

## EMENDATIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS IN THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY

- (1) αἰεὶ τοι λιπαρῷ ἐπὶ σήματι, διὲ Σοφόκλεις,  
 σκηνίτης μαλακοὺς κισσοὺς ἄλοιτο πόδας,  
 αἰεὶ τοι βούπαισι περιστάζοιτο μελίσσαις  
 τύμβος Ὑμηττεῖω λειβόμενος μέλιτι,  
 ὥς ἂν τοι ρεῖη μὲν †ἀγανός† Ἀτθίδι δέλτῳ  
 κηρός, ὑπὸ στεφάνοις δ' αἰὲν ἔχῃς πλοκάμους.  
 A.P. 7. 36 (Erucius) = 2262–7 G.–P.

Gow and Page are of the opinion that Planudes' ἀένναος in the fifth line of this epigram may be not his conjecture but the true reading, and reject Jacobs's commonly received emendation αἰεὶ γάνος, with κηροῦ in the following line. But I have no doubt that for the two words μὲν ἀγανός (the μὲν is unobjectionable but not obligatory) we should read μεμαλαγμένος: for ὁ μεμαλαγμένος κηρός is the regular gloss<sup>1</sup> on the waxy substance called μάλθα or μάλθη which was used in Athens—at the time of Sophocles himself<sup>2</sup>—particularly for spreading on wooden writing-tablets. It was surmised by Schwabe that μάλθη had been the word glossed in Ael. Dion. fr. 251a (= Eust. 1710. 20) μαλακὸς κηρός, ὁ ἐν τῷ γραμματεῖῳ κατὰ τὸν Αἴλιον Διονύσιον, ὡς τῶν παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς πινακιδίων κηρῷ τοιοῦτῳ μαλακῷ ἀηλιμμένων, ἐν ᾧ ἔγραφον διὰ τινος γραφείου σκληροῦ. In schol. Theoc. 7. 105 it is defined as κηρός ἀμόλγη συννεψημένος and by Festus, p. 135 *maltha dicitur a Graecis pix cum cera mixta*—i.e. *pissoceros*, the extra malleability of which is mentioned by Pliny, *NH* 11. 16 *pissoceros . . . dilutior cera*.

Two entries in Pollux are especially important for establishing the use of *maltha*. In 10. 58–9, describing it as ὁ ἐνὼν τῇ πινακίδι κηρός, he quotes passages from Herodotus (7. 239), Cratinus (fr. 204), and Aristophanes (fr. 157) referring to the soft wax which could easily be scraped from writing-tablets to erase writing. In 8. 16 he says it is the wax spread on the dicasts' *πινάκιον τμητικόν*, from scratching on which the 'long line' of condemnation it will be remembered that Athenian philheliasts got wax under their finger-nails (Ar. *Vesp.* 108 and schol.). Finally Demosthenes in the second speech against Stephanus (46. 11) contrasts the impermanence of tablets covered with μάλθη, to and from which additions and erasures could easily be made, with the *γραμματεῖον λελευκωμένον* used for more permanent documents: τοὺς δὲ τὰς προκλήσεις μαρτυροῦντας, τοὺς ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου προσστάντας (sc. προσήκει μαρτυρεῖν), ἐν μάλθῃ γεγραμμένην τὴν μαρτυρίαν, ἵνα, εἴαν τι προσγράψαι ἢ ἀπαλεῖψαι βουλήθῃ, ῥάδιον ᾖ. The softness of the μάλθη on writing-tablets<sup>3</sup> is in contrast to what are called σκληρόκηροι δέλτοι by Zeno (*ap.* D.L. 7. 37), αἱ μόλις μὲν γράφονται, διατηροῦσι δὲ τὰ γραφέντα.

As to the Cambridge editors' ironical comment on Erucius' epigram—'one

<sup>1</sup> In Hsch., Harp., *Suda*, *Et. Mag.*, Bekk. *An.* 278. 22, Bachm. *An.* i. 295. 8. Cf. also Hr. *ap.* Gal. 19. 120 *μαλθωδέα· μαλακτικὰ ἢ κηρώδη· μάλθη γὰρ ὁ κηρός καὶ μάλιστα ὁ μεμαλαγμένος*.

<sup>2</sup> The word occurs in *Ich.* 140.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *λέαννε τὰς δέλτους*, of removing writing on wax, in *P. Oxy.* 2741, fr. 1a, col. i. 19 (in vol. xxxv [1968]), from a commentary on Eupolis' *Maricas*.

may wonder whether Tragedies were ever in fact written out on waxed tablets; a large pile would be needed for a play<sup>2</sup>—this does not invalidate the practical use of a δέλτος as a sketch-book by a poet in the act of composing—as in Machon's story (402 ff. Gow, *ap.* Athen. 582 c) about Lais' joke at Euripides' expense when she saw him ἐν κήπῳ τινὶ / πινακίδα καὶ γραφεῖον ἐξηρτημένον.<sup>1</sup> Erucius' desire for bees to frequent Sophocles' tomb is not to provide wax for innumerable tablets for a library of posthumous plays, but for a constant supply to replace the μάλθη as he uses his δέλτος (there is therefore real point in the singular Ἀθίδι δέλτῳ) over and over again while composing. In the *Schoolmaster* mime of Herodas (3. 14 ff.) the recalcitrant schoolboy's mother complains that she is hard pressed to replenish the wax on his writing-tablet each month—κῆ μὲν τάλαινα δέλτος, ἦν ἐγὼ κάμνω / κηροῦς' ἐκάστου μηνός, ὀρφανὴ κείται, κτλ. For the association of a particular δέλτος with a composer (irrespective of the material on which ultimately a newly composed play might be completely transcribed), one might refer to the stories of Dionysius the Elder purchasing the ψαλτήριον, δέλτος, γραφεῖον of Euripides (Hermipp. Hist. fr. 73b, *ap.* Vit. Eur.) and the πυξίον of Aeschylus (Luc. *Ind.* 15).

- (2) οὐ σε κυνῶν γένος εἶλ', Εὐριπίδῃ, οὐδὲ γυναικός  
οἷστρος τὸν σκοτίης Κύπριδος ἀλλότρινον,  
ἀλλ' Αἰδῆς καὶ γῆρας, ὑπαὶ Μακέτῃ δ' Ἀρεθούσῃ  
κείσαι ἑταιρείῃ τίμιος Ἀρχέλειω.  
σοὶ δ' οὐ τοῦτον ἐγὼ τίθεμαι τάφον, ἀλλὰ τὰ Βάκχου  
βήματα καὶ σκηνὰς ἐμβάδι †πειθομένας†  
A.P. 7. 51 (Adaeus) = 11-16 G.-P.

Gow and Page set forth the objections to the dubious first reading of P ἐμβάδ' ἐρειδομένας<sup>2</sup>—the elision of -ι of the dative singular, and the sense of the verb 'pressed upon', rather than 'trodden'. The latter is perhaps in itself over-pedantic, but in parallel expressions which might be cited, such as ἡρείδες ἵχθιον (A.P. 8. 151), ἵχθνος ἐρειδόμενον (Meleager, A.P. 12. 84), πόδας ἐρειδόν (Ap. Rh. 1. 1010),<sup>3</sup> *niti cothurno* (Hor. A.P. 280), there is always a personal subject. The 'correction' πειθομένας, 'the stage obedient to the buskin', seems intolerably quaint.<sup>4</sup> G.-P. commend Dübner's τριβομένας as 'the only conjecture which makes good sense', but the corruption of this to either of the MS.

<sup>1</sup> I have little doubt that Gow is right in this phrase to take ἐξηρτημένον to agree with Εὐριπίδῃ and πινακίδα καὶ γραφεῖον both as the objects of the participle—cf. Philostr., *V.S.* 2. 1. 9 δέλτον ἐξαψάμενος, Luc. *Cat.* 3 πῆραν ἐξημμένον, Hor. *Sat.* 1. 6. 74 *suspensi loculos*. One could account for the following participle ἔχοντ' in the MSS. (for which Meineke proposed reading εἰπεῖν, to give a construction for the previous λέγουσι), not as Gow does, 'due to somebody who understood ἐξηρτημένον to agree with γραφεῖον', but as an intrusive gloss to explain the mid./pass. participle with retained accusative. That this is a natural gloss is shown by Blaydes's explanatory note on Ar. *Ec.* 494 (ἡμᾶς), πώγωνας ἐξηρτημένας, i.e. πώγωνας ἐξηρτημένας ἐχούσας.

<sup>2</sup> Of course P 11 actually have ἐμβαλ(ε),

for which Hermann read ἐμβάδ(ι).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also A.P. 5. 301. 1 (Paul. Sil.), Coluth. 232.

<sup>4</sup> My colleague Dr. R. C. McCail once suggested to me the pleasing remedy of reading not ἐμβάδι, but Εὐάδι with πειθομένας, 'the stage obedient to the Euian god'. But although when this word occurs as an epithet (φωνή, χάρμη Nonn. 33. 261 and 36. 276; κοῦρη Orph. *H.* 49. 1) or noun = Bacchant (Philostr. *Im.* 1. 19), its gen. is εὐάδος, according to *Et. Mag.* 553. 46 and the grammarian Draco. 62. 6 (on what authority it is not known), the gen. of Εὐᾶς = Dionysus is Εὐαντος. Also of course Εὐάδι is a little less close to the corrupt ἐμβαλε from which ἐμβάδι has been elicited, and perhaps πειθομένας remains a slightly unsatisfactory verb.

verbs is inexplicable, nor is *ῥησσομένας* of Desrousseaux any more convincing. I should suggest that *σειομένας* is both a little closer palaeographically,<sup>1</sup> and also an apposite word for the works of a tragedian whose actors, as we might say, 'shook the boards'.<sup>2</sup> It is true that when similar expressions are found in Greek literature there is usually a slightly derogatory sense, applied to violent dancers, as Libanius (*Salt.* 96) quotes, and replies to, Aristides' objection to dancers—*τῷ ποδί, φησί, τὴν σκηνὴν καταρρηγνύντες, Ἀλγείς οὖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ξύλων, κτλ.*; or Lucian (*Salt.* 76) reports an anecdote about how the people of Antioch jeered at the leaping of a *παχὺς καὶ πιμελής ὄρχηστής*, saying *δεόμεθα φείσασθαι τῆς θυμέλης*, or Athenaeus (151 a) records the nickname *θεατροτορύνη* of a violent but clumsy dancer. And of course earlier even than Euripides, Pratinas fr. 1 (708 Page) had complained of the *θόρυβος* of the chorus *ἐπὶ Διονυσιάδα πολυπάταγα θυμέλαν*, and although it is not certain for what sort of performance his so-called hyporcheme was intended, his criticisms seem to be directed against current trends in dramatic performances.

But 'shaking the theatre' may not necessarily have this adverse sense, as for example in the Latin poem (possibly of about the same period as Adaeus) *Laus Pisonis* 238–9 *Maecenas tragico quatientem pulpita gestu | erexit Varium*. Nor need violent movement which might be described by a verb such as *σειεῖν* be restricted to the clatter of the chorus and excluded from *τὰ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς*. As K. K. Smith observed in his article on 'Use of the high-soled shoe or buskin in Greek tragedy' (*HSCP.* xvi [1905], 136 ff.), there is no lack of scenes of violent movement in Euripides, especially in late plays such as *Orestes* and *Bacchae*—and the latter play, the popularity of which at every period is well attested, might well have been uppermost in Adaeus' mind when composing this epigram, after referring to Euripides' death in Macedonia:<sup>3</sup> indeed *σειεῖν* is very much a Dionysiac word, whether applied to the hair, thyrsus, or limbs—cf. *H. Hom.* 7. 3; *Eur. Ba.* 185, 240, 308, 505 (in Wilamowitz's supplement), 930, *Cycl.* 75; *Ar. Lys.* 1312, *Ran.* 346; *Trag. fr. adesp.* 406; *Luc. Alex.* 13, *Bacch.* 2; *Philostr. V.S.* 1. 21. 5.

Finally one is also reminded irresistibly of Ben Jonson's famous lines 'To the Memory of my beloved, the author Mr. William Shakespeare and what he hath left us', where shortly after declaring 'thou art a Monument, without a tombe, / and art alive still, while thy Booke doth live, / and we have wits to read, and praise to give'—a similar motif to that we find in Adaeus—he continues:

But call forth thund'ring Aeschilus,  
Euripides, and Sophocles to us,  
Paccuvius, Accius, him of Cordova dead,  
To life againe, to heare thy Buskin tread,  
And shake a Stage . . .

<sup>1</sup> Even closer would be *θειομένας*, but this verb seems more appropriate to a kicking, rather than stamping, movement of the leg—e.g. *Ar. Av.* 54, *Theoc.* 22. 66.

<sup>2</sup> A *σειώ* compound, with *σκηνήν* as object, is perhaps to be read in Polybius' hilarious account (30. 14 *ap. Athen.* 615 d) of the theatrical spectacle mounted by Lucius Anicius at Rome on the occasion of his triumph in 167 B.C.: *ἐπικτυποῦντες οἱ χοροὶ καὶ συνεπεισινόντες τὴν σκηνήν* (Hermann

*συνεπεισινόντες τὴν σκευήν*, 'shaking their gear together'—the change to *σκευήν* at least seems improbable, but following on a verb used of drumming with the feet a reference to shaking the stage is not implausible).

<sup>3</sup> The description of Euripides as *τὸν σκοτίης Κύπριδος ἀλλότριον* also brings to mind Pentheus' preoccupation with this subject (*Ba.* 486–7, etc.: cf. also *Hipp.* 106).

—to say nothing of the curious attack on Shakespeare in Robert Greene's *Groatworth of Wit Bought with a Million of Repentance* (1592): 'In his own conceit the only Shake-scene in a country.'

- (3) τήνδ' ὑπὸ δύσβαλον θλίβει χθόνα φωτὸς ἀλιτροῦ  
 ὀστέα μισητῆς τύμβος ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς  
 στέρνα τ' ἐποκριόντα καὶ οὐκ εὖοδμον ὀδόντων  
 πρίονα καὶ κώλων †δούλιον οἰοπέδην . . .  
*A.P.* 7. 401 (Crinagoras) = 2006–9 G.–P.

G.–P. rightly consider *οἰοπέδην*, which LSJ render 'perhaps a woollen bandage for sore feet', *vox nihili*, and suggest, with misgivings, *κώλων δουλιογυιοπέδην*, 'the slave-limb-fetters of his legs', on the assumption that Eunicides had once been a slave who wore such fetters, though not actually at the time of his burial. It seems to me, however, that one must recognize in the corrupt word the clear trace of a rare term for the wooden shoes of a slave *κλοιόποδες*, which seems to be found only in Tzetzes, in *Chil.* 13. 300 *κοῦσποι δὲ καὶ κλοιόποδες, οὗσπερ φαμέν καὶ κλάπους, καὶ ὅσα δὲ κακύνουσι τοὺς πόδας, ποδοκάκαι*, and in *Er.* p. 92 Pressel *ἢ ποδοκάκας τοὺς κλάπους λέγω τοὺς καὶ κλοιόποδας ἢ χοίνικας σιδηροῦς, κτλ.*

The word coined here by Crinagoras will therefore have been *δουλιοκλοιοπέδην*, the feminine ending showing the same alternative to Tzetzes' form of the word as in—on the one hand—the gloss *κοῦσπος· ξυλόπους* and—on the other—*Aq. Jb.* 13. 27 *καὶ ἔθηκας ἐν ξυλοπέδῃ τὸν πόδα μου*, and gloss (ii. 133. 45) *nervus: ξυλοπέδη*. Such a type of wooden shoe used, if not as a physical punishment,<sup>1</sup> at least to restrict the movement of slaves, is elsewhere described in such combinations of the terms quoted from Tzetzes above as *cuspus: ξύλινον σανδάλιον* (ii. 119. 30) and *cithrus: ποδοκάκη* (ii. 100. 53), *ξύλον τὸ ἐν εἴρκῃ ἐν φῖ τοὺς πόδας ἐμβάλλοντες ἔχουσιν, ὃ παρὰ Ῥωμαίους καλεῖται κοῦσπος* (*Gl. Basilic.*). If, however, it seems puzzling that Crinagoras should imagine Eunicides cremated and buried even in the height of his affluence<sup>2</sup> with a slave's shackles still adorning his lower limbs,<sup>3</sup> one might observe that there is some evidence for such words being used not only of instruments of correction or imprisonment but also of simple wooden clogs. Dio Cassius 77. 4 describes how Cilo was arrested in a bathroom *κλάπας τε ὑποδεδεμένον (ἐν βαλανείῳ γὰρ ὦν ἔτυχε) καὶ χιτωνίσκον ἐνδεδυμένον*, and as *κλάπαι* are elsewhere the 'stocks' (used, e.g., by schol. *Ar. Plut.* 276 to gloss the classical *χοίνικες* of slavery), Camerarius cleverly proposed there to read *βλαύτας* for *κλάπας*. Compare however *cuspus* used of monks' night shoes (the *νυκτιπήδηκες* of Herod. 7. 59 and Poll. 7. 94) in Du Cange, s.v.: *ad nocturnos vero in aestate ligneos cuspos utantur, ne inquinatis pedibus ad suum revertentes stratum, lectorum sagos coinquinent.*

The theme of Eunicides' burial in the accoutrements which marked his slavish origin directs one's attention now to the curious *στέρνα τ' ἐποκριόντα* of the third line, where it is uncertain whether the adjective is 'the original or an old variant' (G.–P., who admit that if the word is what was intended, 'we do

<sup>1</sup> For this, cf. *solea* in Cic. *de invent.* 2. 50. 149 *quidam iudicatus est parentem occidisse, et statim lignee soleae in pedes inditae sunt; os autem obvolutum est folliculo et praeligatum; deinde est in carcerem deductus.*

<sup>2</sup> This is implied at least by the other

epigram about this man (*A.P.* 7. 380 = 1999–2005 G.–P.).

<sup>3</sup> It could, I suppose, be taken as a parody of the burying of a great man garbed in the insignia which had most distinguished him in his lifetime.

not know what sort of deformity Crinagoras is describing'). The letters of the MS. reading are in fact *επεκρεικοντα*, with *ι* written above *ει*, and in view of this it is rather startling to note that in the passage of the *Chiliades* from which the reference to *κλοιόποδες* has just been quoted, Tzetzes continues on the subject of iron leg-fetters (*χοίνικες*), and introduces the words *καὶ κρίκον*.<sup>1</sup> Other evidence exists for this word being used of circular fetters, notably Aeschylus' description of the manacling of Prometheus, *P.V.* 74 *σκέλη δὲ κίρκωσον βία* (schol. ἀντὶ τοῦ κρίκωσον): cf. Soph. fr. 749 (an unknown context, also quoted for the metathesis)<sup>2</sup> *ρήξασα κρίκους*. The word is used of the rings of fetters in Plut. *Mor.* 304 b *τῶν πεδῶν τοὺς κρίκους* and Bryson *ap. Stob.* 4. 28. 15 *τὰς ἀλύσιος τοὶ κρίκοι*. *Anus* is used of fetters similarly in Plaut. *Men.* 85–6 *tum compediti ei anum lima praeterunt | aut lapidi excutiant clavom*: cf. Ap. *Met.* 9. 12 *frontes litterati et capillos semirasi*<sup>3</sup> *et pedes annulati*, etc., in a description of slaves; and *anulus* is punned on by Martial (3. 29, 11. 3) apropos of a slave's rise from rags to riches.

But although (e.g.) *στέρνα τε κρίκον ἔχοντα* would be a simple enough emendation in Crinagoras, I cannot find (or indeed imagine) any reference to a form of manacling specially appropriate to the *chest*, apart from the *μασχαλιστῆρες* which are put *ἀμφὶ πλευραῖς* of Prometheus in *P.V.* 71, and D.H. *Ant.* 7. 69. 2 *τὰς χεῖρας ἀποτείναντες ἀμφοτέρας καὶ ξύλῳ προσδήσαντες παρὰ τὰ στέρνα τε καὶ τοὺς ὤμους καὶ μεχρὶ τῶν καρπῶν*.

- (4) *ξείνοι, τὴν περίβωτον ἐμὲ πτόλιν, Ἴλιον ἱρήν,  
τὴν πάρος εὐπύργοις τείχεσι κληζομένην,  
αἰῶνος τέφρη κατεδήδοκεν· ἀλλ' ἐν Ὀμήρῳ  
κεῖμαι χαλκείων ἔρκος ἔχουσα πυλῶν.  
οὐκέτι με σκάψει Τρωοφθόρα δούρατ' Ἀχαιῶν,  
πάντων δ' Ἑλλήνων κείσομαι ἐν στόματι.  
A.P. 9. 62 (Euenus) = 2302–7 G.–P.*

G.–P. consider *αἰῶνος τέφρη κατεδήδοκεν* 'a vile phrase . . . Time may reduce a city to ashes, and Time may devour a city, but to combine these ideas in the phrase "the ashes of Time have devoured the city" is to talk nonsense.' Critical estimate of the success or failure of the phrase in itself is a matter of opinion, but the Cambridge editors might at least have identified its origin, which is a variation on a common enough cliché indirectly assumed here—the motif of the ashes of a fire which first feed as living embers, but ultimately extinguish, the flame. Euenus' phrase was in fact long ago adduced in this context by Headlam in his note on Herodas 1. 38 *καὶ σευ τὸ ὄριμον τέφρη κάψει*, with the comment 'The ash of decay is conceived as encroaching and so swallowing up the living fuel of the pyre', and with reference to Callim. *h. Ap.* 83 and to other examples of this same motif.<sup>4</sup> Among earlier poetical passages

<sup>1</sup> For the association cf. the variant readings *εἰ δῆσους κρίκον* and *εἰλήσεις κλοῖον* in LXX *Jb.* 40. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Poll. 1. 94 *τὸ γὰρ κρίκοι ποιητικόν*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ἄτριχα καὶ κόρσσην* of Eunicides' 'convict crop' in Crinagoras.

<sup>4</sup> On the *nachleben* of the motif see M. P. Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in English in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, T443, on the theme of the inverted torch which

suffocates the flames with the wax which feeds it—*qui (quod) me alii (nutrit) me extinguit*, used by Shakespeare in *Per.* 2. 2. 33 (cf. *Sonnet* 73): see H. Green, *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers*, 170 ff. Another version of the Latin line (obscurely motivated), *quod me nutrit me destruit*, appears on the recently found portrait claimed by some to be of Christopher Marlowe (see H. N. Gibson, *The Shakespeare Claimants*, pl. 4, opp. p. 128).

where χρόνος is used as the subject in contexts which use the image of the dying or resuscitation of fire I have noted Soph. *Aj.* 714 (in the MS. reading) πάνθ' ὁ μέγας χρόνος μαραίνει τε καὶ φλέγει, where Jebb's 'make all things fade' for the former verb conceals the true metaphor (underlined of course by φλέγει), for which cf. the earliest uses of μαραίνω in fire contexts in *Il.* 9. 212, 23. 228, *h. Merc.* 140, etc., and Eur. *Andr.* 773–6 οὔτοι λείψανα τῶν ἀγαθῶν / ἀνδρῶν ἀφαιρεῖται χρόνος· ἅ δ' ἀρετὰ / καὶ θανοῦσι λάμπει. Here λείψανα—so often used both of the remnants of a fire<sup>1</sup> and the ashes of a cremated body—juxtaposed to λάμπει suggests the same underlying metaphor, and as ἀφαιρεῖται in such a context is a comparatively colourless word, I am tempted to suggest the slight change to ἀναιρεῖται: Hesychius glosses ἀμαυροῖ· ἀναιρεῖ, μαραίνει, and the scholia on *Andr.* 774 have οὐκ ἀμαυροῦνται ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου in explanation of ἀ(φ)αιρεῖται χρόνος.<sup>2</sup> In the *Electra* of Sophocles, after a reference to the λείψανα of Orestes' cremated body (1113), *Electra* says (1139–40) οὔτε παμφλέκτου πυρὸς / ἀνελόμην, ὡς εἰκός, ἄθλιον βάρος—using the verb which is technically used of the taking up of an unburned body for burial (Plut. *Mor.* 162 f, 579 f ἀνελέσθαι τὰ λείψανα): cf. Eur. *Or.* 404 ὁστέων ἀναίρεσιν, of the collection of the ashes of the dead from the pyre.

- (5) ἥρώων ὀλίγαι μὲν ἐν ὄμμασιν, αἱ δ' ἔτι λοιπαὶ  
πατρίδες οὐ πολλῶ γ' αἰπύτεραι πεδίον·  
οἶην καὶ σέ, τάλαινα, παρερχόμενός γε Μυκῆνην  
ἔγνων αἰπολίου παντὸς ἐρημοτέρην,  
αἰπολικὸν μήνυμα· γέρων δέ τις “ἡ πολύχρυσος”  
εἶπεν “Κυκλώπων τῇδ' ἐπέκειτο πόλις”.

A.P. 9. 101 (Alpheus) = 3559–65 G.–P.

Of lines 4–5 of this epigram Gow and Page say ‘the objection to this word (αἰπολίου) here is not primarily the repetition involved in αἰπολικόν immediately below . . . but the fact that “more solitary than any herd” is not a suitable comparison in this context. No other meaning is attested for αἰπόλιον, and we have no reason to believe that Alpheus could expect his readers to take it, exceptionally as “herd-pasture” (so LSJ and those edd. who accept the text), even if “herd-pasture” were more suitable to the context than in fact it is.’ They therefore obelize αἰπολίου, and attracted, like earlier editors, by the parallel in Pompeius (9. 28. 2 = 3968) ἀμαυροτέρη παντὸς ἰδεῖν σκοπέλου—also of Mycene—they add ἔγνων καὶ σκοπέλου to existing conjectures based on the same assumption.<sup>3</sup>

I wonder, however, whether the wrong word has not come under suspicion? Pausanias, in his account of the topography of the Marathon region (1. 32. 7), after describing the marshland of the plain where the battle was fought, continues ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω τοῦ πεδίου Πανός ἐστιν ὄρος καὶ σπήλαιον θέας ἄξιον·

<sup>1</sup> See my article ‘Meleager’s Lament’, *CPh* lxiv (1969), 173.

<sup>2</sup> For ἀμαυρόω of time, cf. Simon. fr. 531 ἐντάφιον . . . ἀμαυρώσει χρόνος, Soph. fr. 954 χρόνος δ' ἀμαυροῖ πάντα, Theodect. fr. 9. 3 Nauck, Callim. fr. 202. 67, *h. in Isim Andr.* 21. Euripides may also have had Bacchyl. 13. 175–7 in mind, who after a reference to the cremation of the dead at Troy, continues οὐ γὰρ . . . πασιφανῆς Ἀρετὰ / κρυφθεῖσ'

ἀμαυροῦται (cf. also Plut. *Phoc.* 1).

<sup>3</sup> In favour of αἰπολίου here is the use of this motif in other epigrams about the desolation of once great cities—9. 102. 3 αἰπολίοισιν ἔναυλον ἐρημαίοισιν, 9. 104. 6 δέικνυσθ' εὐμύκων αὐλία βουκολίων (this epigram also by Alpheus): cf. also Dio Chr. 40. 9 πολὺ ταπεινότερα τῶν κλισίων, οἷς ὑποδέεται τὰ πρόβατα.

ἔσδοτος μὲν ἐς αὐτὸ στενή, παρελθοῦσι δέ εἰσιν οἴκοι καὶ λουτρὰ καὶ [τὸ] καλούμενον Πανὸς αἰπόλιον, πέτραι τὰ πολλὰ αἰξίν εἰκασμένοι. Here we find Πανὸς αἰπόλιον, as the name given to a local landmark—a rock formation in a lonely hill cave of the sort so often associated with Pan φιλοσκοπέλος, οὐρεῖος, οὐρεσίκοικος, ὄρειβάτης, λοφυήτης,<sup>1</sup> and, most appropriately in our context, ἐρημονόμος,<sup>2</sup> who 'is thought of as loving mountains, caves, and lonely places', as H. J. Rose says in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. But it is perhaps not even necessary to suppose that, if Alpheus here wrote αἰπολίου Πανὸς ἐρημοτέρην, he was referring specifically to this place in Attica, suitable indeed though it might be as an analogy for a deserted habitation, to judge from J. G. Frazer's description in his commentary on Pausanias (ii, p. 439): 'A steep and rocky ascent leads up to the cave, which lies about two-thirds up the slope. The entrance to the cavern is partially concealed by bushes and is not visible till you stand in front of it. Above it, the cliff rises perpendicularly. There are two or rather three mouths to the cave, close together and so low and narrow that a man can with difficulty creep through them. From the point where the three passages meet, the cavern expands, then divides into two chambers, which unite again deeper down. In the sides of both these large chambers there are smaller chambers of various sizes. The walls of all these compartments are encrusted with stalactites, some in the form of columns, others grouped fantastically. Water trickles here and there down the sides of the grotto or drips from the roof, forming basins in the floor. The cave is so deep and its entrance so narrow that the sunlight never penetrates it. Doubtless the stalactites on the walls and roof, and the basins in the floor, are what the popular fancy of the ancients called the goats and baths of Pan.' It may be that rock formations on deserted hill-tops or in caves, the favourite haunts of Pan, were not uncommonly named after this fashion in the country lore of Greece, especially in the mouths of his devotees the shepherds<sup>3</sup>—hence the appropriateness of Alpheus' phrase αἰπολικὸν μῆνυμα.<sup>4</sup> In the *Dialexis* which supplements the *Epistles* of Philostratus (ii, p. 259. 27 Kayser) there is a comparison of the achievements of *nomos* and *physis*, in which nature is said successfully to rival the works of men—καὶ που καὶ ἀγαλμα διδόναι (sc. τὴν φύσιν) πέτρα, ξυμφυῆς σατυρικόν τι ἢ Πανὶ ὅμοιον, ὄρη τε καὶ σκοπιάς ὁμοιοῦν ζωοῖς, οἷον τῆς αὐτῆς ὁ ἐν Λήμῳ δράκων καὶ ὁ ἐν Κρήτῃ λέων καὶ ἡ βούκρανος ἡ πρὸς Χίῳ.

- (6) οἷους ἀνθ' οἷων οἰκήτορας, ὦ ἐλεεινή,  
 εὖραο· φεῦ μεγάλης Ἑλλάδος ἀμμορίη.  
 αὐτίκα καὶ †γαίη† χθαμαλωτέρῃ εἶθε, Κόρινθε,  
 κεῖσθαι καὶ Λιβυκῆς ψάμμου ἐρημοτέρῃ,  
 ἢ τοίοις διὰ πᾶσα παλμπρήτοισι δοθεῖσα  
 θλίβειν ἀρχαίων ὅστέα Βακχιαδῶν.  
 A.P. 9. 284 (Crinagoras) = 1981–6 G.–P.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. (*inter alia*) A.P. 6. 32. 3, ib. 182. 2, Eur. *Tel.* 2–3, Alciph. 4. 13. 12, Long. 4. 3; Eur. *I.T.* 1101, A.P. 6. 181. 1, Soph. *O.T.* 1099, A.P. 4. 226. 1, A. *Plan.* 79. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Nonn. 14. 68. For shrines of Pan in τοῖς ἐρημοτάτοις χωρίοις see Plut. fr. 143 Sandbach.

<sup>3</sup> A parallel superstition to account for sudden inexplicable sounds is referred to in schol. Eur. *Rhes.* 36 αὐτὴν δέ μόνην τὴν

προσπίπτουσιν φωνὴν <ἀκροώμενοι> φασί Πᾶνα σὺν ταῖς Νύμφαις ἐν τοῖς ἄντροις μετ' αὐλῶν καὶ συρίγγων φωνεῖν.

<sup>4</sup> It is a strange, though not apparently relevant, coincidence that this phrase contains the ingredients of Socrates' fanciful etymology in Plat. *Crat.* 408 c ὁρθῶς ἄρ' ἂν ὁ πᾶν μνηνών καὶ ἀεὶ πολῶν "Πᾶν αἰπόλος" εἴη.

Rightly rejecting γαίης for the obelized word in the third line, Gow and Page favour, among the place-names proposed appropriate to be qualified by χθαμαλωτέρη, Gaza (Γάζης Salmasius), destroyed and desolated c. 98 B.C., but 'doubt whether this Judaeian city was known well enough to serve as a proverbial example'. I am surprised, in view of the conjunction with the proverbially deserted Libyan sands, that the rather obvious καίγυπτίης has not been proposed. The flat terrain of the Nile valley and delta, which Herodotus describes as πᾶσα ὑπτίη (2. 7) and πεδιάς γῆ (2. 8), is actually called by Theocritus (17. 79) χθαμαλὰ Αἴγυπτος, and Agathias (*Hist.* 2. 15. 9) accounts for the lack of earthquakes in Egypt as follows: οἱ δὲ οὖν τὰ τοιαῦτα φυσιολογούντες τὴν Αἴγυπτιαν φασὶ χώραν οὐ πώποτε σειεσθαι πεφυκέναι, ὥς δὲ χθαμαλήν τε ἀτεχνῶς καὶ ὑπτίαν καὶ ἥκιστα σπαραγγώδη ἐντεθῆναι τε οὐκ ἐμπορουμένην, κτλ.<sup>1</sup> The level plain of Egypt therefore affords the maximum contrast with the crags and hollows of Corinth which too were proverbial—cf. Strab. 8. 6. 23 χώραν δ' ἔσχεν οὐκ εὐγερν σφόδρα ἀλλὰ σκολιάν τε καὶ τραχεῖαν, ἀφ' οὗ πάντες ὀφρυόεντα Κόρινθον εἰρήκασιν καὶ παροιμιάζονται "Κόρινθος ὀφρυᾶ τε καὶ κοιλαίνεται".

Αἴγυπτίη or Αἴγυπτία without γῆ or χώρα<sup>2</sup> instead of Αἴγυπτος seems to be rare, in spite of Stephanus' observation (without references) that it occurs *apud poetas praesertim*. (Cf. however Hdt. 1. 193 and St. Byz. Ψιττάχεμμις κώμη τῆς Αἴγυπτίας.) Of course καίγυπτου would have fitted the metre here equally well,<sup>3</sup> but, with χώρας or γῆς so readily understood, Crinagoras may have preferred the adjective to balance Λιβυκῆς in the pentameter. As to the trisyllabic scansion of Αἴγυπτίης with synizesis, it is common enough from Homer to Nonnus,<sup>4</sup> but this, combined with the initial crasis, may have helped to confuse the scribe who wrote καὶ γαίη χθαμαλωτέρη here.

- (7) Νικήτης ὀλίγος μὲν ἐπὶ προτόνοιον ἀήτης  
οἶα τε πρηεῖς ἄρχεται ἐκ μελέτης,  
ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐμπνεύσῃ, κατὰ δ' ἰστία πάντα φέρηται,  
λαίφεα πακτώσας μέσσα θέει πελάγῃ  
ναῦς ἄτε μυριόφορος, ἔως ἐπὶ τέρματα μύθων  
ἔλθῃ ἀκυμάντους †ἐμπροσθεν† εἰς λιμένας.  
A.P. 10. 23 (Automedon) = 1523–8 G.–P.

Although the genesis of the corruption is difficult to account for, it seems almost certain that P's ἐμπροσθεν has replaced an epithet suitable for describing the peroration of Nicetes' speech as he finally arrives ἀκυμάντους εἰς λιμένας. Planudes' substitution of ἔμπορος is pointlessly feeble, and G.–P. quote Saksolowski's εὐπλοος, or else εὐφορος, as possibilities. One might reasonably seek an apposite word in the metaphors of the literary critics or historians, bearing in mind that the careful sustaining of sea and wind imagery throughout the epigram suggests that the epithet should be relevant to the image of the eloquent orator at the end of his speech finding a calm sea to end his prosperous voyage. Although they do not quote parallels at all, G.–P. may have had in

<sup>1</sup> I owe this reference to Dr. R. C. McCail.

<sup>2</sup> As in Arr. *An.* 5. 6. 5, 6. 1. 5, etc.

<sup>3</sup> I was unaware until reading A. H. Griffiths's review of Gow–Page in *JHS.* xc (1970), 218, that καίγυπτου was proposed here by J. Geffcken, *Griechische Epigramme* (1916), no. 345, citing Theocr. loc. cit. and

Plin. *N.H.* 6. 166 on the low-lying Egyptian plain. Griffiths notes the pairing of Egypt with Libya by Crinagoras also in 9. 235. 4, and in 9. 413. 6 (Antiphrilos).

<sup>4</sup> *Il.* 9. 382, *Od.* 4. 83, 127, *A.P.* 1. 59, Opp. *Cyn.* 2. 84, Orph. *Arg.* 32, Nonnus 3. 282, 300; 4. 269.



mind in proposing *εὐφορος*, on the former count, *εὐφόρως ἔχειν τῆς γλώττης* of Timocrates in Philostr. *V.S.* 1. 25. 5 and, on the latter, Luc. *Lex.* 15— in a context where fluency of speech is being described—*δλκάδα . . . εὐφοροῦσάν τε καὶ ἀκροκυματοῦσαν*.<sup>1</sup>

Another adjective,<sup>2</sup> however, which has no less good credentials and has the advantage of being one letter nearer to the corrupt *ἐμπροσθεν* is *εὐπορος*, which is not only used of a glib-tongued speaker in Ar. *Eq.* 637 *γλώτταν εὐπορον*, and Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1. 6. 36 (2. 24. 5) *εὐπορον ἐν λόγοις* (as a gloss on Hes. fr. 197 *ἄνδρα πολυφραδέοντα*),<sup>3</sup> but has the connotation of successful passage over the *πόροι ἀλός* by a *νηὺς ποντοποροῦση*.<sup>4</sup> If an *o* were omitted in copying to produce *εὔπρος*, which might then resemble *ἐμπρος*, the mysterious *-θεν* could have been added to make the first word which came into a scribe's head to fill out the line even though the metre is faulty and the sense poor.

Of *ἐμπνεύση*, G.-P. say: 'The subject is the wind; Nicetes cannot be equated with both the storm and the ship.' But even if formally logical, I do not find such rigidity convincing: Nicetes has, a moment before, been compared to a slight breeze getting up, and I feel sure that the following transition to the gale-force wind, as well as the nautical vocabulary, is no less carefully selected to apply to the orator and his techniques. The fact that *ἐμπνους* and like words are standard terms to describe inspired *afflatus* is doubtless also relevant—cf. Petron. 2 on the *ventosa loquacitas ex Asia* which *animos iuvenum afflavit*, and the description in Philostratus (*V.S.* 1. 25. 10) of the rhetor Polemon *ἐμπνους ὥσπερ ἐκ τρίποδος*.<sup>5</sup>

Although G.-P. are unwilling to speculate about the identity of Automedon's Nicetes on the ground that it is a common enough name, it seems to me highly probable, to say the least, that the epigram will have been composed about one of two Nicetes whose torrential eloquence in the Asianic manner is well attested in vocabulary not unsuited to Automedon's master-orator here, although his estimation of Nicetes in full flow gives the more favourable side of the picture. The first of these is the Nicetes (mentioned briefly by G.-P.) of whom the elder Seneca speaks several times,<sup>6</sup> whose oratorical style was humorously compared in Rome to the outpourings of the Virgilian Sibyl, the second Nicetes of Smyrna (sometimes called Sacerdos), whose *ἰδέα τῶν λόγων*, according to Philostratus (*V.S.* 1. 19), was *ὑπόβακχος καὶ διθυραμβώδης*.<sup>7</sup>

Incidentally, Automedon shows great skill in the selection of telling words within his choice of imagery: a casual check on *πρᾶος, πραῦνω*, etc. in LSJ shows why he used *πρηγίης* in v. 2, for they are used *passim* of winds (Hes. *Th.* 254, Hdt. 2. 25, *A.P.* 6. 349, 10. 4, 12. 171—cf. 6. 290—are a fair sample). It is good to *start* a speech (cf. Automedon's *ἄρχεται*), says Isocrates (4.

<sup>1</sup> The schol. ad loc. regards *εὐφορεῖν* as more appropriate to the wind than the ship, and glosses *ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐφορῶ πνεύματι φερόμενῃν*.

<sup>2</sup> Another possibility is *εὐστροφος*—cf. on the one hand *τὸ εὐστροφον τοῦ φθέγγματος* (Philostr. *V.S.* 2. 10. 5), *εὐστροφία* (Plut. *Mor.* 510f); on the other *εὐστροφωτάτοιαι ναῦσαν* (Eur. *I.A.* 293), Plut. *Crit.* 109 c, Plut. *Ant.* 62, *στρέφειν* in Eur. *Hel.* 1591, Anaxandr. 4. 5, etc. But the word is not well accommodated to Automedon's *ναὺς μυριόφοτος*.

<sup>3</sup> Also Aristid. 2. 25, 29, 108, 298.

<sup>4</sup> For *εὐπορος* in such a context cf. Aesch. *Supp.* 470, Thuc. 1. 93, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Elsewhere (2. 15. 1) he refers to his *ροῖζον τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα* (contrast the *ἡδὲ καὶ λείον πνεῦμα* of Critias, 1. 16. 4).

<sup>6</sup> See especially *Suas.* 3. 5–7.

<sup>7</sup> I hope to deal more fully with the two Nicetes, and the problem of the phrase *plena deo* (attributed to Virgil) used of the earlier orator, on another occasion. See Radermacher in *RE* 17. 1, col. 319, who suggests not implausibly that Nicetes Sacerdos may have been a son of the Senecan rhetor.

13) by mollifying the audience: τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους ἐν τοῖς προσιμίῳις ὁρῶ καταπραΰνοντας τοὺς ἀκροατάς.<sup>1</sup> The nautical imagery of vv. 3–4 is commonplace, as the editors observe, but I have not seen it remarked that, in the last couplet, ἐπὶ τέρματα μύθων is also used to conform to the metaphor, since τέρμα in poetry is often used of a harbour, and so leads felicitously to ἀκυμάντους<sup>2</sup> εἰς λιμένας in the last line: cf. Eur. *Hērē*. 140 κέλσαι ποτὶ τέρμα, Aesch. *Ag.* 781 πᾶν δ' ἐπὶ τέρμα νωμᾶ, Soph. *O. T.* 1529–30 πρὶν ἂν τέρμα τοῦ βίου περάσῃ, where in each case the precise metaphor of τέρμα is indicated by the choice of accompanying verb.<sup>3</sup>

- (8) μέχρι τίνος, Πολύκαρπε, κενῆς παράσιτε τραπέζης,  
 λήσῃ κερματίοις χρώμενος ἄλλοτρίοις;  
 οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' εἰν ἀγορῇ σε βλέπω πολύν, ἀλλ' ὑποκάμπτεῖς  
 ἥδη, καὶ ζητεῖς ποῖ σε φέρωσι πόδες.  
 πᾶσιν ἐπαγγέλλῃ “κόμισαι τὸ σον· αὔριον ἔρχου  
 καὶ λάβε”. κούδ' ὁμόσας οὐκέτι πίστιν ἔχεις.  
 Κυζικόθεν σε φέρων ἄνεμος Σαμόθραξι πέλαζε·  
 τοῦτό σε τοῦ λοιποῦ τέρμα μένει βιότου.

A.P. 11. 346 (Automedon) = 1561–8 G.–P.

Gow and Page have added little to the unsatisfactory explanations of this epigram. The main problem is the point of the last couplet with its allusion to the line (*Od.* 9. 39) with which Odysseus begins to describe his sea adventures to the Phaeacians; but although it is not necessary to suppose that Polycarpus when he ‘doubles back in his tracks’ (ὑποκάμπτεῖς) to avoid his creditors is literally, like Odysseus, taking to the high seas, it may be observed that the vocabulary of lines 3–4 in general is suggestive of nautical terminology which makes the *Odyssey* reference more pointed. Although I have not found the rare ὑπο- compound in a seafaring context, this is one of the commonest specialized meanings of κάμπτω and its compounds—see LSJ refs. s.vv. κάμπτω II. 2, ἐπικάμπτω (with their cognates), and περικάμπτω in Ap. Rh. 2. 560, Synes. *Ep.* 4, but particularly Odysseus’ own description, in the passage about to be alluded to, of himself περιγνάμπτοντα Μάλειαν (80). In the fourth line φέρω, φέρομαι are commonplace of ships and sailors (in the same *Odyssey* context cf. 9, 70, 82), and πούς has a familiar nautical meaning (*Od.* 10. 32, etc.) punned on (as I suggest is the case here too) by Sosicrates, fr. 2. 2 K. ἡσύχω ποδί.

Of lines 7–8 Gow and Page say: ‘We have no explanation, unless the phrase [Ἰλιόθεν με φέρων ἄνεμος Κικόνεσσι πέλασεν—for which Automedon substitutes Κυζικόθεν and Σαμόθραξι] has a proverbial use (“out of the frying-pan into the fire”).’ Such a use is in fact to be found in Hld. *Aeth.* 2. 21 Ἰλιόθεν με φέρεις, ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ πρεσβύτης, καὶ σμῆνος κακῶν καὶ τὸν ἐκ τούτων βόμβον ἀπειρον ἐπὶ σαυτὸν κυρεῖς. The substitution of Cyzicus<sup>4</sup> for Ilium, as the Cambridge editors surmise, may simply turn on the fact that it was there that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the νότιός τις αὔρα which Dion. Hal. (*Dem.* 13) says wafts Lysias through the opening of his speeches.

<sup>2</sup> For this metaphor of speech, cf. Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 23 (p. 117. 4) τῆς ἁρμονίας τῶν ὀνομάτων μηδὲν ἀποκυματίζουσας τὸν ἦχον.

<sup>3</sup> In the latter two cases, the editors do not seem interested in this. For *Ag.* 781 cf. *Od.* 10. 32, 12. 218, Aesch. *Th.* 3, *P. V.* 148,

*Ag.* 802, Pind. *P.* 1. 86. In *O. T.* 1530, Jebb ruins the metaphor by translating ‘until he hath crossed life’s border’, but cf. κλύδωνα three lines before, and περᾶω ‘traverse, freq. of water’ LSJ. Death is a harbour also in *Ant.* 1284, Trag. fr. adesp. 369, *A. P.* 7. 264. 3, 7. 452. 2 (both Leonidas).

<sup>4</sup> For δανεισταί at Cyzicus cf. Artem. 4. 1 (p. 242. 13).

Polycarpus had accumulated his debts, and there is no doubt that this town, famous for its gold staters, was a thriving commercial centre. Incidentally one might reasonably suspect from his name, Polycarpus, that this is a fictitious banker aptly named as a *παράσιτος τραπέζης* enjoying the *κάρπος* of his client's money (cf. Dem. 27. 5, Is. 5. 29, etc.). But if, like Odysseus, he hoped to make his escape by sea, as lines 3–4 humorously suggest, and to rely, like the subject of the punning epigram of Callim. *Ep.* 47 (= *A.P.* 6. 301), who was *σωθείς* ἐξ ἁλός from *χειμῶνας μεγάλων δανέων*, on those celebrated saviours of distressed mariners the Samothracian Cabiri, being one who had himself forsworn his oath and *οὐκέτι πίστιν ἔχει*, he had made an unfortunate choice. We know from a number of sources that this was an offence that they were especially prone to punish—see Ael. fr. 213 (= *Suda* s.v. *διαλαμβάνει*) ἡ δὲ εὐμηχάνως διαλαμβάνει, καὶ δέεται τῶν Καβείρων τιμωρῆσαι αὐτῇ καὶ μετελθεῖν τὸν ἐπίορκον; Val. Flacc. 2. 433–6, where there are said to be *incautis decreta piacula linguis*, and the Cabiri prevent *infidos nautas* from approaching the shore; Juv. 3. 143–5 where the rich man's *fides* is ironically measured in relation to the cash in his money-box, and contrasted with the pauper whose oaths by the altars of the Samothracian gods go unregarded.<sup>1</sup>

The theme of a debtor avoiding public places, compared to a sailor making for the safety of harbour in a storm, but falling into one trouble after another as he borrows again to repay an earlier debt, is elaborated in a letter of Theophylactus (16 Hercher), which has a number of resemblances to Automedon's epigram: *δανειζόμενος γέγηθας, εἰσπραττόμενος ἀνιῶ, καὶ συναντῶν τοῖς δανεισταῖς καταπλήττη τῷ φόβῳ, ὥσπερ θηρίοις<sup>2</sup> τισὶ φοβεροῖς καὶ ἀνημέροις ἐντυγχάνειν δοκῶν καὶ περισκοπεῖς τὰς τριόδους καὶ πρὸς τὰς στοὰς ἀφορᾶς, τοὺς δανειστὰς δραπετεύειν γλιχόμενος, ὥσπερ οἱ ναυτιλλόμενοι ἐν μεγάλῳ τῷ κλύδωνι λιμένος τυγχάνειν ὀρέγονται. ἀλλὰ κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἀκῆ· δανειζόμενος γὰρ παρ' ἄλλων ἄλλοις ἀποδίδως τὸ ὄφλημα, ταῦτόν τι ποιῶν τοῖς διὰ φόβον θανάτου κατακρημνίζουσιν ἑαυτούς.*

Polycarpus, like Odysseus, is fated to go from one adventure to another, but without finding any permanently safe anchorage from the storms of his perpetually self-renewed debts. As in the other epigram that I have discussed above, one observes how Automedon ends an epigram which has a nautical colouring with an allusion to the sense of *τέρμα* as a harbour.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Another fragment of Aelian (45, *ap. Suda* s.v. *ἐξεφοῖτα*) happens to report an anecdote involving the flight of a sinner in the *opposite* direction, from Samothrace to Cyzicus, but I cannot see that there is any relevance to our epigram in this.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently a common insult in money-lending transactions: cf. Dem. 34. 52, 35. 8, Alciph. 2. 5. 3.

<sup>3</sup> With regard to *πέλαζε* in the penultimate line, it is possible that at this period it could

immediately suggest the position of the humble *cliens*, in which station Polycarpus now found himself: *πελάτης*, which is used by Plat. *Euthphr.* 4 c and Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 2. 2 (cf. *πελατεύω* in Aesch. fr. 474. 2. 22 M.) in the sense glossed by Phot. *οἱ μισθῷ δουλεύοντες*, is regularly used by Plutarch and other writers of the Roman period to render *cliens*—cf. especially *Mor.* 649 c *πελάτης καὶ παράσιτος*.