PHILOLOGICAL AND INTERPRETATIVE PROBLEMS IN GREEK EPIGRAMS

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Another Epigram by Rufinus

A.P. 5.62:

Οὔπω σοι τὸ καλὸν χρόνος ἔσβησεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐτι πολλὰ λεῖψανα τῆς προτέρης σωζείται ἥλικις, καὶ χάριτες μιμούσιν ἁγήραςι, οὕτε τὸ καλὸν τῶν ἱλαρῶν μῆλων ἡ ῥόδου ἐξέφυγεν. ὡ πόσσους κατέφλεξε τὸ πρὶν θεοεἰκέλον ἄνθος.


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

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

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

σοκ, εἰ τις συνάγει τάς ὀφρύας οὐδὲ γελώσα
φαίνεται ὀφθηναί τ' ἀνδράσιν ἐκτρέπεται,
σωφροσύνης τρόπος οὕτος εὔγεγυνος· ἀλλὰ τις εὔροι
μαχαλάδο μὲν κρύβῃ τὴν πάνυ σεμνοτάτην,
tὰς δ' ἱλαρὰς καὶ πάσι φιλανθρώπως προσιούσας
σωφρονας, εἰ σωφρόνως ἔστι γυνὴ τὶς ὅλως.

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

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

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

"Ἡρισαν ἀλλήλαις Ἄρδοπη, Μελίτη, Ροδόκλεια,
tῶν τρισσῶν τίς ἔχει κρείσσονα μηριόνην,
καὶ με κρίτην εἶλοντο· καὶ ὡς θεαὶ αἱ περιβλέπτοι
ἐστησαν γυμναί, νέκταρι λειβόμεναι.
καὶ Ὄρδοπης μὲν ἐλαμπε μέσος μηρῶν πολύτιμος
οία ῥοδῶν πολλῶ σχιζόμενος ξεφύρω ...
tῆς δὲ Ὁρδοκλείης ἴαλω ἵςω υγρομέτωπος
οία καὶ ἐν νηῷ πρωτογυμνῆς ξοανον.

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άλλα σαφῶς, ἄ πέπουθε Πάρις διὰ τὴν κρίσιν, εἰδῶς τὰς τρεῖς θανάτας εἰθὺ συνεστεφάνουν.

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

"Rhodope, Melita, and Rhodoclea strove with each other, quaenam habeat potiorum Merionem, and chose me as judge, and like those goddesses famous for their beauty, stood naked, dipped in nectar. Et Rhodopes quidem inter femora fulgebati Polyphemus velut rosarium cano scissum amne. . . . Rhodocleae vero feminae vitru simile erat, udaeque eius superficies velut in templo statuae recens sculptae. But as I knew well what Paris suffered owing to his judgment, I at once gave the prize to all the three goddesses".

Epitaph for a Samian Hetaera

A.P. 7.459:

Κρηθίδα τὴν πολύμυθον, ἐπισταμένην καλὰ παιζειν, διζηναι Σαμίων πολλάκι θυγατέρες, ἥδισῃν συνερθουν ἀεῖλαλον ἡ δ’ ἀποβρίζει ἐνθάδε τῶν πάσας ὑπον ὀφειλόμενον.

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

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

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

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

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5 Cf. Plu., Mor. 303C. Cf. also A.P. 5.44.
Αἱ Σάμιαι Βιττώ καὶ Νάννιον εἰς Ἀφροδίτης
φοιτάν τοῖς αὐτῆς σῶκ ἐθέλουσι νόμοις,
εἰς δ’ ἔτερ’ αὐτομολούσιν, ὃ μὴ καλά. δεσποτί Κύπρι,
μίσει τὰς κοίτης τῆς παρὰ σοι φυγάδας.

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

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

In line 1 Crethis is said to "know how to play well" (ἐπισταμένην καλὰ
παίζειν). The words καλὰ παίζειν contain an allusion to sexual intercourse. For
the erotic meaning of the verb παίζω ("make love"), cf. MPhL 4, p. 193.
Cf. also A.P. 5.61:

Τῇ κυνοβλεφάρῳ παίζων κόνδακα Φιλίππη
εξ αὐτῆς κραδίς ἢδυ γελάν ἐπόουν:
"Δώδεκα σοι βεβλήκα καὶ αὐριον ἄλλα βαλὼ σοι,
ἡ πλέον ἢ πάλιν δώδεκ’ ἐπισταμενος."
εἰτα κελευομένη † ἤλθεν· γελάσας δὲ πρὸς αὐτήν·
"Ἐθε σε καὶ νύκταρ ἐρχομένην έκάλουν."

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

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

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

'Ακμαίη πρὸς ἔρωτα καὶ ἢδέα Κύπριδος ἔργα,
Πατροφίλα, κανθοὺς τοὺς γλυκεροὺς ἐμυσάς·
ἐσβέσθη δὲ τὰ φίλτρα τὰ κωτίλα χω μετ’ ἀοιδῆς
ψαλμὸς καὶ κυλίκως αἱ λαμπραὶ προπόσεις.
"Αϊδη δυσκινητε, τι την ἐπέραστον ἐταιρην ἥρπασας; ἥ και σην Κύπρις ἐμηνε φρένα;

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

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

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

A Textual Problem in Dioscorides

A.P. 12.171:

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

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

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

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

An Epigram for Agrippina

A.P. 6.329:

"Ἀλλος μὲν κρύσταλλον, ὁ δὲ ἄργυρον, οἱ δὲ τοπάζους πέμψωσιν, πλοῦτον δῶρα, γενεθλίδια. ἀλλ’ ἰδ’ Ἀγριππείη δύο διστίχα μοῦνον ἱσώσας ἄρκουμαι δῶροις, ὥς φθόνος οὐ δαμάσει.

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

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

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

"ὤστις ἐμὸν παρὰ σῆμα φέρεις πόδα, Καλλιμάχου με ἵσθι Κυρηναίου παῖδα τε καὶ γενέτην, εἰδείης δ’ ἁμφῶ κεν’ ὦ μὲν κοτε πατρίδος ὄπλων ἥρξεν, ὥς δ’ ἡμεῖς κρέσσονα βασκανίς, οὐ νέμεσις: Μοῦσαι γὰρ, ὄσοις ἰδον ὀμματι παῖδας μὴ λοξῷ, πολιοῦς ώς ἀπέθεντο φίλους.

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

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

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

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

An Epigram for Juba

A.P. 9.235:

"Αγχουροι μεγάλαι κόσμου χθόνες, ἀς διὰ Νείλος τιμπλάμενος μελάνων τέμνει ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου, ἀμφότεροι βασιλῆς ἐκοινώσασθε γαμοὶσιν ἐν γένοις Αἰγύπτου καὶ Λιβύης θεμεναι. ἐκ πατέρων εἰς παισίν πάλι τοῖς ἀνάκτων ἐμπεδοὶ ἥπειροις σκῆπτρον ἐπὶ ἀμφότεροις.

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

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

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

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8 For the topos according to which the poet is poor but his works are immortal, cf. P. Fedeli, Properzio. Il libro Terzo delle Elegie, Bari, 1985, p. 104.
Ethiopia". The Ethiopians were imagined to live on the southern frontier of Egypt: cf. Theocritus, Idyll 7, lines 113ff. It is therefore quite logical for the poet to state that the river Nile divides the two lands of Libya and Egypt from the Ethiopians.

An Epitaph for Philostratus

A.P. 7.645:

"Ω δυστην’ ὀλβοιο Φιλόστρατε, ποῦ σοι ἐκεῖνα
σκῆπτρα καὶ αἱ βασιλέων ἀφθονοὶ εἰστεχιάι,
αἰσιν ἐπηώρησας ἀεὶ βigion ἢ ἐπὶ Νεῖλω
<ἡ παρ’ Ἰου>δαίοις ὕν περιοπτὸς ὅροις;
ὀθνείοι καμάτους τοὺς σοῦς διμοιρήσαντο,
σος δὲ νέκυς ψαφάρη κεῖσετ' εν Ὀστρακίνη.

line 4 ἢ παρ’ Ιουδαίοις Cichorius :δαίοις, spat. Vac. Relicto, PPI, κείσαι Ἰου supl.
man. rec. in P


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

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

... ἢ ἐπὶ Νεῖλω
κεῖσαι Ιουδαίοις ὑν περιοπτὸς ὅροις.

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

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

An Epitaph by Philip

A.P. 9.267:

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

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

13 For other cases where Planudes has preserved the correct text, cf. H. White, New Essays..., op. cit., p. 29.
14 Cf. MPhL vol. 10, p. 39. Similarly at Parmeno 1, 4 (Powell) the participle πίνων means "having drunk".
For a similar epitaph for a fisherman who had drowned, cf. A.P. 7.287:

Καὶ νέκυν ἀπρήντοις ἀνίησει με θάλασσα,
Λύσιν ἐρημαίη κρυπτόν ὑπὸ σπιλάδι,
στρημές όει φωνεύσα παρ’ οὐατι καὶ παρὰ κωφόν
σήμα, τί μ’, ὄνθρωποι, τῇ δε παρωκίσατε,
ἡ πνοῆς χήρωσε τὸν οὐκ ἐπὶ φορτίδι νη
ἔμπορον, ἀλλ’ ὀλίγης ναυτίλου εἰρεσίης
θηκαμένη ναυηγών, ο δ’ ἐκ πόντοιο ματεύων
ζωήν ἐκ πόντου καὶ μόρον εἰλικυσάμην.

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

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

An Epigram for Aratus

A.P. 9.25:

Γράμμα τοῦ ’’Αρήτου δαήμονος, ὃς ποτε λεπτῇ
φροντίδι δυναίος ἀστέρας ἐφράσατο
ἀπλανέας τ’ ἀμφοὶ καὶ ἀλῆμονας οἴσι τ’ ἐναργής
ἰλλόμενος κύκλοις σφαιρανὸς εὐδεδεται:
αἰνεῖσθω δὲ κομών ἔργον μέγα, καὶ Διὸς εἶναι
dεύτερος ὡσὶς ἔθηκ’ ἀστρα φαεινότερα.
line 3 οἴσι τ’ Kaibel: οἴσιν PPI

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

"This is the book of learned Aratus, whose subtle mind explored the long-lived stars, both the fixed stars and the planets with which the bright revolving heaven is set. Let us praise him for the great task at which he toiled; let us count him second to Zeus, in that he made the stars brighter."
In line 3 Gow-Page printed Kaibel's alteration oTσι τ'. They noted\(^*\) that Leonidas "is evidently referring to the Great Circles shown on armillary spheres and described by Aratus in 462ff.". According to Gow-Page, the meaning will be "and the circles with which the bright revolving heaven is bound".

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

*An Epitaph for Eratosthenes*

A.P. 7.78:

Πρητυτερον γηράς σε και ου κατα νούσος ἁμαιρή ἔσβεσεν, εὐνήθης δ' ὑπὸν ὀφειλόμενον, ἁκρα μεριμνήσας, Ἐρατόσθενες οὐδὲ Κυρήνη μαία σε πατρώων ἔντος ἔδεκτο τάφον, Ἄγλαοι ὑπ' φίλος δε και ἐν ξείνη κεκάλυψαι πάρ τόδε Πρωτής κράσπεδον αἰγιαλοῦ.

line 4 μαία Eldick σε πατρώων Brunck μαίνας ἑπ' ἀτρύτων CPI

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

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

In line 4 Gow-Page\(^{16}\) printed the textual alterations μαϊά σε πατρώων. There is however, no need for us to alter the mss. reading μαίνας ἑπ' ἀτρύτων. The adjective μαίνας refers to the nymph Cyrene\(^{17}\), who is described as "raging" with grief: cf. Nonnus, *Dion.* 47.214ff. The adjective ἀτρύτων describes Eratosthenes' tomb which is imagined to be "huge": cf. Theocritus, *Idyll 15.7*

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

*An Epitaph for Aristocrates*

*A.P. 7.440:*

'O hριαν, σινυ νυκτι καταφθιμένοιο καλύπτεις
οστέουν, οἴην, γαί, ἀμφέχανες κεφαλήν,
πολλὸν μὲν ξανθαῖσιν ἄρεσκομένου Χαρίτεσσιν,
pολλοῦ δ' ἐν μνήμη πᾶσιν Ἀριστοκράτεις.
ηδεί Ἀριστοκράτης καὶ μείλιχα δημολογήσαι,
στρεβλὴν οὐκ ὀφρὺν εσθλὸς ἐφελκόμενος·
ηδεὶ καὶ Βάκχοιο παρὰ κρητήρος ἀδηπρῖν
ιδῶναι κείμην εὑκύλικα λαλίην·
ηδεὶ καὶ ἐξείνοισι καὶ ἐνδήμοισι προσηνέα
ἔρδειν. γαί' ἔρατη, τοῖον ἐχεῖς φθίμενον.

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

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

This epigram concerns Aristocrates, who is described by the *lemma* as a "self-controlled and well-behaved man": Ἐις Ἀριστοκράτην, σωφρονά τυν καὶ κόσμων ἄνδρα. The critics have been puzzled by the text of line 618. I would like to point out that the noun ὀφρὺν means here "pride". Cf. LSJ s.v. ὀφρὺς

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(2): "scorn, pride, A.P. 7.409". Cf. also LSJ s.v. ὀφρυόμοια: "to be supercilious" ... ἀχροτίκιαν ὀφρυωμένος "full of supercilious rudeness", Luc. Am. 2.

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

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

Another Epigram for Aristocrates

A.P. 7.648:

'Εσθλὸς 'Αριστοκράτης, ὃτ' ἀπέπλεεν εἰς 'Αχέροντα, ἐἴπ' ἀλιγχρονίης ἀψάμενος κεφαλῆς:

"Παιδών τις μνήσαιτο καὶ ἐδιώκσαιτο γυναίκα,

εἰ καὶ μιν δάκνοι δυσβίστος πενητή

ζωὴν στυλώσαιτο κακὸς δ' ἀστυλος ἰδέσθαι

οἰκος. ο δ' ἂν λόγος τάνερος ἐσχαρέων

εὐκίων φαίνετο καὶ ἐν πολυκαέι ὄγκῳ

ἐνυστή σύγαζων δαλὸν ἐπεσχάριον."

ὁδεί 'Αριστοκράτης τὸ κρήγυνον ἀλλὰ γυναικῶν,

ἀνθρωπί, ἤχθαιρεν τὴν ἀλιτοφροσύνην.

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

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

This epigram by Leonidas also concerns Aristocrates. The critics have, however, been puzzled by the metaphors which are employed by the poet in lines
It should be noted that perfect sense can be restored to the text of the epigram if we understand that the noun δαλόν, in line 8, refers to an old man, who is described as sitting "by the hearth" (ἐπεσχάριον). Aristocrates states that it is best when a man's hearth (ἐσχάρα) has fine columns (i.e. children) and illuminates (αὐγάξων) the old man when he sits by the hearth (δαλόν ἐπεσχάριον). This is explained by the scholia on lines 4-6. Cf. Stadtmueller, Anthologia Graeca, vol. 2, p. 444: 4-6 καλὸν σὺν ζησιν εν μέσῳ τῶν πολλῶν παιδῶν θαλπεσθαί παρά τῇ ἐσχάρᾳ πολλῇ ὑλῇ ἀναιθοῦσῃ. Cf. also LSJ s.v. δαλός II: "burnt-out torch: metaphor of an old man, A.P. 12.41 (Mel.)".

Two Epigrams by Meleager

A.P. 5.163:

'Ἀνθοδίατε μέλισσα, τί μοι χροός Ἡλιοδώρας ψαύεις ἐκπρολιποῦσ᾽ εἰαρινάς κάλκας;
ἡ σὺ γε μημύεις ὅτι καὶ γλυκῷ καὶ ἤδυσοιστον;
πικρῶν ὃι κραδία κεντρον Ἐρωτος ἑχει;
ναὶ δοκέω τούτ' εἰπας' ἰώ, φιλέραστε, πολίμπους
στείχε: πάλαι τὴν σὴν οἴδαμεν ἀγγελίνην.
line 3 δύσπιστον πι

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

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

The reader will note that Gow-Page\(^{20}\) placed the word δύσπιστον, in line 3, between cruces. It should be noted, however, that Planudes\(^{21}\) provided the reading δύσπιστον which makes perfect sense.

On the basis of the Wortstellung, Giangrande\(^{22}\) has conjectured δύσπιστον: his conjecture is very attractive, because it refers to the topos of the


\(^{21}\) For other cases where the correct text has been preserved by Planudes, cf. my New Essays in Hellenistic poetry, op. cit., p. 29, note 27.

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

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

A. P. 9.16:

Τρισσαί μὲν Χάριτες, τρεῖς δὲ γλυκυπάρθενοι ὶμαί·
τρεῖς δὲ ἐμὲ θηλυμανεῖς οἰστροβολοῦσιν Πόθοι·
ἡ γὰρ τοι τρία τοξα ἄκαθροσεν ὡς ἀρα μέλλων
οὐχὶ μίαν τρώσειν, τρεῖς δὲ ἐν ἔμοι κραδίας.
line 3 γὰρ ἔρως ἀπογρ. / κατετρισεν ἀπογρ.

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

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

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

24 This type of Wortstellung is well attested in Greek poetry, up to and including Nonnus: cf. G. Giangrande, "Simónides y Teócrito", to appear in Habis.
For another case where the correct reading has been preserved by the *apographa*, cf. *A.P.* 7.732, line 1 (ἀγρε τε Ἐρμοῦ). Consequently lines 3-4 should be translated as follows: "Love has drawn three bows, as if he intends to wound in me not one heart, but three". In this article I shall argue that the *apographa* often preserved for us the correct reading and that these readings were found in manuscripts which are now lost.

*An Epigram by Theodorus*

*A.P.* 6.282:

Σοι τὸν πιληθέντα δι' εὐξάντου τριχὸς ἁμνοῦ, ἸΕρμᾶ. Καλλιτέλης ἕκρμασεν πέτασον καὶ δίβολον περόναν καὶ στεγγίδα καὶ τὸ ταυνσθέν τόξον καὶ τριβάκην γλυοιστότιν χαλμύδα καὶ σχίζας καὶ σφαίραν ἅειβολον. ἀλλὰ σὺ δέξαι δώρα, φιλευτάκτου ἵδωρον ἐφηβοσύνας.

line 6 ἐφηβοσύνας Ap.B. -ημο- P

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

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

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

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

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

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

An Epigram by Phanias

A.P. 6.294:

Σκίπωνα προποδαγόν όμαντα τε καὶ πυρικοῖταν νάρθηκα, κροτάφων πλάκτορα νηπιάχων κέρκων τ’ ἕιμόλπαντ’ ἕιλοκαμπέα καὶ μονόπελμον συγχίδα καὶ στεγάναν κρατός ἔρημοκόμῳ Κάλλων Ἐρμεία θέτ’ ἀνάκτορι, σύμβολ’ ἀγωγὰς παῖδειον, πολιῶ γυῖα δεθεὶς καμάτω.

line 3 ἕιμόλπαν ap. L marg.

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

"Callon, his limbs fettered by senile fatigue, dedicates to Hermes the Lord these tokens of his career as a schoolmaster: the staff that guided his feet, his tawse, and the fennel-rod that lay ever ready to his hand to tap little boys with on the head, his lithe whistling bull's pizzle, his one-soled slipper, and the skull-cap of his hairless pate".
The text of line 3 has puzzled the critics\textsuperscript{28}. I would like to point out that good sense is provided by the reading εὐμόλπαν, which was printed by Paton. The adjective εὐμόλπαν ("sweetly singing") underlines the fact that the schoolmaster enjoyed hearing the sound of the whistling lash as he beat the boys. For the fact that the bull's penis was used as a tawse, cf. Herodas 3.68:

\begin{equation}
\text{κοῦ μοι τὸ δριμὺ σκῦτος, ἥ βοὸς κέρκος,}
\end{equation}
\begin{equation}
\text{ὦ τοὺς πεδήτας καποτάκτους λαβεῖμαι;}
\end{equation}

Translation by Knox (Loeb edition):

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

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

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

\textit{A Dedication to Hermes}

\textit{A.P. 6.296}:

\begin{verbatim}
'Αστεμφὴ ποδαγρὴν καὶ δούνακας ἵαντυκτῆρας
καὶ λίνα καὶ γυρὸν τοῦτο λαγῳβόλον,
ιοδόκην καὶ τοῦτον ἔπ' ὀρτυγὶ τετραυθέντα
αὐλὸν καὶ πλωτῶν εὐπλεκές ἀμφίβολον
'Ερμεὶ Ὀσισπος, ἔπει παρενήξατο τὸ πλεῦν
ἡβης, ἐκ γήρως δ' ἄδρανίῃ δεδέται.
line ιαϊθυκτῆρας Salm.
\end{verbatim}

Translation by Paton (\textit{op. cit.}, vol. I, p. 459):

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

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


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

30 This was noted by Jacobs, who pointed out that the adjective αἰθυκτήρας occurs in Oppian: cf. Animadversiones, vol. VII, p. 74. It appears that Salmasius must have had access to manuscripts which are now lost. He was thus often able to preserve for us the correct reading. Cf. moreover, my New Essays in Hellenistic Poetry, op. cit., p. 48, where I have attempted to show that the editors of the Ascensiana and the Stephaniana had access to manuscripts which were independent of Pl.
blood of beast: purse-nets and well-twisted withes and long sweep-net and hayes and net-props and grievous jetering nooses, three-pronged spear, broad-headed hunting lance, hare-stick and stakes and swift winged arrow, swords and axes and hare-slaying trident, bent hooks and lead-bound crooks, cord of twisted broom and the well-woven foot-trap, and ropes and net-stays and the many-meshed seine”.

An Epigram by Leonidas

A.P. 6.300:

Λαθρή, ἐκ ἑπλάνης ταύτην χάριν ἐκ τε πενέστεω κῆς ὀλιγησιτοῦ δέξο Λεωνίδεω ψαιστά τε πιήνετα καὶ εἰθήσαυρον ἑλαίνι καὶ τούτο χλαρὰν σύκον ἀποκράδιον κενοίνου σταφυλῆς ἐχ’ ἀποσπάδα πεντάρρωγον, πότνια, καὶ σποῦδην τῆν’ ὑποπυθμίδιον.

ἡν δὲ μὲ χῶς ἐκ νοῦσου ἀνειρύσω, ὅδε καὶ ἐχθρῆς ἐκ πενίης ρύση, δέξο χιμαιροθύτην.

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

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

Leonidas addresses in this epigram "the Lathrian goddess", i.e Aphrodite. The text of line 1 has puzzled the critics31. Once again, however, the correct text has been preserved for us by Salmassius32, who provided the reading ἐκ πενίης instead of ἐκ πλάνης. Leonidas' epigram was imitated by Cornelius Longus at A.P. 6.191:

Ἐκ πενίης, ὡς οἴσθε, ἀκραιψέος, ἀλλὰ δικαίης,
Κύπρις, ταύτα δέχεν δῶρα Λεωνίδεω
πορφυρέν ταύτην ἐπιτυφλίδα τὴν θ’ ἀλίπαστον
δρύπεπα καὶ ψαιστῶν τὴν νομίμην θυσίην

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

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

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

An Epigram for Thespis

A.P. 7.410:

Θέσπις οδε, τραγικὴν ὡς ἀνέπλασα πρῶτος ἀοιδὴν κωμηταῖς νεαρῶς καινοτομῶν χάριτας. Βάκχος ὅτε βριθὺν κατάγοι χορόν, ὃ τράγος ἀθλῶν χωτικὸς ἦν σύκων ἄρριχος ἄθλον ἔτι. εἰ δὲ μεταπλάσσουσι νέοι τάδε, μυρίος αἰών πολλὰ προσευρῆσει χάτερα: τάμα δ' ἐμά. line 3 τριττὸν ἀπογρ. τρ. ἄθλον ἀπ. Β.

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

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

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

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

In other words, the poet refers in these lines to the fact that in the past a goat was the prize in Tragedy, and a basket of figs was the prize for Comedy. It will be noted that the words χωτικός ... σύκων ἀρριχος mean "the famous Attic basket of figs". Cf. LSJ s.v. ὅ, ἡ, τό.

An Epitaph for Myro

A.P. 7.425:

Μη θαμβεί, μάστιγα Μυροῦς ἐπὶ σάματι λεύσων,
γλαύκα, βιόν, χαροπάν χάνα, θοὰν σκύλακα.
τὸξο μὲν αὐδάσει με πανεύτονον ἀγενὶν οἶκον,
ἄ δὲ κύων τέκνων γνήσια καδομένων,
μάστιξ ὦ σώκ ὀλοαν, ξένε, δεσπότιν, ἀλλ' ἀγέρωχον
dωστι, κολαστειραν ὦ ἐνδικον ἀμπλακίας,
χάν δὲ δομων φύλακας μελεδήμονα, τάν ὦ ἄ ...
γλαυξ ἀδε γλαυκᾶς Παλλάδος ἀμφίπολον.
τοιοῖσδ' ἀμφ' ἐργοισιν ἐγάθεον, ἐνθεν ὄμενος
τοιάδ' ἐμ' στάλα σύμβολα τεῦξε Βιτῶν.

34 For another case where the apographa have preserved the correct text, cf. A.P. 6.203,5 ὅρεινομοιο.
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line 3 με πανεύτονον Salm. με τάν (μετ' ἄν P) εὐτονον C line 7 φυλακας Salm. -κα P τάνδ' ἀγορεύει Salm.

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

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

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

An Epitaph by Euphorion

A.P. 7.651:

Οὐχ οἱ τρηχὺς Ἑλαῖος ἐπ' ὄστεα κεῖνα καλύπτει
οὐδ' ἡ κυάνεον γράμμα λαβοῦσα πέτρην;
ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Δολίχης τε καὶ αἰπεινης Δρακάνοιο
"Ικάριον ῥήσει κῦμα περὶ κροκάλαις;
ἀντὶ δ' ἐγὼ ἕξενης Πολυψίδεος ἡ κείνη χθὼν
ὡγκώθην Δρυσόπων δυιάσιν ἐν βοτάναις.
line 1 Ἑλαῖος Mein. σελί θαῖος P

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

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

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

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

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

The words λίθος τρηχύς recall Iliad 5.308:

ὦσε δ᾽ ἀπὸ μινὸν τρηχύς λίθος.

Note that Euphorion has inverted the Homeric word-order\(^{42}\). The noun λίθος refers to the grave-stone, whereas πέτρη, in line 2, describes the stele which is inscribed with the epigram.

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


An Epitaph for Cinesias

A.P. 7.732:

"נפתח ἡτ' ἀσκίπων. Κινησία τέρμων ἀγριετ ἐκτισσων Ἀιδής χρείος οὐφειλόμενον γῆρα ἡτ' ἀρτία πάντα φέρων. χρήστην δὲ δίκαιον εἰφών σε στέργει παντοβις Ἀχέρων.
line 1' Ερμόλα τι ἐDittenberger : ἀγριετ Ἔρμων ἅρπ. B.

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\(^{41}\) Cf. Stadtmueller, Anthologia Graeca, II, p. 446.

\(^{42}\) For similar cases where the Homeric word-order has been inverted, cf. G. Giangrande, Scripta Minora Alexandrina, I, Amsterdam, 1980, p. 296.
Translation by Paton (op. cit., vol. 2, p. 389):

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

This epitaph was written by Theodoridas for a certain Cinesias. The critics have been puzzled by the text of line 14. Once again, however, the correct text has been preserved for us by the apographa. Cinesias is addressed as the "fierce son" of Hermes (Κυνησία ἄγριε Ἔρμοῦ) because he is a money-lender (χρήστην, line 3). Cf. LSJ s.v. χρήστης II: "creditor, usurer". For the fact that Hermes was the god of gain, cf. Herodas 7.74. For the genitive ' Ἐρμοῦ, cf. LSJ s.v. ' Ερμῆς (3): ὁ τοῦ ' Ερμοῦ ἀστήρ, the planet Mercury. Cf. also Monro, Homeric Grammar, p. 141: ' Οἰλίνης ταχὺς Αἴας("swift Ajax son of Oileus").

Theodoridas makes the point that the money-lender must now pay his debt to Hades. For the adjective ἄγριε, cf. A.P. 8.204:

' Ἡνίκα τὸν περίβωτον ἐπ' οὔρεος, ἄγριε Τιτᾶν,
τῶμβον ἀνεφήξω, πῶς ἐσιδες νέκυας,
ὡς δ' ἐσιδες, πῶς χείρες ἐπ' ὅστεα; ἦ τάχα κέν σε
τῇ σχέδουν, εἰ θέμις ἦν τοῖσδ' ἐνα τῶμβον ἐχειν.

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

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

An Epitaph for two Sisters

A.P. 7.733:

†Αἰνόμμιμοι τό θόρυπος ὦμήλικες ἦμεν Ἀναξῶ
και Κλεινώ, δίδυμοι παιδες Ὑπικράτεως,
Κλεινὼ μὲν Ἱκρίτων ιερῆ, Δήμητρι δ' Ἀναξῶ

44 Cinesias is, of course, the metaphorical "son of Hermes": cf. LSJ s.v. υἱός "metaph., Κόρον Ὡβρίος υἱόν Orac. ap. Hdt. 8.77".
"We two old women Anaxo and Cleno the twin daughters of Epicrates were ever together; Cleno was in life the priestess of the Graces and Anaxo served Demeter. We wanted nine days to complete our eightieth year. . . . We loved our husbands and children, and we, the old women, won gentle death before them".

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

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

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

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

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46 Cf. Jacobs, op. cit., I, p. 185. It should be noted that ¢σβλος is a rare adjective which is unlikely to have been employed by Salmasius for his own conjecture.
I would like to suggest that αἱ νόμιμοι, πρόπολος, ἵσοβιοις and ἀφικόμεθα are all genuine readings which Salmasius obtained from sources which are now lost. Similarly at A.P. 7.726 the readings κῆών, ἀπώσατο and ἐπ’ ἥοςς have been preserved for us by Salmasius. I therefore propose the following translation for Diotimus' epigram: "We two law abiding (αἱ νόμιμοι) old women Anaxo and Cleno, the twin daughters of Epicrates, were ever together; Cleno was in life a priestess of the Graces and Anaxo was a priestess for Demeter (Δήμητρι δ’ Ἀναξύ / ἐν ζωή πρόπολος). We wanted nine days to complete our eightieth year. There is no envy of years for those who live an equal time (ἵσοβιοις). We loved our husbands and children, and we, the old women, came (ἀφικόμεθα) first to gentle death".

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

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