, *Od.* 17.221 ὅς πολλῆς φλιῆσι παραστὰς θλίψεται ὤμους and a common Attic word, mostly in prose (see Mineur on *Call. H.* 4.35); cf. also *Aristoph. Lys.* 314, *Pax* 1239, *Theocr.* 20.4. Rubensohn compared *Pers.* 1.37 *non levis cippus nunc imprimit ossa?*, for which see Kibel *ad loc.*; note the idea that earth is “pressing” the bones, so it is not “light”, according to the common funeral wish, see on Crin. 17,7f. GP; the poet uses the same expression, in a negative context, of a dead villain, at 41,1f. GP; for the concept of the grave as a burden to the dead, cf. *Leon. AP* 7.655,1f.=GP *HE* 2056f. ἡ δὲ περισσὴ / ἄλλον ἐπιθλίβει... / στήλη, see Gow-Page *ad loc.* and Geffcken on *Leon.* 10=*AP* 7.503,1, Gutzwiller 101.

ἀρχαίων: the word never occurs in Homer or Apollonius. Here it describes the original members of the family of Corinth, cf. *Call. H.* 5.60 ἀρχαίων...Θεσπιέων; Bulloch prefers to take the adjective in its other meaning, “old”=πρότερος, which sets the story “firmly in the past in relation to the supposed occasion of the hymn” (see Bulloch *ad loc.*) and cites

other examples where ἀρχαῖος, qualifying persons and cities, has this sense “of old”, Bacchyl. 5.150 ἀρχαίαν πόλιν Πλευρώνα, Soph. *Aj.* 1292 ἀρχαῖον...Πέλοπα, Rhianus fr. 25,2 Powell Πύρρης... ἀρχαίας, Nic. *Th.* 487 ἀρχαίη Μετάνειρα, *al.*, suggesting the same meaning for Arat. 99 ἄστρον ἀρχαῖον πατέρ ’ ἔμμεναι. Kidd (*ad loc.*) prefers the sense “original” for both the Callimachean passage and that of Aratus. In regard to the present passage one could observe that the senses are anyway close to each other, the original founders of a city and leaders of a historical family being also old; cf. Soph. *Ant.* 981f. ἀρχαιογόνων... Ἐρεχθιδᾶν, *AApp* 1.38,4 ἀρχαίας Ἡρακλέος γενεᾶς, 57,4 Ὀξύλος ἀρχαίην ἔκτισε τήνδε πόλιν; on the antiquity of cities cf. for instance Crin. 32,4 GP ἀρχαίην...Σχερίην, Alexandrus *AP* 7.709,1 Σάρδιες ἀρχαῖαι, anon. 7.544,2 πόλιν ἀρχαίαν...Θαυμακίαν.

For a similar hyperbaton, with a *homoeoteleuton* at the end of the two hemistichs of the pentameter cf. Diosc. *AP* 7.411,6, Antip. Sid. 7.409,2, 9.64,8 (Asclep. or Archias, see GP *HE* 45) ἀρχαίων...ἡμιθέων. The figure is very frequent in Crinagoras, see intr. under Metre, Homoeoteleuton and agreement between pentameter ends.

Βακχιαδῶν: the aristocratic family ruling Corinth, overthrown by Cypselus in the mid-seventh century; after their flight they settled in Corcyra and elsewhere, see Hdt. 5.92, Diod. Sic. 7.9, Paus. 2.4, Strabo 7.7,6. Cf. Ap. Rh. 4.1212ff. εἰσότε Βακχιάδαι, γενεὴν Ἐφύρηθεν ἔόντες, / ἀνέρες ἐνάσσαντο μετὰ χρόνον, κτλ.; the scholiast offers a mythological explanation of the expulsion of the Bacchiadae, attributing it to the murder of Actaeon, son of Melissus, cf. Diod. Sic. 8. 10, Plut. *Amat. Narr.* 2.<sup>262</sup>

<sup>262</sup>For further discussion of the story see Will 180ff.

Τῆς ὄιος γενεῆ μὲν Ἀγαρρική, ἔνθα τ' Ἀράξεω  
 ὕδωρ πιλοφόροις πίνεται Ἀρμενίοις,  
 χαῖται δ' οὐ φμήλοισ ἄτε που μαλακοῖς ἐπὶ μαλλοῖς†  
 ψεδναῖ δ', ἀγροτέρων τρηχύτεραι χιμάρων·  
 5 ιηδὺς δὲ τριτοκεῖ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, ἐκ δὲ γάλακτος  
 θηλὴ ἀεὶ μαστοῦ πλήθεται οὐθατίου·  
 βληχὴ δ' ἀσσοτάτω τερένης μυκῆματι μόσχου·  
 ἄλλα γὰρ ἄλλοῖαι πάντα φέρουσι γέαι.

Κριναγόρου εἰς πρόβατον τρίτοκον [C] καὶ νῦν εἰσι τοιαῦτα πρόβατα οὐκ ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν Σκυθίᾳ [J ad fin.] θαυμαστόν caret Pl

1 ἔνθα τ' Schneider: ἐντὸς P | Ἀράξεω apogr.: -ξεο P 3 χαῖται Salm.: χεῖται P 7 ἀσσοτάτω P: -τη Hecker 8 γέαι P: γύαι Schneider

*The sheep is of Agarrian origin, where Araxes' water is drunk by felt-capped Armenians, and the fleece is not <soft wool like that on sheep>, but sparse-haired, rougher than wild goats'; and it bears thrice every year, and its udder's teat is always full of milk; and its bleat is very near to the lowing of a tender calf; different countries bear everything different.*

A description of a strange kind of sheep. The reference might be to the Armenian mouflon, a wild sheep related to the *Ovis musimon* of Corsica and Sardinia (cf. on 3f.), see *Enc. Brit.* s.v. Mouflon, also Chaumont 186f. Other recorded peculiarities of sheep are: the small size of the ones herded by the Indian Psylli, Ael. *NA* 16.37; the Indian sheep and goats are larger than asses, id. *ibid.* 4.32, information probably taken from Ctesias' *Indica*, reported in Photius' *Bibl.* 46b35ff.; Aristotle also says ἐν δὲ Συρίᾳ τὰ πρόβατα τὰς οὐράς ἔχει τὸ πλάτος πήχεος, τὰ δ' ὦτα αἱ αἰγες σπιθαμῆς καὶ παλαιστῆς, καὶ ἔναι συμβάλλουσι κάτω τὰ ὦτα πρὸς τὴν γῆν (*HA* 606a13ff.), while Ctesias too speaks about the large size of the tail of Indian sheep (Phot. *loc. cit.*, fr. 45i Jacoby), information also reported by Aelian, *NA* 3.3; cf. Hdt. 3.113, of a kind of Arabian sheep: ἔχει τὰς οὐράς μακράς, τριῶν πήχεων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας, see Auberger 170, n. 60. Cf. also below on 3f. and on τριτοκεῖ. For evidence about Armenia's richness in animals, cf. Ael. *NA* 17.31 καὶ πᾶσα μὲν οὖν ἡ Ἀρμενία θηρίων ἀγρίων τροφὸς τε ἅμα καὶ μήτηρ ἐστίν: ἡ δὲ πεδιάς ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ, see further Chaumont 186f.

The poem might be connected with the expedition of Tiberius to Armenia in 20 B.C., like Crin. 28 GP, for which see Chaumont 181ff. The account of a strange kind of

animal of a foreign land is comparable to 30 GP where we hear about the device of Ligurian bandits to put dogs off their track and, more generally, to other poems reporting impressions and incidents from voyages, cf. 23, 31, 17 GP, without this necessarily meaning that the poet has traveled to Armenia and seen the animal there, although this possibility cannot be excluded, see below on τῆς ὄιος.

**1f.:** perhaps a playful reminiscence of *Il.* 21.157f., the account of Asteropaeus' origin from the river Axius: αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ γενεὴ ἔξ Ἀξιοῦ εὐρὺν ῥέοντος, / Ἀξιοῦ, ὃς κάλλιστον ὕδωρ ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἴησιν.

**τῆς ὄιος:** cf. the similar opening of Adaeus *AP* 6.258,1, where the poet offers, *inter alia*, a ewe and a heifer to Demeter, cf. below on πᾶν ἔτος. The usual form in Homer is the genitive of ὄιος: in Homer we have both forms ὄιος and οἴος, depending on the requirements of the metre; for the genitive singular cf. *Il.* 9.207, *Od.* 4.764 (ὄιος), *Il.* 12.451, *Od.* 1.443 (οἴος). When metre allows both forms, the manuscript tradition prefers ὄιος, see Chantraine (1958) 219.

The definite article has puzzled critics who have suggested alterations (τῆλ' Stadtmüller, ἦ = *ecce* Sitzler, see Stadtmüller's apparatus). Gow-Page remark that "whether the article is present or not, Crinagoras is describing a particular sheep which his audience must see or have in the mind's eye"; deeming unlikely the assumption that the poet is inspired by an artistic representation, they incline to the opinion that "Crinagoras is describing an actual specimen lately brought from Armenia and seen by the persons for whom he is composing". It is more natural to assume that the poet has heard accounts of the strangeness of the Armenian sheep and wrote an epigram on the subject; one cannot exclude the possibility that the poet accompanied Tiberius on his expedition (cf. intr. note). Chaumont (184f.) suggests that Crinagoras heard the descriptions of educated members of the army who had observed the area, its inhabitants and animals, associating them with the *cohors studiosa* of Horace, *Epist.* 1.3,6-8, for which cf. Mayer on *ibid.* 1. 2. At any rate, the definite article can be kept, as the audience was presumably aware of the situation described: sometimes Crinagoras leaves ambiguous or unclarified points in his poems, which can be explained by the presupposition of the audience's knowledge, see intr. under Language and Style, Brevity.

**ΓΕΝΕΪ:** γενεή occurs very often at this *sedes* of the hexameter, cf. for instance *Il.* 4.60, 6.24, 6.149, Call. *H.* 1.36, Theocr. 12.18, Ap. Rh. 1.20, 2.990; for γενεή referring to animals, cf. *Il.* 5.265 (of the horses of Aeneas, same *sedes*), *Od.* 15.175 ἐλθὼν ἔξ ὄρεος, ὅθι οἱ γενεή τε τόκος τε (of an eagle), Mel. *AP* 9.363,16 ὀρνίθων γενεή, Nonnus *D.* 15.188 πορδαλίων γενεήν, often in Oppian, cf. *Hal.* 1.611, 4.168, 5.92 (same *sedes*). Γένος can be also used for the description of races of animals, cf. Hdt. 3.113 δύο γένεα οἴων σφι ἔστι θώματος ἄξια, of the two kinds of the Arabian sheep, cf. intr. note.

Ἄγαρρικὴ: assumptions that the reference could be to Ἄγαρρα, a town in western Susiana (see *RE* s.v.),<sup>263</sup> or to *Agaroi*, a Sarmatian tribe to the west of the *palus Maeotis* (see *RE* s.v.), are rightly rejected, as the distance between each of these and Araxes is more than 500 miles.<sup>264</sup> As Gow-Page remark, the existence of a place named “Agarra” in Armenia is a more likely assumption. Dübner suggested: *Est in Armenia circa montem Ararat et Araxem vicus Agorrihi. Hinc forsan epitheton repetendum*; this place is known to be of a later date and so it becomes difficult to identify it with Crinagoras’ Agarra.<sup>265</sup> Marie-Louise Chaumont concludes: “un fait peu contestable, c’est qu’Agarra est à chercher dans la vallée de l’Araxe ou à proximité, à une distance plus ou moins grande d’Artaxata, et qu’elle était le centre de la région d’où provenait la race de brebis décrite par Krinagoras”. A possible answer to the problem might be offered by the information given by Strabo, 11.14,3: ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης...κάμπτει πρὸς δύσιν καὶ πρὸς ἄρκτους καὶ παραρρεῖ τὰ Ἄζαρα πρῶτον, εἶτ’ Ἀρτάξατα, πόλεις Ἀρμενίων· ἔπειτα διὰ τοῦ Ἀραξηνοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τὸ Κάσπιον ἐκδίδωσι πέλαγος. It is not impossible that the Armenian town reported by Strabo as Ἄζαρα (but of pronunciation unknown to us in the local language), results in the spelling Ἄγαρρα (-ρρ- for metrical reasons) in Crinagoras. Another possibility could be that the reference is to mount Aga, reported by Pliny to be in the region of Greater Armenia, *NH* 5.20 *oritur* (Euphrates) *in praefectura Armeniae Maioris Caranitide, ut prodidere ex iis qui proxime viderant: Domitius Corbulo in monte Aga*, etc.; the problem that remains here is the peculiarity of the formation of *Agaricus* from the name *Aga*.

ἔνθα τ’: Schneider’s conjecture, apart from the perfectly satisfactory meaning it restores at small cost, can be moreover supported by similar phrasings in Homer at the same *sedes*: *Il.* 2.594 ἔνθα τε Μοῦσαι, 4.247 ἔνθα τε νῆες, 5.305, *Od.* 11.475, 13.107, 19.178.

Ἀράξεω... Ἀρμενίοις: for the river of Armenia which flows into the Caspian Sea, see *RE* s.v. Araxes 2; cf. for instance Strabo 11.14,4 ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ...πολλὰ δὲ ὀροπέδια...καθάπερ τὸ Ἀραξηνὸν πεδίον, δι’ οὗ ὁ Ἀράξης ποταμὸς ῥέων

<sup>263</sup>Jacobs tried to support this possibility by attributing to the poet a confusion between the Araxes of that region (cf. *RE* s.v. Araxes 4) and the Armenian Araxes; but such a mistake seems highly unlikely.

<sup>264</sup>Salmasius tried to solve the problem of distance between the Sarmatian location and Armenia by suggesting that the sheep was brought from Sarmatia to Armenia (see Jacobs<sup>1</sup> *ad loc.*), information he supposed to have been given in some previous, now lost, verses; not only is such a loss unlikely (this would result in a highly unusual ten-line epigram, see Gow-Page on 1-2), but the phrasing of the couplet seems strongly to point to the meaning “the sheep is from Agarra [?], where Araxes flows”, Schneider’s ἔνθα corresponding to a logical need for a connective local adverb. Granted these difficulties, Geist (34) suggested alteration to ἔνθ’ ἀγαρρόου, retaining P’s ἐντὸς Ἀράξεω or ἔνθ’ ἀφριόεντος Ἀράξεω, which is of course too far-fetched. Ellis (1882, 26) suggested ἀγαρρικόνεντος Ἀράξεω, translating “the sheep is of a breed that drinks the water of agaricum-growing Araxes to clothe the felt-wearing Armenians” (for *Agaricum*, the plant related to the Sarmatian region Agaria, see for instance Frisk s.v.); although P’s reading is closer to this suggestion, the construction and phrasing of the sentence render it impossible.

<sup>265</sup>See Chaumont 185f. with n. 31.

εἰς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Ἀλβανίας καὶ τὴν Κασπίαν ἐκπίπτει θάλασσαν, *Plut. Ant.* 49.3, *Pomp.* 34.2f.; also cf. prev. note. For the expression cf. *Lucan* 7.188 *Armeniumque bibit Romanus Araxen*. Grammatical variation with Ἀράξης is found also at verse-end in *Crin.* 28,5 GP, and not elsewhere in the Anthology. Ἀράξεω occurs also at verse-end at *Ap. Rh.* 4.133; for other genitives in -εω with synizesis at the same *sedes* of the hexameter, cf. *AP Leon.* 5.206,1, 6.289,1 and 6.300,1, *Call.* 7.336,1, *Antip. Sid.* 7.303,5, *Diosc.* 7.351,1, *Eryc.* 6.255,5. For the epic genitive see Chantraine (1958) 198.

πιλοφόροις: for Dacian nobles cf. *Dio Cass.* 68.9, of Decebalus sending envoys to Trajan choosing from among the most reputable of his people, οὐκέτι τῶν κομητῶν ὡσπερ τὸ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ τῶν πιλοφόρων τοὺς ἀρίστους, the felt-capped being distinguished from the long-haired Dacians, of lower social rank; of Scythians cf. *πιλοφορικῶν* in *Luc. Scyth.* 1. In the Anthology [Lucian] has *πιλοφορεῖν* in 11.403,4. For *πίλος* cf. Gow-Page on *Philip AP* 6.199,2=GP 878; in Homer the word signifies a lining of a helmet, *Il.* 10.265: as a cap *Hes. Op.* 545f. κεφαλῆφι δ' ὑπερθεῖν / πῖλον ἔχειν ἀσκητόν. Cf. the information given by Strabo that many of the Armenian customs are the same as those of the Medes, and that the Persians have also inherited some of the Median habits, like the costume, 11.13,9 *τιάρα γάρ τις καὶ κίταρις καὶ πῖλος καὶ χεριδωτοὶ χιτῶνες, κτλ.*, cf. Chaumont 184 with n. 26; on various Roman coins Armenians are depicted with the head covered with different kinds of caps, see Chaumont 188f.

πίνεται: for the expression “drink a river”, referring to the inhabitants of the area where the river is, see on *Crin.* 28,5f. GP. Note the sound-effect of *πιλο-*, *πινε-* in this line, see also next note.

3f.: for sheep with rough wool, resembling goat's rather than sheep's, cf. the description of [Oppian] of the Yellow Sheep of Gortynia, *Cyn.* 2.379ff.: *λάχνη πορφυρόεσσα δ' ἐπὶ χροῶς ἐστεφάνωται / πολλή τ' οὐχ ἀπαλή τε· τάχ' αἰγὸς ἂν ἀντιφερῖζοι / τρηχυτάτη χαίτη δυσπαίπαλος, οὐκ ὄϊεσσι*; [Oppian] seems to have in mind Crinagoras' description, as one can infer from certain stylistic resemblances: *χαίτη...τρηχυτάτη* (~*χαῖται τρηχύτεραι*), *οὐκ ὄϊεσσι* (~*οὐ ἴμῆλοις, κτλ.*); one can further observe that [Oppian] uses *λάχνη* to indicate the animal's wool in the first reference to it, a word which is used in a similar phrasing by Homer to sketch Thersites' head, qualified by the *Homeric* ἄπασ ψεδνός, appearing in the present epigram for the first time since Homer, *Il.* 2.219 *ψεδνὴ δ' ἐπενήνοθε λάχνη*, cf. below, on *ψεδναί*. One can also observe that [Oppian] uses Crinagoras' image in *oppositio in imitando*, since the wool of the Yellow Sheep is *πολλή τ' οὐχ ἀπαλή τε*, while that of Crinagoras' sheep is rough but, on the contrary, *ψεδνή*.

For sheep having goat's hair cf. *Strabo* 5.2,7 *γίνονται δ' ἐνταῦθα* (in Sardinia) *οἱ τρίχα φύοντες αἰγείαν ἀντ' ἐρέας κριοί, καλούμενοι δὲ μούσμωνες*; also *Plin. NH* 8.73 *Histriae Liburniaque pilo proprior quam lanae*, cf. Keller 1.317,

Chaumont 186. Cf. also Ael. *NA* 17.10 (of Ethiopian Sheep) πρόβατα ἐρίων μὲν ψιλὰ, τρίχας δὲ καμήλων ἔχοντα; the opposite is also recorded, id. *ibid.* 17.34 (of the Caspian Camels): ἀπαλαὶ γὰρ εἰσι σφόδρα αἱ τούτων τρίχες, ὡς καὶ τοῖς Μιλησίοις ἐρίοις ἀντικρίνεσθαι τὴν μαλακότητα (cf. below on μαλακοῖς). Note further Aristotle's report that goats in Cilicia are shorn like sheep, *HA* 606a18f. For the possible roughness of sheep's wool see below on τρηχύτεραι.

Note the alliteration of μ and λ in line 3.

**χαῖται...μαλλοῖς:** Schneider's conjecture, accepted by Dübner, Rubensohn, Paton, Beckby, μαλακοὶ ἔπι μαλλοί, "hair is on them, not soft fleece as on sheep" (taking ἔπι as equivalent to ἔπεισι, as in Hdt. 6.86) offers a satisfactory meaning and the corruption can be then explained by the dative μήλοισι which caused the same ending for μαλακοί and μαλλοί; it remains, however, not completely satisfactory as a phrasing. As Gow-Page observe, Salmasius' reading μήλων (followed by Brunck), without any further change, does not offer any solution. The suggestion of Irigoín-Laurens χαῖται δ' οὐ μήλοισι ἄτε που μαλακοῖς ἐπίμαλλοι, "sa toison n'est pas épaisse comme la fine laine des tendres brebis", results in the formation of the word ἐπίμαλλοι, attributed to χαῖται and forced to mean "thick" (cf. πηγεσίμαλλος, δασύμαλλος, βαθύμαλλος, see below on μαλλοῖς). A reading that offers a more natural phrasing (but in this case the corruption is more difficult to explain), could be offered by a mutual exchange of the position of μήλοισι and μαλλοῖς: χαῖται δ' οὐ μαλλοὶ ἄτε που μαλακοὶ (given the poet's indifference to hiatus for which see intr., under Metre, Hiatus, or perhaps μαλακοῖς) ἐπὶ μήλοισι, "(their) hair is not like the soft fleece on sheep", or "(their) hair is not like the fleece on soft sheep".<sup>266</sup>

**χαῖται:** in Homer the word designates the flowing hair of men, gods and horses' manes; at verse-opening also in [Theocr.] 20.23, Xenocr. *AP* 7.291,1. Of a lion's mane Eur. *Ph.* 1121. Of animals' hair, cf. [Opp.] *Cyn.* 2.162 (a kind of wild bulls), 381 (the Yellow Sheep, see above on 3f.), 3.255, of the hair of the animal known as the Wild Horse, see Mair in the *Loeb Classical Library* edition *ad loc.* Oppian uses the word to designate the bristles of various fishes, *Hal.* 2.373, 3.147 (verse-opening).

**ἄτε που:** the expression does not appear elsewhere, with the exception of three occurrences in Procopius, *Bell.* 5.19,4,4; 6.1,12,2; *Aed.* 4.3,4,2. Cf. the prosaic usage of ὄπου at Crin. 30,1 GP, cf. *ad loc.*<sup>267</sup>

**μαλακοῖς:** cf. *Od.* 4.124 τάπητα...μαλακοῦ ἐρίοιο, Theocr. 5.50f. ἀρνακίδας τε καὶ εἴρια... / ὕπνω μαλακώτερα, 5.98 μαλακὸν πόκον, 28.12, Ap. Rh. 1.1090. Aristotle believed that timid animals had soft wool, cf. *Physiogn.* 806b9 δειλότατον μὲν

<sup>266</sup>For "soft sheep", cf. for instance Polyb. 9.17,6 πρόβατα μαλακὰ τῶν εἰθισμένων περὶ πόλιν τρέφειν.

<sup>267</sup>For words or expressions attested in epigrammatists and belonging to the prosaic tradition or re-appearing in late prose, cf. Giangrande "Fifteen Hellenistic Epigrams", 41, n. 30, id. *L'Humour des Alexandrins*, 15f.

γάρ ἐστιν ἔλαφος λαγῶδες πρόβατα, καὶ τὴν τρίχα μαλακωτάτην ἔχει. Milesian fleece was famous for its softness, cf. Strabo 12.8,16 φέρει δ' ὁ περὶ τὴν Λαοδίκειαν τόπος προβάτων ἀρετὰς οὐκ εἰς μαλακότητα μόνον τῶν ἐρίων, ἢ καὶ τῶν Μιλησίων διαφέρει, κτλ.

μαλλοῖς: cf. Hes. *Op.* 234 εἰροπόκοι δ' ὄϊες μαλλοῖς καταβεβρίθασιν; for compounds of the word cf. *Il.* 3.197 ἀρνειῶ...πηγεσιμάλλω, *Od.* 9.425 ὄϊες... δασύμαλλοι, Pind. *P.* 4.161 βαθύμαλλον. Μαλλός is quite rare in literature, cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 45, Soph. *Tr.* 690, *OC* 475; for a study on the origin and meaning of the word see Greppin 70ff.

**4** ψεδναί: Crinagoras uses the Homeric ἄπαξ λεγόμενον in variation, as in Homer it describes the sparse hair of Thersites and is in the singular (*Il.* 2.219 ψεδνή...λάχνη, cf. above on 3), while here it is used of the fleece of an animal and is in the plural, but qualifies a word (χαῖται) which in Homer is applied to the hair of horses, men and gods, see above on χαῖται. This is the first appearance of the word since Homer; later cf. Aret. *SD* 2.13 κόμαι ψεδναί, Nonnus *D.* 11.512f. ψεδνήν... μαραινομένην τρίχα κόρσης... / εἶχεν (Autumn, as a personified Season); cf. Hesych. s.v. ψυδνή χέρσος· ἀραιά, ὀλίγη, ψύθιος· ἀραιά, ὀλίγη, ψιθυρίς.

ἀγροτέρων...χιμάρων: χίμαιρα is a Homeric ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, *Il.* 6.181, same *sedes*; in Theocritus, 1.6, 5.81. For the phrase cf. *Od.* 17.295 αἴγας...ἀγροτέρας, also *ibid* 9.118f. αἴγες / ἄγριαι, Ap. Rh. 2.696f. ἀγροτέρων...αἰγῶν. Homer applies the adjective ἀγρότερος to ἡμίονοι (*Il.* 2.852), σῦες (*Il.* 12.146, *Od.* 11.611), ἔλαφοι (*Od.* 6.133).

τρηχύτεραι: the comparative form in the Anthology at Mel. *AP* 7.79,6, Archim. 7.50,4. For the application of the adjective to hair, cf. *GDI* 5633.14 (from Teos) ἐρίων...τρηχείων. In the Anthology its poetic parallel form, τρηχαλέος, is used to describe the “harshness” of the colour of the hair in a depiction of Philoctetes, Julian *API* 113,4 χαίτην τρηχαλέοις χρώμασιν αὐσταλέην. According to Aristotle, sheep have hard hair in northern climates because of the cold weather: τὰ δὲ πρόβατα τὰ Σαυροματικά σκληρότριχα...ἢ γὰρ ψυχρότης σκληρύνει διὰ τὸ ξηραίνειν πηγνύουσα, *GA* 783a14ff., cf. Joannes Phil. *ad loc.* (227.32 Hayduck) λέγει δὲ καὶ τοὺς Σκύθας εἶναι μαλακότριχας, τὰ δὲ πρόβατα τούναντίον σκληρότριχα and C's comment that similar sheep to the one described in the poem can be also found in Scythia. It is interesting to note that, while Crinagoras attests that this sheep's wool is rougher than wild goats', Comatas says the exact opposite in a similar paradox in his invitation to Lacon, Theocr. 5,56f. ὑπεσσεῖται δὲ χιμαῖρᾶν / δέρματα τᾶν παρὰ τὴν μαλακώτερα τετράκις ἀρνᾶν, see further Gow *ad loc.*

**5f**: for the image cf. Crin. 23,1f. GP. The abundance of milk, presented as a result of the unusually frequent parturition of the Armenian sheep, corresponds to the description of the abundance of dairy products of the Libyan sheep in the *Odyssey*, also following the

account of the animal's triple mating in a year (see below on τριτοκεῖ; for the order of the Homeric lines see West on *Od.* 4.86). For the motif of fertility of animals in Greek literature cf. West on Hes. *Op.* 234; see Aesch. *Pers.* 611ff., Call. *H.* 1.48ff.<sup>268</sup>

νηδύς: for νηδύς as “womb”, cf. Crin. 12,6 GP, also scanned νηδύς, see *ad loc.* In connection with child-bearing, cf. Aesch. *Ch.* 757 νηδύς αὐτάρκης τέκνων, Nonnus *D.* 46.318 νηδύς Ἄγαύης /...με λόχευσε.

ΤΡΙΤΟΚΕΪ: ἀπαξ λεγόμενον. The period of ovine gestation is five months, cf. Aristot. *HA* 573b21, Plin. *NH* 8.72. The present image is a variation of *Od.* 4.86 τρίς γὰρ τίκτει μῆλα τελεσφόρον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν, a description of a unique peculiarity of the sheep of a specific place, Libya; West remarks *ad loc.*: “no ewe could lamb three times in a year, since the gestation period is about five months... the emphasis is not on careful stock-farming but on astounding fertility. The ancient variant δῖς must be a conjecture intended to bring Menelaus' wild claims into line with reality”. The Homeric description of the Libyan sheep, however, is not necessarily a poetic exaggeration; cf. further Aristot. *Mir.* 80 παρὰ τοῖς Ὀμβρικοῖς φασι τὰ βοσκήματα τρίς τίκτειν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ (cf. Merry and Riddell on *Od. loc. cit.*), for which see Flashar 107f. Irigoín-Laurens suggest that the verb might denote birth of three lambs at a time (this is the alternative suggested also by LSJ s.v. τριτοκέω) comparing Philip *AP* 6.99,5 διδυμητόκοι αἴγες, but here as well as in Theocr. 1.25 and 8.45 where the phrase recurs, the case is quite different, διδυμητόκος being indeed distinct from δίτοκος which in Anacr. fr. 129 Page *PMG* means “having borne two children”, as Pollux 3,49 attests: Ἀνακρέων δὲ δίτοκον τὴν δῖς τεκοῦσαν.<sup>269</sup> The meaning of μονότοκος in Aristot. *HA* 575b34-576a1 is clearly “producing one at a time”, ἔστι μὲν οὖν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ μονότοκον, τίκτει μέντοι ποτὲ καὶ δύο τὰ πλείστα.

ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος: cf. πᾶν ἔτος in Addaeus *AP* 6.258,6, an epigram which opens in a way similar to the present one, cf. above on τῆς ὄιος.

γάλακτος...πλήθεται: self-variation with 23,2 GP πολυγαλακτοτάτην; cf. also Theocr. 24.3 ἐμπλήσασα γάλακτος, of Alcmene having fed her babies. The genitive γάλακτος occurs often at verse-end in the epic, starting with *Od.* 9.246, see further White on Theocr. *loc. cit.*

θηλή...μαστοῦ: cf. Arist. *HA* 493a12,14 τῶν μαστῶν ἢ θηλή δι' ἧς τὸ γάλα διηθεῖται; for θηλή as the teat of the sheep cf. also *ibid.* 500a1,24, Eur. *Cycl.* 56; not a Homeric word. Cf. also Theocr. 18.42 ὄιος μαστόν. Self-variation with 23,1 GP αἰγά με τὴν εὐθηλον, see *ad loc.* and *ibid.* on οὔθατα; cf. also Lyc. 1328 μαστόν εὐθηλον θεᾶς. There is no need to change μαστοῦ to μαζοῦ because of the occurrence of μαζόν

<sup>268</sup> A further observation that can be made is that this image of abundance recalls golden age type descriptions of nature: cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 4.21f. *ipsae lacte domum referunt distenta capellae / ubera*, Tib. 1.3,45f. *ultrouque ferebant / obvia securis ubera lactis oves*, the heavy udders of sheep in the golden age being a detail found only in Latin literature, cf. Murgatroyd on Tib. *loc. cit.*

<sup>269</sup> Although διτοκέω, ἐύω, means “give birth to two at a time”, Aristot. *HA* 558b23, Nic. fr. 73.

in Crin. 23,6 GP (Stadtmüller), as the poet is not necessarily consistent in the same grammatical form, see intr., under Language and Style, Dialect; cf. μαστόν and μαζόν in Call. *H.* 4.48 and 274 respectively, both at verse-end; also μαστός in id. *H.* 6.95, μαζός in *H.* 3.214; μαστός in Theocr. 18.42, μαζός in id. 3.16. Μαστός in the Anthology occurs for instance in Phld. *AP* 5.13,3 and 132,3, Mel. 5.204,5, Antip. Sid. 9.722,2. For μαστός-μαζός used of an animal's udder, see on Crin. 23,6 GP.

ἀεί: recalling the Homeric account of the abundance of milk of the Libyan sheep, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ παρέχουσιν ἐπηετανὸν γάλα θῆσθαι, *Od.* 4.89, cf. above on 5f. and on τριτοκεῖ; the adverb is here placed in the corresponding *sedes* of the pentameter.

πλήθεται: of a teat, cf. Nonnus *D.* 35.326 ἀμβροσίης πλήθουσιν...θηλήν. Homer has only the active form of the verb, usually of rivers and streams, for instance *Il.* 5.87, 16.389, *Od.* 19.207, cf. Hollis on Call. *Hec.* fr. 98. For the middle form cf. Ap. Rh. 3.1392 (of channels), Qu. Sm. 8.53, 229 (of earth); in the Anthology, cf. Moero 6.119,2 βότρυ, Διωνύσου πληθόμενος σταγόνι (a later construction with the dative), Leon. 6.293,4.

οὔθατίου: here only; Bianor in *AP* 10.101,2 has τὸν ὑπουθατίαν μόσχον, for which see Gow-Page on GP 1750; cf. Nic. *Al.* 358 νεαλῆς ὑπὸ οὔθατα μόσχος. Also cf. οὔθατόεις, γαῖα...οὔθατόεσσα in [Opp.] *Cyn.* 2.148. Stadtmüller compared Nic. *Al.* 90 οὔθατόεντα διοιδέα μαζὸν ἀμέλξας. The pleonasm of θηλή...μαστοῦ οὔθατίου, stressing the abundance of the animal's milk, is comparable to Crin. GP 21,6 ἀρηιφάτων...νεκύων, 3,6 ἀρτιδαεῖ...εὔμαθίη, 13,1f. κελάδημα διαπρύσιον.../...στρηνές, 44,5 ἔδυν ὑποβένθιος, 42,4 ἰτρίνεαι ποπάδες, 30,2 λασίαις ἀμφίκομοι κεφαλαῖς. For pleonasms in Hellenistic poetry cf. Call. *H.* 1.35f. πρεσβυτάτη / πρωτίστη γενεῆ, 65 αἰόντος...ἀκουήν, 68 μέγ' ὑπείροχον with McLennan *ad locc.*

ζ: for the naming of the animals' sounds, cf. Phryn. Att. *Prep. Soph.* 59.1 ὧν μὲν οἶν ἢ φωνὴ γρυλισμός, προβάτων δὲ βληχή, αἰγῶν δὲ καὶ ἐλάφων μυκή, βοῶν δὲ μυκηθμός ἢ μύκησις, κτλ.; cf. also Synes. *Ep.* 148.61 καὶ προβάτων βληχὴ καὶ ταύρου μύκημα, κτλ. Cf. next note.

βληχή: a Homeric ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, *Od.* 12.265f. μυκηθμοῦ τ' ἤκουσα βοῶν αὐλιζομενάων / οἰῶν τε βληχὴν. The peculiarity of the sheep presented in this line of the present poem, i.e. the paradox of the bleating which resembles the lowing of cattle, emphasizes the strangeness of this phenomenon as it recalls the separation of the two in the Homeric passage. An echo of the Homeric image is also Ap. Rh. 4.968 βληχὴ...μήλων, μυκηθμός τε βοῶν, cf. Mooney *ad loc.* For βληχὴ cf. also Theocr. 16.91f. μήλων χιλιάδες.../ ἄμ πεδίον βληχῶντο, [Plato] *AP* 9.823,2 βληχὴ...τοκάδων, Opp. *Hal.* 4.316, of the bleating of a flock of goats. Nonnus has βληχηθμός, *D.* 14.157. For the *onomatopoeia* of the word, cf. Keller I.327, also prev. note.

ἀσσοτάτω: ἀσσοτάτη Hecker, without need; the same adverbial form of the superlative occurs in Crin. 48,2 GP; as an adjective in Crin. 6,4 GP. In extant poetry only

Crinagoras uses the superlative form; a similar adverbial usage occurs in Oribasius *Coll. Med.* 8.29.1,3 ἀσσοτάτω γενόμενον τοῦ σπληνός. The comparative of the adverb occurs twice in the *Odyssey*, 19.506 αὐτίς ἄρ' ἀσσοτέρω πυρὸς ἔλκετο δίφρον Ὀδυσσεύς, 17.572 ἀσσοτέρω καθίσασα παρὰ πυρί for which cf. Herodian, *Gr. Gr.* 3.2.364,8f.

τερένης: for τερείνης, elsewhere only in Alcaeus fr. 397 L-P τερένας ἄνθος ὀπώρας. For the formation of the adjective, cf. Et.M. s.v. τέρενα: ἀπὸ τοῦ τέρην τέρενος γίνεται τὸ θηλυκὸν τέρενα· καὶ προσθέσει τοῦ ι, γίνεται τέρεινα. The adjective is attributed to δάκρυ (*Il.* 3.142, *Ap. Rh.* 3.461), χρώς (*Il.* 4.237, 13.553, *al.*, *Hes. Th.* 5, *Op.* 522, *Phld. AP* 5.121,2), φύλλα (*Il.* 13.180), στόμα (*Ap. Rh.* 1.1238), etc; for its application to the calf, cf. Eur. fr. 467,3 Nauck μόσχων τέρειναι σάρκες.

μυκήματι μόσχου: cf. Theocr. 16.37 μόσχοι...ἐμυκήσαντο βόεσσι, *Ap. Rh.* 1.1269 (ταῦρος) ἔησιν μύκημα, *Demetrius Bith. AP* 9.730,1 μόσχος μυκήσεται; also Eur. *Bacch.* 691 μυκήμαθ'...βοῶν, *Nonnus D.* 1.455, 2.254, 2.614. Theocritus uses the word of the roar of a lioness, 26.21, cf. Gow *ad loc.* Homer has μυκηθμός, of the βόες, *Il.* 18.575, *Od.* 12.265, cf. above on 6.<sup>270</sup> Μόσχος is a Homeric ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, *Il.* 11.105. Note the alliteration of μ which creates the effect of reproduction of the animal's sound.

**8** for the generalising statement about the diversity of features of countries, cf. the opening of 30 GP ἔρδοι τὴν ἔμαθέν τις, a poem in which the poet also deals with information acquired during a trip to a distant land, see *ad loc.*; for the moralising conclusion see also *ad loc.*, ll. 5f. ὦ κακόν...ἀγαθόν. Whether this gnome, placed *after* the exemplifying cases, can be taken as a priamel is doubtful, see Race 29f.; for a similar expression (for which see also next note) preceding the example-cases cf. *Pind. N.* 3.6 διψῆ δὲ πρᾶγος ἄλλο μὲν ἄλλου, *I.* 1.47 μισθὸς γὰρ ἄλλοις ἄλλος ἐφ' ἔργμασιν ἀνθρώποις γλυκὺς, see Race 14. As far as the whole description is concerned, one can observe that the features of this sheep which differentiate it from the rest of its kind are emphatically placed at verse-beginnings, followed by the presentation of its specialities: χαῖται δ'...(l. 3), νηδὺς δέ...(l. 5), θηλή...(l. 6), βληχή δ'...(l. 7); the ending line opens with ἄλλα, a generalising pronoun which comprises all possible different characteristics of things and creatures in the world. For Crinagoras' care:

in the construction of his epigrams see intr. under Language and Style, Structure.

ἄλλα...ἄλλοῖαι: self-variation with 48,3 GP ἄλλοις ἄλλ' ἐπ' ὄνειρα. For the expression see LSJ s.v. Π 2. It occurs typically at verse-beginning in the epic, cf. *Hes. Op.* 483 ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλοῖος Ζηνὸς νόος, *Pind. O.* 7.95 ἄλλοτ' ἄλλοῖαι διαιθύσσοισιν αὔραι, *P.* 3.104, *I.* 3/4.4, *Archias AP* 6.181,2 (τέχνας) ἄλλος ἀπ' ἄλλοίας σοὶ λίνα

<sup>270</sup>In an etymological word-play, Apollonius associates μύκημα with μύωψ, the gadfly (l.1265ff., cf. 3.276f. see O'Hara 38 with n. 206, 39 with n. 218.

ἔθεσαν, Aratus 751, 780, Qu. Sm. 6.5, 13.291, Opp. *Hal.* 3.194, in Hesiod, Aratus, Oppian and Quintus always at verse-opening. Ἄλλα γὰρ ἄλλ- occurs often in prose (for instance Plut. *Mor.* 433a11, 437f6, 695e2, etc.); in extant poetry elsewhere only in Eur. *Hipp.* 1108 ἄλλα γὰρ ἄλλοθεν ἀμείβεται.

ἄλλα...πάντα: a common phrase since Homer, cf. *Il.* 1.22 ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες, 3.234, 11.693, 24.156, Theogn. 812, Eur. *Supp.* 936, *IA* 1055, Ap. Rh. 1.283, 4.888.

φέρουσι: for the common expression regarding earth, cf. *Od.* 19.111, Hes. *Op.* 32 τὸν γαῖα φέρει, 232 τοῖσιν φέρει μὲν γαῖα πολὺν βίον; cf. ἄρουρα φέρει, Call. *H.3.*130, *Od.* 4.229, 9.357, Hes. *Op.* 173, 237.

γέαι: as Gow-Page remark, there is no need for Schneider's change of the word to γύαι ("a certain measure of land", see LSJ s.v. II),<sup>271</sup> comparing Aesch. fr. 196,4f. Radt αὐτόσποροι / γύαι φέρουσι βίοτον ἄφθονον; the plural of γῆ is indeed attested, cf. Hdt. 4.198 γέων, see also Schwyzer 2.51, β; cf. the plural, unique in literature, χθόνες in Crin. 25,1 GP. For the word cf. Herodian *Gr. Gr.* 3.2.912,9 κατὰ ποιητὰς εἴρηται καὶ γέα καὶ γαῖα καὶ αἶα, id. *ibid.* 3.1.283,29 γέα, ἐξ οὗ γῆ συνηρέθη, also 3.2.319,27, 3.2.424,35; cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.15,69,5 (quoting Democritus) ἀέρας τε καὶ γέας, Schol. on Hes. *Op.* 159.9 Αἶα γάρ, καὶ προσθήκη γαῖα, Ἰωνικῶς δὲ γέα, τὸ γε ψιλόν, and often in Zonaras' *Lexicon*, for instance s.v. Γαῖα· ἡ γῆ. Παρὰ τὸ γῶ τὸ τίκτω, ἐξ οὗ γίνεται γέα διὰ τοῦ ε ψιλοῦ.

<sup>271</sup> To match which Stadtmüller suggested a further alteration of ἀλλοῖαι to ἀλλοῖοι.

GP 43

AP 6.253=GP 43

Σπήλυγγες Νυμφῶν εὐπίδακες αἰ τόσον ὕδωρ  
 εἴβουσαι σκολιοῦ τοῦδε κατὰ πρέονος,  
 Πανός τ' ἠχήεσσα πιτυστέπτοιο καλιή,  
 τὴν ὑπὸ Βασσαίης ποσσὶ λέλογχε πέτρης,  
 5 ἱερά τ' ἀγρευταῖσι γερανδρίου ἀρκεύθοιο  
 πρέμνα, λιθλογέες θ' Ἑρμῆω ἰδρύσ ιες,  
 αὐταὶ θ' ἰλήκοιτε καὶ εὐθήροιο δέχοισθε  
 Σωσάνδρου ταχινῆς σκῦλ' ἔλαφοσσοίης.

Κριναγόρου *Suda* s.vv. εἴβεσθαι (1-2), καλιή (3), πίτυς (3), πρεών (αἰ-2), πρῶνες (eadem), σπήλυγγες (1-2 εἴβουσαι) caret Pl

1 αἰ *Suda* (εἴβεσθαι, πρεών, πρῶνες) et edd.: αἰ P et *Suda* (σπήλυγγες) 2 πρέονος P: φρέατος *Suda* (εἴβ.) 3 ἠχήεσσα P: τειχέσσσα *Suda* (πίτυς) 6 λιθλογέες Ap.B.: λιθολ- P 7 αὐταὶ P<sup>ac</sup>: αὐται P<sup>ac</sup> | δέχοισθε P: -εσθε C

*Caves of the Nymphs many-fountained, pouring so much water down this winding headland, echoing shrine of pine-crowned Pan - his home under the feet of Bassae's crags-, stumps of aged juniper, sacred for the hunters, stone-heaped seats of Hermes, be gracious and accept the spoils of lucky Sosander's swift stag-chasing.*

A rustic dedication by Sosander. The epigram is probably inspired by Leonidas 6.334=Geffcken 53=GP HE 1966-71:

Ἀῦλια καὶ Νυμφῶν ἱερὸς πάγος, αἶ θ' ὑπὸ πέτρῃ  
 πίδακες, ἦ θ' ὕδασιν γειτονέουσα πίτυς,  
 καὶ σὺ τετράγλωχιν, μηλοσσοέ, Μαϊάδος Ἑρμᾶ,  
 ὅς τε τὸν αἰγιβότην, Πάν, κατέχεις σκόπελον,  
 ἴλαοι τὰ ψαιστὰ τό τε σκύφος ἔμπλεον οἴνης  
 δέξασθ', Αἰακίδεω δῶρα Νεοπτολέμου.

on which Geffcken compares Kaibel 827,1f. Πανί τε καὶ Νύμφαις Μαίης γόνον ἔνθ' ἀνέθηκεν / Ἑρμείαν, Διὸς υἱόν, κτλ., cf. also Elliger 387f. Other dedications to Pan and nymphs in the Anthology are Anyte *API* 291, Leon. GP 51=*P.Ox.* 662; nymphs, Pan and Dionysus in Leon. *AP* 6.154, imitated by Sabinus 6.158. For the common veneration of the nymphs and Pan, cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 951f. Νυμφῶν...ἰδρύματα / καὶ Πανὸς ἔδρας (see Sandys *ad loc.*), Paus. 1.34,3, cf. *h. Pan* 2f., see also Rogers on Aristoph. *Thesm.* 977; for the nymphs' shrines in the countryside see Nilsson (1940) 17f.; their cult, often attested in Attica, is rarely attested in Arcadia, see Jost (1985) 476. Hermes is said to be Pan's ancestor in *h. Pan*. Ἱερμείαιο φίλον γόνον, for which see Allen-Halliday-Sikes *ad*

*loc.*; for the association of Hermes with Arcadia and his cult there, see Jost (1985), 439ff. For Hermes and the nymphs cf. *Od.* 14.435f. τὴν μὲν ἴαν νύμφησι καὶ Ἑρμῆι, Μαιάδος υἱεῖ, / θῆκεν ἐπευξάμενος, where Eumaeus devotes to them a portion of the pig he had killed, “a passage which L. may remember for his rustic dedication”, Gow-Page on Leon. *HE* 1968, see also Hoekstra on *Od.* 14.435. All three deities, Hermes, Pan and the nymphs, are invoked in the prayer in Aristoph. *loc. cit.* Ἑρμῆν τε Νόμιον ἀντομαι / καὶ Πᾶνα καὶ Νύμφας φίλας; for their association see further *LIMC* Suppl. s.v. Pan H.; in Arcadia specifically, Jost (1985) 439-77.

Gow-Page assume that the poem is a real dedication. Even if Crinagoras does have in mind a certain region of Arcadia (see below on Βασσαίης... πέτρης), its “word-coining and phrase-making” (G-P intr. note) should probably be taken, on the contrary, as indicative of the demonstrative character of the epigram which probably constitutes a literary exercise; note furthermore the probable reference to Leonidas’ epigram and the general Leonidean style of the poem, granted, moreover, the Tarantine poet’s preference for rare or unique words (cf. intr. under Language and Style, “Ἀπαξ λεγόμενα”). See also below on σκολιοῦ...πρεόνος. Although nothing is known of any visit of the poet to Arcadia, such a possibility cannot of course be excluded. Sosander of the present poem offers his dedication to the “well-fountained” caves of the Nymphs, Pan’s shrine, “sacred trunks”; many places of cult in Arcadia are indeed associated with sources and sacred thickets, see Jost (1990), 209. Trying to fit Crinagoras’ epigram to the area of Bassae, Cooper (62f.) relates the poem’s nymphs to Sinoe who nursed baby Pan with her companion nymphs (Paus. 8.30,3) and says that “we may reconstruct the wooden house καλιή of Pan as fitting very nicely by the ancient sacred spring still to be seen at the foot of the steep slope which drops from the Apollo and Kotilon temples”. One might observe, however, that another passage of Pausanias seems to be closer to Crinagoras’ setting: 8.38,3 and 5: ταῖς Νύμφαις δὲ ὀνόματα, ὑφ’ ὧν τὸν Δία τραφῆναι λέγουσι, τίθενται Θεισόαν καὶ Νέδαν καὶ Ἀγνώ...τῆς δὲ Ἀγνοῦς, ἥ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Λυκαίῳ πηγῇ, κτλ. (...) ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ Λυκαίῳ Πανός τε ἱερὸν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ ἄλλος δένδρων, κτλ.,<sup>272</sup> although here the reference is to mount Lycaeon and not to Bassae, one could take Βασσαίη πέτρη as denoting the wider area of Mount Lycaeon, as the two are in fact very close, cf. the reference to the location of the Ὀρέσθειον τῆς Μαιναλίας (Thuc. 5.64,3) in Eur. *El.* 1273f. σὲ δ’ Ἀρκάδων χρῆ πόλιν ἐπ’ Ἀλφειοῦ ῥοαῖς / οἰκεῖν Λυκαίου πλησίον σηκώματος. But even if the poet has in mind a specific area (either from personal experience or from knowledge obtained through readings and general geographical curiosity, cf. also Crinagoras’ friendship with

<sup>272</sup>Analogous is the description of the landscape where the temple of Pan *Lycaeus* was, near Pallantium, the town that Arcadian immigrants founded according to Dion. Hal. 1.31ff.; in 1.32,3f. the author reports conjectures about the ancient nature of the area which was, in his time, united with the city: δρυμῶ λασίῳ κατηρεφές, καὶ κρηνίδες ὑπὸ ταῖς πέτραις ἐμβύθιοι, ἥ τε προσεχῆς τῷ κρημνῷ νάπη πικνοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις δένδρεσιν ἐπίσκοις.

the geographer Menippus, 32 GP), it is unlikely that we have to do with a genuine dedication, all the more when the Leonidean influence is evident, and given that for Leonidas himself as well as for other epigrammatists of Hellenistic and later periods the epideictic quality of their poems is strongly suggested, cf. the discussion of Gow-Page on Leon. 3, as well as 4, 5, 6, intr. notes; cf. also below on σκολιοῦ...πρεόνος.

The present epigram is the longest example of a poem consisting of a single sentence among Crinagoras' extant epigrams. This feature is common in dedicatory epigrams, the longest poems being of ten lines: Antip. Thess. 6.109 (to Pan), Ariston 6.309 (to Hermes), anon. 6.21 (to Priapus). For eight lines cf. Leon. 6.4 and 289, Phantias 6.295 and 297, Antip. Sid. 6.160, Phalaecus 6.165, Philip 6.38, 6.102-104 and 247, Myrinus 6.254, Agath. 6.167, anon. 6.23; six and four occur very frequently. Other epigrams by Crinagoras consisting of a single sentence are 1, 3, 4, 5, 8, 47 GP. In his other epigrams accompanying a dedication or a present (3, 4, 5, 8), the poem opens with the offered object (or the first one, in case of a long series), and the verb together with the subject come in the final couplet, when the poem consists of six lines, and in the last verse, when it consists of four, as happens usually in the one-sentence dedicatory epigrams. For single-sentence poems opening with an address to the deities cf. Leon. *AP* 6.334 (see above), Moero 6.189 (see below on σπήλυγγες...αἶ, Dionysius 6.3, anon. 6.23, Maecius 6.33. The presentation of lists of objects is a common feature in dedicatory epigrams, but other types of poem can have it as well, cf. Crin. 47 GP, see further Siedschlag 40 with n. 2. The present poem has the same structure (opening with an address, the verb appearing in the last hexameter) as Crin. 46 GP. See also on 5 GP, intr. note and cf. intr., under Language and Style, Structure.

**1f. Σπήλυγγες...αἶ:** Crinagoras' opening is perhaps a variation of Moero *AP* 6.189, 1f. Νύμφαι Ἀμαδρυάδες,<sup>273</sup> ποταμοῦ κόραι, αἶ τάδε βένθη / ἀμβρόσια ῥοδέοις στείβετε ποσσὶν αἶ. The opening sentence also recalls Theocr. 7.136f. τὸ δ' ἔγγυθεν ἱερὸν ὕδωρ/ Νυμφᾶν ἐξ ἄντροιο κατειβόμενον κελάρυζε. For the nymphs' connection with caves cf. *Od.* 13.102f. ἄντρον ἱερὸν νυμφᾶων, *h. Orph.* 51,6 ἄντροχαρεῖς, σπήλυξι κεχαρμέναι, Theodoridas *AP* 6.224,3, see Geoghegan on Anyte 3,1= *API* 291. Cf. also Leon. *AP* 6.334,1=G-P *HE* 1966 with Gow-Page *ad loc.*, Postgate 38ff.; cf. Dionys. Trag. 1 Snell Νυμφῶν ὑπὸ σπήλυγγα<sup>†</sup> αὐτόστεγον, where σπήλυξι first appears, cf. Ap. Rh. 2.568, see Gow on Theocr. 16.53 σπήλυγγα...Κύκλωπος.

<sup>273</sup>For a defense of the codices' reading Ἀμαδρυάδες against Unger's change to Ἀνιγριάδες, on the ground that ποταμός is here the Ocean, and thus does not relate them to these specific waters, see White (1980), 21-5.

For the nymphs' association with water-sources, cf. *Od.* 17.240 *νύμφαι κρηναῖαι*, Nicarchus *AP* 9.330,1f., Apollonides 9.257, Antiphanes 9.258, anon. Page *FGE* 1650f. *κρήνης...παρὰ Νύμφαις / ὑδριάσι*, see also next note.<sup>274</sup>

ἐὺπίδακες: here only. Adjectives with *εὺ-* occasionally appear in connection <sup>with</sup> water, cf. Leon. *API* 230,5 *ἐκρήνου διὰ πέτρης*, Nicarchus *AP* 9.330,1 *κράνας εὐύδρου*, Antiphanes 9.258,1 *εὐύδρουσι...προχοαῖσι*; for compounds with *εὺ-* in Hellenistic poetry in general see on Crin. 3,3 GP. For water-sources in caves cf. Chryssafis (1984) 40f.; for *πίδακες* in association with the nymphs, cf. Sabinus *AP* 6.158,3f. *αὔξετε.../...Νύμφαι πίδακα*, Hermocreon 9.327,1f. *Νύμφαι ἐφυδριάδες, ταῖς Ἑρμοκρέων τάδε δῶρα / εἶσατο, καλλινάου πίδακος ἀντιτυχών*.

τόσον ὕδωρ: there is no reason to alter the text to *θοόν*, *τορόν*, *ἀγλαόν*, *ποτόν* (see Stadtmüller's apparatus), cf. Antiphilus *AP* 9.548,1 *Κρηναῖαι λιβάδες, τί πεφεύγατε; ποῦ τόσον ὕδωρ*; at the end of the first line; cf. also Apollon. 7.379,1 *τόσον...χῶμα*.

εἴβουσαι: the active form only in Homer, for instance *Il.* 16.4, 19.323, 24.9 always in the phrase *δάκρυον εἴβει*; for the middle form cf. Aesch. *Pr.* 401, Soph. *Ant.* 527 (for preference of *εἴβομαι* to *λείβομαι* in both passages, see Jebb on *Ant.* 527), of "shedding tears". In a similar context, with *λείβομαι*, cf. Theocr. 5.33 *ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ τουτεῖ καταλείβεται*; in a different setting cf. Ap. Rh. 2.663f. *περὶ δ' ἄσπετος ἰδρῶς / εἴβεται ἐκ λαγόνων τε καὶ αὐχένος*.

σκολιοῦ...πρεόνος: cf. Crin. 44,2 GP, in the same metrical position and construction *ποιηρὸν τοῦτ' ἀνὰ λευκόλοφον*; Gow-Page argue that *τοῦδε* is an indication that the poet refers to a specified area; the demonstrative pronouns, however, in this context, should be seen within the conventions of the dedicatory genre and not taken literally, cf. for instance Anyte *AP* 9.144=Geoghegan 15,1 *Κύπριδος οὔτος ὁ χῶρος* (with Geoghegan *ad loc.*), also Zonas 6.98,6 *ἐν λυπρῇ τῆδε γεωλοφίῃ*, Leon. *API* 230,3 *ὑπερ δαμαλήβοτον ἄκραν/ ταύταν*; cf. Gutzwiller 316 on the tendency of the "demonstrative" epigrams, including fictive dedications, to set a scene, see also intr. under Life and Work.

*Σκολιός* is a Homeric *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*, *Il.* 16.387, occur<sup>ing</sup> six times in Hesiod; as "winding", cf. Pind. *P.* 2.85 *ὁδοῖς σκολιαῖς*, see Mineur on Call. *H.* 4.311 *σκολιοῦ λαβυρίθου*. The epithet describes a *πορθμός* in Theodoridas *AP* 6.224,5, *γαῖαν* in Secundus 9.301,6 (with Gow-Page on GP 3393-5), *πάγαις* in anon. 9.372,2, *βάτος* in Zenodotus (or Rhianus) 7.315,2.

The form *πρεόνος* here only; in Homer we have *ὥς τε πρῶν ἰσχάνει ὕδωρ / ἰλήεις* (*Il.* 17.747), *πρῶνες ἄκροι* (*Il.* 16.299, also *h. Apoll.* 22 and 144), *πρῶνας ἄκρους* (*Il.* 12.282), see Bechtel (1914), 286f.; in the Anthology, cf. Dionys. 6.3,2

<sup>274</sup>For the names of different kinds of nymphs (*Ἀμαδρυάδες*, *Ναϊάδες*, *Ἐφυδριάδες*, etc.), see Postgate *passim*, cf. Schol. Ap. Rh. 1412-14. For the occasional identification of nymphs with water-sources, see Chryssafis (1984) 40.

βαθὺν...πρῶνα, Agath. 6.32,3 λάσιον παρὰ πρῶνα (a dedication to Pan), Alc. Mess. 6.218,2 Ἰδης εὐδένδρου πρῶνας, Archias 7.696,4 πρῶνα Κελαινίτην; also the form πρηῶν, cf. Addaeus 9.330,3, Leon. 9.318,1=80 GP εὐμάραθον πρηῶνα, see Gow-Page *ad loc.*, cf. Call. *H.* 3.52 πρηόσιν Ὀσσειοισιν.

**3 Πανός...πιτυστέπτοιο:** πιτύστεπτος here only; compounds with πιτυ- are very rare and begin with πιτυο-, cf. Alc. Mess. *API* 8,1 Φρυγίην πιτυοτρόφον.<sup>275</sup> Pan's association with the pine is due to the legend according to which he pursued the nymph Pitys who was turned into a pine, see *LIMC* Suppl. s.v. Pan D. In the Anthology cf. for instance Paul. Sil. *AP* 6.57,3 ἀνετο δέρμα λέοντος ὑπὲρ πίτυν, αἰγιπόδη Πάν. His pine-wreath is mentioned also in Lucr. 4.584f., Ov. *Met.* 1.699, Sil. It. 13.331, see further Roscher s.v. Pan, 1395, Bömer on Ov. *loc. cit.* Πίτυς is further typically associated with the rustic setting and appears in analogous contexts, cf. Moero 6.189,4 ὑπαὶ πιτύων, Leon. *AP* 6.262,4 ἐκ ταύτης ἐκρέμασεν πίτυος, id. *API* 230,4, anon. *API* 12,1, anon. *API* 227,3, cf. Giangrande 1967, 19.

**ἠχῆεσσα...καλιή:** the epithet often qualifies the wind, the sea, rivers, waves, mountains, sounds, in literature. Halls are described as "echoing" in *Od.* 4.72, *h. Cer.* 104 δώματα ἠχῆεντα, Hes. *Th.* 767 δόμοι ἠχῆεντες / ἰφθίμου τ' Ἄιδεω καὶ ἐπαινῆς Περσεφονείης, cf. Eustathius on *Od. loc. cit.* (1483) ἠχῆεντα δὲ δώματα τὰ μεγάλα. Τοῖς γὰρ μικροῖς οὐκ ἔστι προσαρμόσαι τὸ ἐπίθετον, ψεύσεται γὰρ ἐπιλεχθέν. Note the playful tone in Crinagoras' usage, as the word here describes a tiny wooden shed, in sharp contrast with the epic precedent of vast halls. In Qu. Sm. 14.475f. it qualifies caves, ἀντρα... / κοῖλα καὶ ἠχῆεντα.

Καλιή is Hecale's hut in Crin. 11,3 GP, also closing the hexameter; in Hes. *Op.* 503 it indicates a hut, but in *ibid.* 301, 307, 374 a barn or granary, as in Ap. Rh. 1.170, 4.1095; in Call. *H.* 3.96 it is the lair of the porcupine, see Hollis 265. In the sense of a god's shrine, cf. *IG* 12.2.484,15 (Mytilene), Apollonides *API* 239,3 Χαρίτων...καλιήν (for the reading see Gow-Page on GP 1293), cf. Hesych. s.v. καλιαί· νοσσιαί ἐκ ξύλων καὶ ξύλινα τινα περιέχοντα ἀγάλματα εἰδώλων. In Theocr. 29,12 and rarely it has ἱ, see Gow *ad loc.*

**4 ὑπὸ Βασσαίης...πέτρης:** Gow-Page remark that P's reading is very likely to be βασσαίης rather than κασσαίης, as editors hold, on the ground that β and κ are indistinguishable in the codex; it seems, however, that P's reading is indeed κασσαίης, as the scribe tends to raise the left vertical stroke of κ higher (so here) which he does not do with that of β. Adjectives of the same formation, denoting place-names or not, occasionally qualify πέτρη, cf. *Od.* 4.507 Γυραίην πέτρην (echoed in Qu. Sm. 14.569f.

<sup>275</sup> Gow-Page suggest that πιτυκάμπτης is a likely conjecture in Lucillus *AP* 11.107,3 κείται δ' ἢ Τιτυῶ ἑναλίγκιος, ἢ ἱπάλι κάμπτη; one could observe, however, that in this case the caterpillar could be called πιτυκάμπη, which is palaeographically closer to the reading of the codex (see for both LSJ s.vv.)

πέτρης / Γυραίης); at the end of the hexameter cf. Call. *Hec.* fr. 9 Hollis κολουραίην ὑπὸ πέτρην with Hollis *ad loc.*, Opp. *Hal.* 5.224 ἀκταίης ἀπὸ πέτρης, Nonnus *D.* 9.284 ὀμφαίη παρὰ πέτρῃ, *Par.* 6.132 ἐρημαίη παρὰ πέτρῃ. The reading Βασσαίης could be supported by the Homeric passage, where the epithet denotes a definite place (see intr.). Βησσαίης, proposed by Jacobs and approved by Rubensohn and Paton (for the formation of the epithet cf. Βησσαῖος from Βῆσσα, Steph. Byz. s.v.: Βῆσσα, πόλις Λοκρῶν... ὠνομάσθη δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ τόπου φύσεως ναπῶδους οὔσης. Τὸ ἐθνικὸν Βησαῖος; Jacobs<sup>2</sup> also mentions ὕλη· ὑλήεις and ὕλαῖος, ὄρφνη· ὄρφνηεις and ὄρφναῖος) is rejected by Gow-Page, but cf. Hesych. s.v. Πανίας βήσσας· ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πανός (Aesch. fr. 98 Radt). It could perhaps be possible to retain βασσαίης as the Doric form of βησσαίης (cf. Soph. *Aj.* 197 εὐανέμοις βάσσαις, *OC* 673 χλωραῖς ὑπὸ βάσσαις); for an occurrence of a Doric form in a context otherwise Ionic, cf. Crin. 44,3 GP ἀγητῆρσι, justified by the rustic setting, see intr., under Language and Style, Dialect. ΠΡΟΣΣΙ: for the “feet” of a rock, cf. *Il.* 2.824 ὑπαὶ πόδα νεΐατον Ἰδης, 20.59, Pind. *N.* 4.88 Παλίου παρ ποδί, *P.* 11.54 Παρνασοῦ πόδα.

ΛΕΛΟΓΧΕ: cf. Leon. *AP* 9.318,1f. εὐμάραθον πρηῶνα καὶ εὐσκάνδικα λελογχῶς, / Ἐρμῆ, Philip 6.240,2 Ἄρτεμις, ἧ θαλάμους τοὺς ὀρέων ἔλαχες, Diodorus 6.243,1 ἧ λάχες Ἰμβρασον Ἡρη, Nicias *API* 188,1ff. Εἰνοσίφυλλον ὄρος Κυλλήμιον αἰπὺ λελογχῶς, /... Ἐρμῆς.

5 ἱερά: for sacred thickets in Arcadia see intr. note. Gow-Page remark that tree-stumps are holy to hunters because they used to hang their trophies from the chase on branches as a dedication to Pan, citing Leon. *AP* 6.35,1f., Zonas 6.106,1f., Paul. Sil. 6.168,7f.

ἀγρευταῖσι: “hunters”, as a noun cf. Call. 12.102,1 Ὀγρευτῆς, Antip. Sid. *AP* 6.118,4 ὠγρευτῆς ὤπασε πλεκτὰ λῖνα, Mel. 12.1256 ἀγρευτὴν πτηνοῦ φάσματος, Antip. Thess. 6.109,5f. πετεινῶν / ἀγρευτάν.

γερανδρούου: a rare word. In Ap. Rh. 1.1117f., στύπος ἀμπέλου... /πρόχην γεράνδριον, the word is scanned -δρῦ-; in Erycius 9.233=9,1 GP it is used substantively and is scanned -δρῦ- as here; in Plut. *Mor.* 796b it is used substantively, in Theophrastus adjectivally but perhaps as a noun in *HP* 3.13,4, 5.9,1. Hesych. s.v. has γεράνδρες· αἱ παλαιαὶ δρύες καὶ τὰ παλαιὰ δένδρα γεράνδρα; cf. Schol. on Ap. Rh. *loc. cit.*: γεράνδριον· ἀρχαῖον, ξηρόν, ἄχρηστον. See further Gow-Page on GP 2250.

ἀρκεύθιοιο: juniper, cf. Theocr. 1.133 ἐπ' ἀρκεύθοισι, id. 5.97 ἐκ τᾶς ἀρκεύθω, anon. *AP* 10.12,1; in Nic. *Th.* 584 we have ἀρκευθίς. For the occurrence of junipers in Arcadia, see Cooper 63.

πρέμνα: also in Crin. 47,5 GP. Πρέμνον, the foot of a tree-trunk, usually as “trunk” in general, first appears in *h. Merc.* 238 πρέμνων ἀνθρακιὴν ὕλης σποδὸς ἀμφικαλύπτει; also Aristoph. *Lys.* 267, *Av.* 321 (for its metaphorical use for “base” see Kakridis and Dunbar *ad loc.*), often in Hellenistic poets, Call. *H.* 3.239, 4.210 and

322, id. fr. 194,83, [Theocr.] 20.22 ὡς κισσὸς ποτὶ πρέμνον, anon. *API* 127,3 Βακχιακὸν παρὰ πρέμνον, Moschus 3.47.

**λιθηλογέες:** Gow-Page comment that the ἄπαξ λεγόμενον λιθηλογέες stands for λιθολόγοι; the two words cannot be taken as equivalent, however, as λιθολόγος denotes the person who builds with stones, cf. Hesych. s.v. λιθολόγοι· οἰκοδόμοι (cf. Thuc. 6.44,1, Plato *Leg.* 858b, Xen. *Hell.* 4.4,18), λιθολόγημα· ἐκ λίθων οἰκοδόμημα, see also LSJ s.v. Moeris s.v. αἵμασιὰ has Ἰατρικῶς λιθολογία, ἣ τὸ ἐκ χαλίκων συγκεῖμενον, Ἑλληνικῶς, where Pierson comments: λιθηλογέες θ' Ἑρμῆω ἰδρύσιες. *Ex lapidibus congesta Mercurii sacraria. Quasi esset a λιθολογῆς.* For the formation of the word with η instead of ο for the requirements of dactylic verse cf. Eust. on *Il.* 4.283f. (474) θεραπεύονται δὲ εἰς δακτυλικὸν μέτρον τὰ τοιαῦτα πολυβράχεια ἢ διὰ προσθέσεως ἢ δι' ἐλλείψεως συμφώνου...τροπῆς μὲν, ὡς θεοτόκος θεητόκος, κτλ., also id. on *Il.* 5.54 (521). Such adjectives are στεφανηφόρος, θανατηφόρος, στεφανηπλόκος, ἐλαφηβόλος etc.; in the Anthology for instance σκυληφόρος in Antip. Thess. *AP* 9.428,1 (cf. σκυλοφόρος in Crin. 10,2 GP), λειψανηλόγους in Philip 6.92,4 and ἀφρηλόγους in id. 6.101,5, see also Schwyzer 1.438f., Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 1440-3, Gow-Page on GP 2711.

**Ἑρμῆω ἰδρύσιες:** as Gow-Page comment, ἰδρύσις is here equivalent to ἴδρυμα, which can designate a god's shrine, cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 339, *Ch.* 1036, Eur. *Bacch.* 951, see Broadhead on Aesch. *Pers.* 811. Ἰδρῶ- occurs in Call. fr. 75.73 Ποιῆσαν Χαρίτων ἴδρυμ' ἐυπλοκάμων, for which see Pfeiffer's apparatus. For the ending see on Crin. 27,1 GP δύσιες.

Heaps of stones were situated on roads in honour of Hermes, cf. Hesych. s.v. Ἑρμῆος λόφος· τοὺς σωροὺς τῶν λίθων Ἑρμῆος, τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς γινομένους εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐνόδιος γάρ, *Suda* s.v. Ἑρμαῖον· εὕρημα· ἐπειδὴ λίθων σωροὺς ἀφέρουν τῷ Ἑρμῆϊ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ταῖς ἀδήλοις; the first reference to Ἑρμαῖος λόφος already in the *Odyssey*, 16.471. Eustathius *ad loc.* states that the origin of the custom lied in the tradition that Hermes himself was the first to clear the roads of stones which he put outside it: hence the accumulation of stones by a road for the purpose of clearing the way was regarded as an act to the god's honour; a different justification is given by the Scholiast, see the discussion of Hoekstra on *Od.* 16.471. For a collection of passages referring to the custom see Visser 102ff.; also Nilsson (1906), 388, Farnell (1909) V.7, 18, Jost (1985), 454. In the Anthology cf. anon. *API* 254,1f. Ἱερὸν Ἑρμείη με παραστείχοντες ἔχεναν / ἄνθρωποι λίθινον σωρόν. The genitive Ἑρμῆω occurs only in *h. Merc.* 413, *Ven.* 148, [Theocr.] 25.4, at verse-beginning; for other genitive forms, cf. Ἑρμείαιο (*Od.* 12.390, 15.319), Ἑρμείω (*Il.* 15.214), see Chryssafis on [Theocr.] *loc. cit.*

**Ζ:** cf. Crin. 9,5 GP δαίμονες ἀλλὰ δέχοισθε=Sabinus *AP* 6.158,3 Antip. Thess. 9.93,3 ἵλαος ἀλλὰ δέχοιτο.

αὐταί θ': the pronoun does not refer to the nymphs (cf. Dübner *ad loc.*), but to all the objects addressed which are in fact feminine (except for *πρέμνα*): *σπήλυγγες*, *καλιή*, *ιδρύσιες*.

ἰλήκοιτε: conventional in such contexts, cf. for instance Philip *AP* 6.251,7 *ἀνθ' ὧν ἰλήκοις*, Satyrus 6.11,5 *ἴλαος...ἐπίνευσον*, anon. 6.51,9 *ἴλαος, ὦ δέσποινα*, κτλ. For *ἴλαος* as a typical adjective of gods in prayers see on Crin. 12,3 GP.

εὐθήροιο: applied to objects, Theaet. *AP* 6.27,1 *εὐθήρου...ἄγρης* (cf. Opp. *Hal.* 5.426 *ἄγρην εὐθήρητον*), Maecius 6.89,3f. *εὐθήροισι...καλάμοις* (cf. *ibid.* 1. 7 *εὐάγρου...λίνοιο*), but also to persons, “lucky or successful in hunting”, LSJ s.v., Zosimus 6.185,4 *εὐθήρῳ Πανί*, Eur. *Bacch.* 1252f. *εἴθε παῖς ἐμός / εὐθηρος εἴη*; qualifying other objects or abstract ideas, [Opp.] *Cyn.* 1.46 *εὐθήροισιν ἀοιδαῖς*, Opp. *Hal.* 28 *εὐθήροιο...οἴμης*, *ibid.* 3.413 *εὐθηρον ἀμοιβήν*, [Opp.] *Cyn.* 1.149 *εὐθήροιο...φόνιοιο*. For compounds with *εὐ-* see on Crin. 3,3 GP.

δέχοισθε...ἐλαφοσσοίης: for similar endings cf. Myrinus *AP* 6.108,4 *δεξάμενοι λαμπρῆς δῶρα θηηπολῆς*, Jul. Aeg. 6.19,4 *δέχυνσο καὶ δώρου, πότνια, μαρτυρίην*, Theodorus 6.282,5f. *ἀλλὰ σὺ δέξαι, / κωροφίλ', εὐτάκτου δῶρον ἐφηβοσύνας*.

C's correction of P's *δέχοισθε* to *δέχεσθε* is unlikely in view of the *ἰλήκοιτε* which precedes, even if C gives readings transmitted from other sources, for which see Cameron 103f., 111f. In the present case C's source is probably mistaken.

Σωσάνδρου: the name occurs also in Theodoridas *AP* 7.529,2, cf. also anon. *API* 271,2 (a pun on Hippocrates and Sosander, a veterinary surgeon). It is quite common all over Greece, with one occurrence from Mytilene, see Fraser-Mathews I s.v. Names with *Σω-* as their first compound often occur in dedicatory epigrams (cf. Leon. 6.293,2 *Σωχάρεος*, id. 6.296,5 *Σώσιππος*, Philip 6.36,2 *Σωσικλέης*, Antip. Thess. 6.118,2 *Σώσιδος*) which implies a fictitious dedication, see further intr. note. Note also the alliteration of *σ* in the last line and the etymological play between *Σωσάνδρου* and *ἐλαφοσσοίης*, as *σόςος* can mean both “sound” and “impetus”, see next note; cf. Crin. 23 GP *Αἴγα...Αἰγιόχου*, see *ad loc.*

ταχινηῆς...ἐλαφοσσοίης: echoed in Agath. *AP* 6.167,4 *ταχινηῆς ἔργα λαγωσφαγίης, λαγωσφαγίη* being also a *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*, as the present *ἐλαφοσσοίη*, “stag-hunting”. For the phrasing in a similar context cf. Zosimus 6.183,2 *τριχθαδῆς δῶρα κυναγεσίης*, Jul. Aeg. *API* 173,2 *δολιχῆς ἔργον ἐκηβολῆς*; for “hunting”: anon. 7.338,2 *μνάμα κυναγεσίας*, Agath. 6.167,2 *δισσᾶς ἀγέτα θηροσύνας*, always at the end of the pentameter; for the expression cf. also Jul. Diocles 6.186,6 *δῶρα λινοστασίας*. Such construction is common in dedicatory epigrams in the pentameter, cf. Leon. 6.4,8 *ἀρχαίας λείψανα τεχνοσύνας*, Antip. Sid. 6.47,2 *λιμηρῆς ἄρμενον ἐργασίης*, Archias 6.18,2 *ἐκ τρισσῆς θέντο λινοστασίας*, Philip 6.38,8 *ἐπεὶ μογερῆς παύσαθ' ἀλιπλανίης*, Agath. 6.76,4 *προτέρης λείψανον ἠλικίης*, Myrinus

6.108,4 λαμπρῆς δῶρα θηηπολίης, *Alpheius* 6.187,2 ἀνθετ' ἀπ' οἰκείης σύμβολον ἐργασίης.

Jacobs<sup>1</sup> noted that ἐλαφοσσοίη is derived from σόος, cf. Hesych. s.v.: σῶος, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. Καὶ ὄρμη πρὸς αὔξησιν; cf. Chantraine (1968) s.v. σεύομαι; other compounds are βοοσός “qui chasse les boeufs”, see also Hollis on Call. *Hec.* 117 βουσόον, λαοσσός and Janko on *Il.* 13.128, ἵπποσός (Pind. *P.* 2.65, also ἵπποσός, Nonnus *D.* 37.320); Nonnus also has κεμαδοσσός, *D.* 13.300, see Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 186,31, cf. Hesych. s.v. μηλοσσή: ὁδός, δι' ἧς πρόβατα ἐλαύνεται. ῥόδιοι. For the other meaning of the compound cf. Zonas *AP* 9.226,6 μελισσοσός Πὰν ἐπικυψέλιος, “who saves the bees”. Also at the end of the pentameter, Crinagoras probably has ἐυσοίη in 36,4 GP, “prosperity”.

Ταχινός is a Hellenistic word, cf. Ap. Rh. 2.1044 ταχινὸν βέλος, Call. *H.* 1.56, Theocr. 2,7 ταχινὰς φρένας, Mel. *AP* 5.179,10 ταχινὰς...πτέρυγας, Tullius Laur. 7.17,4 ταχινήν...ληθεδόνα, Leon. 7.205,2=Geffcken 83 οἱ ταχινοὶ βορέες, see Geffcken *ad loc.*, McLennan on Call. *loc. cit.* The adjective is happily combined with ἐλαφοσσοίη which denotes not only a stag-chasing, but indeed an ὄρμητικόν, as it were (cf. Hesych., see above), stag-hunting.

For σκῦλα as spoils of war cf. Soph. *Phil.* 1428 with Jebb *ad loc.*; the word is further used in a wider sense to denote the dedicated offerings, sometimes in a metaphorical sense: cf. Leon. 6.293,2 and id. 6.298,6 σκῦλ' ἀπὸ Σωχάρεος, echoed in Mel. 12.23,4 σκῦλ' ἀπὸ Σωφροσύνης, cf. anon. 9.157,4 σκῦλα μαιφονίης, Paul. Sil. 6.71, 4 σκῦλα... Ἀναξαγόρα. Crinagoras does not tell us what these spoils are, but one could guess that they are the horns, the skin, or both, cf. Leon. *AP* 6.110, Antip. Thess. 6.111, Perses 6.112, in the last two the hunter dedicating the spoils to Artemis and Apollo respectively. Jost (1985, 470) remarks “l’ours, le sanglier ou le cerf appartiennent à Artémis; de Pan relève le petit gibier qui peuple les buissons du maquis arcadien et trouve sa place sur toutes les tables: ce sont le lièvre, la perdrix, que l’on prend avec des filets, et les petits oiseaux, grives, cailles, qui tombent dans les pièges de l’oiseleur”. The hunter of the present poem, nevertheless, dedicates the spoils of his ταχινή stag-chasing to no other divinities but Pan, Hermes and the Nymphs whose caves are εὐπίδακες (l. 1); in Antip. Thess. 9.417=70,5f. GP, by contrast, the Nymphs (who cherish the wild animals, cf. *h. Orph.* 51.12 αἰπολικάι, νόμιαί, θηρσὶν φίλαι, see Gow-Page *ad loc.*) are angry with the hound that killed many deer, and do not allow water to gush from the earth to refresh the exhausted dog, πίδακος ἐκ τυφλῆς οὐκ ἐτάχυνεν ὕδωρ (l. 4). In the *Odyssey* the nymphs accept offerings of slaughtered pigs, lambs and kids, 14.435f., 17.240ff., cf. Theocr. 5.139f., see also Borgeaud 240.

GP 48

AP 9.234=GP 48

Ἄχρι τεῦ, ᾧ δείλαιε, κεναῖς ἐπὶ ἐλπίσι, θυμέ,  
 πωτηθεῖς ψυχρῶν ἀσσοτάτω νεφέων  
 ἄλλοις ἄλλ' ἐπ' ὄνειρα διαγράψεις ἀφένιοι;  
 ἄτητὸν γὰρ θνητοῖς οὐδὲ ἐν αὐτόματον.  
 5 Μουσέων ἄλλ' ἐπὶ δῶρα μετέρχεο, ταῦτα δ' ἀμυδρά  
 εἶδωλα ψυχῆς ἠλεμάτοισι μέθες.

[C] Κριναγόρου περὶ φιλοσοφίας καὶ ὅτι μόνη ἀρετὴ τίμιον κτῆμα P1 I<sup>a</sup> 74,1 Κριναγόρου  
 1 ᾧ P1<sup>PC</sup>: ᾧ P1<sup>AC</sup>, ᾧ P | ἐπὶ P1: ἐπ' P 6 μέθες P1<sup>PC</sup>: -θαις P1<sup>AC</sup>

*How long, my poor heart, fluttering on empty hopes very near the cold clouds, will you sketch dreams upon dreams of riches? Nothing comes to mortals of its own will. Pursue rather the gifts of the Muses and leave these dim phantoms of the soul to fools.*

Crinagoras instructs himself to be content with the gifts of the Muses and stop dreaming of riches which cannot be attained. The idea that poetry offers comfort to any kind of distress is often found in literature, cf. Pind. *N.* 4.1ff. Ἄριστος εὐφροσύνα πόνων κεκριμένων / ἰατρός· αἱ δὲ σοφαί / Μουσᾶν θύγατρεις ἀοιδαὶ θέλξαν νιν ἀπτόμεναι, Soph. *Ichn.* (fr. 314 Radt) 325f. καὶ τοῦτο λύπης ἔστ' ἄκεστρον καὶ παραψυκτῆριον, Ov. *Tr.* 4.10,118 *tu (Musa) requies, tu medicina venis*, Hor. *Od.* 1.32.14f. *o laborum / dulce lenimen medicumque*.<sup>276</sup> Theocritus in 11.1ff. also claims that there is no remedy for love other than song. The modest economical state of Crinagoras recalls Theocritus' distress in 16, where he complains about the inability of his poems to offer him any profit. But above all the present epigram recalls Bion 7, a poem also dealing with the poet's philosophy of life, especially ll. 10ff. with Bion's outburst about the vanity of riches (see below on ἄχρι τεῦ and ᾧ δείλαιε...θυμέ). Bion's fragment displays features of the cynic diatribe (rhetorical questions, moral issues like the shortness of life), found also in Leon. *AP* 7.472=77 GP; cynic is also the spirit of id. 7.736=33 GP.<sup>277</sup> In the present poem Crinagoras, for all his treating the same general philosophical issue, i.e. the vanity of wealth, does not express the cynic spirit as he does

<sup>276</sup>For more examples see Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. 1.32.15.

<sup>277</sup>See Reed on Bion 8-14. As Reed notes, Crinagoras opposes poetry to the struggle for wealth, while Bion "implicitly equates the two" (see on l. 10 with n. 27). Leonidas' 7.472 has been described as "eine wirkliche paränetische Elegie" (Geffcken 1896, 128f.); for the Cynic influence on Leonidas in general, with special reference to 7.472, see Gutzwiller 103ff.; for the influence of Cynic diatribe on Leonidas and other Hellenistic poets see ead. 106f.

not offer any generalised philosophical view on life and, more importantly, as he renounces wealth not on grounds of its vanity *per se* but only due to the practical reason that he cannot obtain it. From a different point of view Leonidas smiles at his own poverty (*AP* 6.302=37 GP) like Callimachus (*AP* 12.150=3 GP). Giangrande notices that the motif of poverty can be subdivided into two themes, “complaints about impecuniousness or eulogy of frugal life” (1968, “Symptotic Literature”, 135). Crinagoras clings to the first category, as he does not adopt the admiration of frugal life of the Elegy.<sup>278</sup> The author’s claims about his modest means *need not, of course,* be taken literally, as the poets’ poverty constitutes a *topos* in literature, and Crinagoras was in fact neither poor nor of a low social rank (see intr., under Life and Work), cf. the worthy gifts he sends to his friends, see on 4 GP, intr. note. For the similar exaggerating complaints of Martial cf. Howell (1991) 4, 27f., Nauta 87. For the elegiac motif of poverty as dealt with in the epigram see Giangrande (1968, “Symptotic Literature”) 135ff.

1 ἄχρι τεῦ: the question ἄχρι or μέχρι τίνος is common in epigrams and occurs almost always at the opening of the poem, cf. Strato 12.21, id. 12.186, id. 12.218, Paul. Sil. 5.221, id. 5.226. Immediately followed by the name of the addressee: Ascl. 5.167,5 ἄχρι τίνος, Ζεῦ;, Ruf. 5.103,1 μέχρι τίνος, Προδίκη, παρακλαύσομαι;. Cf. Bion 8.10ff.

ἔς πόσον ἄ δειλοὶ καμάτως κείς ἔργα πονεῦμες,  
 ψυχὰν δ’ ἄχρι τίνος ποτὶ κέρδεα καὶ ποτὶ τέχνας  
 βάλλομες, ἰμείροντες αἰὲν πολὺ πλείονος ὄλβω;

The poet uses the epic τεῦ; in the Anthology cf. τεῦ χάριν at Nicarchus *AP* 9.330,3, Antiphilus 9.551,2, anon. *API* 313,2. One might suggest that Automedon’s<sup>279</sup> *AP* 11.346,1f. is a satirical variation of Crinagoras’ opening sentence:

Μέχρι τίνος, Πολύκαρπε, κενῆς παράσιτε τραπέζης,  
 λήσῃ κερματίοις χρώμενος ἄλλοτρίοις;

also followed by a explanatory sentence with γάρ. For epigrams opening with a question in general see further Siedschlag 22, n. 9. The μέχρι τίνος question has its origins in sympotic literature, see id. *ibid*.

ἄ δείλαιε...θυμέ: for the preference of ἄ over ὦ, cf. the same choice at Theogn. 351, 649 ἄ δειλή πενήτη, based on *Il.* 16.837 ἄ δειλέ, 11.816 ἄ δειλοί, 11.486 ἄ δειλώ;<sup>280</sup> the exclamation is very common in Homer and also occurs at *Il.* 11.441 and 452, 17.201, 24.518, *Od.* 11.618, 18.389, always in the contracted form: the exclamation

<sup>278</sup>Despite his occasional reproaches to his poverty (351, 649), Theognis asserts that he is content with little; *Il.* 1155f. condense his philosophy on wealth: οὐκ ἔραμαι πλουτεῖν οὐδ’ εὐχομαι, ἀλλὰ μοι εἶη ἰζῆν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀλίγων μηδὲν ἔχοντι κακόν, see Carrière 183, 236f., West (1974) 15. For Theognis’ place in popular philosophy, see Kindstrand 36. Cf. also intr. note.

<sup>279</sup>Nothing is known about the dates of Automedon; it is possible that he lived in the first century A.D., if the identification of the Nicetes of his *AP* 10.23 with the rhetorician mentioned by Seneca the Elder is correct (see Gow-Page *GP* on Automedon, intr. note).

<sup>280</sup>See van Groningen *ad loc.* Also Gow on Theocr. ep. 6,1 (*AP* 9.432).

at Theocr. *AP* 9.432 is ἄ δείλαιε, and the uncontracted form also occurs in Leon. *AP* 7.466,1, Theocr. 4.60.

Address to one's soul with the vocative θυμέ echoes the same apostrophe of elegy, cf. Theogn. 213, 877, 1029, especially 695f. οὐ δύναμαί σοι, θυμέ, παρασχέιν ἄρμενα πάντα / τέτλαθι τῶν δὲ καλῶν οὔτι σὺ μοῦνος ἐρᾷς.<sup>281</sup> For other occurrences of the apostrophe to one's θυμός, cf. for instance Archil. fr. 128 West θυμέ, θύμ' ἀμηχάνοισι κήδεσιν κυκώμενε, Pind. *N.* 3.26 and *O.* 2.89, Call. *H.* 4.1, id. fr. 75.4f., Mel. *AP* 12.117,3, id. 12.141,1f.<sup>282</sup> Crinagoras' peremptory tone in his address to his soul in regard to the "disillusioning" content of the poem and the similarities of expression ("empty hopes", deceptive "images") recalls Meleager's erotic distress in *AP* 12.125 and especially the final couplet ὦ δύσερωσ ψυχῆ, παῦσαί ποτε καὶ δι' ὄνειρων / εἰδώλοισ κάλλευσ κωφὰ χλιαυομένη.

The vocative with ὦ in the present poem has a confidential-emotional tone, as in Call. *H.* 4.1, similarly to the Homeric practice, see intr. under Language and Style, Apostrophes.

κεναῖς ἐπὶ ἐλπίσι: editors have tried to cure the hiatus by proposing either a) ἔτ' ἐπ' ἐλπίσι (Jacobs, followed by Rubensohn, Geist, Stadtmüller, Beckby) or b) κεναῖσιν ἐπ' ἐλπίσι (Boissonade, followed by Dübner, Paton and Waltz). Gow-Page, who retain the reading of the Planudean codex, rightly remark that a) is unlikely after the opening ἄχρι τεῦ and b) creates a trochaic break in the fourth dactyl, a metrical abnormality very unusual in the poets of the Garland (see intr. under Metre, Hermann's Bridge). One can further observe the strong resemblance of a Hesiodic line to the present verse (same construction and *sedes*), Hes. *Op.* 498

πολλὰ δ' ἀεργὸς ἀνήρ, κενεὴν ἐπὶ ἐλπίδα μίμνων

This resemblance might suggest that here Crinagoras does take into account the operative digamma, although the poet is in general indifferent to hiatus, see intr. under Metre, Hiatus.

For the motif of "empty hopes", common in Greek literature (which Crinagoras uses in a similar rhetorical question also in the opening of 16 GP), cf. Pind. *N.* 8.45 κενεᾶν δ' ἐλπίδων χαῦνον τέλος, Aesch. *Pers.* 804 κεναῖσιν ἐλπίσι πεπεισμένος, Soph. *Aj.* 478, id. *El.* 1460, Eur. *IA* 987, Mel. *AP* 12.15,4, anon. 12.90,8. For a similar construction cf. Nonnus *D.* 35.195 καὶ κενεῆ χροᾶ λοῦσεν ἐπ' ἐλπίδι, id. *ibid.* 36.246 καὶ κενεῆ πολέμιζεν ἐπ' ἐλπίδι.

<sup>281</sup>The apostrophe to one's heart, however, is found as early as *Od.* 20.18 τέτλαθι δῆ, κραδίη; see van Groningen on Theogn. 695.

<sup>282</sup>In her classification of the references to *thymos* in Homer and lyric poetry, Darcus-Sullivan (152) includes this passage, as well as the passages of Theognis mentioned above, in the category of "Θυμός as an Active Agent", on the grounds that the vocative suggests "that θυμός acts independently within a person". For bibliography on the discussion of the use of *thymos* in Greek literature see Darcus-Sullivan 147, nn. 1 and 2.

2 πωτηθείς: the verb is a poetic frequentative of ποτάομαι and a Homeric ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, *Il.* 12.287. See Hatzikosta on Theocr. 7.142.

In regard to the “fluttering on hopes”, cf. Aristoph. *Eq.* 1244 λεπτή τις ἐλπίς ἐστ’ ἐφ’ ἧς ὀχούμεθα,<sup>283</sup> Lucian *Alex.* 16.3f. ἀνθρώπων...ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐπαιωρουμένων;<sup>284</sup> Jacobs further cites Philo *Ebr.* 36.7 ἀνθρώπων κεναῖς αἰωρουμένων δόξαις (cf. id. *Mut.* 94.4f. οἱ ἐν ταῖς κεναῖς φερόμενοι δόξαις) and Dio Cass. 44.17 ἔδοξε καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τε τῶν νεφῶν μετέωρος αἰωρεῖσθαι καὶ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς χειρὸς ἄπτεσθαι. Cf. also the fluttering *because of* hope in Pind. *P.* 8.90, Soph. *OT* 487.

For the “fluttering soul” cf. Eur. *El.* 175ff. οὐκ ἐπ’ ἀγλαίας, φίλαι, / θυμὸν οὐδ’ ἐπὶ χρυσεῖς / ὄρμοις ἐκπεπόταμαι / τάλαιν’. Cf. Theocr. 2.19 δειλαία, πᾶ τὰς φρένας ἐκπεπότασαι; and the same sentence again at id. 11.72, which opens Polyphemus’ “disillusioned” question to himself in another poem of self-consolation for something that cannot be achieved. Aristophanes occasionally uses expressions referring to the “flying” of soul or mind, either in the sense of “dreaming”, as in the present epigram (*Vesp.* 93), or in the sense of excitement (*Nub.* 319, *Av.* 1445).<sup>285</sup> Cf. also Theogn. 1053 τῶν γὰρ μαινομένων πέτεται θυμὸς τε νόος τε. Crinagoras seems to combine the two expressions, that of a “fluttering soul” with that of people “fluttering on hopes” in a new image, where it is the soul and not the man as a whole that now flutters on hopes; thus he stresses both his strong longing to obtain wealth and, at the same time, the impossibility of the realisation of his dream.

ψυχρῶν...νεφῶν: Crinagoras’ soul flies near the clouds which are cold because they do not provide the hoped-for result, as Dübner remarked, comparing Horace *Epist.* 1.3,26 *frigida curarum fomenta*; also cf. Soph. *Ant.* 650 ψυχρὸν παραγκάλισμα, Eur. *Alc.* 353 ψυχρὰν τέρψιν, id. *IA* 1014 ψυχρὰ...ἐλπίς. Mayer compares Horace’s expression to Crinagoras’ verse, noting that “Florus’ cares... chill his *ingenium*”.<sup>286</sup> Clouds can be cold literally (of winter, [Opp.] *Cyn.* 1.119) or metaphorically (*AApp* 1.78,1’ Ἀργαλέου πολέμου κρυερὸν νέφος).

ἄσσοτάτω: cf. the same construction and *sedes* of the word (but as adjective) at Crin. 6,4 GP; as here, as an adverb, Crin. 38,7 GP, see *ad loc.*

<sup>283</sup>Cf. Plato *Leg.* 699b6 ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος ὀχοῦμενοι. For more examples see Porson on Eur. *Or.* 68f, who notes that the expression ἐπ’ ἐλπίδος ὀχεῖσθαι was so common that it had become almost proverbial. Cf. also Palladas’ rejection of Hope and Tyche (*AP.* 9.49,1, 134,1, 172,1), see Bowra’s discussion (1960, 126ff.). For the common notion that Tyche is the giver of wealth, see Kindstrand 196f., 246f.

<sup>284</sup>For the opposite image, that of hopes flying over people, cf. Lucian *Cont.* 15.28 αἱ δ’ ἐλπίδες ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς αἰωρούμεναι.

<sup>285</sup>See Kakridis on *Av.* 1445, Handley 215, 218f., Huart 60.

<sup>286</sup>See Mayer on Hor. *Ep.* 1.3,26.

ἄλλοις ἄλλ' ἔπ' : = ἄλλ' ἔπ' ἄλλοις; cf. Plato *Rep.* 369c Οὕτω δὴ ἄρα παραλαμβάνων ἄλλος ἄλλον ἔπ' ἄλλου κτλ. Self-variation with Crin. 38,8 GP ἄλλα...ἄλλοῖαι, see *ad loc.*

διαγράψεις: “sketch”: the metaphor is from painting; cf. Plato *Rep.* 500e αὐτήν (τὴν πόλιν) διαγράψειαν οἱ τῷ θεῷ παραδείγματι χρώμενοι ζωγράφοι, with Stallbaum *ad loc.*

ὄναρ ἀφένιοι: for the rare construction of ὄνειρον + gen., of things dreamed of, cf. Plut. *Thes.* 32 ὡς ὄναρ ἐλευθερίας ὀρώντας; cf. Phld. *AP* 5.25,6 οὐδ' ὄναρ οἶδε φόβου (the “shade” of fear). Ἄφενος is masculine here, as in Call. *H.* 1.96, where it appears in the same form of the genitive; the masculine is a variant at *Il.* 1.171, 23.299, *Od.* 14.99, Hes. *Op.* 24, 637, *Th.* 112 and Call. 1.94. McLennan remarks that ἀφένιοι could be the genitive of the neuter ἀφενον, as there are some -ος (neuter) / -ον (neuter) alternatives in Greek (for instance δένδρος - δένδρον), but the great amount of -ος (neuter) / -ος (masculine) alternatives in Greek renders the masculine almost certain.<sup>287</sup>

**4:** As Gow-Page comment, Crinagoras seems to mean that the acquisition of wealth demands efforts which are beyond his power; for a similar difficulty, cf. the exaggerating comparison of the effort needed to persuade an avaricious man with superhuman toils in Theocr. 16,60ff. The line is encased by an adjective and the noun it qualifies, see on 5,1 GP.

κτητὸν...θνητοῖς: possessible, acquirable by mortals; for the construction cf. Plato *Symp.* 197d Ἔρωσ...ζηλωτὸς ἀμοίροις, κτητὸς εὐμοίροις, Dio Cass. 11.43,11 τὸ μὲν κτητὸν διὰ βραχέος τοῖς τὸν νοῦν αὐτῷ προσέχουσι, Jos. *Ant. Jud.* 3.166,5 οὐ κτητὸς ἀνθρώποις κόσμος. Κτητός, only here in the Anthology, is a Homeric ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, *Il.* 9.407 κτητοὶ δὲ τρίποδες (same *sedes*) and appears rarely in poetry, cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 1295, *Hel.* 903; in Hes. *Op.* 406 (γυναῖκα) κτητήν, οὐ γαμετήν, it has the sense of κεκτημένος, see LSJ s.v. II.

γάρ: it introduces the difficulty presented in l. 4 as a justification of Crinagoras' skepticism about the acquisition of wealth developed in the first half of the poem. Cf. the γάρ after questions, explaining the tone rather than the content of the preceding words, Denniston 62.

οὐδὲ ἔν: the phrase is common in prose and comedy (Aristoph. *Lys.* 1045, *Ran.* 927, *Pl.* 138 and 1115),<sup>288</sup> in hexameter-elegiac poetry very rarely, [Theocr.] 23,3, Antip. *Thess.* *AP* 7.629,3, anon. 9.138,3; cf. Theogn. 529 οὐδὲ ἔνα προῦδωκα φίλον.

αὐτόματον: the word is traditionally associated with abundance, as it recalls the Hesiodic image of earth providing fruit of its own accord in the Golden Age, *Op.* 118

<sup>287</sup> See Maclennan's discussion on Call. 1.94. Also West on Hes. *Th.* 112-3.

<sup>288</sup> And especially fourth-century comedy, see Dover on *Ran.* 927.

καρπὸν δ' ἔφερε ζείδωρος ἄρουρα  
αὐτομάτη πολλόν τε καὶ ἄφθονον

The same reminiscence occurs in Aristoph. *Ach.* 976, and, as has been observed, the word is always present in the *Schlaraffenland* of the Old Comedy, cf. for instance Telecleides fr. 1,3 ἡ γῆ δ' ἔφερ' οὐ δέος οὐδὲ νόσους, ἀλλ' αὐτόματ' ἦν τὰ δέοντα, Metagenes fr. 6.9, Pherecrates fr. 113,6 and 137,3 Kassel-Austin<sup>289</sup> Cf. the idyllic image of abundance in Dioscorides *AP* 7.31,5 and 7f. αὐτόματαί τοι κρῆναι ἀναβλύζοιεν ἀκρήτου,... αὐτόματοι δὲ φέροιεν ἴον.../ κῆποι and a similar image as a response of Rhea to her worshippers at *Ap. Rh.* 1.1142f.

*The line is encased by an adjective and a noun in agreement, see on Crin. 5,1 GP.*

**5f. Μουσέων...δῶρα:** the expression occurs frequently in Greek literature, indicating music or poetry in general, cf. for instance Hes. *Th.* 103 δῶρα θεάων (sc. of the Muses), Arch. fr. 1,2 West καὶ Μουσ<έω>ν ἔρατὸν δῶρον ἐπιστάμενος, Solon fr. 13,51 West, Theogn. 250, Leon. *AP* 7.715,5, Alc. Mess. 12.64,5, anon. *API* 295,7f., Opp. *Hal.* 2.26; cf. also Peek 1025=Kaibel 617, Peek 588=Kaibel 106,2, *AApp.* 2.532,2.<sup>290</sup>

**ἀλλ'...μετέρχεο, ταῦτα δ':** the imperative appears twice in Homer (*Il.* 5.429 and 6.86). Crinagoras' phrase, with which he turns himself to the occupation that is appropriate for him, is modelled on the similar epic advice of Zeus to Aphrodite not to enter the battle-field, *Il.* 5.428f.

οὐ τοι τέκνον ἐμὸν δέδοται πολεμήϊα ἔργα,  
ἀλλὰ σύ γ' ἱμερόεντα μετέρχεο ἔργα γάμοιο,  
ταῦτα δ' Ἄρηϊ θοῶ καὶ Ἀθήνῃ πάντα μελήσει.<sup>291</sup>

Note the probable echo of the present poem in Pall. *AP* 9.171,2 where the poet, brought to despair by his poverty, sells his books and decides to change profession εἰς ἑτέρας τέχνης ἔργα μετερχόμενος.

**ἀμυδρὰ εἶδωλα ψυχῆς:** images, phantoms of the soul, i.e. created by it, cf. Plato *Phaedo* 66c ἐρώτων δὲ καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ φόβων καὶ εἰδώλων παντοδαπῶν καὶ φλυαρίας ἐμπίμπλησιν ἡμᾶς πολλῆς (the body). Crinagoras may be playing with the Homeric description of the souls of the dead as εἶδωλα, using the same words in a

<sup>289</sup>See Rennie on *Ach.* 978.

<sup>290</sup>Likewise wine is δῶρα Διονύσου (Hes. *Op.* 614), sleep ὕπνου δῶρον (*Il.* 7.482), marriage δῶρον Ἀφροδίτης (Hes. *Sc.* 47), see West on Hes. *Th.* 102-3. In regard to the use of the expression in Alc. Mess. and Crinagoras, Skiadas (1965, 77f.) observes that in some cases it is very difficult, if not impossible to decide whether there are specific references of such later poets to earlier works where the expression appears, (while in other cases it is not: Leon. 7.715,5f. is an imitation of Theogn. 250, as shown by Reitzenstein, 157), as poetic expressions are in this or the other way transmitted through literature.

<sup>291</sup>In a context indicating less strong opposition, the imperative, in the meaning of "go", is also accompanied by an adversative particle at *Il.* 6.86, Ἔκτορ, ἀτὰρ σύ πόλινδε μετέρχεο κτλ.

different context and meaning, cf. *Il.* 23.72, *Od.* 24.14 ψυχαί, εἶδωλα καμόντων, *Il.* 23.104 ψυχὴ καὶ εἶδωλον.

For ἀμυδρός qualifying an image of the mind, cf. Plato *Tim.* 49a ἀμυδρὸν εἶδος. Cf. the “dim phantom” visiting Penelope, *Od.* 4.824 and 835 εἶδωλον ἀμαυρόν; also Eur. *Ph.* 1543ff. πολὺν αἰθέρος ἀφανὲς εἶδωλον ἢ... /... πτανὸν ὄνειρον;

ἠλεμάτοισι: in earlier poetry the word is found only in Sappho fr. 26,5 and Alc. fr. 70,4 L-P. In later poetry it occurs quite often, as it is used by Hellenistic poets for the Homeric ἠλεός (*Od.* 1.243, 14.464),<sup>292</sup> cf. Theocr. 15.4 ὦ τᾶς ἠλεμάτω ψυχᾶς (prob.),<sup>293</sup> Ap. Rh. 4.1206 ἠλεμάτως Κόλχοι μάθον, Call. *H.* 6.91, Paul. Sil. *AP* 6.75,4 ἐπ’ ἠλεμάτω, Agath. 11.350,6 ἠλεμάτου παίγνια φαντασίης.

μέθες: for μέθες + dat., “leave to”, cf. *Il.* 14.364 μεθίεμεν Ἑκτορι νίκην, Eur. *Ba.* 350 στέμματ’ ἀνέμοις καὶ θεύλλαισιν μέθες.

<sup>292</sup>See Mooney on Ap. Rh. 4.1206.

<sup>293</sup>See Gow on Theocr. 15.4.

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