EROTIC EPIGRAM: A STUDY OF MOTIFS

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Declaration:

I, Maria Kanellou, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Signature:
Abstract

My thesis forms the first book-length project to examine together Greek epigrams which date from the Hellenistic to the early Byzantine period within larger hermeneutic frames. It examines the life-cycle of four motifs, especially within the erotic subgenre, in order to reassess the genre’s inter-/intra-generic dynamics and the factors that influenced its development through the centuries. The first chapter is devoted to epigrams where the lamp takes on various roles. Through their detailed analysis a fundamental narrative technique of the whole subgenre is disclosed: objects are employed to portray emotions. I also uncover the seriocomic tone of these poems. Their seriousness derives from the exploration of emotions in a plausible manner. However, the lover’s reaction can be judged as humorous by a detached reader. In the second chapter, I study epigrams that employ sea/nautical metaphors in order to explore the intra-generic and intra-textual dynamics in the use of metaphorical language within the subgenre: the epigrammatists use metaphors to approach a topic from a variety of angles, while simultaneously securing narrative economy because metaphors can create multiple associations. Moreover, I explore through these metaphors the complex intra-generic dynamics of poetic rivalry and imitation. In the third chapter, I shed light on the development of the motif of the comparison of a woman with Aphrodite. I exemplify how a set of intra-generic, chronological, religious, and political factors influence its transformations in the work of different epigrammatists. Furthermore, I examine the goddess’ use as a metonymy and its semantic flexibility. In the fourth chapter, I study Eros’ representations in art and epigrams and unveil the ‘common codes’ existing in these two media for the crystallisation of emotions and ideas on love through the god’s portrayals. I analyse in detail three depictions of him, whose roots can be detected back to lyric poetry, in order to demonstrate how the epigrammatists handled and refreshed the inherited material. My research concludes with the study of the multidimensional use of the plural love gods (the Erotes). My thesis looks deep into the inner-workings of ancient Greek epigram, especially of its erotic subtype, and proves how sophisticated these poems are. It explores the complex combination of the elements of stability, adaptability, and change which played a key-role in the genre’s development, and moreover, significantly enriches our understanding of individual epigrams as it locates them within larger frames of interpretation.
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Abbreviations

Abbreviations of Greek authors and works are these used in OCD³, where possible; otherwise, I have used LSJ⁹. A list follows of the most common abbreviations within the thesis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>C. Austin &amp; G. Bastianini (ed.), <em>Posidippi Pellaei quae supersunt omnia</em>, Milan 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IG</td>
<td><em>Inscriptiones Graecae</em>, Berlin 1873-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGrH</td>
<td>F. Jacoby (ed.), <em>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</em>, Berlin, 1929-1930; Leiden, 1940-1958; 1994-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaibel</td>
<td>G. Kaibel, <em>Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta</em>, Hildesheim 1965 (= Berlin 1878)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LSJ\textsuperscript{9}  

OCD\textsuperscript{3}  

P  

Page  

PMG  

SH  

Stadtmüller  

Viansino  

Waltz  

W\textsuperscript{2}  
Introduction

1.1. And So the Journey Begins... Why a thesis on the tiniest of poetic genres?

What is an epigram? A dwarfish whole,  
it's body brevity, and wit its soul.

In this modern epigram, the great poet S.T. Coleridge neatly encapsulates the core of the whole poetic genre, which emerged as a fully literary form at the beginning of the Hellenistic age:¹ at its best, epigram successfully incorporates a set of ideas and/ or a much wider story within narrow space-limits, displaying its composer’s intelligence and originality of thought. These features are articulated in a number of ways, such as the poem’s ending, often inverting one’s expectations or adding a comic hue, the continuous variation of the same topic, and the combination and merging of elements which are traditionally employed in different poetic genres. Being protean, epigram can be of various content. The recently discovered P.Mil.Vogl.VIII 309, with its collection of epigrams ascribed to Posidippus,² being organised in groups and bearing generic headings, reveals how wide the spectrum of topics in this genre could be, already in the third century BC; while other subcategories were already known to us from the Greek Anthology (e.g. dedications, epitaphs, shipwrecks, athletic epigrams), others completely new, and indeed unexpected, came to the foreground (e.g. omens, cures, and the one called τρόποι (perhaps concerning character types)).

This flexibility in content accounts for the genre’s popularity in antiquity, as it could accommodate the diverse interests of different poets and readers. Its popularity is attested in the vastness of the surviving material: the Greek Anthology alone includes 363 named and an unknown number of unidentified poets, let alone that the surviving epigrams - no less than 4,000 - constitute only a fraction of the total output. In addition, already at the first stages of the genre’s development, poets, such as Posidippus, engaged so enthusiastically with epigram that they became

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¹ See Gutzwiller (1998a) 47-53, for early Greek epigrams, see Baumbach, Petrovic, and Petrovic (2010).
² For the papyrus, see e.g. Acosta Hughes, Kosmetatou, Baumbach (2004), Gutzwiller (2005).
renowned primarily as epigrammatists. Moreover, as is well-known, the genre attracted some of the greatest poets in antiquity, like Callimachus, and we should not forget that Roman poets enthusiastically imitated, adapted, and refreshed Greek epigrams. While some of them met the Greeks on their own terms through the medium of the Greek language, others harnessed the Latin language to the form. The best representative is of course Martial, with his vast production of twelve books of epigrams, more than 1,500 in total, and their wide thematic variety (e.g. from the panegyric and the skopitic ones to the erotic and dedicatory, and those on extraordinary events). A further measure of the genre’s popularity in antiquity is its survival up until the early Byzantine era; the anthology of Agathias Scholasticus, called the *Cycle*, published in the sixth century BC (c.567–8 AD), includes epigrams of the highest quality.

A highly diverse and rich poetic form such as this, which flourished through the centuries, certainly constitutes a literary phenomenon worthy of extensive scholarly attention. Indeed, during the last decades, there has been an escalating interest in the study of the genre, which was given further impetus by the publication of the P.Mil.Vogl.VIII 309 and the work of scholars, such as Gutzwiller’s *Poetic Garlands: Hellenistic Epigrams in Context* (1998). However, research focus has stayed primarily and almost exclusively focused on epigrams of the Hellenistic period, especially those included in Meleager’s *Garland*, and this anthology’s ‘stars’, i.e. Meleager himself, Asclepiades, Posidippus, and Callimachus. A characteristic case study is the bulk of research done for Asclepiades within the last decade, who counts three commentaries on his poems, written in succession (Guichard (2004), Nastos (2006), and Sens (2011)). This focus on Hellenistic epigram also prevails in individual book-length studies which abandon an author-based approach and use

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3 We read for Posidippus in an inscription from Thermon (I.G.9/1.17.24), which contains decrees of proxeny (264/3 BC): Ποσειδίππῳ τῷ ἐπιγραμματοποίῳ Πελλαίῳ ἔνγυος Κλεοκράτης Ἡρακλεώτας.


5 On Martial’s thematic variety, see Encuentra (2005) 115-159.

6 For the *Cycle* of Agathias and the date of its publication, see Cameron and Cameron (1966) 6-25, Cameron (2003) 69-75. Doubts have been expressed for the exact date of the *Cycle* mainly by Baldwin (1977) 298-301, (1980a) 334-340.
larger hermeneutic frames, and in collective volumes,\(^7\) take for instance, Tueller’s monograph on the ways in which the Hellenistic epigrammatists used the conventions of their inscriptive archetypes and contemporary parallels, and Prioux’s book on the aesthetic theories which guided the interpretations of the visual arts by the Hellenistic epigrammatists, especially Posidippus.\(^8\) We also possess two collective volumes on Hellenistic epigrams, the one of Harder, Regtuit, and Wakker (2002), and the other of Bing and Bruss (2007).

Though this fascination with Hellenistic epigram has led to a much deeper understanding of the genre’s literary features, merits, and its interrelationship with other literary genres and the visual arts at this stage of its development, at the same time the genre from the Roman up until the Byzantine period has remained largely under-explored.\(^9\) This mostly applies for the epigrams of the early Byzantine period — the ones of Gregory of Nazianzus, Palladas, Agathias and his fellow poets. It suffices to say that the most recent commentaries for Agathias Scholasticus and Paulus Silentiarius, the most prominent poet of the *Cycle*, are the ones of Viansino dating back to 1967. In addition, no comprehensive commentary exists for the *Cycle* itself, while, in contrast, we possess the *magna opera* of Gow and Page for the *Garlands of Meleager and Philip*.\(^10\) In the last few years, scholars have started to acknowledge the significance of this gap in research, and there are recent monographs on post-Meleagrean epigrammatists which offer an excellent basis for further study and analysis of the genre after Meleager’s collection; these include the commentaries on Strato of Sardis,\(^11\) Sider’s commentary on Philodemos, the one of Argentieri on the two Antipaters, and Höschele’s book on Rufinus.\(^12\)

In my thesis, I adopt a broad chronological perspective. In approaching the epigrammatic form, I analyse under the same thematic headings epigrams that were

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\(^8\) Tueller (2008), Prioux (2007).

\(^9\) There are always exceptions to the rule. Strato of Sardis counts several commentaries on his poems, see González-Rincón (1996), Steinbichler (1998), Floridi (2007), and Giannuzzi (2007).

\(^10\) Gow-Page (1965) and (1968).

\(^11\) See n.9.

\(^12\) Sider (1997), Argentieri (2003), and Höschele (2010). On Rufinus, cf. Page (1978). Ypsilanti’s commentary on Crinagoras is in press, and two more commentaries on epigrammatists of the Roman era are prepared: Schatzmann’s on Nicarchus and Floridi’s on Lucilius. There is also Nisbet’s book on the skeptic subgenre (2005).
composed by different poets, who lived in the same or different historical periods and parts of the Greek-speaking world, working thus in different cultural, religious, and political milieus. There is much to be gained from such a wider overview of the genre, as this is the only way to uncover, understand, and appreciate the larger dynamics that shaped epigram as a literary type and the factors that influenced its development and guaranteed its survival at the forefront of the literary production over the centuries. This is also the approach best suited to the exploration of the elements of stability, adaptability, and change that the genre shares with other successful literary forms but which arguably played out and are available for study to an unusual degree in epigram, because of its longevity. While there is universal consensus that brevity, the variation on a theme, and the pervasive presence of intertextuality constitute its defining generic features, thorough research conducted on a larger canvas, which brings together and co-examines epigrams spanning Greek-speaking populations and the antiquity, can enrich not only our understanding of the development of the whole genre, but also of individual epigrams, as it firmly locates them within a larger frame of interpretation. In addition, it can demonstrate the diverse ways in which the epigrammatists, individually and collectively, responded to the opportunities offered by the poetry of the archaic and classical eras.

1.2. Why Erotic Epigrams?

When undertaking the task of exploring such rich and diverse material, the choice of focus is not easy. Acting as a modern-day anthologist, I have chosen erotic epigrams to form the basis of my research. These micro-poems talking about love and despair, sex and passion, have enchanted me from the moment I first read them, years ago, as an MA student. They are truly fascinating as they form a poetic mirror reflecting all human emotions, from hope, happiness, and love to despair, pain, and thirst for revenge; they depict and explore every kind of sexual and emotional experience in human life: affairs between lovers and (rarely) married couples, hetairae and their customers, homosexual relationships, desire for virgins, any kind of sexual activity, impotence, even rape — each of these topics being explored in different ways and with differing degrees of intensity. These poems constitute fertile ground for a project combining diachronic and synchronic research for two basic reasons: i) the magnitude of the surviving material - two of the books of the Greek
Anthology contain erotic epigrams, while several others are dispersed in the rest of the Anthology, and ii) its chronological diversity, ranging from the third century BC to the sixth century AD, which offers the opportunity for co-examining a great number of poets. Actually, in contrast to other epigrammatic subgenres, such as the skeptic ones that reached their peak as a distinctive subtype in the first century AD, in the hands of Lucillius and Nicarchus, erotic epigrams of the finest quality were composed already at the beginning of the third century BC, by Asclepiades.\textsuperscript{14} This opens greatly the chronological scope of research. What is more, erotic epigrams, from the Hellenistic ones to those of the Cycle, absorb and transform a wealth of material, whose roots can be traced back in archaic and classical poetry. This literary pedigree enables the contextualisation of the subgenre within a larger diachronic pattern, and thus can lead to the identification of the changes that each generation of epigrammatists brought to an original, older idea. For all these reasons, erotic epigrams constitute a proper base for a polysynthetic analysis, which can act as a model for further similar study of other types of epigrams.

1.3. A motif-based Methodology.

For the exploration of the subgenre, I apply a motif-based methodology, originally deployed in the study of the genre by Ludwig and Tarán, who had as their aim to demonstrate the art of variation.\textsuperscript{15} Breaking the confining frame of Hellenistic epigram, I apply the same methodology to a much wider chronological range: from the Hellenistic epigrams up until the Byzantine ones of Agathias’ Cycle. I employ four recurrent themes in order to examine my material under four different interpretative perspectives. In each chapter, I select and closely analyse characteristic case studies in order to examine larger issues concerning the subgenre, which I explore via the chosen paradigms. Though all chapters cohere to tell a consistent story, each chapter has an individual aim. In Chapter 1, the so-called ‘lamp motif’ forms the basis of my research. The motif has widely been discussed, especially as far as its intriguing use in Asclepiades AP 5.7 = 9 GP is concerned. But so far

\textsuperscript{13} i.e. a total of 567 epigrams

\textsuperscript{14} For Asclepiades’ chronology, see Gutzwiller (1998a) 122, Sens (2011) xxv-xxxii.

emphasis has been laid on the ways in which the epigrammatists vary the idea that a lamp witnesses sex. Broadening the scope of the analysis of the motif, I revisit the relevant material to investigate how the object’s transformations actually express a wide range of emotions. What is more, I argue that its variation does not merely constitute a literary phenomenon, a simple case of variation of a literary motif. On the contrary, the epigrams absorb and filter elements from human activities and customs where lamps were used, and thus the object’s variation is often influenced by its multifunctional use in real life. This aspect of the lamp’s application is important, because, as we shall see, in several case studies, it determines the tone of the epigrams, revealing the humour and irony lurking in the background.

In Chapter 2, I examine those erotic epigrams which use a set of metaphors which can be grouped together under the generic title ‘sea/ nautical metaphors’. The material is separated into two larger units: those epigrams describing a person, mainly a hetaera, as a ship, and the ones where sea/ nautical metaphors illustrate the lover’s inner world and the beloved’s behaviour, in either heterosexual or homosexual relationships. Both subgroups of metaphors have firm anchors in the earlier poetic tradition and I lay emphasis on their comic antecedents, which so far have been neglected by academic scholarship. I then turn to each subgroup and analyse a wide range of epigrams in which the variation of these metaphors constitutes a most useful narrative technique: it offers the opportunity for a polyprismatic approach to a theme, while simultaneously securing narrative conciseness, because the metaphors have the ability to create several connotations. Here, I expand the scope of the examined material to include other kind of epigrams, which employ similar metaphorical language and other topoi concerning the sea — for instance, the ones belonging (mainly) to the ninth book of the Anthology and employing the idea of a speaking ship. Although erotic epigrams constitute a recognisable epigrammatic subcategory, the group is not hermetically sealed but constantly interacts with other subgenres. My aim is to unravel the complex dynamics of imitation and poetic rivalry, as they are mirrored in the way the epigrammatists of different anthologies or different ages clench a particular set of sea/ nautical metaphors and keep varying them over and over again.

I then turn my attention to the reception of the two gods of love, Aphrodite and Eros. The wealth of the surviving material on gods and its diversity, from the corpus of Greek literary epigrams (over five hundred of them concern Aphrodite and
Eros alone) offers a broad range of possible topics for research - the evocation of gods and their myths, their various roles in epigrams, their interaction with other deities, the dedications made to them etc. - to the degree that the absence of a book-length project on gods in literary Greek epigrams really surprises me. Due to the limits set by the length of a thesis, I made the conscious choice to examine particular aspects of the use of these two gods, which, I believe, suggests the richness and importance of the rest of the material as well.

In Chapter 3, I examine two issues concerning Aphrodite. The biggest part of the chapter is devoted to the development of the motif of comparing a mortal woman, primarily the beloved, with the goddess. By examining the motif's application against the political, religious, and cultural milieu in which various epigrammatists lived and worked, I move beyond the view that the motif's alterations constitute simply a case of variation, in order to demonstrate that there is in fact a set of factors - generic, political, chronological, religious, and geographical - which influence its development. Here, again, I take a detour and examine epigrams that do not belong to the erotic subtype, namely those composed by the court poets, praising the Hellenistic queens by comparing and/ or identifying them with the goddess. My main concern is to explore the impact that the motif’s political application has on its use in the erotic domain. I then extend my research to epigrams using, not Aphrodite, but Eros as a means to praise the beloved, in order to exemplify the differences between the two applications of the motif and detect the reasons having allowed greater freedom in comparisons to the male god of love, already at the first stages of the development of erotic epigram. Last but not least, within this chapter, I turn my attention to the use of Aphrodite as a ‘mythological’ metonymy within the genre. Through the analysis of specific case studies, I exemplify and explore its semantic flexibility: the goddess can *inter alia* stand for love, sex, desire, beauty, and marriage.

The last chapter of my thesis, Chapter 4, has also a multifunctional role to play. To begin with, I introduce a new parameter in the analysis of erotic epigrams: iconography. In all antiquity, Eros thrives as a topic on small everyday artefacts, such as lamps, vases, and jewellery, while we also find representations of him in

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16 For the term, see Lausberg (1998) 257-258. It describes the metonymic use of gods for their areas of function.
statuary and on mosaics. I argue that the god’s portrayals in the visual arts could have a metaphorical significance, communicating ideas on love; through their comparison with his description and evocation in erotic epigrams, we can unravel a common ‘code’, used by both poets and artists in his various depictions, in order to talk about love and other emotions. In another section of this chapter, I focus on three particular portrayals of Eros, first attested in erotic lyric poetry: the ones of him as a knucklebones player, a ball player, and what Sappho calls ὀρπετον, ‘a crawling creature’ (fr.130.2 Voigt). What originally caught my attention is the lack of a wide reception of these descriptions of the god within the whole genre, which strongly contrasts the broad reuse of other images of him, especially his portrayal as an archer and as having wings. The in-depth analysis of the relevant epigrams discloses the ways in which individual epigrammatists handled the inherited material, leading to new and dynamic effects. My research concludes with the study of the phenomenon of the god’s pluralisation, which, to this day, has been significantly understudied. Given that there has been a degree of misunderstanding regarding the motif’s literary roots, I firstly examine the poetic tradition with the view to clarify how far back in time we can trace the plural Erotes and then, I analyse the assorted effects that their application brings about in erotic epigrams. The conducted research results in a deeper understanding of the multifunctional use of Eros and the Erotes in the erotic epigrammatic subgenre.

Despite their small-scale nature, erotic epigrams clearly enclose in microscopic form all aspects of human erotic experience. Their beauty stems from the variety of topics and emotions explored in them, which can range from the pure admiration of the object of desire to jealousy and envy for the rival lover, or unbearable disappointment that leads one to the point of desiring to die. It is no wonder that this kind of poetry survived for much of the antiquity and gained the appreciation of the early Byzantine epigrammatists. So, let our journey begin, ‘turning our path towards elegiac converse and sweet love’, as Agathias says in the *proemium* of his anthology.\(^\text{17}\)

\(^{17}\) εἰς ὀάρους ἐλέγοιο παρατρέψειε πορείην/ καὶ γλυκεροὺς ἐς ἔρωτας... (AP 4.3.130-131)
Erotic Epigram and the Lamp: How an Object Sheds Light on the Lover’s Emotions.

2.1. Introduction

In the literature of the archaic and classical periods, fire metaphors and similes constitute a common way for imaging a wide range of emotions (from love, enthusiasm, and joy to anger, terror, wrath etc.), and the Hellenistic epigrammatists received a thesaurus of previous applications of this type of metaphorical language. As far as erotic epigram is concerned, the Hellenistic poets gave new dimensions to the inherited material by reworking and refreshing old topoi, and introducing original dynamic ways for exploring human psychology. In the present chapter, I focus on one of these novel ways of reinvigorating the use of fire for portraying emotions, namely the application of a simple lighting object: the lamp. From the earlier tradition, only very few poetic texts survive that employ the lamp within an erotic context; in the poetry of the archaic and classical eras, the lamp is mainly a lighting device for the symposia or a portable light used for walking on the streets at night. To judge from the existing material, it is Hellenistic epigrammatists, especially Asclepiades and Meleager, who recognised the potential of the lamp as a motif, and expanded and reinvigorated its use to such a degree that it attracted the attention of later poets in antiquity, surviving up until the early Byzantine era, in the Cycle of Agathias.

In this chapter, I examine the ways in which the epigrammatists of different eras explore the lover’s inner world by employing and varying the representation and use of the lamp. Through the analysis of particular case studies, I argue that the variation of the object from epigram to epigram, and from poet to poet, enables the

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20 For a discussion of Greek texts, other than epigrams, which span the whole of antiquity and use the lamp, see Kost (1971) 124-132, 147, 153-154.
exploration of a shifting range of emotions, including hope, desolation, possessiveness, anger, envy, and anxiety over the beloved’s fidelity. The way in which the poets handle the lamp is very flexible: the lamp can be an inanimate object or be personified, it can be a surrogate for the lover, his rival, or even the beloved; it is deified or credited with prophetic abilities. As we shall see, this kind of variation does not simply draw on the preceding poetic tradition, but absorbs elements from a wide range of fields where lamps were used (religion, rituals, magic, ancient customs for the prognosis of weather, the previous literary tradition). Last but not least, I argue that several of these epigrams exhibit a ‘seriocomic’ tone, which I take to be a generic feature of the whole subgenre. Their seriousness derives from the exploration of the lover’s emotions in a psychologically plausible and nuanced way. At the same time, the absurdities of love are always potentially in play; the lover’s behaviour may appear to be humorous to the detached reader, who can form an objective judgment of the described emotions and actions.

2.2.1. First Appearances within the Subgenre: Asclepiades and the Lamp.

To judge from the surviving material, Asclepiades (active in the late fourth and early third centuries BC21) was the first epigrammatist to use the lamp in three of his epigrams: AP 5.7 = 9 GP, AP 5.150 = 10 GP, and AP 12.50 = 16 GP. The first two are companion pieces, varying the stock scene of a lover who has been stood up by a woman, through the alteration of his reaction when he acknowledges that the woman will not come.22 In the third epigram, Asclepiades presents himself as the lover, and we are motivated to imagine him outside the bedroom in the public sphere of the symposium, as the poem recalls a number of ideas and motifs found in archaic symposiastic poetry.23 I start the analysis of the life-cycle of the lamp in erotic

21 See n.14.
22 For the idea of companion pieces, see Kirstein (2002) 113-135, and for the specific epigrams as falling under this categorisation, see Ludwig (1962) 159-161, Galli Calderini (1976) 204, and Gutzwiller (1998a) 138, who further suggests that the Theognidea and the Attic skolia may have served as an organisational model for Asclepiades.
23 E.g. the exhortation to drink (cf. e.g. Thgn.763, 989, 1042, 1047, Alc.fr.38) and the idea that one should take pleasure in life, while alive (cf. eg. Thgn.973-976), are widespread topoi in archaic
Drink, Asclepiades. Why these tears? What’s wrong?  
Not you alone has cruel Cypris taken captive,  
nor against you alone has bitter Eros sharpened his arrows;  
why do you lie in ash, while alive?  
Let us quaff Bacchus’ pure drink; dawn is a finger;  
or are we waiting to see once more the lamp that puts us to sleep?  
We drink, there is no love (?) there is not much time left,  
poor wretch, before we shall sleep the long night.  

Sympotic poetry. For these parallels and others, see Giangrande (1968a) 129, Guichard (2004) 263,  

24 The other is Hippon. fr.17 W².  
25 The reading κατεθήκατο of the manuscripts is defended by Giangrande (1968a) 129 and Sens (2011) 105, but I do not find their reasoning convincing. The verb κατατίθημι in the middle voice normally means ‘lay down from oneself, put off, lay aside, esp. of arms’ (see LSJ, s.v. κατατίθημι II 1), and it is improbable that Asclepiades uses the type contraria significatione, since the meaning of ‘putting on’ for this verb is only attested once, in the much later Quint.Smyrn.12.303: ὡς εἰπὼν ὀμοίως κατ’ ἀμβροτα θήκατο τέχη (fourth century AD). The rest of the examples that Sens uses, employ the middle voice of περιτίθημι (‘put round oneself, put on’, see LSJ, s.v. περιτίθημι I), and not of κατατίθημι. I print κατεθήκατο, taking the phrase τόξα καὶ ιοὺς to be a hendiadys; cf. Gow-Page (1965) ii. 127, Guichard (2004) 264-265.
πόνομεν· τί τὰ λύχν’ ὁμένουμεν; δάκτυλος ἀμέρα·
kάδ δ’ ἄμερος κυλίχναις μεγάλαις, άτια, ποικίλαις;
όνον γάρ Σεμέλας καὶ Δίος υἱὸς λαθυκάδεα
 ἀνθρώποισιν ἔδωκ’. ἔγχεε κέρναις ἕνα καὶ δύο
 πλήσεις κάκ κεφάλας, <ἀ> δ’ ἀτέρα τὰν ἀτέραν κύλιξ
όθητο

(Alcaeus fr. 346 Voigt)

Let us drink! Why do we wait for the lamps? There is only an inch of day left. Friend, take down the large decorated cups.
The son of Semele and Zeus gave men wine to make them forget their sorrows. Mix one part of water to two of wine, pour it in brimful, and let one cup jostle another.27

In Alcaeus’ poem, the lamp has only an auxiliary role. The poem is a drinking song, pure and simple, and its focus lies in the capacity of wine to cure one’s sorrows (ll.3-4). The rhetorical question ‘why are we waiting for the lamps?’ (l.1) just sharpens the speaker’s eagerness to start drinking before the usual time, i.e. in the evening, when lamps light drinking parties. The overlap of ideas and phraseology shows that Asclepiades reworks Alcaeus’ poem, and thus converts the non-erotic original into a love poem by bringing wine and love together. He reinvigorates the principal idea in Alcaeus’ poem by presenting as a remedy for one’s pains, not the mixed wine of the symposium, but the unmixed wine of Bacchus (l.5) — which normally was held to have negative effects on one’s mental and physical health.28

In order to understand the role of the lamp in AP 12.50 = 16 GP, we need first to associate its use with the general ideas expressed in this poem. Asclepiades emphatically presents himself as the lover (πῖν’, Ἀσκληπιάδη, l.1), and scholars have disagreed on whether this is a case of self-address or if we are meant to imagine

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26 Unless I state otherwise, for the epigrams of the Meleagrean and Philippean Garlands, I follow the editions of Gow and Page (1965, 1968) and Paton’s translations. I have modified the latter.
28 Cf. Giangrande (1968a) 128-129, 131. On the negative effects of unmixed wine on one’s health, bringing folly, the paralysis of the body, or even death, see Skiadas (1999) 275.
Asclepiades as being addressed by one of his companions at a symposium.\textsuperscript{29} As in other epigrams, where a poet openly portrays himself as the lover by using his own name,\textsuperscript{30} I believe that here too, we have a monologue offering a window into Asclepiades’ inner world (as a poetic persona), in order to give the reader a lesson on life: one should enjoy the pleasures of life (including drinking), while still alive, and not suffer due to love, because death is inevitable. Among the (self-)exhortations for drinking, in lines 5-6, the poet expresses his indecision about whether he should leave or stay where he is and wait for the lamp ‘that puts to bed’. The use of the hapax κοιμιστὰν is intriguing. In the comic tradition, verb-types of κοιμίζω denote the quenching of lamps\textsuperscript{31} and Asclepiades reverses the motif by turning the burning lamp into the ‘agent’ that puts men to bed. By doing this, he prepares the ground for and creates a contrast with the euphemism for death in the closing line, where he uses a verb that easily denotes rest and sleep: τὴν μακρὰν νύκτ’ ἀναπαυσόμεθα (l.8). Since men sleep with no light (see AP 5.150.4, where the quenching of the lamp suggests that the lover will go to sleep), it is logical to assume that the lamp here denotes a portable light\textsuperscript{32} — it is neither the bedside lamp nor the lamp lighting the symposium, as in Alcaeus fr.346 Voigt. More importantly, in contrast to the archaic fragment, the object is not linked to the consumption of wine, but to its exact opposite: the cessation of drinking and retreating to bed. The dawn is a ‘finger’, says the poet, and the phrase δάκτυλος ἀώς, varying the Homeric formula ῥοδοδάκτυλος


\textsuperscript{30} Cf. AP 5.5 = 1 GP (Statyliius Flaccus), AP 5.191 = 73 GP, AP 6.162 = 11 GP, and AP 7.476 = 56 GP (Meleager).


\textsuperscript{32} Cf. Von Wilamowitz Moellendorff (1924) ii. 113, Gow-Page (1965) ii. 128. Sens (2011) 108-109 argues (rather improbably) that the lamp’s light stands for the sun, and that the phrase means that the return of the sun will bring the end of the symposium. Giangrande (1968a) 132-135 suggests that the reference is to lamps shedding light on the symposia, and that the speaker suggests that since the coming of the day will bring the symposium to an end, they should carry on drinking during the time left, before the sun rises.
ἤώς, suggests that ἀώς means here ‘dawn’, and it is not an equivalent of ἀμέρα (which is the word used in Alcaeus). It is still dark, and the sun’s light just starts to appear in the horizon. Asclepiades wonders if he will carry on drinking throughout the day until he sees again the lamp or not. The last distich, despite its corrupted beginning, suggests his preferred choice: since death is inevitable, one should ‘seize the day’ (ll.7-8). Night becomes a symbol of death, and dawn and daylight a symbol of life.

In our epigram, the lamp has undertaken a completely different role from that in Alcaeus: from a simple source of light at the symposium, it has been transformed into a symbol of relaxation from drinking and a medium that enables the exploration of the lover’s feelings. The form κοιμιστάν, if sound, which uses the common Greek alpha rather than the Attic-Ionic and koine eta, in form, may bring to the reader’s mind the Aeolic dialect of Alcaeus’ poetry. Moreover, the fact that Asclepiades presents himself as the lover creates an ironic distance between him, as the poet composing this poem, and his poetic persona. In the same way, the reader is meant both to sympathise with Asclepiades, the lover, and maintain a distance from what he reads. Such a distance enables him to learn from the example presented to him.

In AP 5.7 = 9 GP and AP 5.150 = 10 GP, Asclepiades closely reworks a particular strand in the use of the lamp in the preceding poetic tradition, namely its

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34 The beginning of line 7 cannot be reconstructed with certainty, but the euphemistic reference to death at the end of the distich (l.8), indicates that the verses included the well-attested topos of enjoying drinking and the pleasures of life, before dying. For a complete list of the proposed emendations, see Sens (2011) 109-110. I find Kaibel’s πίνωμεν δύσερως the most attractive one. It is palaeographically possible, and Meleager AP 12.49 = 113 GP, which is clearly based on Asclepiades AP 12.50 = 16 GP, preserves the adjective in its opening distich: ζωροπότει, δύσερως, καὶ σοῦ φλόγα τὰν φιλόπαι δα / κοιμάσει λάθας δωροδότας Βρόμιος. The exhortation ζωροπότει, δύσερως varies the Asclepiadean original by combining phraseology and ideas, included in the last two distichs of AP 12.50 = 16 GP (e.g. ζωροπότει echoes ζωρὸν πόμα).
35 See LSJ9, s.v. φάος 1 b, including several examples for the use of light in phrases concerning life. Cf. Alc.fr.38.1-4 Voigt, where the exhortation for drinking is followed by the contrast of light (a symbol of life) and death: πῶνε [......] Μελάνιππ’ ἀμ’ ἐμοι. τι[...]. [ /τότεμ[...]] διννάεντ’ Ἀχέροντα μέγ[ / ξάβαντ’ ἀμ’] κόθαρον φάος [ἀνερον/ ὄψεσθ’];
connection with sex and role as the trustworthy confidant and aide of sexual encounters. Two poetic texts from the preceding poetic tradition survive that have preserved for us this function of the object: Hipponax fr.17 W² and Aristophanes Eccl.1-16. For my purposes, here I comment on the iambic fragment. Hipponax fr.17 W² κύψασα γάρ μοι πρός τὸ λύχνον Ἀρήτη ‘for Arete bending over for me towards the lamp’ is sexually explicit, as the participle κύψασα means ‘bend (down) over’. A scene of fellatio is described and the lamp, apart from the object casting a soft light on the lovers, can also be interpreted as a euphemism for the man’s penis because of its shape. Let us now view the two Asclepiadean poems:

λύχνε, σε γάρ παρεούσα τρίς ὁμοσεν Ἡράκλεια

ηξειν κοῦχ ἢκει· λύχνε, σὺ δ’ εἰ θεός εἰ
tὴν δολὴν ἀπὰμυνον· ὅταν φύλον ἐνδὸν ἑχουσα

παίζῃ ἄποσβεσθεῖς μηκέτι φῶς πάρεχε. (AP 5.7 = 9 GP)

Lamp, Heracleia swore three times in your presence
that she would come, and she hasn’t come; lamp, if you are a god, take revenge on the deceitful girl; whenever she has a friend at home playing with him, extinguish yourself and give (them) no more light.

ὤμολόγησ’ ἥξειν εἰς νύκτα μοι ἡ ’πιβόητος

Νικὼ καὶ σεμνὴν ὁμοσε Θεσμοφόρον,
κοῦχ ἢκει, φυλακὴ δὲ παροῖχηται. ἃρ’ ἐπιορκεῖν

ἡθελε; τὸν λύχνον, παῖδες, ἄποσβέσατε. (AP 5.150 = 10 GP)

The famous Nico promised to come to me tonight,
and swore by solemn Thesmophoros, and she hasn’t come, and the watch has passed. Did she intend to break the oath? Boys, put out the lamp.

37 For the meaning of the verb, see Henderson (1991) 179-180, 183.
38 For ithyphallic, phallus-shaped lamps of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, see Stampolidis-Tassoulas (2009) 287-288. Cf. Ar.Lys.1003, where the term λυχνοφορίωντες describes men in Sparta walking around doubled over like lamp-bearers, in order to hide their erection. The joke becomes more vivid if the participle is considered a double entendre, meaning ‘carrying an erected penis’.
In relation to their iambic ancestor, a sharp contrast is instantly obvious. Asclepiades’ epigrams focus more on the lover’s emotions, and sexual activity is only implied in AP 5.7.3 through the use of the euphemistic παίζω;\(^{39}\) it is not described in an explicit manner. In this way, Asclepiades aligns himself tacitly, but unmistakably, with one side of the archaic poetic tradition, i.e. erotic lyric - elegiac poetry, not the iambic tradition of explicit sexuality.

Moving on to a more detailed analysis of each epigram, in AP 5.7 = 10 GP, the lamp is called upon by the lover to punish Heracleia, who swore falsely that she would meet him during the night. There has been disagreement among scholars about the location of the lover and the lamp, but clearly the easiest explanation is to consider him as waiting at his house and addressing the lamp that Heracleia has in her room. This is the scenario in other epigrams as well, including the Hellenistic AP 5.165 = 51 GP and AP 5.166 = 52 GP (both of them composed by Meleager).\(^{40}\) The lover’s prayer draws from a complex literary - cultural background, whose appreciation is important for understanding the function of the lamp and the tone of the epigram. To begin with, the lover stresses that Heracleia’s oath was taken in the presence of the lamp (ll.1-2). Here, Asclepiades reworks the role that objects play in oath-taking, as early as Homer: an oath can be sworn on an object that has a special symbolic meaning, or an oath can be taken while an object is held, the action being symbolic. For instance, in II. 15.39-40, Hera, trying to persuade Zeus that she has not interfered in his plans, *inter alia* swears falsely by their bridal bed: σή 0’ ἱερή κεφαλὴ καὶ νοήτερον λέχος αὐτῶν/ κουρίδιον, τὸ μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ ποτε μᾶς ὀμόσαιμι ‘by your holy head and by your own bridal bed, over which I could never possibly perjure myself’.\(^{41}\) Their bed functions as the symbol of her love for Zeus that would (supposedly) prevent her from acting against his will. Similarly, in II. 23.581-5, Menelaus challenges Antilochus to swear by Poseidon that he did not mean to hinder his chariot by guile, while standing before his own horses and chariot, touching the

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\(^{41}\) My translation.
horses, and holding his whip. This is a symbolic act and, as Griffin observes, if Antilochus was swearing falsely, this could cause the destruction of his chariot, the very symbol of his royal power. In AP 5.7 = 9 GP, Heracleia takes the oath before the lamp, exactly because this object constitutes a symbol of her relationship with the man and of the intimate moments they have spent together.

Additionally, the lover attributes to the object the role that gods have as the guarantors of oaths; he asks the lamp to act as gods would do if an oath taken in their name was broken. He believes that as the physical representative of their emotional liaison, it is a natural power to invoke against the girl’s breach of that relationship. In this way, the poet renews a comic strand which presented lamps as semi-divine figures. Two relevant texts survive: a) the anonymous comic fragment 724 PCG, where the lamp is deified by a woman called Bacchis and perhaps by the speaker (alternatively, the tone of his words can be ironic): Βάκχὶς θεόν σ’ ἐνόμισεν, εὐθαμον λύχνε./ καὶ τῶν θεῶν μέγιστος, εἰ ταύτη δοκεῖς ‘Bacchis thought of you as a god, blessed lamp, the greatest of gods, if she thinks you so’, and b) Aristophanes Eccl.1-16, where the object is personified, it is a comic surrogate for the Sun, and it is closely linked to sex as its trustworthy attendant and aide. I cite here the relevant lines (ll.7-16):

σοὶ γὰρ μόνῳ δηλοῦμεν - εἰκότως, ἐπεὶ κάν τοῖσι δωματίοισιν Αφροδίτης τρόπων πειρωμέναις πλησίος παραστατεῖς, λορδουμένων τε σωμάτων ἑπιστάτην ὀφθαλμὸν οὐδεὶς τὸν σὸν ἐξείργει δόμων·

To you alone our secret we reveal; and rightly, for within our bedrooms too, when we try out new sexual variations, close by us you stand, and your eye oversees our arching bodies, yet none ever shuts it out of the chamber; you alone shine into the secret corners of

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43 As Sens argues (2011) 60, the triple repetition probably gives the oath special power, as it happens in other rituals, especially magic. Cf. AP 6.333.1 = 14 GPh (M.Argentarius).
45 My translation.
46 Ussher (1973) 70-74, Sommerstein (2007a) 137-139, who also argues that the accumulation of flattering eulogies (λαμπρὸν ὄμμα (l.1), κάλλιστ’ (l.2), λαμπρὰς ἥλιον τιμὰς ἐχεις (l.5)) intensifies the comic antithesis between the praise of the lamp and its real abilities.
στοάς δὲ καρποῦ Βακχίου τε νάματος
πλήρεις ὑποιγνῦσαι συμπαραστατεῖς
καὶ ταῦτα συνδρόν οὐ λαλεῖς τοῖς πλησιον.
our thighs, when singeing off the hairs
that sprout from them; by us you stand
when illicitly we open up the brimming
granaries and stores of Bacchic juice -
yet, true accomplice, you never blab a
word to other folk!  

In contrast to the *Ecclesiazusae*, where the lamp is closely bound to the world of
women, overseeing and assisting them in a variety of actions (sex, depilation, the
stealing of food and wine), in our epigram, it is a man who asks for its help and calls
it to act against a woman.

Moreover, the deification of the lamp draws on the field of erotic love magic
and the role of lamps in magical rituals. Magical papyri survive in which lamps are
personified and addressed by the practitioner to assist him in a variety of ways: e.g.
*PGM* 7.376-84 is a charm where the lamp is called upon to make a woman lie
awake, *PGM* 7.407-10 is a spell addressed to the lamp to help the practitioner appear
in someone’s dreams at night, and *PGM* 7.250-4, *PGM* 22b 27-31 and *PGM* 22b 32-
5 are requests for dream oracles. More interestingly, in *PGM* 7.255-9 the lamp is
almost deified as it is summoned along with Osiris, Osirchentechtha and the
archangel Michael to assist the practitioner (κύριε, υγίαινε, λύχνε/ ὁ παρεμφαίνων τῷ Ὀσίριδι καὶ παρεμφαίνων τῷ Ὀσιρχεντεχθα καὶ τῷ κυρίῳ μου, τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ Μιχαήλ). Although these magical papyri are chronologically much later than
Asclepiades (e.g. *PGM* 7.255-9 dates to the third/ fourth century AD) and multi-
cultural products (one discerns Greek, Egyptian, Christian elements etc.), the well
documented interest of Hellenistic literature in magical rituals and the comparable

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47 Edited text and translation (slightly modified) by Sommerstein (2007a) 44-45.
50 The best examples are the incantation that Simaetha enacts in Theoc.Id.2 (for which, see e.g. Faraone (1995) 1-15 and (2001) 152-154, Petrovic (2004) 421-444, who suggests that AP 5.7 = 9 GP parodies specifically ‘prayers for justice’), and Medea’s drugs in Ap.Rhod.Argon. (see e.g. Hunter (1987) 129-139). For a synopsis of texts (poetic and prose) using love magic and dating from archaic
period onwards, see Faraone (2001) 5-15.
use of the lamp in other Hellenistic epigrams\textsuperscript{51} (as well as its attested cult use), suggest that these roles of the lamp may well be older than the papyri in question, and that Asclepiades is drawing on popular practice. Asclepiades’ interest in how magic could be poetically used is also seen in AP 5.158 = 4 GP, where a woman’s belt alludes to Aphrodite’s magical kestos himas because the adjective ποικίλον, which is used for its characterisation, is employed for the kestos twice (ll. 14.215, 220).

This aspect of our epigram affects the way in which the detached reader is invited to view the lover’s prayer – as hyperbolic, superstitious, and vain. In his jealousy, bitterness and fear, the lover desires that the lamp act as his surrogate; embodying his envy, it spies on Heracleia, and is asked to withhold its light when she has sex with another man (ll. 3-4). But the revenge sought is ultimately pointless, since darkness (in real life) cannot prevent erotic foreplay and sex, although it might somewhat reduce their voyeuristic pleasures. As scholars note, the desired vengeance signals the lover’s irrationality and powerlessness to control Heracleia.\textsuperscript{52} His prayer reflects his helplessness and emotional torment, and it is possible that the allusion to magic underscores the intensity of his emotions, since, as it has been argued, magic is associated with anxiety.\textsuperscript{53}

To conclude, AP 5.7 = 9 GP interweaves elements drawn from comedy and magic, while simultaneously exploring and portraying the lover’s emotions in the manner of erotic lyric - elegiac poetry. That the described scene has its roots in human psychology gives the poem an element of seriousness; the lover’s prayer and thoughts of revenge derive from his tormented emotional world. However, the erudite reader is unlikely to seriously accept that the lamp is a god, and consequently, he may perceive the lover as a man in an irrational state trying to find comfort through vain means.\textsuperscript{54} The comic echoes in the poem facilitate this reading and underline the humour and hyperbole. The lover addresses an unreal god, and the

\textsuperscript{51} See AP 5.79 = 4 P (‘Plato’), AP 5.158 = 4 GP (Asclepiades), AP 5.205 = 35 GP (Anonymous) with Faraone (2001) 9, 77, 100-101; cf. AP 5.165 = 51 GP and AP 5.166 = 52 GP (Meleager).


\textsuperscript{53} Faraone (2001) 80-84.

insufficiency of the chosen revenge raises a smile from the reader; could he really not have found another more accurate way to exert revenge on his girl, or could he not have chosen another god, e.g. Aphrodite, whose power is indisputable?

In AP 5.150 = 10 GP, Asclepiades presents the lover reacting differently: when he realises that Nico will not come, he asks his servants to put out the lamp (τὸν λύχνον, παῖδες, ἀποσβέσατε, l.4). Galli Calderini finds the mention of the lamp incidental, arguing that it is just an everyday object, not an erotic symbol as in AP 5.7 = 9 GP. But the quenching of the lamp does not only denote that the lover will go to sleep, it is a symbolic act as well. Asclepiades dramatises the moment when realisation dawns upon the lover. The moment that he acknowledges that Nico will not come, the lamp, namely the symbol of sex under soft light, is put out. In addition, the object can be perceived as representing the lover’s hopes: that the woman will come and that they will have sex. The extinction of its light symbolises the lover’s disillusionment and withering of his hopes for enjoying Nico’s charms. The lamp may further stand for the amatory relationship itself; its quenching can signal the end of the man’s desire or love for the woman.

The way in which the lover’s story is presented and his inner world is explored permits the reader both proximity to and distance from what is narrated. When referring to the oath that Nico swore, the lover places emphasis on the use of Demeter ‘Thesmophoros’ as its guarantor (ll. 1-2). For the reader, the use of Demeter’s specific cult title may indicate that Nico intentionally broke her promise, as the cult title alludes to the Thesmophoria from which men were excluded. But for the lover, Nico’s oath was a solemn one and Demeter, in her (presumed for the lover) role as the giver and guardian of rules, should guarantee its fulfilment. This picture of him waiting for Nico in vain, putting too much faith in her promise, and being unable to foresee her true intentions invites the reader to sympathise with him. His question ‘did she intend to break the oath?’ (l. 3) reflects his difficulty in

55 Galli Calderini (1976) 204.
56 Cf. Ludwig (1962) 159-161, Gow-Page (1965) ii. 124, Gutzwiller (1998a) 137-138. Von Wilamowitz Moellendorff (1924) ii. 113, Cameron (1981a) 285, Sens (2011) 64 consider the lover’s reaction dispassionate. This, however, is to ignore the anxiety in the preceding lines.
admitting that Nico intentionally dishonoured her promise. This man has fallen victim to his desire for a woman who has the upper hand, as indeed her very name suggests (Νικώ derives from νικῶ). At the same time, the reader’s objective understanding of Nico’s intentions makes him interpret the lover’s conduct as naive and foolish: his demeanour is the reaction of a person in love who believes anything he is told. This is also reflected in the (in context hyperbolic) pseudo-legal language used by the lover (ὁμολογοῦσ’, ὤμοσε, ἐπιορκεῖν, Θεσμοφόρον)\(^{59}\) for this unofficial, casual event which reflects the extent of his trust and his consequent disillusionment.

To conclude, the three Asclepiadean epigrams reveal a basic strand of the whole subgenre: the use of ‘concrete images’\(^{60}\) as the means for investigating assorted aspects of the psychology and sociology of eros: in other words, the use of objects as the medium for gaining insight into the lover’s feelings and reactions. The lamp obtains a symbolic function in epigrams, and a different aspect of love’s pains and the lover’s pathos is mirrored each time through the variation of its use. In AP 12.50 = 16 GP, the lover’s indecisiveness, whether to continue drinking or go to bed, is given through the metaphor of the ‘lamp that puts to sleep’. In the same vein, in AP 5.7 = 9 GP, the hyperbolic and superstitious prayer to the lamp reflects the lover’s bitterness and thirst for revenge against the treacherous girl, and its quenching in AP 5.150 = 10 GP mainly symbolises the fading of hope for enjoying the charms of Nico. Such a narrative method of crystallising subjective elements into objects draws on narrative techniques attested as early as the Homeric epics. Griffin illustrates how objects - such as sceptres, cups, weapons - are invested with symbolic significance in order to reveal the meaning that the depicted action has for the scene and the whole epic.\(^{61}\)

In metapoetic terms, these ‘concrete images’ allude to the way in which the epigram functions. In epigrams - inscriptive and literary alike - human experience is condensed into tight spatial constraints. For instance, the athletic type presents a miniature of the athletic event, the athlete’s victory, and offers basic information about him. Similarly, sepulchral epigrams compress one’s life into a few lines: one’s whole existence is conveyed through information like his/ her name, social and

\(^{59}\) Cairns (1998) 175, 177-178.
\(^{60}\) For the term, see Dupriez (1991) 222-223.
\(^{61}\) Griffin (1980) 1-49.
marital status, and/or the manner of death. In a similar way, as Gutzwiller argues, erotic epigrams concentrate erotic experience into a few lines, making private events and speech known to their readers.62 Although, these poems may focus on the lover’s current feelings, the way his/her story is presented often alludes to the totality of the relevant experience. The use of objects in these poems encapsulates this technique of the epigrammatists, since it performs exactly the same function: the objects condense human experience and emotions into a single, visual-tangible detail.63 This narrative style can be considered to form a literary-historical gesture; through its employment, the epigrammatists create a tacit link with inscriptional epigram. As concrete artefacts with their engraved inscriptions made particular events known to their viewers, ‘concrete images’ employed in literary epigrams make private scenes known and intelligible to their readers.

AP 5.7 = 9 GP and AP 5.150 = 10 GP also exemplify another narrative method of the epigrammatists. The dramatic setting is the same: the lover who has been stood up, the forsworn girl and the lamp. In each epigram, the set situation is varied in order to bring out a different set of emotions and another kind of reaction to the pains of love. This technique had already been applied in Homer, and it constitutes a standard feature of New Comedy. Griffin presents a series of case studies that illustrate how a set scene (e.g. a scene of a warrior begging for his life in the Iliad or a departure scene in the Odyssey) is reworked each time in a different way in order to bring to the surface a specific hero’s character. Similarly, in New Comedy, the poets rely on specific stereotypes and set scenes altering their details (e.g. recognitions, rapes, forceful seductions, and arranged marriages) to individualise the characters and present a different story to the audience.64

2.2.2. The Development of the Motif in the hands of Meleager.

63 In this chapter, apart from the lamp, I also examine the role that the garlands have in Meleager AP 5.191= 73 GP as an extra case study, see pp.41-42.
64 Griffin (1980) 50-80.
Meleager, who was active between the second and the first century BC,\textsuperscript{65} refines the use of the lamp as a means for crystallising emotions. The surviving material (the object appears in five of his epigrams: AP 5.8 = 69 GP, 5.165 = 51 GP, 5.166 = 52 GP, 5.197 = 23 GP, 6.162 = 11 GP) shows that the poet was inspired by earlier applications of the lamp, and confirms that he found here a niche for originality, because the motif was not reworked a great deal by his predecessors (with the exception of Asclepiades). Meleager adds to its development a series of new roles: the lamp becomes a precautionary measure against a woman’s behaviour, a guardian of her fidelity, an ‘initiate’ of sex that now is presented as a mystical rite, and a surrogate for the lover and his rival. Therefore, whereas Asclepiades stayed closer to his poetic forbearers, refreshing functions of the motif that were already attested in the preceding poetic tradition, Meleager injects new uses in order to differentiate himself both from Asclepiades and the poets of earlier poetic tradition.

AP 6.162 = 11 GP and AP 5.197 = 23 GP elaborate on the role of the lamp as the ‘initiate’ of sex. Gow and Page characterise AP 5.197 = 23 GP as laboured and uninteresting,\textsuperscript{66} but this is far from true as the poem portrays with vividness the speaker’s psychology. He swears by the charms of three women and by his lamp that he is ready to die for Eros:

\begin{verbatim}
ναὶ μὰ τὸν εὐπλόκαμον Τιμοῦς φιλέρωτα κίκιννον,
ναὶ μυρόπνουν Δημοῦς χρῶτα τὸν ὑπναπάτην,
ναὶ πάλιν Ἡλιάδος φίλα παύσιν, ναὶ φιλάγρυπνον
λύχνον ἐμὸν κόωμον πόλλα’ ἐπιδόντα τέλη
βαιὸν έχω τὸ γε λειψθέν, Ἐρως, ἐπὶ κείλεσι πνεῦμα·
εἰ δ’ εἴθελες καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐπὶ καὶ ἐκπάσομαι.
\end{verbatim}

Yes by Timo’s fair-haired loving ringlet,
by Demo’s fragrant skin which cheats sleep,
again by Ilias’ dear love games, by the wakeful
lamp which overlooked the many rites of my serenades;

\textsuperscript{65} According to the lemmatist’s notes on the Garland’s introduction, Meleager flourished during the reign of Seleucus VI Epiphanes Nicator, ruling in 95-96 BC. For various opinions on the exact date of the Garland, see Gow-Page (1965) i. xiv-xvi, Gutzwiller (1998a) 15 n.1, 276-277.

\textsuperscript{66} Gow-Page (1965) ii. 620.
Eros, I have but little breath left on my lips;
and if you desire this too, say it, and I will spit it out.

The reeling off of this rather long (it occupies three out of the six lines) list of beloveds along with their charms, which ends up in the reference to his lamp (ll.3-4), presents the speaker as a fervent lover. The description of Demo’s skin as cheating him of sleep suggests that the man is wakeful because of his desire for Demo, but also creates an image of him as staying awake having sex with her. The ‘love games’ of Ilias also denote foreplay and/or sex with this woman.67 More importantly, the description of the lamp as φιλάγρυπνον/λύχνον, ἐμῶν κώμων πόλλ’ ἐπιδόντα τέλη (ll. 3-4) presents him as an accomplished lover who has had sex with these women and many more. Τέλος means ‘achievement, attainment’68 and in the epigram τέλη designates that the lover’s serenades were not fruitless, but that he both won and bedded the women whom he serenaded.69 The lamp is assimilated to his restless love-making, since it constitutes its indispensable bystander. In a nutshell, the epigram offers the image of a ‘Don Juan’ who, while complaining about what he has experienced so far, is ready to surrender to love again and again; this is the reason why he is ready to give up his last breath for love (ll.5-6). In essence, it reworks the topos of ‘bitter-sweet’ love, introduced by Sappho fr.130.2 Voigt. In addition, if the reader identifies the speaker with Meleager, then his declaration of being totally surrendered to love acquires a metapoetic meaning: it becomes an indirect statement of Meleager’s devotion to love poetry.

In this context, the lamp is characterised as φιλάγρυπνος, and this characterisation adds to its symbolic function. It preserves the inherited role of the object as the concomitant of sex, stressing the importance (within literature, at least) of the voyeuristic pleasures attached to sex; since the lamp ‘loves to stay awake’, it sheds light on the lovers throughout their love-making. More importantly, the characterisation injects an element of humour into the poem, implying that the object itself takes pleasure in voyeurism, since the adjective derives from φιλῶ (‘love’) and ἄγρυπνος (‘wakeful’). The lamp is not simply wakeful, but loves to stay awake; it is

68 LSJ9, s.v. τέλος III 1.
69 For the topos of multiple loves in epigram, see Garrison (1978) 89-91.
the nightly ‘Big-Brother’ of the ancient world, enjoying overseeing sex. This concept almost assimilates the lover to his lamp; as the lamp ‘loves to stay awake’, the lover stays awake at night because of Demo (l.2). The close bond created between him and his lamp is all the more palpable to the reader who remembers that the adjective φιλάγρυπνος, here attributed to the lamp, describes in another Meleagrean epigram desire that makes the lover stay awake at nights (AP 5.166.1 = 52 GP). In both of these poems, the adjective enables the variation of the idea of bitter-sweet love.

In addition, the term τέλη represents sex metaphorically as a ‘rite’, ⁷⁰ and the metaphor merges the use of the lamp as an indoor object for the illumination of a room with its use in religious contexts. ⁷¹ The religious metaphor stresses the man’s devotion to love, as well as alluding to the private nature of sex. The use of the participle ἐπιδόντα is also not accidental; in the preceding poetic tradition, the verb ἔφοράω is constantly attributed to the Sun (see e.g. Od. 11.109, Soph. El.825) having the sense of ‘oversee, observe’. ⁷² For instance, the Sun sees everything and supervises men’s actions in Il. 3.277. In Eccl.8-11, such a task is attributed to the lamp during night-time; its wakeful eye superintends the erotic encounters of the women, which are described in language applicable to athletic contests. In our epigram, this role of the lamp is transferred to the metaphorical domain of sex as a ‘rite’.

Before moving on to the next epigram, it is worth recalling a Homeric passage that might have constituted an intertext for AP 5.197 = 23 GP, enhancing the perception of its ‘seriocomic’ tone. In Il. 14.312-29, Zeus, just before he sleeps with Hera, enumerates before her his former mistresses with the intention of praising his wife’s beauty. The scene certainly belongs to those Homeric passages where gods are treated humorously. ⁷³ Similarly, in our epigram, the list of conquests that the man offers does not act as proof only of his exhaustion, but also of his success as a lover. Love for him is a sweet torment that he would undergo gladly time and time

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⁷⁰ Cf. Gow-Page (1965) ii. 621.

⁷¹ Lamps were devoted to gods, carried in processions and during other rites, and were burning before the images of gods. For the role of lamps in religion and indoors, see Parisinou (2000a) and (2000b).

⁷² LSJ⁹, s.v. ἔφοράω I 1.

again, as the last distich reveals. Two words could particularly signal the Homeric intertext: firstly, the Homeric adjective εὐπλόκαμον (very rare in Hellenistic epigram)\(^74\) might echo καλλιπλοκάμοιο, which is used by Zeus for the goddess Demeter in \textit{Il.} 14.325. Secondly, the name \textit{Ilias} (that is not to be found elsewhere in epigrams, and has been variously emended by scholars)\(^75\) seems designed to direct the reader’s attention to the Homeric intertext. This means that \textit{Τλιάδος φίλα παίγνια} (l.3) can allude to the ‘love games’ enumerated by Zeus in his famous catalogue. This implied (metaphorical) assimilation of our lover to Zeus adds an element of hyperbolic cockiness to his self-presentation as a successful lover.

In AP 6.162 = 11 GP, it is Meleager himself who devotes his lamp to Aphrodite making use of the ritual function of lamps as votive offerings to gods.\(^76\) Through condensed metaphorical language, he refreshes several roles already attached to the object by his predecessors, and attributes to the dedication of the object a metapoetic function. Before deciphering what exactly it means to dedicate the lamp, I first turn our attention to the characterisations attributed to the object within the poem:

\[
\text{ἄνθεμά σοι Μελέαγρος ἑὸν συμπαίστορα λύχνον,}
\]
\[
\text{Κύπρι φίλη, μύστην σῶν θέτο παννυχίδων.}
\]

Meleager dedicated to you his playfellow lamp,
dear Cypris, the initiate of your night festivals.

Meleager calls the object his ‘playfellow’ and the ‘initiate’ of Aphrodite’s (under her cult title Cypris) night festivals, and these two characterisations merge the use of lamps during sex and within a religious context, as it happens in AP 5.197.4. There is a humorous hint in the use of συμπαίστορα which presents the lamp as actively participating in Meleager’s sexual activities. Given that viewing forms an integral

\(^74\) Gow-Page (1965) ii. 621.

\(^75\) For a list of the relevant emendations, see Gow-Page (1965) ii. 621.

\(^76\) For lamps as votive offerings, see Parisinou (2000b) 136-161. Lamps in a religious context are employed in Callimachus AP 6.311 = 49 Pf. = 27 GP (specifically, lamps used in the cult of Isis) and AP 6.148 = 55 Pf. = 16 GP (where a lamp, accommodating twenty wicks, is offered (probably) to the god Sarapis).
part of sexual activity, as it is described in the subgenre, the lamp becomes Meleager’s ‘playfellow’, because it enhances the pleasure of sexual activity. As in AP 5.197 = 23 GP, the object is assimilated to his sex life. The meaning of the term παννυχίδων is ambiguous. Not only does it allude to night festivals organised in honour of the goddess, but it also constitutes a religious metaphor for sexual encounters (cf. AP 5.197.4), placing emphasis on their long duration: they last all night long (the word derives from πᾶς and νύξ, and the verb παννυχεύω/παννυχίζω literally means to ‘do anything the livelong night’). Its use emphasises Meleager’s self-representation as a successful lover, and the plural further intensifies this idea. The metaphor is known to us from comedy, where the verb παννυχίζω has the same metaphorical meaning. Henderson offers two relevant texts and I cite the second one: ὁστὶς ἐν ἡδύοσμοις/στρώμασι παννυχίζων τὴν δέσποιναν ἑρείδεις ‘you who stay up all night screwing your mistress in the sweet bedclothes’ (Ar.fr.695). The characterisation μύστης alludes to the use of lamps in religious rituals and moreover, turns the object into the ‘initiate’ of sex. Aristophanes Eccl.1-16 may also hint to this metaphorical role of the object, since there are parallels in the way sex is described and secret rituals. Sex is a private activity and what happens during sex should stay between the lovers. Similarly, what is experienced in mystical rites should be kept a secret among the initiates (see e.g. Eur.Bac.483-4 for the secrecy pertaining the Eleusinian Mysteries). These parallelisms are intensified, if the passage concerns illicit relationships, as Sommerstein argues. Pompeius the Younger, who might have been one of the poets of the Garland of Philip, maintains this role of the lamp.

77 LSJ9, s.v. παννυχεύω II. Cf. 4 AB (Posidippus) ....]ς λύχνῳ πανν...]... The fragmentary state of the poem makes it difficult to interpret the specific meaning of the line beyond any doubt. The gem on Mandene’s bracelet (probably the Persian queen, mother of Cyrus the Great) is praised as shining like the moon. Line 4 can indeed refer to lamp-lit night festivals (Gutzwiller (2005a) 300, 303). However, the lamp’s close connection with love-making at night could add an erotic hue, especially since the epigram ends with an erotic undertone (Mandene’s hand is characterised as ‘beloved, desirable’ (ὁξ ἄγαμητι οὖ...πήχεος (ll.5-6)). Kuttner (2005) 151-152 suggests that the poem refers to the night that Mandene begot Cyrus, but there is insufficient evidence to support this argument.
79 This idea is elaborated in AP 5.4 = 1 GPh = 7 Sider (Philodemus).
80 Sommerstein (2007a) 138.
81 For Pompeius, see Gow-Page (1968) ii. 468-469. The publication of Philip’s Garland is assigned to the reign of Gaius, more precisely to 40 AD. Doubts have been expressed by Cameron (2003) 56-65.
in AP 7.219.6 = 1 GP. In his fictitious sepulchral epigram, Lais’ lamp is called an ‘initiate’: ...και μόστην λίθινον ἀπειπαμένη ‘having bid farewell to the lamp, the initiate’. The underlying idea is that the lamp was the constant witness of the hetaera’s sexual encounters with her clients. But what does it mean to dedicate the lamp? The object stands as the symbol of Meleager’s success as a lover and as far as his poetic persona is concerned, its dedication to the goddess may express his gratitude for being successful in the sphere of love or perhaps his sexual prowess. More importantly, however, it constitutes a metapoetic gesture which signifies his dedication to love poetry. Once again, one can see the polysemous use of the lamp as a motif.\footnote{Marcus Argentarius transfers the characterisation to a flagon: ... μόστη φιλούντων ἡδίστη (AP 6.248.5-6 = 23.5-6 GPh). In this way, he locates sex in the public sphere of the symposium. For scenes on vases and cups, depicting sex scenes in symposia, see Kilmer (1993) 57-58, Stampolidis-Tassoulas (2009) 216-218.}

In AP 5.165 = 51GP and AP 5.166 = 52 GP, i.e. in another pair of companion pieces, Meleager offers further adaptations of the lamp’s function; the object (supposedly) adopts the role of the guardian of the beloved’s fidelity and thus becomes a surrogate for the lover, who is impotent to prevent his beloved, Heliodora, from sleeping with other men.\footnote{From AP 7.476 = 56 GP, a lament for Heliodora, it is made clear that the reader is meant to imagine Meleager as the lover in all epigrams concerning Heliodora. For the epigrams on Heliodora, see Höschele (2009) 99-134 and (2010) 194-229.}

For this alone, mother of all gods, I beg you, dear Night, indeed I beg you, noble Night, companion of serenades; if someone lying under Heliodora’s mantle, is warmed by the heat of her body which cheats sleep,
let the lamp fall asleep and let him, after tossing about, lie in her bosom a second Endymion.

ὦ Νῦξ, ὦ φιλάγρυπνος ἐμοὶ πόθος Ἡλιοδώρας καὶ ἑσκοτίων ὀρθροντ’ κνίσματα δακρυχαρῆ. 84 ἃρα μένει στοργῆς ἐμὰ λείψανα, καὶ τι φίλημα μνημόσυνον ψυχρὰ θύλλη πέτ’ ἐνὶ κλισίῳ. 85 ἃρα γ’ ἔχει σύγκοιτα τὰ δάκρυα, κάμὸν ὀνειρον ψυχαπάτην στέρνοις ἀμφιβαλοῦσα φιλεῖ; ἢ νέος ἄλλος ἔρως, νέα παίγνια; μήποτε, λύχνε, ταῦτ’ ἐσίδῃς, εἰς ἰ ᾶς παρέδωκα φύλαξ.

O Night, o longing for Heliodora that keeps me awake, and yearnings of the murky morning twilights (?) that delight in tears, is there any relic left of her love for me and is there any memory of my kiss warm in her cold bed? Does she have her tears as bed-fellows and does she kiss, clasping to her bosom, a dream vision of me that beguiles her soul? or is there another new love, new love games? O lamp, may you never look on these, but be the guardian of her whom I have entrusted to you.

In both epigrams, there is an intense focus on the lover’s emotions and his treatment of the lamp discloses his jealousy, misery, and tormented state, because of his

84 I agree with Gow-Page (1965) ii. 635 that it is preferable to accept C’s correction ὀρθρον rather than P’s ὀρθῶν, and I accept the emendation σκοτίων (Reiske, Hecker) of P’s σκολιῶν and the reading of the apographi δακρυχαρῆ of P’s δακιχαρῆ. My translation is based on Daly’s understanding of the whole verse (1943) 200-202; he takes κνίσματα (referring to Suid. κνίσματα-σπαράγματα) to mean ‘the agonies of the denied lover’; cf. AP 7.219.5-6 = 1.5-6 GPh (Pompeius the Younger).

85 Ἐνὶ κλισίῳ is Schneider’s emendation of P’s corrupted ἑνοικισίᾳ. The reading ἐν εἰκασίᾳ cannot be excluded, in defense of which, see Borthwick (1969) 173-175. Whichever the object we are meant to imagine, the interpretation of the lamp in this epigram remains unaffected.
uncertainty about the girl’s current sexual behaviour. In AP 5.166 = 52 GP, he addresses the lamp that is in Heliodora’s room and asks from it never to stand by and watch the girl having sex with other men: μὴ ποτὲ, λύχνε, ταῦτ’ ἐσίδῃς (ll.7-8); the pronoun ταῦτ’ refers back to Heliodora’s νέα παίγνια, which stand either for the preliminaries of sex or for sex itself, alluding simultaneously to her new sexual partners (cf. παίζῃ in AP 5.7.4, συμπαίστορα in AP 6.162.1). He basically instructs the lamp to produce darkness by extinguishing itself, when the girl is about to enjoy the erotic company of other men. His prayer reflects his psychology: he seeks to control what he cannot, in order to reduce his sense of powerlessness.

His jealousy and possessiveness is most obvious in his last statement; he openly stresses that the lamp was given to Heliodora by him in order to be her guardian (εἴης δ’ ἶς παρέδωκα φύλαξ, l.8), underlying thus that he is its true master and that it should obey him for this reason. Gow and Page suggest that the text should be emended into ὅν παρέδωκα (‘be watchman over that which I entrusted to you’, meaning the speaker’s amours). The lamp though is definitely given the responsibility of acting as the custodian of Heliodora’s faithfulness, and the fact that it was offered to her by the lover before their current separation, indicates that it was given as a precautionary measure. Two later epigrams belonging to the Cycle of Agathias, AP 5.219.3 = 66 Viansino (P.Silentiarius) and AP 5.294.11 = 90 Viansino (Agathias Scholasticus), attribute the same characterisation φύλαξ to women responsible for guarding the virginity of girls: they are supposed to keep an eye on them and repel any potential lovers. In a similar manner, the lover’s distrust makes him believe that the lamp can act as his undercover agent, remaining vigilant for his sake and spying on Heliodora when he is not around. In that sense, the lamp will act as his surrogate. In addition, as in AP 5.7 = 9 GP, it is as if the man resorts to sympathetic magic. Gow and Page further argue that since the lamp is deliberately kept alight during sex, it cannot be expected to censor the girl’s behaviour. However, in the lover’s perception, in his ‘wished for’ reality, the lamp is an autonomous subject with the power to harm and help. Of course, the instructions

86 Cf. Gow-Page (1965) ii. 636, who cite Ar.Eccl.922, where the term παίγνια is ambiguously used for sex and sexual partners.
87 Cf. Gutzwiller (1998a) 139.
88 Gow-Page (1965) ii. 636.
89 Gow-Page (1965) ii. 636.
given to it cannot be fulfilled. The reader is invited to empathise sympathetically with the lover, who is tormented by his own thoughts and visions. However, the unrealistic nature of his wish allows one to see his folly; the tension created between the lover’s subjective emotions and reactions and the reader’s objectivity, creates a mild humour directed against the lover’s actions.

AP 5.165 = 51 GP gives an alternative version of the same kind of preventive measures. Night is invoked in her capacity as one of the primordial beings and the companion of the lover’s serenades; she is his ally in his erotic adventures (1.2). The double repetition of λίτομαι and the accumulation of blandishments (παμμήτειρα θεῶν, φίλη Νύξ, κόμων σύμπλανε, πότνια Νύξ) are given in the same breath, indicating the man’s eagerness to summarily dispense with the formalities of the invocation in order to get his tormented thoughts off his chest. Suffering from the thought that Heliodora might be sleeping with other men, he asks that the lamp quench itself and that any rival lover lie in her bed as ‘a second Endymion’ (ll.5-6). The myth of Endymion, whom Zeus put to eternal sleep, refreshes the lamp motif. Several versions of the myth survive, but whichever account Meleager had in mind, this description of the rival lover stresses the lover’s desire that any rival who finds himself in Heliodora’s bed will be fast asleep, when the lamp ‘falls asleep’ as well. In this epigram, the role of the lamp is dramatically changed, as the object is almost assimilated to the rival lover. As in its companion piece, it is as if the lover makes use of sympathetic magic, since the effect of the darkness on the lamp will be identical to its effect on the competitor. The parallelism between the two is linguistically enhanced by κοιμάσθω, used for the personified object (l.5).

There is also an element of ‘masochistic’ voyeurism in the description of Heliodora’s potential encounter with another man, as the speaker offers quite a few details of the imagined scene; one can compare AP 5.166.7, where sex is implied only via euphemistic key-words (νέος ἄλλος ἔρως, νέα παίγνια). In addition, a contrast exists between the rival lover’s intentions, implied in the use of ὑπναπάτη for Heliodora’s body that makes the man stay awake desiring to have sex with her, and what he will (supposedly) get at the end, because of the lamp’s action against

91 According to one version, Selene fell in love with Endymion, while in another one, Endymion tried to rape Hera (see OCD³, Endymion).
him. The participle ῥιπτάσθεις and the imperative κείσθω intensify the speaker’s desire of any potential rival remaining sexually inactive in Heliodora’s warm bed.

The verb ῥιπτάζω in passive voice is frequently associated with sleeplessness at night (meaning ‘toss about, especially in bed’),\(^9\) and in our epigram, it suggests that the rival lover will toss and turn in bed, deprived of sleep and sex alike, until finally exhausted. Additionally, κείσθω carry associations of impotence, since the specific condition is often described through language applicable for the dead.\(^3\) This contrast between the rival’s intentions and his sexual inactivity is accentuated through the implicit antithesis between the concepts of light and darkness: while the name Heliodora means ‘the gift of the sun’ (deriving from ἥλιος and δῶρον), the quenching of the lamp will produce darkness, preventing thus the enjoyment of her charms. Of course, the lover’s wish cannot be fulfilled; darkness cannot prevent sex and would not discourage an enthusiastic lover. The intertextual background of the epigram (AP 5.7 = 9 GP, 5.166 = 52 GP) enhances the perception of the prayer as a void, an unfulfilled wish.

In AP 5.191 = 73GP, Meleager openly presents himself as a lover who, while walking at night towards the house of his beloved, tries to figure out in which situation he will find her. Evidently convinced that she is more likely to be in the arms of another man, he decides to leave on her doorstep wreaths wilted by his tears. The overlap in concepts and motifs (cf. AP 5.165 = 51 GP and AP 5.166 = 52 GP above) makes it possible that the reader is meant to think of Heliodora, although the girl’s name is not given:

\[
\text{ἄστρα καὶ ἡ φιλέρωσι καλὸν φαίνουσα Σελήνῃ}
\]
\[
καὶ Νῦς καὶ κόμων σύμπλανον ὀργάνιν,
\]
\[
ἀρά γε τὴν φιλάσωτον ἐτ’ ἐν κοίταισιν ἀθρήσῳ
\]
\[
ἴηρυσσον λύχνῳ πόλλ’ ἀποδαομένην;\]^4
\]

\(^9\) LSJ\(^9\), s.v. ῥιπτάζω I.

\(^3\) For κείμαι meaning ‘lie dead’, see LSJ\(^9\), s.v. κείμαι I 4. Cf. AP 11.29.3 = 2.3 GPh (Automedon), AP 12.216.2 (Strato), AP 12.232.4 (Scythinus). For impotence and the metaphor of sleep/ death, see Höschele (2006a) 129-133 and (2006b) 592-595.

\(^4\) I accept Jacobs’ emendation ἀποδαομένην (see pp. 40-41 for the reasons why I do this). The other proposed emendations are ἀποκλαομένην (Huschke), and less likely, from a palaeographic point of
In this epigram, Meleager offers another possible reaction to the tormented thoughts that prey on his mind; he decides not to make his presence perceptible at all, but rather to leave a reminder of his being there. The only constant constituent in his thoughts is the lit lamp, and this is stated clearly in the second alternative: λύχνῳ πόλλ’ ἀποδαομένην† (l.4). From the proposed emendations of the line-end, I prefer Jacobs’ emendation ἀποδυρομένην, because the Meleagrean AP 5.166.5-7 offers, as we saw, an accurate parallel of the same ideas: Meleager wonders whether the girl is sad, crying and thinking of him, or if she has another lover. Giangrande, suggesting that *ἀποδάομαι is an alternative type for *ἀποδαίομαι = *ἀποκαίομαι, argues that the object reminds the girl of traditional sex scenes, and thus inflames her with desire. Although she cannot be seen as inflamed with desire, because such a notion disallows the underlying antithesis in the lover’s train of thought, Giangrande is

view (due to the amount of change to the text that they require): λύχνου πόλλ’ ἀναδαομένην or λύχνου πόλλ’ ἀναδαιομένου (see Gow-Page (1965) ii. 648).

95 I do not accept the emendation μαρανθεὶς of Gow-Page (1965) ii. 648, because P’s reading μαράνας can be defended. The concept of the garlands being withered by Meleager’s tears is clearly a hyperbole that aims to accentuate the poet’s emotional pain (see my analysis of the epigram, pp.41-42) — cf. Giangrande (1968b) 57-58, Tarán (1979) 95.

96 Giangrande (1968b) 50-58. Tarán (1979) 94 wrongly argues that lamps in epigrams are always used ‘in the more literal sense which refers to their practical function, even when they are personified.’
certainly right to view the lamp as a symbol condensing scenes of sexual pleasure. To conclude, if Jacobs’ emendation is correct, then Meleager asks himself if the girl cries as she recalls their happy times and love-making, memories that are stirred by the view of the lamp.

His decision to hang at her door his garlands, dried up by his tears, and inscribe an epigram on the door (as we can presume, see ll.5-8), implies that for him, the most probable scenario is that the girl uses the object to light her new erotic encounters. Her characterisation as φιλάσωτον (l.3) prepares us for this implied choice between the two alternatives. The use of the plural (στέφανους, l.6), while the singular would be adequate enough (in the form of τόνδ’ ικέτην στέφανον), underlines his despair and pain through the hyperbole: his tears are (supposedly) able to wither more than one garland. His words are full of hyperbolic notions through which the poet projects his feelings and current emotional state upon inanimate objects: he is the suppliant and not the garlands, and he is the one who withers because of his insecurity, despair, and tormented thoughts.\(^\text{97}\) In addition, as the garland was also a symbol of victory (awarded as a prize to athletes and poets),\(^\text{98}\) the hanging of his sympotic garlands at the girl’s door becomes a symbolic gesture, mirroring the dynamics of their relationship: Meleager (as the lover in the epigram) is completely subordinated to her, powerless to take any action. At the same time, his gesture acquires metapoetic significance. On the one hand, since the garland, as a metaphor, stands for Meleager’s anthology (this is self-evident in the anthology’s proemium, i.e. AP 4.1 = 1 GP), the hanging of the wreaths becomes a symbol for the composition of epigrams devoted to the unnamed beloved, the idea suitting very well the hypothesis that we are meant to think of Heliodora, to whom Meleager devoted several epigrams.\(^\text{99}\) On the other hand, this action connotes Meleager’s obedience to the love goddess (as the lover), but more importantly, his devotion to erotic poetry, since he emphatically says that the garlands are dedicated to Aphrodite (cf. AP 6.162 = 11 GP). These double connotations are enhanced by his self-description as the ‘initiate’ of the goddess’ revels in lines 7-8. The word κώμων is a double entendre,

\(^{97}\) For a similar use of μαραίνομαι cf. AP 5.5.3 (Statyllius Flaccus).
\(^{98}\) For the various uses of garlands in ancient Greece, see Blech (1982).
\(^{99}\) Cf. AP 5.147 = 46 GP, where Meleager plans to plait a garland for her (for which, see Höschele (2009) 116-117), and AP 5.143 = 45 GP, where a wreath on Heliodora’s head fades away, because her beauty is superior to that of its flowers.
denoting both the revels in honour of the goddess and the serenades sung for the beloved (and possibly for other women as well). The term σκῦλα, which describes the garlands and stands for the ‘arms stripped off a slain enemy, spoils’, highlights Meleager’s subordination to Aphrodite through the martial metaphor: the garlands are a symbol of his defeat by the goddess, both on a literal and metapoetic level.

In our epigram, ‘concrete images’, the lamp and the wreath, become the foothold for understanding Meleager’s emotions and symbolic gestures.

In AP 5.8 = 69 GP, the role of the lamp changes considerably: from the lover’s ally, it becomes a traitor. Though the lover’s gender remains unspecified, since the lamp is mainly used in heterosexual epigrams, the reader is more likely to consider that the speaker is a woman:

Νῦξ ἱερὴ καὶ λύχνε, συνίστορας οὔτινας ὠρκοίς ἄλλους ὑμέας εἱλόμεθ' ἀμφότεροι· 
χὼ μὲν ἐμὲ στέρξειν, κεῖνον δ' ἐγὼ οὔποτε λείψειν

100 LSJ⁹, s.v. σκῦλον.
101 It has long been noted that in AP 5.191 = 73 GP, Meleager merges dedicatory with amatory motifs and phraseology (see Tarán (1979) 96-97, Gow-Page (1965) ii. 648). The poet seems to allude to a specific formality concerning the spoils of the defeated enemy; the victor would write his name on them and then, dedicate them to a deity (see the phrase σκῦλα γράφειν under LSJ⁹ σκῦλον). Here, the inscribed epigram on the beloved’s door is a generic gesture, alluding to inscriptional epigrams and underlining Meleager’s self-presentation as an everlasting devotee of Aphrodite, i.e. a poet of love poetry, as it carries with it the notion of durability.
102 The authorship of the epigram is disputed between Meleager and Philodemus. Although we cannot be sure beyond doubt who composed it, I am in favour of the Meleagrean ascription because: AP 5.6 – AP 5.8 seems to be an unbroken sequence from the Meleagrean Garland on broken erotic oaths (cf. Gow-Page (1965) ii.644); in the surviving material, Meleager uses the lamp motif five more times, while Philodemus only once; the coexistence of the Night and the lamp is a common motif in Meleager (see AP 5.165 = 51 GP, AP 5.166 = 52 GP, and AP 5.191 = 73 GP). Gutzwiller (2007) 313 and Tarán (1979) 93 n.115 also attribute the epigram to Meleager. Gow-Page (1965) ii. 644 remain dubious.
103 AP 12.199 (Strato) is the exception to the rule. This is though a much later epigram which uses the lamp within the public sphere of symposium, where a man sees a wine-pourer and feels desire for him. This is not the bedside lamp of the Meleagrean epigrams. For Strato’s chronology, see Floridi (2007) 1-24, who places him in the second half of the first century or the first half of the second century AD.
The principal ingredients of the epigram (the deserted lover, the invocation to the lamp, and its role as the witness of oath-taking) create a strong link with Asclepiades AP 5.7 = 9 GP. The reader acquires knowledge of the lover’s condition qua lover, and the lamp becomes the backbone of this woman’s reaction to desertion. Her bitterness, because of the beloved’s betrayal, is undoubted. However, his infidelity is given in simple narrative terms (l.5), while she openly addresses the lamp. Just as the lamp can be the surrogate for the lover, here it seems to become almost a surrogate for the beloved, a focal point, towards which the feelings of betrayal are directed.

Her double complaint (towards the beloved and the lamp) is emphasised in the last couplet (ll.5-6): the structure μὲν...δ’ binding together the reasons for her distress and the repetition of λύχνε emphasises her dismay. For her, the lamp is equally a traitor as the beloved and the reader should recall previous uses of the object in epigram (see e.g. AP 5.165 = 51 GP and AP 5.166 = 52 GP) in order to identify the nature of its disloyalty. The role of the object as the witness of the couple’s oaths, which creates a parallel to Asclepiades AP 5.7 = 9 GP, is emphasised (ll.1-4) because in this way its treachery is stressed. The other ‘lamp epigrams’ enable the reader to understand that for the lover, the lamp would be expected to exact retribution on the beloved, certainly not to be a bystander to his new sexual encounters. The phrase κοινὴν δ’ εἶχετε μαρτυρίην with its forensic colour104 underlines the gravity of the

104 Cf. ... τὰ λοιπὰ/ σιγῶ, μάρτυς ἐφ᾽ οἷς λύχνος ἐπεγράφετο (AP 5.128.3-4 = 13.3-4 GPh (M.Argentarius)), and εἰπὲ δὲ σημεῖο Βάκχων ὅτι πέντ’ ἐφίλησεν/ ἕξης, ὅν κλίνη μάρτυς ἐπεγράφετο (AP 5.181.11-12 = 25.11-12 GP (Asclepiades)).
task that the lamp undertook; as a μάρτυς was supposed to bring justice through his testimony in case the defendant was wrongly accused, thus the lamp should act in favour of the injured lover, given that it had knowledge of the beloved’s infidelity.

But whereas the lamp should prevent the injustice through the deprivation of light and hence (supposedly) the hindrance of sex, it stays lit witnessing the beloved’s sex with new lovers. It is as if the reader is meant to believe that the lamp prefers taking pleasure in watching the beloved’s sexual transgressions rather than staying faithful to its function as a witness and guarantor of the oath. The lover’s perception of the lamp creates a ‘seriocomic’ tone. The story is one of amatory betrayal. But there is humour in the idea that the lamp could have prevented the beloved’s disloyalty and that it is now betraying the lover by witnessing the beloved’s sexual encounters with other women; so, the poem pokes affectionate fun at the suffering lover.

2.2.3. Outside the Melegrean Garland: Philodemus and Statyllius Flaccus.

Let us now turn our attention to the poems of other epigrammatists, specifically Philodemus AP 5.4 = 1 GPh = 7 Sider and Statyllius Flaccus AP 5.5 = 1GPh. Although these poets belong to different chronological periods, I examine their poems together because they both elaborate on the role of the lamp as the witness of sex:

τὸν σιγῶντα, Φιλαινί, συνίστορα τῶν ἄλαλήτων
λύχνον ἐλαιηρῆς ἐκμεθύσασα δρόσου
ἐξίθη, μαρτυρήν γὰρ Ἔρως μόνος οὐκ ἐφίλησεν
ἐμπνουν· καὶ πυκνήν107 κλείει, Φιλαινί, θύρην.
καὶ σὺ, φίλη Ξανθώ με· σὺ δ’, ὦ φιλεράστρια κοίτη.108

105 Cf. AP 5.7 = 9 GP, AP 5.165 = 51 GP, AP 5.166 = 52 GP.
106 Philodemus flourished in the first century BC (see Gow-Page (1968) ii. 371-374, Sider (1997) 3-40), and Statyllius Flaccus (probably) around the first decade AD (see Gow-Page (1968) ii. 451).
107 P has πυκτήν and Pl has τυκτήν. Gow-Page (1965) i. 350, ii. 374 accept Jacobs’ reading πυκτήν as a variation of δικλίδα, but I prefer Stadtmüller’s reading πυκνήν, because it intensifies the link with Il. 14.339-40 (πυκινὰς δὲ θύρας (Il. 14.339) - πυκνήν...θύρην (AP 5.4.4 = 1.4 GPh = 7.4 Sider)), a possible model for Philodemus; cf. Sider (1997) 88.
The lamp, Philae, the silent confidant of
actions that are not to be spoken of, intoxicate with oily dew,
and then go out; for Eros alone does not love
a living witness; and, Philae, shut the door tight.
And you, dear Xantho ... me;109 but you, o bed that loves
lovers, learn now the rest of Aphrodite’s secrets.

A silver lamp, the faithful confidant of nightly loves,
to unfaithful Nape Flaccus gave me,
now beside her bed I droop, looking on
the forsworn girl’s all-suffering shameful deeds.
And you, Flaccus, being awake, are distressed by cruel
cares and we both are aflame away from each other.

The first line of Philodemus AP 5.4 = 1 GPh = 7 Sider consists of a series of key-
words (τὸν σιγῶντα...τῶν ἀλαλήτων συνίστορα) that condense the established profile

108 Sider (1997) 89-90 accepts C’s correction φιλεράστρι’ ἀκοίτις (of P’s φιλεράστρια κοίτης) as he
believes that Philodemus addresses Xantho, and not the bed. I find though his argumentation
unconvincing. Addresses to bed and other inanimate objects are a commonplace (see Plut.de
Garr.513f), and Asclepiades AP 5.181.12 = 25.12 GP...κλίνη μάρτυς ἐπεγράφετο offers a nice
parallel from the subgenre.

109 Either we can accept that there is aposiopesis, with με being the object of a verb to be implied by
the reader (see Sider (1997) 88), or we can accept C’s correction φίλει; in the latter case, the epigram
resembles AP 5.128 = 13 GPh (M.Argentarius) in that we are given a flavour of what will follow, but
then we learn that a bedroom object will learn the rest.
of the lamp as the silent confidant of the erotic ‘rites’. The moral of the epigram is an old one: keep the doors closed! It dates back to the Homeric epics. For instance, in Od. 8.270-1, Ares and Aphrodite are caught red-handed by Helios, who informs Hephaestus. Similarly, in Il. 14.329-40, Hera wishes not to be seen by any god, while having sex with Zeus on Mount Ida (this would cause a scandal, as she states), and this is why she asks Zeus to go together in the room with the solid doors, made by Hephaestus. In Eccl.16, Praxagora also praises the trustworthiness of the lamp, because it sees the women’s actions - including sex - without being a tattletale.

In our epigram, the lover just before engaging in sex with Xantho asks Philaenis to make the lamp ‘drunk’ (ekmethusasa meaning in literal terms to fill it with oil) before shutting the door and leaving the room. Here, we have a new development in the use of the motif. Gow and Page argue that ‘there is no point in making the lamp ‘drunk’’. But the participle brings into play several connotations. First, it should be noted that for the lover, the lamp (as well as his bed) is a welcome and trustworthy witness of his sexual encounters. The witness which should be dispatched is Philaenis. The vigilant reader will pick up on the subtle meaning of her name: deriving from φιλῶ (‘love, regard with affection’) and αἶνος (‘tale, story’) it is a dead give-away of her gossipy nature. The name may also allude to Philaenis of Samos, the alleged author of the sex manual, and this allusion would enhance the female servant’s perception as a fervent voyeur of her master’s sexual activities.

The lamp is to remain in the room and become ‘intoxicated’. The use of metaphorical language invites more than one possible reading. To begin with, the ‘intoxication’ of the lamp will ensure both that it will keep on burning throughout the duration of sex, and that its light will be brighter and stronger. The concept of a ‘drunken’ lamp as shining brighter survives in Babrius 2.114.1-3, where an

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110 Cf. Sider (1997) 87; cf. AP 5.191.7-8 = 73.7-8 GP (Meleager), AP 5.197.4 = 23.4 GP (Meleager), AP 6.162.2 = 11.2 GP (Meleager), AP 7.219.6 = 1.6 GPh (Pompeius the Younger).
111 For a lamp as a drinker cf. Ar. Nub.57, where the characterisation πότης is attached to it, because it consumes much oil due to its thick wick.
112 Gow-Page (1968) ii. 374.
113 LSJ9, s.v. φιλέω I 1.
114 LSJ9, s.v. αἶνος I.
‘intoxicated’ lamp brags that it has the most pre-eminent light (μεθύων ἐλαίῳ λόγνος ἐσπέρης ηὔχει/ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας, ὡς Ἔσωφόρου κρεῖσσων/ ἀπασι φέγγος ἐκπεπέστατον λάμπει). But what does this idea mean within our epigram? On the one hand, the steady and bright glowing of the lamp will enable the lovers to enjoy the voyeuristic pleasures attached to sex. On the other hand, it will enhance the voyeuristic abilities of the lamp itself; a stronger light illuminates a wider space, and in this way the ‘drunken’ lamp will be able to see more. Additionally, the participle can be interpreted as a sympathetic personification. In general, the verb μεθύω can denote someone ‘intoxicated’ by his feelings (such as desire and passion), and in the epigram the lamp’s ‘intoxication’ can mirror the lover’s ‘emotional drunkenness’ due to his desire for Xantho. The epigram ends with an address to the bed; it will learn the secrets of Aphrodite (ll.5-6). The lamp motif is further refreshed, as the bed is added as the second reliable witness of the lover’s sex with Xantho. Both the idea of ‘intoxicating’ the lamp in order that its voyeuristic abilities are accentuated and the contrast between the gossipy servant and the silent lamp are indeed humoristic. The epigram though is based on the anxiety that masters felt because of the ubiquitous eye of their slaves, and the caution that they should exercise in order to avoid having private matters and secrets becoming common. Again one notes the ‘seriocomic’ tone.

With Statylius Flaccus AP 5.5 = 1 GPh we return to the motif of the tormented lover, but with a clever twist. It is not the lover (who is here identified with the poet) that speaks, but his lamp that indulges in a soliloquy. It narrates its sad

116 The parallel is cited by Gow and Page (1968) ii. 374 and Sider (1997) 87, who do not use it to enable the decipherment of the epigram. Cf. AP 6.148.3-4 = 55.3-4 Pf. = 16.3-4 GP (Callimachus), in which a lamp having twenty wicks brags that its light is brighter than that of Hesperus: ... ἐς δ’ ἐμὰ φέγγη/ ἀθρήσας φήσεις, ‘Ἑσπερε, πῶς ἔπες;’ (for this epigram, see Pagonare-Antoniou (1997) 352).
117 LSJ, s.v. μεθύω II 2.
118 Additionally the participle, playing with the idea that the lamp becomes a personified witness, may imply that the object will not remember what it witnessed when it becomes sober, namely when its light goes out.
119 For the bed as a witness of sex, cf. AP 5.181.12 (Asclepiades) = 25.12 GP, where it is called upon by the lover as the witness of the five kisses that he gave to Phryne, and Eur.Alc.177-179, where Alcestis bids farewell to her marriage-bed, where she lost her virginity.
120 For the ‘seriocomic’ tone of Philodemus’ epigrams, see Sider (1997) passim.
story: while it was given to Nape by the poet (obviously to shed light on their love-making),\textsuperscript{121} it is now forced to illuminate her sexual encounters with others. The phrase συνίστορα πιστὸν is meant to remind the reader of the traditional use of the lamp as the witness of sex,\textsuperscript{122} making more intense the contrast between old and new approaches to the motif. The perception by the lamp of the girl’s sexual life reflects the poet’s own thoughts concerning the girl’s behaviour. Flaccus does not just extend his feelings into the non-sentient object (as Philodemus did with ἐκμεθύσασα in AP 5.4 = 1 GPh = 7 Sider), but instead he uses the lamp as his surrogate picking up a trend already found in Meleager (cf. AP 5.165 = 51 GP, AP 5.166 = 52 GP). The suffering of the lamp adds an element of melodrama which differentiates Flaccus from his predecessors. What the lamp says regarding its state mirrors the lover’s feelings. The verb μαραίνομαι is ambiguous; on the one hand, it implies the witty concept that the lamp, because of its loyalty to Flaccus, finds it difficult to shed a strong light on a scene which is distasteful to it. Its drooping indicates its distress, because it is obliged to see the beloved’s sexual transgressions. On the other hand, this description of the lamp reflects the lover’s desolation and ‘masochistic’ imagining, as he visualises his beloved engaged in sexual activity with others. The verb may also allude to the lover’s impotence, his libido drained by his distress. Scythinus AP 12.232.1-2 provides a parallel use of the verb. An impotent lover addressing his penis says: ὀρθὸν νῦν ἑστηκας ἀνώνυμον ὡς ἑσετασαι δ’ ὥς ἐν μὴ ποτε παυσόμενον ‘you unnamed thing, now you stand erect and do not wilt in the least, but are on the stretch like one that will never stop’. The epigram finishes with the notion of the lamp and the lover burning from afar (l.6). Gow and Page argue that ‘a good epigram is spoilt by this sophisticated notion’ since καιόμεθα is literal for the object and metaphorical for Flaccus.\textsuperscript{123} But these last words of the lamp are meant to add a humorous touch on the lover’s profile. Certainly, the verb καίω often

\textsuperscript{121} Gow and Page (1968) ii. 451 note that this is an expensive and rare gift, and so, I add, perhaps it was given as a symbol of the poet’s love.

\textsuperscript{122} Cf. AP 5.4.1-2 = 1.1-2 GPh = 7.1-2 Sider (Philodemus).

\textsuperscript{123} Gow-Page (1968) ii. 452.

\textsuperscript{124} Cf. Mus.241 λύχνῳ καιομένῳ συνεκαίετο, cf. AP 5.255.18 = 58.18 Viansino (P.Silentiarius) ... ἀλλ’ ἡμῖς ἀνόητι καϊόμεθα (although for two lovers).
signifies the one who is inflamed by passion\textsuperscript{125} and the reader is thus led to see an underlying side of the lover’s disposition towards the girl; these scopophilic visions of Nape, nude and engaged in erotic plays, make him burn with desire for the wanton girl.

2.2.4. Marcus Argentarius and the Prophetic Abilities of the Lamp.

The lamp survives in two epigrams composed by Marcus Argentarius (another of the poets of Philip’s *Garland*), AP 5.128 = 13 GPh and AP 6.333 = 14 GPh.\textsuperscript{126} These poems are companion pieces since they regard the same girl, Antigone, and use the lamp motif. Evidently, Argentarius composed two more epigrams concerning this girl (AP 5.63 = 3 GPh and AP 11.320 = 34 GPh), and this small group of epigrams exemplifies a particular technique adopted by the epigrammatists: they present a love story divided into many parts (cf. e.g. Meleager’s seventeen epigrams on Heliodora). Each epigram preserves its distinct unity, but at the same time, it can add a new twist on the whole love tale. Let us view in detail the two epigrams of Argentarius:

στέρνα περὶ στέρνοις, μαστῷ δ’ ἐπὶ μαστὸν ἑρείσας
χείλεα τε γλυκερόις χείλεσι συμπιέσας
Ἀντιγόνης καὶ χρῶτα λαβὼν πρὸς χρῶτα, τὰ λοιπὰ
σιγῶ, μάρτυς ἐφ’ ὅς λύχνος ἐπεγράφετο. \hspace{1cm} (AP 5.128 = 13 GPh)

Breast to breast, pressing my bosom on hers,
squeezing together Antigone’s sweet lips to mine,
and grasping her skin to mine; for the rest
I am silent; the lamp was registered as their witness.

\textsuperscript{125} Cf. AP 5.96.2 = 59.2 GP, AP 12.83.6 = 68.6 GP, AP 12.109.4 = 61.4 GP, AP 12.126.4 = 87.4 GP, and AP 12.132A.8 = 21.8 GP (Meleager), AP 5.209.3 = 36.3 GP (Asclepiades or Posidippus), AP 5.88.2 = 32.2 Page (Rufinus), AP 5.255.18 = 58.18 Viansino (P.Silentiarius), AP 12.244.2 (Strato).

\textsuperscript{126} The second epigram is classified as ᾧδηλον in Pl. However, as Gow-Page (1968) ii. 173 argue, the name Antigone and its style argue decisively in favour of following P which ascribes it to M.Argentarius. For M.Argentarius’ chronology, who was active during the first century AD, see Gow-Page (1968) ii. 166.
Thrice already you have sneezed, dearest lamp; do you
by any chance foretell that delightful Antigone will come to my
bedroom? May this, o lord, be true; you too will
be a prophet for mortals like Apollo, at the tripod.

In AP 5.128 = 13 GPh, the lover talks about his love-making with Antigone. His
words, full of sexual details, bring to the reader’s mind the archaic iambus, whose
main characteristics are vulgarity, obscenity, and the illustration of the minutiae of
sex. We could compare our epigram with Archilochus fr.119 W², which also
describes thrusting during sex: καὶ πεσεῖν δρήστην ἐπ’ ἄσκόν, κἀπὶ γαστρὶ γαστέρα/
προσβαλεῖν μηροὺς τε μηροῖς, ‘and fall upon her wineskin that works for hire and to
thrust belly against belly, thighs against thighs’. 127 AP 5.218 = 13 GPh though
differs from the iambic fragment, because it does not only express physical desire,
but also affection for the girl, an element missing from Archilochus — this is evident
in the use of the adjective γλυκεροῖς for Antigone’s lips, which expresses tenderness
(l.2). Additionally, Argentarius employs slightly more decorous phraseology in
contrast to Archilochus and in general the iambic genre; he describes only the
contact of the couple’s upper bodies, and the aposiopesis at the end adds to the sense
of decorum (l.l.3-4); it places us in the role of voyeurs and then withdraws the scene,
as though closing the door. 128

The lamp will be the only witness of the man’s sex with Antigone, and the
use of the forensic term μάρτυς aims to add solemnity to his statement (l.l.3-4); the
term echoes Meleager AP 5.8.4 (κοινὴν δ’ εἴχετε μαρτυρίην) that bears the same
’seriocomic’ tone, since official language is employed in both cases for unofficial,

128 Cf. Hippon. fr.17 W², which is also more vulgar as far as the description of sex is concerned; see
p.22.
private matters. The implications though of the way sex is described do not stop here. It is as if the lover is torn between his desire to boast about his sexual experience and his desire to protect the girl’s modesty. Thus, the epigram becomes a fine study in human psychology. While the lover wishes to preserve decorum, he gives the reader several details of their love-making omitting penetration. The ironising distance created by the gap between his protests of decorous silence and the actuality of his revelation of what went on, produces a comic undertone.

In AP 6.333 = 14 GPh, the role of the lamp changes. The lover anticipates Antigone and wonders if its triple flickering foretells her arrival. His words remind us of AP 5.7 = 9 GP, in which the object was treated as a ‘semi-divine’ figure. Here, it can prove itself a second Apollo in case it prophesies that the woman is arriving.\(^\text{129}\) The poem draws on superstitious beliefs, since the interpretation of the lamp’s flickering evokes the perception of sneezing as an omen, this being evident in the use of ἔπταρες (l.3). The idea that sneezing had an ominous or auspicious significance is already attested in Od. 17.539-50. Telemachus sneezes after Penelope’s wish for Odysseus’ return and the slaughter of the wooers, and his sneezing is interpreted as a positive omen by the queen. In Xenophon Anabasis 3.2.8-9, the sneezing of a soldier, the moment that Xenophon argues that there are many hopes of deliverance in case the gods favour them, is perceived as an omen for fighting against the barbarians.\(^\text{130}\) As in our epigram, in PGM 7.593-619, the repeated ‘sneezing’ of a seven-nozzle lamp is attributed prophetic abilities, revealing different stages in the fetching of an unmanageable woman: ‘if the first lamp flickers (ἐὰν μὲν ὁ πρῶτος λόχνος πταρῇ), know that she has been seized by the daemon. And if the 2\(^\text{nd}\), she has left (the house); and if the 3\(^\text{rd}\), she is on the way; and if the 4\(^\text{th}\), she has arrived; and if the 5\(^\text{th}\), she is at the door, the 6\(^\text{th}\), at the doorlatch; the 7\(^\text{th}\), she has come into the house’ (ll.614-7).\(^\text{131}\) Although the magical papyrus belongs to a much later date than

\(^{129}\) For the use of Apollo in magic, see Eitrem (1947) 47-52.

\(^{130}\) Cf. Theoc.Id.7.96 Συμιχίδα μὲν Ἕρωτες ἐπέπταρον, Id.18.16-17 ὁλβε γάμβρ’, ἀγαθός τις ἐπέπταρον ἄρχομένῳ του ἦς Σπάρταν, ἀπερ ἄλλοι ἀριστέες, ὦς ἀνόσια. For sneezing as an omen, see Pease (1911) 429-443.

\(^{131}\) Translation by Betz (1996) 135; cf. Kost (1971) 129. For the use of the numerical three in the ‘lamp epigrams’, cf. AP 5.7.1 = 9.1 GP (Asclepiades), AP 5.279.1 = 57.1 Viansino (P.Silentiarius); for the significance of the repetition of sneezing, see Pease (1911) 441-442. Gow-Page (1968) ii. 173 and Pease (1911) 442 cite Ov. Her.19.151-2, an accurate parallel for our epigram: Hero’s lamp
Argentarius (third/ fourth century AD\textsuperscript{132}), nevertheless it shows that in magic the significance of sneezing as an omen could be attributed by analogy to the spluttering of the lamp. As in AP 5.7 = 9 GP, there are parallels between the manner in which the lamp is presented in the poem and the actual function of lamps in magical rituals, and it is highly likely that the poets drew inspiration from actual magical practices of their times. In a nutshell, Argentarius elaborates on the stock scene of a lover waiting for his beloved, in order to give the portrait of a man who is ready to attribute prophetic abilities to his lamp, because this will alleviate his anguish.

The hyperbolic declaration that the ‘sneezing’ of the lamp can prove it to be another Apollo, reflects the man’s anxiety for the woman’s arrival and the strength of his passion for her. From the allusion to private magic, we move here to public religion, since the tripod suggests a reference to Apollo’s temple at Delphi. The question itself in lines 2-3 introduced with ἦ τάχα ‘do you by any chance’ shows that he himself perceives – to some extent at least – the irrationality of his thoughts.\textsuperscript{133} His exaggerating yearning is further depicted in the way he apostrophises the lamp. On the one hand, he addresses the object as ἄναξ (l.3), a title of respect, which reflects his readiness to believe that the lamp portends a positive omen. On the other hand, the hypothetical phrasing of his last words (ll.3-4) proves that he himself has doubts about the way that he interprets the flickering of its light. For the erudite and sophisticated reader, there is no doubt that the sputtering cannot have any prophetic significance.\textsuperscript{134} The ‘apotheosis’ of the lamp is an unrealistic and humorous hyperbole. For the reader, the epigram pokes fun at a man who in his state of uncertainty is willing to seek emotional refuge and support in superstitions and in reading omens into everyday events.

2.2.5. The Survival of the Lamp in the Cycle of Agathias.

\textsuperscript{132} See Betz (1996) xxiii.
\textsuperscript{133} This can also be said about AP 5.7.2 = 9.2 GP (Asclepiades): εἰ θυγός εἶ.
\textsuperscript{134} For sneezing as a superstition, see e.g. Cic.\textit{Div}.2.84.
Two epigrams of the *Cycle* have preserved for us the lamp motif, Agathias Scholasticus AP 5.263 = 85 Viansino and Paulus Silentiarius AP 5.279 = 57 Viansino. In Agathias AP 5.263 = 85 Viansino, the lover, a woman, is waiting for her beloved, and new dynamic departures are observed in the development of the lamp motif.\(^{135}\)

μήποτε, λύχνε, μύκητα φέροις, μηδ’ ὀμβρον ἐγείροις,
μὴ τὸν ἐμὸν παύσῃς νυμφίον ἐρχόμενον.
αἰεὶ σὺ φθονέεις τῇ Κύπριδι· καὶ γὰρ ὅθ’ Ἡρώ
ἡμοσε Λειάνδρῳ... θυμέ, τὸ λοιπὸν ἕα.
Ἡφαίστου τελέθεις, καὶ πείθομαι ὅτι χαλέπτων
Κύπριδα θωπεύεις δεσποτικὴν ὀδύνην.

Never, o lamp, may you wear a snuff or arouse rain, lest you impede my bridegroom from coming.
You always grudge Cypris, because when Hero was plighted to Leander…my heart, leave the rest.
You are the property of Hephaestus, and I believe that by vexing Cypris you fawn on her lord’s suffering.\(^{136}\)

The woman asks the lamp not to foretell or arouse rain because this would prevent her beloved from coming (ll.1-2).\(^{137}\) Her wish draws on the ancient prognostics of rain, based on the creation of a fungoid excrescence on the lampwicks.\(^{138}\) The girl

\(^{135}\) The gender of the speaker is not grammatically specified, but the term νυμφίον and the myth make clear that this is a heterosexual epigram and unusually voiced and focalised from the perspective of the female. For the stock scene of a lover waiting for the beloved and addressing his lamp, cf. AP 5.7 = 9 GP and AP 5.150 = 10 GP (Asclepiades), AP 6.333 = 14 GPh (M.Argentarius).

\(^{136}\) For the epigrams of Agathias Scholasticus and Paulus Silentiarius, I follow the editions of Viansino (1963, 1967) and I use Paton’s translations. I have modified the latter.

\(^{137}\) Νυμφίον probably stands for the beloved, and not a husband. Language that is literary used for marriage can be metaphorically employed for erotic liaisons (compare ἡμοσε, which normally means ‘was betrothed’, that is here used for sex).

clearly does not regard the lamp as a mere inanimate object, useful for weather predictions, but the cause of what it predicts, in other words the creator of rain (see ὄμβρον ἐγείροις, l.1). She locates all of her anxieties and consequently her hostility in the personified lamp. Her perception of the object is affected by its role in the tragic fate of Hero and Leander. Through the reference of their names (ll.3-4), the reader recalls the details of their love story: Hero used to kindle a lamp to guide her lover in his swim across the strait of Hellespont. During the winter, however, she did not refrain from her nightly ritual of lighting the lamp, the wind extinguished it, and thus Leander died. Clearly, the girl blames the lamp (not Hero or the wind) for Leander’s drowning. For the erudite reader, her view of the lamp as a traitor summons up previous narrations of the story, where the lamp is accused of betraying the couple or being faithless.\(^{139}\) The phrase θυμέ, τὸ λοιπὸν ἔα (l.4) adds dramatic tension; the speaker stops herself from saying any more to avoid getting more upset and to pre-empt any ill omen.\(^{140}\) Her plea to the lamp is an attempt to control something that is uncontrollable, the powers of nature.

Her last words emphasise the tormented state of her mind. She believes that the lamp is the enemy of Aphrodite, and that its purpose is to destroy erotic affairs causing thus vexation to the goddess. In the explanation given for the (alleged) attitude of the lamp towards the goddess of love, the object acts as the core of the analysis of the woman’s emotions. The relationship between Hephaestus and Aphrodite is used as a mythical exemplum. The god takes on the role that lovers have in many of the ‘lamp epigrams’, since he cannot control the woman he loves, his wife Aphrodite.\(^{141}\) The lamp in turn becomes a surrogate for him; it grudges Aphrodite, mirroring its master’s feelings (see the emphatic αἰεὶ φθονέεις (l.3)), and exacts revenge on her because of her infidelity. Certainly, the god would not need

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\(^{139}\) Cf. AP 7.666.4 = 11.4 GPh (Antipater of Thessalonica) ... ὁ προδότης ὀδ’ ἐπέκειτο λύχνος, Mus.329 καὶ δὴ λύχνον ἄπιστον ἀπέσβεσε πικρὸς ἀήτης.


\(^{141}\) Cf. AP 5.7 = 9 GP (Asclepiades), AP 5.165 = 51 GP and AP 5.166 = 52 GP (Meleager).
the lamp to take revenge on Aphrodite. We know from *Od*. 8.272-299, that he set a trap for the goddess and her lover making them a laughing stock among the gods. There is, therefore, a comic element in the self-dramatising way in which this girl presents her personal problems as the result of large battles between divine forces.

I conclude my analysis of the ‘lamp epigrams’ with Paulus Silentiarius AP 5.279 = 57 Viansino, which blends together various uses of the lamp that are already present in earlier epigrams:

δηθύνει Κλεόφαντις· ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἀρχεῖ τῇ ἥδι

λύχνος ὑποκλάζειν ἤκα μαραινόμενος.

αἰθὲ δὲ καὶ κραδίτης πυρσὸς συναπέσβετο λύχνῳ

μηδὲ μ’ ὑπ’ ἀγρύπνοις δηρὸν ἔκαιε πόθοις.

ἀ πόσα τὴν Κυθέρειαν ἐπώμοσεν ἐσπερος ἐλθεῖν·

ἄλλ’ οὖτ’ ἀνθρώπων φείδεται οὔτε θεῶν.

Cleophantis delays; and the third lamp now starts to droop rapidly fading away.

Might the torch of my heart too sink with the lamp,

and not burn me with sleepless desire for so long.

Ah! How often she swore to Cytherea to come in the evening,

but she spares neither men nor gods.

The background of the epigram is well known by now: the lover waits for his beloved. As in earlier epigrams (AP 5.4 = 1 GPh, 5.5 = 1 GPh, 5.166 = 52 GP), the lover projects his emotions onto objects and specifically here onto the lamp, which is said to ‘droop’ and ‘fade’ (1.2). The participle μαραινόμενος has the same connotations as other types of the same verb in AP 5.5 = 1 GPh and AP 5.166 = 52 GP; the lamp’s drooping is a symbol of the lover’s despair, sadness, and frustration. As in AP 5.5, there might also be a hint to the man’s sexual libido as fading, the idea being intensified by the use of ὑποκλάζειν meaning on a literal level ‘bend the knees under one, sink down’.142 The triple repetition of the drooping of the lamp’s wick denotes that the lover has been waiting for a long time — this is another way of

142 *LSJ*9, s.v. ὑποκλάζω.
intensifying his disappointment. This idea is then repeated, in an open and emphatic way, in line 4 in the use of δηρὸν ἔκαιε πόθον. At the same time, the numeral acts as a tell-tale that leads the reader back to the poetic archetypes of Paulus, where the same number is used in combination with the lamp motif (AP 5.7 = 9 GP, AP 6.333 = 14 GP).

The second distich is structured on an antithesis between the great passion burning in the lover’s heart and the small flame of the lamp. As the fire of the lamp begins to extinguish, the lover wishes that the torch in his heart would simultaneously quench. From using phraseology that binds the lover and the lamp together, here the poet clearly differentiates the two - the man and the object - in order to stress that despite his pain, the lover still fervently desires the girl. The use of the fire metaphor ἔκαιε highlights his desire. In the third distich, Silentiarius makes use of another motif which is often found in ‘lamp epigrams’, that of an erotic oath. Here the oath is taken in the name of Aphrodite, and the reader would instantly recognise that such oaths are not to be trusted. Interesting is the use of the verb φείδεται (l.6) which veils an underlying irony. Normally gods are meant to spare mortals, but here this idea is reversed, indicating the total lack of faith in an ἀφροδίσιος ὄρκος, on the part of the beloved. The ‘lamp epigrams’ of the Cycle truly exemplify the ability of the epigrammatists ever to refresh a motif, although it might have been used for centuries.

1.3. Conclusions

The analysis of the role of the lamp within the selected epigrams exemplifies the way in which the object is used to reflect and express the lover’s emotions. The selected case studies illustrate that the epigrammatists made use of ‘concrete images’ as a medium for exploring the lover’s inner world. In several cases, it constitutes the prop of the whole story, and becomes the foothold for the exploration of a wide range of emotions varying from envy, anger, bitterness and fear to possessiveness, desperation, and hope. As we saw, the lamp is a symbol of sex and erotic liaisons, and plays multifarious roles: it can be inanimate or not, the trustworthy bystander of sex, the witness of erotic oaths, a semi-divine power, an avenger, the protector of the beloved’s fidelity, or a prophet. The analysed case studies exemplify that erotic epigrams constitute more than a locus of intertextual dynamics. Despite the recurrent
wit, erotic epigrams articulate ideas which are on fundamental level serious reflections on the psychology of *eros*. 
Sea and Nautical Metaphors

3.1. Introduction

The ancient Greeks were a seafaring people and it is not at all surprising that they enriched their poetry with figures of speech inspired by the moods of the sea and vicissitudes inherent in a sailor’s life. As far back as Homer, one encounters a wide range of nautical metaphors and similes, employed, especially in the *Iliad*, for the mirroring of intense human emotions and the description of the tumult of the battle between the Trojans and the Achaeans. For example, this is apparent in *Il*. 15.623-629, where the rending of the hearts of the Achaeans caused by Hector’s attack is paralleled to the quivering of the sailors’ hearts on a storm-tossed ship. The elegiac and lyric poets extended the spectrum of connotations of this kind of allegorical language, using them to reflect, explore, and comment on a variety of topics such as politics, fate, prosperity, and interpersonal relationships. The tragedians drew inspiration from and reworked this inexhaustible source, and so did the comic writers who created a network of nautical metaphors for the humorous delineation of sex. As with fire imagery, the Hellenistic epigrammatists were, therefore, the beneficiaries of a treasure trove of applications of nautical imagery, using them, especially Meleager, in order to express and explore subjective erotic experience. The application of nautical and sea metaphors within such a context is all the more natural, in view of Aphrodite’s close connection with the sea. In later epigrams (from those of the *Garland* of Philip to Rufinus) this tendency disappears, and the epigrammatists both turn to new developments outside the sphere of love and use this kind of metaphor to offer humorous and graphic sexual descriptions. It is Macedonius the Consul, from Agathias’ *Cycle*, who will return to the ‘sea of love’.

143 It is interesting that the simile in *Il*. 9.4-8 ends with the same phrase as the one in *Il*. 15.623-629: ὡς ἔδαίζετο θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν Ἀχαϊῶν. In both cases, the phrase expresses a similar concept: that the rendering of the heart of the Achaeans resembles the stormy sea. This is a clear case of inner-variation, which is, as we shall see, a typical feature of epigrams employing nautical and sea metaphors, and therefore, the narrative technique dates back to the Homeric epics. For other examples of sea imagery in the epics, see Keith (1914) 25-26 12, 42, 48, 50.

In this chapter, by focusing on relevant case studies, I aim to construct the first comprehensive analysis of nautical and sea metaphors in the subgenre of erotic epigram. I argue that in epigrams nautical and sea metaphors do not simply form an aesthetic feature, but that they constitute a recurrent narrative strategy that maximises the potential for narrative economy. They can have a number of interrelated meanings, which derive both from the various parallelisms that can be made between the ‘tenor’ and the ‘vehicle’ and from their use in the previous tradition. Therefore, their employment triggers the formation of a dense and allusive narrative texture, and thus they constitute a powerful narrative ‘tool’ in the hands of the epigrammatists whose medium demanded conciseness. I identify and examine the generic features of this narrative device through the detailed analysis of several epigrams. For my purposes, an artificial heuristic classification is made that enables the examination of epigrams employing similar sea and nautical imagery: first, the epigrams using the ‘ship-prostitute’ metaphor are analysed, namely the ones describing a hetaera as a ship or vice versa; then, I turn towards the ones which employ nautical and sea and other interrelated metaphors for the portrayal and exploration of both emotions and the dynamics of the relationship between the lover and the beloved (e.g. sea-faring, storms, shipwrecks etc.).

3.2.1. The ‘Ship-Prostitute’ Epigrams and their Intertextual Background.

Within the corpus of the Greek Anthology, three surviving epigrams speak of hetaerae through ship metaphors and of their clients through metaphors of navy officers and personnel (AP 5.44 = 17 P, AP 5.161 = 40 GP, and AP 5.204 = 60 GP). Two others, i.e. AP 9.415 = 43 GPh and AP 9.416 = 52 GPh, invert these ideas and describe ships in terms appropriate to hetaerae. All these epigrams draw on and rework a basic recurrent topos: the presentation of different attitudes and behaviours towards prostitution and hetaerae. Hunter, commenting on Eubulus fr.67, a fragment praising prostitution (because it turns men away from adultery), argues that the

145 For these terms and their meanings, see Silk (1974) 3-26.
146 This is not to deny that erotic epigrams have a basic meaning that becomes instantly apparent to their reader (for this idea, see Hunter (2010) 265-288). The reader does not need to interpret each metaphor in order to understand the epigram, but each reader or the same reader when reading the epigram again, can interpret the metaphors differently.
audience would detect an air of ‘popular philosophy’, when such matters were explored in comedies, since these themes were treated in cynic-stoic writings, rhetorical schools, and by moralists. The same can be said about our epigrams; the generic titles under which they have been placed, i.e. ‘amatory’ (for AP 5.44 = 17 P, AP 5.161 = 40 GP, and AP 5.204 = 60 GP) and ‘declamatory/ descriptive’ (for AP 9.415 = 43 GPh and AP 9.416 = 52 GPh), focus solely on one aspect of them, obviously the one that becomes instantly apparent, when reading them. Their classification and labelling has obscured our understanding of their complex relationship with the tradition and with each other. Like several other epigrams on hetaerae, they present with humour and rework various established views on and aspects of prostitution and the intricate dynamics of relationships with this kind of women. As we shall see, nautical and ship metaphors - apart from their aesthetic value - facilitate a multifaceted exploration of this subject-matter: every kind of ship brings into play different connotations, and this is the reason why, for instance, the metaphors of the kelēs, the outworn ship, the twenty-oared ship, and Charon’s boat are all used for the description of one and the same woman in AP 5.204 = 60 GP (Meleager).

Before moving on to the analysis of individual epigrams, let us turn our attention to the poetic tradition in order to analyse particular poetic texts that enable the decoding of the connotations of our epigrams: Alcaeus fr.X14 col.ii PLF, Theognis 457-460 W² and various sections from Aristophanes’ Lysistrata. Alcaeus is often cited as a source of inspiration for the epigrammatists, but the role of the other passages in understanding the associations of the ‘ship-prostitute’ metaphor is ignored. It needs to be stressed that we cannot be sure beyond doubt whether Alcaeus, Theognis or Aristophanes served as particular poetic models, partly due to the lack of identical phraseology that could act as a signpost towards specific influence. But even the use of the same phraseology is not always a foolproof tool for

148 Theognis is used as a shorthand for the corpus and this has no implications for authorship.
149 See e.g. Guichard’s statement ((2004) 419) concerning AP 5.161 = 40 GP and Alcaeus: ‘a pesar del mal estado del texto, es posible reconocer las metáforas desarrolladas en el epigrama’. The statement categorises the epigram - regarding the use of ship imagery - as a development of a particular lyric model. Acosta Hughes (2010) 121 also argues that the Meleagorean AP 12.157 = 119 GP, AP 5.190 = 64 GP and the anonymous AP 12.156 = 22 GP constitute ‘an erotic adaptation of Alcaeus’ renowned ‘‘ship of state” metaphor’.
the identification of specific archetypes. For example, can we be sure that the Meleagrean AP 5.204 = 60 GP was inspired by AP 5.161 = 40 GP (Asclepiades/Hedylus), simply because both epigrams employ the term εἰκόσορος? Or is it more plausible to think that Meleager was developing metaphors that were used by Alcaeus? Or is AP 5.204 = 60 GP the outcome of a more complex procedure? In this case, both scenarios are likely to be correct, but the truth is that the later the epigram is, the more difficult it becomes to identify specific models, given that with the passing of time the number of possible sources of influence increases. Therefore, how can one best explain the way in which nautical and sea metaphors are used in epigrams? Their employment can be perceived as the end product of the amalgamation of a chain of previous uses of the imagery known to the epigrammatists. This means that even if an epigrammatist reworks a specific model, the way in which he formulates the metaphors is enriched by his general knowledge of the potential of the metaphor and therefore, of other intertexts (it is perhaps unhelpful, and certainly beyond proof, to ask if this process is a conscious one). Even if the epigrammatist of AP 5.161 = 40 GP was using Alcaeus as an archetype, the way he employs the material reflects his familiarity with other poetic strands of its use. Intertextual influence is not a simple linear process of archetype and imitation, but a dynamic one, characterised at least in Hellenistic texts by the convergence of different influences at work on any one text. It is with this model of confluence in mind that the poetic texts mentioned above are examined. This means that they are analysed with an eye to identifying significant strands operating in the use of sea and nautical metaphors, and not (necessarily) as specific and exclusive models. The key-point in their analysis is the detection and study of the potential of the nautical metaphors, on which the epigrammatists build. Two basic aspects of their use are explored:

i) their ability to act as a means for the exploration of the complex dynamics in human relationships (Theognis, Aristophanes), and

ii) their comic and schetliastic potential (Alcaeus), which can be combined with their use as a medium for exploring the issue of control (Aristophanes).

I will start with Alcaeus fr.X14 col.ii PLF, followed by the analysis of Theognis and of the Aristophanic passages.

3.2.2. Alcaeus and the Schetliastic Potential of the Ship Metaphors.
πὸ τούτων π’ ἄλλο,

ἐστάναι ψόμμος [πεπαλαίωσα].

ἐὼς ὁνομάζει τὸ ὅ [μεταλαμβάνονσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄ οἱ Ἀιολεῖς· καὶ νῦν [πὴ ἡς ψάμμον ὁμόμον ἐι[...] ρηκε· σημαίνει δὲ τὴν ἀκαθαρσίαν· ὀλιβομένης αὐτῆς καὶ περαινομένης πολλῆ ἀκαθαρσία ἀναιρεῖται καὶ λεύκη· εἰρηταὶ δὲ τὸ λεύκος διὰ τὸ ἑ-

παρμα. οι δὲ σκέλη ἦ-

dη κεχώρηκε αἷται· καὶ

tὰ σκέλη αὐτῆς πεπαλαί-

ωσα[...] πεπλευ-κυίαι αὔ-
της διὰ τοῦς πολ-

λοῦς πλοῦς καὶ πυκνοῦς ἦ-

dη π[α]λαιά γέγονεν[...] ἀλ-

λ’ ὀύς[...] των ἔνεκα

tαι[...] οὐ διὰ τὸ [πεπα-

λαίωσθα[α...][...] κα-

θορμισθήναι ἦ[πεπλευ-

κυίαι]. συνονος[...] πεπλευ-

κυίαι αὐτῆς διὰ τοῦς πολ-

λοῦς πλοῦς καὶ πυκνοῦς ἦ-

dη π[α]λαιά γέγονεν[...] ἀλ-

λ’ ὀύς[...] των ἔνεκα

tαι[...] οὐ διὰ τὸ [πεπα-

λαίωσθα[α...][...] κα-

θορμισθήναι ἦ[πεπλευ-

κυίαι]. συνονος[...] πεπλευ-

κυίαι αὐτῆς διὰ τοῦς πολ-

λοῦς πλοῦς καὶ πυκνοῦς ἦ-

dη π[α]λαιά γέγονεν[...] ἀλ-

λ’ ὀύς[...] των ἔνεκα

tαι[...] οὐ διὰ τὸ [πεπα-

λαίωσθα[α...][...] κα-

θορμισθήναι ἦ[πεπλευ-

κυίαι]. συνονος[...] πεπλευ-

κυίαι αὐτῆς διὰ τοῦς πολ-

λοῦς πλοῦς καὶ πυκνοῦς ἦ-

dη π[α]λαιά γέγονεν[...] ἀλ-

λ’ ὀύς[...] των ἔνεκα

tαι[...] οὐ διὰ τὸ [πεπα-

λαίωσθα[α...][...] κα-

θορμισθήναι ἦ[πεπλευ-

κυίαι]. συνονος[...] πεπλευ-

κυίαι αὐτῆς διὰ τοῦς πολ-

λοῦς πλοῦς καὶ πυκνοῦς ἦ-

dη π[α]λαιά γέγονεν[...] ἀλ-

λ’ ὀύς[...] των ἔνεκα

tαι[...] οὐ διὰ τὸ [πεπα-

λαίωσθα[α...][...] κα-

θορμισθήναι ἦ[πεπλευ-

κυίαι]. συνονος[...] πεπλευ-

κυίαι αὐτῆς διὰ τοῦς πολ-

λοῦς πλοῦς καὶ πυκνοῦς ἦ-

dη π[α]λαιά γέγονεν[...] ἀλ-

λ’ ὀύς[...] των ἔνεκα

tαι[...] οὐ διὰ τὸ [πεπα-

λαίωσθα[α...][...] κα-

θορμισθήναι ἦ[πεπλευ-

κυίαι]. συνονος[...] πεπλευ-

κυίαι αὐτῆς διὰ τοῦς πολ-

λοῦς πλοῦς καὶ πυκνοῦς ἦ-

dη π[α]λαιά γέγονεν[...] ἀλ-

λ’ ὀύς[...] των ἔνεκα

tαι[...] οὐ διὰ τὸ [πεπα-

λαίωσθα[α...][...] κα-

θορμισθήναι ἦ[πεπλευ-

κυίαι]. συνονος[...] πεπλευ-

κυίαι αὐτῆς διὰ τοῦς πολ-

λοῦς πλοῦς καὶ πυκνοῦς ἦ-

dη π[α]λαιά γέγονεν[...] ἀλ-

λ’ ὀύς[...] των ἔνεκα

tαι[...] οὐ διὰ τὸ [πεπα-

λαίωσθα[α...][...] κα-

θορμισθήναι ἦ[πεπλευ-

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κυίαι αὐτῆς διὰ τοῦς πολ-

λοῦς πλοῦς καὶ πυκνοῦς ἦ-

dη π[α]λαιά γέγονεν[...] ἀλ-

λ’ ὀύς[...] των ἔνεκα

tαι[...] οὐ διὰ τὸ [πεπα-

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κυίαι αὐτῆς διὰ τοῦς πολ-

λοῦς πλοῦς καὶ πυκνοῦς ἦ-

dη π[α]λαιά γέγονεν[...] ἀλ-

λ’ ὀύς[...] των ἔνεκα

tαι[...] οὐ διὰ τὸ [πεπα-

λαίωσθα[α...][...] κα-

θορμισθήναι ἦ[πεπλευ-

κυίαι]. συνονος[...] πεπλευ-

κυίαι αὐτῆς διὰ τοῦς πολ-

λοῦς πλοῦς καὶ πυκνοῦς ἦ-

dη π[α]λαιά γέγονεν[...] ἀλ-

λ’ ὀύς[...] των ἔνεκα

tαι[...] οὐ διὰ τὸ [πεπα-

λαίωσθα[α...][...] κα-

θορμισθήναι ἦ[πεπλευ-

κυίαι]. συνονος[...] πεπλευ-

κυίαι αὐτῆς διὰ τοῦς πολ-

λοῦς πλοῦς καὶ πυκνοῦς ἦ-

dη π[α]λαιά γέγονεν[...] ἀλ-

λ’ ὀύς[...] των ἔνεκα

tαι[...] οὐ διὰ τὸ [πεπα-

λαίωσθα[α...][...] κα-

θορμισθήναι ἦ[πεπλευ-

κυίαι]. συνονος[...] πεπλευ-

κυίαι αὐτῆς διὰ τοῦς πολ-

λοῦς πλοῦς καὶ πυκνοῦς ἦ-

dη π[α]λαιά γέγονε

...ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλληγορίας ...ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλληγορίας...
‘...‘sand’ as far as ‘advances upon’;
Aeolic substitutes ‘o’ for ‘a’;
so in the present passage he calls
‘psammos’ ‘psommos’;
and it signifies the ‘filthiness’;
as she is crushed and penetrated,
much filthiness comes upon her and
the white disease; and it is called the
white disease because of the swelling.
‘And clearly it has spread on her legs’;
and her legs have grown old.
‘(Having run) full many a course’;
in terms of the allegory...the voyages she has made; because she has sailed many and
various voyages, she has already grown old.
‘But not because of...’; it is not because she has grown old (that she refuses) to be
brought to harbour...ancient ship...restrains from sailing...150

In this papyrus fragment, the commentator quotes extracts from an Alcean poem
and gives brief explanations. Despite its fragmentary state, it is highly probable that
Alcaeus described a hetaera, aged and diseased towards the end of her career, in terms
applicable to a ship, old and rotten after many sea-voyages.151 It is mainly the
participles θλιβομένης and περαινομένης which lead
us to this interpretation. Given
that they are employed within the explanation of the lemma ἑστάναι ψόμμος ἐως
ὀνστείχει, it seems more logical to be used in their literal sense rather than in a
metaphorical one. Meaning ‘being squeezed’ and ‘penetrated’ respectively (ll.8-9),
they transparently allude to sexual intercourse. Moreover, based on the commentator,
ψόμμος in the Alcean poem means ἀκαθαρσία (ll.7-8), and the term most probably
signifies both physical uncleanness and a medical infection. The hetaera’s present
state is attributed, by the commentator, to her profession; the two participles suggest
unremitting and indiscriminate sex as the reason for her current wretched condition.

150 Edited text and translation (slightly modified) by Page (1979) 191-192.
151 Page (1979) 191-196; for the relation between X14 and D15, see Page (1979) 189-196, Koniaris
(1966) 385-397.
They also lay emphasis on her perception as a sexual object. Her disease (see λεύκη, probably standing for leprosy) is also attributed to the constant prostitution of her body. What matters for us is that the allusion to her deplorable condition, which is accomplished through the ship metaphor, seems to be employed for satirical purposes. This particular use of the ship recurs in epigrams, where either a hetaera is described as a ship or vice versa (a characteritic case study is Nicarchus AP 11.332, where the human disease of dropsy is attributed to a ship, full of water). Alcaeus’ poem seems also to refer to the aged hetaera’s refusal to quit her occupation: in lines 21-28, καθορμισθῆναι and πλεῖν κατίσχει allude to the cessation of intercourse. Again, as we shall see, similar meanings and metaphors are repeated in Meleager AP 5.204 = 60 GP. Lines 29ff. are difficult to interpret, but, in case Page’s supplement πεσσός in line 30 is correct, they could allude to solid medicines placed in a woman’s vagina to cure an infection. In this case, the term would reinforce her presentation as unhealthy, suggesting that she suffers from a venereal disease. Concluding, it is pointed out that if, indeed, the commentator was right in seeing allegory in Alcaeus’ poem, then we stand before the first known instance of the use of such imagery for satirical purposes.

3.2.3. Ship and Nautical Imagery and the Ambiguities of Control.

Theognis in lines 457-460 W² uses ship imagery to demonstrate an old man’s inability to control a young wife. The elegy is a useful tool for our purposes, since it offers a clear example of the way in which ship imagery could be used to explore the dynamics underlying human relationships.

οὐ τοι σύμφορον ἐστι γυνὴ νέα ἀνδρὶ γέροντι∙
οὐ γὰρ πηδάλιῳ πείθεται ὡς ἀκατος,
οὐδ’ ἄγκυραι ἔχουσιν∙ ἀπορρήξασα δὲ δεσμά
πολλάκις ἐκ νυκτῶν ἄλλον ἔχει λιμένα.

I tell you that a young woman is unsuitable for an old man; for she does not obey the rudder like an akatos,

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152 For this meaning of the πεσσός, see LSJ, s.v. πεσσός II 1.
nor can anchors hold her; breaking off the mooring-ropes
often at nights she has another harbour.

The wife is described in terms applicable to a ship, and she is compared to an ἄκατος. As in epigrams, the image of the ship is used to articulate emotions and here it projects male anxiety over women’s fidelity. The ship is an ideal image to express movement,\(^{153}\) and thus it creates a natural and effective simile for the young wife since it is chiefly the old man’s inability to keep her ‘motionless’ at nights, which the poem stresses. What is more, this specific kind of ship, i.e. the ἄκατος, seems to have been chosen for the following reasons: firstly, as a fairly small kind of vessel, it is an appropriate term of comparison to a young female; secondly, it is an oar-driven ship (not a sailing boat) and, being thus powered by male rowers, suggests obedience to male power; thirdly, it connotes lightness and speed and so, in this context, fickleness and changeability.\(^{154}\) These associations give the image a latent potential for ambiguity, reflected here in the way that both the wife and the ἄκατος confound expectations of submissiveness. In the metaphor, the wife is presented as disobeying the rudder (l.2); on a literal level, this stands for her disobedience to her husband. There might also be a clever hint to the concept that an old man’s penis, namely his sexual stamina, is not enough to keep her under control. This is the idea behind Theophilus 6.1-4 PCG, which reworks Theognis, stressing that a man’s penis cannot be a ‘control-weapon’ over a young woman: οὐ συμφέρον νέα ἀπ᾽ ἐκ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνிஊσπερ γάρ ἄκατος οὐδὲ μικρὸν πείθεται/ ἐνι πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πεῖσμα ἀπορρήξασα δὲ ἑνίοτε ἐκ νυκτὸς ἔτερον λιμέν' ἔχουσ' ἐξευρέθη ‘a young wife is unsuitable for an old man; for as a boat she does not obey, even for a short period of time, one rudder, but breaking off the stern-cable/ she is found to have another harbour’.\(^{155}\) The young wife’s anchors are also said not to hold (l.3). Anchors (along with mooring ropes, see δεσμὰ in l.3) are the means by which ships can stay fixed in a port. In the case of the wife, their absence suggests unreliability and a tendency to stray. Together the two

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\(^{153}\) One can compare Pind.\textit{Nem}.5.3-5, in which the idea of movement, attributed to Pindar’s poetry, is given through the metaphor of the song travelling across the sea on ships (…ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ πάσας/ ὀλκάδος ἐν τʼ ἄκατο, γλυκεῖ' ἀοιδά/ στεῖ' ἀπ᾽ Αἰγίνας….). For the motifs of staticity and movement in connection to the sea in Pindar’s fifth Nemean, see Segal (1974) 397-411.

\(^{154}\) See Casson (1995) 159-160 for the characteristics of the \textit{akatos}.

metaphors of the rudder and the anchors symbolise the lack of any means with which to secure her faithfulness. The nautical imagery continues in the next distich (ll.2-3), where the woman is described as slipping her mooring ropes to find another harbour. The metaphor clearly denotes that during night she often takes on different lovers.  

Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata* resembles Theognis’ verses in as much as nautical and ship imagery again depicts women slipping away from men in the midst of the night,\(^{157}\) and thus points towards the idea that men cannot keep their wives under constant control: ἐπὶ τῶν κελήτων διαβεβήκασ’ ὅρθριαι (l.60), and ...ἡ γοῦν Θεογένους/ ὡς δεύρ’ ιοῦσα τάκάτευον ἥρετο (ll.63-64). However, the metaphorical language is more suggestive in Aristophanes, leaving it up to the audience to detect the connotations of the metaphors, while Theognis overtly offers the terms of comparison between the ship and the woman. The sexual aspect of the metaphors is also more overt.

In more detail, in lines 59-60, Calonice tells Lysistrata that the women from the Paralia and Salamis ‘have crossed over on their *kelētes* (the strait) well before daylight’ ἐπὶ τῶν κελήτων διαβεβήκασ’ ὅρθριαι (l.60). The phrase is humorous, since it alludes to sexual intercourse — specifically to the equestrian position having the same name as the particular ship (*kelēs*).\(^{158}\) As Henderson notes, the joke is accentuated by the use of διαβεβήκασι which means both ‘to cross over’ and ‘to mount with the legs apart’.\(^{159}\) Throughout the play, sexual language demonstrates the battle of the sexes and the fight over who will gain the upper hand. Part of this larger pattern is the use of the sexual position of *kelēs*, where the woman, being literally on top of her partner, has a more active role. The sexual *schēma* implies control over men and this idea is expressed by the male chorus leader, when stressing that there is nothing so equestrian or so good a mounter as a woman (ll.676-679); this

\(^{156}\) The harbour can signify either the lover’s house or the lover himself. For the metaphor, see Bonner (1941) 49-67. Cf. AP 5.235.5-6 = 8.5-6 Madden (Macedonius the Consul), AP 10.21.7-8 = 15.7-8 GPh = 8.7-8 Sider (Philodemus), AP 12.159.1 = 108.1 GP and AP 12.167.3-4 = 109.3-4 GP (Meleager), and AP 12.100 = 5 GP (Anonymous).

\(^{157}\) The time when women proceed to illicit actions, cf. Praxagora’s monologue in *Ar.Eccl* 1-16.

\(^{158}\) Cf. Sommerstein (2007b) 157-158. For a similar sexual joke, cf. *Ar.Eccl* 38-39, where a woman excuses her late arrival by saying that her man kept ‘rowing her all night’ (τὴν νύχθ’ ὄλην ἡλαυνέ μ’ ἐν τοῖς στρώμασιν).

\(^{159}\) Henderson (1991) 164-165.
representation of women and the allusion to the *kelēs* position expresses his fear that women will take control over men, in the private sphere as well as the public.\(^{160}\)

What is more, the use of *kelēs* allows the comic writer to enrich nautical imagery with further associations. The *kelēs* was built for speed and used especially on occasions when time was of the essence. Its use by Calonice is therefore purposeful, since she wants to persuade Lysistrata that the women were doing their best to come to the gathering. In addition, since the *kelēs* was an important marine auxiliary, their arrival has a warlike dimension.\(^{161}\) This idea is preserved in the report about Theogenes’ wife: ‘well, at any rate Theogenes’ wife was putting on all sail to come here’ ἡ γοῦν Θεογένους/ ὡς δὲῦρ’ ιοῦσα τὰκάτειον ἔμετο (ll.63-64).\(^{162}\) The *άκάτειον* was a small sail carried by warships and used in battles, in cases of emergency, for a quick getaway. This means that Theogenes’ wife is compared to sailors aboard warships.\(^{163}\) In addition, as with the *kelēs*, the allusion to swiftness, which is secured via the *άκάτειον*, aims to reassure Lysistrata about the woman’s eagerness to come to the meeting. Regarding the sexual innuendos, the phrase ‘raise the sail’ indicates the stimulation of the penis.\(^{164}\) The imagery is picked up by the male chorus leader (ll.671-675), who associates nautical metaphors with female sexual control.\(^{165}\) These Aristophanic passages mirror the anxiety that men felt arising from female sexuality and behaviour, and also make them laugh at it through the use of vivid ship metaphors. Gardner offers several other case studies drawn from Aristophanes to demonstrate how the comic writer ridicules various kinds of behaviour that formed a threat against the authority of men within their family and the security of the *oikos* (e.g. infidelity, suspicion of stealing from the household and of importing babies within one’s *oikos*).\(^{166}\)

Similarly, the epigrams employing the ‘ship-prostitute’ metaphor explore the dynamics of interpersonal relationships with the hetaerae and the power ratio therein.

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\(^{160}\) Cf. Ar.Lys.773 (…ἐπάνω κατακεισόμεθ’ ἡμεῖς).

\(^{161}\) For the specific kind of ship, see Casson (1995) 160-161.

\(^{162}\) Translation by Sommerstein (2007b) 21.

\(^{163}\) Sommerstein (2007b) 158 argues that the phrase is applied to Theogenes’ wife, because he himself was a ship-owner. Additionally, as I suggest, there is a pattern behind the use of the ship metaphors.

\(^{164}\) Cf. Hippon.84.21 W2 ] ἐγὼ μὲν ὁσπὶ[ν ρ]υφόν ἔρπ.\[ for the speaker’s penis.

\(^{165}\) For the analysis of these verses, see Sommerstein (2007b) 191-192, Murgatroyd (1995) 12.

These epigrams form part of a larger epigrammatic family, spanning the antiquity, which points towards the perilous nature of the hetaerae and the underlying dangers existing in relationships with them (e.g. their greedy character, their capacity to enchant men (by their sexual abilities or magic) and drain them financially).\textsuperscript{167} Within this epigrammatic cluster, the tone can range from mild and deprecating humour to sarcasm and personal invective. However, humour and satire are used to explore what are, at their core, serious issues that perplexed the audience/ readership. Here, probably, lies the answer to the question concerning the reason for the constant reintroduction of the hetaerae within epigrams. Despite the fact that they are called into being within an intertextual literary process, epigrams are ultimately and firmly anchored in the real world. And despite the element of humour, they address recognisable personal experiences. The stories concerning eminent hetaerae (such as Pythionice), who caused men to become infatuated with them and often to proceed to censurable actions,\textsuperscript{168} could give an additional emphasis to this aspect of the epigrams, enabling an appreciation of their more serious side.

\subsection*{3.3.1. The Metaphor of the ‘Ship-Prostitute’ in Epigrams.}

My main aim in this section is to demonstrate the epigrammatists’ ability to transform a metaphor both between epigrams and within one and the same epigram, in order to offer a kaleidoscopic presentation of a topic. The use of metaphors results in openness of texture, allowing for more than one connotation in play simultaneously, or for rapid shifts between connotations; the effect is the creation of a more dense narrative and of greater interpretative flexibility. In this respect, epigrams differentiate themselves from Theognis 457–460 W\textsuperscript{2}, where the audience is directed on how to interpret the young wife’s comparison to an \textit{akatos}. As far as individual epigrams are concerned, whenever I detect an ‘open-textured’ metaphor, I offer several possible interpretations.

I start with AP 5.161 = 40 GP (Asclepiades or Hedylus), which is the first - from a chronological point of view - surviving epigram that uses ship metaphors to

\textsuperscript{167} Cf. e.g. AP 5.32 = 2 GPh and AP 5.113 = 9 GPh (M.Argentarius), AP 5.114 = 1 GPh (Maccius), AP 5.205 = 35 GP (Anonymous).

\textsuperscript{168} For bibliography on the topic, see n.473.
explore both the ‘tug of war’ between the hetaerae and their customers, and the brewing dangers lurking in conducting business with them.\textsuperscript{169}

Εὐφρὼ καὶ Θαίς καὶ Βοίδιον, αἱ Διομήδους

gραῖαι, ναυκλήρων ὀλκάδες εἰκόσοροι,
Ἄγιν καὶ Κλεοφόντα καὶ Ανταγόρην ἐν’ ἐκάστῃ

gυμνοὺς, ναυηγῶν ἔσσονας, ἐξέβαλον.

άλλα σὸν αὐταῖς νησί ὅτα ληστρικά τῆς Ἀφροδίτης

φεύγετε, Σειρήνων αἴδε γὰρ ἐχθρότεραι.

Euphro and Thais and Boidion, Diomedes’ old-women, his twenty-oared tramps for ship-owners/captains, cast ashore Agis and Cleophon and Antagoras, naked, worse off than shipwrecked men, one apiece. So take your ships and flee from Aphrodite’s pirate brigs, for they are more hostile than the Sirens.

The epigram is about three hetaerae, who prey upon ship-owners/captains, and commences with their characterisation as ‘Diomedes’ old-women’ (ll.1-2). This enigmatic apposition can be interpreted twofold: Diomedes can be considered as the pornoboskos of these hetaerae, or the whole phrase can be metaphorical, an allusion to the myth of the Thracian Diomedes’ man-eating mares. As Gow and Page note, the reference to Diomedes may also recall to the reader’s mind the proverbial expression διομήδεια ἀνάγκη. Based on the scholion on Ar.\textit{Eccl.}1029, the phrase Διομήδεια γε (ἀνάγκη), which is employed by a hag in order to persuade a young man to sleep with her, depends on the rationalisation of the myth of Diomedes’ man-eating mares. According to the rationalisation, Diomedes had daughters who were procured by him and exhausted men physically, in order to be killed later on by him.\textsuperscript{170} In any case, the


\textsuperscript{170} Gow-Page (1965) ii. 144. The alternative explanation of the proverb (which is not offered by the skolion) is based on Odysseus’ punishment by the Argive Diomedes, when the latter realised that Odysseus wanted to murder him (see Sommerstein (2007a) 226-227). Sens (2011) 272 argues that Diomedes’ story is probably based on the daughters’ physical unattractiveness, if not repulsiveness,
allusion to the *man-eating* mares would suffice to suggest the sexual voracity of these hetaerae, and (when connected with the rest of the epigram) the idea that sex with them is destructive. This idea, which is only touched upon here, is elaborated in the rest of the poem through the nautical metaphors and the comparison to the Sirens; the metaphors shift, but the basic idea remains the same. In addition, the use of Diomedes predisposes the reader to expect a word meaning ‘mares’, ‘prostitutes’, ‘daughters’ or the like, but instead we have the *para prosdokian* use of *γραῖαι*.171 This characterisation of the trio as ‘old-women’ adds a satirical tone, as it stresses that the hetaerae are sexually voracious at an advanced age. At the same time, it has the potential of alluding to the mythical *Γραῖαι*, the daughters of Phorcys and Ceto. According to Hes. *Theog.* 270-273, the Graeae had white hair, a sign of their old age, but also beautiful cheeks;172 their ambiguous nature is consistent with the theme of the epigram, exploring the difficulty in discerning the true nature of the hetaerae.173 What is more, this mythical allusion accentuates the comic contrast between the aged hetaerae and their avid sexual appetite.174

The hetaerae are also branded as *ναυκλήρων ὀλκύδες εἰκόσοροι*, i.e. the ‘twenty-oared tramps for ship-owners/ captains’.175 The phrase introduces the nautical

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172 Cf. the series of epigrams presenting old women as still beautiful and sexually desirable, cf. e.g. AP 5.13 = 2 GPh = 9 Sider (Philodemus), AP 5.26 (Anonymous), AP 5.48 = 19 Page (Rufinus) — on the topic, see Sider (1997) 95-98.

173 Cf. Sens (2011) 272. If the epigrammatist follows the tradition talking about three Graeae and three Sirens, then we have a nice case study of inner-variation: three hetaerae, who are compared to the three Graeae and the three Sirens, destroy three men.

174 Satire against old women based on their sexual appetites and voraciousness is a *topos* in comedy, cf. *Ar.Eccl.* 976-1111, where three hags try to enforce a young man to sleep with them. For the invective against old women in comedy, see Oeri (1948) 7-12, Taillardat (1965) 49-53, Henderson (1987) 117-120.

175 Cf. Plaut. *Men.* 338-345, where Messenio uses the metaphor of the pirate ship for the hetaera Erotium (and, by implication, for hetaerae in Epidamnus): *nunc in istoc portu stát navis praedatoria/ aps qua cavendum nobis sane censeo*. Also, in lines 441-442, when seeing his master entering Erotium’s house, Messenio repeats this idea, turning his master into a boat: *...periit probe./ ducit lembum dierectum navis praedatoria*. Cf. Plaut. *Poen.* 210-231, where Adelphasium compares a woman (particularly a hetaera like herself) with a ship in that they both need money and a lot of effort...
imagery, and explores the complex dynamics in relationships with these women, and, by implication, with hetaerae in general. For my purposes, it is important to decipher the role that the nautical terminology serves and the structure of the phrase. The metaphor objectifies the hetaerae through the allusion to their commercialisation, as ὀλκάδες were cargo ships and this suggests the *quid pro quo* relationship between them and their customers, money for sexual gratification. Moreover, since ὀλκάδες were used to carry cargo, it is possible that the word hints at the image of the hetaerae bearing the weight of their customers. Sens also notes that the specific vessels were often towed behind other ships when moving in and out of the harbour, and this association accentuates the idea of these women as ‘dragged’ by men, i.e. as harmless objects for sex.176 Their objectification is accentuated by the adjectival adjunct εἰκόσοροι; the term is normally used for ships with twenty oars and adds a sarcastic overtone, the implication being that the hetaerae have twenty lovers or that they are able to take on twenty men in succession.177 The epithet continues and highlights their presentation as sexually voracious. More interestingly, the syntax of the phrase points towards the inversion of these expected roles and relationships with hetaerae. ὀλκάδες constitutes a pun on the verb ἔλκω (‘drag’), based on which there is an elegant ambiguity in the use of the genitive (ναυκλήρων): at a cursory glance, the genitive is possessive (implying that the hetaerae are objects hired for sex), but it can also be understood as an ‘objective genitive’, constituting a pun which turns the hetaerae into ‘merchant-magnets’, women who irresistibly draw their victims towards them. This idea is then elaborated at the closure of the epigram, in their comparison to the Sirens.178

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177 Gow-Page (1965) ii. 144. Murgatroyd (1995) 15 suggests (rather improbably) that the hetaerae are to be imagined as taking on twenty customers at once, offering Catull.11.17-20 as a parallel (where Lesbia embraces 300 men at the same time).
178 Sens (2011) 273 recognises the etymological connection with ἔλκω. But he connects the metaphor ὀλκάδες only with the expectations that it creates for uncomplicated sex, and thus argues that the hetaerae are ‘the object of male sexual attention, if not aggression’ (Sens (2011) 270).
The interpretation of ναυκλήρων is also ambiguous. Although it has been translated as ‘sailors’,179 ‘rowers’180 or ‘merchants’,181 the word ναύκληρος denotes the owner or charterer of a merchant ship, who can occasionally be its captain.182 More to the point, the genitive underlines the inversion of expected roles: while the ναύκληροι are expected to ‘own’ and control the hetaerae, they end up being dragged and suffer in their hands. Also, since ναύκληροι were men of some financial substance, their impoverishment underscores the rapacity of the hetaerae. AP 5.159 = 1GP (‘Simonides’) reinforces this interpretation. Two hetaerae offer their portraits to Aphrodite at the end of their professional career (noteworthy is that one of them is also named Boidion). The despoilment of their clientele is suggested through the claim that the merchant’s pouch knows from where their portraits came (ll.3-4),183 and the idea presents them not as passive objects for sex, but as women who use their clients as means to a financial end.

Moving on to the nautical metaphors of lines 3-4, I stress that the verses emphasise the negative aspects of sex with the hetaerae. The phrase γυμνούς, ναυηγῶν ἥσσονας, ἐξέβαλον can refer both to the men’s financial drain (they are expelled when they are left impecunious), and to their physical weariness due to the sexual voracity of the hetaerae. Specifically, the three men are compared to shipwrecked mariners. The verb ἐξέβαλον (l.3) means ‘cast ashore’ and ‘threw overboard’ in the ‘vehicle’ (the nautical metaphor), and ‘turned out of doors’ in the ‘tenor’ (the situation in which the metaphor is applied).184 What is more, the adjective γυμνούς may suggest, in comic hyperbole, that the customers are left even without the clothes that they took off in order to have sex.185 The following characterisation ναυηγῶν ἥσσονας is also

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179 Gow-Page (1965) ii. 144.
183 The transmitted text is problematic because both nouns in line 3 ἐμπορικῶν καὶ φορτηγέ mean exactly the same thing (‘trader and merchant’), and the line goes on with σὸν, showing that there is a single addressee. Perhaps we can change the text into ἐμπορικῶν φορτηγέ, as A.Griffiths suggests to me.
185 Sens (2011) 274 cites an accurate parallel from Eub.fr.53 for the loss of clothes, as being the result of one’s involvement with a hetaera. He also correctly recognises that shipwrecked mariners are commonly represented as naked ((2011) 274-275).
hyperbolic. Gow and Page argue that ἥσσονας is better translated as ‘weaker’, because the meaning ‘worse off’ is hard to parallel. Yet ‘worse off’ is what the context (which stresses the men’s miserable state) seems to demand. The term is better viewed as ambiguous. The meaning ‘weaker’ can allude to their exhaustion after sex with the hetaerae. At the same time, a diachronic topos in the surviving sepulchral epigrams on shipwrecked mariners is the poor condition of their bodies, having been eaten by fish, lost at sea, or cast ashore naked. If the epigram was meant to be imagined against such themes, then the element of hyperbole would be accentuated.

Having offered an example of the destructive qualities of the hetaerae, the narrator proceeds to the admonition: one should avoid them. The warning can be seen as directed against the whole institution of prostitution. The phrase τὰ λῃστρικὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης is inherently ambiguous, and can denote (ταῦτα) τὰ λῃστρικὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, meaning the specific trio, or simply τὰ λῃστρικὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης as a class. In this second scenario, the sufferings of Agis, Cleophon and Antagoras are used by way of example, and the fact that the narrator does not offer advice derived from personal experience aims to give an aura of objectivity. There is also a palpable shift in the ship metaphor at this point: the hetaerae are no longer (potentially) passive ὠλκάδες, but pirate ships. The chosen nautical imagery brings with it the notion of destruction and plunder of one’s finances, since pirate ships destroyed other vessels and seized their merchandise. Aphrodite brings into play other

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186 Gow-Page (1965) ii. 144. Sens (2011) 275 notes that the distinction between ‘weaker’ and ‘worse off’ is not as clear as Gow-Page argue, but he does not move on to identify the associations.
188 Cf. Guichard (2004) 420; cf. AP 7.268 = 18 P (‘Plato’), AP 7.271 = 17 Pf. = 45 GP (Callimachus), AP 7.274 = 22 GPh (Honestus of Byzantium), AP 7.276 = 7 GP (Hegesippus), AP 7.286 = 14 GPh (Antipater of Thessalonica), AP 7.288 = 60 GPh (Antipater), and AP 7.290 = 3 GPh (Statyllius Flaccus).
189 Sens (2011) 275 notes that the warning to flee with one’s ships has Homeric roots (the structure of σὺν αὐταῖς νηυσί is an expansion of the Homeric σὺν (ξόν) νηυσί) and in this way, the final comparison to the Sirens is prepared. Gow-Page (1965) ii. 144 were the first ones to suggest that the phrase refers to the customers and their property. However, they take the distich to concern only the customers of these hetaerae.
190 Sens (2011) 276 suggests that the recipients of the admonition are actual ship-captains/ owners. This is a possibility, which however narrows the applicability of the final injunction unnecessarily.
connotations. The goddess is employed because she was the patron deity of hetaerae. At the same time, her name constitutes a possible allusion to their seductive qualities, and this notion creates a nice link with their final description as being more hostile than the Sirens.

Here, the vehicles for the exploration of the dynamics of relationships with them (i.e. myth and nautical metaphors), which so far have operated separately, are now very cleverly brought together, and the mythical allusion easily picks up the metaphor of the customers as shipwrecked mariners. Gow and Page suggest that the hetaerae are compared to the Sirens because these monsters made men forget about their wives (Od. 12.42). More associations can be detected. As the epigram plays with the paradoxical idea of danger existing for sailors on land and not at sea, the Sirens become an especially useful ‘tool’, since they dwell on land (on an island, in a flowery meadow, see Od. 12.45) and prey on sailors. In addition, the Sirens are used because of their destructive allure. Circe emphasises their ability to beguile sailors with their song through the repetition of θέλγουσιν: Σειρήνας ... αἳ ρά τε πάντας/ ἀνθρώπους θέλγουσιν... (Od. 12.39-40), and ἀλλὰ τε Σειρήνες λυγρῇ θέλγουσιν ἀοιδῆ (Od. 12.45). She also points towards the destructive end-result of their beguilement, which is the sailors’ death (Od. 12.45-46). In the epigram, the speaker takes on the role of a new ‘Circe’, and the mythical allusion suggests that the hetaerae can lure men, and ultimately lead them to their destruction (ll.3-4). What is more, the Sirens had features of both women and birds, and their monstrous form implies their dubious and hazardous nature: ‘they are birds of prey, but with power to lure by their song’. The same characteristics can be attributed to the hetaerae: they are rapacious and can attract men to their destruction. A possible intertext is Anaxilas’ Neottis fr.22.20-21, where the hetaera Theano is compared to a Siren, because she has a woman’s glance

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191 For the metonymic use of Aphrodite, see section 4.3, pp.192-197.
193 Gow-Page (1965) ii. 144.
194 Harrison (1991) 199, and see 197-207 for a general discussion on the Sirens. For ancient sources representing the mythical monsters as having the attributes of women and birds, see Sens (2011) 277. Their figure is rationalised in Heraclit. Incred. 14, according to which they were beautiful hetaerae, pre-eminent in singing and playing musical instruments; their bird-like legs are attributed to the speed with which they abandoned their clients, after having spent their money on them (for Heraclitus and his work, see Stern (2003) 51-97).
and voice (the means through which she seduces men), and on a figurative level, the legs of a bird (the metaphor standing for her rapacity).\footnote{Cf. Guichard (2004) 420, Sens (2011) 269. Sens identifies the allusion to the rapacity of the hetaerae, but this, as I suggest, is only part of the equation.} The comparison to the Sirens elegantly caps the series of hyperboles in the epigram.

In AP 5.44 = 17 Page, Rufinus reworks the idea of the hetaerae as being ‘Aphrodite’s pirate ships’:

\begin{quote}
Lēmbion, and the other Kerkourion, αἱ δύ’ ἑταῖραι,
aiēn ἑφορμοῦσιν τῷ Σαμίων λιμένι.

ἀλλὰ, νέοι, πανδημὶ τὰ λῃστρικὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης
φεῦγεθ’· ὁ συμμίξας καὶ καταδύς πίεται.
\end{quote}

Lembion, and the other Kerkourion, the two hetaerae, always blockade the Samian harbour.

So, young men, all of you flee from Aphrodite’s pirate ships; whoever encounters them and sinks will drink (water).\footnote{For Rufinus’ epigrams, I follow Page’s edition (1978) and use Paton’s translations (which I modify).}

The tone is schetliastic and this becomes evident at the outset in the use of the nickname ‘Kerkourion’, which alludes to the Greek words κέρκος and οὐρά, both of them meaning ‘penis’.\footnote{This is also noted by Höschele (2006a) 123.} Both nicknames also end with the diminutive ending -ιον which is usually employed for comic effects.\footnote{For the ending –ιον, see Konstantakos (2003-4) 42.} More importantly, they create nuanced innuendos, which can only be detected if the reader thinks of the characteristics of the ships to which the nicknames allude. Rufinus here exploits the fact that hetaerae had nicknames that depicted and/or promoted inter alia their abilities (e.g. their charms, expertise in specific sexual positions), or reflected a notorious characteristic of them. Take for example, the nickname Σηστός (‘Sifter’) attributed to one of the two Phrynes because ‘she sifted and stripped the ones who had sex with her’ (Σηστόν καλεῖσθαι διὰ τὸ ἀποσήθειν καὶ ἀποδύειν τοὺς συνόντας

\begin{footnote}
195 Cf. Guichard (2004) 420, Sens (2011) 269. Sens identifies the allusion to the rapacity of the hetaerae, but this, as I suggest, is only part of the equation.
196 For Rufinus’ epigrams, I follow Page’s edition (1978) and use Paton’s translations (which I modify).
197 For the ending –ιον, see Konstantakos (2003-4) 42.
\end{footnote}
Her nickname implied the financial dangers in sleeping or falling in love with her, and this is exactly the idea that Rufinus (and AP 5.161 = 40 GP) explores. Both lembos and kerkouros were trading vessels and hence, the nicknames imply the perception of these hetaerae as objects of paid-for sex. In addition, the substantial cargo carrying capacity of these ships and their swiftness suggest the ability of the hetaerae to satisfy many men in rapid succession. This in turn implies that the nicknames can allude to their sexual voraciousness, as does the adjective εἰκόσοροι in AP 5.161.2. The geographical specification of their area of operation (τῷ Σαμίων λιμένι) acts as a further indicator of their sexual voracity, since the Samian women - at least on some accounts - had a reputation of being sexually insatiable (see Plut. Mor. 303c).

The rest of the first distich points towards the dubious nature of these women, who are superficially harmless, but in reality dangerous. Judging by their area of operation, Lembion and Kerkourion are dockside prostitutes. This was one of the most degraded categories of hetaerae, and this categorisation of them emphasises their (superficially) harmless nature as objects for casual enjoyment. The verb ἐφορμοῦσιν, however, within the same verse, introduces the idea that in fact they constitute a threat for the men arriving at their port. The verb ἐφορμῶ is widely used for the blockading of a place by the enemy’s forces, often by a hostile fleet. Within our epigram, ἐφορμοῦσιν continues the description of the two hetaerae as ships, introduced through their nicknames: from the allusion to merchant ships, we now turn to their portrayal as war ships blockading the Samian harbour. In this way, Rufinus manages within one distich to explore both the superficially abject position of the hetaerae and their dangerous potential. In addition, as in AP 5.161 = 40 GP, he exploits the paradox that danger exists not at sea, but in the port.

As in AP 5.161.5-6, the warning of the next distich can have a broad application, advising youths against sleeping with any hetaera. In this case, the

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199 For the names and nicknames of hetaerae (including my example on Phryne), see McClure (2003) 59-78. Another relevant nickname is Πτωχελένη (‘Begging Helen’), which may imply - according to McClure (2003) 73 - the financial perils of conducting business with her (Ath. 13.585b).

200 For the characteristics of the particular ship types, see Casson (1995) 162-166.


202 LSJ, s.v. ἐφορμέω.
dangerous nature of Lembion and Kerkourion is used as a paradigm which aims to support the speaker’s discouragement. The adverb πανόθημι has two functions: firstly, it is a pun on Aphrodite’s title as Πάνοθμος and suggests the availability of the hetaerae to any man that could pay, while simultaneously inverting the notion to urge avoidance. Secondly, since it is the whole cohort of young men that needs to flee away from the hetaerae, the adverb adds a hyperbolic tone to the discouragement; the hetaerae are described as a public danger, a potential menace against all youths. Their metaphorical portrayal as ‘Aphrodite’s pirate ships’ makes explicit their rapacity, which was only implied in the preceding description: as pirate ships plunder and destroy other vessels, so the hetaerae destroy financially the ones who engage with them. The insinuations become clearer in the last phrase: ὁ συμμίγνυμι καὶ καταδύς πίεται ‘whoever encounters them and sinks will drink (water)’. Rufinus plays on the meanings of συμμίγνυμι (used for battles (‘meet in close fight’) and sexual intercourse (‘have dealings or intercourse with’)), and of καταδύω which means ‘sink’ for ships and also ‘go down, plunge into’, another possible allusion to sex. Thus, the phrase refers both to the victims of the pirate ships, who sink to the bottom of the sea, and to those who have sex with the hetaerae and become financially ruined. I translate the verb πίεται as ‘will drink’ in line with its normal use, which makes the poem end with a pointed litotes. Moreover, the verb might constitute a punning allusion to the symposium, where one normally encounters a hetaera; instead of drinking wine (i.e. enjoying the symposium), the client swallows seawater as he is drowning. Alternatively, the verb may be interpreted, following Page, as ‘is swallowed’, which gives a stronger ending, but at the cost of the wordplay. Either way, financial ruin is presented as drowning.

In AP 5.204 = 60 GP (Meleager), the narrator attacks Timarion by reason of her old age, and the impact that it has on her appearance and sexual abilities. Its tone differs from the epigrams above, since the satire is pungent. Interestingly, the

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203 The reference to youths is probably based on their susceptibility to love; older men are supposed to be able to withstand the emotion. This is the underlying idea behind poems, where a man in old age falls unwillingly in love.

204 LSJ⁹, s.v. συμμίγνυμι II 1, 2 and 3, cf. Murgatroyd (1995) 24.

205 LSJ⁹, s.v. καταδύω or καταδύνω I 1, 2.

206 Page (1978) 89, who cites Ar. Ran. 1466 (πλήν γ’ ὁ δικαστὴς αὐτὰ καταπίνει μόνος), as a parallel to the metaphorical use of καταπίνει.
Meleagrean AP 5.96 = 59 GP, AP 12.109 = 61 GP, and AP 12.113 = 62 GP present a completely different, fearful-admiring attitude towards a woman called Timarion, and AP 5.96 = 59 GP specifies that a boy called Diodorus is the victim of her eyes. This series of epigrams opens up the possibility that we deal with a tale of love cut into ‘bits and pieces’, along the lines of Meleager’s story with Heliodora.\textsuperscript{207} If so, we have an implicit narrative of revenge against a beloved, and such attacks date back to the archaic iambus; in fr.196a.24-30 W\textsuperscript{2}, Archilochus assaults Neoboule as being overripe and wanton. Here, the speaker presents Timarion as an ugly, old, and degraded prostitute. Gow and Page believe that this is ‘the most unattractive and unsuccessful of M.’s poems’ due to its ‘far-fetched imagery and obscure expression’.\textsuperscript{208} While it is true that it is more difficult than usual to analyse the epigram, this does not impede its effectiveness. The speaker’s aim to give a grim picture of Timarion and lampoon her is certainly achieved.

No longer Timarion, the once hollowed fast-sailing ship, can endure the rowing of Aphrodite; but the back is curved like a yard-arm on the mast, and the greying forestays are loose, and the relaxed breasts are loose like hanging sails,

\textsuperscript{207} For the literary love stories of Meleager and later poets, see Ypsilanti (2005) 83-110, and for the one of Meleager with Heliodora, see also Höschele (2009) 99-134.

\textsuperscript{208} Gow-Page (1965) ii. 640.
and she has a wrinkled belly because of the tossing, 
and below the whole ship is completely full of bilge-water, and the sea 
overflows the ship’s hold, and her knees tremble. 
Wretched is whoever will sail still alive across the lake of Acheron 
having mounted the old twenty oared-galley.

The speaker opens his disparagement against Timarion with an emphatic comparison 
between her past and present (see οὐκέτι opening the epigram). Comparisons of this 
kind, used for invective purposes, date back to the archaic iambus. Archilochus 188 
W² is a characteristic example; the iambic poet employs metaphorical language, 
floral metaphors, for his blunt invective, attacking a woman by reason of the loss of 
her beauty and capability to inspire desire: her skin no longer has the soft bloom that 
it once possessed, it is dried out with furrows, and old age destroys her face. In our 
epigram, the comparison between Timarion’s past and present is articulated through 
nautical metaphors. In her youth, the speaker says, she was a kelēs, but now she 
cannot withstand ‘the rowing of Aphrodite’. In literal terms, this means that the 
woman, having grown old, does not have the necessary stamina to endure sex. The 
choice of the specific ship offers an explicit reference to the now familiar sexual 
position of kelēs (‘horse-back’), and the adjective γλαφυροῖο, which is a formulaic 
term for ships meaning ‘hollowed’, may further hint to her bygone skillfulness in this 

209 For a summary of the various readings, see Gow–Page (1965) ii. 641: δύστανος, τίς ζωός or 
δύστανος τίς (: δόστανος ζωός (Gow-Page), δύστανος γ’ δὲ ζωός (omitting δ’, Reiske), τοι ζωός 
(Saumaise, Graefe, and others). I prefer the reading δύστανος τίς because the last two verses have a 
more striking impact, if they are seen as a warning addressed to Timarion’s potential clients. This 
motif is used at the closure of AP 5.161 = 40 GP (Hedylus or Asclepiades) and AP 5.44 = 17 Page 
(Rufinus).

210 The text in line 2 is uncertain. I accept the text as emended by West in his second edition: 
οὐκέτα ὁμός θάλλεις ἀπαλόν χρόα: κάρφεται ἡ γάρ ἡ δὴ ἐκεῖνη 
δῆμοις, κακῶς δὲ γῆρος καθαιρεῖ 
..... ἄρ’ ἢμητοῦ δὲ θυρὸν γλυκὸς ἢμερος προσόπου 
..... ἡ γάρ πολλά δὴ σ’ ᾖπηξὲν 
πνεύματα χειμεριῶν ἀνέμων, μάλια πολλάκις δ’ ε’ [ ]
sexual position, as it can signify dexterity.\textsuperscript{211} Furthermore, since εἰρεσία elsewhere collectively denotes the rowers of a ship,\textsuperscript{212} the word may allude to Timarion’s clientele. If this is correct, the distich alludes to a time when Timarion could take on a large number of clients with ease, a time now long gone. The concept is certainly known to us, since it is embedded in the adjective εἰκόσορος in AP 5.161.2 and the nicknames of the hetaerae in AP 5.44.1.

The following lines (ll.3-6) describe Timarion’s dreadful looks. She seems the female counterpart of the Hunchback of Notre Dame: she has a gibbous and hideous appearance. In particular, her back\textsuperscript{213} is curved like a yard-arm, and her hair is grey and unbound. Her breasts are loose like hanging sails, and her belly is wrinkled, all these being signs of her old age. Additionally, her wrinkled belly is presented as the result of tossing (ἐκ δὲ σάλου στρεπτάς γαστρὸς ἔχει ρυτίδας, l.6), and the phrase has sexual connotations, hinting at tossing motion during sex. The following distich (ll.7-8) is ambiguous. It is possible that the speaker returns to Timarion’s inability to endure the physical demands of sex, an idea which is presented here through the metaphor of the worn-out ship, being unable to endure the tempest and having its lower part full of water (the image is emphasised through the use of two subsequent phrases with identical meaning).\textsuperscript{214} The preceding metaphor of the ‘tossing on the sea’ (ἐκ δὲ σάλου) enables this interpretation, since it points towards Timarion’s portrayal as a ship in a tempest. Alternatively, the woman might be lampooned as suffering from a disease, a concept dating back to Alcaeus fr.X14 col.ii PLF, and perhaps from dropsy, since a later skeptic epigram (first century AD), AP 11.332 (Nicarchus), presents an outworn εἰκόσορος as suffering from this human disease, exactly because it is filled with water: νῦν πρῶτον ναῦς ὑδρωπικὴ... (l.5). Another option is that she is lampooned as having incontinence,

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\textsuperscript{211} For kelēs as a double entendre, cf. Ar.Lys.60. For γλαφυροῖο, see LSJ\textsuperscript{3}, s.v. γλαφυρός I and III 2, AP 6.337.5-6 = 1.5-6 GP (Theocritus), for the dexterity of a sculptor’s hands.

\textsuperscript{212} LSJ\textsuperscript{3}, s.v. εἰρεσία II 1.

\textsuperscript{213} For a parallel of μετάφρενον, see Archil.fr.31 W² ὡ δὲ οἱ κόμη/ ὦμοις κατασκίαζε καὶ μετάφρενα ‘and her hair cast a shade over her shoulders and back’ (translation by Gerber (2006) 105). Gow-Page (1965) ii. 640, alternatively, believe that the term signifies the woman’s spine, and that πρῶτονος refers to ‘whatever should keep it vertical’.

\textsuperscript{214} Murgatroyd (1995) 15 imaginatively, but somewhat implausibly, suggests that the ‘ship-prostitute’ is flooding down with semen.
and this is why her ‘lower parts’ are full of water. If we imagine this happening during sex, her description becomes more appalling. The statement that her knees tremble further highlights her image as being worn out due to old age (I.8).215

The diatribe against her reaches its peak in the last couplet. The climax is achieved indirectly through the expression by a shift of focus, as the narrator expresses his pity for the man who is forced to have sex with her. In hyperbole, sex with her is equated to death; her prospective client is equated to a condemned man who has to sail across the lake of Acheron. Once more, the image shifts. Timarion is said to play the role of Charon’s boat, and emphasis should be placed on her emphatic characterisation as a ‘twenty-oared old woman’. Gow and Page plausibly suggest that the εἰκόσορος may stand for τῷ σορῷ ἐοικός (‘similar to a coffin’), and their idea is supported by AP 11.332 (Nicarchus), where a sailor is afraid that the εἰκόσορος might become his coffin: ...ἀλλὰ γε [δείδω] μη σορὸν οὕσαν ἠδης τὴν πάλατ εἰκόσορον.216 It is possible that in AP 5.204 = 60 GP, Meleager refreshes the comic tradition of using funeral objects (e.g. coffins, monumental urns) as a means of mocking old age. For instance, in the Eccl.996, an old woman’s lover is ‘the one who paints the urns for the deads’, namely Death (δὲς τοῖς νεκροῖσι ζωγραφεῖ τὰς ληκύθους);217 in the Eccl.1109-1111, Epigenes, while being dragged inside the hag’s house, asks another old woman to become the substitute of a monumental urn, placed on his tomb.218

More importantly, there are further connotations since the phrase constitutes the last fraction of the shifting image of the ‘ship-prostitute’. In her youth, Timarion was a κελῆς; her present state makes her an outworn ship (II.2-8) and a ‘twenty-oared old woman’ who takes up the role of Charon’s boat. This last metaphor adds the final touch to the opposition between her past and present. It stresses her old age,

215 Cf. Sapph.fr.58.15 Voigt ... ἕνα δ’ [ο]ὐ φέροισι, included in an old woman’s description. Motifs that appear in elegy and erotic lyric poetry are employed in iambus (see e.g. Archil.188W²) and varied by epigrams having a skoptic tone, acquiring a new poignancy.
216 Gow-Page (1965) ii. 641. The overlap of ideas and phraseology between AP 11.332 and AP 5.204 = 60 GP (Meleager) - that the ships (both the literal and the metaphorical one) will lead their sailors to death and the play with εἰκόσορος - opens the possibility that Nicarchus might be reworking AP 5.204 = 60 GP.
218 Cf. Ar.Vesp.1365, where a young flute-girl is called σορὸς, with Sommerstein (2004) 239.
loss of youth and beauty through the term γραῦς which is used emphatically, as one would expect a nautical term denoting a ship, as in ὁλκάδες εἰκόσοροι (AP 5.161.2). The phrase also creates a strong antithesis with kelēς (l.1), which was a small vessel, having few rowers and carrying modest quantities of cargo. In contrast εἰκόσορος refers clearly to a large twenty-oared kind of ship. The difference in the number of the rowers implies Timarion’s degradation as a hetaera. Quantity seems to be inversely proportional to quality: in her old age, as the εἰκόσορος denotes, she takes on twenty customers in succession (cf. AP 5.161.2). Her customer is pitied both because she is elderly, but also because she is a common harlot available to many.

AP 9.415 = 43 GPh (Antiphilus of Byzantium) and AP 9.416 = 52 GPh (Philippus of Thessalonica) offer a reversal of the ‘ship-prostitute’ image, as ships are now described in language applicable to hetaerae. The epigrams differ from their forerunners in two further respects: firstly, the focalisation changes: it is not a speaker, but a personified ship that speaks. Secondly, while AP 5.161 = 40 GP, AP 5.44 = 17 P, and AP 5.204 = 60 GP transform the ship metaphor, while exploring their theme, AP 9.415 = 43 GPh and AP 9.416 = 52 GPh use the same sustained image throughout, namely that of a merchant ship. This explicitness minimises the allusiveness of the epigram; in both case studies, it is clear that it is a porne who is compared to a merchant ship. Their ingenuity resides not in subtle allusion, but in the elaboration of the parallelisms between the ‘tenor’ and the ‘vehicle’. They expand our sense of the flexibility of the ship metaphor, since they use it for witty observation and moreover, both of them are in tune with the literary strand presenting pornae as providers of uncomplicated sex.

These two epigrams are not the only ones using the concept of the personified ship. Within Philip’s Garland several exist that present personified ships as

219 Cf. Od. 9.322 and SH fr.968.15: νηὸς ἐεικοσόρο. As Henderson (1987) 110 says ‘γραῦς was always an insulting way to address a woman’.

221 Alternatively, we can consider them as using the image of the ferry-boat, as A.Griffiths suggests to me.

222 Cf. e.g. Eub.67 and 82 K-A, Xenarch.4 K-A, Philem.3 K-A.
bemoaning their fate because of having been destroyed by fire or at sea.\textsuperscript{223} These epigrams constitute humorous inversions of the sepulchral subcategory on shipwrecked mariners (e.g. P.Mil.Vogl.VIII 309 \textit{Nauagika}, AB 89-94). That they were so interpreted is indicated by the inclusion of one of them, AP 11.248 = 20 GPh (Bianor),\textsuperscript{224} in the eleventh book of the \textit{Greek Anthology} containing the \textit{skoptic} subtype. Antiphilus of Byzantium himself composed AP 9.34 = 32 GPh on this \textit{topos},\textsuperscript{225} in which a ship complains because, after surviving many perils during its sea-voyages, it was set on fire on land. Therefore, his epigram on the personified ship, which talks in terms applicable to a \textit{porne}, could be seen as a product of the cross-pollination of the concept of the personified ship with the metaphor of the ‘ship-prostitute’. Moreover, the concept follows a long tradition of using human anatomy to describe the parts of ships.\textsuperscript{226} Comedy is a pre-eminent forerunner in employing personified ships, both because of the comic potential of the image and its ability to explore issues that mattered to the audience. One of the most prominent examples is Aristophanes \textit{Eq}.1300-15, where personified triremes express their concerns about Hyperbolus’ plans to launch an expedition of one hundred triremes against Carthage. The passage exemplifies the potential of the image to achieve multifarious effects: it raises laughter, it is the medium of political satire, and explores stereotypical female concerns (i.e. sex and marriage), all in one fell swoop.\textsuperscript{227}

\textsuperscript{223} Cf. AP 9.29 = 31 GPh (Antiphilus of Byzantium), AP 9.32-36, AP 9.106 = 40 P (Leonidas of Alexandria), and AP 11.248 = 20 GPh (Bianor).

\textsuperscript{224} AP 11.248 = 20 GPh exemplifies how common it was to describe a ship in terms applicable to a woman. Although the vessel is called \textit{τὸ σκάφος} in line 1, creating thus the expectation that neuter terms will be used for its delineation, in contrast feminine ones are employed: \textit{ἄπασαν...γυμνασθέναι}, \textit{τὴν πιστὴν τευχομένην}, \textit{ἀπιστοτέρῃ}. The poet follows the established tradition in such descriptions.

\textsuperscript{225} AP 9.35 = 50 GPh, on a speaking ship that was destroyed by the rough sea, before its first launching, may also belong to Antiphilus, but its authorship is challenged by Gow-Page (1968) ii. 144 on fair grounds. In any case, the similarity in phraseology, \textit{ἄρτι με πηγνυμένην} \textit{ἀκάτου} \textit{τρόπιν} (AP 9.35.1 = 50.1 GPh) and \textit{συνέπηξεν ἐμὴν} \textit{τρόπιν} (AP 9.415.3 = 43.3 GPh), suggests the close relationship between the two epigrams.

\textsuperscript{226} For a list of the anthropomorphic terms used for ship parts, see Casson (1995) 220-223.

\textsuperscript{227} For Ar.\textit{Eq}.1300-1315, see Anderson (2003) 1-9. Additionally, Ar.\textit{Holkades} (PCG iii2 frs.415-443) presents a chorus of personified merchant ships, and in Ar.\textit{Pax} 626-627 personified triremes take revenge against the Laconians by devouring fig-sprays belonging to innocent farmers.
Before moving on to the analysis of AP 9.415 = 43 GPh and AP 9.416 = 52 GPh, a general observation should be made about the inclusion of epigrams on personified ships into Philip’s *Garland*. By collecting epigrams that have as their prop a motif, employed by earlier epigrammatists, albeit in different ways (the ‘ship-prostitute’, the ‘ship of soul’, epigrams on shipwrecks), Philip emphasises both the originality of the poems collected in his anthology, and their contribution to the motif’s development. In so doing, he demonstrates that the elaborate patterns of similarity and divergence, and the evolutionary process noted above are not the product of modern close reading, but aspects of the dynamics of the genre as perceived in antiquity. Let us now examine in detail AP 9.415 = 43 GPh:

ἡμην καὶ προπάροιθε συνέμπορος ἄνέρι κέρδους
ἡνίκα δημοτέρην Κύπριν ἐναυτολόγει
κεῦθε καὶ συνέπηξεν ἐμὴν τρόπιν, ὄφρα με λεύσσῃ
Κύπρις τὴν ἀπὸ γῆς εἰν ὑπὲρ σανίδων·
ἔστιν ἑταίρειος μὲν ἐμοὶ στόλος, εἰσὶ δὲ λεπτά
κάρπασα καὶ λεπτὸν φῦκος ὑπὲρ σανίδων·
ναυτίλοι, ἀλλ’ ἄγε πάντες ἐμῆς ἐπιβαίνετε πρύμνης
θαρραλέως· πολλοὺ οἶδα φέρειν ἐρέτας.

I was formerly too my master’s partner in his gainful trade,
when his cargo was public Cypris;
thence he built my keel, so that Cypris might see me,
the land-product roving in the sea.
I have a friendly prow, thin
sails and a small portion of sea-weed on my planks.
But, sailors, come all, mount on my stern
boldly; I know how to take many oarsmen.

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228 Gow-Page (1965) ii. 141 accept Jacobs’ emendation of Π’s λεπτά into λευκά, and argue that λεπτά κάρπασα cannot be followed by λεπτόν φῦκος, offering examples of the confusion between λεπτ- and λευκ-. But since the adjective makes good sense, I do not see why we should change it. It is of course true that no real ship would have a ‘thin’ sail, but there is a limit to the sacrifices which imagination should make to logic.
In the epigram, the *pornoboskos* is presented as a merchant whose cargo is prostitutes (δημοτέρην Κύπριν is collective for δημοσίας πόρνας). Although Gow and Page argue that the first four verses apply only to the ship, I suggest that they also allude to prostitution. The presentation of the building of the ship using trading profits hints at the idea of a girl being groomed into becoming a hetaera by her pimp. One recalls Nicarete (Dem.59.18-9) who purchased young girls to train them artfully as prostitutes, and thus earn her livelihood by trading them. This ship is said to have been built so that Aphrodite might see it tossing at sea (ll.3-4). The goddess plays a double role, both as a maritime deity and the patron of prostitutes, and once more the ship alludes to the prostitute. The verb ῥέμβομαι means ‘roam, rove, roll about’, and so it suggests both the ship’s repeated voyages and paid-for sex (cf. Alcaeus fr.X14 col.ii PLF and AP 5.204 = 60 GP). There may also be an allusion to the rhythmic thrusting of the prostitute while having sex. The ship is also called a land product (τὴν ἀπὸ γῆς, l.4) because any vessel is built from timber, but especially here because this particular ship is the product of mercantile sex on land. This idea alludes to the notion of the prostitute raising profits from sex on land.

In the next two verses (ll.5-6), the ship’s self-portrayal corresponds to the prostitute’s alluring looks and availability: ἑταίρειος, meaning literary ‘of or belonging to companions’, suggests her willingness and experience of taking on a number of lovers, either successively or simultaneously, a concept that is repeated in the last distich (see the phrase πολλοὺς οἶδα φέρειν ἐρέτας). Additionally, the ship’s thin sails signify that the prostitute’s linen is light and transparent (probably in order to excite her customers), and the small portion of seaweed on its planks stands

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229 Gow-Page (1968) ii. 140.
230 Cf. Alex.103 (98K), with Arnott (1996) 273-274.
231 Gow-Page (1965) ii. 140 suggest erroneously that Aphrodite is here perceived only as a maritime deity. For her double role cf. AP 5.44.3 = 17.3 Page (Rufinus), AP 5.161.5 = 40.5 GP (Hedylus or Asclepiades), AP 5.204.2 = 60.2 GP (Meleager).
232 LSJ⁹, s.v. ῥέμβομαι.
233 Jacobs also interprets the participle ῥεμβομένην as subigitatum, an interpretation that is wrongly doubted by Gow-Page (1965) ii. 140.
234 LSJ⁹, s.v. ἑταίρειος I.
235 Cf. the notion of εἰκόσορος in AP 5.161.2 = 40.2 GP (Hedylus or Asclepiades), AP 5.204.10 = 60.10 GP (Meleager).
for the rouge on her face.\textsuperscript{236} In the last couplet, the ship calls the sailors to mount its stern. Since this is equivocal language, we may reasonably infer that particular sexual positions are implied, where the penetrator will stand behind the woman (mounting her from the back).\textsuperscript{237}

In AP 9.416 = 52 GPh, Philip of Thessalonica elaborates on the concept of the speaking ship. What differentiates this epigram from its original (AP 9.415 = 43 GPh) is that the metaphor is much more explicit.

I, the ship built from Cypris’ trade, 
have come to the sea that gave birth to the goddess; 
for a man, merchant of beauty/ youth, wrought me 
naming me \textit{Hetaera}, for I am friend of all. 
Mount me boldly, I do not demand a heavy fee; 
I receive all comers; I carry the foreigner; 
as once on land, so row me in the deep.

\textsuperscript{236} Cf. Gow-Page (1968) ii. 141.

\textsuperscript{237} Cf. Ar.\textit{Ran}.48, where Dionysus claims to have served under Cleisthenes as an \textit{epibates}: Δι. ἐπεβάτευον Κλεισθένει (with Sommerstein (1996) 160).

\textsuperscript{238} Gow-Page (1968) ii. 358 argue that a line is lost after the sixth verse, because ‘\textipa{βαστάζω} ξένον must have been followed by \textipa{ἀστόν τε} or \textipa{καὶ συμπολίτην} or the like’. Jacobs suggests \textipa{ἀστόν τ’} for \textipa{ὥς ποτ’}, but Gow-Page offer reasonable reasons to doubt this emendation — the emendation cannot stand from a paleographic perspective, there is no parallel of the anapaestic iambic in Philip, and the meaning of the line should not be changed. In any case, the phrase exploits the fact that a ship can sail in foreign waters.
The ship is said to have been built from the profits of a pimp gained by the trade of prostitutes (ἀπ’ ἑργὸν Κύπριδος, 1.1).\(^{239}\) The application of trade-related vocabulary (ἔμπορος I.3, μισθόν...βαρῶν I.5) reinforces the idea that this is a merchant ship and the prostitute’s prevalent trait, i.e. the commercialisation of her body. The main characteristics of the prostitute-caste are depicted through the explanation given for the naming of the ship as Ἐταίρην: a prostitute is friendly to all (εἰμὶ γὰρ πᾶσιν φίλη I.4, ἔλθόντα δέχομαι πάντα, ll.6-7), she does not ask for a hefty fee (μισθὸν οὐκ αἰτῶ βαρύν, l.5), and receives all comers indiscriminately, citizens and foreigners alike (βαστάζω ξένον, ll.6-7). For the application of the last mentioned feature, the poet exploits the fact that a merchant ship trades in many waters. Notable is also the pun in the last phrase, which includes a paradox: the ship described can be rowed while on shore. The epigrammatist here alludes to the idea that the ship is made from the profits of sex on land (cf. AP 9.415.4), and the word-play indicates the prostitute’s instant availability at any place. Both AP 9.415 = 43 GPh and AP 9.416 = 52 GPh use the ability of the image to explore the issue of control. In AP 9.415 = 43 GPh, as analysed above, the prospective customers are invited to ‘embark on/ mount the stern of the ship’. The metaphor emphasises the customer’s role as the active sexual partner, and this signals (as in Aristophanes) his control over and objectification of the prostitute. It also stresses her sexual availability and readiness for any kind of sexual activity, this being one of the constant themes in this class of epigrams. The same effect is achieved by the use of ἔμβαινε in AP 9.416.5. The use of these verbs is in line with the projected image of pornae as objects for sex, available to anyone.

Though it is not part of my present project, nevertheless, it is interesting to note in passing the implications arising from the exploration of the dynamics of relationships with hetaerae in a humorous manner. The comic side of these epigrams enables us to draw conclusions regarding the development of the skoptic subgenre. Nisbet suggests that its birth should be placed in the first century AD, with Lucullius.\(^{240}\) However, Blomqvist offers a list of epigrams exemplifying a skoptic tone

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\(^{239}\) For the phrase Κύπριδος ἑργα standing for prostitution, cf. AP 6.47.5 = 43.5 GP (Antipater of Sidon) and AP 6.48.5 = 38.5 GP (Anonymous). Cf. AP 6.285.9-10 (Nicarchus) ἔπει δὲ, ἵνα δέοντοσιν ἀπὸ λήμματος οἴσω. Κύπρια, σὺ δὲ ἱμασθήσῃ καὶ λαβεῖ καὶ μετάδος; (the examples are gathered by Taran (1979) 131 n.43). Cf. Pl.Prt.353d κατὰ τὴν αὐτῆς τῆς ἡδονῆς τῆς παραχήματος ἐργασίαν (cited by Viansino (1963) 126).

\(^{240}\) Nisbet (2005) 14-17.
and predating the first century AD, which shows that the Hellenistic epigrammatists laid the groundwork for the most renowned practitioners of the subgenre.\footnote{Blomqvist (1998) 45-60. Dioscorides and Hedylus stand out as epigrammatists whose poems have a skoptic tone. For Dioscorides, see Galán Vioque (2001), and for Hedylus, see Gutzwiller (1998a) 171-179.} Our Hellenistic epigrams, AP 5.161 = 40 GP and AP 5.204 = 60 GP, on ‘ship-prostitutes’ reinforce this argument, as does the whole subgroup of epigrams mocking hetaerae which survives from the Hellenistic period.

Nisbet uses AP 11.328 (Nicarchus) as an example of skoptic epigrams on women; the poem satirises an old prostitute and describes group-sex between her and three men. It belongs to those epigrams mocking hetaerae, while further constituting a parody of the division of earth between Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades (Od. 10.509ff.): the customers cast lots for the prostitute’s orifices and are confined to whichever they draw (ll.3-4). Nisbet discerns two basic features of skoptic epigrams on women, their objectification and ‘shouting down’, and this poem certainly satisfies these criteria.\footnote{Nisbet (2005) 11.}

Nautical imagery is used for the old woman’s vagina and grey pubic hair: \footnote{For the Homeric borrowings in the epigram, see Nisbet (2005) 82-85.} ής ἔλαχον μὲν ἑγὼ πολιήν ἀλα ναϊέμεν αὐτός/ εἶς γὰρ ἐν, οὐ πάντες πάντα, διειλόμεθα ‘I myself was allotted to dwell in her grey sea; for we divided her up, each one getting something, none of us getting everything’ (ll.3-4). Apart from the parody of the division of the world between the Olympians, the stillness at the depths of the sea (see ναϊέμεν) alludes to the notion of a sunken ship or mariner at the bottom of the sea. The metaphor mocks the prostitute (through the allusion to her grey pubic hair), and suggests the man’s distaste for having sex with her, since shipwrecks carry negative connotations.

Though AP 11.328 is satirical, Nisbet disregards a series of Hellenistic epigrams that have as their target hetaerae. These epigrams may not have been categorised by ancient anthologists as skoptic, but they definitely have a skoptic aspect. We have already seen AP 5.204 = 60 GP, where Timarion is lampooned as superannuated and incapable of holding up against sex. Moreover, in AP 5.161 = 40 GP the hetaerae are attacked as rapacious and sexually voracious. Also, for instance, Hedylus in Ath.8.345a-b = 9GP mocks Cleio’s gluttony, and in Ath.11.486b = 3GP he satirises Callistion’s enormous capacity for drinking wine. AP 6.47 = 43 GP

\footnote{241 Blomqvist (1998) 45-60. Dioscorides and Hedylus stand out as epigrammatists whose poems have a skoptic tone. For Dioscorides, see Galán Vioque (2001), and for Hedylus, see Gutzwiller (1998a) 171-179.}

\footnote{242 Nisbet (2005) 11.}

\footnote{243 For the Homeric borrowings in the epigram, see Nisbet (2005) 82-85.}
(Antipater of Sidon) derides the elderly Bitto deciding to engage in prostitution, and AP 6.283 = 39 GP (Anonymous) scoffs at a hetaera being obliged to turn to weaving in old age. Satire admits a great variety of tones, and this is the difference between Nicarchus and Hellenistic epigrams. Nicarchus’ invective is more ribald, given that group sex is more explicitly described; one can compare the much more decorous adjective εἰκόσορος, used to imply group sex in AP 5.161.2 and AP 5.204.10.

3.3.2. Hellenistic Epigram and the Sea of Love.

The issues of control and power, which we saw in the case of the ‘ship-prostitutes’, surface again in epigrams that make use of the metaphor of the ‘sea of love’. Under this label, I group together all sea and nautical metaphors that share two main functions: they reflect the lover’s emotions and outline the beloved’s behaviour, giving a portrayal of the dynamics of the lover’s relationship with his beloved. In contrast to the epigrams analysed above, the ones examined here, with the exception of AP 12.157 = 119 GP, lack any satirical component. Their close examination aims at identifying and analysing those generic features that characterise the application of the metaphors under discussion. Similarly to the ‘ship-prostitute’ epigrams, these ones in their turn reflect the ability of the epigrammatists to transform a metaphor. As we shall see, the poets transform nautical and sea metaphors and combine them with others, which are inspired by weather phenomena. Their aim is to approach their topic from different angles, to express different aspects of the erotic experience and various emotions. Thus, for instance, in AP 12.157 = 119 GP (Meleager), a lover is first a ship, and then a swimmer. These metaphors also intersect in the sense that they explore the same underlying idea: the lover’s powerlessness and his inability to control his emotions. But, as it will become clear, each one brings into play its own nuances. What is more, nautical and weather metaphors have the potential of creating ambiguities and oppositions between the external circumstances and the lover’s internal state, the depicted situation and the lover’s psychology. For example, in the case of epigrams using the komos motif, the metaphorical inner storm proves to be much stronger than the real one with which the komast has to cope. Moreover, as with the ‘ship-prostitute’, these metaphors can have a number of potential connotations, and they can be employed both for the lover and the beloved. For instance, in AP 12.156 = 22 GP (Anonymous), both a boy
called Diodorus and a man, who desires him, are connected to the sea; Diodorus is compared to the open sea, whereas the man is presented as a shipwrecked mariner at sea.

Before we proceed to the analysis of the relevant epigrams, another point needs to be made. As with the ‘ship-prostitute’ epigrams, although many of these poems may be read alone as the portrayal of an emotional experience, their juxtaposition within an anthology has implications on how they are perceived; anthologising is not a neutral process. When these epigrams are read together, the repetition of very similar or even identical topics, explored through the same metaphorical medium, invites a degree of detachment for the reader; attention is unavoidably drawn to the fact that these epigrams are built on variations of the same metaphorical framework. Thus, the reader is more likely to perceive them as exercises on traditional *topoi* rather than as genuine expressions of emotion. In addition, the gap between what the lover says or feels and its perception by a detached reader lends these epigrams a hyperbolic quality. Let us now examine the epigrams in detail.

AP 5.209 = 36 GP (Posidippus or Asclepiades) tells us the story of Cleander and Nico.\(^{244}\) The epigram is structured as a series of contradictions: between the past (ll.1-6) and the present (ll.7-8), the emotional state of Cleander and Nico, the elements of fire and water (employed literally and metaphorically).\(^{245}\)

\[\text{σην, Παφή Κυθέρεια, παρ’ ἡμόν’ εἴδε Κλέανδρος} \]
\[\text{Νικοῦν ἐν χαροποῖς κύμασι νηχομένην,} \]
\[\text{καιόμενος δ’ ὑπ’ ἔρωτος ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἄνθρακας ὡνήρ} \]
\[\text{ξηροὺς ἐκ νοτερῆς παιδὸς ἐπεσπάσατο.} \]
\[\text{χῶ μὲν ἐναυάγει γαίης τὴν δὲ θαλάσσης} \]
\[\text{ψαύουσαν πρηεῖς αἰγιαλοί.} \]
\[\text{νῦν δ’ ἱσος ἄμφωτερος φιλίς πόθος’ οὐκ ἄτελεῖς γάρ} \]

\(^{244}\) For the ascription of the epigram, see Gow-Page (1965) ii. 141, Guichard (2004) 396-397 (with a summary of the bibliography on the topic), and Sens (2011) 245, who rightly concludes that no secure argument exists in favour of either poet.

\(^{245}\) For the contrast between fire and water, cf. AP 5.176.5-6 = 6.5-6 GP (Meleager), AP 9.420.1-2 = 51.1-2 GPh (Antipater of Thessalonica).

\(^{246}\) For a list of all suggested emendations concerning the first distich, see Guichard (2004) 397-399.
εὐχαὶ τὰς κείνης εὔξατ’ ἐπ’ ἡμόνος.

By your coast, Paphian Cythereia, Cleander saw
Nico swimming in the bluish-grey waves;
and burned by love the man took in his heart
dry coals from the wet girl.
And he was shipwrecked on land, while she, although
grazing the sea, was received by the gentle sea-shores.
And now they both have an equal desire for love; for the prayers
were not in vain, which he made on that beach.

The speaker’s first words set the scene for the lovers’ first encounter.
According to the reconstruction of the first distich, Cleander saw the girl swimming
in the grey waves near Aphrodite’s coast. The word-order emphasises the possessive
pronoun, and the constructed phrase ‘by your shore, Paphian Cythereia’ opens up
two possibilities: on the one hand, since Aphrodite was born from the foam of the
sea and since she is a sea goddess, the possessive pronoun might imply that any
shore belongs to her.247 On the other hand, the phrase can be interpreted as an
allusion to Aphrodite’s origins from the sea and to her travel from Cythera to
Paphos, after her birth (see Hesiod Th.192-193, this can account for the
accumulation of the two geographic epithets in asyndeton).248 In this latter case, the
allusion suggests that Cleander may stand on the shore of either of these islands, and
the geographical hint creates a link between the two females: as once the goddess
emerged from the sea and came to the shore of Cythera and Paphos, similarly the girl
swims in the same waters and afterwards comes ashore (ll.1-2, 5-6). This link can be
interpreted as a very discreet praise of the girl’s beauty and of its effect on men,249
and the fact that Nico swims in a wavy sea (ἐν χαροποῖς κύμασι ‘in the bluish-grey
waves’, l.2) may further strengthen the connection between the two females, since

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248 Cf. API 160.1 = 23 P (‘Plato’), in which Aphrodite travels to Cnidos to see her statue: ἡ Παφίη
Κυθέρεια δι’ οἴδιμους ἐς Κνίδον ἤλθε. In this case as well, the two geographic epithets are placed in
asyndeton and there is a reference to the swollen sea as the medium of Aphrodite’s travelling.
249 Cf. Sens (2011) 244, who correctly offers AP 5.194 = 34 GP (Asclepiades or Posidippus) as a
parallel.
Aphrodite, when born, also emerged from a wavy sea (see Hesiod’s *Theog.* 189 πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ ‘in a swollen open sea’).

Already the first distich constructs a contrast between the two lovers: she swims at sea, he is on land; he sees her, while she seems unaware of his presence. The following one (ll.3–4) develops these antitheses, by creating a paradox: Cleander falls in love with the girl, and the intensity of his emotions is given through the metaphor of the absorption of dry coals from the wet girl. As Sens notes, the paradox (Cleander draws coals, and not moisture, from a wet girl) is underscored by the use of ἐπεσπάσατο, which is normally employed for the absorption of liquids. Obviously, the metaphor highlights his erotic passion; the underlying idea is that his desire is so great that it reduces him to ‘dry coals’. When wood is burned, it produces charcoal, and the metaphor mirrors Cleander’s complete ‘burning’ by his passion.

Nico, in contrast, is the object of his vision, and seems almost oblivious to the effect that she has and, consequently, to the power of her erotic appeal.

The next distich enhances the hyperbole in Cleander’s portrayal, as he is said to be shipwrecked on land (χῶ μὲν ἐναυάγει γαίης ἔπι). The metaphor underscores his pain, since his emotional ‘shipwreck’ is equated to the impoverished state of shipwrecked mariners. This representation of him is paradoxical (the shipwreck takes place not at sea, but on land), and reminds us of AP 5.161 = 40 GP, where the

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250 In AP 5.154.1 = 63.1 GP, Meleager employs identical phraseology (ναὶ τὰν νηξαμέναν χαροποῖς ἐνὶ κύμασιν Κύπριν ‘by Cypris, swimming through the bluish-grey waves’), varying AP 5.209.2 = 36.2 GP (Asclepiades or Posidippus), and simultaneously alluding to the goddess’ birth from the foam of the wavy sea and her travel from Cythera to Paphos.

251 For the motif a person being unaware of the effect that his/ her presence has on the speaker, see Anacreon fr.360 *PMG* ὃ παῖ παρθένιον βλέπων/ δίζημαί σε, σὺ δ’ οὐ κλώτες/ οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι τῆς ἡνιοχεύεις.

252 Sens (2011) 249.

253 Ἐπισπάω is used metaphorically for emotions in AP 6.82.2 = 14.2 Viансино (P.Silentianius) ...οἴστρον ἐπεσπασάμην, AP 11.340.2 (Palladas) ...ἔχθραν ἐπεσπασάμην. For the use of charcoal for destructive, burning passion, cf. e.g. AP 5.211.1-2 = 3.1-2 GP (Posidippus), AP 12.17.1-2 (Anonymous), AP 12.72.3-4 = 92.3-4 GP (Meleager), AP 12.166.4 = 17.4 GP (Asclepiades). Sens ((2011) 247, 248) interprets the metaphor slightly differently; for him, it portrays ‘the growing heat of Cleander’s passion’.

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land with the hetaerae is more dangerous than the sea.\textsuperscript{254} The distich continues the line of contrasts between Cleander and Nico; while he is shipwrecked on land, the girl comes to shore safely (l.6). The chiasmus accentuates the paradox of this antithesis,\textsuperscript{255} and the phrase θαλάσσης ψαύουσαν, which is employed to contrast the prepositional phrase γαίης ἐπι, is indeed somewhat artificial.\textsuperscript{256} In later sources, the verb ψαύω and its compound ἐπιψαύω are used for fish and ships crossing the sea.\textsuperscript{257} The expression ψαύουσαν θαλάσσης can allude to an image of the girl grazing the waters (i.e. on the surface).\textsuperscript{258} This image of her swimming in the wavy sea, which is repeated twice (l.2, 5-6), highlights her contrast with Cleander. Nico is unaffected by the elements of nature (the wavy sea) and, by extension, by the metaphorical sea of love as well, which is the force at work in Cleander. In this way, the epigram emphasises the contrast between the literal and metaphorical sea: the literal sea turns out to be far less dangerous than its metaphorical counterpart. There is thus a very effective rhetoric of hyperbole in the contrast between the world within and the world without, the world of emotions versus the phenomenal world.

Similar considerations apply to the adjective πρηεῖς, since it stresses the antithesis with Cleander, towards whom the land is unfriendly. The terms ψαύουσαν and εἴχοσαν have erotic connotations mirroring Cleander’s emotions, who yearns for the girl (he would like to hold her); this is a case of ‘pathetic fallacy’, in which

\textsuperscript{254} For the lover as being shipwrecked on land, see e.g. AP 5.11 = 7 P (Anonymous), AP 5.235 = 8 Madden (Macedonius the Consul), AP 12.84 = 114 GP and AP 12.85 = 115 GP (Meleager). For a more complete list, see Guichard (2004) 400. The metaphor might date back to Anacreon (although the phrase can describe literal circumstances): fr.403 PMG ἀσήμων/ ὑπὲρ ἐρμάτων φορέομαι ‘I am carried over hidden reefs’. In the anonymous AP 9.133, it is used in connection to marriage.

\textsuperscript{255} Gow-Page (1965) ii. 141, Sens (2011) 249.

\textsuperscript{257} For nautilus, see Opp.Hal.347-348: ἀυτὰρ ἐνερθεὶ/ δοσὶ ἀλὸς ψαύοντες, ἐοικότας οἴηκεσσι; for ships, see Quint.Smyrn.Posthomerica 7.394-395 νηῦς δ’ ἐθεὶν κατὰ πόντον ἐπισπομένου ἄνεμω/ τυτθὸν ἐπιψαύοντες πολυρρο/ ἱρηκες δ’ αὐτῆς ἁλμῆς σχεδὸν ἥρεθοντας, ἰτραχόν ἐπιψαύοντες ἄλος πόρον, δοσον ἰδέθαι/ ἁμφο νηχομένοις καὶ ἰπταμένοις ὀμοίοι.

\textsuperscript{258} Sens (2011) 249 interprets differently; for him, the expression denotes that Nico is at the very edge of the sea, with her feet just touching the water. However, the girl has been described as swimming in the first distich.
nature shares kindred feelings with the man. This might also be another, very discreet, allusion to Hesiod’s *Th.*194-195, which strengthens Nico’s comparison to Aphrodite: the girl’s arrival to the shore causes a reaction from nature, as in the *Theogony*, the Cypriot land is affected; grass grows beneath Aphrodite’s shapely feet.

The use of nautical metaphors is also prominent in Philodemus AP 10.21 = 15 GPh = 8 Sider, an epigram which has the form of a prayer addressed to Aphrodite. AP 10.21 constitutes an excellent case study of how the interpretation of an epigram, which is built on a continuous string of metaphors, can depend on the decipherment by each individual reader of these metaphors, their intratextual relations, and possible intertextual bonds with other epigrams.

Κύπρι γαληναίη φιλονύμφιε, Κύπρι δικαίοις σώμαχε, Κύπρι Πόθον μήτερ ἀελλοπόδων, Κύπρι, τὸν ἡμίσπαστον ἀπὸ κροκέων ἐμὲ παστῶν, τὸν χιόσι ψυχήν Κελτίσι νειφόμενον, Κύπρι, τὸν ἡσύχιον με, τὸν οὔδενι κωφὰ λαλεύντα, τὸν σέο πορφυρέῳ κλυζόμενον πελάγει, Κύπρι φιλορμίστειρα, φιλόργιε, σῷζέ με, Κύπρι, Ναϊακοὺς ἤδη, δεσπότι, πρὸς λιμένας.

Cypris, goddess of calm waters, friend of the bridegroom, Cypris, ally of the righteous, Cypris, mother of storm-footed Desires, Cypris, me, the one half-torn away from the saffron bridal bed, the one whose soul is snowed upon by Celtic snowstorms, me, Cypris, the peaceable one, the one who speaks foolishly to no one, the one awash on your purple open sea, Cypris, lover of moored ships, lover of secret rites, bring me safe, Cypris,

259 For another explanation, see Sens (2011) 244, 249. He suggests that the erotic vocabulary creates the expectation that Cleander’s desire will not be fulfilled, since it is the shore that embraces the girl. Thus, their mutual eros comes as a surprise. For ‘pathetic fallacy’, see Ruskin (1856) iii. 157-172, who coined the phrase, Miles (1965), Pease (1927) 645-657, and Dick (1968) 27-44.

260 For intratextuality, see Sharrock and Morales (2000).

now, my queen, to the ports of Naias.

It is generally agreed that the man is married, both because of Aphrodite’s address as φιλονύμφιε, but mainly on account of the use of ἀπὸ κροκέων παστῶν. Within the poetic tradition, vocabulary that normally describes lawful marriage is also employed for other forms of sexual unions: illicit relationships, prostitution, even rape. As Lane, however, exemplifies, παστός traditionally stands for marriage, especially a recent one, or for the bridal bed. No conclusive answer exists, nevertheless, for the cause of his prayer. For instance, Gow and Page argue that the man is forcefully ejected from his bridal bed by his wife due to a quarrel, and that he prays to Aphrodite to find comfort in Naias, presumably a courtesan. Gutzwiller takes Naias to be the man’s wife and argues that the ‘safe arrival at harbour indicates the successful establishment of a committed relationship to a wife’, while Sider suggests that the prayer is actually a warning for his wife, who should accept him back or lose him to Naias; according to him, the prayer is mock-serious. In order to resolve this issue we need to determine first who Naias is. Another epigram of Philodemus also refers to a woman called Naias, i.e. AP 5.107 = 5 GPh = 23 Sider.

γινώσκω, χαρίεσσα, φιλεῖν πάλι τὸν φιλέοντα
καὶ πάλι γινώσκω τὸν με διακόντα διακεῖν.
μή λύπει με λήπη στέργοντά σε μηδ’ ἐρεθίζειν
τὰς βαρυοργήτους σοὶ θέλε Πιερίδας.
— ταῦτ’ ἐβόων αἰεὶ καὶ προύλεγον, ἀλλ’ ἴσα πόντῳ
Ἰονίῳ μῦθον ἔκλυες ἡμετέρων.
τοιγὰρ νῦν σὺ μὲν ὅδε μέγα κλαίουσα βαύξεις,
ἡμεῖς δ’ ἐν κόλποις ἠμεθα Ναϊάδος.

263 Lane (1988) 100-123 (cited also by Sider (1997) 93); cf. Gow-Page (1968) ii. 385. For the use of the word in the genre cf. AP 7.711.1-2 = 56.1-2 GP (Antipater of Sidon), on a bride who died on the eve of her marriage: κροκόεις...παστός refers to her bridal bed.
264 Gow-Page (1968) ii. 385.
I know, dear, how to return the love to the one who loves me,
and again I know how to bite the biter back.
Do not cause me, the one who loves you, too much pain,
and do not stir up against yourself the wrath of the Muses of Pieria, fierce in their anger.
— These I ever shouted and I warned you, but you listened
to my words just like the Ionian Sea.
Therefore you now snarl and cry so loudly,
while I rest in the bosom of Naias.266

In this epigram, a man, after having warned in vain his beloved (or wife) not to vex him, finds comfort in the company of Naias. The poem finishes with the phrase ἡμεῖς ἐν κόλποις ἥμεθα Ναϊάδος which bears close resemblance to the closure of AP 10.21 = 15 GPh, as in both cases there is precise reference to the woman’s bosom.267 If these poems stood originally together, within the same anthology, the interpretation of the one would have affected the interpretation of the other,268 and Naias should be considered a hetaera or a mistress. Her name, alluding to river- and spring-nymphs,269 is a perfect match for the nautical metaphors of the epigrams. While Sider and others consider the prayer to be a warning to the man’s wife,270 I offer another interpretation, which pays attention to the details of the invocation to Aphrodite. I suggest that the man, although married, desires another woman (Naias) and prays to Aphrodite to win his true object of desire. The proposed interpretation is in line with conventional topoi in erotic poetry: the invocation of Aphrodite in cases of erotic distress; the use, especially in epigrams, of nautical and weather metaphors

266 Edited text and translation (slightly modified) by Sider (1997) 142.
267 There might also be an oblique hint to her vagina (through κόλποις and λιμένα respectively; cf. Sider (1997) 94).
268 For readings of the interrelation between the epigrams, see Fantuzzi (2004) 233-234, Sider (1997) 94, Karamanolis (2005) 118-124. Both ἐβόων αἰεὶ and προύλεγον may refer to the warning of lines 1-4 in AP 10.21 = 15 GPh = 8 Sider, which can be summarised in the emphatic ταῦτ’ (AP 5.107.5 = 5.5 GPh = 23.5 Sider).
as a means of reflecting erotic distress, caused by the beloved’s behaviour; the loss of control in the face of the force of love.

Aphrodite’s initial characterisation as γαληναίη stresses (as prayers do) the capacity in which the deity is invoked, and thus suggests the desired outcome: that the goddess of calm waters will help the ‘storm-tossed’ man. The repetition of her name (7 times) stresses the urgency of the wish and the man’s distress.271 Her following invocation Κύπρι Πόθων μήτερ ἀέλλοπόδων emphasises one of her spheres of influence, i.e., love, love-affairs, and love-making. The adjective ἀέλλοπος ‘storm-footed, storm-swift’272 is here attached to the Desires for several reasons: to begin with, as Sider argues, because they are envisaged as winged, just as in Philodemus AP 9.570.2 = 14 GPh = 3 Sider (διπτερύγων καλὸν ἄγαλμα Πόθων ‘fair image of the twin-winged Desires’).273 This though is only part of the equation. In AP 5.59 = 2 GPh (Archias) and AP 9.440.16-17 (Moschus), the winged Eros pursues men, and the underlying idea is that his victims are unable to escape.274

‘φεύγειν δεί τὸν Ἐρωτα’275 κενὸς πόνος, οὐ γὰρ ἰλύξω

πεζός ὑπὸ πτηνὸν πυκνὰ διωκόμενος.

‘One should fly from Love.’ It is labour lost, for

I shall not escape on foot from a winged creature that pursues me close.

(AP 5.59 = 2 GPh)

καὶ πτερόεις ὅσον ὄρνις ἑφίπταται ἄλλοτ’ ἐπ’ ἄλλως

ἀνέρας ἣδε γυναῖκας, ἐπὶ σπλάγχνοις δὲ κάθηται-

271 Cf. Sider (1997) 92. Falivene (1986) 139 argues in favour of connecting AP 10.21 = 15 GPh = 8 Sider with AP 9.143 = 93 GPh (Antipater), where Aphrodite’s statue warns the passer-by that the goddess must be honoured in order that she be propitious in sailing and love. Falivene suggests that the repetition of her name in AP 10.21 = 15 GPh = 8 Sider emphasises the man’s obedience to the warning of AP 9.143 = 93 GPh. However, there is no need to imply such a strict link, since the repetition denotes by itself the man’s submission to Aphrodite’s power.

272 LSJ9, s.v. ἀέλλοπος.


274 In an inversion of the norm in AP 12.202 (Strato) winged Eros is the lover’s ally, taking him as quickly as possible to his beloved.

275 I follow the punctuation of Paton’s edition (1999) i. 156.
like a winged bird he flies to one man and woman after another,
and perches on their vitals. (AP 9.440.16-7)

The same idea lies behind the description of the Desires as storm-footed: they fly so
fast that no man can escape them; trying to flee from them would be an exercise in
futility. The adjective, therefore, varies the metaphor of love as a storm. One could
perhaps stretch the associations further. It is known, from a later source, that one of
the Harpies was called Ἀελλόπος (Ἀελλ濕ο – ‘storm-swift’) in Hesiod’s Θ.267).276
Since the Desires are portrayed as winged (as were the Harpies), the adjective, by
bringing in the connotation of the Harpies, intensifies the notion that their assault is
menacing and inescapable. In the present situation, the Desires attacked the man and
made him fall in love with Naias; this is why his soul is now (metaphorically)
drenched with snow and he is ‘shipwrecked’ (ll.5-6). Both metaphors vividly portray
his erotic distress and so, as so often within the genre, reflect the emotional torment
of the one who cannot obtain the object of his passion. The man needs Aphrodite’s
help to gain access to Naias. The invocation also ties extremely well with the
nautical tone of the epigram, which is initialised by the adjective γαληναίη (l.1). The
combination of these invocations emphasises the goddess’ power; as she can torment
a man, using Desires as intermediaries, she can equally calm his soul by offering him
the object of his desire.

His self-representation as ‘halfway dragged from the saffron bed’ τὸν
ήμίσπαστον ἀπὸ κροκέων ἐμὲ παστῶν is connected with this idea of the Desires as
seizing him (σπάω in the sense of ‘snatch, tear or drag away’).277 The expression can
be considered as part of the network of the intratextual connections, mentioned
above. I suggest that it is not the wife who ejects the man from his marriage bed,278
but the Desires, namely his desire for Naias, which drag him away from his marital
bed, i.e. towards his beloved.279 The idea of the personified desire/ eros dragging a

277 LSJ9, s.v. σπάω II 4.
279 In I.G. 12.8.441.1-2 (:208 Kaibel), a man laments because the daemon has dragged him from his
bridal chamber ‘ἀρτι με νομισμοὺν ἀπὸ ὀδύσμορον ἀρπασε παστῶν/ δαίμων…’ The phrase means that
love-struck man is not unknown, and the married man of our epigram speaks as a lover. In AP 5.64.5 = 11 GP (Asclepiades), for instance, a man declares that the power of Eros drags him irresistibly to his beloved: ἐλκεῖ γὰρ μ’ ο´ κρατῶν καὶ σοῦ θεός ‘for the god who rules and is your master too (i.e. of Zeus) drags me’. The specification of being halfway dragged denotes that he has not yet consummated his new love; the Desires drag him halfway to another woman, but, having not conquered her, he still sleeps with his wife. This is why he prays to Aphrodite. He calls the goddess Κύπρι δικαίος σύμμαχος (II.1-2). Although ἄδικος often refers to cases of infidelity,280 in our epigram, δικαίος stresses the man’s (paradoxical) loyalty to his mistress; it implies that he is a righteous follower of Aphrodite, since he prays for his true object of passion, Naias.

281 He also never speaks stupidly (τὸν οὐδὲνι κωφὰ λαλεύντα, l.5). As Falivene argues, in Philodemus λαλεῖν is connected to μανία, in opposition of which is ἡσυχία. 282 This man claims not to speak stupidly, but to be quiet (l.5), since he prays to Aphrodite and does not resort to exaggerated behaviour (e.g. the komos).

The last three lines include basic elements of nautical metaphors, employed in cases of erotic distress (here for the man desiring to be/ have sex with Naias):283
i) the lover as a mariner,
ii) the beloved as the harbour, symbolising mutual love and, therefore, the end of distress, and
iii) Aphrodite as the one with the discretionary power of saving the lover, making the unyielding beloved accept him.

Starting with the first metaphor, it should be noted that, in the phrase τὸν σέο πορφυρέῳ κλυζόμενον πελάγει, the possessive pronoun mixes two of the realms of Aphrodite’s power, i.e. love and sea. The hapax φιλορμίστειρα, emphatically added

281 Σύμμαχος reminds us of Sapph.fr.1.28 Voigt σύμμαχος ἔσσο, where we have an appeal from a rejected lover to Aphrodite (cf. Falivene (1983) 131).
282 Falivene (1983) 140-142. According to Gutzwiller (1992a) 202 the phrase means that the man does not prattle with a hetaera.
283 Cf. e.g. AP 5.190 = 64 GP (Meleager), AP 5.209 = 36 GP (Posidippus or Asclepiades), AP 12.157 = 119 GP and AP 12.167 = 109 GP (Meleager).
before the main verb of the whole prayer (σῶζε με), seems to be offered as an additional reason why the goddess should help her devotee; ‘she is the one who loves anchored ships’, i.e. she takes pleasure when lovers are together. Therefore, she should help him to be united with Naias. The adjective φιλόργιε, which means ‘the one who loves (secret) rites’, serves the same function; it is offered as a motive aiming to secure Aphrodite’s help. As we saw in the first chapter, sex is often described through religious language applicable to secret rites (the terms ὄργιον or παννυχίς are employed). Hence, this adjective, apart from its obvious allusion to the goddess’ rites, refers to love-making and suggests, as φιλορμίστειρα, that Aphrodite loves to unite lovers. The phrase σῶζε με, Κύρη,/Ναϊακοὺς ἠδή, δεσπότη, πρὸς λιμένας (ll.7-8) illustrates the way through which the man’s salvation can be achieved; the man needs to be brought to Naias’ harbours, i.e. he needs Aphrodite’s help to be with the girl and/or have sex with her. In summation, AP 10.21 = 15 GPh can be interpreted according to the usual associations of nautical metaphors. Its originality lies in the use of the imagery to describe a triangular relationship.

Another sub-group of erotic epigrams, most of them composed by Meleager (with the exception of AP 12.156 = 22 GP), uses nautical and sea metaphors to express homoerotic desire. In this respect, the development of the sea imagery differs significantly from the life-cycle of the bedside lamp, which is employed (within the genre) mainly in cases of heterosexual relations and sex. Regarding the intertextual background of these epigrams, several homoerotic poetic texts can be added to the heterosexual ones, analysed above in connection to the ship metaphor. To offer a few examples, in Pindar fr.108.2 Bowra the stormy sea stands for homoerotic desire; anyone, who does not swell with desire (ὦς μὴ πόθῳ κυμαίνεται) at the sight of Theoxenus, is abnormal. Additionally, from the corpus of the Theognidea, two elegies use the metaphors of the ship and the harbour within a

284 Cf. e.g. Ar.Lys.831-832 ἄνδρ’ ἄνδρ’ ὁρῶ προσιόντα παραπεπληγμένον/ τοῖς τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ὄργιοις εἰλημμένον, Ar.Lys.898 τὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης δ’ ἱερ’ ἀνοργίαστα σοι, AP 5.55.7 = 5.7 GP (Dioscorides) μέχρι ἀπεσπείσθη λευκὸν μένος ἀμφοτέροισιν, AP 9.220.1-2 = 5.1-2 GPh (Thallus of Miletus) ὃς ἰδ’ ὡς ἐκρυψε φιλεύντων/ ὅργα, τᾶν ἱερὰν φιλλάδα τεινόμενα.

285 Cf. AP 5.235.5-6 = 8.5-6 Madden (Macedonius the Consul), Thgn.460.

286 Only in AP 5.8 = 69 GP (Meleager) the lover’s gender is not specified. In AP 12.199 (Strato), the lamp is used within a homoerotic context — but this is a lamp shedding light in a symposium, not the bedside one (cf. n.103).
homoerotic context (ll.1271-1274 W², ll.1361-1362 W²). As in the case of Alcaeus, Theognis, and Aristophanes, these homoerotic passages (and the ones to which I will refer within the analysis of individual epigrams) are to be seen not as specific poems which the epigrammatists imitated, but as paradigms illustrating poetic strands which played a key-role in the formulation of the nautical metaphors within homoerotic epigrams.

The keynote characteristic of all these epigrams, as was mentioned above, is that nautical metaphors, in combination with others mostly concerned with the concept of the changeable weather, stand for both the lover’s vulnerability and powerlessness towards his beloved, and the beloved’s uncontrollability and power over the one who desires him. The anonymous AP 12.156 = 22 GP constitutes a fine example of this use of nautical imagery:

eἰαρινῷ χειμῶνι πανείκελος, ὦ Διόδωρε,
oύμος ἑρῶς ἀσαφεὶ κρινόμενος πελάγει
καὶ ποτὲ μὲν φαίνεις πολλῶν ύετόν, ἄλλοτε δ’ αὕτε
εὐδίος, ἄβρα γελόν δ’ ὀμμασιν ἐκκέχυσαι.
tυφλὰ δ’, ὅπως ναυηγὸς ἐν οἴδματι κύματα μετρῶν,
dινεῖμαι μεγάλῳ κύματι πλαζόμενος∙
ἄλλα μοι ἢ φιλίης ἔκθες σκοπὸν ἢ πάλι μίσους,
ὡς εἴδω ποτέρῳ κύματι νηχόμεθα. 288

Similar in every respect to a storm during springtime, Diodorus, (is) my love, determined by the unpredictable open sea;
and at one time you display heavy rain, at another again
fine weather, and you give yourself to passion smiling gently with your eyes.
But I am whirled blindly, traversing the waves like a shipwrecked man

287 See pp. 89-90.

288 I alter the edition of Gow-Page (1965) i. 204 in three ways. Firstly, in line 4, I preserve the δ’ of Ρ, creating an emphatic sequence of two expressions concerning Diodorus’ gaze, when he is positively predisposed towards the lover. Secondly, in lines 5-6, I suggest that the subordinate clause can be separated from the rest of the phrase, turning τυφλὰ into an adverb. Thirdly, the word κύματι of Ρ is preserved in line 6. Gow-Page (1965) ii. 570, although they emend the text, offer a good parallel for κύματι: Od. 5.388-389 κύματι πηγῷ πλάξετο.
in the swollen sea, struck by the great wave.
But show me a signal either of love or contrariwise of hate,
so as to know in what kind of waters I swim.

In the first distich, the phrase ἀσαφεῖ πελάγει (l.2) equates Diodorus’ changeable moods to the unpredictable ocean; as the ocean is, at times, calm and then rough, in the same way, Diodorus’ behaviour ebbs and flows. Such a comparison underlines the lover’s lack of power over his beloved’s behaviour and feelings. This use of the sea dates back to Semonides’ fr.7.27-42, in which the kind of woman whose moods change from day to day is compared to the sea. In addition, within the preceding poetic tradition, the sea symbolises forces which lie beyond human mastery. In Pindar, for instance, it stands for ‘fate and fortune, time and destiny’.289 The common denominator of these forces is their unpredictability, and men’s powerlessness against them. These are the main connotations lying underneath the beloved’s comparison to the unpredictable ocean and hence, this is a further strand which played a key-role in the formulation of the metaphor. The sense of the first distich is that Diodorus’ erratic behaviour has an effect on the lover’s emotions.290

This is the reason why the love-struck speaker characterises his eros as εἰαρινὸς χειμών (l.1). Here, the motif of the lover’s emotions altering according to the beloved’s moods is renewed through the metaphor of the ‘spring-storm’. Menander fr.420.1-5 PCG offers a good parallel, outside the framework of epigrams, for the use of weather phenomena as vehicles for the portrayal of the destructive impact of eros; a lover strives to find an image that would accurately mirror what destroys him, and he firstly compares his emotional state with a whirlwind: μὰ τὴν Αθηνᾶν, ἄνδρες, εἰκόν’ οὐκ ἔχω/ <εὕρειν> ὁμοίαν τῷ γεγονότι πράγματι, ζητῶν πρὸς ἐμαυτόν, τι ταχέως ἀπολλύει. στρόβιλος ἐν ὧσῳ συστρέφεται, προσέρχεται/

290 Paton (1999) iv. 363 seems right in translating κρινόμενος as ‘determined by’. Indeed, as Gow-Page (1965) ii. 570 argue, ‘a storm determines, and is not determined by the state of the sea’. But as I suggest, although the distich expresses a paradox from a literal point of view, it can be accepted because of the specific associations that the metaphors have.
291 Cf. e.g. AP 12.153 = 19 GP (Asclepiades), AP 12.159 = 108 GP (Meleager), Thgn.1271-1274, and Theocr.Id.8.41-48, 29.7-8.
προσέβαλεν, ἐξέρριψεν, αἰὼν γίνεται. Within our epigram, emphasis should be placed on the adjective πανείκελος that invites the reader to think of all possible associations between a storm during spring-time and the way in which the lover experiences his eros. Storms in spring are sudden and unpredictable. These insinuations reflect the abrupt change of the lover’s emotions — based on the fact that they are controlled by an external factor, the beloved, and not him. Moreover, the fickle nature of such phenomena stresses the lack of control over his feelings. Another connotation, incident upon this equation, is the ephemerality of his happiness, again a use of natural phenomena found in the preceding poetic tradition.

The next distich (ll.3-4) expands on the description of Diodorus’ uncontrollable and unpredictable moods. While the topic and metaphor domain remain broadly the same, there is a shift within the metaphor field; from the metaphor of the uncertain sea, we now turn to the metaphor of the unpredictable weather. Both metaphors call attention to the inconsistency and uncontrollability of the boy’s moods towards the lover. From the Meleagrean AP 12.159.5-6 = 108 GP, which could have been inspired by AP 12.156 = 22 GP, it becomes clear that the verses regard Diodorus’ gaze; at times it resembles heavy rain, at times fair weather. Fair weather is a traditional metaphor for prosperity and inner harmony. Here, it stands for the times when the beloved is positively disposed towards the lover. Lines 5-6 return to the description of the lover’s inner state, which was emphatically and concisely described in the first line of the epigram as εἰαρινῷ χειμῶνι πανείκελος. Gow and Page find the metaphor of the shipwreck incompatible with the fair weather, which is used in line 4, and suggest that the distich (ll.5-6) should be omitted as ‘an illustrative quotation which has invaded the text’, and that we should take νηχόμεθα in line 8 as meaning πλέομεν. Alternatively, they argue that a couplet is missing after line 6, where the swimmer would not be stricken by the rough sea. However, the metaphor of the spring-storm suggests emotional pain and torment, which is created by the fact that the lover traverses from happiness to sadness and

292 Here eros is used collectively to include all emotions that one feels when he/ she is in love.
293 Cf. Steiner (1986) 68, citing Pind.Ol.7.94-95: ...δὲ μὴ μοίρα χρόνοι/ ἄλλοιτι ἄλλοιτι διαιθύσοσιν ἀδόρα.
294 Cf. e.g. Steiner (1986) 69, citing Aesch.Ag.187, Pind.Ol.2.32-34.
295 Gow-Page (1965) ii. 570.
vice versa. This emotional torment is explored now through the metaphor of the shipwrecked mariner, which symbolises unrequited love and inability to control one’s emotions and the beloved. There is marked flexibility in the manner in which the poet uses the metaphors; sea metaphors and weather metaphors are employed both for the lover (the spring-storm, the shipwrecked mariner), and the beloved (the uncertain sea, the uncertain weather). The vehicle shifts, but the associations remain unchanged. The metaphor of the shipwrecked mariner expresses the ideas of the lover’s helplessness, internal pain, loss of inner peace, and his inability to gain control over the object of his desire (as does the metaphor of the spring-storm).296

The last distich connects knowledge, specifically the understanding of the boy’s true feelings, with salvation from emotional torment. The speaker presents himself as a swimmer and asks from the boy to give him a safe signal, either of affection or of hate, in order to know where they stand. The sea (ποτέρῳ κύματι, l.8) symbolises now, not the lover’s emotional torment, but the state of affairs between him and the boy. The implication is that mutual love corresponds to a calm sea, while unrequited love to a stormy one. Closely connected to AP 12.156 = 22 GP is the Meleagrean AP 12.159 = 108 GP:

ἐν σοὶ τάμα, Μυίσκε, βίου προμήνησι’ ἀνήπται,
ἐν σοὶ καὶ ψυχής πνεῦμα τὸ λειφθὲν ἐτι.
ναὶ γάρ δὴ τὰ σά, κούρε, τὰ καὶ κωφοῖσι λαλεῖντα
δόματα, ναὶ μὰ τὸ σὸν φαιδρὸν ἐπισκύνιον,
ἡν μοι συννεφῆς δόμα βάλεις ποτὲ χεῖμα δέδορκα,
ἡν δ’ ἱλαρὸν βλέψῃς ἢδου τέθηλεν ἐαρ.

On you, Myiscus, the stern-cables of my life are made fast,
on you too whatever remains of (my) soul’s breath.
By your eyes, dear boy, which speak even to the deaf,
and by your bright brow I swear it, if ever you
look at me with a clouded eye I see the winter,

296 Gow-Page (1965) ii. 571 note that the phrase κύματα μετρῶν is proverbial for wasted labour. Though the sense is different here, the idea goes well with the image of the lover trying in vain to save himself from the sea of love. For a similar case study of flexible transformation of the nautical image cf. AP 12.157 = 119 GP (Meleager).
but if your glance be blithe, the sweet spring bursts into bloom.

The epigram draws on the same *topoi* as AP 12.156 = 22 GP, i.e. the beloved’s wavering moods, and the lover’s vulnerability and ductile emotions. But the vehicles for their delineation alter, as Meleager infuses them with the idea of the lover’s life as a ship whose stern-cables are fastened on Myiscus. The metaphor implies that the boy is a harbour or at least a shoreline, a symbol of security, and the end of the lover’s distress. The ship metaphor also emphasises the lover’s self-objectification, since it carries the associations of one being submissive to external forces and of having no control over fate. Thus, in the erotic context, it easily suggests subservience to the beloved. In the next verse, the lover speaks as if dying; he declares that his last breath depends on Myiscus (1.2). His hyperbolic statement places emphasis on his self-representation as being wasted by love, and on the idea that the survival of what remains of him rests squarely on the boy’s reaction. The second distich introduces the oath. Myiscus’ eyes are said to ‘speak even to the deaf’. Similar declarations are used by Meleager elsewhere, for instance for Heracleitus in AP 12.63.1 = 91 GP (σιγῶν Ἡράκλειτος ἐν ὁμμασι τοῦτ ἐπος ἀώδη ‘Heracleitus keeping silence speaks thus from his eyes’), and Aristagoras in AP 12.122.4 = 85 GP (...καὶ σιγῶν ὁμμασι τερπνὰ λαλεῖ ‘and, if he keeps silence, his eyes prattle delightfully’). The ancient Greeks and Romans were aware that one’s eyes can reveal his thoughts, wishes, and disposition, and Cicero, when talking about body-language, considers the eyes the most eloquent parts of the body (*De Orat*.3.59.222). Here, the phrase stresses the expressiveness and power that Myiscus’ glance has on the lover; since his eyes speak to the deaf, how can he remain unaffected? The adjective φαιδρός denotes cheerful disposition, and so the lover’s pledge on Myiscus’ ‘bright eyebrow’ signals his desire to see the boy always favourably disposed towards him. Given also that the epithet is used for weather description, its use here portends the next distich. In addition, as one’s eyebrow is

297 Cf. e.g. AP 12.167.3-4 = 109.3-4 GP (Meleager), Thgn.1274.
298 These parallels are offered by Gow-Page (1965) ii. 656, 663.
299 For ‘speaking-eyes’, see McCartney (1952) 187-188.
300 The word means ‘beaming with joy, bright, cheerful’, see LSJ, s.v. φαιδρός I 2.
301 See LSJ, s.v. φαιδρός I 1.
expressive of variable emotions (from joy and affection to sorrow and anger\textsuperscript{302}), the phrase may hint at the beloved’s fluctuating moods. The oath is symbolic; the lover swears by Myiscus’ eyes and eyebrow, considering that they mirror the boy’s changeable and contradictory behaviour (cf. AP 12.156.3-4). We have already come across a comparable use of oaths in erotic epigrams, i.e. in Asclepiades AP 5.7 = 9 GP, where Heracleia promises thrice in the presence of her lamp that she will meet her lover. Her oath is symbolic, because it is based on the lamp’s capacity to act as the physical symbol of sex. In AP 12.159 = 108 GP, details of the action-reaction connection between the speaker and Myiscus are offered in the last distich. The winter (\textit{χεῖμα}, l.5), which the lover sees, stands for distress and unhappiness, and carries with it the idea of inescapability from an unpleasant situation; the spring for blissfulness (\textit{ἔαρ}, l.6). His weal and woe depend on the boy.

The stormy ‘sea of love’ is intertwined, in AP 12.167 = 109 GP, with the motif of the \textit{komast}:\textsuperscript{303}

\begin{quote}
\begin{small}
\begin{verbatim}
χειμέριον μὲν πνεῦμα, φέρει δ’ ἐπὶ σοί με, Μυΐσκε,

ἀρπαστὸν κώμοις ὁ γλυκύδακρυς Ἐρως∙

χειμαίνει δὲ βαρὺς πνεύσας Πόθος∙ ἀλλὰ μ’ ἐς ὅρμον
dέξαι τὸν ναύτην Κύπριδος ἐν πελάγει.
\end{verbatim}
\end{small}
\end{quote}

The wind is stormy, and sweet-tearful Eros carries me towards you, Myiscus, snatched up as I am by the revels; and the unbearable Desire blows and drives me storm-tossed; but receive me, the sailor in the sea of Cypris, into your harbour.\textsuperscript{304}

In the first distich, the lover is on his way to the beloved’s door. The weather is stormy, and this is made clear by the phrase: \textit{χειμέριον...πνεῦμα} ‘stormy wind’. Initially, the impression is created that \textit{πνεῦμα} is the subject of \textit{φέρει}. The second line, however, clarifies that Eros is the force that snatches the lover and carries him

\textsuperscript{302} Cf. e.g. AP 5.27.3 = 9.3 Page (Rufinus) and AP 12.186.1-2 (Strato) for eye-brows showing arrogance, AP 12.42.3 = 13.3 GP (Dioscorides) for a man’s eyebrow expressing his melancholy.

\textsuperscript{303} For the epigrams that vary the motif of the \textit{komos} and of the \textit{paraclausithyron}, see Tarán (1979) 52-114.

\textsuperscript{304} Translation (slightly modified) by Tarán (1979) 108.
to the beloved’s house. Here, Eros can be envisaged as a wind and in this case, a nice contrast is created between the wind outdoors and the inner gale that is stronger. The verb ἁρπάζω can be employed in connection with winds, as Od. 10.48 shows, where the winds of Aeolus’ sack snatch Odysseus and his comrades and carry them away from their country: τοὺς δ’ αὖγ’ ἁρπάξασα φέρεν πόντονδε θύελλα ‘and swiftly the hurricane seized them and bore them to the sea’. In our epigram, the verbal adjective ἁρπαστὸν carries the connotation of forceful abduction, and thus emphasises that the lover is completely at the mercy of his emotions. This comparison of Eros with the wind dates back to lyric poetry. In Sappho fr.47 Voigt, Eros is compared to a wind which falls on the oaks of a mountain: Ἐρως δ’ ἐτίναξέ μοι/ φρένας, ὦς ἀνέμος κὰτ δρύσιν ἐμπέτων; also, in Ibycus fr.287 Davies, we have the famous metaphor of the Thracian north wind.305 Alternatively in our epigram, Eros can be envisioned in his traditional anthropomorphic representation as a winged youth.306

In the second line, the metaphor becomes more complicated, since revels are paradoxically presented as the means through which Eros snatches the lover: ... φέρει δ’ ἐπὶ σοί με, Μυίσκε,/ ἁρπαστὸν κόμοις ὁ γλυκύδακρυς Ἐρως (ll.1-2). The concept probably refers to wine consumption, a basic element of the komoi, which in other epigrams of Meleager’s Garland is considered to loosen one’s resistances, embolden and/or force him to revel and serenade his beloved.307 The lover’s vulnerability is underlined by the adjective γλυκύδακρυς, which (as is often noted) constitutes a variation of Sappho’s often imitated γλυκύπικρον (fr.130.2 Voigt).308 The characterisation emphasises the ambiguity of love, and introduces the question of what will happen between the lover and the beloved. The question remains unanswered, since, in the second couplet, the boy is asked to receive the lover, but we do not learn whether he accepts him or not.

305 Tarán (1979) 110 also notes the Sapphic parallel, but sees direct inspiration, ignoring other possible intertexts. However, when there is no overt imitation of phraseology, it is better to speak of poetic strands and not of specific poetic models.
306 Cf. the Meleagrean parallels AP 5.177.3-4 = 37.3-4 GP and AP 12.126.1-2 = 87.1-2 GP, combining the ideas of winged and bitter-sweet Eros. In Ar.Av.696-697, the winged Eros is paralleled to the wind ... Ἐρως ὁ ποθεινός,/ στίλβων νύτων πτερύγιον χρυσαίν, εἰκός ἄνεμωκες δίνως, and the comic passage shows that in our epigram there can be a play (a double allusion) to Eros both as a winged god and a wind. Alcaeus fr.327 Voigt makes the wind the father of Eros.
308 Cf. Tarán (1979) 109 n.164 for epigrams on the idea of bitter-sweet love.
In this second distich, with its verbal echoes, we move from the harsh weather which the komast braves in serenading his beloved to the (metaphorical) internal storm: χειμαίνει δὲ βαρὺς πνεύσας Πόθος. Since χειμαίνει can be used transitively and intransitively, meaning ‘drive by a storm’ and ‘be stormy’ (here in a metaphorical sense), the expression can refer simultaneously to the man’s emotional torment and his desire, as the forces driving him to serenade Myiscus. In other words, the phrase expresses in a succinct way concepts of the previous distich: χειμαίνει picks up χειμέριον...πνεῦμα (l.1), and βαρὺς πνεύσας Πόθος draws on the depiction of Eros as a strong force that compels the lover — and if we accept that the god is described as a wind, then similar metaphorical language is employed in both distiches. Eros and Desire stand for the lover’s passion, which is too strong to be controlled and makes him ignore the elements of nature. The adjective βαρύς, meaning ‘grievous, heavy to bear’, accentuates this idea, and because it can be linked with πνεύσας, it emphasises the mightiness of the stormy Desire, standing for the intensity of the emotion. Storms can take place on land and at sea. But the reader is meant to imagine the stormy ‘sea of love’, since the sea metaphor is continued in the last phrase: ἀλλὰ μ’ ἐς ὅρμον/ δέξαι τὸν ναῦτην Κύπριδος ἐν πελάγει (ll.3-4).

The way in which Meleager manipulates the metaphor, making it explicit only at the end (while other of his epigrams start emphatically with it (see e.g. AP 12.157 = 119 GP)), constitutes another aspect of the flexibility with which he handles his material. As in the previous epigrams, the metaphor has dual associations and regards both the lover and his beloved. On the one hand, it emphasises the lover’s torment and distress; on the other, it stresses that the beloved is in a position of control; the final decision belongs to Myiscus. The imperative in the final line indicates that we are to imagine the lover as now stationed outside Myiscus’ door, at the end of a journey which began with ἁρπαστόν. Ὅρμος is used ambiguously, since it can refer both to Myiscus’ house and/ or to his embrace. The request for reception has an urgency, which is underlined by the harbour motif, equating reception with rescue. Hence, the

309 LSJ⁹, s.v. χειμαίνω I 1, 2 and II 1.
310 For the verbal repetitions, along with their literal and metaphorical use, cf. Tarán (1979) 109, Murgatroyd (1995) 17.
311 LSJ⁹, s.v. βαρύς I 2.
312 There is no need to suppose that Meleager borrows the harbour metaphor from the anonymous AP 12.100.1-2 = 5.1-2 GP, as Tarán suggests (1979) 110, since the metaphor is a widespread topos.
motifs of the *komos* and the *paraklausithyron* are combined, and the associations and connotations allow the story to be told economically and rapidly.

AP 12.157 = 119 GP employs similar motifs and identical vocabulary with those in AP 12.167 = 109 GP. Two phrases, in particular χειμαίνει δ’ ὁ βαρὺς πνεύσας Πόθος and ἐν πελάγει, are used in the exact same metrical position. Whichever poem was composed first, we have a self quotation, which catches the reader’s attention and invites him to look for similarities and differences between the two poems. The effect is to alert the reader to the overt play with motifs.313

Κύπρις ἐμοὶ ναῦκληρος, Ὅρος δ’ οἴκακα φυλάσσει
ἀκρον ἐχων ψυχής ἐν χερί πηδάλιον·
χειμαίνει δ’ ὁ βαρὺς πνεύσας Πόθος, οὖνεκα δὴ νῦν
παμφύλῳ παίδων νήχομαι ἐν πελάγει.

Cypris is my captain and Eros keeps guard of the tiller,
with the tip of my soul’s rudder in his hand;
and the unbearable Desire blows and drives me storm-tossed; therefore now
I swim verily in an open sea of boys of every race.

AP 12.157 = 119 GP is far more abstract; unlike AP 12.167 = 109 GP, which tells a particular story, this one overtly plays with larger concepts. More importantly, the subject-matter changes: the metaphors rejuvenate the motif of the lover who suffers because of his multiple desires.314 Within the relevant cluster of epigrams, only the anonymous AP 12.88.1 = 19 GP probably employs nautical imagery as well; a man complains on account of his two loves, which descend on him like tempests and wear him out (δισσοί με τρύχουσι καταιγίζοντες ἐρωτες). The metaphor implies that he speaks of himself as if he was a sailor on a tempest-tossed vessel.315 However, in

313 Tarán (1979) *passim* is wrong to distinguish models and variations between epigrams belonging to the same poet (e.g. she takes AP 12.167 = 109 GP (Meleager) to have been inspired by AP 12.157 = 119 GP (Meleager), see page 109)). There is no safe criterion for such a distinction.


315 The metaphor could also allude to the idea of love as a disease wearing out the lover. See Gow-Page (1965) ii. 568.
contrast to AP 12.157 = 119 GP, the storm metaphor simply introduces the topic, while Meleager makes nautical and storm metaphors the prop of his poem. Thus, his treatment of the metaphors, albeit being common media for the portrayal of the toils of love, renews a *topos* within the genre.

In the first distich, the lover transforms his soul into a ship, which is under Aphrodite’s commands: she is its owner/ captain (Κύπρις ἐμοὶ ναύκληρος, l.1). The image expresses devotion to the experience of love, both literally and poetically. On a metaphorical level, it signifies that the goddess owns the ship and maps out its route; on a literal level, love controls the man’s actions. Eros is its helmsman; he is the one who holds the tiller, the medium for the handling of the rudder (οἴακα φυλάσσει, l.1). The use of two gods, where one would suffice, gives hyperbolic emphasis on the degree to which this man’s life is controlled by love. The next verse (άκρον ἔχων ψυχῆς ἐν χερί πηδάλιον (l.2) spells out that the ship stands for the man’s soul. Some of the epigrams exploring the motif of the inveterate lover refer to the lover’s soul and portray it as being hurt or tortured: in AP 12.89.1-2 = 2 GP (Anonymous), three arrows of Aphrodite are fixed in one’s soul; in AP 12.91.1 (Polystratus), a double love burns a lover’s soul, and in AP 12.92.8 = 116 GP (Meleager), Eros is ‘the cook of the soul’. These metaphors lay emphasis on emotional pain and suffering. In Meleager, the focus shifts as the metaphor points out the loss of control. Eros steers the ship in whatever direction he desires. The term ἄκρον, from a literal point of view, reflects the fact that the tiller is held at the top. But the metaphor has multiple associations; it can indicate the ease with which Eros controls the lover’s soul; a touch by him at the tip of the tiller is sufficient enough to ‘direct’ the man. Given also that the term carries with it connotations of completeness (both on a literal and metaphorical level), the word stresses the god’s total control over the lover’s soul.

Similar nautical metaphors concerning a ship’s crew and navy officers were employed in the preceding poetic tradition for several reasons (not connected to *eros*), e.g. bearing political implications or talking about destiny. For instance, in Aeschylus’ *Seven against Thebes*, Eteocles is the helmsman of Thebes (σὺ δ’ αὐτὸς γνώθι ναυκληρεῖν πόλιν messenger: ‘but yourself determine on what course to pilot the city’, l.652). He himself applies the same

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316 Cf. *LSJ*, s.v. ἄκρον, see e.g. Sim.579.7 *PMG*, where the term expresses the one who has reached the peak of bravery: ἰκητ’ ἐς ἄκρον ἀνδρείας.
metaphor to the governors of the cities: ὅστις φυλάσσει πρᾶγος ἐν πρύμνῃ πόλεως οἴακα νομιῶν ‘whoever guards the state-affairs from the stern of the ship, guiding its helm’ (ll.2-3).\textsuperscript{317} The metaphor stresses the city’s submission and dependence on its ruler, and the control that the latter has over the city’s fate. Similarly, in Aeschylus Ag.1005-1006, the metaphors of navigation and of the shipwreck symbolise the illusionary control over one’s destiny, which is followed by destructive divine intervention. Meleager transfers this kind of metaphors into the sphere of love. While the semantic field changes, the metaphors preserve their associations. They maintain their role as the tool for exploring the notions of control and its loss; the handling of the tiller by Eros reflects the god’s power over the lover, and the lover’s complete submission to him. The following image of Desire blowing and driving the storm-tossed lover (χειμαίνει δ’ ὁ βαρὺς πνεύσας Πόθος, l.3) develops further the idea of the loss of self-control; not only does the metaphor emphasise the man’s subordination to his emotions, but it also stresses, through the metaphor of the storm, his emotional torment.

The epigram closes with the following phrase: οὕνεκα δὴ νῦν/ παμφύλω παίδων νήχομαι ἐν πελάγει (ll.3-4). If AP 12.167 = 109 GP preceded AP 12.157 = 119 GP in the original sequence of the Meleagrean Garland, then the reader would certainly expect a variation of the komast motif. Two reasons indicate that the epigram was most probably structured to take the reader by surprise: firstly, in the other Meleagrean epigrams employing nautical and sea imagery, the metaphors mirror the lover’s tormenting emotions because of a single passion not multiple ones.\textsuperscript{318} Secondly, the other epigrams dealing with this motif spell out their topic from the outset.\textsuperscript{319} Indeed, someone can desire more than one person at the same time, and thus, the poem is inspired by real human emotions. However, there is unmistakeable hyperbole in the last phrase, where the lover says that he swims in an open sea of boys of all races.\textsuperscript{320} The term παμφύλω expresses indiscriminate desire and combined with ἐν πελάγει it creates the impression of an endless line of boys.

\textsuperscript{317} Cf. e.g. Soph.\textit{Ant}.994, \textit{OT}.694-696, Pind.\textit{Pyth}.1.86, 4.273-274.

\textsuperscript{318} Cf. AP 5.190 = 64 GP, AP 12.159 = 108 GP, and AP 12.167 = 109 GP (Meleager).

\textsuperscript{319} See n.314.

\textsuperscript{320} As Gow-Page (1965) ii. 670 note, the adjective παμφύλω both suggests the Pamphylian sea and exemplifies the lover’s desire for boys of every race. I add that the choice of the specific sea betrays Meleager’s Syrian origins, since Pamphylia was a region in the south of Asia Minor.
whom the lover desires; the amplitude of the ocean stresses the magnitude of the number of boys, and becomes almost a metapoetic statement about homoerotic love poetry. The tone of the phrase is ambiguous, and it can be considered as the proud declaration of a man who lives and breathes for love, or as a complaint, expressing emotional distress. Noteworthy is the comic hint embedded in the term πηδάλιον in line 2. As we saw, the term alludes to a man’s penis already in Theognis 458 and in Theophilus fr.6.3. Also, in Aristophanes’ Pax 142, Trygaeus asserts that if he falls into the sea as he returns back to earth from Olympus, he will use his πηδάλιον (i.e. his penis) to save himself.321  

There is a surprising shift in the image field at the end of the poem. In the first distich, the lover’s soul is a ship. Here, he is swimming, and if we consider him as suffering, then we can imagine him as shipwrecked. In both cases, the transformation of the metaphor enhances the lack of any means of control — a swimmer is much more vulnerable than a ship. There is also a paradox in the combination of the ideas of danger (the open sea, the swimmer) and of pleasure. The paradox varies the Sapphic notion of ‘bittersweet eros’, for which in AP 12.167.2, Meleager uses the adjective γλυκύδακρυς. In each case, the variation brings out a different effect, suitable to the context of the epigram.

We close this section by examining one last Meleagrean epigram, AP 5.190 = 64 GP. This poem merits discussion here since, although it is not itself homoerotic, there is an overlap of ideas and motifs with the Meleagrean homoerotic ‘nautical’ epigrams; the lover is presented as a mariner who has lost his orientation in the stormy sea, and the imagery symbolises emotional turmoil and lack of self-control.

κῦμα τὸ πικρὸν Ἐρωτος ἀκοίμητοι τε πνέοντες  
Ζῆλοι322 καὶ κόμων χειμέριον πέλαγος,
ποὶ φέρομαι; πάντῃ δὲ φρενῶν οἴακες ἀφεῖνται—
ἡ πάλι τὴν τρυφερὴν Σκύλλαν ἐποψόμεθα;323

322 I personify the emotion; see my analysis in pp.113-114.
323 Waltz suggests that the question in line 3 should be continued until ἀφεῖνται, because δὲ after the question ποὶ φέρομαι is unnecessary. But the question makes more sense with an explanatory statement of lack of control over direction. Meleager breaks up the descriptive material both for
Bitter wave of Eros and sleepless gales of
Jealousy, and stormy ocean of revels,
whither am I borne? This way and that drifts the abandoned rudder of my judgment;
Shall we ever set eyes again on delicate Scylla?

Initially, he asks the forces overpowering him to tell him towards where he is
dragged (ll.1-3). His opening phrase κῦμα τὸ πικρὸν Ἔρωτος exemplifies his pain (see the adjective πικρὸν), and prepares the reader for the metaphor of the storm-
tossed mariner, which is reinvigorated through the amalgamation of three elements: the motif of the jealous lover (l.2), the ship of judgment (l.3), and the beloved’s description as Scylla (l.4). Jealousy is cleverly personified; the emotion is presented as continuously blowing gales that drift the lover’s ship into unknown directions. This is a case of self-variation, since, in the Meleagrean AP 12.157 = 119 GP and AP 12.167 = 109 GP, it is Desire that blows heavily and drives the lover to the beloved’s doorsteps. The phrase becomes hyperbolic in two ways: through the plural ζῆλοι, intensifying the scale of jealousy, and the adjective ἀκοίμητοι, stressing the notion of ceaseless emotional torture. In this way, Meleager refreshes the topos of the jealous lover who is unable to rest during the night. This idea of restless love is an old one and is elaborated for instance in Ibycus fr.286.6-13 Davies. In the lyric poem, love is compared to a strong wind, which blows against the lover and is produced by an external force, Aphrodite. Love as a wind is mad, dark, and shameless, and affects the lover’s heart in a negative way. In our epigram, it is jealousy that is transformed into a ceaseless wind which loosens the ‘rudders’ of the lover. Although we cannot be sure whether or not Ibycus acted as a specific poetic model for our epigram, it is unambiguous that Meleager follows a poetic tradition portraying emotions as

variety and for the achievement of a staccato effect in the punctuation, which mirrors the lover’s bewilderment.

324 Tarán (1979) 111 sees the phrase κῦμα τὸ πικρὸν Ἔρωτος as a variant of the Sapphic Ἔρως...γλυκόπικρον (fr.130 Voigt), arguing that by itself κῦμα Ἔρωτος ‘implies a positive appraisal of the sentiment’, that it is the equivalent of γλυκυ-. But κῦμα within erotic contexts has a priori negative associations.

325 Cf. Tarán (1979) 111.
personified winds.\textsuperscript{326} As in AP 12.167.2, the metaphorical stormy sea of revels (κόμων χειμέριοιν πέλαγος, 1.2) reflects the well established connection between wine and love. It hints at the idea of drowning one’s sorrows, but equally tells a story of failure in that the lover’s ardour is not reduced nor his pain removed.

The question ‘ποῖ φέρομαι;’ is both literal and metaphorical; on a metaphorical level, it continues the image of the lover as a mariner, lost at sea. On a literal level, it suggests that he wanders, disorientated, because of his intoxication. His statement πάντη δὲ φρενὸν οἰάκες ἀφεῖναι (l.3) continues the use of nautical metaphors, and possibly hints at Alcaeus’ lyric pictures of a ship which is directionless in a storm.\textsuperscript{327} It concludes the image of the lover as being completely disorientated (as a mariner on an ungoverned ship). Simultaneously, the term φρήν denotes both ‘the mind’, as the seat of the mental abilities, and ‘the heart’, as the seat of passions (cf. AP 12.157.2 ψυχῆς...πηδάλιον).\textsuperscript{328} Thus, the use of the plural οἰάκες can suggest the utter loss of control over his perception, thought, and emotions. In his intoxication, he thinks of nothing else, and feels nothing else apart from his jealousy, caused by his eros. Meleager could be drawing here from the poetic tradition employing variants of ‘the ship of judgment’. Gow and Page appropriately cite Aeschylus’ Ag.802-804: οὖδ’ εὖ πραπίδων οἴακα νέμων/ θράσος ἕκ θυσίων/ ἀνδράσι θηρίσκουσι κομίζων, ‘and as not guiding aright the helm of your mind in seeking through your sacrifices to bring courage to dying men’.\textsuperscript{329} One can also add Per.767 φρένες γὰρ αὐτοῦ θυμὸν ὀκαστρόφων ‘for wisdom directed the tiller of his mind’,\textsuperscript{330} said for the son of Medus. So, as Tarán suggests, it is possible that the epigram varies, in an implicit way, the topic of the wise man who has been overpowered by love.\textsuperscript{331}

The epigram closes with a culmination of the nautical imagery, as the lover wonders whether he will see the ‘delicate Scylla’ again or not: ἤ πάλι τὴν τρυφερὴν Σκύλλαν ἐποψόμεθα; (l.4). The beloved’s appellation carries a number of

\textsuperscript{326} Cf. e.g. Aesch. Cho.390-392 where wrath blows and directs the fate of ‘the ship of heart’.

\textsuperscript{327} For Alcaeus’ ship metaphors, see Page (1979) 179-197.

\textsuperscript{328} LSJ\textsuperscript{3}, s.v. φρήν I 2, 3.


\textsuperscript{330} My translation.

\textsuperscript{331} Tarán (1979) 112. The topos dates back to II. 14.214-217, where Aphrodite’s kestos himas can steal the wits even of the wise.
associations. First and foremost, it alludes to the *Odyssey* and the horrible sea monster that devoured Odysseus’ comrades. This allusion reflects this woman’s destructive influence on the lover and the latter’s inability to escape from her. It might also indicate that she is a greedy hetaera since, as we saw, other texts use sea monsters for the description of such women. A characteristic example is Anaxilas *Neottis* fr.22.15-17, where the hetaera Nannion is specifically compared to Scylla; through an allusion to the Homeric episode (*Od. 12.98-100, 222-259, 310*), Nannion is said to have throttled two of the companions (i.e. two of her customers), while she runs after another one, who tries to escape with his oar. Irrespective of whether the woman in our epigram is a hetaera or not, her appellation stresses her destructiveness. The adjective τρυφερή, apart from its connection to one’s physical delicacy, has connotations of luxury and expense. This might point towards this woman’s luxuriousness as being the reason for the lover’s destruction (meaning his financial plundering). In addition, the combination of two words with antithetical associations (τὴν τρυφερὴν Σκύλλαν) discloses an idea, which we already detected in other epigrams: the woman superficially looks innocent, but in reality she is dangerous (because she is ruinously expensive). The lover’s final question inverts the Homeric text. In *Od. 12.445-446*, Odysseus expresses his relief and happiness because Zeus did not let Scylla see him, when he was driven back to the cliff of the sea monsters: Σκύλλην δ’ οὐκέτ’ ἔασε πατὴρ ἄνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε/ εἰσιδέειν: οὐ γάρ κεν ὑπέκφυγον ἄιπυν ὀλέθρον. In our epigram, the new ‘Odysseus’ wonders if he will see his ‘Scylla’ again or not. His question undoubtedly expresses his desire of seeing the woman again. As a second Odysseus, he knows that a second encounter with her will bring his utter destruction, but he still yearns for her. In his case, ‘Scylla’ has become for him a ‘Siren’, so that our ‘Odysseus’ longs not to see his home, but this devouring creature. In this scenario, which subverts the *Odyssey*, there

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332 As the text stands, Σκύλλαν is the proper name. The adjective τρυφερήν though might hint at the woman’s true name, as Jacobs suggests (cf. AP 5.154 = 63 GP (Meleager), praising a woman called Τρυφέρα).

333 Cf. AP 5.161 = 40 GP (Hedylus or Asclepiades).

334 ἣ δὲ Νάννιον τι νυνι διαφέρειν Σκύλλης δοκεῖ/ οὐ δ’ ἀποπνίξασ’ ἑταῖρος τὸν τρίτον θηρεύεται/ ἐτι λαβεῖν: ἀλλ’ ἔξεσσεν <ἡ> πορθμίς ἡλετίνῳ πλάτη.

335 LSJ, s.v. τρυφερός II.

336 Cf. AP 5.44 = 17 Page (Rufinus), AP 5.161 = 40 GP (Hedylus or Asclepiades).
is a clever hyperbole, expressed through key-words, which ably gets the mixed feelings of a man who knows that his love is destructive, but nonetheless yearns to pursue it.337

3.3.3. The Survival of Erotic Nautical and Sea Metaphors after the Meleagrean Garland.

Nautical and sea metaphors continued to be employed up until the time of the Cycle of Agathias. In this section, I offer an exploration of particular patterns that characterise their application in the poems of later epigrammatists. I start my analysis by observing that while other topoi concerning this kind of metaphorical language persist, being varied and renewed at great length up until the Cycle, others gradually fade away. For instance, while the shipwreck in its literal form is reused by epigrammatists belonging to the Meleagrean Garland, the Posidippean Milan Papyrus (89-94 AB), and the Philippean Garland, its metaphorical application (the shipwrecked lover) falls gradually into disuse. Additionally, while in Meleager’s Garland nautical and sea metaphors portray love and desire, pain, and inability to control oneself and the beloved, in Philip’s Garland there is an intense interest in producing variations of the motif of the ‘complaining’ ship.338

The antitheses between the two anthologies are remarkable because they do not constitute an isolated phenomenon, but can be observed in the development of other topoi as well. For instance, the hetaerae form a recurrent theme in both Garlands. To judge from the surviving material, within this larger framework, the theme of the customer’s discontent because he has to pay for sex is not explored in Meleager’s Garland to any considerable degree, whereas it is varied several times by the epigrammatists of Philip’s Garland. What is more, the poets of Philip’s Garland use for the exploration of this topic new media, such as the myth of Zeus and Danae,

337 Alciphron’s 1.21.3 offers a close parallel. He actually brings together several of the strands that are used in the epigrams: he combines the ideas of a hetaera described both as a Scylla and as a pirate ship and of her clients being portrayed as shipwrecked on land. The man, to whom advice is offered, is also compared to Odysseus.

338 Meleager refers to personified ships in AP 12.52 = 81 GP and AP 12.53 = 66 GP. But nowhere in his Garland, do we have the idea of the ‘complaining’ ship.
where the maiden’s virginity is transformed into a commodity for sale. This pattern does not constitute a simple case of variation, but should be explained through the dynamics of poetic rivalry.

As well as producing close variations of motifs that were favoured by their predecessors, the poets of Philip’s Garland took motifs to untrodden paths. In addition, the repeated variation of the new ideas forms a conscious strategy which stresses their creativity and lays emphasis on the originality of their epigrams. The placement of these variations in a sequence is intentional, aiming to draw the reader’s attention to the new concepts (see e.g. AP 9.32 - AP 9.36). To sum up, the poets of Philip’s Garland create new concepts (within the genre) that, while echoing their Hellenistic ancestors (because they all employ sea and nautical life as their base), clearly and emphatically underline their creativity. The grouping of AP 9.415 = 43 GPh and AP 9.416 = 52 GPh, to which I referred above, exemplifies these dynamics. Although they both refresh the metaphor of the ‘ship-prostitute’, a concept already attested in Meleager’s Garland, their alignment attracts the reader’s attention to the way in which the motif is refreshed through the image of the personified speaking ship.

The epigrammatists of Philip’s Garland also seem to lean towards the employment of nautical and sea metaphors in their sexual form: AP 9.415 = 43 GPh and AP 9.416 = 52 GPh are full of sexual innuendos, and AP 11.29 = 2 GPh is about an impotent lover, described as an ‘unequipped rower’. This interest can also be attributed to the dynamics of poetic rivalry. These younger epigrammatists were seeking a niche for originality, and given that the ‘sea of love’ had been exhaustively reformulated especially by Meleager himself, they moved to the composition of poems having a more intense focus on sexual minutiae rather than subjective emotion. Philip as an editor played a key-role in the formation of these tendencies. While he wanted to produce a ‘garland’ similar in quality to that of Meleager (see …ἀντανέπλεξα/ τοῖς Μελεαγρείοις ὡς ἰκέλον στεφάνοις, AP 4.2.3-4 = 1.3-4 GPh), above all he aimed at making known the poetic skills of the new epigrammatists:

339 Relevant epigrams from Philip’s Garland include AP 5.30 = 6 GPh and AP 5.31 = 112 GPh (Antipater of Thessalonica), AP 5.32 = 2 GPh (Marcus Argentarius), AP 5.33 = 1 GPh and AP 5.34 = 2 GPh (Parmenion), and AP 5.125 = 1 GPh (Bassus); for later variations of the motif, cf. AP 12.239 (Strato), AP 5.217 = 39 Viansino (P.Silentiarius).

ἀλλὰ παλαιότέρων εἰδῶς κλέος, ἐσθλὲ Κάμιλλε, γνῶθι καὶ ὀπλοτέρων τὴν ὀλιγοστιχίην (AP 4.2.5-6 = 1.5-6 GPh). One way of achieving his purpose was by gathering interrelated epigrams that echoed the epigrammatists of Meleager’s *Garland*, while stressing that they varied a new idea.

Moving on to the analysis of the relevant epigrams, Automedon AP 11.29 = 2 GPh deserves our attention. The epigram is satirical in tone, and thus reminds us of those using the ‘ship-prostitute’ metaphor. However, while on the surface, it seems simple and funny (an exercise in self-humiliation), there is certainly emphasis placed on the lover’s emotions, his fear and nervousness due to his impotence.

πέμπε, κύλει πάντ’ ἕστιν ἑτοιμά σοι· ἢν δέ τις ἔλθῃ, τί πρήξεις; σαυτῷ δὸς λόγον, Αὐτόμεδον.

Send, summon; you have everything ready; but if anyone comes, what will you do? Think about this, Automedon.

For this <that is more flaccid than a vegetable,> that used to be unbendable and alive, is now dead and has all sunk between your thighs.

People will laugh at you out loud, if you venture to sail unequipped, a rower who no longer has his oar.

The epigram has the form of a monologue placing the reader in the role of an ‘eavesdropper’ (cf. AP 12.232 (Scythinus), and AP 12.216 and AP 12.240 (Strato)). The initial phrases ‘send, summon; you have everything ready’ have a twofold function: from a narratological perspective they set the scene; they also...
illustrate the lover’s eagerness and desire to call the beloved. The reader observes that once the situation is generated, the urgency disappears. Automedon does not specify the beloved’s gender. By using the indefinite pronoun τις, he leaves the beloved as an unspecified figure so that the focus remains on him and his experience. The doubts about the summoning of the beloved (ll.1-2) are followed by an emphatic self-admonition: ‘think about this, Automedon’. The poet identifies himself as the lover, and naming is definitely purposeful. There is a pun connected to his name: Αὐτομέδων derives from αὐτός (‘himself’) and μέδων (‘lord, ruler’) and the self-deprecation is based on the concept that the one who should be a master of himself cannot control his body.

The next four lines (ll.3-6) reveal and explain in detail the reason for his doubts, and the self-irony hidden in the use of his name. The tone is ‘serio-comic’. On the one hand, the description of his impotence is humorous. On the other hand, it reveals his torment caused by his erectile dysfunction. The imagery employed is not static, but the poet employs a sequence of successive metaphors that have strong intratextual relations. Automedon uses initially a floral metaphor. The description of his condition begins with the feminine pronoun αὕτη, which is used as part of the euphemistic language of the epigram, and it is feminine because of the forthcoming description of the penis as κώπη (l.6). The phrase †λαχάνου σισαρωτέρη † has puzzled the scholars. Cat.67.21 offers a parallel, where a man’s penis is called languardior tenera cui pendet sicula beta ‘more flaccid than a tender beetroot’. The idea of a soft vegetable is designed to provide a sharp antithesis to the ‘unbending’ oar. One could preserve λαχάνου referring to a vegetable (a boiled one, by implication, so as to be tender), and then turn σισαρωτέρη into λαγαρωτέρη (following Gow and Page), or perhaps into μαλακωτέρη. The description of the penis as ‘living’, ‘vigorous’, and ‘dead’ (ll.3-4) has also parallels. New life is

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344 Gow-Page (1968) i. 171 and Paton (1999) iv. 83 take it for granted that the beloved is a woman. However, the motif could be used in homoerotic poetry (cf. e.g. Strato AP 12.11 and AP 12.216), and so the reference to the beloved can be purposefully ambiguous.

345 Cf. AP 6.162 = 11 GP (Meleager).

346 Gow-Page (1968) ii. 187.

347 Cf. e.g. AP 12.216 (Strato) νῦν ὃρθη, κατάρατε, καὶ εὐτόνος, ἤνικα μηδέν/ ἤνικα δ’ ἦν ἐχθές, οὐδὲν ὀλῶς ἀνέπνεις, AP 12.232 (Scythinus) ὃρθον νῦν ἔστηκας ἀνώνυμον οὐδὲ μαραίνῃ ... νεκρόν.
breathed into the motif because of the double allusions existing in the poem. Given that the penis is described as dead (νεκρά), the man’s thighs can be viewed as the earth, and δέδυκεν can have the meaning of ‘went down’, namely of being buried. Simultaneously, the verb is often used for the sinking into the sea, a connotation which prepares the reader for the presentation of the man as an oarsman and of his penis as an oar. The phrase ‘people will laugh at you out loud (lit. a lot)’ interrupts the chain of successive descriptions of sexual impotence. The expression reveals Automedon’s fear that private affairs will become common knowledge. This idea was also explored in Philodemus AP 5.4 = 1 GPh = 7 Sider from another angle; there it was Philaenis, the gossiping servant, who was sent away. Here, it is the beloved that is considered a possible source of gossip and humiliation. The nautical metaphor creates allusions, which are already known from Aristophanes. The lover is described as an oarsman (ἐρέτης) who is unable to sail, i.e. to make love (πλώειν), as he does not have an oar, i.e. an erect penis (τὴν κώπην).

Leaving aside Philip’s Garland, we move to the work of later epigrammatists. In skoptic epigrams, as expected, sea and nautical metaphors act as double entendres for sex or sexual organs. We have already referred to Nicarchus AP 11.328, a skoptic epigram on group sex. The anonymous AP 11.220 constitutes a joke on cunnilingus, the motif deriving from comedy.

Ἀλφειοῦ στόμα φεῦγε· φιλεῖ κόλπους Ἀρεθούσης,
πρηνὴς ἐμπίπτων ἄλμυρὸν ἐς πέλαγον.

Avoid the mouth of Alpheus; he/it loves the bays of Arethusa,
plunging headlong into salty open sea.

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348 LSJ⁹, s.v. δύω II 2.
349 LSJ⁹, s.v. δύω II 2.
351 Cf. δικωπεῖν ἄμφοτέρας for sex with two hags in Ar.Eccl.1091, and the use of ἐρετμόν, meaning both ‘oar’ and ‘phallic oar’, in Plato Com.3.4 (see Henderson (1991) 121, 162).
353 For cunnilingus in comedy, see Henderson (1991) 185-186.
The use of Alpheus and Arethusa instantly alludes to the respective geographical locations (Peloponnese and Ortygia respectively), and the relevant myth of the god river Alpheus who fell in love with the nymph Arethusa. However, the whole epigram is metaphorical, and the geographical locations produce a joke on cunnilingus. Two readings are possible that are quite proximate as to their interpretative range. The addressee is advised to avoid kissing a man who has performed cunnilingus, if he wants to keep his mouth clean. The river mouth stands for the man’s mouth, and the phrase φίλει κόλπους Αρεθούσης refers to cunnilingus, as it becomes evident from the second line.\textsuperscript{354} The salty open sea, towards which the man plunges, signifies the vagina. AP 11.328.3 offers a nice parallel, where πολιην ἅλα symbolises an old woman’s private parts.\textsuperscript{355} The use of ἐμπίπτων, which is more forceful than the uncompounded πίπτω, implies the enthusiasm with which this man performs cunnilingus. Alternatively, changing slightly the interpretation of the first metaphor, the epigram becomes a warning against being given fellatio by a man who has performed cunnilingus. Comedy offers parallels to the use of the ‘mouth’ for implying fellatio: in Lys.855 ὃι γάρ ἢ γυνή σ’ ἔχει διὰ στόμα ‘your wife always has you on her lips’, and in Strattis fr.40.2 τῷ στόματι δράσω ‘I’ll do you by mouth’.\textsuperscript{356} In this case, the joke is coarser. In both scenarios, the association between the action which one should avoid and the reason why he should do it, is emphasised through the chiasmus (στόμα ~ κόλπους, φεῦγε ~ φιλεῖ, Ἀλφειοῦ ~ Ἀρεθούσης).

From Rufinus’ œuvre, only two epigrams survive that make use of sea and nautical metaphors (i.e. AP 5.44 = 17 Page and AP 5.35 = 11 P), and both of them have clear sexual connotations. We have already analysed in detail AP 5.44 = 17 P, and here it suffices to be told that the interest in talking about sex through nautical metaphors is already evident in the first line, in the use of the nickname Κερκούριον.\textsuperscript{357} It seems that the use of nautical and sea metaphors in their sexual


\textsuperscript{355} The use of ἀλμυρὸν finds parallels in Latin poetry, where a woman’s vagina can be described as salty, cf. Richlin (1992) 26.

\textsuperscript{356} Both examples are cited by Henderson (1991) 184.

\textsuperscript{357} For AP 5.44 = 17 Page (Rufinus). Cf. AP 5.60 = 21 Page (Rufinus), where the river Eurotas stands for a bathing girl’s vagina (for this epigram, see Page (1978) 91-92, Baldwin (1980b) 182-184, Cameron (1981b) 179-186, Höschele-Konstan (2005) 626-627).
form continued to constitute an appealing template to work with since there was still room for originality and creativity.

AP 5.35 = 11 Page is humorous in tone, since three women contest as to who has the most beautiful buttocks. The speaker is an ‘approved’ voyeur, as he was chosen to be the judge of the competition (ll.1-2). I focus on the description of the third woman’s buttocks, since it is for her that Rufinus uses sea metaphors: ἥ δὲ γαληνίωσα  χαράσσετο κύματι κωφῷ/ αὐτομάτη τρυφερῷ χρωτὶ σαλευομένη ‘and the third (buttocks) being calm, began to be broken by a silent wave, their delicate flesh spontaneously trembling’ (ll.7-8). Page was the first one to note that the phrase κύματι κωφῷ is also used in Il. 14.16 (in the exact same metrical position), being part of a simile that mirrors Nestor’s indecisiveness about whether he should follow Agamemnon or not (ll.16-20). If indeed Rufinus alludes to Homer, then we have an example of the use of epic diction for humorous purposes. One can compare Alciphron’s 4.14.4, where a similar contest takes place in the context of a party, and in which one of the contestants shakes her buttocks with such a quivering motion, as if they were running water. Moving on to the details of the metaphor in AP 5.35 = 11 P, the participle γαληνίωσα denotes a calm sea, and suggests the smoothness of the skin and also stillness. This calm sea is said to be broken by a silent wave; the verb χαράσσετο, which Page finds incompatible with the notion of a calm sea, can be interpreted as an inceptive imperfect, which adds vividness to the narration. The

358 The epigram openly parodies the myth of Paris’ Judgement (see ll.9-10). This myth was reworked in several epigrams, where it was often parodied, cf. e.g. AP 5.22 = 8 Page (Rufinus), AP 5.234 = 49 Viansino (P.Silentiarius), AP 6.283 = 39 GP (Anonymous), AP 9.337 = 29 GP (Leonidas of Tarentum), AP 9.576 (Nicarchus), AP 9.619 = 42 Viansino (Ag.Scholasticus), AP 9.637 (Anonymous), API 172 (Alexander of Aetolia), API 174 (Anonymous).

359 Page (1978) 84.

360 This is possible, since γαληνίωσα is epic in form, see Page (1978) 84.

361 For a different interpretation of the distich, see Höschele (2006a) 102-104. Having the Homeric simile as a starting point, Höschele considers the metaphor as hinting at the judge’s indecisiveness. She further suggests that, as in the Homeric simile we have the image of a storm, in the epigram another ‘storm’ is pending, in the form of anal penetration, which will be the award of the contest; this is why the third girl trembles.


363 Page (1978) 83. Saumaise suggested ταράσσετο, but Rufinus uses the verb in a manner similar to Antipater of Sidon AP 10.2.1-2 = 41.1-2 GP ὁμοίως ἡ θάλασσα πορφύρα τρομερῇ φρικὶ χαρασσομένη ‘and the calm sea is not furrowed by a dreadful ripple’.
girl starts to move, and her motions create the silent wave. One can discern a climax in the description of the three contestants, starting with the first one, who seems to stand still, moving to the second one, who spreads her legs (τῆς δὲ διαρρομένης), ending with the third one whose buttocks shake. The following distich explains the meaning of the metaphor; the woman’s flesh being soft naturally trembles as she moves. Though the verb σαλεύω and its compounds are often used of the agitation of sexual intercourse, here in combination with αὐτομάτη it suggests simply the natural trembling of the flesh in movement; the girl can be imagined as dancing, wiggling or being able to control her muscles. One can compare this contestant to the girl in AP 5.60 = 21 Page (Rufinus), whose buttocks gyrate and shake as she takes a bath. Following this interpretation, αὐτομάτη σαλευομένη can be viewed as the apposition of κύματι κωφῷ; the Homeric phrase denotes a soundless wave, which is not caused by strong winds. This can imply that the girl’s smooth buttocks start to jiggle, as she moves. One can contrast Dioscorides AP 5.54.3-4 = 7 GP, where κύμα (in the sense of tossing waves) denotes sexual activity. The use in AP 5.54 = 7 GP of σαλευομένου (μεσσόθι γὰρ μέγα κύμα...σοῦ δὲ σαλευομένου, ll.3-4), in the same distich and in the same metrical position as in AP 5.35 = 11 P, may imply that Rufinus reworks Dioscorides.

Turning now to the Cycle of Agathias, only AP 5.235 = 8 Madden (Macedonius the Consul) uses nautical imagery, and its application in this single epigram constitutes (within the genre) a return to the treatment of this imagery in Hellenistic epigram. Macedonius illustrates his erudition not by producing a variation of a single prototype, but by amalgamating and refreshing a series of nautical metaphors, detected in the work of several Hellenistic epigrammatists. Reworking and surpassing the works of great poets of the past was a much

364 Cf. AP 11.225.3–4 (Strato) for a man participating in group homoerotic sex is shaking: ...τὸν ἐν μέσσῳ δίς ἀρίθμησεν/κοινὰ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἔργα σαλευόμενον; AP 5.54.4 = 7.4 GP (Dioscorides), where the verb is used for a man copulating with his pregnant wife: σοῦ δὲ σαλευομένου; and AP 5.55.6 = 5.6 GP (Dioscorides), where the compound ἁμφισαλευομένης stands for a woman’s trembling while having sex.

appreciated quality in early Byzantium, and Macedonius’ epigram appeals to this strand, since it alludes to and refreshes several earlier uses of sea and nautical metaphors. Moreover, nautical imagery does not constitute a small fraction of Macedonius’ epigram, but dominates it from start to finish. This facet reminds us of the Hellenistic epigrammatists, especially Meleager, who composed erotic epigrams on similar topics using sea and nautical metaphors as the backbone of their poems. Macedonius does not only reinvigorate the imagery itself, but imitates a specific style of composition. This acts as a further medium through which the comparison of his epigram to his Hellenistic predecessors is promoted, and which adds to the projection of his epigram as γράμματος ἀρχαίοιο σοφὸν μίμημα.

ηλθές ἐμοὶ ποθέοντι παρ’ ἐλπίδα· τὴν δ’ ἐνι θυμῷ ἐξεσάλαξας ὅλην θάμβεϊ φαντασίην καὶ τρομέω· κραδίη τὲ βυθὸ πελεμίζεται οἴστρου,

ψυχῆς πνιγομένης κύματι Кυπριδίῳ.

ἀλλ’ ἐμὲ τὸν ναυηγὸν ἐπ’ ἡπείροι φανέντα σῶε τεῶν λιμένων ἔνδοθι δεξαμένη.

You came past hope to me who was longing for you; and you shook away with amasement all the imagining in my mind, and I tremble; and my heart quivers in its depths from passion, while my soul is drowning in the Cyprian wave.

So, me, the shipwrecked sailor who has come near dry land, save, receiving (me) into your harbours.

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367 Agathias’ proemium: AP 4.3.116 = 2.70 Viansino.

368 The reading οἴστρῳ (P¹), instead of C’s correction οἴστρου, should not be dismissed. Apart from the arguments included in Madden (1995) 138-139, I add the following: i) if we accept οἴστρῳ, we have homeoteleuton (and Macedonius was fond of rhetorical tropoi, as Madden (1995) 58-59 himself points out), which calls the reader’s attention to the inner-variation, since love is expressed through οἴστρῳ and κόματι κυρηδίῳ. ii) The same word οἴστρῳ is used in erotic epigrams by Paulus Silentiarius in the same metrical position in AP 5.226.5 = 42.5 Viansino, AP 5.236.7 = 74.7 Viansino, and AP 5.260.1 = 70.1 Viansino, and this could be a case of variation of a motif.

The epigram starts in medias res and the phrase παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα encloses a whole story, left to the reader’s imagination. In lines 1-4, Macedonius describes the effect that the beloved’s unexpected arrival has on the lover, manifesting itself as physical symptoms and affecting his inner world, ideas that go back to Sappho fr.31 Voigt. The quatrain is based on an inner variation as far as the use of terms expressing the notion of ‘shaking, trembling’ is concerned (either metaphorically or literally): ἐξεσάλαξας, τρομέω, and πελεμίζεται. The description of his current state starts with the positive effect that the beloved’s presence has on him. The term φαντασίην refers to the scenarios the lover was playing out in his mind, while awaiting his beloved’s arrival; the preceding παρ’ ἐλπίδα clearly denotes that his thoughts have been negative, that he did not expect that the beloved would come. The participle ἐξεσάλαξας (meaning ‘shaking out’) mirrors the shattering of these fantasies, which are proved false. Being etymologically relevant to σαλεύω, the participle indirectly introduces the sea metaphor; the underlying idea is that the beloved, as a storm, dispelled his erroneous and negative imaginations from his mind.370 If Theocritus’ Idyll 2.85 ἀλλὰ μὲ τὶς καπνωρὰ νόσος ἐξεσάλαξεν (the only other text where the verb ἐκσαλάσσω is used) is indeed an intertext,371 then Macedonius inverts successfully the negative connotations that the participle previously had — Simaetha’s suffering due to love is described as a disease that violently shakes her. There is a play in the use of φαντασίην which by this time is employed for literary imagery (αἱ ποιητικαὶ φαντασίαι, Plu.2.759c); the speaker, in using a striking image to express the beloved’s effect on him, draws attention to the employment of the language of imagery to talk about his current physiological and psychological state.

In the following distich, the use of τρομέω is ambiguous, as it can both refer to physical trembling, a manifestation of the shock under which the lover is, but can also be metaphorical. In both cases, it is further explained by the rest of the distich; the man’s heart quakes in its ‘depths’ by passion, and his soul drowns in the Cyprian wave. The phrase κραδίη βυθῷ πελεμίζεται οἷστρῳ presents the man’s passion as so strong that it shakes him to the core. At the same time, the use of βυθῷ alludes to the bottom of the sea, continuing the sea imagery (see ἐξεσάλαξας), which is fully developed in the following verse; the lover’s soul is drowning by the Cyprian wave.

The concept itself and the phraseology link the epigram with a line of Hellenistic ones varying this *topos*, especially Meleager AP 12.84.8 = 114 GP, because of the overlap in phrasing: πικρότερον χέρσῳ κύμα περιώ Κύπριδος.372

The same applies to the next distich that employs the metaphor of the ‘shipwrecked’ lover and of his salvation, which can only be achieved through the arrival to the beloved’s harbour(s). Two surviving epigrams could have acted as Macedonius’ models, Meleager AP 12.167 = 109 GP and Philodemus AP 10.21 = 15 GP = 8 Sider. Philodemus uses similar phraseology in the final distich (compare: ἐμὲ...σῶε – σῶζέ με, τεῦν λιμένων – πρὸς λιμένας), and makes an explicit reference to the ‘sea of Aphrodite’ in the preceding line (κύματι Κυπριδίῳ - Κύπρι...τὸν σέο πορφυρῶ κλωζόμενον πελάγει). Meleager refers to the lover as the sailor in the ocean of Cypri (τὸν ναῦτην Κυπριδος ἐν πελάγει), and as his epigram is a *paraclausithyron*, he uses the verb δέχομαι to express his desire to become accepted into the beloved’s home and/ or his embrace (μ’ ἐς ὅρμον δέξαι, as in our epigram: τεῦν λιμένων ἐνδοθι δεξαμένη). In Macedonius, the motif of the *paraclausithyron* is reworked to produce a comic twist. The beloved is at the lover’s house, and so the metaphor cannot represent acceptance to one’s home. Apart from denoting mutual love, it also becomes a symbol for sex;373 the adverb ἔνδοθι, which from a syntactical point of view is unnecessary, intensifies the sexual hue.

3.4. Conclusions

The employment of nautical and sea metaphors in erotic epigrams constitutes a narrative tool that secures a dense and allusive narrative, since their use has the potential of creating a series of connotations. In other words, literal narrative is supplemented by the metaphorical one, and the technique results in and secures narrative flexibility. Especially in cases of metaphors dominating whole epigrams, the content and interpretation of the poem is subject to the reader’s own interaction with the metaphors. For example, as we saw, the interpretation of AP 10.21 = 15 GPh = 8 Sider (Philodemus) is affected by the way the reader understands the use of

372 Cf. e.g. AP 5.190.1 = 64.1 GP (Meleager), AP 10.21.6 = 15.6 GPh = 8.6 Sider (Philodemus), AP 12.84.7-8 = 114.7-8 GP (Meleager), and AP 12.156.5-6 = 22.5-6 GP (Anonymous).
373 Cf. e.g. AP 10.21.8 = 15.8 GPh = 8.8 Sider.
the metaphors, and decides whether to accept or not to read in combination with AP 5.107 = 5 GPh = 23 Sider. What is more, the chapter exemplified the ability of the epigrammatists to transform a metaphor in order to offer a multifaceted approach to a topic; for example, a hetaera can be a pirate ship, a twenty-oared ship, a merchant ship etc. These metaphors are all subsets of a larger image field, and their basic underlying ideas can overlap. But, while the main notion may be the same, each metaphor can be a gateway to a wide array of notions and associations.

The chapter also focused on the use of sea and nautical metaphors as a means for exploring the dynamics of relationships between hetaerae and their customers, between the lover and his beloved. The examination of a variety of epigrams exemplified that these metaphors constituted a useful tool to delve into the issue of control from multiple aspects, meaning self-control (mainly of one’s feelings and body, see AP 11.29 = 2 GPh), (in)ability to control the object of one’s affection, and control over a given situation (see the epigrams with the komast braving the bad weather conditions because of his love). I also examined the manner in which the epigrammatists employed the sea and weather metaphors to create contrasts and ambiguities between external circumstances and the lover’s inner state. The exploration of particular texts within the preceding poetic tradition made clear that the epigrammatists built on an already existing strand, which they developed to a great degree.

I also examined the life-cycle of these metaphors within the genre up until the Cycle of Agathias, and explored the complex dynamics in their diachronic use. I suggested that, apart from varying long established applications of these metaphors (and in general of topoi concerning the sea), the epigrammatists of Philip’s Garland looked for new ideas to demonstrate their originality in their treatment of the inherited material, as their Hellenistic predecessors did before them. After Philip, the epigrammatists show an inclination to use the metaphors in a more overtly and narrowly sexual way. This suggests that the application of this kind of metaphorical language for expressing subjective emotions ended up being perceived as a cliché with little to offer. This tendency, however, disappears in Macedonius the Consul AP 5.235 = 8 Madden. Both the content and the formulation of the epigram (the metaphors form its base) constitute a turn back in time, aiming at forming a strong link with his generic Hellenistic models, and exemplifying his erudition and poetic skill.
Aphrodite in Epigram: Comparing Women with the Goddess
and the Use of Aphrodite as a Metonymy

4.1. Introduction

Of all Greek gods, Aphrodite is the most prominent within Greek epigrams, as is attested by both the volume of the relevant material (over 300 literary epigrams) and the distribution of the references to her, which span almost all epigrammatic subcategories. To this day, no extensive study exists devoted to the reception of Aphrodite - or indeed to any of the Greek gods - in epigrams, and in this chapter, I aim to fill this crucial lacuna in part by examining Aphrodite’s use and representation in a wide range of Greek epigrams which belong to different poets, anthologies, and historical periods. The chapter thus leads to interesting conclusions with regards to the use of cult and literary material in the genre, and the factors that can influence the formulation and use of a motif that involves gods through the centuries. I explore two particular issues: the diachronic development of the motif of comparing a woman - mainly the beloved - with Aphrodite, and the semantic flexibility of the goddess’ metonymic use. Before studying these research topics, I offer some preliminary remarks on Aphrodite’s reception within the genre.

A basic characteristic of Aphrodite’s reception in epigrams is the marginalisation of some of her major cultic roles, when their presence in the genre is compared to her widespread evocation as the goddess of love and sex. While her function in marriage remained one of her dominant features in cult during the Hellenistic and Roman ages, only a small number of epigrams are based on this

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374 Aphrodite is absent only from the first and the third book of the Greek Anthology, and this is explained by the limited scope of the content of these books: book 1 includes only Christian epigrams and book 3 contains the Cyzicene ones, on the parental relationship between mythical figures or specific gods and their parents. Aphrodite is prominent in books 5, 6, 9, and 16.

375 The premarital offerings that were found in the temple of Aphrodite Ourania at Athens prove that Aphrodite was worshipped as a goddess of marriage at least as early as the fourth century BC. In Cos a public decree (early second century BC) proves that Aphrodite Pandemos received compulsory post-nuptial dedications from wives of all social statuses, within one year from their marriage. For Aphrodite and marriage in literature and cult, see Pirenne-Delforge (1994) passim, Rosenzweig (2004) passim, Breitenberger (2007) 23-30.
role. If this is not the accidental outcome of the loss of relevant poems (which is on the whole unlikely given the volume of the surviving material), we must conclude that (unsurprisingly) relationships (emotional and sexual) between married couples were considered an unpromising topic for the epigrammatists, as was the case with the archaic erotic poetry as well. Pursuit and flight, passion and resistance, yearning for the unattainable are the stuff that love poetry is made of, while stable relationships, desirable as they may be in life, formed an unpromising theme for erotic poets. This fact is compatible with the extremely small number of epigrams (only AP 3.3 and AP 5.27 = 9 P) that refer explicitly to concubinage; like wives, concubines, staying under the same roof with their lovers, lacked mystery and excitement. Illicit relationships and unrequited loves, on the contrary, were a more attractive source of poetic inspiration and exploration.

In addition, epigrams largely ignore the goddess’ roles with regard to political life. This is well exemplified in the use of her cult title Pandemos in several Hellenistic epigrams, where the poets do not draw on the civic and political implications that the title had in real life. On the contrary, they associate it narrowly with the hetaerae, linking its literal meaning ‘of all people’ with the availability of the hetaerae. For instance, in AP 12.161.1-2 = 20.1-2 GP (Asclepiades), the hetaera Dorcian casts the swift dart of Cypris Pandemos, and AP 6.340 = 2 GP (‘Theocritus’) plays on the artificial disjunction between her cult titles Pandemos and Ourania: a passer-by thinks that a statue represents Aphrodite

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377 The Hellenistic epigrams associating/identifying Aphrodite with the Hellenistic queens are an exception to this rule.


379 Δόρκιον ἡ φιλέφηβος ἐπίσταται ὡς ἄπαλος παῖς/ ἔσθις πανδήμου Κύπριδος ὡκό βέλος

380 As Rosenzweig argues ((2004) 77), all women, regardless of their status, worshipped Aphrodite, using each time the title addressing their needs better, cf. Pirenne-Delforge (1994) 15-34. AP 6.290 = 14 GP (Dioscorides) bears witness to the fact that hetaerae could worship Aphrodite under both cult titles. The hetaera Parmenides offers her fan to Aphrodite Ourania, ‘a tithe from her bed’ (ἐξ εὐνῆς
Pandemos and is asked to gain the favour of the goddess by calling her Ourania, since the sculpture was the dedication of a chaste wife.\(^{381}\) This use of the goddess’ title dates back to Nicander of Colophon’s anecdote on Solon’s sexual politics, based on which the reformer established a system of official state prostitution from the revenues of which he laid the foundations of the cult of Aphrodite Pandemos.\(^{382}\) It should also be mentioned that Aphrodite’s martial aspect\(^{383}\) and function in childbirth leave scant traces.\(^{384}\)

This exclusion of some of Aphrodite’s cult aspects exemplifies the genre’s selectivity in its engagement with the available cult and literary material, a phenomenon which we can also observe in the development of the sea and nautical metaphors within the genre. In the case of Aphrodite, epigrams align themselves with the preceding poetic tradition, which focused on the goddess’ role as the deity of love. I believe that what we find in literature is a deliberate and consistent focus on that aspect of Aphrodite which was not shared in cult with any other Olympian god, in order to give the goddess a distinct sphere of influence. Her strong and continuous projection in literature as the goddess of love and sex is further indicated by her metonymic application; from the archaic period onwards, she stands for love, sex appeal, erotic skills, sex, erotic desire, or (rarely) marriage — but not for any of her other spheres of influence. Despite this selectivity as far as her cult attributes are

\(\delta\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha,1.3\). In AP 6.206 = 6 GP (Antipater of Sidon), girls dedicate to Aphrodite Ourania objects from their boudoir. Their status is not specified and this ambiguity may be purposeful, since Aphrodite was worshipped by all women. This artificial disjunction goes back to Pl.Symp.180c1-185c3, and certainly this connection of Pandemos with the hetaerae alludes to the title’s philosophical explanation as ‘vulgar’.

\(^{381}\) For an interpretation of the epigram, see Rossi (2001) 239-246.


\(^{384}\) See AP 6.340 = 2 GP (‘Theocritus’), in which marriage and childbirth are attributed to Aphrodite’s blessing; AP 5.75 = 29 Page (Rufinus), where a man whose girl is pregnant asks for Aphrodite’s advice and help (childbirth). It has also been suggested that during the Hellenistic era, Aphrodite was worshipped as a healer, or that she was specialised in ‘women’s diseases’ and lactation at Daphni and Athens (see Parker (2007) 412, n.99 for bibliography on this topic). The fact that these are late and very rare aspects of Aphrodite’s cult explains their rare usage in epigrams.
concerned, Aphrodite’s reception in epigram is definitely multidimensional; for example, she is widely employed in erotic epigrams as the goddess of love, she is commonly used in the dedicatory subtype, several epigrams rework her myths and describe her statues, and she is evoked in the sepulchral subgenre, especially as a remainder of the joys in life which one lost or should take advantage of while still alive. But let us start by exploring the issue of the comparison of the beloved with the goddess, which was greatly reworked by the epigrammatists in antiquity.

4.2.1. The Beloved’s Praise in the Poetic Tradition: the Limitations of Hyperbole.

While it has been recognised that Aphrodite was the archetype of beauty and sexuality throughout antiquity and that she was employed as a means of praising the beloved, the motif’s development has not been given adequate consideration. As a consequence, the chronological, political, religious, and generic factors that influenced its transformations remain unobserved and unexplored. The chapter fills this gap in research in part by uncovering and analysing these factors and establishing that this use of Aphrodite in poetry, and specifically in epigrams, is not in clinical isolation from the religious beliefs of different eras, her cult function, and the generic characteristics of particular epigrammatic subgenres.

An appreciation of the motif’s presence in the preceding poetic tradition is essential, because it enables the identification of the advances which the Hellenistic epigrammatists brought about. Its roots can be traced back to the Homeric epics, where it is either a woman’s natural beauty whose perfection rivals that of the goddesses, or, in the case of Penelope (Od. 18.190-196), it is Athena’s intervention that bestows on the queen irresistible, divine attractiveness. Apart

385 Only Lieberg’s Puella Divina (1962) studies the use of the motif in Greek and Latin poetry. However, his book is outdated, and focuses on Catullus. Most importantly, in his examination of the relevant epigrams, Lieberg did not take under consideration the variety of factors that influenced its use and development. For hyperbole in mythological comparisons, see also Law (1926).
386 See the Homeric formulae ἱκέλη χρυσέῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ (Od. 17.37, Od. 19.54, Il. 19.282, Il. 24.699), οὐδ’ εἴ χρυσέῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ κάλλος ἐρίζοι (Il. 9.389), and ἐλδός ἐχε χρυσές Ἀφροδίτης (Od. 4.14).
387 Cf. Lieberg (1962) 13-16. In the epics, comparison to gods is extended to men: the heroes of war are presented as θεοσίκελοι ‘godlike’: e.g. Achilles (Il. 1.131, 19.155), Telemachus (Od. 3.416),
from the epics, no poetic text dating to the archaic and classical periods openly equates a mortal’s charms with a goddess’ beauty. In a few surviving poems, a goddess may be employed for the praise of a human, but in these cases, the praise is always somehow restrained and mortals remain at arm’s length from the divine. In lyric poetry, it is Sappho who uses phraseology which comes close to transcending the gap between gods and humans. In fr.96.4-5 Voigt, a girl called Atthis is commended as resembling a goddess and in fr.31.1-5 Voigt, a man, who sees a woman and listens to her voice and laughter, is characterised as being ‘equal to gods’.388

σε θέαι σ’ ικέλαν ἄρι-γνώται, σάι δὲ μάλιστ’ ἐξαίρε μόλπαι

(she honoured)389 you as being an easily recognised goddess, and took most delight in your song.390 (fr.96.4-5)

φαίνεται μοι κήνος ἵσος θέοισιν He seems as equal to gods to me the ἕμμεν’ ὄνηρ, ὅτις ἐνάντιός τοι one who sits opposite you ἑρωίδαν καὶ πλάσιον ἄδυ φωνεί-σας υπακούει and listens nearby to your sweet voice καὶ γελαίσας ἰμέροεν... and lovely laughter...

Deiphobus (Od. 4.276), and Alkinoos (Od. 8.256). Variations of the formula βροτολογῷ ἵσοι Ἀρηί are used for e.g. Hector (Il. 11.295, 13.802), Patroclus (Il. 11.604), and Euryalus (Od. 8.115). Achilles is ἵσος Ἑνυαλίῳ (Il. 22.132). In the case of Achilles, the comparison should be linked with his origins; he was a demi-god.

388 Lieberg (1962) 20 includes Sapph.fr.112 Voigt in the poems using the motif of comparison. However, it is uncertain if line 5 <...> τετίμακ’ ἐξογά σ’ ἀφροδίτα refers to the bride extolling her beauty (as Leiberg suggests), or to the bridegroom who got married to the woman he wanted, because of Aphrodite’s intervention. Contra Leiberg ((1962) 17), there is nothing in Semon.fr.7.83-93 to suggest that the kind of woman resembling the bee is godlike. Alcaeus fr.386 Voigt κόλπωι σ’ ἑδέξαντ’ ἀγναν Χάριτες Κρόνοι might refer to a woman’s special beauty that goes back to divine action (Lieberg (1962) 20), but the fragment may also refer to Zeus.

389 For the supplement ἐτιθεσ and the interpretation of the MS σεθεασίκελαν, see Page (1979) 89.

The Sapphic verses differ considerably from the Homeric formulae praising mythic heroines and heroes,\(^{391}\) because they refer to living contemporaries and articulate intense emotion in present time. In fr.31, the phrase φαίνεται μοι κήνος ἴσος θέοισιν either denotes that the man is blessed to see the girl, or extols his ability to resist her attractiveness; in either case, it simultaneously praises her beauty indirectly. In both poems, the hyperbole is controlled, as the statements are expressed as forming subjective thoughts, and not objective, incontrovertible truths (see μοι). In addition, the avoidance of comparison with identifiable goddesses (as happens in the Homeric epics), reflected in the use of a more vague phraseology, tones down further the hyperbole. According to the archaic worldview, typified by the fear of divine phthonos, which is eloquently articulated in Herodotus and Pindar (see e.g. Hdt.7.10, P.P.8.15-20, I.5.14-16), expressing superiority over the gods was profoundly dangerous. Popular myths about humans who were severely punished after having compared themselves to deities reflect this conviction.\(^{392}\) This source of anxiety probably explains why, while in Sappho gods form a literary means of praise, there is a degree of caution, for the avoidance of impiety. Sappho herself highlights the religious beliefs of her time, when saying in fr.96.21-23 Voigt: εὐμαρ[ε]ς μ[ὲ]ν οὐκ ἄμμι θεαισι μόρ-/ φαν ἐπ[α]τιον ἐξίσω-/ σθαί συ[.]ρος ἔχησθαι ο[ [...]].νίδηον: ‘it is not suitable for us to rival goddesses in loveliness of figure…’\(^{393}\)

Ibycus fr.288 Davies proves that similar modes of praise were employed for the male beloved, and moreover, it uses a mode of praise which was widely imitated by later poets: the boy’s seductive charms are extolled as deriving from the cooperation of a group of deities.

Εὐρύαλε γλαυκέων Χαρίτων θάλος <   >

\(^{391}\) Sappho also uses this mode of praise for Hector and Andromache, see fr.44.21 Voigt ἵκελοι θεο[τ]ις and fr.44.34 Voigt θεο[τ]ις. In a similar manner, Stesich.fr.S104.9-10 praises Hermione: ἀθανάτοι/σιν εἰκέλον Ἐρμιόναν... In Sapph.fr.23.3-6 Voigt, the beloved is compared to Helen and Hermione, but this form of praise is less hyperbolic in comparison to fr.96.4-5 Voigt, because it does not involve an Olympian god.

\(^{392}\) See Law (1926) 361 who refers to the myths of Cassiopeia, Arachne, Niobe, and Marsyas.

\(^{393}\) Edited text and translation (slightly modified) by Campbell (2002) 120-121.
καλλικόμων μελέδημα, σὲ μὲν Κύπρις
ἀ τ’ ἀγανοβλέφαρος Πειθῶ
ῥόδεοισιν ἐν ἄνθεσι θρέψαν.

Euryalus, offshoot of the blue-eyed Graces,
darling of the lovely-haired (Seasons), the Cyprian
and soft-lidded Persuasion nursed you among rose-blossoms.\(^{394}\)

It is to be stressed that Ibycus does not equate Euryalus either to Aphrodite or her
attendants; his beauty is definitely idealised, but he is not portrayed as excelling his
patron deities.\(^{395}\) The metaphor \(\theta\'λος\) (meaning ‘bloom/young branch’ and
‘child’\(^{396}\)), denoting tenderness and youth, is turned into a hyperbole as the boy is
specifically the Graces’ \(\theta\'λος\), the description creating a strong bond between him
and the deities, who are (metaphorically) presented as his nurse-maids (or even
parents).\(^{397}\) This bond suggests a long-term relationship that praises him further,
since, in contrast to typical adornment scenes,\(^{398}\) he is not beautified by the
goddesses temporarily, for a specific occasion. The precise means through which
each deity makes him irresistible is left vague, but the audience can easily envisage a
chain of attributes. Elsewhere, the Graces and the Seasons adorn Aphrodite, and their
role implies the granting of alluring beauty and seductiveness.\(^{399}\) As far as Peitho is
concerned, she can confer physical attraction, the power of persuasion, and alluring
talk.\(^{400}\) Aphrodite can be thought of as bequeathing various charms such as beauty

\(^{394}\) Translation by Campbell (2001) 257.
\(^{395}\) Breitenberger (2007) 186 is wrong to suggest that Euryalus ‘in his beauty he seems equal to these
divine beings, or even superior since, due to his origin, he combines all of their qualities’. What the
poem does is to make him a favourite of the gods; his beauty and charm reflect divine favour.
\(^{396}\) LSJ\(^{3}\) s.v. \(\theta\'λος\).
\(^{397}\) See Davies (1986) 404, citing West (1966) 34.
\(^{398}\) For Aphrodite’s beautification see e.g: Hymn.Hom.Ven.61-66 and Od. 8.362-6 (after her affair
with Ares), and Cypr.fr.4.1-7 (Davies/ Bernabé) (before Paris’ Judgement); for Penelope: Od. 18.190-
196.
\(^{399}\) Again, there is ambiguity with reference to the specific roles attributed to these deities. Μελέδημα
(l.2) and θρέψαν (l.4) can be used for one’s parents or nurse-maids.
\(^{400}\) Cf. AP 5.70.1 = 26.1 Page (Rufinus), AP 5.137.1 = 43.1 GP (Meleager), AP 5.195.6 = 39.6 GP
(Meleager), and API 288.1 (Leontius Scholasticus).
Ibycus sketches the image of an irresistible boy who, nevertheless, is unambiguously distinguished from his divine benefactors. Similar is the tenor of Ibycus S257 (a) 6-12 Davies:

ἐπηράτοισιν, ὦ Χάρις, ῥόδων ἔθρεψας αὐτὸν ἐν κάλυξιν Ἀφροδίτας] ἀμφί ναὸν· στέφαν[jon εὐώδη με δεῖ ἃν ἔχρισεθε θεαῖ· ζοισα παι[δισκον· τέρεν δὲ κάλλος ὦ]πάσαν θεαί.

of fellow-drinkers. Grace, you raised him among lovely rosebuds near the temple of Aphrodite; I must say it was a sweet-smelling garland, from which she anointed the boy, giving him her admiring attentions. The goddesses gave him soft beauty.

Although the surviving text is particularly fragmentary, it is clear that the beloved is praised as having been brought up by a Grace (or the Graces, if we take the noun to be collective, see ll.6-7, cf. Ibycus fr.288 Davies). If we accept West’s supplement Ἀφροδίτας (l.8), then a further point is added: the idea that he was raised near Aphrodite’s temple, if indeed a metaphorical one, heightens the praise of his beauty and by implication, of its effect on others, because it implies that Aphrodite, the a priori goddess of beauty and seduction, was involved in his upbringing.

Interesting is the use of ἔχρισε, which alludes to earlier scenes of adornment, where anointment with ambrosia is part of the beautification process. Here, it is a clear symbol of the boy’s beauty and charms (ll.10-11).

Placing archaic poetry aside, I move on to the classical era, during which the same religious beliefs existed, and particularly to Aristophanes Eccl.973-975. The

401 Cf. Hes. Theog.203-206 describing Aphrodite’s province, and referring to these attributes. Breitenberger (2007) 185-186 suggests that each goddess bestows Euryalus with her most characteristic feature of beauty (e.g. the Graces give him their shining or blue eyes and Peitho her soft eyes). But from the epigrams, it becomes clear that Aphrodite and her attendants can bestow a variety of charms, cf. e.g. AP 5.94 = 35 Page (Rufinus), AP 5.195 = 39 GP (Meleager), and AP 5.196 = 40 GP (Meleager).


404 Note also that, as West (1984) 25 argues, θεαί in line12 can refer to the Grace and Aphrodite (alternatively, to the Graces, if we understood Χάρις as a collective noun).
motif is used in a burlesque of lyric love songs, especially of the *paraclausithyron*. Is it possible to observe any developments in its employment?

δο χρυσοδαίδαλτον ἐμὸν
μέλημα, Κύπριδος ἔρνος,
μέλιττα Μούσης, Χαρίτων
θρέμμα, Τρυφῆς πρόσωπον,
ἀνοίζον ἀσπάζομαι·
διὰ τοι σέ πόνους ἔχο.

Oh my golden work of art,
my darling, scion of Cypris,
honeybee of the Muses, nursling
of the Graces, the very image of Delight,
open - welcome me;
it’s for you, I tell you, that I suffer so.

The girl is praised through her association with several deities, but still (for all the burlesque) in the manner of Ibycus; a metaphorical relationship is implied between her and Aphrodite, since ἔρνος has the same connotations as θάλος, which extols her beauty and charms. Her characterisation as the honeybee of the Muse(s) praises her singing skills (as μέλιττα produces honey), but also points to the distress that she has caused the boy because of his longing for her (a bee can also sting, cf. ll.968-970). Her description as ‘the very image of Delight’ stresses the softness of her skin or her luxuriousness. One more poetic passage deserves to be mentioned here, before the analysis of the relevant epigrammatic material, i.e. Euripides *Hec*.354-356: δέσποινα δ’ ἡ δύστηνος Ἰδαίαισιν ἡ/ γυναιξὶν ἓν/ γυναιξὶν ἑν/ ἀπόβλεπος μέτα,†/ ἰσηθεὶς πλήν τὸ καθθανεῖν μόνον ‘to the women of Troy I, ill-starred wretch, was their lady mistress, and in the company of the young girls I was conspicuous, like the gods in all but my mortality’. Tragedy continuously stressed that hyperbolic declarations of superiority to gods lead to downfall, and this excerpt is no exception to the rule. The words are spoken by Polyxena, before being led to her sacrifice. According to Lieberg, we have a clear case of a human proclaiming equality to gods. However, the hyperbole is explicitly tempered by a firm statement of the

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407 See LSJ, s.v. ἔρνος I 1, II 1.
unbridgeable boundary between mortals and immortal gods. Let us now move on to epigrams.

4.2.2. Implied Comparison with Aphrodite: Nossis’ Dedicatory Epigrams.

To judge from the surviving material, at the very first stages of epigram’s development as a literary genre (i.e. the beginning of the third century BC), no clear and unambiguous comparison between mortal women and the goddess exists. Two dedicatory epigrams from Nossis’ collection, which dates to 280 or 270 BC, exemplify this tendency: AP 6.275 = 5 GP and AP 9.332 = 4 GP create only very indirect links between the devotees and Aphrodite, toying thus discreetly with the idea of a mortal resembling the deity, in that they all share the same qualities of beauty and/ or slyness. Nossis never goes so far as to openly state identification with the divine, and the fact that her poems are dedicatory, maintains a clear boundary between the devotees and the goddess.

ἐλθοίσαι ποτὶ ναὸν ἱδώμεθα τᾶς Ἀφροδίτας
τὸ βρέτας ὡς χρυσῷ δαιδαλόεν τελέθει.
εἴσατό μιν Πολυαρχὶς ἐπαυρομένα μάλα πολλάν
κτῆσιν ἄπ’ οἰκείου σώματος ἀγλαίας.

(410) See Gutzwiller (1998a) 74-75. Gutzwiller (1998a) 83 is fundamental for the interpretation of these epigrams. She argues that the women and Aphrodite are linked together by shared qualities ‘in both external appearance and its internal reflection’. Her analysis focuses on the thematic links among the devotees, and not between them and Aphrodite. I revisit the epigrams with the aim to show the special link that is created between the women and the goddess.

411 Gutzwiller (1998a) 82 argues that AP 9.604 = 7 GP, AP 6.353 = 8 GP, and AP 6.354 = 9 GP, describing portraits of women, are also meant to be understood by the reader of Nossis’ collection as portraits presented to Aphrodite (because of their resemblance to AP 9.605 = 6 GP). Gow-Page (1965) ii. 437, 439 are also open to this interpretation. This is certainly a possibility, but one needs to keep in mind that these epigrams do not need a narrative background to work. Also the existence of AP 6.265 = 3 GP, in which the recipient goddess is Hera, makes one sceptical about the identity of the recipient deity in the other epigrams. The order of the epigrams in the collection would have profoundly affected their perception. For the interrelation between Aphrodite and her devotees, as expressed in votive epigrams, see Natsina (2012) 249-279.
Let us go to the temple and see Aphrodite’s statue, how intricately it is adorned with gold. Polyarchis set it up, enjoying the benefits of the great wealth that she has from the beauty of her own body.

χαίροισάν τοι ἐοικε κομᾶν ἀπὸ τὰν Αφροδίταν ἀνθεμα κεκρύφαλον τόνδε λαβεῖν Σαμύθας, δαιδάλεός τε γάρ ἔστι καὶ ἀδύ τι νέκταρος δοσδεῖ τοῦτῳ καὶ τήνα καλὸν Ἄδωνα χρίει. (AP 6.275 = 5 GP)

With joy, I think, Aphrodite has received this gift, a headband from the hair of Samytha. For it is variegated and smells somewhat of sweet nectar; with this she, too, anoints lovely Adonis. 412

In AP 9.332 = 4 GP, Aphrodite is linked to a specific subgroup of devotees, the hetaerae. The goddess was worshipped for her powers of seduction and beauty by them, as they needed her favour for the endowment and maintenance of their attractiveness.413 Nossis plays with the natural assumption that, since Aphrodite is the goddess of seduction, and seduction is the trade of the hetaerae, she and her devotees share the same qualities. Implicit clues suggest a certain degree of resemblance between her and Polyarchis. Specifically, it is the adjectives χρυσῷ and δαιδαλόεν, describing her statue, that hint at these shared qualities (l.2), as they create a triangular link between the goddess, her devotee, and the devoted object. At first glance, χρυσῷ refers to the statue’s gilt surface (or to the metal, from which it is made),414 and δαιδαλόεν to a pattern on its surface. However, more importantly, χρυσῷ encapsulates the goddess’ beauty, which is mirrored in her statue, as the adjective constitutes Aphrodite’s most common characterisation from archaic times.

412 Translations by Gutzwiller (1998a) 81. In the case of AP 9.332 = 4 GP, the translation is slightly altered.
414 We can take the statue to be gilded (cf. Gow-Page (1965) ii. 438, Gutzwiller (1998a) 82), or (less likely) follow the lemmatist (C) and take it to be made entirely of gold — this hyperbole would highlight Polyarchis’ wealth.
onwards. At the same time, it anticipates the explanation provided for the source of Polyarchis’ wealth; it was the beauty of her body that enabled her to make such an offering (l.4).

In the same vein, δαιδαλόεν can be interpreted as a double entendre indicating the cunning of the goddess, whose figure the statue represents, and of Polyarchis. One may juxtapose the adjective’s use in the epigram to Hesiod’s *Theog.*574-575, where the word stands for the embroidered design of Pandora’s veil, but most importantly, hints at the cunning of its wearer and of the gods, who created Pandora to wreak vengeance upon humans: ζώσε δὲ καὶ κόσμησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη/ ἄργυρε ἔσθητε κατὰ κρῆθεν δὲ καλόστρη/ δαιδαλέην χείρεσσι κατέσχεθε, θαῦμα ἱδέσθαι ‘...and down from her head she (Athena) spread with her hands an embroidered veil, a wonder to see’. Regarding Aphrodite’s wily nature, there is rich intertextual background: in *Theog.*205, deceits (ἐξαπάτας) form part of her realm of power; in *H.H.*5.249-251, she herself connects her power over gods with skills that have to do with seduction and trickery; in lyric poetry, she is characterised as ‘wile-weaving’. Following this line of thought, the hetaera’s name seems to have been deliberately chosen, because of the etymological pun it encompasses: it echoes πολύαρχος, i.e. ‘the one who rules many’, or πολίαρχος, i.e. ‘the ruler of the city’, the parechesis accentuating the idea that Polyarchis exerted control on a multitude of men, who were the ones that ensured her wealthy status, through her beauty and cunning nature.

In *AP* 6.275 = 5 GP, another object is dedicated, i.e. a headband, by a woman called Samytha. The viewer guesses (ἔοικε, l.1) that its dedication must have pleased Aphrodite because of the object’s embroidery and its scent of sweet nectar (l.3). As Gutzwiller notes, these attributes ‘define a feminine aesthetic, standards of

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416 Gutzwiller (1998a) 82-83.

417 Hes.*Theog.*574-575 is also noted by Gutzwiller (1998a) 82, but she does not proceed to a parallelism with the epigram.


419 The term δαιδαλόεν denotes that the headband was embroidered or that it consisted of various colours (Gow-Page (1965) ii. 438).
beauty’ that naturally please Aphrodite, the pre-eminent goddess of beauty.\footnote{Gutzwiller (1998a) 82-83.} One can take the associations to the next logical conclusion. The adjective δαιδάλεος (l.3) creates a verbal link with δαιδαλόεν in AP 9.332.2, where, as I have suggested, the term indicates Polyarchis’ slyness. This verbal link opens the scope of the adjective’s interpretation in AP 6.275.3, which thus may be considered as a pointer towards Samytha’s cunning.

The headband is also said to smell of sweet nectar (ἄδυ τι νέκταρος δόστι, l.3). In Homer, the adjective νεκτάρεος (‘nectarous’) describes garments worn by Helen and Achilles (II. 3.385, 18.25),\footnote{Gow-Page (1965) ii. 438.} and so there might be a Homeric echo obliquely praising Samytha. In the poem’s Homeric subtext, one passage can be added, i.e. Od. 18.189-196, where Penelope is beautified by Athena; the goddess not only uses ambrosia, but the specific kind of ambrosia with which Aphrodite anoints herself before she joins the Graces’ dance. Similarly, in AP 6.275.3-4, the nectar (supposedly) used by Samytha is the same as that which Aphrodite used to anoint Adonis’ body (see the emphatic use of τούτῳ in l.4). The use in both passages of the idea that the means for beautifying the mortal woman is closely associated to Aphrodite points towards Od. 18.189-196 as a possible intertext. Additionally, the hyperbolic statement accentuates the praise of the dedicated object’s sensual appeal and incidentally, implies that it is worthy of its recipient. It praises Samytha, embellishing her with divine beauty and sexuality.\footnote{Another possible intertext is Sapph.fr.96.21-28 Voigt, which might suggest that the girl obtained supreme beauty through Aphrodite’s intervention (and not near-divine status, as Snyder (1997) 53 suggests). Additionally, in AP 6.275 = 5 GP, noteworthy is the representation of Aphrodite in human terms: the goddess performs a human rite that pertains to the treatment of the dead. Such a manipulation of the gods in poetry dates back to the Homeric epics; the gods act as humans and are subject to human emotions. A comparison with Sappho fr.94.18-20 Voigt discloses the development in the mode of praise: καὶ π.... [καὶ π....] μύρωι/ βρενθείωι . [καὶ π....]ν/ ἐξαλύψακας ἐκ τοῦ [βασίλεια] υληίωι. In the Sapphic fragment, the girl’s sexuality is praised through the idea that she anoints herself with flowery myrrh, the customary means for beautifying queens. In the epigram, in a more hyperbolic manner, Samytha uses nectar. However, there is nothing in the.}
corpus datable to the early Hellenistic period which goes beyond these indirect associations of mortal women with Aphrodite.

4.2.3. The Hellenistic Queens and Aphrodite: the Epigrams of the Court Poets.

Turning now our attention to Posidippus and Callimachus (middle of the third century BC), I stress that these poets, although they associated and assimilated their queens to Aphrodite (especially Arsinoe II), avoided the comparison of any other woman with the goddess. Only in AP 5.194 = 34 GP, composed by Asclepiades or Posidippus, is a girl associated with Aphrodite, but the mode of praise does not go further than Nossis and earlier uses of Aphrodite as a means of praise in lyric poetry and Aristophanes. The seeming reluctance of these poets to compare, associate, let alone assimilate any other woman, apart from their queens, to Aphrodite is especially intriguing. I suggest that this narrow and highly specialised range of application of the motif may be directly related to the proximity of these poets to the centre of political power and in turn, their role as disseminators of Ptolemaic propaganda, which equated the Hellenistic queens to Aphrodite. Since we are at the first stages of the dissemination of this facet of the Ptolemaic self-representation, the indiscriminate, random, and repeated comparison of ordinary mortals to the goddess had the potential of diluting it. In the following sections, I first examine basic aspects of the epigrams of the court poets associating/assimilating queens to Aphrodite, and then move on to AP 5.194 = 34 GP.

4.2.4. Hellenistic Epigrams Identifying the Queens with Aphrodite.

As is well-known, Posidippus, in 39 AB, 116 AB = 12 GP, and 119 AB = 13 GP, and Callimachus, in Athen.7.318b = 5 Pf. = 14 GP, openly equate Arsinoe II (316 BC – 270BC (or 268 BC)424) with Aphrodite and refer to her temple on Cape

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424 Arsinoe’s death is dated to 270 BC (see Cadell (1998) 1-3), but the alternative date of 268 BC has been proposed as well (Grzybeck (1990) 103-112).
The epigrams mirror Ptolemaic self-fashioning and moreover, they may have formed part of the royal propaganda. The same propagandistic function can be attributed to API (A) 68 = 39 GP, whose theme is based on the close resemblance of a statue (or painting) of Queen Berenice (either I or II) to Aphrodite. Regarding the epigrams on Arsinoe II, I first examine the cult titles used for her identification with Aphrodite (section 4.2.5), and then I investigate her religious roles as projected in these poems. I suggest that they depict: i) her role as a goddess of love and ii) her multidimensional function in cult, emphasising her image as a new, powerful goddess (section 4.2.6). Here are the relevant epigrams:

μέσον ἐγὼ Φαρίης ἀκτῆς στόματός τε Κανώπου
ἐν περιφαινομένῳ κύματι χώρον ἔχω,
tήνδε πολυρρήνου Λιβύης ἀνεμώδεα χηλήν,
tὴν ἀνατεινομένην εἰς Ἰταλὸν Ζέφυρον,
ἔνθα με Καλλικράτης ιδρύσατο καὶ βασιλίσσης
ιερὸν Ἀρσινόης Κύπριοδος ὄνόμασεν.
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ζεφυρῖτιν Ἀφροδίτην,
Ἑλλήνων ἁγναί, βαίνετε, θυγατέρες,
oἵ θ' ἁλὸς ἐργάται ἄνδρες·
ὁ γὰρ ναύαρχος ἔτευξεν
τοῦτο ιερὸν παντὸς κύματος εὐλίμενον. (116 AB = 12 GP)

Midway between the shore of Pharos and the mouth of Canopus, in the waves visible all around I have my place, this wind-swept breakwater of Libya rich in sheep, facing the Italian Zephyr.

Here Callicrates set me up and called me the shrine of Queen Arsinoe-Aphrodite.

So, then, to her who shall be named Zephyritis-Aphrodite, come, ye pure daughters of the Greeks, and ye too toilers on the sea.

For the captain built this shrine to be a safe harbour from all the waves.

425 The temple was erected by Callicrates, the naval admiral of the Ptolemies. For Callicrates, see Bing (2002/3) 243-266.

τοῦτο καὶ ἐν πόντῳ καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ τῆς Φιλαδέλφου
Κύπριδος ἡλάσκεσθ’ ἱερὸν Ἀρσινόης.
ἡ δὲ καὶ εὐπλοίην δῶσει καὶ χείματι μέσσω τὸ πλατὺ λισσομένοις ἐκλιπανεὶ πέλαγος.

Both on land and sea make offering to this shrine of Cypris Arsinoe Philadelphus.
She it was, ruling over the Zephyrian promontory, whom Calliocrates, the captain, was the first to consecrate.
And she will grant safe sailing and in the midst of the storm will make smooth the wide sea for those who entreat her.

καὶ μέλλων ἅλα νηῒ περᾶν καὶ πεῖσμα καθάπτειν χερσόθεν, Εὐπλοίᾳ ἱερῷ δός Ἀρσινόη.
pόλτιναν ἐκ νηοῦ καλέων θεόν, ἤν ὁ Βοῖσκον ναυαρχὸν Σάμιος θήκατο Καλλικράτης,
ναυτίλε, σοὶ τὰ μάλιστα: κατ’ εὐπλοιαν δὲ διώκει τηρθεὶς θεοῦ χρήξων πολλά καὶ ἄλλος ἀνήρ.
εἶνεκα καὶ χερσαία καὶ εἰς ἅλα διαν ἄφεις εὐχὰς εὑρήσεις τὴν ἐπακουσομένην.

Whether you are about to cross the sea in a ship or to fasten the cable from the shore, say ‘greetings’ to Arsinoe of fair sailing, invoking the reverend goddess from her temple, which was dedicated by the Samian captain Calliocrates son of Boiscus, for you, sailor, especially. And in pursuit of a fair journey other people too often address a demand to this goddess.
And that is why, whether you are heading for dry land or the divine sea, you will find a Lady ready to listen to your prayers.

κόγχος ἐγώ, Ζεφυρίτι, παλαίτερος· ἄλλα σὺ νῦν με,

Κύπρι, Σεληναίής ἄνθεμα πρῶτον ἔχεις.

ναυτίλος ὃς πελάγεσσιν ἐπέπλεον, εἰ μὲν ἀήται

tείνας οἰκείων λαῖφος ἀπὸ προτόνων,

eἰ δὲ Γαληναίη, ἄιπαρῳ θεός, σοῦ ἐρέσσων

ποσσίν νιν, ἄστε έργρῳ τοῦνομα σουμφέρεται -

ἐστε ἐπέσον παρὰ θίνας ἱούλιδας ὀφρα γένομαι

σοὶ τὸ περίσκεπτον παίγνιον, Ἀρσινόη.

μηδὲ μοι ἐν θαλάμῃσιν ἐθ' ὡς πάρος - εἰμὶ γὰρ ἄπνους -

tίκτηται νοτερῆς ὤεον ἀλκυόνος.

Κλεινίου ἄλα θυγατρὶ δίδου χάριν. οἶδε γὰρ ἔσθλα

ῥέξειν, καὶ Σμύρνης ἐστὶν ἀπ' Αἰολίδος. (Athen.7.318b = 5Pf. = 14 GP)⁴²⁸

An old shell am I, O Lady of Zephyrium, but now,

Cypris, I am yours, a first offering from Selenaea: I the

nautilus that used to sail upon the sea, if there was

wind, stretching my sail on my own forestays, if calm,

that bright goddess, prevailed, rowing strongly with

my feet – so that my name befits my deed! – till I

fell on the shores of Iulis, that I might become your

admired toy, Arsinoe, and that in my chambers may

no more be laid, as erstwhile -for I am dead- the

eggs of the water-haunting kingfisher. But give

your grace to the daughter of Cleinias; for she

knows to do good deeds and she is from Aeolian Smyrna.

4.2.5. The Modes of Identification of Arsinoe II with Aphrodite.

In his fundamental book on Ptolemaic Alexandria, Fraser discerns three

modes of identification with gods: i) identification by adoption of their attributes, ii)

identification by juxtaposition, and iii) complete identification, in which the royal

name is suppressed.⁴²⁹ Within the epigrams quoted above, all three modes of identification are employed for one and the same queen, Arsinoe II. In 116 AB, her name is juxtaposed with that of the goddess (l.6) and then it is suppressed, as she is called ‘Zephyritis Aphrodite’ (l.7); in 119.1-2 AB, it is used along with Aphrodite’s title ‘Cypris’, and the appellation is preceded by the cult title Philadelphus, which, as Fraser states, softens the incestuous nature of Arsinoe’s marriage to her brother and lays emphasis on their mutual power;⁴³⁰ in 39.2 AB, the queen takes on Aphrodite’s cult title Euploia⁴³¹ and in the Callimachean 5Pf. = 14 GP, after the use of the topographical adjective ‘Zephyritis’ (l.1), she is concisely addressed as ‘Cypris’ (l.2), the appellation emphatically identifying her with Aphrodite.⁴³² In fact, the queen’s name is used only in line 8, just four verses before the end of this rather long epigram. Although it is uncertain to what extent these cult titles reflect different degrees of association, it is likely that the main factor is a desire for variation.

4.2.6. The Religious Roles of the Hellenistic Queens, as Depicted in Epigrams.

All four epigrams commemorate directly or indirectly the role of Arsinoe II as a marine deity at Cape Zephyrium; Callicrates’ dedication aimed to promote the queen as the patroness of the maritime empire, and this formed part of his plan to expand the influence of the Ptolemaic navy throughout the Mediterranean.⁴³³ Moreover, it is possible that 116.8 AB, where the chaste daughters of the Greeks are invited to worship Arsinoe, evokes her role as a goddess of marriage. The epigram’s final phrase ὁ γὰρ ναύαρχος ἔτευξεν/ τοῦθ’ ἱερὸν παντὸς κύματος εὐλίμενον (ll.9-

⁴²⁹ Fraser (1972) i. 237-246.
⁴³⁰ Fraser (1972) i 217.
⁴³¹ For Aphrodite Euploia, see Pirenne-Delforge (1994) passim. I believe that this mode of identification with the divine does not compartmentalise the diverse powers of the deified queen; it provides her worshippers with a way of invoking particular powers of the deified queen. For Arsinoe Euploia, see Robert (1966) 175-211. Cf. also the anonymous Chic.Lit.Pap.no.II, col.II.14 (Powell (1925) 82-89), where Arsinoe is said to ‘govern the sea’ κρατοῦσα σῷ πῶς. For this papyrus, see Barbantani (2004) 137-153.
⁴³² Stephens (2005) 244, in her very interesting article that analyses Ptolemaic self-fashioning as a competitive process, incorrectly notes that Callimachus never identifies Arsinoe directly with Aphrodite.
10), both literal and metaphorical in meaning, combines these two roles. In fact, the queen has the same double cultic function as in 5Pf. = 14 GP, where, as Gutzwiller shows, Selenaia’s dedication of a nautilus to Arsinoe is both an offering for the protection of sailors by the deified queen, and a symbol of the girl’s hope for a good marriage.\(^{434}\) In addition, the adjective παντὸς opens up the semantic field of the term κόματος, which thus symbolises any kind of adversity and misfortune; the temple is projected as offering sanctuary from any sort of adversity (εὐλίμενον). Also, the ambiguity of the phrase allows for the possibility that the queen was worshipped at Cape Zephyrium under additional roles — the lack of further sources relating to the nature of her worship there, may have led us to mistakenly narrow the spectrum of her actual religious functions. A papyrus of 252/1 BC, which preserves the names of various streets in Alexandria deriving from Arsinoe’s diverse religious roles, includes the appellation ‘Arsinoe Eleēmon’ (‘Arsinoe of pity’). Another papyrus, dating to the second century BC, contains the cult title ‘Arsinoe Sōzousa’ (‘Arsinoe the Saviour’). Both titles project the queen’s benevolence, and it is intriguing that ‘Eleēmon’ was also a cult title for Aphrodite.\(^{435}\) It is exactly her kindness that the Posidippian epigrams also stress at their closure (116.9-10 AB, 119.5-6 AB, and 39.7-8 AB).\(^{436}\) Along with the papyri, they exemplify that this was a feature of her deified persona, which she shared with Aphrodite.

Moreover, 39 AB and 119 AB suggest that Arsinoe was honoured at Cape Zephyrium as a goddess of love, adopting another cultic feature of Aphrodite. As I argued in the second chapter, nautical imagery can open up a field of possible interpretations, and read in this way, 39 AB can be interpreted as combining both literal and metaphorical language. Its first five verses (until ναυτίλε, σοὶ τὰ μάλιστα) can be taken to address Arsinoe’s role as a maritime deity; the sailors are advised to greet her before embarking (καὶ μέλλων ἁλαν ἔπαν) and after they have reached their destination (πεῖσμα καθάπτειν/χερσόθεν denoting mooring at port (ll.1-2)). In other words, they should pray to her, in order to secure a fair journey, and then offer

\(^{434}\) Gutzwiller (1992a) 199.

\(^{435}\) Cf. Fraser (1972) i. 237-238, ii. 386-387. Note also that Posidippus 38 AB implies Arsinoe’s benevolence, since a dedication is offered to her by a manumitted slave woman (see Stephens (2004) 163).

Arsinoe’s ability to protect mariners during their journey, from start to finish, derives from her identification with Aphrodite; for instance, the Olympian goddess was worshipped in Hermione as Ποντία καὶ Λιμενία (Paus.2.34.11).

The following distich (κατ’ εὔπλοιαν δὲ διώκει/ τῆσδε θεοῦ χρῄζων πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλος ἀνήρ, ll.5-6) is meant to include other categories of travellers, such as the ones travelling on land (note the emphatic use of καὶ). Lovers, sailing on the (metaphorical) sea of love, can also be thought of here, the εὔπλοια forming a metaphor for happiness within a relationship and success in love. Aphrodite’s role as a propitious force in love is well established in epigrams, and often combined with her capacity as a maritime deity. For instance, AP 5.209 = 36 GP (Posidippus or Asclepiades) emphasises that the survival from the stormy sea of love can be achieved only through Aphrodite’s intervention; in AP 5.17 = 1 P (Gaetulicus), a man, who is ready to cross the Ionian Sea to see a woman, makes offerings to Aphrodite to ensure a prosperous voyage in love and at sea: οὖριος ἄλλ’ ἐπίλαμψον ἐμῷ καὶ ἔρωτι καὶ ἱστῷ,/ δεσπότι καὶ θαλάμων, Κύπρι, καὶ ἥιόνων (ll.5-6); in AP 9.143 = 93 GPh (Antipater), a statue of Aphrodite, or the goddess herself, takes delight in the stormy sea and in the sailors coming for safety (ll.3-4); they are advised to honour Aphrodite if they want to secure her benevolence in love or at sea (ἐμῷ καὶ ἔρωτι καὶ ἱστῷ,/ δεσπότι καὶ θαλάμων, Κύπρι, καὶ ἥιόνων, Κύπρι, καὶ ἥιόνως (ll.5-6)); in AP 119 AB, where we hear that people at sea or on land should pay tribute to the temple (ll.1-2). If this happens, the deified queen will grant them ‘fair sailing’ and ‘make the vast sea calm in the middle of the storm’ (ll.5-6). The phrases have both a literal and metaphorical meaning.


439 For the epigram, see Gow-Page (1968) ii. 94-95.
The Posidippean epigrams exemplify that the Ptolemies maintained the multi-dimensionality of traditional religion to promote an image of the queen as a great, new deity. This is further asserted by the various cult titles that the queen received and her association in cult with other goddesses. As Vernant argues, it is the multi-dimensionality of the Olympian gods that affirms their greatness and superiority in comparison to lesser deities. Parker likewise stresses that the major Olympian gods were active in many and different areas of influence, exerting power in the public and private sphere, male and female domain, and the natural and social world. He further uses Aphrodite and her various roles in religion to exemplify the interrelation between multi-dimensionality and being a great and powerful god (her sphere of influence encompasses sexuality, marriage, fertility, seafaring, public and political life etc.). The Posidippean epigrams point towards the multiplicity of the cult roles of Arsinoe II, a characteristic of her religious and political self-fashioning which is further mirrored in the range of her potential worshippers, including young girls, sailors, and all travellers (those at sea and on land, professional and occasional, and lovers).

4.2.7. API (A) 68 = 39 GP: Royal Self-fashioning in Art Integrated in Poetry.

Let us now turn our attention to API (A) 68 = 39 GP, which employs the viewer’s response to a work of art to interpret, and possibly promote, Ptolemaic propaganda. Similarly to the epigrams above, it praises a Ptolemaic queen by associating her with Aphrodite. This queen could be: i) Berenice I, the wife of

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440 Cf. e.g. the street names, preserved in papyri, that suggest the association (and perhaps identification) of Arsinoe with several deities (Hera, Athena, Demeter), see Fraser (1972) i. 237-239, ii. 386-388, Bell (1926) 245-247. Cf. Stephens (2004) 163-170 for the identification of the armed Arsinoe with Athena in 36AB; Bing (2002/3) identifies the goddess in this epigram with Aphrodite. Arsinoe also appears as Demeter-Isis-Tyche on oinochoae with a phiale and a double cornucopia, see Fraser (1972) i 242-243, Thompson (1973) 31-33. For other links between Arsinoe and Demeter, see Minas (1998) 44-49.


443 For the ascription of API (A) 68 = 39 GP to Asclepiades or Posidippus, see Guichard (2004) 411-413, Sens (2011) 263. There is no safe argument for assigning authorship to either of the epigrammatists.
Ptolemy I Soter, ii) Berenice II, the daughter of Magas of Cyrene and wife of Ptolemy III Euergetes, or iii) the daughter of Ptolemy II Philadelphus and Arsinoe, who married Antiochus II of Syria. Based on Theoc. Id. 15.106-108 and Id. 17.46-50, the most likely candidate is Berenice I, who was worshipped as Aphrodite’s synnaos (or perhaps she was identified with the goddess) after her death: 

Cette représentation est de Cypris. Les messieurs, assurez-vous qu’il s’agit bien de Berenice; je suis incertain de qui lequel des deux le ferait dire. 

The opening phrase Κύπριδος ἀδών ἑικῶν ἑιρήνεις μηθεὶς Βερενίκας: διστάζω ποτέρᾳ φῇ τις ὑμωιότέραν.

This is a representation of Cypris. Come let’s make sure it’s not of Berenice; I am uncertain to which one someone would say it is more similar. 

The opening phrase Κύπριδος ἀδών ἑικῶν plays on the practical function of inscribed epigrams to inform the passers-by about the identity of the figure represented. During the Hellenistic period, inscriptions were crucial for the identification of female figures, especially in sculpture, since statues of women, queens, and goddesses were difficult to tell apart without external indications. This first phrase allows for two interpretations: it can be considered either as the speaker’s quotation of an inscription on a statue’s (or a painting’s) base, or as his immediate response upon looking at it. Taking the opening as an inscription, Sens offers a plausible explanation for what follows: the speaker invites the rest of the viewers to join him in doubting its accuracy. This reading accentuates the queen’s praise: it forms a

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445 See Gow (1952) 334-335. For the possibility of Berenice I being identified with Aphrodite while still alive, see Gutzwiller (1995a) 396-397, Sens (2011) 263. For her possible association with Aphrodite on coins, see Gutzwiller (1992b) 364-365. Since in statuary a ‘fuller-faced, Aphrodite-like ideal’ was employed for Berenice II (Smith (1995) 208), we should not exclude the possibility that the epigram praises this queen.
hyperbolic encomium of her beauty, which is so divine that it brings into question the validity of the inscriptive identification. The crux of this interpretation (in contrast to its alternative) is that the viewer does not have to guess the identity of the depicted female, but he challenges an already existing identification, given by the sculptor/painter himself. Alternatively, if we accept that it is the speaker who initially identifies the statue as that of Aphrodite (so there is no inscription on its base), the exhortation expresses his instant skepticism. The praise of the queen resulting from this interpretation appears somewhat milder, as it is based on the puzzlement a viewer would feel when looking at a woman’s statue, lacking an inscription. It lacks the hyperbolic incredulity which makes the first reading so vivid. The poem is open to both interpretations, no matter what the original idea of its composer was. A much later epigram, written by the bishop Synesius (373-414AD), uses a similar mode of praise. Synesius erected a statue of his sister, which, together with the epigram (most probably an inscriptive one), glorified her beauty. The epigram survives today as APl 79: τῆς χρυσῆς εἰκὼν ἢ Κύρπιδος, ἢ Στρατονίκης ‘the statue of golden Cypris or Stratonice’. It is the uncertainty as to whom the statue represents and the attribution of the characterisation ‘golden’ (commonly used for the goddess) to both of them, that constitute the epigram’s encomiastic points.

4.2.8. AP 5.194 = 34 GP: A Case Study of Indirect Links between a Non-Royal Woman and Aphrodite.

One more epigram, AP 5.194 = 34 GP, needs to be commented on in this context. As was said above, it belongs either to Posidippus, who was definitely a court poet, or to Asclepiades, for whom it is uncertain whether he worked under Ptolemaic patronage or not. Therefore, it is essential to see how the motif might have been used by a court poet, not for a queen, but for a commoner.

453 There is no safe evidence that proves that Asclepiades worked under the patronage of the Ptolemies, see Sens (2011) lxii-lxv.
454 For the ascription of the epigram, see Guichard (2004) 383-385, Sens (2011) 228. No firm conclusion can be drawn for the authorship.
The Erotes themselves looked on soft Eirenion as they were coming out from the golden chambers of Cypris, from head to feet a holy blossom/child, as if carved from white marble, laden with a virgin’s graces; and then they let fly from their hands many arrows against young men, sent from the purple bow-strings.

The praise of Eirenion starts immediately with the use of the adjective ἁπαλὴν, a common laudatory description in erotic poetry. Jacobs and Martorelli emended the MSS reading ἐρχόμενοι into ἐρχομένην, and Jacobs suggested that the girl’s departure from Aphrodite’s chambers implies her initiation to love, her passage from childhood to womanhood. Sens, accepting this emendation, argues that the image means that Eirenion has been bestowed with attributes by Aphrodite and the Graces. While both interpretations have merit, the MSS reading ἐρχόμενοι can be defended, since the distich makes perfect sense as it survives. The image of the Erotes coming out of Aphrodite’s chamber is a natural one, since they are her children. If we follow the MSS reading, the Erotes can be interpreted as the intermediaries between Eirenion and Aphrodite, connecting the girl with the goddess. Aphrodite is not the one meeting her, but it is her children who see Eirenion by chance and start shooting men as soon as they gaze upon her. According to this interpretation, the praise of Eirenion is accentuated, because it is as if the Erotes

455 For the use of ἁπαλὸς in poetry, see Sens (2011) 134.
themselves fall prey to her attractiveness. The notion highlights her impact on male viewers.\footnote{Sens (2011) 227 also notes that the Erotes act as surrogates for men, and adds that their gaze stands for that of the youths.}

In addition, Eirenion’s characterisation as ἱερὸν θάλος emphasises her supernatural beauty (l.3).\footnote{For her other characterisations within the distich, see Guichard (2004) 386-387, Sens (2011) 231-233.} While the term θάλος stresses her youth and tenderness - qualities that are also implied by the hypocoristic diminutive Εἰρήνιον - the accompanying adjective ἱερὸν, meaning ‘filled with or manifesting divine power, supernatural’;\footnote{LSJ\textsuperscript{9}, s.v. ἱερός I.} adds an element of hyperbole, particularly in combination with the preceding expression ἐκ τριχὸς ἀχρὶ ποδῶν; the girl exhibits divine beauty from head to toe. Elsewhere, as in Ibycus fr.288.1 Davies, the noun θάλος creates a bond between a young girl or a boy and a deity or deities who are presented as her/his patrons. In the epigram, the adjective ἱερὸν implies such a special bond between Eirenion and a deity (or deities) responsible for her supreme beauty. While these benefactors remain unnamed, Aphrodite naturally comes to the reader’s mind, as she is mentioned in the first distich.\footnote{Cf. Sens (2011) 230-231.} It is important to note that this idea does not bestow divinity on Eirenion, but only supernatural beauty deriving from divine favour. The distinction between human and divine is maintained. So, if indeed the poem was written by a court poet, it is in line with the pronounced reluctance observed in their corpus to equate commoners with Aphrodite.


Even outside the Ptolemaic court the same disinclination to equate mortal women with Aphrodite is observable. Actually, no other surviving epigram dating to the third century BC associates a mortal woman with Aphrodite, apart from the ones mentioned above. It is only later in time, during the second century BC, when Antipater of Sidon will eulogise the dead hetaera Lais as surpassing Aphrodite in the

\footnote{Sens (2011) 227 also notes that the Erotes act as surrogates for men, and adds that their gaze stands for that of the youths.}

\footnote{For her other characterisations within the distich, see Guichard (2004) 386-387, Sens (2011) 231-233.}

\footnote{LSJ\textsuperscript{9}, s.v. ἱερός I.}

\footnote{Cf. Sens (2011) 230-231.}
softness of skin (AP 7.218 = 23 GP). From his corpus, two other epigrams relevant to our discussion survive, i.e. AP 7.14 = 11 GP and AP 9.567 = 61 GP. These poems, however, use versions of the motif that resemble its application during the archaic and classical eras: in the first poem, the idea of creating a metaphorical bond between humans and deities is employed for the poetic encomium of Sappho; in AP 9.567 = 61 GP, a theatrical artist called Antiodemis is praised as ‘Paphia’s nestling’. I first analyse the use of the motif in AP 9.567 = 61 GP and AP 7.14 = 11 GP, and then move to AP 7.218 = 23 GP.

In AP 9.567 = 61 GP, Antiodemis is presented as going to Rome to put an end to the military expansionism of the Romans:

\[ \text{Antiodemis, Paphia’s nestling, even still cuddled from her babyhood in purple coverlets, whose melting eyes glance softer than sleep, Lysis’ halcyon, a pleasant toy of Drunkenness, whose arms are like water, who alone has no bones in her body but is all milk set in baskets, has gone over to Italy so that she might put a stop} \]

\[ \text{ἡ καὶ ἔτ’ ἐκ βρέφεος κοιμομένη Αντιοδημίς πορφυρέων Παφίς νοσσὶς ἐπὶ κροκόδων, ἡ τακραῖς λεύσσουσα κόραις μαλακότερον ὑπνοῦ, Λύσιδος ἀλκυονίς, τερπνὸν ἄθυρμα Μέθης, ύδατίνους φορέουσα βραχίων, οὐ λάχει, ἣν γὰρ ὄλη τοῦν ταλάροις γάλα. Τιαλίην ἠμειὼσε ἵνα πτολέμιο και αἰχμῆς ἀμπαύσῃ Ῥώμην μαλθακίνη χάριτι.} \]

Antiodemis, Paphia’s nestling, even still cuddled from her babyhood in purple coverlets, whose melting eyes glance softer than sleep, Lysis’ halcyon, a pleasant toy of Drunkenness, whose arms are like water, who alone has no bones in her body but is all milk set in baskets, has gone over to Italy so that she might put a stop.

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461 For Antipater’s chronology, see Gutzwiller (1998a) 236.

to Rome’s warmongering with her delicate charms.\textsuperscript{463}

Her characterisation as ‘Paphia’s nestling’ creates a special bond between her and the goddess (whose title alludes to Hesiod’s \textit{Theog}.192-193, 199), attributing her beauty and attractiveness to divine action. Given that the concept is as old as Ibycus fr.288 Davies, the originality of the specific case study lies in the acquisition of new implications which go beyond the idea of extreme beauty. As Gutzwiller correctly argues, Antiodemis’ physical description is in line with ‘the Roman stereotype of a decadent Greece’ and Antipater suggests that the only response left to Greece is to pacify the Roman warlike exploits with Hellenic heritage, which the artist symbolises.\textsuperscript{464} I propose that these ideas are concretised in the ‘bird-metaphors’, employed for Antiodemis.\textsuperscript{465} The metaphor Παφίης νοσσὶς combines two contradictory notions: on the one hand, the ‘nestling’ implies (apart from youth) vulnerability and powerlessness.\textsuperscript{466} This sense of weakness is underlined through the details of Antiodemis’ description: she is drunk and her body is as flexible as water, the underlying idea being that Greece is too vulnerable and feeble to react against the Romans. On the other hand, within one and the same metaphor, Aphrodite acts as a symbol of the power of beauty and seductiveness. The merging of these contrasting concepts (feebleness and power) summarises the epigram’s basic idea: Antiodemis, who seems to be harmless, has the power of beguiling the Romans to such a degree that she will stop them from waging war. Her use points towards the potential for reaction by the Greeks against the Romans. Antipater personifies and transforms Italy into a lover who can be seduced by the actress. Similar are the connotations of Antiodemis’ description as ‘Lysis’ halcyon’ (Λύσιδος ἀλκυονίς, l.5). On a literal level, her portrayal denotes that she is a performer of λυσῳδία. On a metaphorical level, the ‘bird-metaphor’ alludes to the idea of freedom, which can be attained via

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{463} Translation by Gutzwiller (1998a) 258, slightly altered.
\item \textsuperscript{464} Gutzwiller (1998a) 258-259.
\item \textsuperscript{465} Penzel (2006) 171-172 notes the ‘bird-metaphors’, but he does not link them with the epigram’s basic ideas.
\item \textsuperscript{466} Bird metaphors are used for defenceless children and their protectors, see e.g. Eur.\textit{Andr}.441, where Andromache presents herself as a bird protecting with her wings her child; Eur.\textit{HF}.72 and 224, Eur.\textit{Heracl}.239, for Heracles’ children who are in need of help and protection.
\end{itemize}
Antiodemis’ performances and charms, i.e. through the dissemination of Greek culture.\textsuperscript{467}

With AP 7.14 = 11 GP we are transferred into a new territory, the cluster of epigrams praising lyric poets of the past.\textsuperscript{468} The poem is interesting because it illustrates how the motif of presenting gods as the benefactors of youths can adopt new connotations, when placed within a new context.

Σαπφώ τοι κεύθεις, χθόνιν Αἰολί, τὰν μετὰ Μούσας ἀθανάτας θνατάν Μοῦσαν ἀειδομέναν, ἂν Κύπρις καὶ Ἕρως συνάμ’ ἔτραφον, ᾧς μέτα Πειθώ ἔπλεκ’ ἁείζωον Πιερίδων στέφανον, Ἐλλάδι μὲν τέρψιν σοὶ δὲ κλέος, ὧ τριέλικτον Μοῖραι δινεῦσαι νήμα κατ’ ἡλικάτας, πῶς οὐκ ἐκλώσασθε πανάφθιτον ἦμαρ ἀφθιτα μησαμένᾳ δῶρ’ Ἑλικωνιάδων;

O Aeolian land, you cover Sappho, who with the immortal Muses is celebrated as the mortal Muse; whom Cypris and Eros together reared, with whom Peitho wove the undying wreath of song, a joy to Hellas and a glory to you. O you Fates, twirling the triple thread on the spindle, why spun you not an everlasting life for the singer who devised the deathless gifts of the Muses of Helicon?

Before analysing the use of Aphrodite in this epigram, a few words must be said on Sappho’s portrayal as ‘the mortal Muse’ (l.2), since this idea also draws on the motif

\textsuperscript{467} The use of halcyon as a symbol of freedom goes back to Alcm.fr.26.2-3 \textit{PMG}: ...βάλε δὴ βάλε κηρύλος εἴην, ὧς τ’ ἐπὶ κύματος ἀνθός ἔμα’ ἁλκυόνεσσι ποτίται (for the interpretation of Alcman’s fragment by Antigonus of Carystus, who suggested that the halcyon is a symbol of marital devotion, see Gutzwiller (1992) 206). Cf. Eur.\textit{IT} 1089-1105, in which the chorus wishes that they were halcyons (both passages are cited by Knight (1933) 90).

\textsuperscript{468} For the group of fictional epitaphs on great poets of the past, see Bing (1988a) 117-123 and (1988b) 50-90, Barbantani (2010); for AP 7.14 = 11 GP, see Gosetti-Murrayjohn (2006) 34-37.
of comparing mortals with gods: while celebrating the poetess as a Muse, it simultaneously emphasises her mortality — the moderation of the praise is accentuated via the juxtaposition of and the *parechēsis* in ἀθανάταις θνατάν (cf. τὴν θνητὴν Κυθέρειαν, in AP 7.218.5). This emphasis on Sappho’s mortality is natural, since the epigram is a sepulchral one. The last four lines (from ὥ τριέλικτον onwards) spell out the underlying meaning of this praise: Sappho is a Muse because her poetry gives her immortal fame and inspires other poets. The verses have the form of a question, addressed to the Fates, aiming to underscore the pathos for the physical death of the poetess. Similarly, in AP 9.506 (‘Plato’), Sappho is the tenth Muse: ἐννέα τὰς Μούσας φασίν τινες ὡς ὀλιγώρως ἦνιδε καὶ Σαπφώ Λεσβόθεν.\(^{470}\) In AP 7.407.3 = 18 GP, she breathes like the Muses of Pieria, the metaphor demonstrating that her work acts as a literary model. She is called ‘the Muse of Aeolian Eresus’ and is addressed as ‘mistress, in every way equal to gods’ (πάντῃ, πότνια, χαῖρε θεοῖς ἴσα, l.9) In all these epigrams, the phraseology is hyperbolic, deifying Sappho. However, this kind of praise differs from the equation with divinity in the case of the Ptolemaic queens, in that Sappho is dead. Since some great poets, such as Archilochus (perhaps Sappho) received hero-cult, this religious practice enabled the use of this kind of phraseology in poetry.\(^{471}\) One can compare the sepulchral epigrams on Homer to verify how widespread the use of this kind of praise was for famous poets in this epigrammatic subtype. For instance, Homer is praised as ‘divine’ in a series of epigrams (AP 7.2B - AP 7.4 = 1 Viansino (P.Silentiiarius), AP 7.7 (Anonymous)), and in AP 7.2B.1-2, the tomb, supposedly holding his body, asks the passer-by to venerate it in the same way he reveres gods (Ἰσα θεοῖσι σέβου). In AP 7.14 = 11 GP, this ‘mortal Muse’ is said to have been raised by Aphrodite, Eros, and Peitho (II.3-4). The use of these gods alludes both to the erotic content of Sappho’s verses and her physical beauty (as in Ibycus fr.288 Davies and AP 9.567 = 61 GP). Similar language, having these double connotations, is already used in Alcaeus fr.384 Campbell: ἱόπλοκ’ ἀγνα μελλιχόμειδε Σάπφοι ‘violet-haired, "

\(^{469}\) For Sappho’s projection as a Muse, which is a widespread topos, see Gosetti-Murrayjohn (2006).

\(^{470}\) Cf. AP 9.66 = 12 GP (Antipater of Sidon) and AP 9.571.7-8 = 36 (b) 7-8 P (Anonymous).

\(^{471}\) Jones (2010) 42, 44 *inter alia* raises the possibility that Sappho might have enjoyed some form of cult in Mytilene, based on the existence of Mytilenaean coins of the imperial period, presenting her as sitting on a throne in a tetrastyle temple. For the hero-cult, see Kearns (1989) and Clay (2004).
pure, sweetly-smiling Sappho’. This though is only part of the story, since the epigram pays tribute to her erotic poetry. The idea that Sappho was raised by Aphrodite and Eros stresses the passion with which her verses are imbued, and their ability to successfully mirror erotic emotions.\(^{472}\) The use of both gods as her nurses (while one would suffice to make the point) strengthens the encomium. Their metapoetic function is confirmed by the way in which the epigrammatist employs Peitho, who along with them weaves for Sappho the eternal wreath of glory. Peitho’s contribution denotes the power of Sappho’s erotic poetry to communicate its passion to the audience. The metaphor of weaving (ἔπλεκ‘), which expresses poetic composition, has a double effect: it suggests divine inspiration from Aphrodite, Eros, and Peitho and stresses the contrast between Sappho’s physical death and the immortality gained through poetry; it creates a nice contrast with the ‘weaving-metaphors’ (ἀνέβαι νῆμα, ἐκλώσασθε) communicating the unfavourable conduct of the Fates — this antithesis is stressed by the numerical equivalence of the involved gods (Aphrodite, Eros, and Peitho vs. the three Fates). The motif of having been brought up by the gods of love gains new impetus in this epigram.

It is in AP 7.218 = 23 GP, however, where the idea of comparing a woman with Aphrodite takes its most dynamic turn. The praise of Corinthian hetaera Lais through her comparison with Aphrodite, apart from continuing and refreshing an existing poetic strand, could have been inspired by the connection and identification of prominent royal courtesans with Aphrodite during the Hellenistic era.\(^{473}\)

\[\text{τὴν καὶ ἀμα χρυσῷ καὶ ἄλουργίδι καὶ σὺν Ἄρωτι}
\text{θρυπτομένην, ἄπαλης Κύπριδος ἄβροτήν,}
\text{Λαῖδ’ ἔχω, πολιήτιν ἄλλισθ’νοιο Κορίνθου,}
\text{Πειρήνης λευκῶν φαιδροτέρην λιβάδων,}
\text{τὴν θνητὴν Κυθέρειαν, ἔφ’ ἣ μνηστηρίας ἄγαυοι}
\text{πλείονες ἡ νύμφης ἄγαυοι Ἀφροδίτης καὶ ὠνητήν Αφροδίτην,}
\text{δρεπτόμενοι Χάριτάς τε καὶ ὑμητήν Ἀφροδίτην,}
\]

\(^{472}\) Cf. API 310.7-8 (Damocharhis) that praises a picture of Sappho and closes as follows: ἀμμιγά δ’ ἔξ ἱλαροῖο καὶ ἐκ νοεροῖο προσώπου/ Μοῦσαν ἀπαγγέλει Κύπριδι μιγνυμένην. The characteristics discerned in Sappho’s image are meant to act as signs for the qualities of her poetry.

I hold Lais, who exalted in her wealth and purple dress
and in her amours/ with the power of Eros, more delicate than tender Cypris,
the citizen of sea-girt Corinth,
more sparkling than the white water of Peirene,
the mortal Cytherea, who had more noble suitors
than the daughter/ bride of Tyndareus,
plucking her charms and mercenary favours.  

Her very tomb smells of sweet-scented saffron,
her skull is still soaked with fragrant ointment,
and her anointed locks still breathe a perfume as of frankincense.
For her the Foam-born tore her lovely face,
and sobbing Eros groaned and wailed.
If she had not made her bed the public slave of gain,
Greece would have pains for her as for Helen.

The poem belongs to the subtype of fictitious sepulchral epigrams. As Gutzwiller notes, the tomb speaks, as if it were the hetaera’s last and perpetual lover, praising her beauty and attractiveness. In the second line, she is praised as being ‘more

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474 Edited text and translation by Gutzwiller (1998a) 255-256. I alter the translation slightly, and in the original I print Ἐρωτὶς (l.1), Χάριτας and Ἀφροδίτην (l.7).

475 For the metonymic use of the Graces and Aphrodite, see the analysis of the epigram. For the defence of the MSS reading ἀγαυοί, altered by Gow-Page into ἄγερθεν (1965) ii. 53, see White (1985) 77-79.

476 Gutzwiller (1998a) 255-257. See Gutzwiller (1998a) 253-255 and Ludwig (1963) 63-68 for Asclepiades AP 7.217 = 41 GP (which is Antipater’s model), where a tomb talks as if it was the ‘final lover’ of Archeanassa from Colophon.
delicate than tender Cypris’.\textsuperscript{477} When comparing this phrase with AP 5.194 = 34 GP, AP 9.567 = 61 GP, and the equivalent Homeric and lyric expressions of praise, it becomes obvious that the encomium in this epigram is much more hyperbolic, since it explicitly presents Lais as being superior to the goddess (even if her superiority concerns a specific feature). The boundaries between the mortal Lais and the immortal Aphrodite are here blurred. The fact that this is a sepulchral epigram enables this kind of exaggerated praise, since extravagant statements are a common feature of praises of the dead.\textsuperscript{478} Also, as we shall see, there is a skeptic element in the epigram which inevitably undermines the praise of her beauty. Line 5 limits the hyperbole of the praise, as the expression τὴν θνητὴν Κυθέρειαν emphasises Lais’ mortality, stressing human limits and firmly binding her superiority to the human world (cf. the Euripidean parallel (Eur.Hec.354-356)). Therefore, there is flexibility in the deployment of the comparison, since Antipater (in the voice of the tomb) moves between over-exaggerated praises and more restrained ones.

As far as the phrase τὴν θνητὴν Κυθέρειαν is concerned, it is also remarkable that the expression equates Lais to those female figures of the Homeric epics who were praised as Aphrodite’s mortal embodiments. The following verses prove that the reader is meant to think of Homer: ἐφ’ ᾗ μνηστῆρες ἀγαυοί πλείονες ἤ νύμφης εἴνεκα Τυνδαρίδος (II.5-6). The hetaera is eulogised as being superior to ‘the daughter/bride of Tyndareus’ in beauty. The phrase is ambiguous since νόμφη can mean both ‘bride’ and ‘maiden’, and therefore can refer either to Leda or Helen. It is the second comparison with Helen in the epigram’s closure, which will lead the reader to interpret this phrase as referring to Helen as well. After all, in general terms, the disloyal Helen is a better yardstick for comparison with a hetaera than her mother, Leda. Lais is more beautiful than Helen since, as the tomb says, more men were subjugated to her beauty than those to the Spartan princess. The formula μνηστῆρες ἀγαυοῖ, reserved in Homer for Penelope,\textsuperscript{479} is attached here to Helen. The descriptive adjective ‘noble’ is a proper characterisation for Lais’ customers because, at least according to literary sources, her clientele consisted of famous men of the

\textsuperscript{477} Penzel (2006) 102-103 also notes the phrases comparing Lais to Aphrodite.

\textsuperscript{478} For Lais, cf. Ath.589b. Supposedly, in an engraved epigram on a stone hydria marking her tomb in Thessaly, Greece is said to have been enslaved by her divine beauty; Eros begot her and Corinth reared her. On the narratives on her death, see McClure (2003) 148-149.

fifth and fourth centuries BC.\textsuperscript{480} Lines 11-12 also praise the hetaera. Aphrodite and Eros are depicted as mourning her death, and the description of their bereavement reflects great pathos and sorrow (Aphrodite tears her face and Eros groans and weeps); the intensity of emotion is nothing if not praise for Lais.\textsuperscript{481}

However the encomium of Lais’ beauty constitutes only one side of the epigram; the other is its underlying humour. In fictitious sepulchral epigrams, hyperbole can be used for parody. For instance, in the anonymous AP 7.224, the concept of the matrimonial ideal is mocked, given that Callicrateia is praised because she died at the age of 105 years old, after having 29 children, all of whom survived her. The anonymous epigrammatist parodies inscriptional epitaphs noting female longevity and emphasising the continuity of the family lineage; for example, in IGii\textsuperscript{2} 3453, it is stated that Lysimache lived long enough to see four generations.\textsuperscript{482} In AP 7.218 = 23 GP, it is the paradoxes included in Lais’ hyperbolic praise that point towards the humour: the tomb speaks as if Lais retains her beauty in death, as if her body is not decayed, but able to preserve in the grave the scent of the saffron perfume and myrrh. There is, therefore, some incongruity between her praise (ll.9-10) and the realistic image of a decayed body in a grave,\textsuperscript{483} which makes the praise seem almost grotesque. Additionally, there are two points which reduce the hetaera from a high class courtesan to a simple prostitute, thus creating a melange of praise and satire. In line 7 (δρεπτόμενοι Χάριτάς τε καὶ ὀνητὴν Ἀφροδίτην), the metonymic use of the goddess and her companions praises Lais’ charms, beauty, sexual skills, and attractiveness. However, the use of the adjective ὀνητὴν highlights the venality of this divine beauty; this is an ‘earthly Aphrodite’ available for hire, and the idea suggests a slight, under-hand irony against Lais. Moreover, the phrase ‘plucking her charms and mercenary favours’ is placed at the end of her comparison with Helen, and this seems to suggest that the reason why Lais had more suitors than the princess was the commercialisation of her splendour. The last distich expresses

\textsuperscript{480} For instance, Demosthenes, Diogenes the Cynic, and Aristippus the Cyrenaean reportedly slept with her. For bibliography on the topic, see Gutzwiller (1998a) 256 n.59.

\textsuperscript{481} Aphrodite is here depicted in human terms, as e.g. in AP 6.275 = 5 GP (Nossis).

\textsuperscript{482} Cf. Henderson (1987) 111 n.36 for more examples.

\textsuperscript{483} Cf. AP 7.217 = 41 GP (with Gutzwiller (1998a) 255): if we take the verb ἔζετ’ as present and not as imperfect (ἀς καὶ ἐπὶ ῥυτίδων ὁ γλυκὺς ἔζετ’ Ἔρως, 1.2), then the image of Archeanassa as preserving in tomb her beauty is incongruous with the realistic state of bodies in graves.
this idea in a much more open and emphatic way. The tomb says: ‘if she had not made her bed the public slave of gain, Greece would have pains for her as for Helen’ (ll.13-14). The concept of Lais having made her bed the public slave to profit emphasises her venality; the adjectives πάγκοινον and δούλην, characterising her bed, degrades her to a common prostitute, available to anyone who was able to pay. In addition, the idea of going to war for a prostitute is in itself paradoxical and has a double effect. On the one hand, it undercuts the comparison with Helen, and suggests that the comparison should be taken humorously. On the other hand, it potentially cuts Helen down to size: firstly, because Helen is associated with a hetaera who is here presented as available to anyone, and secondly, because the comparison stresses that Helen created ponos for Greece. This is not the cleaned up Helen of Stesichoros and Euripides, but the old Helen, whose inability to stay with one man caused the Trojan War.

4.2.10. Meleager’s Epigrams and the Motif’s ‘Apotheosis’.

After Antipater of Sidon, in the surviving material, we find the motif in Meleager (first century BC). His epigrams include both more restrained versions of this mode of praise (AP 5.195 = 39 GP and AP 5.196 = 40 GP), but also its most hyperbolic variation: in AP 5.137 = 43 GP, Heliodora is openly and emphatically (and metaphorically) identified with Aphrodite, Grace, and Peitho. I commence with the analysis of AP 5.195 = 39 GP and AP 5.196 = 40 GP, with the purpose of exemplifying how Meleager alludes to diverse aspects of Aphrodite’s cult functions in order to open up the connotations of the beloved’s association with her:

αἱ τρισσαὶ Χάριτες τρισσὸν στεφάνωμα †σύνευναι†
Ζηνοφίλᾳ τρισσᾶς σύμβολα καλλοσύνας·
ἄ μὲν ἐπὶ χρωτὸς θεμένα πόθον, ἄ δ’ ἐπὶ μορφᾶς

484 As Penzel (2006) 103 notes, there is an indirect allusion to Aphrodite Pandemos.
485 For a different reading of the epigram, see Gutzwiller (1998a) 255-257. She argues that Antipater heroises Lais ‘as savior of Greece because she averted civil strife by making her indiscriminate bed the slave of gain — prostitution as self-sacrifice’ (p.257).
486 For Meleager’s life, see Ouvré (1894) 19-58, Gow-Page (1965) i xiv-xv, ii 606-607, Gutzwiller (1998a) 276-277.
The three Graces wove a triple crown for Zenophila, a badge of her triple beauty; one laid desire on her skin and one gave love-longing to her shape, and one to her speech sweetness of words. Thrice blessed she, whose bed Cypris armed, whom Persuasion armed with persuasive words, and Eros with sweet beauty.\(^{487}\)

Zenophila’s beauty is Eros’ gift, and Cypris gave her charms for sex, and Graces gave her grace.

As in its poetic precedents,\(^{488}\) in AP 5.196 = 40 GP, Zenophila’s irresistible charms are praised as gifts bestowed by an assemblage of divine forces. While the gifts of Eros and the Graces are presented in a straightforward manner, Aphrodite’s gift is described through figurative language as σύγκοιτα φίλτρα. The term σύγκοιτος means ‘bedfellow’ and, as Gow and Page state, the phrase *prima facie* means ‘the charms (of love) that are to be found in bed with her’.\(^{489}\) The term φίλτρα alludes to the use of magic, and one recalls, for instance, Euripides *Hipp.*509-510, where Medea’s nurse refers to the ‘enchanting charms for passion’ (φίλτρα μοι θελκτήρια/ ἔρωτος). Aphrodite is connected with magic and this is attested by her evocation in

\(^{487}\) As Gow-Page (1965) ii. 630 argue, the better conjecture for σύναναι is συνείραν. Jacobs’ emendation ἅ...ὁπλισεν for line 5, despite its attractiveness, is unnecessary because, as I argue, the MSS reading projects the (metaphorical) image of Zenophila as a warrior.\(^{488}\)


\(^{489}\) Gow-Page (1965) ii. 631.
the magical papyri, her magical κεστὸς ιμάς (which makes its bearer irresistible), and her connection with magic as depicted in poetry (e.g. see Pindar’s P.4.213-219, where she is the inventor of an agōgē spell). Within epigrams, AP 5.205 = 35 GP (Anonymous) relies on this connection, since it presents a woman called Nico as dedicating her iunx to Aphrodite, which ‘knows how to draw a man from across the sea, and youngsters from the women’s quarters’. In our epigram, the goddess has bestowed Zenophila with magical charms, used (as is easily implied) for acquiring control over men — the accompanying adjective σύγκοιτα suggests that Zenophila uses them to draw men to her bed. Magic was a source of anxiety for males, and the reference to Zenophila’s magic charms hints at the speaker’s nervousness. As I shall suggest, the martial metaphor of AP 5.195.5 (ἀς καὶ Κύπρις ὀπλισεν εὐνάν) expresses the same emotion.

As in its companion piece, in AP 5.195 = 39 GP, Zenophila’s irresistible charms are praised as gifts having been bestowed on her by an assemblage of divine forces. Emphasis is placed on the seductiveness of her external appearance since thrice her attractiveness is praised as a divine present (twice in lines 3-4, as the gift of the Graces, and in line 6, as the bequest of Eros). In the fifth line, Aphrodite is presented as having armed her bed (ἀς καὶ Κύπρις ὀπλισεν εὐνάν, l.5). The metaphor extols Zenophila’s sexual abilities and has the potential of expanding the perception of the phrase σύγκοιτα δὲ φίλτρα in AP 5.196 = 40 GP; the expression can be interpreted as suggesting seductiveness and/ or expertise in sex. At the same time, the verb ὀπλισεν, having martial associations, alludes to Zenophila’s (metaphorical) image as a warrior. The last verse continues the martial metaphor, since the conjunction καὶ connects the clauses, with ὀπλισεν being implied in all of them as the main verb. Two ‘weapons’ are added to Zenophila’s metaphorical armament: persuasive speech and beauty. The image stresses the lover’s powerlessness and inability to resist the woman. Moreover, since war connotes destruction and pain, Zenophila’s martial portrayal introduces the notion of eros as a destructive force. The distich reinvigorates the old motif. The effects of the specific phraseology do not stop here. During the Hellenistic era, Aphrodite was worshipped as a martial


491 Cf. e.g. Hes.Theog.121-122, Ibyc.fr.286 Davies, Sapph.fr.31 Voigt, Archil.fr.193 W², and Thgn.1231-1232.
In the second chapter, it was shown how the epigrammatists extensively used her double role as the goddess of love and sea to play with images, expanding the connotations of their epigrams and renewing old clichés. Here, it is possible that Meleager uses other cultic associations to broaden the interpretative range of his poem. Once the metaphorical meaning of the last distich is detected, further connotations can be discerned in the rest of the epigram. The wreath that the Graces offer to Zenophila (ll.1-2) does not only symbolise her charms (τρισσᾶς σύμβολα καλλοσύνας, l.2), but may have a martial undertone as well, as warriors were crowned after success in battle. Her crowning stands for her success as a ‘warrior’, i.e. for having captivated the lover, who now praises her.

From the surviving material, Meleager AP 5.137 = 43 GP constitutes the boldest treatment of the motif, which we have encountered so far:

έγχει τάς Πειθοῦς καὶ Κύπριδος Ἡλιοδόρας
καὶ πάλι τάς αὐτάς ἀδυλόγου Χάριτος:
αὐτὰ γάρ μι’ ἐμοί γράφεται θεός, ἃς τὸ ποθεινόν
οὖνομ’ ἐν ἀκρήτῳ συγκεράσας πίομαι.

Pour in (wine) for Heliodora Peitho and for Heliodora Cypris, and again for the same Heliodora the sweet-speaking Grace. Because for me she herself is inscribed as the one goddess, whose desirable name I drink mixed with pure wine.

The game of kottabos forms its basis; the lover has wine poured in his cup, and we can imagine him getting ready to toss it and call the name of his beloved. I stress that the toasts acquire a special meaning that derives from their formulation which imitates official cult titles for queens and kings. As I mentioned previously, the name of a queen or a king could be placed in juxtaposition with that of a god to express identification with the deity (e.g. Ἀρσινόης Κύπριδος, in 116.6 AB). Here, the phrase τάς Πειθοῦς καὶ Κύπριδος Ἡλιοδόρας mimics such cult titles. In the same vein, her characterisation τάς αὐτάς ἀδυλόγου Χάριτος imitates cult titles where the

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492 For bibliography on armed Aphrodite, see n.383.
493 See pp.144-145.
name of the queen or king is fully suppressed. This phraseology constitutes a mode of hyperbolic praise which ‘apotheoses’ Heliodora. She is glorified as a goddess, who combines the (erotic) powers of the three female goddesses who are closely connected with love and beauty. If we compare this epigram to Ibycus fr.288 Davies and Ar.Eccl.973-975, both passages exalting a person for combining attributes offered by a group of deities, the difference in the degree of hyperbole is obvious. Here, Heliodora is not the protégée of the goddesses, but she is (metaphorically) identified with them, combining their respective forces. This hyperbolic praise has a double application: on the one hand, it stresses the lover’s complete infatuation for Heliodora; on the other hand, it highlights the woman’s preeminence in beauty and all methods of allurement: ‘Peitho Heliodora’ denotes her expertise in persuasive speech; ‘Cypris Heliodora’, having multiple associations, alludes inter alia to her supernatural beauty, attractiveness, expertise in seductiveness, and sexual pleasure; in the same manner, ‘Grace’ underlines her beauty, sweet voice (this attribute is emphasised by the adjective ἁδυλόγου), charm, and attractiveness (cf. Meleager AP 5.195 = 39 GP). In this context, it is noteworthy that Heliodora’s voice is also praised in AP 5.141 = 44 GP via hyperbolic phraseology that includes comparison with the divine. The lover (Meleager) swears in the name of Eros that he prefers to hear a whisper from Heliodora than Apollo’s lyre-playing: ναὶ τὸν Ἔρωτα, θέλω τὸ παρ’ οὕσιν Ἡλιοδώρας/ φθέγμα κλύειν ἡ τὰς Λατοΐδεω κιθάρας.494

These encomia are strongly connected to the epigram’s metapoetic function. As Gutzwiller notes, wine-drinking in the name of Heliodora stands for composing erotic poetry that has as its subject matter the specific woman.495 We should not forget that the lover is Meleager himself. The fact that it is he, who makes the toasts and presents the beloved in such a manner, enables the appreciation of the metapoetic implications. The phrase αὐτὰ γὰρ μί’ ἐμοὶ γράφεται θεός (l.3) carries on the idea of Heliodora’s ‘apotheosis’, and by implication, continues stressing Meleager’s (as a lover) intense passion for her. In addition, as Gutzwiller argues, the verb γράφεται alludes to the act of writing poetry and suggests that Heliodora’s ‘apotheosis’ stands for her prominent position in Meleager’s corpus.496 Moreover,

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496 Gutzwiller (1997) 177.
the verb, through the allusion to the acts of writing and inscribing epigrams, implies the perpetuality that this ‘goddess’ gains through Meleager’s poetry.

Attention should also be paid to the use of the numeral μία. Heliodora is written down/ inscribed as ‘one goddess’. The pronoun αὐτὰ, used emphatically at the opening of the verse, echoes τὰς αὐτὰς in the preceding line, which emphasises that the toasts are made to one and the same ‘goddess’. The phrase αὐτὰ γὰρ μί’ ἐμοὶ γράφεται θεός returns, therefore, to this theme, and the numeral μία underlines that Heliodora unites the qualities of the three goddesses. In fact, the epigram is carefully structured; it starts with a verb that introduces the motif of the toasts, while the rest of the distich aims to focus on the beloved’s praise. The next distich follows an opposite route; it starts with the encomium of the beloved and closes with the motif of drinking wine (ring composition). Let us complete the analysis of the epigram, by turning our attention to its last phrase: ἄς τὸ ποθεινὸν/ οὔνομα ἐν ἀκρήτῳ συγκεράσας πίομαι. Since it was customary in the symposia to consume mixed wine, Meleager’s statement that he will drink the name of Heliodora stirring it into pure wine begs for interpretation. The phrase is an original and clever variation of the motif of poetry used as a remedy for love. In the symposia, wine was traditionally mixed with water to ensure that men maintained their composure, as the consumption of unmixed wine was considered to have negative consequences for one’s physical and mental health. In the epigrams using the komos motif, wine makes the lover lose control and urges him to go and serenade his beloved. In this epigram, interestingly the ‘name of Heliodora’ becomes a substitute for the beneficiary function of water. The underlying idea is that poetry (the writing down of Heliodora’s name, meaning the composition of poems about her) becomes the medium that prevents Meleager (as a lover) from losing self-control.

Garrison attributes Heliodora’s ‘apotheosis’ to Meleager’s ‘erotic extremism’ that ‘robs man of his reason, his independence, and his individuality’. In Meleager, Garrison argues, we have the image of the extreme lover, whose ‘erotic state becomes a part of him, and it emerges in religious images’. Garrison’s explanation is useful for appreciating the effect of this kind of hyperbole, which indeed underlines the lover’s passion and infatuation for the object of his desire. However, it

497 Cf. Posidippus AP 12.98 = 6 GP and AP 12.120 = 7 GP.
498 Garrison (1978) 84.
does not take us closer to an understanding of the factors which led to the emergence of the motif. As I argue in this chapter, the association, comparison or, in the case of Meleager, identification of the beloved with Aphrodite is closely linked to the religious beliefs and practices of each era. Meleager’s liberty to attribute (on a metaphorical level) divine status to the beloved is manifest not only in AP 5.137 = 43 GP, but furthermore, in AP 12.158.7-8 = 93.7-8 GP, where a boy is a ‘god’: ἵλαθ’, ἀναξ, ἕλθι· σὲ γὰρ θεὸν ὥρισε δαίμων· ἐν σοὶ μοι ζωῆς πείρατα καὶ θανάτου ‘have mercy on me, lord, have mercy; for a divinity ordained you a god; in you are the limits of my life and death’. Speaking of love in terms of death dates back to the archaic poetry (see e.g. Sappho fr.31.15-16 Voigt). We also came across the same idea in AP 12.156.1-2 = 22.1-2 GP, where the stern-cables of the lover’s life are said to have been made fast on Myiscus. Hyperbole is indeed a characteristic of love poetry of all times. But the idea of elevating the beloved to the status of a god that has the power of life and death, because his reaction will determine if the lover is happy or heartbroken, is completely new.

Meleager uses the motif of association/comparison/identification with Aphrodite more systematically, either in its most emphatic form (in AP 5.137 = 43 GP and AP 12.158 = 93 GP) or in its more restrained version (AP 12.165 = 98 GP, AP 5.195 = 39 GP, AP 5.196 = 40 GP), in order to praise the beloveds of his erotic verses. The first two epigrams constitute the apex of the motif’s gradual development, signifying that Meleager lived in an era when poets felt freer to praise mortals as being superior to the gods. An epigram which belongs to Dioscorides (who was active at the end of third century BC), i.e. AP 5.55 = 5 GP, constitutes further evidence for this growing readiness during the Hellenistic era to use this kind of hyperbolic praise. In this poem, a man states that he became ‘immortal’ because of having sex with a woman called Doris: Δωρίδα...διατείνασε/ ἄνθεσιν ἐν χλοεροῖς ἀθάνατος γέγονα (ll.1-2). The hyperbole is clear, emphatic, and unrestrained and apart from the man, it praises Doris, since it is sex with her that raises him (metaphorically) to the status of deities. This kind of declaration would be unthinkable in the archaic and classical eras. 499 After Meleager, we find more

499 Cf. AP 5.94 = 13 P, where a beloved is hailed as the fourth Grace, the second Paphia, and the tenth Muse. The epigram is attributed by PlA to Rufinus, and in the AP is categorised as an ἀδέσποτον. As Page (1981) 321 argues it probably belongs to the first century AD, but it may be much earlier.
epigrams that use the same degree of hyperbole when praising the beloved (e.g. Rufinus AP 5.73 = 27 Page and AP 5.94 = 35 P500), and Roman poets also widely employed this form of exaggerated praise (see e.g. Ovid’s A.2.4.40 est ettiam in fusco grata colore Venus ‘but Venus (i.e. a woman) is still pleasing when darkly coloured’).501 This material verifies that by the end of the Hellenistic era, poets felt freer to compare mere mortals with gods. Which factors though permitted the application of this degree of hyperbole in the work of Meleager and others?

I suggest that we should connect this development with particular religious changes that took place during the Hellenistic era and which had become established cultic practices by Meleager’s time. I have already referred to ruler cult and the deification and assimilation of kings and queens to the Greek Olympian gods. This cultic practice, which was added to the traditional religious practices of the Greeks, blurred the boundaries between mortals and gods. People became gradually more accustomed to the idea of mortals (albeit their rulers) being deified. This change certainly did not happen overnight; as the surviving material suggests, earlier Hellenistic poets were reluctant to present the beloved as equal or superior to a god, and only the court poets assimilated their queens and kings with the Olympian gods. But the use of the motif within the frame of Ptolemaic propaganda probably enabled its transfer to the erotic domain with the passing of time.

More importantly, from the second century BC at the latest, ordinary men and women, recently dead, were offered cultic honours and were spoken of as ‘heroes/heroines’. For instance, the citizens of Amorgos established (at the end of the second century BC) in honour of Aleximachus, who died at a young age, monthly public contests that started with a sacrifice in front of his statue and were followed by a public feast. In addition, Artemidorus from Perge after decades of service to the Thereans and their deities, received himself, after his death, cultic honours appropriated to a hero.502 These cases exemplify the broadening of the scope

500 Cf. Philodemus AP 5.121 = 8 GPh = 17 Sider, where Philaenion’s voice is praised as surpassing the power of Aphrodite’s kestos himas (καὶ καστοῖ δ′ φωνεῖσα μαγώτερα, l.3). The praise emphasises that Philaenion speaks ‘with more sexy magic than the one who wears Aphrodite’s kestos’, as Sider says ((1997) 125). In essence, the contrast regards Philaenion and the goddess herself, since it is her powers that are somehow contained in the kestos and are conferred on her protégées.

501 For the use of the motif in Latin poetry, see Lieberg (1962) 35-306.

of people to whom cultic honours were offered. During the classical era this meant heroes, athletes, and famous poets (such as Archilochus). However, by the second century BC, mere mortals could likewise receive such honours. This change in cult practice could have enabled the blurring of boundaries between mortal and divine in poetry. In other words, the praise in poetry of a mortal as being equal or superior to a god gradually stopped being connected with the idea of expressing disrespect towards gods and impiety. Since by Meleager’s time, these cult practices were well-established (and not new cultic phenomena), this can explain why the poet ‘apotheosised’ his beloveds more systematically than his predecessors.503

Additionally, there is another factor which played a key-role in the way in which gods are used in particular epigrams. Divine burlesque has formed part of the presentation of gods in poetry since archaic times.504 As far as Aphrodite is concerned, she is ridiculed more than once in the Homeric epics. For instance, in Od. 8.266-369, Demodocus sings of her affair with Ares and of their humiliation in front of the other gods, when they were caught in Hephaestus’ trap. Furthermore, in Il. 5.297-448, when she is lightly wounded in battle, while saving Diomedes, Zeus admonishes her as if she was a child, stressing that her sphere of influence is ἔργα γάμοι and not war. Also, in Il. 21.421, Hera calls her a κυνάμυια (‘dog-fly’). Dioscorides AP 5.54.5-6 = 7.5-6 GP exemplifies this poetic strand within the genre. A man is advised to turn round his pregnant wife and enjoy her buttocks imagining that she is ‘boyish Aphrodite’ (ἀλλὰ πάλιν στρέψας ροδοειδέϊ τέρπεσιν ῥόδον νυχνής τὴν ἀλοχον νομίσας ἀρσενόπαιδα Κύπριν). Here, the goddess, under her cult title Cypris, has a metonymic function (she suggests penetration from behind (vaginal or anal)), and furthermore, her characterisation as ‘boyish’ is humorous since she was the archetype of female beauty. Moreover, Dioscorides AP 12.37 = 10 GP parodies the

503 Of course, Greek gods continued to be venerated throughout the Hellenistic times, and the anonymous Hellenistic epigram, AP 12.39 = 32 GP, stresses the limitations of human beauty and reflects the belief in the superiority of the ageless god. It says that Nicander was believed to be immortal because of his beauty, but now his prime has passed. The lesson is that no one should think more highly of oneself than it is appropriate: ὃν πρὶν ἐν ἀθανάτοις ἐνομίζομεν. ἀλλὰ φρονεῖτε/ μηδὲν ὑπὲρ θνητοῦ, ὦ νέοι· εἰσὶ τρίχες (II.3-4).

504 For divine-burlesque and the parody of the gods’ myths (in epics, tragedy, comedy), see e.g. Burkert (1960), Lesky (1961), Hunter (1981), Zervou (1990), Muth (1992), Nesselrath (1990) and (1995).
motif of presenting gods as bestowing graces on mortals. Eros moulds the buttocks of a boy called Sosarchus to provoke Zeus because for him, the boy’s thighs are sweeter than those of Ganymede. In the same spirit, in Rhianus AP 12.38 = 1 GP, an imaginary dialogue takes place between a man and a boy’s πυγή, on which the Seasons and the Graces shed sweet oil, making it so irresistible that even old men cannot sleep.\(^5\) Noticeably, the humour is much more sarcastic in the much later AP 12.207 (Strato):\(^6\) a man’s penis is called ‘Anadyomenē’ and the narrator argues that if someone had shown it to Paris, he would have pronounced it as fairer than all three goddesses. The epigram makes a farce the myth of Paris’ Judgement.

To conclude, we cannot draw a homogeneous picture for the transformations of the motif of the comparison of women with Aphrodite in Hellenistic epigram. Its use and adaptations depend upon and are influenced by several factors: the changes in the religious practices of the Greeks that took place during the Hellenistic era, the Ptolemaic patronage and propaganda, the liberties that the subtype of sepulchral epigrams permits, and finally the comic background which permits the use of gods for humorous purposes.

4.2.11. Comparing the Male Beloved with Eros.

Let us now turn our attention to the comparison or identification of the male beloved with Eros during the Hellenistic era. The overlapping in the sphere of influence and powers between Aphrodite and Eros makes this investigation intriguing. My aim is to detect whether the developments we have detected in the case of Aphrodite can be seen here too. Before the analysis of the Hellenistic material, I first turn my attention to Ibycus fr.287 Davies, because it has recently been suggested that in this poem, Eros is identified with the divinised beloved.\(^7\) However, as I argue, Ibycus does not ‘apotheosise’ the beloved. He simply alludes to the idea of an enchanting beloved through the god’s description.\(^8\) Simultaneously,

\(^{5}\) For these epigrams, see Tarán (1979) 40-45.

\(^{6}\) Strato was probably active around the second half of the first century AD and the first half of the second century AD, perhaps during the Flavian period. For the complex problem of his chronology, see Floridi (2007) 1-13 (cf. n.103).

\(^{7}\) Breitenberger (2007) 186.

\(^{8}\) Cf. Davies (1986) 403 who argues that ‘Eros symbolises or stands for the beloved’.
the phraseology, enabled by the script that does not discriminate between capital and small letters (and in a performance context which cannot distinguish abstract from person), hovers between the emotion of *eros* and the god:

> Ἐρός ὁ ἱερός ἀνάκεφαλλότατος μετὰ τὸν κυνάρους τῆς ὑπὸ
> βλεφάρος τακέρ’ ὁμμασι ὑπέρκυρον ὁμμασι παντοδαποῖς ὥς ἀπειροραί ὁδόν τοῦ ὑπέρκυρος ἐξεβάλλει.

Again Eros, looking at me meltingly from under dark eyelids, hurls me with his manifold enchantments into the hopeless/boundless nets of the Cyprian.509

Eros’ melting glance underscores his power over the lover and the inability of the latter to resist him.510 Similar images survive from the epigrammatic corpus. For instance in Meleager AP 5.180.2 = 8.2 GP, Eros ‘laughs bitterly with alluring eyes’ (καὶ λαμυροῖς ὁμμασι πικρὰ γελᾶ). This characteristic of the god alludes to the idea of a beloved whose glance makes men melt; this is a *topos* in Hellenistic epigram and its use can be traced back to Alcman’s poetry (fr.3 *PMG*, P.Oxy.2387 col.ii.61-62): λυσιμελεῖ τε πόσωι, τακερώτερα/ δ’ ὑπνω καὶ σανάτω ποτιδέρκεται.511 At the same time, one can think of the emotion of *eros* that is often described through fire metaphors; for example, from the genre of epigrams, in Marcus Argentarius AP 5.89.5 = 4.5 GPh, love is fire (οὗτος ἔρως, πῦρ τούτο). Moreover, the verb κηλέω has a wide semantic spectrum, denoting the bewitching of somebody by various means (e.g. music, speech, incantation).512 The expression κηλήμασι παντοδαποῖς underlines Eros’ resourcefulness,513 stressing that he employs a range of means/charms to make unwilling man fall in love. His enchantments allude to the various charms of a young *eromenos* (his youth, voice, tender skin etc.), and to the bewitching power of the non-personified *eros* (cf. e.g. *Od*. 18.212: τῶν δ’ ἀφοῦ

509 Translation by Campbell (2001) 257, slightly altered.
511 For further examples, see Skiadas (1999) 335-336, cf. AP 5.96.1 = 59.1 (Meleager), AP 9.567.3 = 61.3 GP (Antipater of Sidon).
512 See LSJ 9*, s.v. κηλέω.
513 The phrase can be metapoetic alluding to the various representations of Eros in lyric poetry. Cf. ποικιλομήχαν Ἐρως... (Kleidemos of Athens (FGrH 323F15), preserved in Ath.13.609d). This is the beginning of the inscription of the oldest traceable Athenian cult of Eros, initiated around 540 BC.
λύτο γούνατ’, ἔρῳ δ’ ἁρα θυμόν ἔθελεν). The periphrasis ἐς ἄπειρα δίκτυα (ll.3-4) stands for love, and ἄπειρα can be interpreted in a double manner: as denoting the lover’s inability to free himself from the new love to which he is forced,\(^{514}\) or as expressing that he is bound to fall in love again and again (ἄπειρος meaning ‘countless’\(^{515}\)). To conclude, in Ibycus, there is definitely an allusion to the image of a captivating beloved, as there is an allusion to the emotion of eros. But the poet does not divinise the beloved.

From the group of epigrams comparing the beloved (or an artistic portrayal of him) with Eros, I commence with AP 12.77 = 38 GP because this poem could have been composed by a court poet, namely Posidippus (it is also ascribed to Asclepiades): εἰ καθύπερθε λάβοις χρύσεα πτερα καὶ σευ ἁπ’ ὄμων/ τείνοιτʼ ἄργυρέων ιοδόκος φαρέτρη/ καὶ σταίης παρ’ Ἐρωτα φιλάγλαον, οὐ μά τὸν Ἐρμῆν/ οὔδ’ αὐτή Κύρπις γνώσεται ὁν τέτοκε. The lover swears by Hermes that Aphrodite would not be able to distinguish who her son is, if the beloved had Eros’ attributes.\(^{516}\) If the epigram is Posidippean (or if Asclepiades worked under Ptolemaic patronage), then it indicates that the court poets did not feel reluctant to praise a boy by comparing him to Eros (in contrast to their disinclination to use Aphrodite in such a way). This can easily be explained by the fact that Eros did not belong to the group of gods employed for Ptolemaic self-fashioning (as did Aphrodite). Moreover, he is not one of the great Olympian gods; always somewhere between personified god and abstract, he enjoys a much more limited cult presence,\(^{517}\) a fact that arguably reduces any negative implications in comparing mortals with him. Similar is the formulation of praise in Asclepiades AP 12.75 = 21 GP, in which it is said that if the beloved had wings on his back, bows, and arrows, then he would be identified as Aphrodite’s child.\(^{518}\) The anonymous AP 12.111 = 28 GP constitutes another close variation: a boy’s swiftness matches Eros’ wings, and this means that they both make a man fall in love just as quickly. The boy’s beauty is

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\(^{515}\) LSJ\(^9\), s.v. ἄπειρον.


\(^{517}\) See Breitenberger (2007) 137-194; for Eros in poetry, see Lasserre (1946).

also equal to that of the god. His inferiority derives from the lack of arrows and bows. This form of praise draws on the god’s artistic portrayals. Eros is represented (already in the archaic era) as a young and beautiful boy who is distinguished from the eromenos only by his wings and paraphernalia. A red-figure cup of the painter Kachrylion nicely plays on the similarity of representation: the image of a flying Eros (youthful and handsome) is supplemented by the inscription καλὸς ὁ παῖς that can refer either to Eros or a beloved to whom the symposiast reads the inscription.\(^{520}\) The epigrams motivate the reader to think of the visual affinities in the artistic portrayals of Eros and the beloved.

Several Meleagrean adaptations of the motif survive. AP 12.76 = 89 GP and 12.78 = 83 GP form close variations of the epigrams mentioned above: while in his predecessors the hypothesis focuses on the beloved (‘if you (i.e. the beloved) had…’), in Meleager, Eros is its subject (e.g. εἰ μὴ τόξον Ἐρως μηδὲ πτερὰ μηδὲ φαρέτραν/ μηδὲ πυριβλήτους εἶχε. Πόθων ἀκίδας./ οὐκ, αὐτὸν τὸν πτανὸν ἐπόμνυμαι, οὐποτ’ ἂν ἐγνως/ ἐκ μορφᾶς τίς ἐφο Ζωῖλος ἡ τίς Ἐρως, AP 12.76 = 89 GP).\(^{521}\) In AP 12.113 = 62 GP and 12.144 = 106 GP, we find more dynamic transformations of the motif, as Eros becomes the victim of a beautiful boy, an idea also explored in the Hellenistic AP 12.112 = 15 GP (Anonymous). Meleager’s most interesting variation is AP 12.54 = 82 GP, where the speaker (metaphorically) identifies a boy with Himeros and Pothos and states that the boy is superior to Eros. To judge from this surviving material, during the Hellenistic era, there was greater freedom in the deployment of Eros for encomiastic purposes, in comparison to the more restrained use of Aphrodite. Let us see in detail AP 12.112 = 15 GP (Anonymous) and the Meleagrean AP 12.113 = 62 GP and AP 12.144 = 106 GP, which eulogise the charms and beauty of their beloveds through the evocation of Eros.

εὐφαμεῖτε νέοι· τὸν Ἐρωτ’ ἂγει Ἀρκεσίλαος
πορφυρέδη δήσας Κύπριδος ἁρπεδόνη.

(AP 12.112 = 15 GP)

Cheer in triumph, young men; Arcesilas is carrying off Eros.

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\(^{519}\) For AP 12.111 = 28 GP (Anonymous), see Gow-Page (1965) ii. 574.


\(^{521}\) Cf. Sens (2011) 140-141; AP 11.179 (Lucilius) forms a comic adaptation of the motif.
having bound him with the purple cord of Cypris.

καύτος Ἀρως ὁ πτεανὸς ἐν αἰθέρι δέσμος ἡλω
ἀγρευθεῖς τοῖς σοῖς ὄμμασι, Τιμάριον. (AP 12.113 = 62 GP)

Even Eros himself, the winged, had been made captive in the air, taken by your eyes, Timarion.

τί κλαίεις, φρενολῃστά; τί δ’ ἥγια τοξά καὶ ιούς
ἐρριγας διψή ταρσών ἀνεῖς πτερύγων;
ἡ ρά γε καὶ σε Μυίσκος ὁ δύσμαχος ὀμμασίν αἴθει;
ώς μόλις οἳ’ ἔδρας πρόσθε παθὼν ἐμαθεῖς. (AP 12.144 = 106 GP)

Why do you weep, stealer of the wits? Why have you thrown away your savage bows and arrows, folding your pair of outstretched wings? Does Myiscus, ill to combat, burn you, too, with his eyes? How hard it has been for you to learn by suffering what you have been doing previously!

The epigrams are based on the image of the personified Eros as a hunter (cf. Ibycus fr.287 Davies), and invert this role of him by presenting the god as the beloved’s prey. This idea accentuates his defeat, because he is taken down in his own game and by his own weapons.522 In AP 12.113 = 62 GP, the hunting metaphor becomes obvious in the use of ἥλω and ἀγρευθεῖς, words traditionally employed for hunting. In AP 12.112 = 15 GP, Eros is bound ‘with the purple cord of Aphrodite’. The expression stands for ‘the bonds of love’ and the adjective πορφυρέῃ takes us back to Anacreon fr.357.3 PMG (πορφυρῇ τ’ Ἀφροδίτη), where it characterises Aphrodite herself. More importantly, this phrase constitutes also a hunting metaphor, since ἁρπεδόνη is a hunting implement.523 Eros is clearly depicted as the beloved’s

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522 Cf. AP 5.303 (Anonymous), in which Eros is caught by those in love: ἐνθάδε γὰρ σέο κοῦρον ὥσσοι ἐνὶ κραδίῃ πυρσὸν ἔχουσι πόθου (ll.3-4).
523 LSJ9, s.v. ἁρπεδόνη I.
prey.\textsuperscript{524} This interpretation is supported by AP 5.194.6 = 34 GP, in which the purple cord is explicitly used by the Erotes, who hunt down men. In fact, in AP 12.112 = 15 GP, we have a melange of hunting and war metaphors, accentuating the beloved’s overwhelming power; the verb ἄγω can be employed for the carriage of booty and captives,\textsuperscript{525} and the epigram presents the beloved as showing off his plunder, namely Eros, to the gathered crowd.

In AP 12.144 = 106 GP, the lover sees Eros crying, his weapons of destruction set aside, and his wings relaxed. He does not know the reason that has brought the god into such a condition (see the two questions in lines 1-2), and makes the hypothesis that the god has fallen in love with Myiscus, the boy whom he himself wants. His words project his own emotions and pain, caused by unrequited love (as is suggested by the other epigrams that refer to the specific boy). Eros’ initial characterisation as φρενολῃστής\textsuperscript{526} is put in the lover’s mouth because the god has stolen his wits. Regardless of whether the last distich is an affirmative clause or a question,\textsuperscript{527} it is important to stress that it mirrors the lover’s subjective opinion. What is certain is that Myiscus has burned with his eyes the lover (implied in καὶ σὲ). Hence, in contrast to AP 12.112 = 15 GP and AP 12.113 = 62 GP, the hyperbole is restrained because the capture of Eros is projected as the lover’s subjective opinion, and not as a fact.\textsuperscript{528} In these three epigrams, Eros is portrayed through phraseology which is appropriate for an erastēs, and as an erastēs, he is forced to fall in love against his will. The concept is old and one finds evidence in Attic red-figure vase paintings. Illustrations of Eros survive in which he approaches youths with gifts, accosting them at close-quarters, and (perhaps) having sex with them. In these scenes, Eros is overpowered by his own power.\textsuperscript{529} This is the implication of the epigrams under discussion.

I finish my discussion with AP 12.54 = 82 GP, which is interesting under two aspects: firstly, similarly to AP 5.137 = 43 GP, Meleager identifies the beloved with Himeros (both the personified and the non-personified emotion) by imitating the

\textsuperscript{524} Gow-Page (1965) ii. 567.
\textsuperscript{525} LSJ\textsuperscript{3}, s.v. ἄγω I 3.
\textsuperscript{526} The concept goes back to Hes. Theog. 120-123.
\textsuperscript{527} See Gow-Page (1965) ii. 663.
\textsuperscript{528} As in the other two epigrams, a war metaphor is used (δύσμαχος, l.3).
The first distich weaves Antiochus’ encomium through the idea that Aphrodite disowned her own child, namely Eros, in favour of the boy, and the appellation ‘Himerus Antiochus’ that praises the boy’s ability to make men yearn for him. The encomium is hyperbolic because the appellation transfers the power of the personified Himerus to the boy, in the way that official cult titles transfer the powers of gods to mortal kings and queens. It identifies the two on a metaphorical level, the identification being emphasised through the homoioteleuton of -ον (Ἡμερον Ἀντίοχον). The appellation is followed by two other hyperboles: Antiochus is the ‘New Pothos’ (l.3) and he is a ‘better Eros’ (l.4). As in the case of his identification with Himerus, the boy is praised as the human embodiment of the emotions of pothos and eros. His supremacy over Eros (ll.3-4) is emphasised through the ring composition and the polyptoton in Ἔρωτος Ἔρως. The epigram alludes to the iconographic representations of all three personifications of human emotions as young and beautiful (winged) boys. Hence, Antiochus is compared with and exceeds both the external appearance of these embodiments of emotion and their power; this means that he is more effective in making people fall in love with him. As in the case of Heliodora’s identification with Aphrodite and her companions, the

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I add a comma after ἄλλον ἐν ἡμίθεος, to emphasise that Ἡμερον Ἀντίοχον is used as the explanation of ἄλλον, almost in the form of a title.

For the iconographic representations of these emotions, see Shapiro (1993) 110-124.
epigram mirrors the lover’s passion for the boy and the power that the boy’s beauty exercises on him.

4.2.12.1. The Motif after Meleager: Marcus Argentarius and Rufinus.

Let us now turn our attention to those epigrams which were composed after the Meleagrean *Garland* and which employed the motif of comparison in relation to Aphrodite. From Philip’s *Garland*, only one relevant epigram survives, i.e. AP 5.102 = 5 GPh (Marcus Argentarius). Rufinus, who was probably active during the Neronian era,\(^{532}\) employs it thrice (AP 5.70 = 26 P, AP 5.73 = 27 P, AP 5.94 = 35 P), and Strato follows its restrained form in AP 12.195.4, where he praises boys as χειρῶν Κυπρογενούς πλάσματα καὶ Χαρίτων. We also encounter it in the *Cycle* of Agathias, and its presence in this anthology reveals that the motif had a very long life in antiquity, a life that outlived pagan beliefs in Aphrodite. I examine these epigrams with a view to identifying and understanding: i) any new formulations and uses of the motif, ii) the reasons which led to its survival in the *Cycle*, and iii) the ways in which this ‘pagan’ motif was probably perceived by a Christian audience/ readership.\(^{533}\)

In Marcus Argentarius AP 5.102 = 5 GPh, the motif is used within a new context, since the epigram varies the *topos* of evaluating women as sexual partners.\(^{534}\) It presents a dialogue between two men discussing the pros and cons of sleeping with a very thin girl:\(^{535}\)

-τὴν ἵσχυν Διόκλειαν, ἀσαρκοτέρην Ἀφροδίτην,

> δῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καλοῖς ἠθεσὶ τερπομένην.

-οὐ πολύ μοι τὸ μεταξὺ γενήσεται, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ λεπτά

> στέρνα πεσόν ψυχῆς κείσομαι ἐγγυτάτω.

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\(^{533}\) The use of this motif in the *Cycle* can be used as a paradigm for the reception and perception of other pagan motifs in this anthology.

\(^{534}\) Small (1951) 112-113, cf. AP 5.37 = 13 Page (Rufinus) and AP 5.38 (Nicarchus).

\(^{535}\) Small (1951) 113 and Gow-Page (1968) ii. 169.
-You will see skinny Diocleia, a less fleshy Aphrodite, but merry in her pretty ways.
-There will not be much between us, but I shall throw myself on her little bosom and lie as close as may be to her soul.

Initially, the first speaker places emphasis on Diocleia’s slimness that is evaluated negatively, as is obvious from the repetition of adjectives stressing this characteristic (τὴν ἰσχνήν, ἀσαρκοτέρην). The apposition ἀσαρκοτέρην Ἀφροditήν though, points out that the woman, despite her thinness, is attractive; the rest of the poem explains that her attractiveness derives from the virtue of her character. Hinging upon this positive facet of her evaluation, the interlocutor consents to sleep with her. If the epigram is compared with the ones varying the *topos* of assessing women as sex partners, then its tone can be perceived as humorous. Take for instance AP 5.37 = 13 Page (Rufinus), which Argentarius might be reworking here, in which a man advises another one to find a girl who is not too slender and not too fat; he must find one that stands between the two extremities. Both epigrams emphasise extreme thinness as a disadvantage and both of them use ἰσχνή in the same metrical position: μήτ’ ἰσχνήν λίην περιλάμβανε, μήτε παχεῖαν (l.1). Regardless of the epigram’s tone, Aphrodite is employed to stress that this woman is desirable.

From Rufinus’ epigrams varying the motif, AP 5.73 = 27 Page and AP 5.94 = 35 Page are the most original ones. AP 5.70 = 26 Page employs a group of goddesses (Aphrodite, Peitho, the Seasons, the Graces, the Muse Calliope, Themis and Athena) to praise the beloved’s beauty, voice, power of persuasion, wisdom, and skill in crafts. Each charm/skill is presented as a characteristic feature of a goddess, which she bestows on her protégée.536 The first distich of AP 5.94 = 35 Page has the same formulation, but in the second one there is a clever twist: the girl’s prospective lover is praised.

536 For AP 5.70 = 26 (Rufinus), see Page (1978) 96.
You have the eyes of Hera, Melite, the hands of Athena, the breasts of the Paphian, the ankles of Thetis.
Blessed is the one who looks at you, thrice blessed the one who hears you, demi-god the one who kisses you, and a god the one who sleeps with you.

The *makarismos* takes the form of a priamel: the one who sees the girl is blessed, the one who listens to her is three times blessed, demigod the one who kisses her, and a god the one who has sex with her. This climax is reminiscent of Dioscorides AP 5.55.2 = 5.2 GP, where the man having sex with Doris becomes *ἀθάνατος*, and the (more restrained) Sapphic fr.31.1-5 Voigt, where the man sitting opposite the girl seems (and is not) equal to gods. The epigram blends the expression of emotion that we have in Sappho with the physicality of iambus. The priamel is paralleled to the escalation in the girl’s description in the first distich, in which the lover starts his praise with her eyes that imply less intimacy (eye-contact), moving on to her hands that imply human touch, and ending with the praise of her breasts and ankles that combines aesthetic with erotic characteristics.

AP 5.73 = 27 Page goes beyond the simple formulation ‘you have the beauty of…’ and blends the motif with another theme, the one of a beautiful woman bathing herself. A man sees by accident a woman naked, while she bathes and mistakes her for Aphrodite. He then realises that the woman is a mortal, Rhodoclea, and proceeds to praise her beauty that excels that of the goddess:

δαίμονες, οὐκ ἦδειν ὅτι λούεται ἡ Κυθέρεια,
χερσὶ καταρχεινίους λυσαμένη πλοκάμους.
ιλήκοις, δέσποινα, καὶ ὄμμασιν ἡμετέροις
μήποτε μηνίσῃς, θείοιν ἰδοῦσι τύπον.
νῦν ἔγνων· Ῥοδόκλεια, καὶ οὐ Κύπρις. εἶτα τὸ κάλλος
τοῦτο πόθεν; σύ, δοκῶ, τὴν θεὸν ἐκδέδυκας.

Gods, I did not know that Cytherea was bathing, releasing with her hands her ringlets to fall upon the neck.

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537 Cf. AP 5.209 = 36 GP (Posidippus or Asclepiades).
Have mercy on me, mistress, and be not wroth with my eyes that have seen your immortal form.

Now I realise; it is Rhodocleia and not Cypris. Then whence this beauty? You, I believe, have despoiled the goddess.

Rufinus draws on Greek mythology and specifically on myths presenting mortals suffering or even dying, after having accidentally seen a bathing goddess. Given that the man in the epigram is afraid of being blinded, a more focused allusion is created to the myth of Teiresias who was blinded by Athena, when he accidentally saw the goddess bathing. This allusion is intriguing because it suggests that Rufinus reworks a particular topos within the genre, the use of Athena and Aphrodite within one and the same epigram (often as rivals). The duo is often employed inter alia for the exploration of various topics (e.g. prostitution, the idea of a wise man falling in love), the comic inversion of Paris’ Judgement, and the inducement of laughter. Here, Rufinus redirects a form of punishment which is connected in tradition to Athena to Aphrodite. The man’s initial words (δαίμονες, οὐκ ἦδειν ὅτι λῦεται ἡ Κυθέρεια) stress a basic string within the relevant myths, that of the viewer’s accidental intrusion into the place where the goddess bathes. He puts forward his innocence as the reason why the gods should show him mercy and his sight should be spared. His fear of punishment may be accentuated by μηνίσῃς, which could allude to Achilles’ mēnis and its terrible consequences. In addition, the use of ἴλήκοις (l.3), with which he addresses Rhodocleia, aims to exemplify his erroneous belief, since the verb belongs to hymnic language.

Up until line 4, the epigram is based on the belief that gods punish those who see them naked without their consent (cf. Callim. Hymn 5.100-102). They are superior to mortals and punish them for crossing the boundaries between them.

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539 For this version of the myth, see Pheredocides (FGH3 F 92) and Callim. Hymn 5.57-136. Cf. the story of Actaeon that according to one of its versions, he was devoured by his own dogs after seeing Artemis naked (cf. e.g. Callim. Hymn 5.107-118).
540 Cf. e.g. AP 5.272 = 69 Viansino (P.Silentiarius).
541 Cf. the phrases οὐκ ἔθελον δ’ εἶδε (Callim. Hymn 5.78) and οὐκ ἔθελον περ ἵη (Callim. Hymn 5.113), for Teiresias and Actaeon respectively.
542 For a similar use of the verb in AP 5.301.5 = 78 Viansino (P.Silentiarius), cf. Page (1978) 96.
last distich, however, transcends these boundaries, since, once the man realises that he sees a mortal woman, he declares that her beauty is superior to that of the goddess. Consequently, although in lines 1-4 he tries to save himself from Aphrodite’s mēnis, he ends up uttering a praise that insults the goddess (ll.5-6). Therefore, there is incongruity between the two distichs that reveals the epigram’s comic undertone. What is more, as Höschele observes, the man’s actions are in contradiction with his words; he declares that he is afraid that he will be blind, but he continues looking at the woman until he realises that she is a mortal. This antithesis also reveals the light-heartedness of his initial words. The man ends his address to Rhodocleia by stating that she has despoiled the goddess (τὴν θεὸν ἐκδέδυκας). Page correctly argues that the phrase means that Rhodocleia has stripped the goddess of her beauty, but he adds that ‘the verb is not well suited to a context which immediately suggests its natural meaning, stripped of her clothes’. However, the use of the verb has a special connotation. Rhodocleia’s victory in beauty alludes to the idea of the despoilment of an enemy after his defeat. Already in the Shield of Heracles the uncompounded δῶω is employed to denote the despoiling of the enemy’s armour after his defeat, in formula ἀπὸ κλυτὰ τεύχεα δῦσαι (ll.329, 447) and ἀπὸ κλυτὰ τεύχεα δὗσεν (l.67). AP 9.386 (Anonymous) bears close resemblance to AP 5.73 = 27 P, and its current place within the Anthology suggests that it is of a later time, belonging to the Cycle of Agathias. The praise is here much more emphatic, since it is not a man, but Aphrodite herself who sees a girl naked and cries out, because of the girl’s beauty, that the Nile, envying the parentage of the sea, has given birth to another Cypris without the blood of Uranus (...ὁ θρασὺς ἄλλαν/Νεῖλος ἀπὸ γλυκερῶν Κύπριν ἀνῆκε βυθῶν; ll.3-4).

4.2.12.2. The Motif in the Cycle of Agathias: its Reception and Perception.

When reading the Cycle, it becomes obvious that the majority of epigrams included in this Byzantine anthology make use of the Greek gods and have themes at odds with Christian dogma and values (for instance, they refer to bought sex and

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543 Höschele (2006a) 126. The description of Rhodocleia possibly alludes to Apelles’ Aphrodite Anadyomenē and the later imitations of this statue (cf. Höschele (2006a) 127).

describe sex-scenes). The motif of comparison with Aphrodite certainly belongs to these ‘pagan’ themes. Its resurgence in the Cycle should be attributed to the dynamics of poetic homage and rivalry. Agathias sets the grounds for this interpretation when saying: ...καὶ γὰρ ἑώκει/ γράμματος ἁρχαῖοι σοφῶν μίμημα φυλάξατ ‘for it was fitting to preserve a skilled imitation of the ancient writings’ (AP 4.3.115-116 = 2.69-70 Viansino). He overtly draws our attention towards the agonistic dynamics of poetic μίμησις. By imitating earlier epigrams (γράμματος ἁρχαῖοι...μίμημα), these epigrammatists pay homage to their predecessors. At the same time, they place themselves in direct competition with them and aim to produce epigrams of equal quality, if not better ones; this aspect of poetic rivalry is integrated in the adjective σοφὸν, characterising the quality of the epigrams included in the Cycle. For the same purposes, Agathias describes his anthology as στέμμα ... εἰμύθοιο ... Καλλιοσείης ‘a wreath ... of the eloquent ... Calliope’ (AP 4.3.107 = 2.61 Viansino). Cameron argues that these epigrams ‘were excused - indeed required - by the demands of the genre’.545 While it is true that the epigrams of the Cycle widely vary topoi which already exist in earlier epigrams, the form does not in itself demand the employment of specific themes. This is evident from the existence of purely Christian epigrams in the Cycle (e.g. Agathias AP 1.34-36 = 7, 17, 18 Viansino). What is more, we should not forget that with the passing of time constantly new ideas and topics penetrate any individual epigrammatic subgenre, while others become clichés and fall into disuse (we can recall the life-cycle of the various sea and nautical metaphors).

Apart from competing with their predecessors, these epigrammatists also enter in competition with each other. This is pointed out by Agathias twice: δεῦρο, μάκαρ Θεόδωρε, σοφῶν στήσαντες ἁγῶνα (AP 4.3.101 = 2.55 Viansino) and πέμπτοι χάρις θέλξειν ἀέθλου (AP 4.3.127 = 2.81 Viansino). The rivalry amongst them constitutes another factor that explains the reworking of the same themes. Their epigrams draw visibly on previous models, while echoing other contemporary ones in a process which occupies a shifting position between homage and rivalry. Agathias himself composes epigrams and thus competes with his predecessors and contemporary epigrammatists. But he also compiles the Cycle, and so he is in competition with previous editors, certainly Meleager. This is obvious from the

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545 Cameron (1970) 17.
inclusion in the *Cycle*, of numerous epigrams that vary topics employed in Meleager’s *Garland*, and also from the use of the metaphors of the wreath and flowers for his anthology and its epigrams, in the preface of the *Cycle*. Agathias emphatically places himself in competition to previous anthologists, when he says: πρῶτα δὲ σοι λέξαιμι, παλαιγενέσσιν ἐρίζων,/ ὡς προτέρους μακάρεσσιν ἀνειμένα... ‘And I will first gather for you, competing with men born long ago, exactly as much as the parents of the new song composed as an offering to the old gods...’ (AP 4.3.113-115 = 2.67-69 Viansino).

One final observation needs to be made. Since these ‘pagan’ themes (to which our motif belongs) are employed as literary motifs within the dynamics of poetic homage and rivalry, it means that here lies the reason, at least in part, why they became accepted by their Christian audience/ readership and were employed by Christian authors. In addition, used as motifs in a purely literary context, they lacked any sense of threat to Christian belief. The freedom that the epigrammatists felt to use the motif of comparison/ identification with Aphrodite is also evident from the fact that the title ‘rector Olympi’ is a cliché in Christian authors and was used for the praise of Christian emperors.546

4.2.12.3. Analysing the Epigrams of the *Cycle*.

Now that we have set the framework within which the pagan gods are employed in the *Cycle*, let us proceed to the analysis of individual epigrams. I start with Paulus Silentarius as his epigrams stand out for their originality, and because he employs the motif under examination most fervently in comparison to the rest of the contributors of the *Cycle*.547 In his AP 5.272 = 69 Viansino, Aphrodite is employed ambiguously; her name substitutes that of the girl’s and she is also employed metonymically for sex. Along with Athena, she is a useful tool for the portrayal of the girl’s sexual behaviour:

μαζοῦς χερσίν ἔχω, στόματι στόμα, καὶ περὶ δειρήν


547 For Paulus’ epigrams, I follow the edition of Viansino (1963) and use Paton’s translations (which I modify).
I press her breasts, our mouths are joined, and I feed
in unrestrained fury round her silver neck.
However, I have not conquered the whole ‘Foam-born’ yet; I still toil pursuing
a maiden, who refuses me her bed.
Half of herself she has given to Paphia and half to Athena,
and I waste away between the two.

The epigram starts with the description of a sex-scene (the lover touches the girl’s
breasts, they kiss, he kisses her neck passionately). His passion is underlined by
the participle λυσσώων and the adverb ἄσχετα (‘ungovernably’), which denote
uncontrollable behaviour. However, as in its companion piece (AP 5.246 = 68
Viansino), the reader learns that the erotic act is not consummated; the lover needs to
control his sexual drive, because the girl prevents him from completing the sexual
activity. This is expressed through figurative language: οὔπω δ’ Ἀφρογένειαν ὅλην
ἐλον (I.3). The way in which the phrase is structured makes Aphrogeian stand both
for the beloved and for sex. The title is used in lieu of the girl’s name in order to
stress her beauty by alluding to Hesiod Theog.196, and possibly to Apelles’
Anadyomenē and/or its later imitations. At the same time, the man’s failure to
conquer the whole ‘Foam-born’ designates his failure to complete the sexual
intercourse. The epigrammatist turns the unlimited enjoyment of the beloved’s body
into the trophy, which the lover desires, and the verb ἔλον continues the war

548 I capitalise Ἀφρογένειαν to emphasise that there is a play with the goddess’ titles (cf. Παφή and
Αθήνη), see my analysis of the epigram.
549 For the description of a similar sex-scene, cf. AP 5.128 = 13 GPh (M.Argentarius) with Small
(1951) 119-120.
550 I believe that such allusions to the artistic (mainly statuary) representations of Aphrodite (and other
goddesses) are intended in other epigrams as well (cf. e.g. Rufinus AP 5.73 = 27 Page and AP 5.94 =
35 Page). The power of allusion is not restricted strictly to poetry.
The following words ἀλλ' ἐπὶ κάμνοι/παρθένον ἀμφιέπων λέκτρον ἀναινομένην (I.3-4) explain in more detail what was previously said in an allusive manner; they stress that the girl is a virgin. The last distich, returning to the use of Aphrodite, varies the employment of Aphrodite and Athena as rivals. Paulus inverts the Homeric formula δῶκεν Ἀθήνη (turning the nominative Ἀθήνη into a dative, and thus Athena into the indirect object of the verb). In Homer, the expression refers to abilities that the goddess bestows on her protégées (e.g. in Od. 7.110, she has given the Phaecian women skill in weaving and cleverness). In the epigram, it has two interrelated functions. To begin with, the girl’s metaphorical devotion to the goddesses forms part of the portrayal of her competing urges. She has given half of herself to Aphrodite (ἡμισὺ γὰρ Παφίῃ), and this means that she enjoys erotic foreplays with her lover. But she has given her other half to Athena, and this designates her refusal to lose her virginity. There may be also a more literal aspect in the use of the phrases, referring to the parts of the girl’s body that the man can enjoy. Since he is able to enjoy her breasts and kiss her, the half above the waist is ‘given to Aphrodite’; since he cannot complete the sexual act, the half below the waist is ‘given to Athena’. As Aphrodite is chosen because she is the goddess of love and sex, Athena is employed because she herself was a virgin. Moreover, she was a martial goddess and this aspect of hers squares well with the use of the war metaphors to describe the lover’s attempts to ‘conquer’ the girl. Her devotion to Athena hints towards the futility of the lover’s efforts, suggesting that he cannot conquer Athena’s ‘devotee’. Paulus makes similar use of Aphrodite and Athena in AP 5.234 = 49 Viansino. Here, the topos of the wise man who falls unwillingly in love is renewed; in hyperbolic tone, the speaker says to Aphrodite that she can rejoice because she achieved a new victory over Athena, even greater than the one when competing for the apple of the Hesperides. AP 5.272 = 69 Viansino concludes by emphasising the lover’s emotional meltdown, which is the result of the girl’s behaviour. He exclaims that he is caught between the girl’s patron goddesses, i.e.

551 LSJ³, λυσσόω. The use of war metaphors to denote sexual activity, or on the contrary, resistance towards sex is usual; see e.g., within the Cycle, AP 5.294.11-24 = 90.2 Viansino (Ag.Scholasticus), AP 7.599.4 (Julianus of Egypt).

552 Cf. Viansino (1963) 130.
between her competing urges. A nice contrast is created between the metaphor of fire used for him (he melts) and the girl’s characterisation as *Aphrogeneia* that connects her with the element of water. This contrast might point towards a further reason for the selection of this appellation for the beloved, since sea metaphors are often used to depict unfavourable behaviour towards the lover.\(^{553}\)

Before continuing with Paulus’ epigrams, let us make a detour to AP 7.599, composed by Julianus of Egypt, which also employs the duo Aphrodite vs. Athena in a similar manner to AP 5.272 = 69 Viansino.

οὔνομα μὲν Καλή, φρεσὶ δὲ πλέον ἥ προσώπωφ,
κάτθανε∙ φεῦ, Χαρίτων ἔξαπόλωλεν ἔαρ.
καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ Παφίῃ πανομοίϊος, ἀλλὰ συνεύνῳ
μούνῳ∙ τοῖς δ’ ἐτέροις Παλλὰς ἐρυμνοτάτη.
τίς λίθος οὐκ ἐγόησεν, ὅτ’ ἐξήρπαξεν ἐκείνην
εὐρυβίης Αἴδης ἀνδρὸς ἀπ’ ἀγκαλίδων;

She is dead, Beauty by name and more
so in mind than in face. Alas! The spring season of the
Graces has perished utterly. For she was identical to Aphrodite,
but only for her consort; for others an unassailable Athena.
What stone did not mourn, when mighty
Hades tore her from her husband’s arms?

In this epitaph, a dead woman called Beauty is eulogised by her tomb. The epigram plays on the *polysemy* of the adjective καλός, which can refer to both external beauty and moral qualities. Initially, it is emphasised that the woman’s name mirrors not so much her beauty, but her character. The second distich expands the idea; the tomb identifies her with Aphrodite (ἐπὶ Παφίῇ πανομοίϊος), but stresses that only her husband could enjoy her. For other men, she was an unassailable Athena (II.2-3). Her metaphorical apotheosis - she is identical to Aphrodite - praises her beauty and sexuality (one can even think of expertise in sex). This detail is a sure indicator of fiction, since one would not normally call attention to sexuality in an epitaph,

\(^{553}\) For this use of sea metaphors, see the second chapter.
especially not in the epitaph of a decent woman. The use of the war metaphor ἐρωμοντάτη matches Athena’s identity as a warrior goddess, and stands for resistance against temptations and the men who wooed the deceased woman (cf. AP 5.272 = 69 Viansino above). It is in line with the use of ἐξαπόλλωλεν in line 2, which can be used to describe the total destruction of cities.\textsuperscript{554}

In AP 5.301 = 78 Viansino, the motif is handled with great dexterity, as it is fluently combined with the one of the lover’s gift and (implicitly) the judgement of Paris. The epigram resembles the anonymous AP 9.386 in that it is Aphrodite herself, and not the lover, who acknowledges through her words (and actions in AP 5.301 = 78 Viansino) the beloved’s divine beauty, which surpasses hers in our epigram:

\begin{quote}
εἰ καὶ τηλοτέρω Μερόης τεὸν ἴχνος ἐρείσεις,
πτηνός Ἑρως πτηνῷ κεῖσε τάχει με φέροι.
εἰ καὶ ἐς ἀντολίην πρὸς ὁμόχροον ἔξει Ἡώ,
πεζός ὁμετρήτοις ἐγωμιέ ἐν σταδίοις.
εἰ δὲ τί σοι στέλλω βύθιον γέρας, ὑλαθί, κούρη·
εἰς σὲ θαλασσαίη τούτο φέρει Παφίη,
κάλλεϊ νικηθεῖσα τεοῦ χρώος ἱμερόεντος
τὸ πρὶν ἐπ’ ἄγλαϊθ θάρσος ἀπωσαμένη.
\end{quote}

Though you set your foot far beyond Meroe, winged Love shall carry me there with the speed of the birds, though you heist to the dawn as rose-red as yourself, I will follow you on foot a myriad miles. If I send you now a gift from the deep, forgive me, my lady. It is Paphia of the sea who offers it to you, vanquished by the loveliness of your fair body and abandoning her old confidence in her beauty.

\textsuperscript{554} LSJ\textsuperscript{9}, s.v. ἐξαπόλλωλη.
The epigram starts with a tricolon, formed by three hypothetical clauses, that adds forcefulness to the lover’s statements. It is at the end of his argumentation that he evokes Aphrodite. In the first hypothesis, Paulus inverts the motif of Eros as hunting down the lover; the winged god is presented as the man’s ally, ready to carry him in great speed to the most distant places on earth. The statement highlights the speaker’s readiness to follow the beloved wherever she goes, and the same function is served by the second statement as well. The close reading of the two hypothetical statements proves the existence of deliberate antitheses between them, which underscore the man’s willpower to move heaven and earth to find the woman (air vs. earth, divine assistance vs. the lover depending on his own powers). Moreover, the second statement introduces the beloved’s encomium, as she is compared with Dawn (πρὸς Ὀμόχροον Ἡῶ, l.3). A number of typical epithets describe the goddess’ skin, and there is no need to pin down a specific quality as the yardstick for comparison. The adjective Ὀμόχροος is purposely chosen because it links the two parts of the beloved’s praise: her comparison with Dawn and Aphrodite (ὁμόχροον (l.3) - τεοῦ χροὸς ἰμερόεντος (l.7)).

In the third statement, the lover imagines the beloved’s reaction when seeing his present. He addresses her with language appropriate for evoking the gods: ἥλαθι (l.5). The verb implies the beloved’s ‘apotheosis’ and anticipates the content of the rest of the epigram, where she is praised. The gift is presented as being the prize (γέρας, l.5) that Aphrodite sends to the woman, after having been overpowered by

555 Viansino (1963) 146-147.
556 Eros is, as Plato says (Symp.203d), θηρευτής δεινός ‘a skilful hunter’.
557 Meroe is used as a symbol of remoteness. This is proved by AP 10.3.2 = 90 P (Anonymous), in which Meroe has the same symbolic value: εἰς Χιόνην ἰδίᾳ κατήλυσις, εἶτ' ἀν’ Αθηνῶν/ στείχοις εἴτε νέκυος νίσει ἐκ Μερόης. As Athens is used because of her foremost geographical position, Meroe is employed for its furthest extremity (see Page (1981) 392-393). This parallel has escaped Viansino. Similarly, ἐς ἄντολην (l.3) stands for reaching the horizon.
558 Cf. e.g. ῥοδόδακτυλος (Hom.II. 1.477, 6.175, 9.707, 23.109, 24.788; in the Odyssey, it is used 22 times), κροκόπεπλος (AP 9.651.3 = 35.3 Viansino (P.Silentius)), and χρυσοπέδιλος (Sapph.frr.103.13, 123 Voigt).
559 Cf. Viansino (1963) 147. In Homer, the verb is always employed for gods (see LSJ³, s.v. ἥλασκωμαι I 1), and the Homeric subtext of the second half of the epigram advocates in favour of the acceptance of this interpretation.

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her beauty. Γέρας can denote an offering to the gods, a dedicatory practice inverted by Paulus. More importantly, this presentation of the gift alludes to the idea of a contest. Since Aphrodite is defeated in beauty (κάλλεϊ νικηθεῖσα), this means that one should think of a beauty contest. So, this epigram also varies Paris’ Judgement. Paulus’ ability to vary the same myth for the achievement of different effects is obvious (see AP 5.272 = 69 Viansino, AP 5.234 = 49 Viansino). It should also be noticed that the thematic parallel between the adjectives describing the prize and Aphrodite is not accidental (βύθιον – θαλασσαίη). It emphasises that Aphrodite chooses to send a prize which is taken from the element of nature that she controls. Such a prize emphasises her defeat by her rival.

In AP 5.270 = 71 Viansino, Paulus employs a specific variation of the motif, i.e. the beloved’s comparison with Aphrodite’s kestos himas, which is also used in Philodemus AP 5.121 = 8 GPh = 17 Sider. In the Cycle, the same motif is employed in APl 288 (Leontius Scholasticus):

οὔτε ρόδον στεφάνων ἐπιδέεται, οὔτε σὺ πέπλων
οὔτε λιθοβλήτων, πότνια, κεκρυφάλων.
μάργαρα σῆς χροῦς ἀπολείπεται, οὔτε κομίζει
χρυσός ἀπεκτήτου σῆς τριχὸς ἀγλαίῃν.
'Iνδῷ δ’ ὄακινθῳ έχει χάριν αἴθοπος αἴγλης,
ἀλλὰ τεόν λογάδων πολλὸν ἀφαυροτέρην.
χείλεα δὲ δροσόεντα καὶ ή μελίφυρτος ἡμαρίνη
στήθος ἀρμονίη κεστὸς ἐφι Παφίης.

561 Agathias AP 5.222.5-6 = 93.5-6 Viansino also employs the same myth for the praise of a harp-player and tragic actress called Ariadne. The narrator says that, if Ariadne had taken part in the beauty contest, Cypris herself would more likely lose the prize, and Paris would have revised his judgement.
562 Τοῦτο (l.6) alludes to inscriptive dedicatory epigrams, where demonstrative pronouns point towards the object on which the epigram is inscribed. The impression is created that this is an epigram, (supposedly) inscribed on the offered object (perhaps a shell). The lemmatist believes that the prize is a fish and Viansino (1963) 147 suggests ‘nets’. But the epigram plays with the conventions of the inscriptive type.
563 A further intertextual link between the two epigrams is the use of the appellation Paphia for Aphrodite in both of them.
τούτοις πᾶσιν ἐγὼ καταδάμναμαι· ὅμμασι μοὺνοις
θέλγομαι, οἷς ἐλπὶς μείλιχος ἐνδιάει.

(AP 5.270 = 71 Viansino)

A rose requires no wreath, and you, my lady,
no robes, nor hair-cauls set with gems.
Pearls yield in beauty to your skin, and gold has not the glory of your skin,
and gold has not the glory of your uncombed hair.
Indian jacinth has the charm of sparkling splendor,
but far surpassed by that of your eyes.
Your dewy lips and the honeyed harmony of your breasts
are the magic kestos of Paphia itself.
By all those I am utterly vanquished, and am
cheated only by your eyes, which kind hope makes its home.

Μαδός, ὑπὸ Λιβάνου, Χαριτών δέμας, Ἠθεα Πειθοῦς,
παρθένε, καὶ Παφίης κεστὸν ὑπὲκ λαγόνων.
αὐτὰρ ἐν ὀρχηθμοῖσιν, Ἐρως ἅτε κοῦφος, ἀθύρεις,
κάλλεϊ καὶ τέχνῃ πάντας ἐφελκομένῃ.

(API 288)

Maiden, you have your name from frankincense, the body of the Graces,
the traits of Persuasion, and the kestos of Aphrodite flows from your waist.
Moreover, when dancing, you do dance like light Eros,
drawing all with your beauty and art.

In Paulus’ epigram, the beloved’s lips and breasts are said to have become
Aphrodite’s kestos himas (ll.7-8). This statement constitutes the apex of her
encomium, whose beauty is praised as excelling all kinds of artificial accessories. As
Viansino argues, the lover invites her not to use any accessories, as they all are
inferior to her beauty.564 The use of the kestos himas is purely metaphorical,
denoting the power of the girl’s lips and breasts to subdue the lover. In fact, in the
next line (l.9), specifically in καταδάμναμαι, the epigrammatist echoes the effect that
Aphrodite’s kestos himas has, and which is here transferred to the girl’s natural

564 Viansino (1963) 130-132.
beauty. In the *Dios Ape* (Il. 14.198-199), the verb is used to signify the impact of Aphrodite’s power on men and gods alike: δός νῦν μοι φιλότητα καὶ ἱμερον, ὃ τε σὺ πάντας/ δαμνά ἀθανάτους ήδε θνητοὺς ἀνθρώπους. In the epigram, the power of Aphrodite’s *kestos himas* belongs to the girl’s natural beauty: τοῦτοις πᾶσιν ἐγὼ καταδάμναμαι; the demonstrative pronoun refers back to every part of her body, being praised in the epigram. The compound καταδάμναμαι, with the use of the prefix κατά, which strengthens the notion of simple δάμνημι/ δάμναμαι, indirectly stresses that the girl’s natural beauty is more seductive than the power of the *kestos*.  

The poem closes with a Hesiodic echo (μούνη δ’ αὐτόθι Ἐλπίς ἐν ἀρρήκτοισι δόμοισι/ ἐνδο ἐμείνε... (Hes. Op. 96-97)), employed to express the false hopes created by the beloved’s glance.

APL 288 varies the motif by mimicking inscriptive conventions (if not being originally inscriptive). It extols a dancer’s painting or sculpture and states *inter alia* that she wears Aphrodite’s *kestos*. It employs a group of deities for the girl’s praise, each feature of hers being linked to a specific deity: her body resembles the figure of the Graces, she has the power of Peitho, she wears the *kestos*, and she dances like Eros. The use of the preposition ὑπὲκ is rather odd, and it is probably employed to achieve a double effect: it refers to the belt that the dancer wears, and its first compound (i.e. ὑπὸ) denotes its placement under the girl’s flanks (i.e. around her belly); its second compound (i.e. ἐκ), however, may point towards the magic which is sent forth by the belt. AP 5.231 = 6 Madden (Macedonius the Consul) has many affinities with APL 288: τὸ στόμα ταῖς Χαρίτεσσι, προσώπατα δ’ ἄνθεσι βάλλει,/ δόματα τῇ Παφίῃ, τῷ χέρε τῇ κιθάρῃ./ συλεύεις βλεφάρων φάος δύμασιν, οὖς ἁπώδη/ πάντοθεν ἀγρεῦεις τλήμονας ἡθέους. The Graces and Aphrodite are used for the praise of the woman, who is also a performer (a singer). The chosen

565 For examples of the use of δάμνημι/ δάμναμαι for the uncontrollable and overpowering power of E/eros and Aphrodite, see Skiadas (1999) 196.

566 The adjective κοῦφος carries the connotation of one walking lightly, without being noticed; the implication might be that love hits men suddenly, without any previous warning. In the same manner, men fall instantly victims of Libania’s charms. At the same time, the adjective can allude to the fickleness of love.

567 Edited text by Madden (1995) 129. I capitalise ταῖς Χαρίτεσσι and τῇ Παφίῃ to underline the ambiguity of these words. A very possible intertext is Meleager AP 5.139 = 29 GP, which combines the hunting metaphor with the use of βάλλει to express the impact of Zenophila’s charms on the speaker (they hit him as missiles, ll.5-6).
syntax alludes both to the goddesses as the source of the beloved’s charms (ταῖς Χαρίτεσσι and τῇ Παφίῇ interpreted as datives of means) and to their metonymic use (for graces and sexual appeal, as the objects of βάλλει); the Graces could stand for skillfulness in kissing and/ or shapeliness, sensuality of the mouth. The closure of both epigrams underlines the powerlessness of men in front of these women’s charms (an idea that we explored when analysing the ‘ship-prostitute’ metaphor). In AP 5.231 = 6 Madden, the adverb πάντοθεν is placed emphatically at the beginning of the last verse. It refers to her beauty and skill (praised in the previous lines), and in addition, the phrase πάντοθεν ἀγρεύεις continues the hunting metaphor, which is initiated with the verb συλεύεις. It accentuates the lover’s representation as a victim surrounded, like prey, by hunters or dogs.

The persistence of the motif of comparison with Aphrodite, alone or combined/ contrasted with other gods, in poems of the Christian period, indicates not only the continuing intertextual dynamics of a remarkably resilient subgenre, but also the continuing value of the pagan gods as images for human passions and experiences, for which there was no obvious Christian alternative.

4.3. The Metonymic Use of Aphrodite.

Having explored the development of the motif of comparison/ identification with Aphrodite, I now turn our attention to her use within the genre as a ‘mythological metonymy’ — the term stands for the use of gods for their areas of function or elements that are closely related to them (e.g. Dionysus stands for wine in Anacreont.fr.44.1-2 Campbell: τὸ ῥόδον τὸ τῶν Ἐρώτων/ μίξωμεν Διονύσῳ). I start by pointing out that the metonymic use of Aphrodite is polysemous: she can signify love and desire, seduction, beauty, sexual appeal, and the act of sex. The polysemy is enabled by the breadth of the goddess’ core sphere of intervention, i.e. τὰ ἀφροδίσια, which includes the notions of seduction, desire, sex, and pleasure.\(^{568}\) Antipater of Sidon AP 7.218 = 23 GP can serve as a case in point. In line 7, in the phrase δρεπτόμενοι Χάριτάς τε καὶ ὀνητήν Ἀφροδίτην, both the Graces and Aphrodite are metonymies. The Graces stand for all charms of Lais. Aphrodite can

\(^{568}\) Pirenne-Delforge (1994) 432-433.
signify Lais’ sex appeal, attractiveness, and skills in sex. Moreover, she points towards Lais’ supreme beauty that became though a commodity for sale.

The metonymic use of Aphrodite forms one of the many responses to the narrative challenges and opportunities presented by epigram as a poetic form. Since the epigrammatists must present a story within a very circumscribed compass, they need to use condensed and allusive language. The ‘mythological metonymy’ constitutes one of the narrative strategies employed for the achievement of this purpose (as do metaphors and allusions to myths). AP 5.85 = 2 GP (Asclepiades) is useful for us, because it explains how metonymy works. A would-be lover advises a virgin to enjoy the ‘pleasures of Aphrodite’, because life is short and death is pleasureless: ἐν ζωοῖς τὰ τερπνὰ τὰ Κύρπιδος· ἐν δ’ Ἀχέροντι/ ὅστεα καὶ σποδή, παρθένε, κεισόμεθα (ll.3-4). The first phrase is ambiguous: it can refer to love and love-making, since the man’s aim is to persuade the virgin into sleeping with him; alternatively, the whole distich can be interpreted as expressing a gnome, referring to all joys of life that are connected with Aphrodite and in which one should take pleasure. Mimnermus fr.1.1 IEG gives us an idea of the quality of such pleasures: clandestine relations, gifts, sex: τίς δὲ βίος, τί δ’ τερπνὸν ἄτερ χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης;/ τεθναίην, ὅτε μοι μηκέτι ταῦτα μέλοι,/ κρυπτάδιη φιλότης καὶ μείλιχα δῶρα καὶ εὐνή,/ οἷ’ ἡβης ἂνθεα γίνεται ἄρπαλέα/ ἀνδρᾶις ἀνδρᾶις/ ἀνδρᾶις ἀνδρᾶις ἀνδρᾶις.\footnote{Similar is the use of Aphrodite in AP 11.62.5. Palladas urges the consumption of wine that brings oblivion and the enjoyment of all aphrodisiac pleasures: τέρπεο καὶ Παφίῃ, τὸν ἐφημέριον βίον ἔλκων. Everything else should be left to Fortune (l.6). The gnomic character of his epigram suggests the wide semantic field of the metonymy, which the reader can interpret according to his will (one can think of love, sex (with hetaerae, virgins, or clandestine relationships), flirting etc.).}

In other epigrams, the meaning of the metonymy is much more specific and can be pinpointed down by the content. Aphrodite is most often used as a euphemism for sex, as Quintilianus in Inst. 8.6.24 stresses: venerem quam coitum dixisse magis decet ‘Venus is a more decent expression than coitus (i.e. sex)’. This use of the goddess dates back to the archaic epic, as we can see from Od. 22.444, where Odysseus orders Telemachus, the neatherd, and the swineherd to strike the

\footnote{The parallel is also cited by Guichard (2004) 151. For the motif of the contrast between the pleasures of life and the pleasurelessness of death, see Guichard (2004) 150-152.}
female slaves down with their swords, until they kill them all and ‘they forget the sex (or sexual pleasure) that they had with the wooers, when they slept with them secretly’ καὶ ἐκλελάθωντ’ Ἀφροδίτης/ τὴν ἄρ’ ὑπὸ μνηστήριαν ἔχον μίσγοντο τε λάθρη. The poetic tradition offers many examples, and it suffices to refer to just a few. From epigrams, I have already commented on the skoptic AP 11.328 (Nicarchus), when examining nautical and sea metaphors. 570 Here, my focus is on the metonymic use of Aphrodite denoting sex: τὴν μίαν Ἐρμογένης καὶ ἤγομεν εἰς κοινὴν Κύπριν Ἀριστοδίκην ‘once, Hermogenes and I and Cleoboulus led Aristodice on her own into common Cypris’ (l.1). The accompanying adjective κοινὴν underlines that the three men had group sex with the hetaera. Nisbet suggests that the high-epic phrase Κύπρις Ἀχαιϊάδων, presenting Cyprian Aphrodite as a potent goddess (II.5.422), is revised into ‘common Κύπρις Ἀριστοδίκην’. 571 However, his suggestion seems rather forced in view of the fact that the only shared feature between the two passages is the term Κύπρις. Moreover, the syntax of the distich suggests that Nicarchus does not compare the hetaera with the goddess: Ἀριστοδίκην (with the hyperbaton) is the object of the verb ἤγομεν and εἰς κοινὴν Κύπριν is a prepositional phrase denoting group sex. After all, the dreadful sketch of the old hetaera in the rest of the epigram would be incompatible with her description as ‘Cypris’. The metonymy (as the use of allegory for the portrayal of sex with her) adds a degree of subtlety to and refinement in the way she is mocked. 572 The same function can have metaphors that make use of the goddess. Take as an example, AP 5.77 = 39 Page (Rufinus); the epigram is cynical, suggesting that men get tired of women after sex. The metaphor μετὰ Κύπριδος εὐνήν signifies intercourse (l.1),

570 See pp.88-89, cf. pp.120-121.

571 Nisbet (2005) 84. It should be noted that the Homeric text, which Nisbet recalls, Aphrodite is mocked by Athena, who laughs at her warrior skills. Although she always remains a powerful goddess (she was only nicked, and not seriously wounded), this is not one of the passages stressing her power.

572 Compare AP 5.49 = 1 P (Gallus) for the subtle description of group sex (again involving three men and a woman); the nouns ϕιλόπαιδα, γυναικομανῆ and ϕιλυβριστήν correspond to the three adjuncts τῷ μὲν ὑπὲρ νηθῶν, τῷ δ’ὑπὸ and τῷ δ’ὀπισθεν, placed in reverse order, to point towards the points of penetration. For this epigram, see Page (1981) 61. Cf. the phrase ὑπὸ τριῶν τρυπημάτων τὴν ἐργασίαν πατοῖσθαι ‘she works from three holes’, which according to Hermogenes (Rabe, p.325) was obelised from Dem.59.109 because it was too explicit (with Kapparis (1999) 402-404 for the phrase’s authenticity).
while in line 3 we have the metonymy μετά Κύπριν. This is a case of inner-variation. In the same vein, in Philodemus AP 12.173.2 = 16 GPh = 11 Sider, the metonymy οὖπω Κύπριν ἐπισταμένη ‘she does not know Cypris yet’ denotes the girl’s virginity, as the goddess stands for sex. I have already referred to AP 5.54 = 7 GP (Dioscorides), in which Aphrodite signifies sex: μήποτε γαστροβαρῆ πρὸς σὸν λέχος ἀντιπρόσωπον/ παϊδογόνῳ κλίνης Κύπριδι τερπόμενος. As in AP 7.218.7 = 23 GP and AP 11.328.1, it is the use of an accompanying adjective (here παϊδογόνῳ) that specifies the kind of sex for which the metonymy is employed. The metonymy secures the avoidance of vulgarity and obscene phraseology, and the nautical and sea metaphors in the rest of the epigram have the same function.

The metonymic use of Aphrodite has a long-standing presence within the genre, surviving up until the Cycle. Here, it gains great importance, since it offers a medium for writing about topics that contradicted Christian values and dogmata. The epigrams of Paulus Silentiarius exemplify this tendency. In AP 5.232 = 80 Viansino, he presents a woman talking about her love-life; she receives one lover after the other and always refuses the one in her embrace. Her last words are ironic against the ones judging her: ἀφνειὴν Κυθέρειαν ὑπέχομαι. εἰ δὲ τις ἡμῖν/ μέμφεται, ἐν πενίῃ μιμνέτω οἰογάμῳ ‘I submit to wealthy Cythereia. And if anyone blames me, let her/him remain in the poverty of monogamy’ (ll.7-8). She clearly prefers many sexual partners to marriage or a steady monogamous relationship (οἰογάμῳ can be interpreted in either way, since terms that are employed for marriage can be used for sexual relationships outside the matrimonial framework). The way of life that this woman supports strongly contradicts the Christian dogma. Aphrodite is the literary means for explaining this topic.

573 Cf. AP 9.437.4 = 20 GP (Theocritus), in which the metaphor Κύπριδος ἔργα τελεῖν stands for sex. Cf. Pind. Ol.6.35: ...οὐ’ Ἀπόλλωνι γλυκείας πρῶτον ἔψαυσ’ Ἀφροδίτας for Evadna’s first sexual experience with Apollo; Anacreont.fr.60a.22-23 Campbell for Dionysus: χλοερὸν δρέπων δὲ φύλλον/ ἐδόκει τελεῖν Κυθήρην.

574 I capitalise Κυθέρειαν to emphasise the ambiguity of the term.

575 For instance, from the Cycle, in AP 10.68.7-8 = 53.7-8 Viansino (Ag.Scholasticus), γάμον denotes homosexual intercourse (... οἱ δ’ ἀλεγεινοὺς ἄνδρες ὡς ἄλληλους ζεῖν οὐκ ἄγουσι γάμον ‘but wretched men lead a strange sexual union between each other’).
In AP 5.219 = 66 Viansino, Paulus varies the motif of the man who tries to seduce the object of his affection; he argues that secret love is sweeter than open relationships (i.e. lawful marriage):

κλέψωμεν, Ῥοδόπη, τὰ φιλήματα τῆς τ’ ἐρατεινῆς καὶ περιδήριτον Κύπριδος ἐργασίην. ἦδυ λαθεῖν φυλάκων τε παναγρέα κανθὸν ἀλύξαι-φώρια δ’ ἀμφαδίων λέκτρα μελιχρότερα.

Let us steal our kisses, Rhodope, and the lovely and contentious work of Cypris. It is sweet to escape notice, and to evade the all-entraping eyes of guardians; secret amours are more honied than public ones.

Κύπριδος ἐργασίην constitutes a metaphor, not a metonymy, for signifying sex, but this case study is relevant to our discussion. The adjective ἐρατεινῆς suggests the sexual pleasure that one gets from sex. Sex is further described as ‘something worth fighting about’ (περιδήριτον), as the man thinks that sexual encounter with this woman will compensate him for all the trouble that he is going through (trying to persuade her). Given that terms deriving from ἐργάζομαι, when used in connection with Aphrodite, form metaphors for prostitution,576 Paulus’ choice to use this phrase may form an intentional transfer of this kind of phraseology into a new context, in order to refresh the topic of the would-be lover (cf. τὰ τερπνὰ τὰ Κύπριδος in AP 5.85.3 = 2 GP (Asclepiades)). In all examples, the formulation of Aphrodite’s metonymic use changes. The alterations are deliberate, reflecting the complex dynamics of poetic imitation, which combines homage with diachronic rivalry.577

Apart from sex, Aphrodite, as a metonymic figure, symbolises desire either for women or men. In AP 5.302.5-6 = 54.5-6 Viansino (Agathias), the metonymic

576 Cf. n.239.
577 Cf. API 272.1-2 (Leontius Scholasticus) ...δὲς ποτὶ γῆρας/ ἥλιθην ἄγνως ἕων Κοιτρίδων ὕμων. The doctor Iamblichus is said to have reached old age without knowing ‘Aphrodite’s converses’, and the phrase implies sex and erotic relationships. Its roots go back to Hes.Theog.205, where the phrase παρθενίους τ’ ὕμως denotes part of Aphrodite’s sphere of influence. For this epigram, see Schulte (2005) 37.
phrase ἀτερπέα Κύπριν denotes reluctant desire (for one’s wife): κουριδίαις δὲ γυναιξὶν ἀτερπέα κύπριν ἐγείρειν/ τίς κεν ὑποτλαίη, πρὸς χρέος ἐλκόμενος; In AP 7.30.5-6 = 17.5-6 GP (Antipater of Sidon), an epigram belonging to the cluster of fictitious epitaphs on famous poets, Anacreon is said to suffer in Hades from ‘feverish Aphrodite’: οὐδ’ Ἀιδῆς σοι ἐρωτας ἀπέσβεσεν, ἐν δ’ Ἀχέροντος/ ὅν ὅλος ὀδίνεις Κύπριδι θερμοτέρῃ 'not even Hades extinguished your passions, and living in Acheron you totally suffer from a more feverish Aphrodite’. As the epigram’s first distich refers to Anacreon’s untempered passion for boys, the ring composition suggests that the Cyprian Aphrodite stands for homoerotic desire.578

I conclude with AP 11.70 = 35 P (Leonidas of Alexandria). This epigram has clear skeptic undertones, talking about the unsuccessful marriages of a man called Philinus. Aphrodite as a metonymy, under her title Paphia, carries the connotations of marriage, love, and fertility. When Philinus was young, he married an old woman and thus he could not have children; in old age, he married a twelve year old girl, whom other men now enjoy. The speaker’s conclusion about this man’s sex life is described as follows: ... Παφίῃ δ’ ὄριος οὐδέποτε ‘he was never successful as far as the Paphia is concerned’ (l.2). The goddess’ specific title takes us back to Hes.Theog.194-195, where the description of the land as blooming while Aphrodite walks on it, implies her role as a fertility goddess.579 This is an acute allusion in an epigram on a childless man (ll.3-4580). The surviving material proves beyond doubt the semantic flexibility of Aphrodite’s use as a metonymy.

4.4. Conclusions

In this chapter, I analysed the use of Aphrodite within epigrams from a variety of angles. Regarding its main topic, the motif of the comparison/identification of women with the goddess, I have argued that a nexus of factors influenced its transformations within the genre. At the first stages of the epigram’s

578 This is probably the meaning of her use in the anonymous AP 11.261 as well: υἱὸς Πατρικίου μάλα κόσμιος, δὲ διὰ Κύπρην/ οὐχ ὅσην ἔταρχος πάντας ἀποστρέφεται 'Patricius’ son is very well behaved, as he avoids all the fellows because of their impure sexual relations’ (meaning homosexuality).
580 τοιγὰρ ἄπαις διέμεινε ποτὲ σπείρων ἐς ἄκαρπα/ νῦν δ’ ἔτέρως γήμας, ἀμφοτέρων στέρεται.
development as a literary genre, there is reluctance in openly comparing women with the goddess; this is exemplified in Nossis’ dedicatory epigrams that simply create indirect links between Aphrodite and her female devotees, with whom she shares common qualities (external beauty and cunning). In the hands of the court poets, the motif acquires religious and political connotations, since the queens (especially Arsinoe II) are identified with Aphrodite. Its application within the frame of Ptolemaic propaganda led to a reluctance on the part of the court poets to compare any other female with the goddess, and as we saw, even if AP 5.194 = 34 GP is composed by a court poet, it links Aphrodite and Eirenion only indirectly, using the Erotes as the intermediaries between them.

We can see the emergence of a more adventurous use of the motif in texts such as AP 7.218 = 23 GP, composed by Antipater of Sidon, who was active at the second century BC, where a woman, the hetaera Lais, is eulogised as a ‘mortal Cytherea’ and is presented as having surpassed the Olympian in tenderness of the skin. It is the fact that this is a sepulchral epigram and the underlying humour that permit this kind of praise. At the same time, AP 7.218 = 23 GP along with Dioscorides’ epigrams, who was active at the end of the third century, constitute signs of a growing readiness, existing outside the Ptolemaic court, to use hyperbole that equated mortals with gods on a metaphorical level. In the case of Dioscorides, the skeptic tone of his poems should be added as an extra factor that permits the use of phraseology that crosses the boundaries between mortals and immortals.

Meleager’s epigrams, with their variation of this kind of hyperbolic praise, constitute the apex of the gradual development of the motif’s application. Interestingly, in AP 5.137 = 43 GP, the motif adopts the form of official cult titles. The comparison of mortal women with Aphrodite, a concept that would be inconceivable during the archaic and classical times, should be attributed to the religious changes that took place during the Hellenistic era, and which had become established cult practices by Meleager’s time, allowing a gradual closing of the gap between the Greeks and their gods: i) the deification of Hellensitic kings and queens and their assimilation to the Olympians, and ii) the heroisation of mere mortals. Certainly, this change in the handling of gods did not happen overnight, but it was a gradual process: it was with the passing of time that the comparison of mortals with gods in poetry became estranged from the ideas of hybris and incurring their wrath. For sure, Meleager’s work exemplifies that by his time poets felt free to equate
mortals with gods. After Meleager, the epigrammatists will continue to employ the motif, varying the degree of hyperbole in the comparison to the divine (e.g. Marcus Argentarius, Rufinus).

Amongst them, I placed emphasis on the contributors to the Cycle of Agathias and the relevant material, since it was very intriguing to see how ‘pagan’ material was used in an era when Christianity was the official religion. I argued that the survival of this ‘pagan’ motif should be attributed both to the dynamics of poetic imitation and rivalry and to its suitability as a literary medium for talking about subjects (such as affairs with hetairae), which laid outside Christian ethics and for which the poets could not employ material drawn from the language used to talk about the Christian dogma. I further examined the application of the motif in relation to the male god of love; the comparison/ identification of male beloveds with Eros seems to draw on the similarity of their depiction in iconography. In addition, as Eros is always somewhere between personified god and abstract, this is probably the reason why we find comparisons with him already in third century BC. Once again, Meleager comes to the fore as he employs the motif more systematically than his predecessors and introduces new variations of it, including the one of imitating official cult titles: a young boy is called ‘Himeros Antiochos’ (AP 12.54 = 82 GP).

Within the framework of this chapter, I also examined epigrams projecting the assimilation of Arsinoe II to Aphrodite. I proposed that these epigrams suggest that the deified queen was worshipped in the temple at Cape Zephyrium not only as a goddess of marriage and a marine deity, but also as a goddess of love, adopting another cultic role of Aphrodite. I further argued that these poems point towards her veneration as a benevolent goddess, and exemplified that the Ptolemies maintained the multi-dimensionality of powers, characterising the Olympians, as a basic feature of the deified Arsinoe II.

In the final section of this chapter, I explored the use of Aphrodite as a ‘mythological’ metonymy, arguing in favour of its semantic flexibility: the goddess can stand for a variety of notions, ranging from sexual appeal and beauty to sex and marriage. Her metonymic use can be polysemous within one and the same epigram, and it is specifically in this respect that this rhetorical tropos functions as a narrative tool that secures dense and allusive expression. Last but not least, the metonymic use of Aphrodite (similarly to the motif of comparison with the goddess) links later epigrammatists to a line of generic predecessors who varied the same topos. Through
the variations that they bring to its application, they try to present their creations as ἀμείνονα ὤν ἔτεροι πρότερον εἰρήκασιν. \(^{581}\)
Eros and the Erotes

5.1. Introduction

The *Greek Anthology*, especially its fifth and twelfth books, teems with epigrams that use the image of the personified Eros, mainly as the tormentor of humans. In these poems, the god’s representation is characterised by great diversity, especially within the erotic epigrams of Meleager’s *Garland*, where Eros is winged, an archer, a slave, a knucklebones-player or a ball player, a spell-binder, a helmsman, a hunter, or a blacksmith.\(^{582}\) At the same time, several epigrams employ the Eros’ pluralised version, the Erotes, who are also winged and archers, tormentors of men, and indifferent to the pain that they cause men. In this chapter, I explore diverse aspects of the evocation and use of both the singular Eros and the plural Erotes in erotic epigram. As with the case study of Aphrodite, due to space limits, I focus on particular aspects of the reception of Eros and the Erotes within the subgenre.

Through particular examples, mainly drawn from Meleager’s oeuvre, I explore the interrelation between Eros’ description in erotic epigrams and his artistic portrayals. My main aim is to demonstrate that both epigrams and visual arts use a common ‘code’ in the god’s representation, through which they concretise diverse ideas on love. As my main case study, I use the god’s depiction as a torchbearer as employed within Meleager’s epigrams, since this image is strongly linked with the metaphorical fire of love and the ‘lamp epigrams’, which I examined in the first chapter of the thesis. I then turn my attention to three particular representations of Eros - as a knucklebones-player, a ballplayer, and a crawling creature - that have their literary origins in archaic lyric poetry, in order to explore the ways in which the epigrammatists engaged with their models, adapted, and refreshed the inherited material. Leaving aside Eros, I conclude my study with the analysis of the image of the plural Erotes: I identify the image’s literary roots and analyse the multifunctional effects of its application within erotic epigram, which so far have remained undetected by modern scholarship.

\(^{582}\) See the appendix at the back of the book, where I depict the life-cycle of some of these representations in Meleager’s and Philip’s *Garlands*, and in the *Cycle of Agathias*. 
5.2 Transformations of Eros.

Before analysing particular representations of Eros within erotic epigram, I offer some preliminary observations. Similarly to the use of sea and nautical metaphors within the subgenre, Eros’ representation can be transformed both from epigram to epigram and within one and the same epigram; a characteristic example of this narrative technique is Meleager AP 12.48 = 16 GP, where Eros is a wrestler, an archer, and a torchbearer. In this respect, epigrams resemble mosaics and other objects that depict a group of Erotes in different roles and postures and/or with different attributes. Such a nice synthesis of Erotes survives on a marble ossuary found in a grave on the Via Appia and dating to the middle - late first century BC (see fig.1 above). The ossuary depicts seven Erotes: three of them play musical instruments (the kithara, the pipe, and a double flute), one dances, one holds a lantern, one lights its torch from a cresset, and another one holds an inverted torch. Also, the eponymous mosaic from the House of the Peddler of Erotes at Antioch (third century AD) depicts a group of seven Erotes: one of them fishes, another one holds a bow, a third one reclines, two are involved in what seems to be a cock-fighting match, one is held captive in a cage by an old man, while another Eros flies over the cage holding a flower or a twig.

583 See chapter 2
584 For the marble ossuary, see Stampolidis-Tassoulas (2009) 151-152 with relevant bibliography. I have used Stampolidis-Tassoulas (2009) as my source for images 1, 3, 4, and 5.
585 LIMC III, s.v. ‘Eros’, cat.n° 418. For an analysis of the interrelation between this mosaic and Meleager’s epigrams, see Gutzwiller (2010) 84-85.
While both the depiction of Eros and the Erotes on small scale artefacts, such as lamps, vases, and jewellery, and their statuery portrayals had a decorative function, at the same time, it is highly probable that they could be interpreted as symbols that concretised various ideas on love. A subgroup of *echphrastic* epigrams offering different readings of the image of ‘Sleeping Eros’ strongly suggests that this kind of artistic depictions of the god could accept multiple interpretations by the ancient viewer (see fig.2 on the left, depicting a bronze statue of a sleeping Eros which has been dated from the third century BC to the early first century AD). Two epigrams, API 211.5-6 = 14 GPh (Statyllius Flaccus) and API 212.5-6 = 12 GPh (Alpheius), express the speaker’s fear lest the god sees a bitter dream for him, and the concept implies that Eros’ desire to make humans suffer by falling in love is restless. The paradox - he has the potential of causing harm although he sleeps - stresses his power. According to API 210 (‘Plato’), in contrast, the image represents Eros’ force at rest: his weapons (his quiver, arrows, and bow) hang on a tree and bees sprinkle honey on his lips while he sleeps. Here, there is no hint of the perception of Eros as being dangerous, but contrariwise, the sprinkling of honey probably implies the ‘sweetness’ of mutual love. API 208 (Gabriel the Prefect), on an Eros depicted on a pepper-mill, is evidence of how such depictions of the god on domestic items could form a source of poetic inspiration: οὐδὲ κατακνώσσων, οὐδ’ ἄπνοος, οὐδ’ ἐνὶ δαιτί/ νόσφι πυρισπάρτου δήματός ἐστιν Ἔρως. The poem’s wit lies in the parallelism between the metaphorical burning of Eros’ fire and the heat of pepper; πυρισπάρτου injects humour by comparing the all consuming ‘fire of love’ with the strong flavour.

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586 The image belongs to the internet site of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

587 Pollitt (1986) 138-139 also points out that the Greeks may have viewed ‘Sleeping Eros’ ‘as a formidable, even dangerous, being’.
that pepper gives when spread on food (the adjective derives from πῦρ and σπείρω, and thus alludes to the idea of spreading and scattering like seed).

Let us now focus on the representation of Eros as a torchbearer in the Meleagrean epigrams. In contrast to other depictions of him (as flying and shooting men with his arrows), this one was not employed in the genre to any great extent. This limited use of the torch as Eros’ weapon though, might have had an interesting effect: by not being a cliché of his attire, it could attract the reader’s attention, challenging him to think about its possible connotations and the motivation behind its use. Four Meleagrean epigrams vary this depiction of Eros: AP 12.48 = 16 GP, AP 12.82-84 = 67, 68, 114 GP. As with the case study of the lamp’s use in his erotic epigrams, the way in which Meleager treats the torch as Eros’ weapon, reveals his ability to reflect in his poetry an object’s versatile usage in real life. I commence my analysis with AP 12.48 = 16 GP where, as I noted above, Meleager amalgamates three different portrayals of Eros:

κεῖμαι· λάξ ἐπίβαινε κατ’ αὐχένος, ἄγριε δαῖμον·
οἶδά σε, ναὶ μὰ θεοὺς, καὶ βαρὺν ὄντα φέρειν·
οἶδα καὶ ἔμπυρα τόξα· βαλὼν δ’ ἐπ’ ἐμὴν φρένα πυρσοῦς
οὐ φλέξεις· ἥδη πᾶσα γὰρ ἐστι τέφρη.

I am down; set foot on my neck, fierce deity;
I know, yea by the gods, that you are heavy to bear;
I know your fiery arrows as well; but if you set your torches on my heart, you will not burn (it); for it is already all ash.

588 See the appendix. In contrast to the Olympian gods, Eros lacked a genealogy and a set of attributes, and it seems that it is only in the poetry of the Hellenistic era that the arrows became a standard feature of his attire.
Although the ‘fierce deity’ (l.1) is never named, his identity is easily verified by the preceding epigrams in the Meleagrean sequence, which refer to Eros and the Erotes (AP 12.45-47). The epigram opens with the speaker’s self-representation as the opponent of Eros, apparently in the palaestra. It starts in media res as the (metaphorical) match has finished and the man has been defeated (κεῖμαι).\(^{589}\) This description of Eros as exponent of the martial arts dates back to Anacreon (see fr.396 \textit{PMG} (...ὡς δὴ πρὸς Ἔρωτα πυκταλίζω) and fr.346 \textit{PMG} where the man escapes the god after a fist-fight). In our epigram, it concretises the speaker’s internal struggle with his own feelings, his desire to resist love. Interestingly, surviving vases, lamps, and clay sealings of the archaic, Hellenistic, and Roman period depict the figure of two wrestling Erotes (see fig.3 in p.205 depicting a clay sealing found in Delos and dating to the second - first century BC).\(^{590}\) As I argued above, the metaphorical meaning of such images can be ambiguous; the two wrestling Erotes could hint at competing desires; at the same time, the wrestling match may crystallise the agonistic attempt to resist love, which we find in our epigram.

Eros is also characterised as βαρύς (l.3). The adjective underlines that the man’s love is unbearable,\(^{591}\) and given that the term can refer literally to weight, it accentuates the challenge directed to Eros. Additionally, as βαρύς can be used for heavy-armed soldiers,\(^{592}\) there might be a discreet link to the god’s subsequent

\(^{589}\) Cf. Gow-Page (1965) ii. 617. The verb κεῖμαι alludes to the \textit{topos} of dying because of love.

\(^{590}\) For the clay sealing, see Stampolidis-Tassoulas (2009) 126-127, with relevant bibliography. For the image of two wrestling Erotes see \textit{LIMC} III, s.v. ‘Eros’ cat. n° 388-395, and for Eros in a \textit{palaestra} setting, see cat.n° 712-722. On Eros and athletics, see Scanlon (2002).

\(^{591}\) The adjective links this poem with two other Meleagrean ones, AP 12.157 = 119 GP and AP 12.167 = 109 GP, where the same term is attributed to the personified Desire.

\(^{592}\) See \textit{LSJ}\(^{3}\), s.v. βαρύς II 3.
depiction as being armed with his fiery arrows and torches (ll.3-4). Both weapons are symbols of destruction, and the use of plural (τόξα, πυρσούς) stresses Eros’ destructive potential, and in turn, emphasises the lover’s annihilation. Both portrayals of the god can be found in art and can carry similar associations. The epigram closes with ring composition, as the man declares that he has been totally burned by love (τέφρη (l.4) - κεῖμαι (l.1)). Its death context in combination with the use of the torch as Eros’ weapon could bring to the reader’s mind another representation of the god: the one where he holds or rests on a reversed torch, which had funerary connotations and was associated with death. The marble ossuary, to which I referred above, depicts such an Eros (see also fig.4 in p.206, depicting an inscribed grave relief dating to the second - third century AD). This allusion would accentuate the epigram’s basic idea, that Eros brings ‘death’. As with the nautical and sea metaphors, the transformations of Eros add new dimensions to the portrayed situation.

Meleager’s companion pieces AP 12.82 = 67 GP and AP 12.83 = 68 GP also employ Eros’ portrayal as a torchbearer, playing with the overlap in ideas and sounds between Eros’ small torch (φανίον) and the object of the speaker’s desire, who is called Φανίον. I focus on AP 12.83 = 68 GP because here Meleager unites several uses of the torches in real life.

ἔσπευδον τὸν Ἐρωτα φυγεῖν, ὃ δὲ βαιὸν ἀνάψας
φανίον ἐκ τέφρης εὑρέ με κρυπτόμενον·
κυκλώσας δ’ οὐ τόξα, χερὸς δ’ ἀκρώνυχα δισσά,
κνίσμα πυρὸς θραύσας εἴς με λαθὼν ἔβαλεν,
ἐκ δὲ φλόγες πάντη μοι ἐπέδραμον· ὦ βραχὺ φέγγος
λάμψαν ἐμοὶ μέγα πῦρ, Φανίον, ἐν κραδίᾳ.

(AP 12.82 = 67 GP)

I made haste to escape from Eros, but he, lighting a little torch from the ashes, found me in my hiding place; he did not bend his bow, but the tips of his thumb and finger,

593 Cf. LIMC III, s.v. ‘Eros’, cat.n° 984-993, 938-939. This type of Eros was common on Roman funerary monuments and is considered to draw on Hellenistic prototypes (see Stampolidis-Tassoulas (2009) 153-155).

594 See Gow-Page (1965) ii. 643.
and breaking off a pinch of fire, he secretly threw it at me,
and from this the flames run me everywhere; oh Phanion, little torch
that set ablaze in my heart a great fire.

οὖ ἐτρωσεν Ἔρως τόξοις, οὖ λαμπάδ’ ἀνάψας
 ὡς πάρος αἰθομένην θήκεν ὑπὸ κραδίας.
σύγκωμον δὲ Πόθοις φέρων Κύπριδος μυροφεγγές
 φανίον, ἄκρον ἐμοῖς δῆμασι πῦρ ἐβάλεν.
ἐκ δὲ μὲ φέγγος ἐτηξέ, τὸ δὲ βραχὺ φανίον ὤφθη
πῦρ ψυχῆς τῇ μῆ καιόμενον κραδία.

Eros wounded me not with his arrows, nor as before,
lighting his torch, did he hold it blazing under my heart;
but carrying Aphrodite’s little torch shining with unguent,
the fellow-reveller of the Desires,
struck my eyes with the tip of its flame;
and the light melted me, and that little torch proved to be
my soul’s fire burning in my heart.

The first two verses of AP 12.82 = 67 GP set the scene: the speaker is hunted
down by Eros, who lights his torch to find him. Night creates a sharp antithesis with
the god who is a torchbearer as well as with the beloved, providing thus a nice
background to a poem that is based on contrasting pairs. The adjective βαιός (‘little’)
emphasises the contrast between small size of the torch and its great power (cf.
βραχὺ φέγγος, l.5). Additionally, it may have been employed because of the implied
allusion to the epithet βίαιος (‘violent’), which within the Greek Anthology survives
twice, in the Meleagrean AP 12.84 = 114 GP and AP 12.85 = 115 GP, and
characterises Eros through the phrase ἐλκεῖ τῇδ’ ὁ βίαιος Ὁ Ἐρως. Based on this
interpretation, the expression βαιὸν φανίον plays cleverly with the poem’s basic idea,
the small torch’s destructive quality, transferring a paradox that concerns the god
himself (he is a child with great power) to the torch that he holds.

In lines 3-6, we learn that Eros did not hurl against the lover his arrows, but a
pinch of his small torch’s fire, which was adequate enough to consume the man;
Eros’ aggressiveness may be implied through the verb ἐβαλεν, which, as we saw, is
often employed for the launching of Eros’ arrows. Additionally, the participle λαθὼν (I.4) denotes a well-known ability of the god, his skill to sneaky attack his victims.595 Here, we may also have a case of direct variation of the Sapphic fr.31.9-10 Voigt ...λέπτον/ δ’ αὐτικα χρωτι πῶρ ὑπαδεδρόμακεν ‘and at once a subtle fire has run beneath my flesh’. While in Sappho, the consuming (metaphorical) fire runs beneath one’s flesh, in Meleager, it runs all over the speaker’s body (ἐπέδραμον) — a verbal adaptation that reveals Meleager’s attention to detail. The poem’s last phrase is ambiguous as it can both refer to Eros’ torch and the beloved, who is thus almost identified with Eros’ weapon. The diminutive might suggest her young age, which contradicts the great power that she has on him.596 Eros, his weapon, and the beloved are described through paradoxes and linked with the element of fire.

According to AP 12.83 = 68 GP, Eros is said to have attacked the speaker in the past with his arrows and torch. This time though he used the ‘fellow-reveller of the Desires, the small scented torch of Aphrodite’ (ll.2-3). Gow and Page characterise the distich as superfluous (with the exception of the participle αἰθομέναν),597 but the verses actually reinvigorate the use of torch as Eros’ weapon. As the torch can allude to the woman called Φανίον, the adjective μυροφεγγὲς does not simply refer to the torch’s greasing, but also to the perfume-unguent used for beautification.598 The girl’s association with Aphrodite stresses her influence on the speaker, as Aphrodite is the goddess of beauty and seduction. In addition, the torch’s description as a ‘fellow-reveller’ (σύγκωμον) draws on the use of torches in revelling,599 and the whole phrase ‘σύγκωμον δὲ Πόθοισι’ hints at the many victims

595 Cf. AP 12.139 = 44 Pf. = 9 GP (Callimachus). Apoll.Arg.3.275-298, especially line 280 ἐκ δ’ ὄ γε καρπαλίμοισεν λαθὼν ποσὶν οὐδόν ἁμέιψεν. Campbell (1994) 252 shows that the participle carries war connotations (Eros moves as if he was a warrior ready to shoot his victim). The same connotations exist in our epigram, which may in fact be reworking Apollonius; the adjective βαιὸς characterising Eros’ torch reminds us of Eros’ characterisation as βαιός in Apoll.Arg.281-282 ...αὐτῷ δ’ ὑπὸ βαιός ἐλυσθεὶς/ Αἰσονίδῃ... Cf. Hunter (1998) 128-131, who cites Plat.Sym.196a as a parallel to Eros’ description in Apollonius (... οὐδὲ διὰ πάσης ψυχῆς καὶ εἰσιὼν τὸ πρῶτον λανθάνειν καὶ ξιών). 596 Cf. AP 5.124 = 10 GPh = 16 Sider (Philodemus).
597 Gow-Page (1965) ii. 644.
598 LSJ9, s.v. μυροφεγγής.
599 Cf. AP 12.116 = 34 GP (Anonymous) which varies this use of torches; the beloved becomes the ‘torch’ that makes the lover brave the night, in order to go to his house: καὶ σκότος, ἀλλὰ μέγας φανὸς ἐμοὶ Θεμίσων (I.4).
of Phanion’s beauty and charms — the plural Desires being used almost as surrogates for the men. The expression ὡς πάρος (l.2), which echoes Asclepiades AP 12.46.4 = 15 GP, is also very interesting. It suggests that the speaker rationalises his current emotional state, as this is not the first time that he has suffered because of Eros, and this detail unwinds the described emotion. In the rest of the second distich, we turn from revelling to hunting and specifically to the practice of blinding an animal with a torch in order to deprive it of any chance of escaping.600

The specification that Eros touched the speaker’s eyes only with the ‘tip’ of the fire emphasises the power of his torch’s flame; this was adequate enough to make him melt (see ἔτηξε, l.5). We recall AP 12.157.2 = 119 GP, where Eros directs the (metaphorical) ship of the lover’s soul by touching the tip of the rudder. As its companion piece, the epigram closes with the antithesis between the small size of the torch and the fire that it caused (though the rather awkward expression πῦρ ψυχῆς is employed).601 As in the case of βαιὸν φανίον, the adjective βραχὺ is used to make the paradox sharper.

Leaving aside the image of Eros as a torchbearer, I turn our attention to Meleager AP 5.57 = 14 GP, where Eros burns the speaker’s soul: τὴν περινηχομένην ψυχὴν ἄν πολλάκι καίης/ φεύξετ’, Ἐρως· καύτη, σχέτλι’, ἔχει πτέρυγας ‘Eros, if you often burn my much travelled soul, she will flee; she too, you cruel, has wings’. Although the participle περινηχομένην is an emendation,602 the lines definitely include the (metaphorical) notion of a ‘travelling’ soul. The concept reminds us of Meleager AP 12.157 = 119 GP, where the speaker’s soul was described as a ship travelling in open waters. Both epigrams explore the idea of multiple desires, which

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600 For the use of torches during night-hunting, see Parisinou (2000b) 104-105.
601 For a list of the proposed emendations, see Gow-Page (1965) ii. 644.
602 See Gow-Page (1965) ii. 617.
is underlined in AP 5.57 = 14 GP, through the description of the soul as having wings (perhaps to be imagined as a butterfly). The adverb πολλάκι points towards the multiplicity of desires and erotic adventures (‘if you burn my soul many times’), and further suggests the degree of the speaker’s passion when in love (‘if you burn my soul greatly’). Among the clay sealings which were found in Delos and date to the second - first century BC, Eros is depicted as maltreating the butterfly-soul in various ways: e.g. he burns it with his torch, beats her with a mallet, chains her, and pierces her with a stick. Figure 5 in page 210 depicts Eros burning the butterfly-soul with the fire of an altar. Both the epigram and the clay sealings concretise the metaphorical idea of love as burning in a similar manner; a common ‘code’ for expressing this idea exists between them.

I conclude my discussion on Eros’ portrayals in erotic epigrams, especially in the Meleagrean ones, with AP 12.23 = 99 GP (Meleager) and AP 5.10 = 6 GP (‘Alcaeus’), which use similar metaphorical language. Both poems are characterised by flexibility in the god’s description: through hunting and war metaphors, they portray him as a hunter and a warrior, stressing thus that love is an undesirable destructive emotion. Let us first examine AP 12.23 = 99 GP:

ηγρεύθην ὁ πρόσθεν ἐγὼ ποτε τοῖς δυσέρωσι κώμοις ἤιθέων πολλάκις ἐγελάσας· καὶ μ’ ἐπὶ σοῖς ὁ πτανὸς Ἔρως προθύροισι, Μυΐσκε, στῆσεν ἐπιγράψας, ‘σκῦλ’ ἀπὸ σωφροσύνης.  

I am caught, I who once laughed often at the serenades of young men crossed in love; and at your gate, Myiscus, winged Eros has fixed me,

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603 Certainly there is an element of playfulness in the idea that one can choose whether to love or not.
604 For these and other portrayals of Eros/ the Erotes and the butterfly-soul on the impressed Delian seals, see Stampolidis (1992) 78-122, cf. the depictions of Eros on Graeco-Roman gems, where again the butterfly might symbolise the soul, in Beauchamp (1926) 163-164 n° 1465-1475; e.g. in n° 1469, Eros holds a butterfly in his left hand and a torch in his right; in n° 1473, Eros holds a burning torch in his right hand and a butterfly hovers over its flame.
605 Gow-Page (1965) i. 243 print Σωφροσύνης, but I do not believe that there is any good reason to capitalise the word.
inscribing on (me), ‘spoils from self-control’.

While the poem opens with a hunting metaphor, the speaker emphatically acknowledging that he is the prey of Eros (see ἠγρεύθην), its final phrase ‘σκῦλ’ ἀπὸ σωφροσύνης’ transfers the reader to the field of military metaphors for love. This closure echoes the final lines of AP 5.191.7-8 = 73.7-8 GP, where Meleager portrays himself as the devotee of Aphrodite to whom he dedicates his ‘suppliant garlands’, which he characterises as ‘the spoils of love’ (σῶν κώμων στοργᾶς σκῦλα τάδ’ ἐκρέμασεν). The overlap in phraseology and ideas between the two poems suggests that the reader is meant to identify the lover with Meleager in AP 12.23 = 99 GP as well, and the fact that the poem varies in essence the motif of the wise man who unwillingly falls victim to Eros, enhances this identification.606 The idea that Meleager is ‘fixed’ before Myiscus’ door by Eros carries the notion of stability, and thus suggests the poet’s enduring passion for the boy (as far as his poetic persona is concerned). At the same time, it symbolises the composition of several epigrams devoted to Myiscus,607 and interpreted in this way, the term σκῦλα can stand for the epigrams themselves. Additionally, it is noteworthy that the metaphorical language presents Meleager as a statue, on whom Eros has inscribed the phrase ‘σκῦλ’ ἀπὸ σωφροσύνης’. The practice of inscribing epigrams on the base of statues is here inverted, in order that Meleager’s devotion to erotic poetry (as a poet) and his complete submission to the boy (as a lover) are emphasised through his self-portrayal. The war metaphor (σκῦλ’) places Eros in the place of the victorious combatant and resembles the god’s artistic portrayal as an armed soldier. The impressed sealings from Delos have preserved for us a number of variations of this depiction of the god: in some of them, Eros seems to get ready for battle as he puts on his gaiters and chlamys, in others he wears his attire and holds a spear, or he seems tired after fighting.608 As with war metaphors employed in poetry, these

606 For variations of the motif, cf. e.g. AP 12.98 = 6 GP and AP 12.120 = 7 GP (Posidippus), AP 5.93 = 34 Page (Rufinus).
607 Thirteen Meleagrean epigrams refer to Myiscus.
608 See Stampolidis (1992) 132-138, cf. Beauchamp (1926) 165 n° 1497-1500, 277 n° 2864, n° 2887-2888, 280-281 n° 2896, n° 2908-2911; e.g. in n° 1498, Eros rests his left arm on a shield, and holds a sword in his right hand; in n° 1499, he holds a shield and a spear; in n° 2910, two Erotes erect a trophy, which is placed between them, and at their feet there is a shield and another piece of armour.
representations of Eros concretise ideas on love: a man’s inner fight not to be overwhelmed by his desire for a woman or a boy.

The same flexibility in the description of Eros exists in AP 5.10 = 6 GP (‘Alcaeus’), where the metaphorical language presents Eros in images shared with his artistic portrayals: as a hunter and an equipped soldier. The use of arrows as his weapons enables the convergence of these representations, since arrows were used in both hunting and battles:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ἐχθαίρω τὸν Ἐρωτα· τί γὰρ βαρὺς οὐκ ἔπι θῆρας} \\
\text{ὅρνυται, ἄλλα ἐπ’ ἐμὴν ἱοβολὲ ἱεραδήν; } \\
\text{τί πλέον εἰ θεὸς ἄνδρα καταφλέγει, ἢ τί τὸ σεμνὸν} \\
\text{δημῶσας ἀπ’ ἐμῆς ἄθλον ἔχει κεφαλῆς;} \\
\end{align*}
\]

I hate Eros; why does he not rush furiously against wild beasts, but shoots arrows against my heart? What is his gain, if a god burns up a mortal, or which solemn prize will he win from my head after slaying (me)?

The poem’s opening phrase is ambiguous and it can refer to both the personified and the non-personified emotion of eros. It is the speaker’s rhetorical question (II.1-2) which makes the reader think of the personified Eros and envisage him in his traditional role as hunter (dating back in poetry to Ibycus fr.287 Davies, where the god catches his victims with his hunting nets). The two questions suggest that there is no profit for Eros in annihilating the speaker, a concept that we meet again in Ascleppiades AP 12.46 = 15 GP. The fire metaphor (καταφλέγει, l.3) suggests that these are Eros’ burning arrows, which make his victims be consumed by their fire. The adjective βαρύς (l.1) is ambiguous. It implies that the speaker’s love is unbearable, and at the same time, suggests the furiousness with which Eros attacks him.609

Gow and Page are puzzled by the epigram’s last line, and argue that ‘the metaphors seem somewhat confused’. They believe that the fires of Eros and the wounds that he inflicts on his victims, ideas that are expressed in the poem’s first

\[609\text{ Cf. AP 12.48 = 16 GP (Meleager).}\]
three lines, are incompatible with the god’s description as a wrestler or a boxer at its closure.\textsuperscript{610} However, they miss the point: the portrayal of Eros is transformed throughout the poem: Eros is as an archer, a warrior, and an athlete. It is the use of the participle δῃώσας (‘having slain (me)’) that carries strong war connotations, and marks that we have moved from ‘love as hunting’ to ‘love as war’. Then, the term ἆθλον amalgamates Eros’ portrayals as a warrior and athlete, since the term denotes the prize given to winners of athletic contests (as Gow and Page argue), but can also be used metaphorically for the spoils of war.\textsuperscript{611} The underlying idea is that there is no profit for Eros in beating a much weaker opponent.

The examination of particular case studies has revealed key aspects of the god’s representation in erotic epigram, especially in those composed by Meleager, and thus paves the way for a reassessment of the god’s representation in the subgenre. The chosen examples illustrate that Eros’ image can be transformed from epigram to epigram, or within one and the same poem. His various descriptions resemble his artistic representations, and a common ‘code’ exists between the two media as Eros’ diverse portrayals concretise ideas on love, erotic pain, and distress. Epigrams especially resemble small scale artefacts, such as the Delian impressed sealings, since in both media, the symbolic value that Eros’ paraphernalia, his postures, and activities can adopt, enable poets and artists alike to encapsulate larger concepts within small ‘canvases’.

5.3.1 Eros’ Disguises: Recollections of Lyric Poetry.

While other portrayals of Eros enjoyed a wide popularity within the genre throughout antiquity (especially his image as an archer and as having wings),\textsuperscript{612} others lacked this kind of reuse and refreshment. Eros’ portrayals as a knucklebones-player and a ballplayer belong to these less popular depictions of him within the genre. The scanty traces of their survival - AP 12.46 = 15 GP (Asclepiades), AP 12.47 = 15 GP and AP 5.214 = 53 GP (Meleager)\textsuperscript{613} - cannot be accidental, given the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{610} Gow-Page (1965) ii.13.
\item \textsuperscript{611} See LSJ\textsuperscript{9}, s.v. ἆθλον I.
\item \textsuperscript{612} See the appendix.
\item \textsuperscript{613} AP 6.309 = 45 GP (Leonidas of Tarentum), describing the dedication of a man’s toys of boyhood to Hermes, might also echo Anac.fr.398 PMG, which refers to Eros’ knucklebones, through the
vastness of the surviving material.\textsuperscript{614} Although we can never be sure why an image falls from favour, it is possible that these portrayals of Eros were felt to have only limited potential or that their potential had been exhausted in the epigrams of poets such as Asclepiades and Meleager. In the following section, I examine the relevant epigrams and compare them to their archaic archetypes (Anacreon fr.398 \textit{PMG} and fr.358 \textit{PMG}).\textsuperscript{615} My aim is to identify any detours in the application of Eros’ portrayal.

5.3.2 Eros as a Knucklebones-player and a Ballplayer.

I start with the analysis of AP 12.46 = 15 GP (Asclepiades) and its appropriation of Anacreon fr.398 \textit{PMG}:

\begin{quote}
\textit{ἀστραγάλαι δ’ Ἐρωτός εἰσιν}
μανίαι τε καὶ κυδοιμοί,
\end{quote}

and Eros’ knucklebones are

both madness and battle strivest. \textit{(398 PMG)}

\begin{quote}
\textit{οὐκ εἴμ’ οὐδ’ ἔτέον δῶο κείκοσι καὶ κοπιῶδ ζῶν·}

\textit{ἄρωτες, τί κακόν τοῦτον; τί με φλέγετε;}

\textit{ἡν γὰρ ἐγώ τι πάθω τί ποιήσετε; δήλον, Ἐρωτές,}

\textit{ὡς τὸ πάρος παίξεσθ’ ἀφρονες ἄστραγάλοις.} \textit{(AP 12.46 = 15 GP)}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{614} The images are employed in Ap.Rhod\textit{Argon}.3.114-155, where Eros plays knucklebones with Ganymedes and cheats, and Aphrodite bribes him to wound Medea by promising him the ball that Zeus once used as his toy. For the relation between \textit{Argon}.3.114-155 and AP 12.46 = 15 GP (Asclepiades), AP 12.47 = 15 GP and AP 5.214 = 53 GP (Meleager), see Pretagostini (1990) 225-238. For Eros’ games as depicted in iconography, see Gutzwiller (2010) 79-82.

\textsuperscript{615} I treat Anacreon’s poems as the principal models of the epigrams, without suggesting that the epigrammatists were inspired only by these lyric poems. The phrase \textit{ὡς τὸ πάρος} (l.4) can actually act as a sign, pointing back to Asclepiades’ archetypes (cf. Acosta Hughes (2010) 151-152).
I am not even twenty-two and I’m tired of living; 
Erotes, why this mistreatment? Why do you burn me? 
For if something happens to me, what will you do? Clearly, Erotēs, 
you will heedlessly play with knucklebones just as before.\(^{616}\)

The first noticeable change that Asclepiades brings to his archaic model is the pluralisation of Eros.\(^{617}\) The speaker asks the Erotēs why they burn him and how they will react if they kill him (ሰν τι...πάθω is a euphemism having the meaning of ‘if I die’).\(^{618}\) He himself answers the second question, when he says that they will carry on playing as they previously did (ll.3-4). His words reveal that he has been their victim in the past\(^{619}\) and stress the Erotēs’ carefree attitude and indifference to the pain they cause humans (this is stressed via the juxtaposition of ἄφρονες and παίξεσθε’).\(^{620}\) For the reader who has Anacreon’s fragment in mind, it is possible that their games will acquire a further connotation. If the knucklebones allude to their metaphourical use in Anacreon, where they stand for emotional upheaval, torment, and physical pain (as symptoms of love),\(^{621}\) then in the epigram they simultaneously symbolise the Erotēs’ incessant cruelty and power to cause pain; after annihilating the speaker, they will carry on with their games, i.e. they will continue inflicting pain on mortals without caring for the consequences of their actions. In this particular situation, their attack against the speaker is realised through their fiery weapons.
either (most probably) their arrows or perhaps their torches (see τί μὲ φλέγετε; l.2).  

When now examining the epigram’s tone, it is evident that there is a distance between the speaker’s projected distress and the language that he uses: the rhophalic structure and alliteration of π- and assonance of ἀ- in the last line catches the reader’s attention and with its playfulness undermines the emotion. Moreover, the speaker’s youthfulness (he is not even 22 years old) invites the reader to detect exaggeration in his self-representation. The phrase ὡς τὸ πάρος seems to have the function of δηὖτε as used in Anacreon, and in general, early lyric poetry: it takes the edge off the emotion because the recognition and evaluation of one’s current state due to previous experience, creates some detachment from the intensity of the expressed emotion. Hence, Asclepiades does not only refresh the representation of Eros as a knucklebones-player, but also imitates the tone of his poetic model. 

Additionally, as we shall see later on in more detail, within such a context, the pluralisation of Eros through its hyperbole - the speaker presents himself as the victim of many Erotes, not simply of one Eros - makes his address seem even more overblown.

Before moving on to the next epigram, a few words should be said about the characterisation of the Erotes as ἄφρονες (l.4), which so far has been interpreted as meaning ‘heedless’. While the adjective definitely bears this sense in this poem, expressing the lack of sympathy towards humans, it can in fact be ambiguous, alluding simultaneously to its traditional meaning ‘silly, fool’. The rhetorical questions in lines 2-3 indicate that there is no benefit for the Erotes in making the speaker suffer and in bringing him to the point of desiring to die (see κοπιῶ ζῶ, l.1).

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622 For the representation of Eros as an archer and a torchbearer in epigrams, see the appendix. For Eros’ arrows burning their victims, cf. Argon.3.286-287 (with Campbell (1994) 258-259), AP 5.180.1-2 = 8.1-2 GP (Meleager).
624 On δηὖτε, see Snell (1953) 57-58 and Page (1979) 13. In addition, as Sens (2011) 96-97 argues, the epigram possibly parodies funerary epigrams composed for young men. 
625 Contra Gutzwiller (1998a) 144, who considers Asclepiades’ epigram as ‘considerably less playful’ than Anac.fr.398 PMG.
627 LSJ, s.v. ἄφρον.
His irony is directed against their folly, since (as we can imply) according to him, they are unable to perceive that his maltreatment will bring them no profit. The adjective’s attribution to the Erotes reverses the expected roles between them and their victims, since foolishness and incapability of thinking intelligently belong to the side-effects of love. AP 12.45 = 5 GP, which preceded our epigram in the *Garland*, invites this interpretation, as Posidippus employs the adjective in its ordinary sense ‘silly’ to challenge the Erotes — he accuses them of being foolish if they spare him, as his defeat will be a great achievement, because (it is implied) he can resist them (ll.3-4): …μὴ φείσησθο’, ἄφρονες; ἢν γὰρ ἐμέ/ νικήσῃτ’ ὀνομαστοι ἐν ἄθανάτοις ἔσεσθε/ τοξόται ὡς μεγάλης δεσπόται ιοδόκης.630

In comparison with Asclepiades, in AP 12.47 = 15 GP, Meleager returns to the singular Eros, who is however a child and not the youthful Eros of archaic lyric poetry:

ματρὸς ἔτ’ ἐν κόλποισιν ὁ νήπιος ὀρθρινὰ παίζων
ἀστραγάλοις τούμον πνεῦμ’ ἐκύβευσεν Ἔρως.

Eros, the child, still in his mother’s lap, playing with his knucklebones gambled my life at daybreak.

This portrayal of him as a naughty child, which does not sit still in his mother’s arms, symbolises the speaker’s uncontrollable love. AP 5.178 = 38 GP offers a similar image of Eros and Meleager employs the exact same phrase ματρὸς ἔτ’ ἐν κόλποισιν (l.1), inviting the reader to identify the play with ideas. AP 5.178 = 38 GP is also about Eros’ uncontrollability: Aphrodite and the speaker cannot exercise authority on him (…οὐδ’ ἀτῇ μητρὶ φίλῃ τιθασόν, l.6); although he desires to sell him and publicly denounces him, in the end he softens and decides to keep him as Zenophila’s companion. The image certainly indicates that he stops fighting against his feelings and accepts his love for the woman. In our epigram, and in contrast to Asclepiades AP 12.46 = 15 GP, knucklebones are used for gambling (ἐκύβευσεν),

628 Cf. Sens (2011) 96, who also recognises the irony in the speaker’s address towards the Erotes.

629 Cf. e.g. AP 12.118 = 8 GP (Callimachus), AP 12.115 = 6 GP (Anonymous).

the stakes being the lover’s life. The idea stresses the man’s pathetic stance against Eros, as he leaves his fate to a child that is a cheat — one can recall Eros’ play with Ganymede and his cheating in the Argonautica, and can easily imagine the negative outcome of betting against him. The use of the adverb ὀρθρινά is interesting; it denotes that Eros’ games are ceaseless as he starts his ‘gambling’ just before the first rays of the sun appear in the horizon. In AP 5.177.1-2 = 37 GP, Meleager offers a nice variation of this idea, when he attributes ὀρθρινὸς to Eros himself (τὸν ἔρωτα, τὸν ἄγριον· ἄρτι γὰρ ἄρτι/ ὀρθρινὸς ἐκ κοίτας ὁχετ’ ἀποπτάμενος); the winged child leaves his bed at dawn, and the speaker expresses his fear lest it is now setting traps. The epigram suggests that Eros hunts all day long since daybreak (ll.7-8), and thus varies the idea of incessant erotic anguish. What is more, within the Meleagrean epigrams, dawn is often a time when lovers feel anguish and distress, usually because they have to leave the bed where they have enjoyed their beloved’s company.631 This generalised use of dawn within the Meleagrean œuvre adds an extra negative hue to the adverb in our epigram.

Let us now turn our attention to AP 5.214 = 53 GP, which varies the first stanza of Anacreon 358 PMG. Here, Meleager emphatically stresses his engagement with Anacreon’s poetry, which he praises in his proemium as γλυκὺ...μέλισμα ‘sweet song’ (AP 4.1.35 = 1.35 GP), while simultaneously inviting the reader to detect the semantic differences between archetype and adaptation.

σφαιριστὰν τὸν Ἐρωτα τρέφω· σοὶ δ’, Ἡλιοδώρα,
βάλλει τὰν ἐν ἐμοὶ παλλομέναν κραδίαν.
ἀλλ’ ἄγε συμπαίκταν δέξαι Πόθον· εἰ δ’ ἀπὸ σεῦ με
ῥίψαι, οὐκ οἴσω.632 τὰν ἀπάλαιστρον ὑβριν.

(AP 5.214 = 53 GP)

The love I rear is a ballplayer; and to you, Heliodora,
he throws my quivering heart.
So come, accept Desire as your playmate; but if you throw me aside,

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631 See AP 5.172 = 27 GP, AP 5.173 = 28 GP, and AP 12.137 = 118 GP; cf. AP 5.3 = 7 GPh (Antipater of Thessalonica). Cf. AP 12.72 = 92 GP (Meleager) for dawn, as the time when the sleepless lover is almost left breathless because of his passion for a boy.

632 There is no reason to emend οἴσω and change it into οἴσει, as Gow-Page suggest (1965) i 230, ii. 636. See my analysis of the epigram.
In the opening phrase, the verb τρέφω presents the speaker as the nurturer of Eros (an image denoting that the man is in love), and σφαιριστὰν stresses his depiction as a ballplayer. The term emphatically recalls Anacreon’s σφαιρή and both words are placed in the same metrical position, this enhancing the link between them. The same applies for the repetition of verb types of ‘throw’ (see βάλλων – βάλλειν). Between the two poems though there is an essential difference: while in Anacreon, Eros throws a ball to the speaker and challenges him to play with a girl, namely to fall in love with her and in turn try to seduce her, in the epigram, the man’s heart is the god’s ‘ball’. This idea is strongly highlighted through the anaphora of -αν, which creates a verbal link between the ballplayer (Eros) and his ‘ball’. In the lyric poem, the lover is at liberty to decline or accept Eros’ challenge; he is presented as having the choice to control his emotions and actions. On the contrary, in the epigram, there is no such option, since Eros has already turned the man’s heart into his plaything. In both poems, the verbs suggest Eros’ aggressiveness, since βάλλω is...

633 Translation (modified) by Campbell (2006) 57.
634 Cf. AP 5.178.2 = 38 GP (Meleager): τί δέ μοι τὸ θρασὺ τοῦτο τρέφειν: Höschele (2009) 129 takes the metaphor to specifically describe Meleager as a trainer and Eros as his trainee.
635 The tossing of the ball recalls the practice of tossing an apple, which expresses desire for another person and constitutes an invitation for accepting the erotic calling; cf. AP 5.290 = 64 Viansino (P.Silentarius), Woodbury (1979) 279. For this symbolic act, see Littlewood (1967) 147-181, Foster (1899) 39-55.
commonly employed for the launching of weapons such as lances and for Eros’ arrows.\textsuperscript{636} 

Additionally, in the epigram, as in Anacreon, the expressed emotion is undermined. Eros’ representation as a ballplayer contains the idea of multiple desires, since games with balls can be group activities. This weakens the intensity of the speaker’s desire for Heliodora, who thus becomes one of the many girls whom he longs for. Similarly in Anacreon, apart from the use of δηὔτε (l.1) which presents the speaker as the endless victim of Eros’ games, as I argued above, the man has the choice of accepting the god’s challenge or not. This separates him from the stereotypical image of men as the passive and weak victims of Eros; this image is much more playful, despite the expression of disappointment at its end because of the girl’s rejection of him. At the same time, we should not forget that Meleager is to be envisaged as the lover of Heliodora. This means that the image of Eros as a ballplayer acquires metapoetic connotations: it concretises the many amours described in the Meleagrean poems, while simultaneously, since the poet is also the anthologist, it alludes to the love amours and the beloveds in the other erotic epigrams of the \textit{Garland}. Regarding the participle παλλομέναν (l.2), we can detect the following connotations: firstly, it refers to his heart’s palpitation and alludes to the idea of a bouncing ball,\textsuperscript{637} secondly, since the verb often expresses fear and anguish,\textsuperscript{638} it articulates Meleager’s erotic distress for Heliodora’s reaction towards Eros’ challenge, namely whether or not she will accept his love. In Anacreon, Eros ‘throws down the gauntlet’ and the speaker has the right to accept or decline him as his fellow-player. Here, this freedom of choice is transferred to the beloved.\textsuperscript{639}

As was said above, the outcome of Eros’ action in his role as a ballplayer depends completely on the person towards whom the ball is thrown. This is further exemplified in Meleager’s invitation towards Heliodora to accept Desire as her playmate: ἀλλ’ ἄγε συμπαίκταν δέξαι Πόθον (l.3). Apart from constituting an

\textsuperscript{636} For the use of βάλλω to express the lauching of Eros’ misiles, cf. e.g. AP 5.180.1-2 = 8.1-2 GP and AP 5.215.3-4 = 54.3-4 GP (Meleager), AP 12.45.1 = 5.1 GP (Posidippus), AP 12.166.3 = 17.3 GP (Asclepiades), Theoc. \textit{Id}. 7.117-119.

\textsuperscript{637} Cf. Höschele (2009) 129.

\textsuperscript{638} LSJ\textsuperscript{3}, s.v. πάλλω II.

\textsuperscript{639} Additionally, it is possible that Meleager varies \textit{Il}. 22.461, where the phrase παλλομένη κραδίην describes Andromache’s dread, lest her beloved husband might be dead.

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invitation to reciprocate love, the phrase has strong erotic connotations due to the use of συμπαίκταν, and can be interpreted as a tactful invitation for erotic foreplay and sex. The term συμπαίκταν also strongly recalls Anacreon, where the same erotic connotations exist, and the alliteration of -αν verbally links Eros and Desire together with the poet’s distress (given through the image of his quivering heart) and his wished-for future (to become Heliodora’s playmate). The play with sounds adds to the light-heartedness of the poem. Additionally, the verb δέξαι alludes to the motif of the paraclausithyron, expressing the lover’s plea to be accepted into his beloved’s house. Since Meleager often portrays himself serenading Heliodora, the verb might entail that the reader is meant to envision such a scene here, as well.640

The poet ends his address to Heliodora by proclaiming that he will not tolerate any violation of the rules of the game. Here, he differentiates himself from Anacreon, where the girl looks away to another person and the speaker does not react (l.8). In the epigram, there is a joke which lies in the idea that the one who is the plaything in the game directs an empty threat towards the one who is obviously in control; Meleager speaks as if he was a referee. The last word accentuates the joke, since he asserts that Heliodora will commit hybris if she rejects him, a concept concerning offence only against gods. He clearly exaggerates. The adjective ἀπάλαιστρος begs for our attention. The term constitutes an athletic metaphor, taking us to the field of boxing and wrestling contests. In an epigram that recalls and varies Anacreon in manifold ways, the adjective forms a deliberate indicator towards another portrayal of Eros, first attested in Anacreon: the one of him as a boxer.641

The verb οἴσω crystallises the epigram’s ‘seriocomic’ tone. On the one hand, it expresses the lover’s vain threat (having the sense of ‘tolerate’642), but on the other, it suggests that he will not be able to bear being rejected.

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640 It is very interesting that the following epigram, AP 5.215 = 54 GP, composed also for Heliodora, starts emphatically with λίσσομαι. The imperative δέξαι in AP 5.214.3 = 53.3 GP, in combination with λίσσομαι in AP 5.215.1 = 54.1 GP, recalls Alc.374 Voigt δέξαι με κομμάσδοντα, δέξαι, λίσσομαι σε, λίσσομαι. Moreover, the idea of sleeplessness caused by erotic anguish (see in AP 5.215.1-2 = 54.1-2 GP... τὸν ἄγρυπνον ἐμοὶ πόθον Ἡλιοδώρας/κοίμισον...) is a common element of the paraclausithyra. All these suggest that the motif of the paraclausithyron runs in the background of both Meleageran epigrams. For the motif’s use in erotic epigram, see Tarán (1979) 52-114.


642 LSJ9, s.v. φέρει ΙΙΙ.
From Eros and his games, I now turn our attention to his description as ‘crawling’, an idea that has its literary seeds back in the Sapphic fr.130 Voigt: Ἐρός δήοτέ μ’ ὁ λυσιμέλης δόνει./ γλυκύπικρον ἄμάχανον ὅρπετον ‘once again limb-loosing Eros makes me tremble, the bittersweet, irresistible crawling creature’. AP 5.239 = 43 Viansino (P.Silentiarius) is the only surviving epigram which employs metaphorical language that overtly recalls the portrayal of Eros as an ὅρπετον. As the epigram was composed in the sixth century AD, its late appearance in the history of the Sapphic reception makes it possible that Paulus’ variation of Sappho was filtered by other poems. A probable intertext is Callimachus AP 12.139 = 44 Pf. = 9 GP. Although the epigram’s closure is corrupted, as I will argue, it is plausible that Callimachus was varying here the depiction of Eros as a crawling creature. A number of affinities between the two epigrams reinforce this suggestion, making their association as archetype and variation very probable. I commence with AP 5.239 = 43 Viansino, as its interpretation enables the understanding of the more elusive Callimachean epigram:

έσβέσθη φλογεροῖο πυρὸς μένος· οὐκέτι κάμνω,

ἀλλὰ καταθνήσκω ψυχόμενος Παφίῃ.

ἥδη γὰρ μετὰ σάρκα δι’ ὀστέα καὶ φρένας ἔρπει

παμφάγον ἄσθμαίνων οὖτος ὁ πικρὸς Ἐρως.

καὶ φλὸξ ἐν τελεταῖς, ὅτε θύματα πάντα λαφύξῃ,

φορβῆς ἡπανίη ψύχεται αὐτομάτως.

The raging flame is extinct; I suffer no longer,

Paphian, but I am dying of cold. For after having
devoured my flesh, this bitter Eros, panting,

creeps through my bones and vitals. And the

altar fire, when it has swallowed up all the sacrifice, cools
down of its own accord for lack of fuel.
Its prop is obviously the metaphorical representation of Eros as fire. Joining together, in a variety of ways, the metaphors of fire and cold to talk about love is an old motif, dating back to archaic lyric poetry. For example, in Sappho fr.48 Voigt, the beloved’s appearance cools off the speaker’s burning heart, the image signifying the fulfilment of an erotic desire: ήλθες, ταύτα ἐπόησας, ἔγω δὲ σ’ ἐμαίομαι.643 In AP 5.239 = 43 Viansino, the elements of nature denote pain, emotional as well as physical. The opening distich plays with the reader’s expectations. The speaker’s initial statements, that the fire is extinguished (see the emphatic use of ἐσβέσθη as the epigram’s first word) and that he does not suffer any longer, raise the belief that the poem will be about reciprocal love. This expectation is immediately shattered, as the man declares that he currently finds himself in a much worse situation, dying because of freezing; the metaphor articulates his emotional suffering and desolation (l.2).644 The second distich offers the reason for his condition (see γάρ). Here, P.Silentarius interweaves two representations of Eros: of him as a fire (initiated through the epigram’s first phrase) and as a creeping creature. Eros is a devouring fire that crawls into the man’s body and mind. The image echoes the Sapphic ὀρπετοῦ in two ways: through ἔρπει (ὁρπετοῦ derives from this verb) and παμφάγον alluding to an omnivorous beast. The use of ἀσθμαίνων intensifies the speaker’s emotional anguish and physical pain, as it stresses Eros’ voracity; on a figurative level, he devours the speaker without ceasing and with such greediness that he pants for breath.

In the last distich, the lover proceeds to a parallelism between the metaphorical fire of love and the sacrificial one. His aim is to show that the metaphorical fire is as destructive and devouring as the real one. The parallelism operates against a backdrop of verbal analogies between the first two distiches devoted to the fire of love, and the third one concerning the sacrificial fire: a) φλογεροῖο – φλὸς, β) ψυχόμενος – ψύχεται, creating ring composition since the poem begins and closes with the idea of the extinguishing of a strong fire, and c) παμφάγον – πάντα λαφύξῃ. The last parallel is enhanced in three ways: through the

643 Cf. e.g. Anac.313 PMG, where Eros is a blacksmith who cuts with his axe the speaker and dips him in cold water, AP 12.132A.5-6 = 21.5-6 GP (Meleager) οὐκ ἢδεις; νῦν γνῶθι καλὰν ἀλλαγμα τροφεῖν. πῦρ ἤμα καὶ ψυχρὰν δεξαμένη χίονα, AP 5.160.4 = 26.4 GP (Meleager) ὡστὶ καὶ ἐν ψυχροῖς σάββασι τριμυσ ἕρως.
644 Cf. AP 10.21.4 = 15.4 GPh = 8.4 Sider (Philodemus).
repetition of the adjective πᾶν (in παμφάγον it is the first part of the compound word), the use of λαφύσσω for the sacrificial fire, which is normally employed for animals greedily gulping their victims and leads us back to the idea of Eros as ‘devouring’ the speaker, and the chiasmus that intensifies the parallel between the two kind of fires (παμφάγον ~ πάντα λαφύξῃ, Ἐρως (which is πῦρ) ~ φλὸξ). Also, the alliteration of π- and the assonance of α- in πυρὸς, Παφίη, παμφάγον, πικρῶς and πάντα link together the fire of Eros, the goddess of love, and the sacrificial fire. This play with sounds and language weakens the emotion and gives a lighter tone to the epigram. Callimachus AP 12.139 = 44 Pf. = 9 GP varies the idea of Eros as a crawling creature:

εστι, τι ναι τον Πανα, κεκρυμμενον, εστι τι ταυτη,

ναι μα Διονυσον, πυρ υπο τη σποδη.

οι ϑαρσεω μη δη με περιπλεκε, παλλακι ληθει

τόχον υποτρόγων ησυχιος ποταμος.

το και νυν δειδοικα, Μενεξενε, μη με παρεισδυς

ουτος τοσειγαρνης εις τον ερωτα βαλη.

There is something hidden, yes by Pan, there is, yes by Dionysus, some fire under these ashes.

I have no confidence (in me). Don’t embrace me; often a tranquil river secretly eats away a wall at its base.

Therefore now too I fear, Menexenus, lest this silent crawler creeping into me cast me into love.

The epigram opens with the speaker’s assertion that there is still ‘fire under the ashes’, the metaphor expressing that he has both been annihilated by love and that he knows that his passion might flare up; he is still very vulnerable. These ideas are

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645 LSJ⁹, s.v. λαφύσσω.

646 The play with sounds might be the reason why the poet uses the specific epithet of the goddess.

647 For the emendation of the corrupted text, see my analysis of the epigram.

648 For the metaphor of ashes denoting one’s annihilation by the ‘fire’ of love, cf. AP 12.50.4 = 16.4 GP and AP 12.166.3-4 = 17.3-4 GP (Asclepiades), AP 12.74.1-2 = 97.1-2 GP (Meleager), AP 12.80.4 = 17.4 GP (Meleager), where we also have the metaphorical idea of a hidden fire under the ashes.
stressed through the repetition of ἔστι τι and the double oath that withhold the revelation of the subject of κεκρυμμένον (i.e. πῦρ). The inability to control himself and his emotions is then emphasised through the verb οὐ θαρσέω, which underlines the lack of trust in his own reactions (l.3). He asks from the beloved (who so far has remained unnamed) not to embrace him, and justifies his plea through a simile: a tranquil river might erode a wall without anyone noticing this (II.3-4). The simile picks up the notion of weakness, expressed in the poem’s opening lines, and emphasises the speaker’s self-awareness: he knows that a superficially harmless action, such an embrace, can blaze up the hidden flames of love and this is why he rejects the beloved’s advances. The epigram is vivid, and we can almost imagine the speaker pushing away the boy.

In the simile, the wall certainly signifies the speaker, symbolising his resistance, and so far, scholars have interpreted the river as standing for the beloved. However, this part of the simile is ambiguous, since the river can simultaneously stand for Eros; the concept that the god can sneakily attack his victims is an old one, already present in the Sapphic ὄρπετον, which carries the idea of Eros slowly and secretly creeping into one’s heart. The use of ὑποτρώγων is not accidental, but takes us back to the idea of the hidden ashes; it stresses that the river eats the wall at its base, at its foundation, as Eros penetrates into one’s heart and wits. These ideas are then elaborated in the epigram’s closing distich. Menexenus must be the object of the man’s desire, the one whom he pleads not to embrace him as he knows how influential his hug can be. Otherwise, the poem loses some of its emotional impact, if Menexenus is the speaker’s fellow-companion and not the beloved.

As far as the meaning of the last distich is concerned, I propose a reading that supports Bentley’s emendation οὗτος ὁ σιγέρπης. I argue that this emendation makes good sense if we take the last distich to be addressed to Eros who secretly influences

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650 The paradox between the stillness of the waters and their power to erode the wall reminds us of another image used to express the god’s power via a paradox: the one of him as a child that holds the power to control gods and humans alike.
his victims, a concept already implied through the simile.651 The idea of Eros as surreptitiously creeping into his victims is introduced with the participle παρεισδύς, meaning ‘getting/ crawling into’, and can be continued with the adjective σιγέρπης, adding the notion that this action takes place secretly. The term is only attested once, in Hesychius <sigma> 579.1, who explains it as λαθροδάκτης, and the term may refer to a ‘treacherous dog’, as is the case with later theological writers.652 However, the noun can describe Eros as a crawling creature, adapting the notion of the Sapphic ὄρπετον. Both words - σιγέρπης and ὄρπετον - derive from the same stem, the verb ἔρπω, and the several affinities between the Callimachean AP 12.139 = 44 Pf. = 9 GP and P.Silentiarius AP 5.239 = 43 Viansino, suggest that Paulus was adapting an image that he found in his Hellenistic model. To be more specific, both epigrams employ a metaphor that contrasts the one of the flames of love (Paulus uses cold and Callimachus water); in both of them, there is the idea of love as death (see καταθνήσκω - ὑπὸ τῇ σποδιῇ); more importantly, if the o in line 6 is indeed the first letter of the corrupted text, then both epigrams could be using the same expression οὗτος ὁ for Eros (see AP 5.239.4). I should also note that the last word of the Callimachean poem, i.e. βάλῃ, easily hints at Eros’ role as an archer. Following this interpretation, we have a very carefully structured quatrain with analogies between the two distichs (ll.3-6): both of them start with the speaker’s acknowledgement of his weakness to resist (the beloved and Eros), which makes him feel anxiety (οὐ θαρσέω – δείδοικα), continue with an address to the beloved (μὴ δή με περίπλεκε – Μενέζενε), and conclude by stressing Eros’ power to conquer his victims secretly, without their consent.

Although the images of Eros analysed in this section, as a knucklebones-player, a ballplayer, and a creeping creature, did not meet a wide reception in Hellenistic and later epigram, the epigrams studied above indicate that there was room to resurrect even less popular images, perhaps as a tour de force, and the few

651 Although I accept Bentley’s emendation, I disagree with him on the interpretation of the distich, because I identify Menexenus with the beloved, and I suggest that both the simile and the last distich can refer to Eros. For a list of other proposed emendations, see Bruss (2002) 729-730, D’Alessio (2007) i. 254-255.
652 Cf. Palladius Dialogus de vita Joannis Chrysostomi, p.36, l.6 ...λαθροδάκτης κύων..., Leontius In sanctum pascha (homilia 8), l.276 ...κύων καταθνήσκην. Cf. Gow-Page (1965) ii. 164.
epigrams that did make use of them, refreshed them with new configurations and combinations to create new and dynamic variations.

5.4.1 From Singular Eros to the Plural Erotes.

Already in the previous sections, we came across a handful of epigrams employing the plural Erotes, personalised beings that have the attributes of their singular version. To this day, the use of the plural Erotes has received little critical comment and this has led to a degree of misunderstanding regarding both the literary pedigree of the motif and its function in erotic epigram. In what follows, I have as my aim to identify the motif’s literary roots and then to examine the effects of its use in the erotic subtype. Some general observations about the use of the term erotes within the genre follow. In several cases, the term seems to be used ambiguously, as the word makes perfect sense whether we consider it to denote multiple loves and/or love-affairs, or to stand for the anthropomorphic beings. In contrast, in other case studies, the term is less ambiguous. In AP 5.5.1-2 = 1 GPh (Statyllius Flaccus), the poet’s lamp is characterised as ‘the faithful witness of the nocturnal erotes’ (...συνίστορα πιστὸν ἐρώτων...λύχνον), and the term refers to nightly love-making. In AP 5.122.5 = 2.5 GPh (Diodorus), it stands for a boy’s love affairs (οὐκ ἀδίδακτος ἐρώτων) and in AP 5.293.7-8 = 79 Viansino (P.Silentiiarius) it signifies amours, Leander illustrating the willpower of those in love: νηχόμενος Λείανδρος ὅσον κράτος ἐστὶν ἐρώτων/ δείκνυεν. Same is its meaning in AP 7.448 = 12 GP (Leonidas of Tarentum), where Pratalidas is praised as having been a supreme lover (ἄκρον ἐρώτων/ εἰδότος). Elsewhere, the erotes are clearly personified as in the expression Ἐρώτων λάτρις (AP 5.283 = 75 Viansino (P.Silentiiarius)) which describes a couple’s passion for love-making. Additionally, the term can be employed almost as a synonym for the impersonal emotion of eros. In AP 5.256 = 56 Viansino (P.Silentiiarius), Galatea slams the door in the speaker’s face uttering: ‘ὑβρὶς ἔρωτας ἔλυσε’ ‘insolence dissolved love’ (l.3); the plural can easily be interpreted as if it was a singular, referring to the speaker’s insolent behaviour that made the woman

653 The religious metaphor is prefigured in the term πάννυχον (l.2) which alludes to the description of sex as a παννυχίς, cf. AP 5.259.5-6 = 77.5-6 Viansino (P.Silentiiarius) καὶ μὲν παννυχήσαν ὁμιλήσασα παλαίστρας/ ταῦτα φέρεις... For the use of religious language for sex, cf. AP 5.55 = 5 GP (Dioscorides) and AP 5.169.4 = 1.4 GP (Asclepiades) ...καὶ αἰνῆται Κύρης ὑπʼ ἄμφοτέρων.
throw him out. Similarly, in AP 5.302.7 = 54.7 Viansino, Agathias expresses the opinion that adulterous relationships are deprived of love via the plural form: μοίχα λέκτρα κάκιστα, καὶ ἐκτὸθὲν εἰσὶν ἐρῶτον ‘adulterous relationships are the worst of all and have no part in love’. The selected examples demonstrate the semantic flexibility of the term. Let us now turn our attention to the personified Erotes and look back towards the preceding tradition, in order to identify the motif’s literary roots.

5.4.2 Going Back in Time: The Motif’s Literary Roots.

In her article on the Erotes, Rosenmeyer attributes their evocation in the literature of the Hellenistic period to Pindar’s influence.\textsuperscript{654} Indeed, Pindar pluralises E/eros seven times and the term can be personified in certain cases.\textsuperscript{655} Thrice it stands for ‘desires’ of any kind (\textit{Nem}.3.30, \textit{Nem}.11.48, and \textit{Pyth}.10.60) and once for ‘love affairs’ (fr.123.1-2). In frs.122.4-5 (ματέρ’ ἐρώτων οὐρανίαν...Ἀφροδίταν) and 128.1 (χάριτας τ’ Ἀφροδησίων ἐρώτων), it is employed ambiguously for Aphrodite’s children as well as the ‘erotic desires’/ ‘love experiences’ inspired by Aphrodite,\textsuperscript{656} while in \textit{Nem}.8.5-6 there is a play between impersonal and personalised Erotes: the ‘desires of the better kind’, whom one needs to pursue, are instantly turned into the personified beings that watch over Zeus’ union with the nymph Aegina: τῶν ἀρειόνων ἐρώτων ἐπικρατεῖν δύνασθαι/ οἶοι καὶ Διὸς Αἰγίνας τε λέκτρον ποιμένες ἀμφεπόλησαν/ Κυπρίας δώρων.

However, the motif’s literary seeds should be traced back to archaic erotic poetry. Firstly, it is highly possible that the Sapphic fr.73.4 Voigt refers to the sweet-speaking Erotes (...ἀ]δύλογοι δ’ ἔρ[ ), while the reference in the same fragment to Aphrodite might imply that she is their mother (Ἀφροδ[τα, l.3). Secondly, and more significantly, Himerius \textit{Or}.9.4 = Sappho test.194 is evidence that the poetess used a chorus of Erotes in one of her epithalamia. In what seems to be a paraphrase of a wedding song, Sappho is presented as preparing the bridal chamber for a newly

\textsuperscript{654} Rosenmeyer (1951) 19: ‘Thus our evidence indicates that it was Pindar himself, who, almost single-handed, bequeathed his Erotes to a grateful and responsive Alexandria’. She is followed by Sider (1997) 121.

\textsuperscript{655} Cf. Rosenmeyer (1951) 17-18 who, however, does not include \textit{Pyth}.10.60 in her study.

\textsuperscript{656} Cf. Bacchyl.\textit{Victory Odes} fr.9.73 τὰν μ[ατ’ ἄχ][νμ[π]τον Ἐρῶ[τον...
married couple and among other preparations, she adorns and urges a chorus of Erotes to lead a procession while waving their torches: ...ἄγει καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃν ἔφ᾽ ἄρματι Χαρίτον καὶ χορὸν Ἐρώτων συμπαίστορα ... τῶν δὲ τὰ πτερὰ καὶ τοὺς βοστρύχους χρυσῷ κοσμήσασα πρὸ τοῦ δίφρου σπεύδει πομπεύοντας καὶ δᾶδα κινοῦντας μετάρσιον.657 Two other sources verify the use of the motif in archaic erotic lyric poetry:
a) Himer. Or.48.4 = Anac. fr.445 PMG preserves two relevant texts from Anacreon’s oeuvre. Firstly, an original distich from Anacreon’s poetry where the Erotes, as he informs us, are rebuked: ὑβρισταὶ καὶ ἀτάσθαλοι καὶ οὐκ εἰδότες/ ἐφ᾽ οὓς τὰ βέλη κυκλώσεσθε. Secondly, a paraphrasis of one of Anacreon’s poems, where the poet threatens the Erotes that he will not strike up another song for them if they do not act according to his will.
b) P.Mich.inv.3498 = S 286, which includes incipits from the poetry of Sappho, Alcaeus and Anacreon, preserves the following phrase: δό’ ἐρωτές με (col.ii.2). Regardless of whether the erotes are personified or not, the incipit constitutes extra evidence that E/eros was pluralised in the erotic lyric poetry of the archaic period.

From archaic lyric poetry, the motif passed into comedy and tragedy (the erotes being used either in their personified or non-personified version), and the surviving material is sufficient enough to lead us to important conclusions concerning the personified Erotes. To begin with, it is undeniable that a continuous poetic tradition of the plural Erotes existed, originating in archaic lyric poetry and developing as a poetic variation of the singular Eros. In addition, already in the poetry of the archaic period, the personified Erotes carry attributes and qualities that also belong to the singular Eros. For instance, they are archers and hunters in Anacreon (see Himerius Or.48.4= Anac. fr.445 PMG, mentioned above) and winged in Sappho (Himerius Or.9.4 = Sappho test.194). In the poetry of the classical period, they are characterised by great variety as far as their description is concerned: for example, in the comicum adespotum fr.194, the personified abstractions are archers: ὀψὲ γὰρ ποτὲ/ τὰ τῶν Ἑρώτων μανθάνεις; in Euripides Bacch.404-405, they charm the hearts of mortals (ἵνα οἱ θελξίφρονες νέμον/ταὶ θνατοῖσιν Ἔρωτες), and in Crates

657 Himerius also links Sappho with the personified Erotes in Himer. Or.28.2 = Sappho test.50 ...καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀφροδίτῃ καὶ τοῖς Ἐρωσι ὀλὴν ἀνιεῖσα τὴν ποίησιν... The term here is used ambiguously.
fr.7.1-2, they have the ability to melt someone like wax (Ἐρώτων τηξεόθων).\textsuperscript{658} The same variety in their representation characterises their use in epigram: e.g. they are archers, hunters, they play with their knucklebones, and have wings.\textsuperscript{659}

5.4.3 Multiple Erotes for Multiple Effects.

Having established that the literary roots of the plural Erotes date back to archaic lyric poetry, I turn our attention to the identification and analysis of the effects that their evocation creates within the subtype of erotic epigram. What needs to be stressed from the beginning is that there are several distinct identifiable strands in their application, and therefore, we should not lump together all their uses under one common heading. To start with, the term can have a metapoetic dimension, as the notion of multiple loves hints at the thematic dominance of love in the corpus of erotic epigrams. I commence with AP 12.165 = 98 GP (Meleager):

\begin{quote}
λευκανθής Κλεόβουλος, ὁ δ’ ἀντία τοῦδε μελίχρους
Σώπολις, οἱ δισσοὶ Κύπριδος ἀνθοφόροι.
tοὔνεκὰ μοι παίδων ἕπεται Πόθος· οἱ γὰρ Ἐρωτες
πλέξειν ἐκ λευκοῦ φασί με καὶ μέλανος.
\end{quote}

White-blossoming Cleobulus, and, opposite him, honey-skinned Sopolis, the two flower-bearers of Cypris.

For that reason, Desire for boys attends me; for the Erotes say that they will weave me from black and white.

\textsuperscript{658} Cf. e.g. Aesch.Supp.1042 δέδοται δ’ Αρμονία μοῖρ’ Αφροδίτας θεσφόρα τρίβοι τ’ Ἐρωτων, E.Med.844-845 τῷ Σοφίᾳ παρέδρους πέμπειν Ἐρωτας./ παντοίας ἀρετᾶς ἐνεργοῖς.

\textsuperscript{659} Archers: e.g. AP 5.124 = 10 GPh = 16 Sider (Philodemus), AP 5.194 = 34 GP (Posidippus or Asclepiades), AP 5.234 = 49 Viansino (P.Silentiarius), AP 12.45 = 5 GP (Posidippus), and AP 12.166 = 17.4 GP (Asclepiades); hunters: e.g. AP 5.139 = 29 GP (Meleager); they play with their knucklebones: e.g. AP 12.47 = 15 GP (Meleager); they have wings: e.g. AP 5.212 = 10 GP (Meleager).

\textsuperscript{660} For the reasons why I capitalise Πόθος and choose to preserve P’s reading πλέξειν ἐκ, see my analysis of the epigram.
While editors do not capitalise πόθος, in a culture where there was no graphical way of distinguishing abstract and personification, ambiguity was always potentially present and so, the term can be ambiguous in the epigram: there is a play with the concepts of personalised Desire and multiple Erotes, and Meleager follows a narrative technique that he applies in other epigrams as well, where he brings together personalised emotions. It is the verb ἔπεται that invites us to personify Desire and to imagine the personified emotion as attending the speaker (the image concreting the man’s constant desire for boys), or alternatively, as hunting him down (stressing his wish to escape from his current emotional state). The next line makes it clear that the love-struck speaker should be identified with Meleager, since the poet puns on his name which derives from μέλας meaning ‘black’ and ἀργός meaning ‘white’. As we have seen elsewhere, whenever Meleager presents himself as the lover, the relevant poem acquires a metapoetic function. AP 12.165.3-4 is no exception to this rule. The exact meaning of the phrase is disputed and the transmitted text has been altered by some editors. Here, I propose my own reading which I base on the close interrelation between the epigram and AP 12.256 = 78 GP. In the first distich of AP 12.256 = 78 GP, Eros is said to have wrought a metaphorical garland of boys:

πάγκαρπόν σοι Κύπρι καθήρμοσε χειρὶ τρυγήσας
παιδῶν ἄνθος Ἔρως ψυχαπάτην στέφανον.

Eros wrought for you, Cypris, having gathered with his hand the flower of youths, a wreath rich in blooms that beguiles the soul.

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662 The verb can mean both ‘attend’ and ‘pursue’, see LSJ 9, s.v. *ἕπω*.
663 The pun on Meleager’s name has long been recognised. Cf. e.g. Gow-Page (1965) ii. 660 and Gutzwiller (1997) 194 n.49 for bibliography on the topic.
Not only do the two epigrams employ the metaphor of the garland, but also the boys are praised through similar phraseology. In AP 12.165.2, the two youths are the flower-bearers of Cypris, the metaphorical connection with the goddess praising them; it denotes that they thrive with charms and implies their sexual attractiveness, donned by Cypris. Similarly, in AP 12.256 = 78 GP, Tyre is extolled as the ‘sweet smelling flowery Cyprian grove of boys’ (... τὸ μυρόπνου/ ἄλσος ἔχει παῖδων Κύπριδος ἄνθοφόρον, ll.11-12). The genitive Κύπριδος is ambiguous, as it can be linked both to παῖδων (‘the boys of Cypris’) and to ἄνθοφόρον (‘the Cyprian grove of boys’). In both cases, it exalts the boys and their city and the epigram has a clear metapoetic function: the metaphorical wreath stands for Meleager’s Garland — its ‘flowers’, Eros, and Aphrodite, all being elements that emphasise its (homo)erotic content.

AP 12.165 = 98 GP moves in similar lines. I take the Erotes to be the subject of πλέξειν and με its object, and I argue that Meleager, the ‘weaver’ of the Garland, transforms himself into a wreath. The two colours from which he is ‘plaited’ must denote different kind of flowers, the metaphor alluding to the two beloveds of the first distich, who are described via floral metaphors (λευκανθής, ἄνθοφόροι). But why would Meleager portray himself as the garland of the Erotes? AP 12.256 = 78 GP can help us find the answer to this question, since here the same metaphor has a more overt meaning. Almost all of the boys from Tyre, to which Meleager refers, are mentioned in his surviving epigrams. The concept of turning them into flowers stands for their use as beloveds in his Garland. In the same vein, in AP 12.165 = 98 GP, the poet’s self-portrayal as a wreath that consists of different kind of flowers can be a symbol of his self-representation as the lover in his poems and further of his multiple loves. This idea that Meleager’s ‘love stories’ are woven by the Erotes

666 The phrase accentuates the metaphorical meaning of ἄνθος, θάλλος, and ἔρνος (meaning ‘flower, sprout’) when used to praise boys and girls by associating them with Aphrodite, Eros, Graces, and other gods.
667 The epigram absorbs actual cult practices, since garlands and flowers were among the objects devoted to Aphrodite (see e.g. Virg.Aen. 1.416-417, Tacit.Hist. 2.3).
668 The only exception is Asclepiades (cf. Gow-Page (1965) ii. 651). The reference to Asclepiades has metapoetic connotations, signifying Meleager’s literary debt to his predecessor (cf. AP 4.1.46 = 1.46 GP Σικελιδίω τ’ ἀνέμοις ἄνθεα φυόμενα).
themselves, itself a very successful metaphor since πλέκω is used for the composition of poetry, can be interpreted as a claim for the superiority of his erotic epigrams. The use of the future infinitive suggests that AP 12.165 = 98 GP could have opened the homoerotic section of the Meleagrean Garland, having a programmatic function; similarly, the aorist καθήμισσε in AP 12.256 = 78 GP implies that it could have concluded it.

The Erotes also have a metapoetic function in AP 12.168 = 140 AB = 9 GP (Posidippus). Through the motif of toasts dedicated to one’s beloved, the poet talks about his erotic poetry, offering the reader its literary ingredients, poetic models, and sources of inspiration. Simultaneously, he raises himself to the status of the great poets of the past (Hesiod and Homer). As has been noted, the poem has a programmatic function. For my purposes, I focus on its last distich containing the double toast to Aphrodite and the Erotes. Although the corrupted text cannot be repaired beyond doubt, its main points are obvious and I offer my own interpretation of the last verse:

μεστὸν ὑπὲρ χείλους πίομαι, Κύπρι. τὰλλα δ’, Ἐρωτες νήφειν οἰνωθέντ’ οὐχὶ λίην ἄχαρι.

I will drink (the cup) full over the brim, Cypris; and in general,

669 LSJ, s.v. πλέκω II 2.
671 Sider (2004) 37 says that ‘Hesiod seems out of place’. His argument that Hesiod might be seen here as a model for Posidippus because of his lists, especially the one of the nine Muses, is attractive. But the (at first sight) awkward toast to oneself in the middle of the poem, followed by the toasts to great poets of the past, could be interpreted as a symbolic act for claiming poetic status.
672 Gutzwiller (1998a) 162.
673 The last phrase is daggered by Gow-Page (1965) i. 168 († τὰλλα δ’ Ἐρωτες/ νήφοντ’ οἰνωθέντ’ οὐχὶ λίην ἄχαρι†), and has been variously emended, see Gow-Page (1965) ii. 488-489 for a list of the proposed emendations. I accept the emendations of Austin-Bastianini (2002) 178.
Erotes, it is not very graceless to be sober when drunk.

Posidippus’ toast to Aphrodite signifies that, as far as his poetic persona is concerned, he is drunk, both on a literal and metaphorical level (‘drunk with love’). The concept is an old one dating back to Anacreon’s poetry: in fr.450 PMG, the phrase ἔρωτα πίνων survives and in fr.376, ‘intoxication’ from love leads one to irrational and harmful decisions: ἄρθεὶς δὴτ’ ἀπὸ Λευκάδος/ πέτρης ἐς πολιὸν κύμα κολυμβῶ μεθύων ἔρωτι. On a metapoetic level though, the toast expresses Posidippus’ passion for and devotion to erotic poetry. Similarly, the Erotes have a manifold function. They symbolise the many love affairs and beloveds in Posidippus’ epigrams, and the toast in their honour is open to diverse interpretations: the paradox created via νήφειν οἰνωθέν’ (as I emend the text) speaks of the poet’s intellectual soberness which contradicts the drunkenness of his poetic persona. It also encapsulates the idea of drinking as a source of poetic inspiration, on which Posidippus elaborates through his multiple toasts (ll.1-7). Moreover, it may imply that love in Posidippus is mitigated by reason, this idea matching the mixture in his ‘literary cup’ of Antimachus whom he characterises as ‘prudent, self-controlled’ (τοῦ σώφρονος Ἀντιμάχου, I.2). This is a concept that Posidippus expresses elsewhere, i.e. in AP 12.120 = 7 GP, again by contrasting drunkenness with sobriety: if Eros finds him drunk he will conquer him, but as long as he remains sober, he will employ reason to resist the god: ἢν με λάβης μεθύοντα, ἄπαγ’ ἐκδοτον- ἄχρι δὲ νήφων, τὸν παραταξάμενον πρὸς σὲ λογισμὸν ἔχω (ll.3-4).

Another cluster of epigrams, one of a number of fictitious epitaphs on famous poets of the past, also employs the plural E/erotes for metapoetic purposes. I focus on the relevant phrases and explore the use of the motif, either in its personified or

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674 The poem’s complex imagery enhances his self-presentation as being intoxicated, as Sider argues (2004) 37.
675 Cf. AP 5.44.4 = 17.4 Page (Rufinus) . . καὶ καταδὸς πίεται, AP 5.305.3 (Anonymous) καὶ μεθόω τὸ φίλημα, πολῖν τὸν ἔρωτα πεπωκώς, Xen.Symp.8.21 ἀλλὰ νήφων μεθύοντα ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης θεᾶτα. 676 Cf. Sider (2004) 37; for νήφω see LSJ, s.v. II 1. For slightly different readings of the distich, see Giangrande (1963) 260-263 and (1969) 440-448, Gutzwiller (1998a) 162-163.
677 For wine as a source of poetic inspiration, see AP 5.134 = 1 GP (Posidippus) with Gutzwiller (1998a) 157-160.
679 Cf. AP 12.98 = 6 GP (Posidippus).
non-personified version. In AP 7.25.3-4 = 4.3-4 GP (‘Simonides’) we read about Anacreon: ὃς Ἰάριτον πνείοντα μέλη πνείοντα δ’ Ἐρώτων/ τὸν γλυκὸν ἐς παίδων ἰμέρον ἰμμόσατο ‘who fitted properly the sweet desire for boys with his songs breathing from Graces and breathing from Erotes’, and in AP 7.30.5-6 = 17.5-6 GP (Antipater of Sidon): οὔδ’ Ἀίδης σοι ἔρωτας ἀπέσβεσεν, ἐν δ’ Ἀχέροντι ὡν ὅλος ὡδίνεις Κύπριδι θερμοτέρῃ ‘not even Hades quenched (your) passions to your advantage, but living in Acheron you are in total anguish because of a more fervent Cypris’.

In AP 7.25.3-4, the genitives inform us about the content of Anacreon’s poetry (‘songs...redolent of loves’) and praise its gracefulness and elegancy (‘songs redolent of graces’681). Moreover, they can be interpreted as signifying the sources of his poetic inspiration (‘songs breathing from the Graces, breathing from the Erotes’), the idea praising the quality of his poems, since they emanate from the donators of grace, charm, and beauty.682 AP 7.30.5-6 varies a common idea within the set of epigrams on Anacreon: his presentation as an enthusiastic lover.683 According to the poem, Anacreon’s passions are not quenched in Hades but contrariwise, they have become greater (cf. ... χὴ παίδων ζωροτάτη μανίη in line 2). The verb ὡδίνεις, apart from expressing erotic suffering, as a childbirth metaphor, it may allude to the idea of Anacreon composing his poetry as a means for expressing his yearning for boys, a

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680 Gow-Page (1965) ii. 47 are indecisive concerning the case of the noun and print Ἀχέροντος. I prefer the dative (Pl’s original reading), since in AP 7.25 = 4 GP (‘Simonides’), where we have the same motif of Anacreon suffering and composing poetry in Hades, the prepositional phrases εἰν Ἀχέροντι (l.5) and εἰν Ἀίδῃ (l.10) are used. We cannot know which is the model and which the imitation, but the similarity of context cannot be ignored. In both epigrams, the river is used as a synecdoche for the underworld.

681 Cf. e.g. AP 5.259.1 = 77.1 Viansino (P.Silentiarius) ὁμματα...πόθου πνείοντα, Nonnus.Dion.25.112 πνείουσαν ἀρώτων, 32.89 πόθου πνείων.

682 Cf. AP 9.571.1-2 = 36 (b) 1-2 P (Anonymous) ... ἔπνεε τερπνά/ ἡδυμελιφθόγγου Μοῦσα Σιμωνίδεω (for this epigram, see Page (1981) 342-343), AP 7.407.3 = 18.3 GP (Dioscorides), where Sappho is said to ‘breathe’ like the Muses (...ἰσα πνείουσαν ἐκείνας), the metaphor standing for poetic inspiration and echoing Hes. Theog.31-32, where the Muses inspire Hesiod by breathing into him a divine voice: ... ἐπνεύσαν ἐς ἔνα δοίην/ θέσπιν, ἔνα κλεισμί τά τ’ ἐσσόμενα πρό τ’ ἐόντα.

683 Cf. e.g. AP 7.23B (Anonymous), AP 7.27 = 15 GP, AP 7.29 = 16 GP and AP 7.30 = 17 GP (Antipater of Sidon), AP 7.31 = 19 GP (Dioscorides), AP 9.599 = 15 GP (Theocritus).
notion which is in fact explored in the previous lines (II.1-4). \(^{684}\) The phrase οὐδ’ Αίδης σοι ἐρωτάς ἀπέσβεσεν might also denote posthumous fame, the erotes symbolising Anacreon’s erotic poems.

In the same spirit, AP 7.407.1-2 = 18.1-2 GP (Dioscorides) characterises Sappho as ἥδιστον φιλέουσι νέοις προσανακλημ’ ἐρώτων/ Σαπφώ... ‘the sweetest support for the desires of young men in love’. The erotes refer to the amours described in her poetry, and the adjective οὐδ’ Ἀίδης σοι ἐρωτάς ἀπέσβεσεν praises the quality of her verses, since the idea of ‘sweetness’ is often used for encomiastic purposes. \(^{685}\) AP 308 = 1 P (Eugenes), an ecphrastic epigram on a work of art depicting Anacreon, is relevant to this discussion. It includes a (superficial) paradox: although the poet’s appearance reveals that he is very drunk (he has a leerimg glance, the edge of his mantle hangs about his ankles, and he wears just one of his sandals), his ability to continue composing poetry remains unaffected: ....χέλυς δ’ ὅμως/ τὸν εἰς Ἔρωτας ὑμον ἀθροίζεται ‘however (Anacreon’s) lyre composes a hymn towards the Erotes’. \(^{686}\) The epigram varies the presentation of wine as a source of poetic inspiration, especially here of love poetry, through the idea of the hymn to the Erotes.

In other epigrams, the personified Erotes are employed as a variation of the idea of the beloved’s praise through the attribution of his/ her charms to divine origins; the multiple Erotes reify the beloveds’ multiple charms: ...Ερώτων/ και Χαρίτων ἦ παῖς ἀμβρόσιον τι θάλος in AP 6.292.3-4 = 1.3-4 GP (Hedylus), νέκταρ Ερώτων in AP 5.226.1 = 42.1 Viansino (P.Silentiarius), and γλυκώτερον ἀνθός Ερώτων in AP 12.4.3 (Strato). In its most hyperbolic version, a group of boys is emphatically identified to a ‘fleet of Erotes’: ἐκ ποίου ναοῦ, πόθεν ὁ στόλος οὗτος Ερώτων, πάντα καταστίλβων; ἀνδρεῖς, ἀμαυρὰ βλέπω ‘from what temple, whence comes this band of Erotes shedding radiance on all? Men, I cannot make out’ (AP

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\(^{684}\) Cf. API 309 (Anonymous), where Anacreon’s statue speaks of the poet’s unceasing appetite for love-affairs, presenting his poetry as the outcome of his desires: Τῇδ’ ἀμφότεροι με βλέπεις ἀκόρεστον ἐρώτων/ πράσβον, Ἰς κούροις, Ἰςον ἀδόντα κόραις (ll.1-2). Here, there is no emphasis on Anacreon’s homoerotic poems.

\(^{685}\) Cf. on Anacreon: API 308.1 = 1 P (Eugenes) τὸν τοῖς μελιχροῖς ἰμέροις σύντροφον, cf. Ath.11.472f = 5 GP (Hedylus) πίνομεν, καὶ γὰρ τι νέον, καὶ γὰρ τι παρ’ οἶνον/ εὕροιμ’ ἂν λεπτὸν καὶ τι μελιχρόν ἔπος (ll.1-2), Ath.11.473a = 6 GP (Hedylus) ... ἀλλὰ παρ’ οἶνον/ Σκελλίδων πιέζει πουλύ μελιχρότερον, AP 9.507 = 27 Pf. = 56 GP (Callimachus) ... ἀλλ’ ὀκνέω μὴ τὸ μελιχρότατον/ τῶν ἐπέλον ὁ Σολλεύς ἰσμέαζο (II.1-2).

\(^{686}\) For ἀθροίζεται, see Page (1981) 111.
12.254.1-2 (Strato)). Interesting is AP 5.139 = 29 GP where Meleager draws subtle parallels between a single beloved and not a singular Eros, but multiple Erotes. I suggest that Zenophilia’s charms - her song, beauty, and grace - and the influence that they exercise on the speaker are concretised in the figure of the plural Erotes surrounding the man. The imagery stresses the speaker’s powerlessness before the woman’s beauty and song:

άδυ μέλος, ναὶ Πάνα τὸν Ἀρκάδα, πηκτίδι μέλπεις,
Ζηνοφίλα, ναὶ Πάν’, αδύ κρέκεις τι μέλος.
ποὶ σε φύγω; πάντη με περιστείχουσιν `Ερωτες,
ούδ’ ὃσον ἄμπνευσαι βαιόν ἐσπὶ χρόνον.
ἡ γάρ μοι μορφὰ βάλλει πόθον ἢ πάλι μοῦσα
ἡ χάρις ἢ — τί λέγω; πάντα· πυρὶ φλέγομαι.

Sweet is the song, yes by Pan of Arcady, which you sing to the lyre, Zenophila, yes by Pan, sweet is whichever song you strike. Whither shall I flee from you? The Erotes encompass me from every side, and do not leave me even a little time to take breath; for either beauty throws desire at me, or your song, or grace, or — what shall I say? All of these! I burn with fire.

The juxtaposition of his rhetorical question ‘whither shall I flee from you?’ with his self-portrayal as being hunted down by the Erotes (ll.3-4), invites us to recognise the parallels between the two phrases. The question expresses his desire to escape Zenophilia’s attraction, who takes on the role of the hunter in the metaphor. Her attractiveness and power over him are then concretised in the image of the Erotes who encircle him: now, they are the hunters and he is their prey. The last distich strengthens this link because the speaker’s explanation of why the Erotes chase him takes us back to the woman’s graces (see γάρ in line 5). Moreover, the impact of Zenophilia’s charms on him is expressed through the verb βάλλει (l.5), which is often used for the hurling of the arrows of Eros/ Erotes, and here connotes the beloved’s ability to ‘wound’ him from a distance. This idea is attested in Xenophon

687 The verb φεύγω reminds us of the Sapphic καὶ γῆρ ἢ φεύγει ταχέω διώξει (fr.1.21 Voigt).
Mem.1.3.13, where Socrates rationalising the Erotes’ representation as archers, says that maybe they are called archers because they can injure from afar, as do the beautiful ones. 688 In addition, the adjective πάντα referring to Zenophila’s charms (1.6) echoes πάντη that characterises the Erotes’ attack (1.3). This echo makes it clearer that the plural Erotes concretise the effect that her charms have on the speaker. In Arg.3.451-2, Apollonius Rhodius employs the Erotes in a similar manner. He states that Medea bears in her soul all the cares that the Erotes awaken: πολλὰ δὲ θυμῷ/ ὀρμαίν’ ὃσσα τ’ Ἔρωτες ἐποτρύνουσι μέλεσθαι. The plural creates a triangular tie between the Erotes, the anxieties that they arouse, and more importantly for our purposes, Jason’s charms which Medea recalls in her vision immediately afterwards, in lines 453-458.

In the same vein, in AP 5.124 = 10 GPh = 16 Sider, Philodemus creates several links between a young girl called Lysidice and the Erotes, who are employed to concretise the potential of her beauty for blazing great ‘fires’:

Not yet bare of its cover is your summer growth; not yet do you have a dark grape cluster to shoot forth the first rays of a young girl’s charms, but already the young Erotes are whetting their swift arrows, Lysidike, and a secret fire smolders within.

Let’s flee, unfortunate lovers, while the arrow is off the string.

I am a prophet of a great and imminent blaze. 689

First of all, as the girl’s young age is underlined in the first distich, the adjective νέοι stresses the Erotes’ youthfulness (1.3). The adjective πρωτοβολῶν (1.2) matches the

688 ἵσως δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἐρωτες τοξόται διὰ τοῦτο καλοῦνται, ὅτι καὶ πρόσωποι οἱ καλοὶ τιτρώσκουσιν.
689 Translation by Sider (1997) 119-120.
agricultural imagery in her description. Simultaneously, as it derives from πρῶτος and βάλλω, it presents (on a metaphorical level) her graces as arrows that can ‘hit’ men, and this notion creates a nice parallel to the Erotes who are also archers. In addition, the smouldering fire which portrays her charms as unripe, but as having the potential to enflame great passions, corresponds to the image of the Erotes as sharpening their missiles for future use. All these parallels indicate that the poet deliberately chose to pluralise Eros, in order to concretise the girl’s youthful charms. Interestingly, the parechesis between Ἔρωτες (l.3) and δυσέρωτες (l.5) and the thematic correspondences between the consecutive distichs (lines 3-6 both refer to the Erotes’ arrows and foretell the passion from which men will be enflamed), create another second link, this time between the Erotes and their potential victims. One can compare AP 5.194 = 34 GP (Posidippus or Asclepiades), where as we saw, the Erotes act as surrogates for Eirenon’s victims; upon seeing her, they start shooting men because (we imply) her beauty enchants them. In both epigrams, the plural is not superfluous. In each case study, the unspecified number of the Erotes mirrors the many victims of the girls’ erotic appeal, and stresses how influential her beauty can be.

In AP 5.290 = 64 Viansino (P.Silentianus), the motif’s function changes. The apples that a girl throws to the speaker, a sign of erotic calling, are described as follows: ...μάγον τάχα πυρσὸν Ἐρώτων/ λαθριδίως μήλοις μίξεν ἐρευθομένοις ‘perhaps she secretly mixed the red apples with the magical torch of the Erotes’ (II.3-4). By multiplying Eros and attributing magical abilities to the torch, the poet through the resultant hyperbole, maximises the effect that the tossing of apples has on the speaker: he becomes ‘entangled’ in their flame εἰμί γὰρ ὁ τλήμων φλογὶ σύμπλοκος... (l.5). The metaphor combines the idea of love as fire and of love as hunting nets (cf. Ibycus fr.287 Davies) and thus expresses emotional torment and inability to control oneself.

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690 See LSJ, s.v. πρωτοβολέω 3 ‘bring forth new fruit’ τῆς καινότητος αὐτοῦ πρωτοβολήσει Lxx Ez.47.12. Cf. AP 5.62.5 = 23.5 Page (Rufinus), where C offers ἥνικα πρωτοβόλοι λάμψεν ἀπὸ βλεφάρων as one version of the line, and AP 7.217.3-4 = 41.3-4 GP (Asclepiades), where C suggests ἀ νέον ἤβας ἄνθος ἀποδρέπτας ἐραστα/ πρωτοβόλου... (πρωτοβόλοι PPl, πρωτοπλόου PrCmarg., see Sens (2011) 284-285).

691 See e.g. Eur.Bac.405 θελξίφρονες Ἔρωτες.

692 The singular is preferred to the plural because of metrical reasons; it is used as a collective noun.
Let us now focus on the commonest application of the Erotes in epigrams, especially in the work of Asclepiades: their use as the tormentors of men. We have already come across this role of them in several epigrams mentioned above (e.g. AP 5.124 = 10 GPh = 16 Sider (Philodemus), AP 5.139 = 29 GP (Meleager), AP 5.290 = 64 Viansino (P.Silentiiarius)). In this capacity, the Erotes mainly appear as archers, but they can also take on other roles: e.g. in AP 12.46 = 15 GP (Asclepiades), they play with their knucklebones. In evaluating this image, it is important to stress that in itself, and despite the inescapable element of hyperbole, it does not necessarily reduce the emotional impact of what the speaker says. This is proved by the motif’s parallel use in other genres. For instance, in Apoll.Rhodius Arg.3.764-765 (… ὁππότ’ ἀνίας/ ἀκάματοι πραπίδεσσιν ἔνισκίμψωσιν Ἔρωτες), the multiplication of Eros brings in an element of hyperbole, but there is nothing comic in the description of Medea’s emotional state. On the contrary, her representation as a fixed target of their enduring shooting enhances her emotional pain.

In epigrams, the Erotes are often employed in contexts with a ‘seriocomic’ tone, and in this case the image’s hyperbolic nature - it is not just the singular Eros that wounds the lover but multiple, endless Erotes - invites the reader to perceive the speaker’s self-portrayal as inflated. We have already analysed the ‘seriocomic’ tone of AP 12.46 = 15 GP (Asclepiades): the idea that a twenty-two year old boy has been annihilated by love, both now and in the past, can raise a smile in the reader who will perceive the contrast between his emotional outburst and youth as hyperbolic. For this reader, the boy’s emotional upset is extravagant and the figure of the Erotes, first burning him and then continuing their play with their knucklebones, adds to the hyperbole. AP 5.162 = 8 GP (Asclepiades) can also be interpreted as ‘seriocomic’. The speaker says to the Erotes: οἶχομ’, Ἐρωτες, ὀλωλα, διοίχομαι· εἰς γάρ ἐταίραν/ νυστάξας ἐπέβην ἔθειμοι τ’ ἄιδαι’ (ll.3-4).

Although the end of the line

693 Hutchinson (1990) 273 argues that the pluralisation of Eros ‘reduces the impressiveness of these figures, and removes from them the literary resonance of the singular son of Aphrodite’.
695 Gow-Page (1965) i. 46, ii. 122 accept Waltz’s emendation ἔχιδναν of C’s ἐταίραν, but there is a para prosdokian joke in the last distich, for which see Borthwick (1967) 250-254, Cameron (1981a) 293 and (1995) 513-514, Sens (2011) 53-54. For a list of the proposed emendations for the end of the poem, see Sens (2011) 54-56.
remains uncertain, there must be a play here with the idea that love’s ‘bite’ is as fatal as a viper’s bite; this idea can be perceived to be an exaggeration. More importantly, the tricolon crescendo formed by the verbs and the repetition of -ο- and -χο- attracts the reader’s attention to the play with words and sounds, and thus, creates a distance between what the lover says and how the reader may comprehend it. In this background, the hyperbole in the use of the plural helps to shift the emphasis away from intense emotion toward the humour of the imagery and game with sounds and style. Let us see in closer detail AP 12.166 = 17 GP (Asclepiades), where the speaker offers two alternatives to the Erotes: either to leave his soul’s remnants in peace or to burn him up completely turning him into ash and coal.

τοῦθ’ ὅτι μοι λουπὸν ψυχῆς ὅτι δὴποτ’, Ἔρωτες, τοῦτο γ’ ἔχειν πρὸς θεῶν ἡσυχίην ἅψετε.

697 P has ἥ μη δή τόξοις ἔτι βάλλετέ μ’ ἀλλὰ κεραυνοῖς καὶ πάντως τέφρην θέσθε με κάνθρακην.

ναὶ ναὶ βάλλετ’, Ἔρωτες, ἐνεσκληκὼς γὰρ ἀνίαις ἐξ ὑμέων ἐπετέθ’ ἐτετιβούλομ’ ἔχειν.

Whatever is left of my soul, whatever it is, Erotes, allow it, at least, to be in peace, in the name of the gods.

Or strike me not with your arrows any longer, but with thunderbolts, and turn me completely into ash and coal.

Yes, yes, Erotes, strike me, for dried up with anguish

I wish to have ... from you.

The metaphors of ash and coal often express intense erotic desire and so what seems to be originally a plea to be killed, presented as the remedy against love, is in reality

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697 P has ἥ μη καὶ τόξοις and Gow-Page (1965) i. 48 place the texts in daggers. For the proposed emendations and the reasons why the text that I print (Hermann’s emendation) is preferable, see Sens (2011) 116. The last verse cannot be restored with certainty, see Sens (2011) 118 for a list of the proposed emendations.
698 Translation (slightly modified) by Sens (2011) 111.
an appeal to be overwhelmed by passion.\textsuperscript{699} This suggests that the speaker’s initial request to be left in peace is pretentious (l.2). The play with concepts creates a distance between the speaker’s outcry and how the reader perceives it. Moreover, the idea that the arrows of the Erotes are insufficient to totally burn him constitutes another overstatement, as the reader knows from other texts how powerful they are (see e.g. \textit{E.Hipp.}530-534 οὐτε γάρ πυρὸς οὔτ’ ἀστραν ὑπέρτερον βέλος,/ οἶνον τὸ τάξι Ἀφροδίτας ἰσηιν ἐκ χερὸν/ Ἐρως, ὃ Διὸς παῖς).\textsuperscript{700} The conceit adds to the undercutting of the projected emotion, and in addition, the exclamation πρὸς θεῶν accentuates the melodramatic element in this monologue. AP 12.45 = 5 GP (Posidippus), where the lover provokes the Erotes to keep shooting their arrows against him, invites a similar reading; there is humour in the vainglorious nature of the man’s boast as he says that if the Erotes beat him, they will have achieved something memorable. ‘Seriocomic’ is also the tone of AP 5.212 = 10 GP (Meleager). The epigram is especially interesting, since the poet uses in succession the personified Eros, Desires, and Erotes.

\begin{verbatim}
aἰεὶ μοι δύνει μὲν ἐν ὠρασίν ἕρμος Ἐρωτος,
       δὴ σῆ γὰρ Πόθοις τὸ γλυκὸ δάκρυ φέρει:
οὐδ’ ἡ νύξ, οὐ φέγγος ἐκοίμισεν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ φίλτρων
       ἤδη ποιεῖ σὺν καίρῃ γνωστὸς ἔνεστι τύπος.
       ὦ πτανοὶ, μὴ καὶ ποτ’ ἔφιπτατε μὲν, Ἐρωτες,
       οἴδατ’ ἄποτήναι δ’ οὐδ’ ὅσον ἵσχυες;
\end{verbatim}

The noise of Eros always enters my ears,
and my eyes silently offer the sweet tear to Desires;
neither night nor daylight puts (my \textit{eros} / Eros) to rest, but because of love-charms even now somewhere in my heart there is the well-known stamp.
O winged Erotes, do you know how to fly against me at any time,
but have no strength to fly away?


\textsuperscript{700} Cf. e.g. AP 12.50.1-4 = 16.1-4 GP (Asclepiades), where the arrows of Eros reduce the poet to living ashes.
The ‘noise of Eros’, referring on a figurative level to the sound of the god’s wings as he flies, denotes the humming of the man’s ears, which along with his tears and sleeplessness constitute the physical symptoms of his lovesickness (ll.1-3). The poem clearly carries strong resonances of the symptoms of love, as expressed in archaic erotic poetry: the ‘sweet tears’ echo the Sapphic ‘bitter-sweet’ eros, and the man’s bodily condition take us back to Sappho fr.31.11-12 Campbell, where the ringing of the ears and the loss of eyesight are included among the side-effects of the viewing of a beautiful girl: ὀππάτεσσι δ’ οὖδ’ ἐν ὀρήμμι’, ἐπιφρόμ/- βεστι ἄκουσ ‘I see nothing with my eyes, my ears hum’. Wakefulness and incessant emotional torture are also basic effects of love, e.g. in Ibycus fr.286.6-7 Davies ... ἐμοὶ δ’ ἐρως/ σοῦδεμίαν κατάκοιτος ὄρων. Meleager also plays elsewhere with the use of κοιμίζω, as for instance in AP 5.215 = 54 GP, where it is Eros who is asked to put the speaker’s desire for Heliodora to sleep.

However, a fundamental difference exists in comparison to archaic lyric poetry. In the epigram, the speaker does not suffer because of his (unrequited) love for a specific person, but due to his multiple desires. This is evident in the emphatic use of Πόθοις (1.2), just before the caesura; the verse underlines the man’s devotion to love through the religious metaphor, as his tears are presented to be an offering to the personified Desires. The adverb σício contrasts his condition to the Eros’ representation (δινεῖ...ἐν οὔασιν ἔχος), stressing his silent obedience to the Desires, namely his total submission to his emotions; a similar concept is expressed in Philodemus AP 10.21.5 = 15 GPh = 8 Sider, where as we saw, the speaker characterises himself as ‘quiet’ (ἡσύχιον). For the vigilant reader, the adverb αἰεί, opening the poem, signals its theme, because it constitutes a verbal link to the preceding poem, i.e. AP 5.211 = 3 GP, where Posidippus also explores the topic of the endless cycle of erotic desire. As the speaker says, indiscriminate Desire always

702 Cf. e.g. AP 5.215.1-2 = 54.1-2 GP (Meleager) ... τῶν ἄγρυπνων ἔμοι πόθον Ἡλιοδώρας/ κοίμησον,..., AP 5.237 = 86.1 Viansino (Ag.Scholasticus), and AP 12.72.1-3 = 92.1-3 GP (Meleager).
703 For the use of κομίζω in erotic epigram, cf. AP 5.23.1-4 = 63.1-4 Pf. = 63.1-4 GP (Callimachus), AP 5.199.1-2 = 2.1-2 GP (Hedylus), AP 12.50.6 = 16.6 GP (Asclepiades), AP 12.98.1-2 = 6.1-2 GP (Posidippus), and AP 12.127.5-6 = 79.5-6 GP (Meleager).
704 For φέρω meaning ‘bring, offer, present’, see LSJ⁹, s.v. φέρω IV 2.
brings him a new pain from Aphrodite: λήγω δ’ οὐποτ’ ἔρωτος, ἀσι δὲ μοι ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης/ ἄλγος ὁ μὴ κρίνον καινόν ἀνεῖ τι Πόθος (ll.3-4).705

From the multiple Desires, Meleager then returns to the concept of a single Eros, whom he describes as the possessor of the love-charms through which he fixes the ‘well-known stamp’. The verses successfully unite Eros’ representations as a blacksmith and a spell-binder, refreshing the idea of ceaseless erotic suffering. The ‘well-known stamp’ probably stands for the image of a new beloved, since we have variations of this motif in other epigrams.706 If the reader identifies Meleager with the speaker, then the whole poem acquires metapoetic significance, and the ‘well-known stamp’ can be perceived as the symbol of Meleager’s poetic models on love. The epigram’s last distich interacts with the first one. The god is now pluralised, and his pluralisation is emphasised through the enjambment in line 5 (see ὦ πτανοί... Ἔρωτες) and the polyptoton between Ἔρωτος and Ἔρωτες (ll.1, 5). The verses rework the initial concept of winged Eros; the Erotes focus all their interest on the speaker and have no conception of flying against any other target. The poem opens and closes by stressing the continuing role of love in the man’s life, and the multiplication of Eros gives the epigram a witty twist, which throws emphasis onto the play with ideas rather than the intensity of emotion.

The examination of the relevant material, belonging to epigrammatists who were active in different historical periods - from Asclepiades to P.Silentiarius – amply illustrates the motif’s versatility. The Erotes can vary the idea of the beloved’s praise — either they are the donors of his/her charms, or in its most hyperbolic version, boys are identified with them (AP 12.254.1-2 (Strato)). Alternatively, in the case of female beloveds, the verbal linkages formed between the description of their graces and the Erotes suggest that the deities constitute a concretisation of their charms and of the effect that they have on the speaker. The Erotes can also act as if

705 Gow and Page (1965) i. 167 place all words of the last line, apart from the first and the last one, in daggers, preserving the MSS reading κοινὸν ἄγοντι. However, Fernández-Galiano (1987) 73 offer parallels that support the emendations which I adopt (cf. Gutzwiller (1998a) 167, Austin-Bastianini (2002) 166).

706 Cf. AP 5.155 = 48 GP (Meleager) ἐντὸς ἐμῆς κραδίης τὴν εὔλαλον Ἡλιοδώραν/ ψυχὴν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτός ἐπάλασαν αὐτὸς Ἔρως, which has metapoetic implications (see Höschele (2009) 120-121), AP 5.274.1-4 = 73.1-4 Viansino (P.Silentiarius) τὴν πρὶν ἐνεσφρήσασαν Ἕρως θρασὺς εἰκόνα μορφῆς/ ἠμετέρης θερμὸ βένθει σῆς κραδίης ... αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τοῦ γραστῶν ἔχω ψυχῇ σῆς τύπον ἁγλαίης.
they were the surrogates for the victims of one’s beauty, and certainly one of their commonest uses, is their role as men’s tormentors. Under this function, they often shift the reader’s attention from the described situation and emotions to the play with concepts; the motif’s potentially hyperbolic character lends itself to such an effect in poems that have a ‘seriocomic’ tone, created through the games with sounds, language, and ideas. In other epigrams, it is the grouping of several forms of personified emotions and the inner-variation of concepts on love, desire, and hopelessness that can lead a reader to perceive the speaker’s words as overblown. Last but not least, the Erotes, as their singular version, often have a metapoetic function.

5.5. Conclusions

The examination of Eros and the Erotes in epigrams, mainly in the erotic subgenre, under different perspectives has revealed complex inter-generic dynamics in their usage. The representation of Eros in erotic epigrams often parallels artistic descriptions of the god. Both epigrams and iconographic types of Eros use a common ‘code’ as far as the god’s versatile descriptions are concerned: his weapons, paraphernalia, activities, and postures concretise ideas on love, erotic pain, and one’s submission to passion. The linkage between epigrams and art becomes stronger in the case of small scale artefacts depicting the god, as in both media poets and artists equally work within tight space limits, and manage to offer an image of the gods that through his symbolic value enlarges the semantic value of the poem/image. In addition, the chosen study cases exemplify that the god’s representation can vary from epigram to epigram or can be transformed within one and the same poem, resembling thus the handling of other motifs in the genre (resembling thus the use of the nautical and sea metaphors within the genre). Meleager AP 12.48 16 GP forms a characteristic case study of this usage of Eros, since the god’s portrayals as a wrestler, an archer, and a torchbearer are all integrated in one fell swoop. The detailed examination of the reception of three portrayals of him - as a knucklebones-player, a ballplayer, and a crawling creature - whose literary roots can be found back in the verses of the archaic lyric poets teases out the nuances in the changes that the epigrammatists brought to their models, in order to give new life to these motifs and prove their originality.
My research on the plural Erotes has disclosed that the motif’s literary seeds, which should be placed in the erotic poetry of the archaic poetry: clearly both Sappho and Anacreon pluralised Eros, and the motif survived as a variation of the singular Eros through the classical period reaching the Hellenistic epigrammatists. In epigram, the plural Erotes are employed for multiple effects: for instance, they can form a variation of the motif of the beloved’s praise through the attribution of her/his charms to divine origins, be used as a concretisation of the charms of a female beloved, or accentuate the games with sounds and concepts in epigrams where they are used in combination with other personifications of emotions. The variety characterising the application of both Eros and the Erotes reveals both the epigrammatists’ ingenuity and the semantic flexibility of these motifs, which permitted their survival throughout the lifetime of ancient erotic epigram.
Epilogue

This thesis is in itself a sort of modern *Garland*, which weaves together a great number of Greek epigrams. For the examination of this diverse material, I have followed a motif-based methodology, examining the evolution and transformation of recurrent themes within the genre, and especially in its erotic subtype: the lamp, sea and nautical metaphors, and assorted aspects of the use of Aphrodite and Eros. The focus of my study has been dual: to offer an overarching analysis of these motifs through space and time within the genre, in order to explore the larger processes at work, but at the same time through detailed analysis of their application in a large number of epigrams, to tease out the subtleties of their application in individual case studies. This opens up intricate questions about the dynamics and inner-workings of ancient epigram, allowing the examination of the diverse ways in which epigrams interrelate within and across the subgenres, while simultaneously leading to the appreciation of the originality and sophisticated nature of a great number of individual poems.

Expanding the reading focus, I also examined the preceding poetic tradition (mainly lyric poetry and comedy), looking across boundaries of genre, to study the ways in which the Hellenistic epigrammatists responded to challenges and opportunities offered to them by their poetic forebears. I further explored the intra-generic dynamics of poetic rivalry and imitation, as identified in the reformulations of the motifs chosen for analysis, and examined how changes in the socio-political and religious milieu of the poets could have an impact on a motif’s application.

What emerges is that epigram comes into existence at a point of convergence between influences and trends. The epigrammatists inherit a rich and diverse tradition and write in a genre which has no precise analogue in the preceding literary tradition. This allows them to engage creatively with the tradition in a way which had always been part of Greek poetic culture, but which arguably reaches its apogee in the epigrammatic corpus. Drawing on motifs from various genres, the epigrammatists create innovative combinations, while at the same time exploiting the associations attached to pre-existing motifs. They utilise the earlier tradition(s) selectively, favouring some motifs at the cost of others, while introducing new motifs, often on the basis of earlier trends. The epigram itself becomes part of the
intertextual tradition, as writers in this medium in turn become established classics, stimulating fresh imitation. Imitation is always tinged with competition, and no more so in a genre like this where so much imagery is recycled. This element of recycling operates not merely across time but also across cultural change, since we can observe the same themes recurring in writers of the Christian period, even where the motifs run counter to Christian belief, itself an indication that these elements remain ‘good to think with’. Though modern writers (like their ancient counterparts) tend not unnaturally to categorise epigrams into different types, these types, like literary genres, remain trends rather than hermetically sealed categories, and we have often found cross-fertilisation between epigrams which might well be organised into quite different subgroups. By following the life-cycle of motifs one can chart all of these diverse and sometimes countervailing or competing effects.

Beyond doubt, there is still much to be done in the field of Greek epigrams and there is a thesaurus of material that waits to be explored — the multifarious and still much under-researched presence and use of Aphrodite and Eros alone in the genre is sufficient to prove this. Furthermore, such an approach can be extended to include the study of the interrelation between Greek epigrams, Latin epigrams and in general Latin literature, exploring the trends and dynamics between them. However, I hope that the thesis exemplifies the value of the exploration of epigrams from different anthologies and eras under larger hermeneutical frames, and that it will thus provoke further study in the field.
## APPENDIX

<table>
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<tr>
<th>EROS WITH: *the numbering follows the Greek Anthology</th>
<th>Bows</th>
<th>Wings</th>
<th>Torch</th>
<th>Ball</th>
<th>Knuckle bones</th>
<th>Eros as a Crawling Creature</th>
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Statyllius Flaccus**

**It is doubtful whether or not they have been contributors to Philip’s *Garland*.

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** AGATHIAS’ CYCLE **

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