

# Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus

by  
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## Preface

In *Iambi et Elegi Graeci* (Oxford, 1971-2) I have collected the remains of pre-Alexandrian elegy and iambus. The present Studies are a by-product of the edition and intended to be read in conjunction with it. To some extent they are an apologia for it, in that they serve to explain many of the choices I made, in respect of inclusion or exclusion of material, arrangement, and textual questions. To some extent they require an apologia themselves. They flagrantly lack homogeneity and formal unity: the unity is in the field of study. I might perhaps have written a more encyclopaedic book or commentary on these poets, which would have been better proportioned and more widely purchased, only I had not the stomach for it. All I wanted was to publish what I had to say that was new. I could have done so in a series of articles; but besides adding to congestion in periodicals, that would surely have been less convenient for those who are interested in these matters.

I am conscious, especially since reading the proofs, that I have sometimes stated my views in a rather compressed and elliptical way. I can only hope that this has not resulted in real obscurity. The reader who finds it trying may find it a comfort to reflect how much he or his library might have had to pay for the book if I had written more spacioisly. I would have been more ashamed of the opposite fault.

I must thank the publishers and their editors for accepting the work for this series, and for the care they have taken over its production.

Oxford, March 1974

M. L. West



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## Works cited in abbreviated form

- |                                  |   |
|----------------------------------|---|
| von Blumenthal                   | A. von Blumenthal, <i>Ion von Chios</i> , Stuttgart 1939.   |
| Campbell                         | D.A. Campbell, <i>Greek Lyric Poetry</i> , London & New York 1967.  |
| van Groningen                    | B.A. van Groningen, <i>Theognis, Le premier livre</i> Amsterdam 1966.   |
| <i>GVI</i>                       | W. Peek, <i>Griechische Vers-Inschriften</i> , Bd. I, Berlin 1955.  |
| <i>Hes. Th.</i>                  | M.L. West, <i>Hesiod, Theogony</i> , Oxford 1966.   |
| Kühner – Blass<br>Kühner – Gerth | } R. Kühner, <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache</i> , 1. Teil besorgt von F. Blass; 2. Teil besorgt von B. Gerth, Hannover 1890–1904. |
| Lasserre (– Bonnard)             | F. Lasserre & A. Bonnard, <i>Archiloque, Les fragments</i> , Paris 1958.  |
| Masson                           | O. Masson, <i>Les Fragments du poète Hipponax</i> , Paris 1962.   |
| <i>Mel., Melici</i>              | D.L. Page, <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> , Oxford 1962.   |
| Prato                            | C. Prato, <i>Tyrtaeus</i> , Rome 1968.  |
| Reitzenstein                     | R. Reitzenstein, <i>Epigramm und Skolion</i> , Gießen 1893.   |
| Wilamowitz, <i>SS</i>            | U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, <i>Sappho und Simonides</i> , Berlin 1913.  |
| Young                            | D.C.C. Young, <i>Theognis</i> , Leipzig <sup>1</sup> 1961, <sup>2</sup> 1971.   |

In line-references to the Theognidea I have used italic type, as in the word-index of the edition, to distinguish verses which there is no reason to ascribe to Theognis himself – except in chapter III where the question of authorship is discussed. In chapter VI I have further used the abbreviation *Th.* (as distinct from *Th.*) to mean 'the anonymous parts of the Theognidea'. For the new fragment of Archilochus which I have referred to as the Cologe epeode, see *Zeitschr. f. Pap. u. Epigr.* 14, 1974, 97 ff.





## I Elegy

What I have tried to do in *Iambi et Elegi Graeci* is to collect and display everything that remains of pre-Alexandrian poetry of the categories known as Iambus and Elegy (terms whose meaning must be discussed at some length in this and the following chapter); other texts which help to compensate for what we have lost, by supplying information about the form or contents of poems that have not survived, or only partially survived; and iambic or elegiac poems and fragments of any date which are falsely ascribed to pre-Alexandrian iambographers and elegists, whether through simple error, irresponsible fancy, or wilful deceit. In a few cases, for the sake of completeness in respect of a particular poet, I have included the odd fragment in hexameters or lyric metre. I have not attempted to collect testimonia pertaining to the poets' lives, or general aesthetic or moral judgments about their work: I am concerned with what was in the poems. *Iambi et Elegi*, not *Iamographi et Elegiaci*.

The reasons for setting the death of Alexander as the notional limiting date are both historical and practical. The first quarter of the fourth century B.C. saw an almost complete drying-up of elegy in the classical sense, and the complete cessation of iambus. The last quarter saw the vigorous but self-conscious revival that heralded the Alexandrian Age. If I had admitted the poets of that generation to my collection – men such as Crates of Thebes and Aeschrius – I would have had to go on to such daunting tasks as the re-editing of a sizeable portion of the fragments of Callimachus, and the mimes of Herondas. There already exist excellent modern editions of these, and I am happy to leave the rest to a future reviser of J. U. Powell's useful *Collectanea Alexandrina*, which aims at covering the period 323–146 B. C. (though it needs its contents overhauled).

I would also, if I had gone beyond Alexander, have found myself in a period where it became difficult to persevere with the distinction which I have actually made between elegy and epigram. As it is written in the advertisement of my edition: 'Epigrams are excluded as being a separate genre'. It is on this ground that I have excluded a number of names that appear among the *Poetae Elegiaci* of Bergk and Diehl: such names as Pisander, Aesop, Hipparchus, Epicharmus, Hippon, Empedocles, Euripides, Thucydides, Ion of Samos, Iophon, Plato, Dorieus, Zeuxis, Parrhasius, Praxiteles, Aphareus, Speusippus. I have thus excluded an element for the inclusion of which Bergk was criticized by

Ahrens, and Diehl by Pfeiffer,<sup>1</sup> and I believe that by so doing I shall have helped the reader to form a clearer and truer picture of what classical Greek elegy was.

What was it, then, and how does it differ from epigram? The essential distinctions are these:

Epigram, as its name implies, is in the first instance something designed to be written on an object, to say whose it is, or who made it, or who has dedicated it to which god, or who is buried underneath it. Such an inscription may be in prose, but by convention we restrict the term epigram to those that are in verse. Down to about 560 B.C. they are nearly all in hexameters; then iambic trimeters and elegiacs appear as alternatives, and before long the latter becomes the favourite metre. Before the Persian War it is unusual to find an epigram more than four lines long. The poet suppresses his own personality; verbs in the first person regularly have the inscribed object or the deceased party as their subject, while those in the second person apply to whoever reads the inscription. In time the practice developed of composing fictitious epigrams, i.e. literary imitations of the verse inscription. These too must be classed as epigrams, since the true criterion is the poetic form and not the medium of preservation. They were called ἐπιγράμματα at least from the third century B.C.

By elegy we denote a tradition of poetry, in the elegiac metre, in which the poet speaks in his own person, usually to a specific addressee and in the context of a particular occasion or state of affairs. Often the situation is such that only an oral communication would be in place, not a written one; for instance, a symposium is in progress, or soldiers are about to enter battle. The poem may be as short an epigram, but in many cases it is much longer; Solon 13 attains a length of 76 lines, and it is attested that his *Salamis* was of a hundred. Mimnermus' *Smyrneis* may have been of several hundred, while Antimachus' *Lyde* – admittedly a novel enterprise – was divided into at least two books.

This description will require amplification and qualification in what follows. What calls for immediate scrutiny is the name 'elegy' itself, and the specification 'in the elegiac metre'. We are perhaps accustomed to think of an elegy (when we are not using the word to mean 'restrained lament') as being by definition a poem in elegiacs, and of elegiac metre as being by definition the metre of elegy. But one of the terms must have come first, and we need to be clear about the relationship between them. There are three Greek words involved: ἔλεγος, ἐλεγείον, and ἐλεγεία.

<sup>1</sup> Ahrens, *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, 1844, 834; Pfeiffer, *Gnomon* 2, 1926, 306.

It is *ἐλεγεία*, the latest of the three to appear, that corresponds best to our 'elegy'. It is first attested in Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 5. 2 and 3, where it refers to a poem of Solon, and in Theophrastus, *hist. plant.* 9. 15, who quotes Aeschylus *ἐν ταῖς ἐλεγείαις* (the verse quoted may actually be from an epitaph). The usage of later writers is mostly identical. The singular means '(extended) poem in elegiac metre', the plural is used as a kind of book-title. The singular can also mean 'elegy' as a genre. When Strabo (13. 1. 48 p. 604 and 13. 4. 8 p. 627) refers to Callinus as *ὁ τῆς ἐλεγείας ποιητής*, the meaning is probably not 'the poet who wrote the well-known elegy' but 'the poet of elegy'; he calls Mimnermus a *ποιητής ἐλεγείας* in 14. 1. 28 p. 643.<sup>2</sup> We also find *δι' ἐλεγείας* (genitive singular) meaning 'in elegiacs' or 'in the form of an elegiac poem': Plut. *Cimon* 4. 9 *Μελάνθιος μνημονεῦει πρὸς τὸν Κίμωνα παίζων δι' ἐλεγείας*, and so in several entries in the *Suda*, (*ἔγραψε*) *γνώμας ἢ ὑποθήκας δι' ἐλεγείας* (s. νν. *Θέογνις*, *Σιμωνίδης Λεωπρεποῦς*, *Σόλων*, *Τυρταῖος*). In a few places the plural *ἐλεγεῖαι* stands for 'elegiacs'. Parthenius, in the prefatory epistle to his *Love Stories*, tells Gallus that 'you will be able to bring them into hexameters and elegiacs', *εἰς ἔπη καὶ ἐλεγείας ἀνάγειν*; this would normally be expressed by *ἐλεγεῖα*. Plutarch, *Cimon* 4. 10, speaks of the *ἐλεγεῖαι* written to console Cimon on his wife's death and thought to be by Archelaus *ὁ φυσικός* – presumably a single poem is meant. Cf. also Clem. *Strom.* 5. 108. 1 and 6. 144. 3, alluding to Solon 27.

*ἐλεγεῖον* is distinguished from *ἐλεγεία*, according to scholia on Dionysius Thrax (p. 173. 13 = 307. 29): *ἐλεγεῖον γάρ ἐστιν ὅταν εἰς στίχος ὑπάρχη καὶ πεντάμετρος, ἐλεγεία δὲ ὅταν ὅλον τὸ ποίημα ἀμοιβαῖα ἔχη τὰ μέτρα, ἐξάμετρον καὶ πεντάμετρον*. In other words, *ἐλεγεῖον* means 'an elegiac couplet'. It certainly can mean this. Diodorus 19. 1. 4, quoting one couplet from a longer poem of Solon, refers to it as *τόδε τὸ ἐλεγεῖον*; he has referred to the whole six-line fragment as *ἐλεγεῖα*, 9. 20. 2. This is probably the sense in Critias fr. 4. 3 f.,

οὐ γὰρ πως ἦν τοῦνομ' ἐφαρμόζειν ἐλεγείῳ,  
νῦν δ' ἐν ἰαμβεῖῳ κέισεται οὐκ ἀμέτρως,

where the antithesis with *ἰαμβεῖον*, which is the isolated iambic trimeter of line 2, implies that the metrical unit is meant. The plural *ἐλεγεῖα* is frequently used from the fifth century onwards in referring to stretches of elegiac verse: Pherecr. fr. 153. 7 K. (alluding to Th. 467 ff., though only the first hexameters are quoted); Plato, *Meno* 95d, *Rep.* 368a; Dem. 19. 252, 254; Lycurg. in *Leocr.* 106–7; Arist. *Rhet.* 1375<sup>b</sup>32; *Poet.*

<sup>2</sup> For the use of the article with *ἐλεγείας* cf. Ath. 126e *Νικοφῶν ὁ τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας ποιητής* (Athenaeus quotes several different comedies by him); 343c *Μελάνθιος ὁ τῆς τραγωδίας ποιητής*. For the general sense of *ἐλεγεία* cf. also Quintilian 10. 1. 93 *elegia quoque Graecos prouocamus*.

1447<sup>b</sup>12 διὰ τριμέτρων ἢ ἐλεγείων. It is used of a poet's whole elegiac oeuvre in *Rhet.* 1405<sup>a</sup>33, Διονύσιος . . . ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις, and often later, in the same sense as ἐν ταῖς ἐλεγείαις. But ἐλεγεία could also be applied to tomb inscriptions, Lycurg. in *Leocr.* 142; even to a dedicatory inscription in a single couplet, [Dem.] 59. 98.

Thucydides, 1. 132. 2-3, refers to the same dedicatory couplet using the singular ἐλεγείον. However, the singular is also used of dedications consisting of two or three couplets (Ion of Samos (below, p. 20 n. 30); Diod. 10. 24. 3; 11. 14. 4; Plut. *Them.* 8. 5, *Flamin.* 9. 4; schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 32b (from Theopompus, 115 F 285)), and of longer literary elegies (Strabo 14. 6. 3 p. 683, Dion. Hal. *Ant.* 1. 49, Paus. 7. 18. 1). Occasionally a short inscription, or an epitaph in literary circulation, is called an ἐλεγείον even though the metre is not the elegiac couplet. In ps.-Hdt., *vit. Hom.* 36, and Dio Chrys. 4. 135, epitaphs consisting of two hexameters are so called, perhaps simply through carelessness, or perhaps the word had really come to be used of any epitaph. In Plato, *Hipparch.* 228d, the phrase ἐντεινας εἰς ἐλεγείον is used of Hipparchus' composing two inscriptions each consisting of a single pentameter. This foreshadows the later grammarians' habit of using ἐλεγείον to mean 'pentameter'.<sup>3</sup>

It is rare for the word to carry overtones. In Plautus, *Merc.* 409, an old man fears that a girl's looks may attract unwelcome attentions; men will come reciting poetry at the door,

*occurrent ostium,  
impleantur elegeorum meae fores carbonibus.*

The term *elegia* is chosen here to suggest the character of the verses rather than just to define their metre. In Lucian, *Timon* 46, a statement of intention to sing a dithyramb is answered by καὶ μὴν ἐλεγεία γε ἔση μάλα περιπαθῶς ὑπὸ ταύτῃ τῇ δωέλῃ, meaning 'you'll sing a song of woe'. Pausanias uses ἐλεγεία in one passage with the implication of something naturally sad (see below). Synesius, *laudatio calvitii* 2, writes ἐλεγεία ποιῶ θρηνηῶν ἐπὶ τῇ κόμῃ. In general, however, it may be said that ἐλεγείον and its plural are used without restriction to cover all verse in the elegiac metre, whether it is gay or gloomy, an inscription on stone or a literary elegy.

The case is different with ἔλεγος, at least in pre-Alexandrian times. Its earliest occurrence is in the dedicatory inscription of Echembrotus, quoted by Paus. 10. 7. 6:

<sup>3</sup> Hephaest. *Ench.* 1. 5, 15. 14-15; schol. Hephaest. pp. 152, 12, 283. 27 Consbruch; schol. Dion. Thr. p. 20. 13, al.; *Suda* s.v. Πίγρης; similarly *elegus* in the Latin metricians. The Byzantines coin ἡρωελεγεῖον for the elegiac couplet, where ἡρῶον is the hexameter, ἐλεγείον the pentameter.

Ἐχέμβροτος Ἀρκὰς  
 θῆκε τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ  
 νικήσας τὸδ' ἀγαλμ'  
 Ἀμφικτιόνων ἐν ἄθλοις,  
 Ἕλλησι δ' αἰείδων  
 μέλεα καὶ ἑλέγους.<sup>4</sup>

It was known from the Pythian victor-lists that Echembrotus' victory was in the aulodic contest of 586. His μέλεα and ἑλεγοί, therefore, were compositions sung to the accompaniment of a pipe; and ps.-Plutarch, *de musica* 1132d, records ἑλεγοί as the name of one of the old aulodic nomes in use in the times of Clonas and Polymnestus. Pausanias says that after 586 the aulodic contest was discontinued, as not being an εὐφημον ἄκουσμα, because aulody at that time consisted of the gloomiest μέλη and of ἑλεγεία<sup>5</sup> sung to the pipes, as Echembrotus' dedication shows. Now the dedication does not show that the performance was sorrowful or gloomy at all, except insofar as the word ἑλεγοί implies it, and it should be obvious that a competition for aulody offered plenty of scope for cheerful artists. The judges might refuse a prize to a particular performer on the ground that his music was not εὐφημον, but it was hardly a reason for abolishing the competition. Nor could Pausanias or his sources have known anything of the Amphictions' explanations. The only evidence available to them was the register of victors. If no aulodes appeared in it after 586, it could be inferred (rightly or wrongly) that the contest had been abolished; but the rest was speculation.

ἑλεγος next appears in the years 415–408, six times. Euripides uses it five times in lyric passages, in the plural (*Tro.* 119, *I.T.* 146), in the singular (*Hel.* 185, *Hypsip.* 1 iii 9; dub. cj. in *Or.* 968), and apparently as an adjective (*I.T.* 1091 ἑλεγον οἴτον). Aristophanes has it in *Av.* 217 (lyric anapaests; plural). In all these places it means 'sung lament', with no metrical implications; bereavement is always involved. In the *Hypsipyle* it is 'shouted by Orpheus' lyre', setting the rowing rhythm for the Argonauts. The meaning is presumably that Orpheus sings it to the lyre; but he could not do otherwise, for the lyre was his traditional instrument.<sup>6</sup> His ἑλεγος is also 'Asiatic', I suppose because Euripides

<sup>4</sup> The metre seems to be Aeolic: 1, reizianum; 2, dodrans A; 3, dodrans B; 4, choriambic enhoplion A; 5, reizianum; 6 might also be made into a reizianum if we read μέλεα τ' ἑλέγους τε. It is clearly not a prose inscription, nor can we suppose that a skilled aulode, a Pythian victor, was capable only of a semi-metrical effort. For his use of lyric cola cf. the dedication by a victorious dithyrambic poet in *Anth. Pal.* 13. 28, with Wilamowitz, *SS*, pp. 218–23.

<sup>5</sup> By which he must mean *sad elegiacs*. The gloss θρηνοί has intruded in the manuscripts.

<sup>6</sup> The adjective ελυρος in *Hel.* 185 and *I.T.* 146 need not imply that a normal ἑλεγος went to the lyre. It and ἀφόρμικτος, ἀχόρευτος, are used elsewhere of joyless

had in mind the kind of lament associated with Phrygia (which implies the pipe). Cf. *I.T.* 180.

In later poetry ἔλεγχοι appears only in the plural, sometimes in the sense of lament (Ap. Rhod. 2. 782; Lucillius, *Anth. Pal.* 11. 135. 3), but sometimes meaning 'elegiacs' without regard to content (Call. fr. 7. 13, of his *Aetia*; Apollonidas, epigr. 26. 5 (*Anth. Pal.* 10. 19) Ἰαροῖς ἐλέγχοισιν, Meleager, epigr. 1. 36 (*Anth. Pal.* 4. 1); Pollianus, *Anth. Pal.* 11. 130. 3; Kaibel, *Epigr.* 1000. 1 (ii A.D.); so commonly *elegi* in Latin). The emperor Hadrian combines the senses in Peek, *Gr. Versinschr.* 2050. 5 λυγ]ροῖσιν [ἐ]πι φθιμένη ἐλέγχοισιν. Pausanias, as we saw, assumed Echembrotus' ἔλεγχοι to be mournful elegiacs. ἔλεγχοι also appears, apparently meaning 'elegiacs', in the *Suda* s.v. Μελανιππίδης Κρίτωνος.

The metrical sense in which ἔλεγχοι = ἐλεγχεῖα must on the evidence available be regarded as a Hellenistic development. The original relationship between the two words was the same as between λαμβοι and λαμβεῖα (cf. below, p. 22). Some theoretician probably of the fifth century, creating a metrical terminology applicable to some of the more obvious categories of older poetry, christened the trimeter  $x - \cup - x - \cup - x - \cup - \lambda\alpha\mu\beta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ , because it was characteristic of λαμβοι, though not confined to them and not the only metre used in them.<sup>7</sup> In the same way he, or someone else of the same inclinations, christened the metrical unit used by Mimnermus and others ἐλεγχεῖον. It would be possible for this to be formed from ἐλεγχεῖα, if the latter had existed in the fifth century; but if it did, it is hard to explain its absence from all the writers before Aristotle who speak of ἐλεγχεῖα. In any case, since the criterion for calling something an ἐλεγχεῖα seems to be above all metrical, it presupposes the metrical term ἐλεγχεῖον. It seems to be, therefore, a secondary coinage answering the need for a word to denote a literary composition in ἐλεγχεῖα. The need arose because the idea of classifying poetry by metre caught on, and as Aristotle tells us in *Poet.* 1447<sup>b</sup>12, it was customary to refer to poets as ἐλεγχειοποιοί or ἐποιοιοί without regard to the differences of genre between, say, Homer and Empedocles. The choice of termination may have been influenced by τραγωδία, κωμωδία.

ἐλεγχεῖον, then, can only be derived from ἔλεγχος, which happens to be the only form from this root that is attested earlier. We are bound to infer (a) that the metre was characteristic of ἔλεγχοι, though not necessarily the sole metre used for them, (b) that there was no other named genre of which it was more characteristic. 'Named' is a crucial qualification. For suppose one were to argue, 'we know what genre the elegiac metre was characteristic of; it is that genre which we call elegy,

sounds. In Zonaras' gloss λελεγίζω καθαρίζω the first verb should perhaps be ἐλελίξω (cf. Pind. *Ol.* 9. 13).

<sup>7</sup> Similar formations are e.g. σπονδεῖον, χορεῖον, Ἀριστοφάνειον, Ἀνακρεόντειον.

represented by Tyrtaeus & Co.; so their poems must have been known in the fifth century as ἔλεγοι, that would indeed sound like good sense; but it would be impossible to reconcile with the facts that (a) none of those poems is ever so called, either by its author or by anyone else – the only terms applied to them, until they become ἐλεγεία, are the very general ones ἔπη (Th. 20, 22, 755?, 1321?; Sol. 1. 2; Hdt. 5. 113. 2),<sup>8</sup> αἰοιδή (Sol. 1. 2?, Dion. Chalc. 1. 4?, Ion 27. 7?), ποιήσεις (Dion. Chalc. 1. 2); (b) wherever ἔλεγος is used in the fifth century, it has the very distinct meaning 'lament'. It is possible to find one or two elegiac poems that might be described as laments (Archil. 9–13, Simon. 16, Archel. 1; Antimachus' *Lyde*), but elegiac poetry generally cannot have been known by a word that retained that meaning to the end of the fifth century and beyond. The fact is, it was not known by any collective name; and therefore, conspicuous though it was as a body of verse, it was not possible to name the metre after it. It was not known by any collective name because it had no single occasion or function. In archaic Greece it was the occasion, not the metre, that conferred a name – paean, dithyramb, hymenaeus, partheneion, skolion.

For the occasion of loss and bereavement there was evidently a kind of lament, sung to pipe accompaniment, called ἔλεγος or ἔλεγοι. This was what Echembrotus sang before the Amphictions at their first great festival after the Sacred War: he did it movingly, and was duly rewarded. At the time of the metrician, probably something over a century later, its characteristic metre was the elegiac couplet. The fact that singer and piper had a traditional nome to guide them may mean that the metre was more or less fixed, but we do not know enough about the nature of nomes to be sure.<sup>9</sup> Perhaps the elegiac laments of Archilochus, Simonides and Archelaus (if not the *Lyde*) were true specimens of the genre. Or perhaps, as Denys Page argued in 1936, the Doric elegy in Euripides' *Andromache* (103–116) is the sole surviving representative of a special Peloponnesian tradition going back to Clonas, Sacadas and Echembrotus.<sup>10</sup> However this may be, the *elegos*-lament is at best no more than one type of composition for which the 'elegiac' metre was used. There is no reason to seek the origin of elegiac poetry generally in this one type, just because the metre was named after it.

The question of origins is complicated by legend and etymological theory. No one now believes the ancient etymologies from ἔλεγεῖν, εἰς λέγειν, ἔλασιν (Aphthonius, *Gramm. Lat.* vi. 110. 17; Marius Plotius

<sup>8</sup> It is significant for the date of ἐλεγείων that it is not used by Herodotus here, seeing that he shows off his knowledge of metrical terms like ἐξάμετρος (τόνος), τρίμετρος (λαμβός). Cf. p. 38.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *CQ* 21, 1971, 309–11.

<sup>10</sup> *Greek Poetry and Life* (Essays presented to Gilbert Murray), pp. 206–30.

Sacerdos, *ib.* 509. 31; Porph. in Hor. *C.* 1. 33. 2; schol. *Ar. Av.* 217; *Suda* and *Et. Magn.* s.v.). A connexion with *ἐλεγαίνειν* = *παραφρονεῖν*, *ἀκολασταίνειν* (*Et. Magn.* 152. 51, 327.6) has seemed more promising. But the verb only appears in an adventurous etymology of *ἀσελγαίνειν*, where it serves to make a link between the latter and a nymphomaniac daughter of Neleus called Elegeis. The invention of such intermediary forms is a normal device of ancient etymologists, and there is no good ground for believing that *ἐλεγαίνειν* really existed. Among modern etymological attempts, the only one that can be called attractive is that of Prellwitz (*Gr. etym. Wörterb.*), developed by Theander in *Eranos* 15, 1915, 144 ff., connecting *ἔλεγος* with the cry *ἐλε(ε)εῦ* (cf. *ἀλαλαγή* – *ἀλαλαί*, *ὄλολυγή*). This expression of violent feeling was used as a war-cry (Achaeus, *TrGF* 20 F 37, *Ar. Av.* 364, hence *ἐλελιζω* ‘raise the war-cry’ in Xenophon); but it could also be uttered by someone goaded into rapid motion by madness (Io in Aesch. *Prom.* 877, *ἐλελεῦ ἐλελεῦ*: ὑπό μ’ αὐτὸ σφάκελος καὶ φρενοπληγεῖς μανίαι θάλπουσ’, οἴστρου δ’ ἄρδις χρίει μ’ ἄπυρος). At the Attic Oschophoria the cry *ἐλελεῦ λού λού* accompanied the libation (Plut. *Thes.* 22. 4). There it represents a version of the traditional ritual cry of women at sacrifices, usually described by the words *ὄλολυγή*, *ὄλολύζω* (but in Sappho 44. 31 *ἐλελύζω* with v.l. *ὄλολ*-). We also hear of a Dionysus *Eleleus* (*Ov. M.* 4. 15; cf. *Eleleides* of the Bacchantes in *Her.* 4. 47), and a Apollo Ἐλελεύς (*Macr. Sat.* 1. 17. 46). Now it is conceivable that the loud, formalized lamentation which we know from vase-paintings to have been customary at funerals in the Geometric period involved cries of *ἐλελελεῦ*. In Homer’s account of the funeral of Hector (*Il.* 24. 719–776), the women wail as a kind of refrain following on more articulate *θρῆνοι* sung by professional *ἄοιδοί* and in turn by Andromache, Hecuba and Helen. Solon is said to have made laws restraining excessive displays of grief at funerals, and in particular to have prohibited τὸ θρηνεῖν πεποιημένα, poetic laments (Plut. *Sol.* 21. 6). It would be possible to suppose that these early threnodies came to be known in some parts of Greece as *ἔλεγχοι* because of *ἐλελεῦ*-wailing involved in the whole performance.<sup>11</sup>

The story mentioned in *Et. Magn.* 327. 8 that the elegiac metre was first uttered in a fit of insanity by Theocles the Naxian or Eretrian (presumably the Chalcidian founder of Sicilian Naxos named by Hellenicus 4 F 82, Thuc. 6. 3. 1) can scarcely have anything to do with *ἔλεγος*. I expect that some version of the foundation legend involved an elegiac couplet pronounced by Theocles, and an ancient scholar, realiz-

<sup>11</sup> I do not regard it as relevant that Aristophanes and Euripides use *ἐλελιζομαι* of lamenting singers, particularly birds: *Ar. Av.* 213 (closely followed by τοῖς σοῖς ἔλεγχοις ἀντιψάλλον), *Eur. Hel.* 1111, *Phoen.* 1514. It is not parallel to the active *ἐλελιζω* in Xenophon but to *ἐλελιζομένα* (of the vibrating lyre) in Pind. *Pyth.* 1. 4 (cf. *Ol.* 9. 13), and means ‘trill’.



ing that these first settlers in Sicily antedated all known elegiac poets, took that to be the moment of creation.<sup>12</sup>

Somewhat more intriguing is the occurrence of Elege as the name of one of the sex-mad daughters of the Argive king Proitos (Ael. *V.H.* 3. 42; but they have other names in the older versions), and of Elegeis as the name of the merry daughter of Neleus who smacked her vagina and instructed it

δίξεο δίξεο δὴ μέγαν ἀνδρῆς Ἀθηναῖοι  
 δεσὶ ἐπὶ Μιλητόνδε κατὰξει πῆματα Κασίν,

thus telling him where to lead his colony.<sup>13</sup> In the case of Elege the daughter of Proitos, a connexion with *Ἐλεγος* is conceivable, for the story ended with the death of one of the deranged girls (Apollod. 2. 2. 2. 8), and Hesychius describes the Argive festival Agriana as *νεκύσια* and as an *ἐορτὴ ἐπὶ μιᾷ τῶν Προίτου θυγατέρων*. Aelian names Elege's sister as Kelaine, 'black'; and Proitos also had a son called Megapenthes. In the case of Elegeis the daughter of Neleus it is harder to find anything pertinent to our enquiry. The report mentions that her 'proper name' was Pero, implying that Elegeis was regarded as a by-name. The tale is not told in connexion with the origins of elegy (the verses are not even elegiac),<sup>14</sup> but to bolster the etymology *ἀσελγαίνειν*: *ἐλεγαίνειν* = *ἀκολασταίνειν*. I suspect that some Hellenistic poet had called Pero not *Ἐλεγηίδα* but *Λελεγηίδα*, i.e. Milesian (the form occurs in *Ov. M.* 9. 651, Hesych., St. Byz.), and that the etymologist read a faulty copy, or (more likely) emended the text on the ground that 'Lelegian' was only appropriate to the native Carian population. If he knew Elege as the name of one of the Proitids, Elegeis might seem a highly suitable name for the randy daughter of Neleus. The two were easily associated in a grammarian's mind, because in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, fr. 37, Melampous goes straight from obtaining Pero for his brother Bias to curing the Proitids of their madness; in Apollodorus' account Bias married one of Proitos' daughters as well as Pero (1. 9. 12. 8-13. 1; 2. 2. 2. 8).

We may now leave the subject of *Ἐλεγος* and the lexicography of its derivatives, and turn to classical elegy itself. The bulk of it, it must now be presumed, was not known to the poets who composed it either as *ἔλεγχοι* or as *ἐλεγεία* or *ἐλεγείαι*. How, then, should we classify it, and what is its relationship to poetry in other metres?

The metre belongs to the epodic category, as ancient metricians

<sup>12</sup> The story is similarly interpreted by Crusius, *RE* v. 2261.

<sup>13</sup> *Et. Gen./Magn.* 152. 57, 327. 11; she is unnamed in Lycophron 1385-7 and scholia pp. 381. 22 ff. Scheer; a different version p. 383. 11. I have printed the verses as they appear in *Et. Gen.* cod. A (except that it has *μῆτρον δε*). For the divergent readings cf. H. Lloyd-Jones, *CQ* 17, 1967, 168.

<sup>14</sup> Remarked by Wilamowitz, *Einleitung in die griechische Tragödie*, p. 59, n. 18.

saw.<sup>15</sup> The ten metres which we can distinguish among the remains of Archilochus' *Epodes* are built by combining in different ways simple units such as the hexameter or iambic trimeter, and shorter cola such as the dactylic tetrameter, the iambic dimeter, or the ithyphallic. The schemes are summarized on p. 1 of my edition. (We now know from the Cologne epode that the cola seen in fr. 196 were preceded by an iambic trimeter, as in Horace's eleventh epode.) In no less than five of them we see the colon  $\sim - \sim -$  employed as an independent unit, juxtaposed with an ithyphallic, an iambic dimeter or trimeter, or a hexameter. It is a colon familiar in other lyric verse too, in particular in dactylo-epitrite, where it is conventionally noted by the symbol D. It has long been realized that the epic hexameter, with its medial caesura and tendency to half-line formulae, is in essence a syzygy of two of these cola.<sup>16</sup> The same is true of the pentameter; and its conjunction with the hexameter in the elegiac couplet,  $D \sim D - \parallel D | D$ , is in principle exactly like the conjunctions  $D \sim D - \parallel D$  or  $D \sim D - \parallel 2 \text{ ia} | D$  which are attested for Archilochus.

On the other hand, elegiac poetry clearly cannot be treated just as a species of epodic. From the earliest epoch open to observation, it is used to a far greater extent, and over a wider area, than all other types of epode combined ever were. It is produced by skilled poets who as far as we know composed in no other metre: Callinus, Tyrtaeus, Theognis, Mimnermus. Those who do use other metres besides elegiacs most commonly use the trochaic tetrameter and iambic trimeter. We find this concurrence in the work of Archilochus, Solon (these two also wrote epodes), Demodocus, Anacreon, Xenophanes, Timocreon and Euenus. Of the other elegiac poets, there is only one before the time of Simonides who writes anything besides elegiacs: Asius, the epic poet of Samos.<sup>17</sup>

When the circumstances in which elegy is performed can be discerned, they fall under the following heads:

1. There is to be a battle. The fighting men are being exhorted to be brave and win glory. This sort of elegy appears simultaneously on both sides of the Aegean, with Callinus in Ephesus and Tyrtaeus in Sparta. It must therefore have developed earlier; and it came to Sparta from Ionia, because Tyrtaeus writes in Ionic (which remains the standard dialect for elegy). He is not simply imitating the language of epic, because he has  $\text{-}\epsilon\upsilon\tau\alpha$  for  $\text{-}\eta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\alpha$  in fr. 4. 2, an Ionic but non-epic shortening. Archilochus fr. 3 and Mimnermus fr. 14 may also belong to this brand of martial elegy.

<sup>15</sup> Atilius Fortunatianus, *Gramm. Lat.* vi. 295. *7 et elegia epodicum carmen est.*

<sup>16</sup> Cf. T. Bergk, *Über das älteste Versmaß der Griechen*, Progr. Freiburg 1854, 3 ff. = *Kl. Schr.* ii. 394 ff.; H. Usener, *Allgriechischer Versbau*, 1887, p. 17.

<sup>17</sup> His date is not very certain. He is not earlier than the sixth century, but he might be as late as the fifth. Cf. G.L. Huxley, *Early Greek Epic*, pp. 89-96.

The men addressed by Callinus are not at all prepared for the struggle. They are *λίην μεθύντες*, as if unaware that the land is in the grip of war (1. 3-4). The opening *μέχρις τέο κατάκεισθε*; suggested to Reitzenstein (p. 50) a symposium, and the somewhat similar passage Th. 825-30, though not an exhortation to fight, lends some support to the interpretation. In Tyrtaeus there is nothing to indicate whether it is the morning of the battle or (say) the night before. The orator Lycurgus, quoting fr. 10, says it was the rule (in the fourth century) for the Spartan army to have Tyrtaeus recited to them in front of the king's quarters when they were under arms. Philochorus (328 F 216, *ap.* Ath. 630 f) records that it was the Spartan custom on campaigns to take turns at singing Tyrtaeus after dinner, following the paeon, in other words at the stage when skolia were called for in the old Attic symposium (see Reitzenstein, pp. 3-13). The polemarch awarded a prize of meat to the best singer. It seems likely that the elegies are in question here rather than the anapaestic marching-songs which were also ascribed to Tyrtaeus (*Melici* 856-7) and which Athenaeus has just been talking about. Philochorus believed the practice to go back to Tyrtaeus' time.

2. A less formal military setting: the poet is a soldier on watch with companions. There is no need for heroic sentiments. Antiheroic ones are more comforting. In fr. 4 Archilochus is on a ship (beached, I suppose), and calls for wine to be opened: 'we shan't get through this watch sober'. It is easy to imagine the lines about the loss of his shield (fr. 5), or couplets like fr. 1-2, produced in similar conditions. The mercenary's voice is heard also in Th. 887-8,

μηδὲ λίην κήρυκος ἀν' οὖς ἔχε μακρὰ βοῶντος·  
οὐ γὰρ πατρώας γῆς πέρι μαρνάμεθα,

and perhaps in 1043, εὐδωμεν· φυλακῆ δὲ πόλεως φυλάκεσσι μελήσει, if the pentameter that follows it is due to a later editor.

3. The ordinary civilian symposium is clearly the occasion of much extant elegy.<sup>18</sup> Theognis claims to have made Cynus immortal because young men will sing of him at banquets, to the accompaniment of pipes (237 ff.): that, then, was the destiny of those scores of admonitory poems formally addressed to him. The collection of old Attic skolia that is quoted by Aristotle and Athenaeus (*Melici* 884-908) contains an elegiac couplet from the late sixth century evidently composed for the symposium (*Mel.* 906 = my *Adesp.* eleg. 6). Xenophanes describes what is going on in welcome detail (fr. 1), and the scene is just as surely defined in elegies of Simonides (5-7), Dionysius Chalcus (1-5), Ion (26-

<sup>18</sup> Emphasized by Reitzenstein in the second chapter of his book, though too one-sidedly.

7), in many of the anonymous Theognidea (261, 413, 467, 503, 825, 837, 879, 939, 943, 983, 1047, 1129), and in a probably fourth-century poem, Adesp. eleg. 27. There are many more fragments on the theme of drinking or making merry which would go well in the same context: Th. 295, 497, 499, 509, 531, 563, 627, 841, 843, 873, 971, 973, 989, 993, 1039, Sim. 4, Eue. 2, Crit. 6, Adesp. 30. Both the pipes and the lyre are mentioned as concomitants of the symposium, but where the elegist refers directly to his own musical accompaniment, it is provided by a piper (Th. 941, 943, 1056), which agrees with what Theognis said to Cyrnus.

4. Occasionally we find a poem appropriate to the κῶμος that follows the party. Th. 1207 and 1351 are concerned with who should take part in it. Singing to the pipes continues during the excursion, as we see from 1065, ἔστι δὲ κωμάζοντα μετ' ἀύλητῆρος ἀεῖδειν (cf. 885 cj., and the aulodic nome κωμάρχιος in ps.-Plut. *de musica* 1132d). 1045 shows the comasts revelling in the noise they are making as they arrive at their destination:

ναὶ μὰ Δί', εἴ τις τῶνδε καὶ ἐγκακαλυμμένος εὐδει,  
ἡμέτερον κῶμον δέξεται ἀρπαλέως.

In Adesp. 26, τὸν φρουρὸν φρουρεῖν χρῆ, τὸν ἐρῶντα δ' ἐρᾶν, the amorous caller defends his interests against those of a watchman. Mimnermus is represented by Hermesianax (7. 37 f., quoted in *Iambi et Elegi* ii. 81) as playing the pipes on many a κῶμος with Examydes, which presumably had some basis in his poems.

5. Some kind of public meeting is presupposed in some of Solon's elegies. In his *Salamis* he represents himself as a herald arrived from Salamis (fr. 1), and exhorts the Athenians to go and fight for the island (fr. 3). Plutarch and others describe him running into the agora wearing a hat (as if from a journey) and singing the elegy from the Herald's Stone. That this was not a conventional form for a herald's announcement to take, however, is implied by 1. 2, κόσμον ἐπέων ᾠδὴν (?) ἀντ' ἀγορῆς θέμενος. In fr. 4 Solon speaks of 'instructing the Athenians' (30). In the poem of which 4a is the beginning, perhaps the same as the one from which 4b and 4c come, he addressed different sections of the community in turn. In fr. 11, again, he uses a second person plural, which later writers say referred to the Athenians at large. He cannot have used the herald gimmick for all of these poems, but if weekday recitation in the agora was acceptable in principle, there was no need to. Perhaps one should also consider the possibility that these elegies represent literary publications of speeches actually delivered in prose. Somewhat similar questions arise with Tyrtaeus' *Eunomia* (fr. 1-4), in which he called for obedience to the kings and an end to stasis.

6. Delivery of a quickly-improvised, entertaining piece in a place

with a view of a public fountain – e.g. in a λέσχη – is suggested by Th. 263 ff.

7. *ἔλεγχοι* were presumably performed at funerals.

8. They were also performed in aulodic competitions at festivals, at least by Echembrotus. Ps.-Plutarch, *de musica* 1134a, to support the statement that aulodes originally sang *ἐλεγεία μεμελοποιημένα*, elegiacs set to music, says τοῦτο δὲ δηλοῖ ἡ τῶν Παναθηναίων <ἀνα>γραφὴ ἡ περὶ τοῦ μουσικοῦ ἀγῶνος. The inscription in question perhaps recorded that so-and-so ἐνίκησεν ἐλέγῳ or ἐλέγοις.

The question here arises of the manner in which elegy generally was performed. Echembrotus the victorious aulode appeared from his inscription – clearly a vital document for ancient historians of music – to be a poet of μέλη and of sung elegiacs. When we find the same description applied to auletes like Sacadas (ποιητῆς μελῶν τε καὶ ἐλεγείων μεμελοποιημένων, ps.-Plut. l.c.) and Olympus (ποιητῆς μελῶν καὶ ἐλεγείων, *Suda*), it seems probable that it has been transferred to them from Echembrotus, on the ground that they too were aulodes. When, on the other hand, Heraclides Ponticus says that Clonas, the inventor of the aulodic nomos, was an ἐλεγείων τε καὶ ἐπῶν ποιητῆς, and that this is parallel to the fact that Terpander who established the citharodic nomos set his own poetry and Homer's to music,<sup>19</sup> he is arguing back from the practice of fourth-century aulodes and citharodes. The citharode's repertoire comprised a collection of prooimias, and pieces of Homer set to music, all ascribed to Terpander.<sup>20</sup> What is ascribed to Clonas, then, will correspond to the aulode's repertoire. The inference is that aulodes were associated with the singing of some hexameter and elegiac poetry.

We have seen evidence from Theognis and the anonymous Theognidea that the pipes were the regular, or at least a common, accompaniment to elegiac verses in the context of the symposium and κῶμος; the verb ἀεῖδεν is constantly used, and adjuncts such as καλὰ τε καὶ λιγέα (242), λιγὰ . . . ὥσπερ ἀηδῶν (939), suggest that it means 'sing' and not merely 'chant', 'recite', 'say in verse'.<sup>21</sup> Solon bids Mimnermus 'sing' a line in a changed form (20. 3). Chamaeleon mentioned Mimnermus with Homer, Hesiod, Archilochus and Phocylides as a poet whose work was sung by performers (Ath. 620c). He seems moreover to be particularly associated with piping. His girl-friend Nanno is represented as a piper (Ath. 597a), and so is he: a nome that he piped is said to have been mentioned by Hipponax (fr. 153), Hermesianax has him piping for

<sup>19</sup> Fr. 157 Wehrli, *ap.* ps.-Plut. *de musica* 1132c.

<sup>20</sup> See *CQ* 21, 1971, 307 f.

<sup>21</sup> In Pherecrates fr. 153. 7 Kock we find a host who εἰεξ' ἐλεγεία (followed by Th. 467+469); but this is the exception that proves the rule. He is not doing his party piece, he is just quoting the lines for the sake of their content.

comasts (above, p. 12), and Strabo calls him αὐλητῆς ἀμα καὶ ποιητῆς ἐλεγείας (14. 1. 28 p. 643). Tyrtaeus too is described as an ἐλεγειοποιὸς καὶ αὐλητῆς (*Suda*), perhaps with less support from his text. However, it is difficult to believe that a piper was always present when elegiacs were sung. It does not suit what we are told about Solon's delivery of his *Salamis*. Nor are soldiers on watch likely to have a piper at hand. Again, it would be vain to assert that no one sang elegiacs to the lyre.

Let us now consider the range of subject matter in extant elegy, and how far it appears consonant with the identified occasions of performance. Firstly, elegy may be narrative. Mimnermus wrote a *Smyrneis*, which apparently told the tale of the Smyrnaeans' victory against Gyges; Simonides wrote an elegy on the battle of Salamis.<sup>22</sup> The subjects of these two poems were both taken from recent history, and they cannot quite be regarded as containing narrative for its own sake as an epic does. In Mimnermus' case there may well have been a moral for the present. (Cf. below, p. 74, on Mimn. 14.) If so, it is akin to martial or political hortatory elegy, and might be imagined sung in similar circumstances. Simonides' poem perhaps belongs to the category of comment on current events, which accounts for quite a number of elegies, from Mimnermus' poem about an eclipse (20) to the accounts of political situations or prevailing moral attitudes which we find in Solon and the Theognidea (e.g. 39–52, 53–60, 183–92, 235–6, 287–92, 541–2, 549–53, 603–4, 667–82, 699–718, 825–30, 833–6, 891–4, 1135–50). These are predominantly unhappy, and contain some element of fear for the future and thus of warning to the hearer. Most of them could have been sung in a sympotic context, as Th. 825–30 clearly was. The celebration of a triumph was equally in place there, as we see from skolia such as Alcaeus' νῦν χρῆ μεθύσθην καὶ τινα πῆρ βίαν πῶννην ἐπεὶ δὴ κάτθινε Μύρσιλος (332), or *Mel.* 888 ἐνικήσαμεν ὡς ἐβουλόμεσθα κτλ.

Reaction to public events shades naturally into advice – exhortation to act (besides examples already noticed, see Th. 1133–4), counsels of prudence for the existing situation (e.g. Th. 61–8, 79–82, 219–20, 283–6, 309–12), and recommendations and maxims of general applicability. These in turn shade into reflective or philosophic poetry in which an argument is developed. This dialectic element appears from the beginning as an integral feature of paraenetic poetry, not only elegy (Callinus 1, Tyrtaeus 10–12, etc.) but the *Works and Days* and some Homeric speeches. But it can also exist independently, with or without an ethical conclusion being drawn. In Mimnermus 1–5 and 7, Solon 24, Simonides 8, it is used to justify the pursuit of pleasure. (Cf. also Archil.

<sup>22</sup> *Iambi et Elegi* ii. 82, 112. There are also various fragments with narrative content, but they may have had their place in non-narrative poems: Callin. 6–7, Tyrtaeus 5–7, Mimn. 9, 19, 21, Asius 14, Xenoph. 3, Adesp. eleg. 17, 58, 61, 62.

14, Th. 567-70, 876-7, 973-8, 983-8, 1007-12.) Elsewhere we find extended discussions of such matters as man's dependence on the gods for prosperity (Solon 13); the apparent failure of the gods to reward virtue (Th. 373-400, 731-52, both addressed to Zeus); the overvaluation of athletic talent (Xenophanes 2); the problem of whether to spend or save (Th. 903-30). None of this philosophic or gnomic-paraenetic poetry would be out of place in the symposium. A number of the melic skolia are gnomic in character and have specific elegiac parallels (*Mel.* 889, cf. Th. 117 f., 119-28, *Eue.* 3; 890, cf. Th. 255 f.; 892; 897, cf. Th. 105-12; 903; 908; 910, cf. Th. 699 ff.). Aristoxenus records that at wedding feasts the guests would sing γνώμας καὶ ἐρωτικὰ σύντομα (fr. 125 Wehrli). We have seen that Theognis expects his (mainly gnomic-paraenetic) verses to Cyrnus to be sung at feasts. From about the late sixth century throughout the fifth we find a tradition of elegy containing advice on the conduct of the symposium itself, the emphasis being on moderation and orderliness (*Anacr. eleg.* 2, *Xenoph.* 1, Th. 843, 971, *Eue.* 2, 8a, *Crit.* 6). As for the acceptability of serious disquisitions on wider issues in the course of the party, it may be recalled that in Plato's *Symposium*, after the initial paean καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ νομιζόμενα, the αὐλητρίς is sent away and the guests take their turn at making speeches in praise of Love (176a-7d). That this is not an exceptional departure from routine for the sake of Plato's literary purposes is indicated by the description of the educated man's symposium in *Prot.* 347cd,<sup>23</sup> and by *Adesp. eleg.* 27, a probably fourth-century poem addressed to fellow-drinkers: it sketches out a programme of pleasant jesting followed by more serious discourses by each of those present in turn, under the chairmanship of the symposiarch.

The kind of philosophic elegy I have mentioned is concerned above all with values. Related to it is the common type of poem in which the speaker simply declares a personal standpoint or desire.

οὐκ ἔραμαι πλουτεῖν οὐδ' εὐχομαι, ἀλλὰ μοι εἶη  
ζῆν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀλίγων μηδὲν ἔχοντι κακόν

(Th. 1155-6) will serve as an example. (Cf. also 313 (~ *Mel.* 902), 337, 447, 531, 579, 653, 789, 869, 877, 1079, 1119, 1153, 1191; *Mimn.* 6; Solon 20, 21, 26; *Crit.* 8.) Some of these are in the form of prayers, like Solon 13; but anyone who puts his prayers in a literary form is interested in his mortal audience, in sharing his thoughts with other men. This applies to Callinus' prayer to Zeus (2-2a), and Ion's to Dionysus (26), as well as to poems like Th. 1-4, 5-10, 11-14, 341-50, 757-64, 773-82, 1087-90. In Ion's poem and Th. 757 ff. the context is again sympotic, and the melic skolia (884-7) confirm that invocations of gods are quite at home in that setting.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Reitzenstein, p. 40.

Verses addressed to a particular person, too, must in most cases have been intended for the edification or entertainment of others. Archilochus 13, the elegy on a shipwreck that affects the whole city, is addressed to Pericles, but ends *τλήτε, γυναικεῖον πένθος ἀπώσαμενοι*. What is said to Cyrnus is meant to be taken up by others. The political allegory in Th. 667 ff. is addressed to Simonides, but ends

ταῦτά μοι ἤνιχθω κεκρυμμένα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσιν  
γινώσκοι δ' ἂν τις καὶ κακός, ἂν σοφὸς ᾗ.

Often the subject matter is of a more personal kind: complaint in exile (Th. 1197 ff.); lovers' appeals, confessions, recriminations (237 ff., 599 ff., 1101 ff., etc.; Ion 31; Crit. 5); consolations (Archil. 8-13, Th. 355-60, Simon. 16, Archelaus); praise of a dead friend (Philiscus, Aristotle 673); amusing or scurrilous tales about a famous person now deceased (Xenoph. 7a; Melanthius 1, 3); a welcome to someone arrived from overseas (Th. 511-22); good wishes to or by someone about to sail away (Solon 19, Th. 691). There are parallels for most of these types in melic poetry, and we need not think in terms of private communications; it was all published, after all, and it may from the start have been intended for the ears of a group. The marvellous rudeness of Th. 453-6,

ὦνθρωπ', εἰ γνώμης ἔλαχες μέρος ὥσπερ ἀνοίης  
καὶ σώφρων οὕτως ὥσπερ ἄφρων ἐγένου,  
πολλοῖς ἂν ζηλωτὸς ἐφαίνεο τῶνδε πολιτῶν  
οὕτως ὥσπερ νῦν οὐδενὸς ἄξιος εἶ.

is, one feels, an example of that abusive banter which was exchanged in song by young men at feasts, according to the testimony of *Hymn. Herm.* 55 f.<sup>24</sup> It is the perfection of its form, rather than the justice of the sentiment, that invites applause. It is similar with 1207-8. This practice of witty denigration of one's fellow-guests is perhaps related to the practice of sending round a loving-cup and obliging each man, after passing the cup on to his neighbour on the right, to sing or speak in praise of him while he drinks. We see this being done in song in Dion. Chalc. 1 and 4, in prose in Pl. *Symph.* 214cd ff., 222e, and it is referred to by the comic poet Anaxandrides at about the same period.<sup>25</sup> 'Praise' in such convivial circumstances is naturally liable to veer in the direction of badinage (as Socrates fears Alcibiades' praise of him will, 214c). How far it goes will depend on the conventions prevailing. At Spartan *σοσσίτια*, we are told, *αὐτοὶ τε παίζειν εἰθίζοντο καὶ σκώπτειν ἄνευ βωμο-*

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Reitzenstein, p. 26 n. 2.

<sup>25</sup> Fr. 1 Kock βούλεσθε δήπου τὸν ἐπιδέξι' ὦ πάτερ  
λέγειν ἐπὶ τῷ πίοντι; - τὸν ἐπιδέξια  
λέγειν; "Απολλων, ὥσπερ ἐ(π)ὶ τεθηγκότι;

Cf. Reitzenstein, p. 40.



λοχίας, καὶ σκωπτόμενοι μὴ δυσχεραίνειν· σφόδρα γὰρ ἐδόκει καὶ τοῦτο Λακωνικὸν εἶναι, σκώμματος ἀνέχεσθαι· μὴ φέροντα δ' ἐξῆν παραιτεῖσθαι, καὶ ὁ σκώπτων ἐπέπαυτο (Plut. *Lyc.* 12. 6).

The victim might want to answer back. If he was to do it in song, he would need some faculty at improvisation, but that is attested for Simonides at least (eleg. 6–7). Several extant elegiac pieces have the character of replies or retorts. In the Theognidea we find items beginning χρήματ' ἔχων πενήτην μ' ὠνειδίσας (1115), μὴ με κακῶν μίμνησκε (1123), μὴ μ' ἀφελῶς παίζουσα φίλους δένναζε τοκῆας Ἀργυροί (1211). Then there is Sophocles' answer to Euripides, who had made fun of him over a misadventure with a boy (eleg. 4), and Alcibiades' answer to Eupolis' *Baptae*. These last two, like Timocreon's reply to Simonides' little *tour de force* (Simon. eleg. 17, Timocr. 10), might be imagined either as written messages conveyed from one poet to the other by a postman, or as being brought forth εἰς τὸ μέσον at a gathering where both were present. With the Theognidean pieces, however, the first alternative seems impossible. They look like direct responses provoked by a preceding song.<sup>26</sup> There is also a couplet, 577 f., where the pentameter appears to be a reply to the hexameter:

ῥήγιον ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ θεῖναι κακὸν ἤκ' κακοῦ ἐσθλόν.  
– μὴ με διδάσκ'· οὗτοι τηλικὸς εἰμί μαθεῖν.

It is possible to imagine a preceding pentameter containing words such as εἰ δ' ἄρα μοι τοῦτ' ἔπος αὖθις ἔρεῖς. But perhaps we should think rather of the practice of singing one line of a skolion and leaving it to the next man to sing the second. In the authors who refer to this (Ar. *V.* 1222 ff. and scholia; Clearchus fr. 63<sup>1</sup> Wehrli *ap.* Ath. 457e) a pre-existing song or passage of verse is used, and the game is simply a test of education. But the *Contest of Homer and Hesiod* 9 (from part of the work that goes back to Alcidas' *Museum*) provides evidence of a game in which the second man had to compose a suitable continuation to the line propoun-

<sup>26</sup> This implies the participation of women in the singing. But there are at least three pieces in the Theognidea in which the speaker is a woman (257, 579, 861), though in the third one it is a woman excluded from the symposium. I am loth to believe that either here or in such songs as Alcaeus fr. 10B and Anacreon 385 a man assumed the woman's part. It was to a woman, Cleobulina, daughter of one of the Seven Sages, that tradition as early as the *Δισσοὶ λόγοι* (thought to date from ca. 400 B.C.) assigned the invention of various elegiac riddles: riddles have an established place at banquets and symposia ('Hes.' *Κήρυκος γάμος* fr. 266–8, Ar. *V.* 21, Antiph. fr. 124. 1–5, Diph. fr. 50, Clearchus fr. 63I Wehrli *ap.* Ath. 457d, etc.). Cleobulina is probably an entirely mythical young lady, but it is significant that a young lady could be envisaged playing such a role in social entertainment.

ded by the first man. When the game was played at an advanced level, as in Alcidas' narrative, the first man tried to baffle his successor by giving him an apparently nonsensical verse. In some of the examples that Alcidas uses, the second man succeeds in making sense of the first line and simultaneously setting a new puzzle.<sup>37</sup>

Towards the end of our period there appeared an elegiac poem which stands apart from the rest: Antimachus' *Lyde*. It was divided into at least two books, so it was considerably longer than we have reason to think any other classical elegy was. Its content was mainly mythological. But the form was that of a consolation, in which a series of famous exempla were introduced (cf. e.g. *Il.* 5. 382-404); Antimachus was consoling himself on the death of his girl-friend. This highly bookish composition, which deeply impressed some of the Alexandrians and helped to mould their style, was surely not conceived for the symposium or the *λσχη*, but as a permanent contribution to Literature. It may have been read to a circle of intellectual friends,<sup>38</sup> but Antimachus will have attached more importance to its written circulation.

Elegiac poetry, then, has a wide range. Not an unlimited one: it was not used, so far as we can tell, for the straightforward telling of myths and legends, for physical philosophy, for didactic poetry of a technical or factual kind, for sexual narratives and fantasies; but otherwise more or less any theme that can be treated in poetry at all can be treated in elegiacs. On the other hand there is scarcely any theme that is restricted to elegiacs, with the exception of the martial proreptic of Callinus and Tyrtaeus (and perhaps if we had more of Archilochus' tetrameters that exception would disappear). Virtually every type of subject can be matched from melic or iambic poetry: accounts of recent battles, comment on current affairs, political speeches, moral philosophy, advice, prayers, attitudinizing, lamentation, remonstrance, lovers' appeals, bantering messages, eulogies.

We have seen that elegy is actually a variety of melic poetry. We must regard it as a variety that established itself from an early period as a popular everyday medium, perhaps because of its rhythmical simplicity, its suitability for long or short compositions, and the ease with which the riches of the epic vocabulary could be adapted to it. Particularly on non-ceremonial occasions, when people of limited musical attainments desired or were expected to sing, and there was little or no opportunity for rehearsal, it was a question of agreement between

<sup>37</sup> See *CQ* 17, 1967, 440-1.

<sup>38</sup> Cicero's story of Plato's presence at a recitation by Antimachus (*Brutus* 191) does not accord well with the testimony of Heraclides Ponticus (fr. 6 Wehrli) that Plato had to send him to Colophon to obtain Antimachus' works, though it is not strictly incompatible with it.

the singer and the piper on the melody to be sung and piped; this circumstance must have favoured concentration on a few standard forms, among which the elegiac was evidently the most successful.

I suspect that trochaic tetrameters and iambic trimeters, besides being used on prescribed occasions for Iambus (see chapter 2), had the more general status of an undemanding alternative to elegiacs in these everyday uses – undemanding because chanted rather than sung. This would explain the constant use of both forms for similar purposes by the same poet, from Archilochus and Solon down to Euenus, and the simultaneous adoption of both, about 560 B.C., for epitaphs and dedications. Towards the end of the fifth century a symposiast who did not sing might recite a speech from a tragedy (*Ar. Nub.* 1353 ff.; cf. Reitzenstein, pp. 34 ff.): a century earlier, perhaps, he might have turned to an iambic poem of Archilochus or Solon, or improvised some iambic lines of his own.

Between the middle and the end of the sixth century, however, the iambic metres fall very much out of favour for these purposes. It is the elegiac that becomes the standard alternative to hexameters, and presently the standard metre altogether, in inscriptions; and it is the elegiac, not the iambic, that is chosen as the vehicle for sympotic and reflective poetry like that of Xenophanes, Dionysius Chalcus, Ion, and Critias. Its victory is perhaps a symptom of the Greeks' increasing sensitivity to form. The slightly more elaborate and rounded form of the elegiac lent greater variety to a long utterance, and a finished, 'epigrammatic' air to a short one. Demodocus' brilliant distichs about the Milesians and Lerians, or the piece quoted on p. 16 above, ὠνθρωπ', εἰ γνώμης ἔλαχες, could not have been half so effective in trimeters, and the same may be said of an epitaph such as

ὦ ξέν', εὐκλυδρόν ποκ' ἐναίομεν ἄστῃ Φορβίθῳ  
νῦν δ' ἀμὲρ Αἰάντος νᾶσος ἔχει Σαλαμῖς.

When the term ἐλεγεῖον came into use, it was naturally applied both to literary elegy and to inscriptions, since its reference was strictly metrical. ἐπιγραμμα, equally naturally, was applied at first only to inscriptions. But by the Alexandrian age it had come to be used of any very short poem. An inscription of about 264 B.C. calls Posidippus 'the ἐπιγραμματοποιός' (*IG* 9<sup>2</sup>(1). 17 A 24), and he, Callimachus and others apparently used the title 'Ἐπιγράμματα for their collections of short poems. Reitzenstein in particular has contributed to our understanding of the stages by which this came about.<sup>29</sup> The first step was taken when old verse inscriptions, instead of being of interest simply as historical

<sup>29</sup> In the third chapter of his book, especially pp. 102 ff. Cf. also J. Geffcken, *N.J.f.d.kl.Alt.* 20, 1917, 102 ff. = G. Pfohl (ed.), *Das Epigramm*, 1969, 39 ff.

documents (as they are for Herodotus and Thucydides, who quote them mostly without poets' names), came to be the subject of literary interest, and they began to be collected in books, with ascriptions to particular poets. This seems to have come about in the fourth century.<sup>30</sup> The bulk of the ascriptions are to Simonides, and there was probably a whole book of epigrams under his name (though perhaps originally in the form *Σιμωνίδου καὶ ἄλλων ἐπιγράμματα*). In the case of poets to whom only a few epigrams were attributed (e.g. Archilochus, Anacreon, Aeschylus), there cannot have been a separate book; either they will have appeared in a *Variorum* collection, with *Ἀρχιλόχου* etc. over the individual poem, or they will have been appended to other works by these poets – to their elegies, if any. Theophrastus quotes what may be a line from an epitaph as *Αἰσχύλος ἐν ταῖς ἐλεγείαις* (fr. eleg. 2).

Epigram thus became a department of literature; Simonides' epigrams were now on a par with his epinicians, his dirges, and so on. The period at which this happened was one at which Greek literature was coming to be ruled by the concept of the genre. Here now, in Epigram, was a classic genre available to all for imitation. By 300 B.C. the imitators are hard at work. Since its interest was literary, it did not matter that the old epigram was destined for inscription on stone, while the new one was not. But once that difference was disregarded, the distinction between *ἐπιγράμματα* and the poems of Mimnermus and others now known as *ἐλεγεῖαι* appeared most conspicuously as a distinction between short, neat pieces encapsulating the essence of some personal affair, and longer, discursive compositions in which the poet's personal situation usually formed the framework, but the substance was supplied by general reflections or (as particularly in the case of Antimachus' *Lyde*) mythology. The practice of the Alexandrian poets can only be understood in terms of this reclassification.

This is why short pieces like Simonides eleg. 6, Sophocles eleg. 4, and Philiscus' verses on Lysias, are described as *ἐπιγράμματα* by the sources who quote them. It is possible that the Simonides piece was at some date put into the collection of 'Simonidean' *Epigrams*, though I do not think this a necessary assumption. It is one of several items (Simon. eleg. 6, 7; 17 with Timocreon's retort to it; the hexameter riddles, fr. 172-3 Bergk) which belong in a context of anecdote. At least three of them come from Chamaeleon *περὶ Σιμωνίδου*. The Sophocles piece comes from the same sphere of Peripatetic biography, from Hieronymus of

<sup>30</sup> One ascription to Simonides goes back to Herodotus, 7. 228. 4. The idea that the authorship of such a poem may be of interest is established by the year 404, when one Ion from Samos identifies himself as the poet of the inscription accompanying a statue of Iysander dedicated by the Spartan at Delphi (Diehl, i(1) p. 87). The epigram is self-sufficient in four lines, but he adds as a fifth *ἔΞάμδ ἀμφιρῦτ[δ] τεῦξε ἐλεγείον Ἴων*.

Rhodes. Wherever he got it from, it was not from a book of 'Sophocles' *Epigrams*'. The fact that Simonides 17 and Timocreon 10 are preserved in the Palatine Anthology implies that they were taken over into some collection of 'epigrams', but it need not have been a collection of epigrams by a particular poet.

A more likely case of a genuine and non-epigraphic piece by Simonides intruding into his *Epigrams* is eleg. 16, also from the Palatine Anthology:

σῆμα καταφθιμένοιο Μεγακλέος εὖτ' ἂν ἴδωμαι,  
οἰκτίρω σε τάλαν Καλλία, οἷ' ἔπαθες.

It is absurd to imagine this written *on* the gravestone of Megacles, but because it mentions the grave and laments the dead man it might well have been put in with the real epitaphs ascribed to Simonides and thence received in Meleager's *Garland*. Much the same applies to Anacreon iamb. 2 (again from the Palatine Anthology), two lines from the beginning of a longer poem:

ἀλκίμων σ' ὦ Ἀριστοκλείδη πρῶτον οἰκτίρω φίλων  
ὠλεσας δ' ἤβην ἀμύνων πατρὶδος δουλητήν.

Meleager used a collection of epigrams attributed to Anacreon (*Anth. Pal.* 4. 1. 35), and it seems likely that this was in it.<sup>21</sup>

The question whether a fragment belongs to elegy or to epigram, then, is not simply a question of whether it comes from an ancient book entitled 'Ἐλεγείαι or from one entitled 'Ἐπιγράμματα. It is a question of the nature and purpose of the poem to which it belongs; and that must be judged on internal and not external evidence. The choice is not always easy, and I have no confidence that the decisions I have made in my edition will be uniformly endorsed. I can only hope that the foregoing pages have made it clear what I was trying to decide.

<sup>21</sup> Wilamowitz, *SS*, p. 106, thinks that its source in the Palatine Anthology was not Meleager's *Garland* but a fuller version of Hephaestion than we have. That is possible, but I should have thought less probable.

## II Iambus

The term *ἰαμβος* is commonly used by the ancients in referring to a poem of a certain type. It was applied, most notably, to the trimeters and tetrameters of Archilochus; probably also to his epodes, since Callimachus' book of *Ἰαμβοί* includes poems in epodic metre, and Horace refers to his own Epodes as *Parvi iambi*.<sup>1</sup> It was applied to Semonides' trimeters; to Solon's trimeters and tetrameters; to Hipponax's choliambic trimeters and tetrameters, among which an occasional hexameter or half-hexameter could appear (fr. 23, 35); perhaps, again, to his epodes; to an epode of Anacreon (fr. iamb. 5); and to trimeters and tetrameters of Hermippus which stood apart from his comedies. Outside the Ionian area, it appears as the description of compositions by Aristoxenus of Selinus, an early writer whose only fragment is anapaestic, and by Asopodorus of Phlius who wrote in prose, probably about the time of Alexander, since he alternated with the aulete Antigenidas in an anecdote (Ath. 631 f).

It follows that the name *ἰαμβος* does not automatically imply a particular metre or metrical type. Iambic metre got its name from being particularly characteristic of *ἰαμβοί*, not vice versa.<sup>2</sup> What then is the essence of iambus? Is it its notoriously abusive character? Certainly *ἰαμβίζω* and *ἰαμβοποιεῖν* mean 'satirize', and Catullus calls his lampoons *iambi* even though metrically they do not stand in the Greek iambographic tradition (36. 5, 40. 2, 54. 6). Invective was clearly regarded as the outstanding feature of the genre. On the other hand, *ἰαμβος* does not seem to be used simply to mean 'an invective'. Nor are those poems of Archilochus, Semonides and others that were collectively known as *iambi* to later writers uniformly of an invective nature. Allowing for the fact that a book entitled *Ἀρχιλόχου Ἰαμβοί* may have included a minority of poems that would not individually have been so classified, and so may mislead us as we try to determine the proper scope of the term, there seems to be a greater variety of subject and tone among the fragments than would naturally have been covered by a single name, if there were no other unifying circumstance.

<sup>1</sup> *Epist.* 1. 19. 23, cf. *Epod.* 14.7; also Theoc. *epigr.* 21, where Archilochus τὸν πάλαι ποιητᾶν τὸν τῶν ἰαμβῶν is celebrated in epodic triplets.

<sup>2</sup> *ἰαμβεῖον* καλεῖται νῦν ἓτι ἐν τῷ μέτρῳ τούτῳ ἰαμβίζον ἀλλήλους, Arist. *Poet.* 1448<sup>b</sup>31. In metrical terminology *ἰαμβεῖον* = an iambic trimeter, *ἰαμβικός* = iambic, *ἰαμβος* = iambic rhythm, later = an iambus (—), later still = *ἰαμβεῖον*. Cf. K. J. Dover, *Hardt Entretiens* x. 186 f.

I believe the most fruitful line of inquiry to be that suggested by a remark of Dover's (op. cit., p. 189), that the common characteristic of iambi might have been the type of occasion for which they were composed. The etymology of *ιαμβος* is unknown, but it has naturally been compared with *διθύραμβος*, *θριαμβος* and *ιθυμβος*. These three words are all associated with the cult of Dionysus, and like *ιαμβος*, they can denote either a person or a type of composition. *διθύραμβος* and *θριαμβος* are titles of Dionysus and also songs in his honour. *ιθυμβος*, besides being a dance performed at a Dionysiac festival (Pollux 4. 104), was a *ποίημα ἐπὶ χλεύῃ καὶ γέλωτι συγκείμενον*, or an *ᾠδὴ μακρὰ καὶ ὑπόσκασιος*; or alternatively a jester, presumably the performer of the composition described (Hesych., Phot.). The Delian antiquarian Semus (late third century B.C.?) knew *ιαμβοὶ* as poetic *ρήσεις* recited in an offhand manner (? *σχέδην*) by ivy-crowned *αὐτοκάβδαλοι*, and also as the name of these performers themselves (*FGrHist* 396 F 24). The ivy provides a link with Dionysus, and also with the *θριαμβος*, for Phalaeus' epigram about the tomb of Lycon, the comedian admired by Alexander, describes his effigy as being *εἰς θριαμβον / κισσῶ καὶ στεφάνοισιν ἀμπυκασθέν.*<sup>3</sup> This *θριαμβος* must have been something merry. Hesychius defines it as a *Διονυσιακὸς ὕμνος*, *ιαμβος*. There is other evidence for the recitation of *ιαμβοὶ* as a public spectacle in the fourth century:

Arist. *Pol.* 1336<sup>b</sup>20 τοὺς δὲ νεωτέρους οὐτ' *ιάμβων* οὔτε *κωμῳδίας* θεατὰς νομοθετητέον πρὶν ἢ τὴν ἡλικίαν λάβωσιν ἐν ἧ καὶ κατακλίσεως ὑπάρξει κοινωνεῖν ἤδη καὶ μέθης.

Ath. 620c Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ περὶ γρίφων "τὰ Ἀρχιλόχου" φησὶν "Σιμωνίδης ὁ Ζακύνθιος ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐπὶ δίφρου καθήμενος ἐραψῳδεῖ". Λυσανίας δὲ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ *ιαμβοποιῶν* Μνασίωνα τὸν βαψῳδὸν λέγει ἐν ταῖς δεῖξεισι τῶν Σιμωνίδου τινὰς *ιάμβων* ὑποκρίνεσθαι.

Before considering the early iambographers themselves and the circumstances in which their work was offered to the public, we may notice the mythical person Iambe.<sup>4</sup> She first appears in the *Hymn to*

<sup>3</sup> Gow - Page = *Anth. Pal.* 13. 6. Cf. Pratinas, *Melici* 708. 15 *θριαμβε διθύραμβε κισσοχαίτ' ἀναξ.*

<sup>4</sup> The hero Iambos does not deserve the same attention. The grammarian Diomedes says that Iambus was a son of Ares who used the throwing-spear, *cum clamore*, and got his name from this, *ἀπο τοῦ εἶναι καὶ βᾶν*, i.e. *ἀπὸ τοῦ εἶναι καὶ βοᾶν*. Spear-throwers take a short and then a long step, and hence the iambus as a metrical foot has the form  $\cup -$ . *Auctor huius vibrationis (libr. codd.)* † *Arctinus Graecus his versibus perhibetur*: ὁ Ἰαμβος

ἐξ ὀλίγου διαβάς προφόρῳ ποδί, ὅρα οἱ ἴγυϊα  
τεινόμενα βῶοιτο καὶ εὐσθενὲς εἶδος ἔχησι.

(*Il. Pers.* 16 Bethe.) The subject of *perhibetur* ought to be Iambus. As the verses and the hero presuppose 'iambus' as a metrical foot, they must be Hellenistic or

*Demeter*, 202, as the woman who cheered Demeter up by humorous abuse after a period of sorrow and fasting, διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς Θεσμοφορίοις τὰς γυναικίας σκώπτειν λέγουσιν, says Apollodorus 1. 5. 1, and whether or not it was the Thesmophoria that the poet had in mind, there is no doubt that Iambe's χλαῦαι are the mythical prototype of some ritual raillery of a comic, insulting and probably indecent sort, which must have borne the name λαμβοί.

Demeter and Dionysus naturally tend to be associated in Greek religion, as the deities controlling the earth's produce. Both have connexions with Paros and with Archilochus. Paros is already named in the Homeric Hymn (491) as the next centre of the Demeter-cult after Eleusis; it was settled from Attica in the eleventh century, and its Demeter-cult is probably an offshoot of the Attic dating back to that time. The Thasian Polygnotus painted Tellis, the grandfather of Archilochus, in the same boat (Charon's) with Cleoboia, the priestess who brought the rites of Demeter from Paros to Thasos (Paus. 10. 28. 3). Archilochus' father was called Telesicles (*BCH* 85, 1961, 846, ca. 400 B.C., and later sources). Tellis is a hypocoristic form standing for a name in Telesi-; perhaps Tellis' father too was called Telesicles. We seem to have here a hereditary association with the τέλεα. Tradition ascribed to Archilochus a festival song in epodic metre, containing the words

Δήμητρος ἀγνῆς καὶ Κόρης  
τὴν πανήγυριν σέβων

(fr. 322). It was entitled Ἰόβακχοι, a name appropriate to a band of people whose ἔξαρχος cries ἰὼ βάκχοι, ἰὼ βάκχοι (cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 577). Choral titles were borne by many tragedies and old comedies, as well as by Bacchylides' 'dithyramb' Ἠθῆοι ἢ Θησεύς.

We must not be surprised to find βάκχοι in the service of Demeter and Kore. Before the fourth century the word has no necessary connexion with Dionysus. Essentially it denotes those who have undergone a certain kind of ritual purification.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, a βακχίη is associated with drinking in Archil. 194, and Dionysus might well have played a part at the Demeter festival. Elsewhere (120) Archilochus speaks of himself as the drunken ἔξαρχος of a dithyramb, the glad song of lord Dionysus. In fr. 251, from Mnesiepes' inscription, we have a

later, and the bad use of the moods also points in that direction. They may never have stood in a poem; it may be a fake quotation, with Arctinus named because he was the author of several seldom-seen early epics.

<sup>5</sup> *Schwyzler* 792 (Cyme, ca. 450 B.C.) οὐ θέμις ἐντοῦθα κείσθαι ἰ μὲ (= εἰ μὴ) τὸν βεβακχευμένον; in the cult of the Cretan Mother and Son, Eur. fr. 472. 15 (Austin, *Eur. Fr. Nova* p. 52); linked with Orpheus and Eleusis, id. *Hipp.* 954 (with 24-6), Pl. *Phaed.* 69c.



fragment of what may be another cult song locally attributed to Archilochus. The surrounding narrative is very broken, but the gist seems to be that at a certain festival Archilochus improvised some verses and taught them to a chorus. They mentioned Dionysus, grapes and figs (with sexual *double entendre*?), and Oipholios 'the Screwer', probably a title of Dionysus. The city found this 'too iambic', and the poet was put on trial. But before long the men were afflicted with impotence. They sent to Delphi to discover the cause, and were told to [honour] Archilochus. They realized their mistake and [introduced a new form of service to] Dionysus.\*

The word *ἰαμβος* itself appears for the first time in Archilochus, fr. 215,

καί μ' οὐτ' ἰάμβων οὔτε τερπωλέων μέλει.

*ἰαμβοί* are here something that goes with *τερπωλαί*, festivity (cf. 11. 2 *τερπωλάς και θαλας*), and something that Archilochus might be taking an interest in if he were not grieving. They are surely more than just verses, they are an occasion. The poems of his that were known as *iambi* must have been so called because they were associated with such occasions.

It has been remarked above that the collection current under the name of 'Archilochus' *Iambi*' may have included some poems which he would not have regarded as belonging to that category; and (p. 18) that two of the metres characteristic of such collections, the trochaic tetrameter and the iambic trimeter, seem to have been used as freely as elegiacs for everyday purposes, in circumstances where it is impossible to see why the special name *iambus* should have been conferred on them. By what criterion, then, can we divide *iambus* in the true and original sense from other verse in similar metres?

I suggest that we may recognize *iambus* most confidently in those types of subject matter for which elegiacs are never used: that is, in explicitly sexual poems, in invective which goes beyond the witty banter we found in elegy, and in certain other sorts of vulgarity. These are, of course, the very elements that are especially associated with the iambic name.

In Archilochus they are concentrated in the trimeters and epodes, though not invariably present in them (fr. 24, for instance, a personal address to a friend safe home from the sea, could as well have been an elegy, cf. Th. 511-22), and not wholly absent from the tetrameters (cf. fr. 119, 152). The attacks on Lycambes and his daughters are particularly in question, and we will take these as our starting-point.

\* Cf. Treu, *Archilochos*, pp. 47-9 and 208-9; T.B.L. Webster in Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy & Comedy*, 2nd ed., p. 10.

The story was that Lycambes had accompanied Telesicles to Delphi on the occasion when the oracle announced that the first of Telesicles' sons to greet him off the ship would be *ἄθανατος καὶ ἀοιδίμος* (Mnesiepes' inscription, A(E<sup>1</sup>) II 43 ff.). This turned out to be Archilochus. A match was arranged between Archilochus and one of Lycambes' daughters, Neoboule. But Lycambes afterwards broke it off, whereupon Archilochus abused him and his two daughters in such fierce iambs that they (the daughters only, in the earlier sources) hanged themselves for shame. He claimed that he had met the girls in the precinct of Hera and that they had indulged in a sexual orgy or orgies together, the details of which were described with the most indecent explicitness. – So much is supplied by the testimonia (collected on pp. 15 and 63 f. of the edition). Parts of the story are supported by surviving fragments. In the famous epode that contained the fable of the fox and the eagle (172–181) Lycambes is represented as having made himself a laughing-stock by repudiating the contract of 'salt and table'. The matter may have been raised again in another epode beginning 'Father Zeus, I had no wedding feast' (197), and in one that referred near the beginning to 'bringing home an apparent evil' (195). A series of trimeter fragments (30 ff.) come from sexual narrative of a kind that would suit what is reported of the defamation of the Lycambides. There are several references to Lycambes among the trimeters where the nature of the context is unclear (38, 54. 8, 57. 7, 71. 1), and he is probably to be recognized in *λυκ*[ at 60. 2, a few lines before the sarcastic exclamation 'O l]ucky [man to have s]uch chil[dren'. Neoboule is named as a desirable but at present inaccessible girl in 118, but reviled in 208 (206). In the new Cologne epode she is dismissed as having lost her former attractiveness and her younger sister is seduced instead. Neoboule may or may not be the aging woman reviled in the epode 188–191. The fragments do not guarantee that she was one of Lycambes' daughters, and that might conceivably be a later construction.

It is usually assumed that the suicides are a mythical accretion. A parallel story was told of Hipponax's victims Bupalus and Athenis (ed., pp. 109 f.), as well as of Iambe herself (ed., p. 64). Bupalus and Athenis appear to have been real people, sculptors;<sup>8</sup> Iambe was a mythical person. What about Lycambes and his daughters? Are they real or mythical? We have noted that the word *iambos*, together with *dithyrambos*, *thriambos*, *ithymbos*, belongs to a select and unified group, presumably pre-Greek in origin. Is it not remarkable that the same element *-amb-* appears in the name of a figure who plays a recurrent part in the iambs of the most celebrated exponent of the genre? More

<sup>8</sup> Plin. *NH* 36. 12–13, Paus. 4.30.6, 9.35.6, schol. Ar. *Av.* 573.

than that: he bears the patronymic Dotades (fr. 57. 7), son of Dotes. That too is significant if iambus had to do with the rites of Demeter, for we think of the name Δώς (or whatever it was) that the goddess assumes in *Hymn. Dem.* 122 for the period before she reveals her true identity, a period during which Iambe's jesting takes place. There is also an Aeolic form of her name Δω-μάτηρ. The possibility I am suggesting is that Lycambes and his libidinous daughters were not living contemporaries of Archilochus but stock characters in a traditional entertainment with some (perhaps forgotten) ritual basis. It may be objected immediately that Archilochus could not stand before the public and pretend to have been involved in a marriage arrangement with a fictitious family. But here we must heed Dover's warning (op. cit., pp. 206 ff.) that in an Archilochian iambus the poet is not necessarily speaking in his own person. There is room for 'the assumed personality and the imaginary situation'.

Close to Paros lies Naxos, and Aristotle (fr. 558) has the following story to tell about how the tyrant Lygdamis came to power there in the sixth century. In one of the villages lived a rich and respected man called Telestagoras. Vendors who were offered too low a price for their goods used to say 'Why, I'd rather give it to Telestagoras'. One day some young men, fed up with hearing this, made a κῶμος to his house after their drinking-party. He received them affably, but they began to insult him and his two marriageable daughters. This led to a riot, following which Lygdamis, the leader of the Naxian party, emerged as tyrant.

The insulting of an eminent citizen and of his two marriageable daughters seems a strange coincidence with the case of Lycambes, particularly when his name, Telestagoras, bears the same religious associations as the name of Archilochus' father Telesicles. I suspect that there existed on Naxos a traditional entertainment similar to what existed on Paros (with Dionysus perhaps playing a more dominant part, given his special connexions with Naxos), and that the story of Telestagoras served as its aition. Originally it had nothing to do with Lygdamis, but in time, when a historical occasion for the invention of the custom was sought, it was connected with the tyrant; it was natural to associate with the overthrow of the old aristocracy a genre characterized by outspoken abuse of the great. There is something of a parallel in one of the stories about the beginnings of Attic comedy. It was said that some farmers, done down by certain men of the city, went in at night-time and proclaimed their injustices in the streets: 'Here abides so-and-so who has done as follows to so-and-so the farmer'. Those who had done this were sought out and made to do it in the theatre, where however they disguised themselves with wine-lees. (Schol. Dion. Thr. p. 18. 15 Hilgard.) It is also relevant to remark that the Megarians

believed their comedy to have begun in the time of their short-lived democracy, in the sixth century (Arist. *Poet.* 1448a31).

The sexuality and vituperation characteristic of Archilochus' iambi are paralleled in the other two famous iambographers, Semonides and Hipponax. Sex is typically offered in the form of narrative. The speaker gives detailed accounts of extravagant orgies at which he was present. In Semonides we find among the fragments: 'I rubbed on some perfumes, for there was a trader there too' (16; a woman speaking, apparently), and 'I squashed through the rear entrance' (17, reported as being said *in malam partem*), and 'Then the creature flew up to us that has the worst life of any' (13, of the dung-beetle; the parallel of Hipponax 92. 10 provides a strong suggestion of the nature of the context). We hear that Semonides' special target of abuse was one Orodoecides (Luc. *Pseudolog.* 2);<sup>9</sup> unfortunately there are no surviving fragments that we can connect with him, and it is impossible to tell whether he was associated in any way with the sexual narratives.

In Hipponax, sex is abundantly in evidence (16–17, 78, 84, 92, 104, 155), and here the woman chiefly implicated in it is associated with the man who is the poet's main object of vituperation. Arete, with whom the speaker claims to have shared a variety of rollicking intimacies (13–14, 16–17, and probably 84), is also the mistress of Bupalus (12, cf. 15 and 84. 18). (It has been inferred from 12. 2 (cf. 70. 7–8) that she is also his mother, but see Masson's commentary on the line.) In fr. 115 we have an epode containing execrations upon a contract-breaker, which can be compared with Archilochus' epode against Lycambes. However, there is no indication that it was Bupalus, apart from the equivocal *marginale* at line 16.

If Lycambes and his daughters were not real people, then Archilochus was playing a role. It was perhaps part of this role that he presented himself as a bastard, son of a slave-woman called Enipo (fr. 295); the name, with its connotation of *ἐπιπαι*, is suspiciously apt for an iambographer's mother. With Hipponax we are made more aware that he is putting on an act. He is not really a vulgar simpleton, any more than Archilochus is, but a highly skilful and sophisticated poet. A line like the lyric fr. 119,

εἶ μοι γένοιτο παρθένος καλή τε καὶ τέρπεινα,

has the clear-cut quality of the best Greek poetry: a simple but potent thought expressed in the most natural, exact and effective words, which

<sup>9</sup> The name looks like a compound, and ought to convey some intelligible sense; as it does not, and as Semonides could only have got it into his verse by admitting resolution, which he is nowhere found to do, it may be corrupt, e.g. for Ούρο- or 'Ορσο-λοιχίδης.

happen to make a perfect rhythm, the apparently artless art that we admire in Anacreon or Menander. But for the purposes of iambus Hipponax assumes the character of a low buffoon. His sexual adventures, besides being more sordid than any others in ancient literature, have at the same time a farcical element in them (cf. note on 78. 13-14, and 92). They are presented as one ingredient in a picaresque life full of brawling, burglary, poverty and cheap drink. No opportunity is lost of adding colour to this picture. Arete had no cups, so they took turns at drinking out of a pail (13-14). Some people arriving at a wine-shop find it being swept with the bottom end of a thorn-burnet for lack of a broom (79. 20). Copulation takes place on the floor (84. 9, cf. 62). The gods are approached in a spirit of base materialism, with prayers that cannot be anything but deliberately comic in their juxtaposition of solemn form and banal content:

Zeus, father Zeus, Olympian gods' sultan,  
wherefore hast thou not given me lots of money?

(38; the effect is rather like that of Belloc's 'Would that I had three hundred thousand pounds'.)

Hermes, dear Hermes, Cyllenian son of Maia,  
hear thou my prayer, for I am frozen terrible,  
my teeth are chattering . . .  
give Hipponax a cloak and a nice tunic  
and some nice sandals and nice fur boots  
and sixty staters of gold by the other wall.

(32.) I suspect that he means the 'other wall' of someone else's house, for it is the god of burglars who is being supplicated, as in 3a,

Hermes, dog-choker – or in Maeonian, 'Candaules' –  
comrade of thieves, come and help me pull this rope.<sup>10</sup>

This last may be a reported speech (cf. fr. 3, 'he called on the son of Maia, Cyllene's sultan'). If it is not, we must envisage the speaker of the iambus as dressed for a character part and as doing a little acting too. There is nothing particularly implausible in such an idea. It would certainly suit fr. 26, a passage which, metre and dialect apart, might have come from New Comedy. An old man is describing the profligacy of one of his sons, who

ate up the allotment; so I have to dig  
the rocky hillside, munching modest figs.

Then there is fr. 120/121:

<sup>10</sup> This I take to be the real meaning of *σκαπαρδεῦσαι*, cf. *σκαπέρδα*.

Take my coat, I'm going to punch Bupalus in the eye:  
I've two right hands, and I punch on the target.

Another passage, 78. 14, if rightly interpreted on p. 143 below (and I am at a loss for an alternative), implies a narrator who is wearing an artificial phallus, like the actors of later comedy. This would also go very well with Archilochus fr. 66-7 (see below, p. 126).

The notable amount of foreign vocabulary in Hipponax (judiciously discussed by Masson, p. 31) must be seen as a deliberate means of characterizing vulgar speech. The forms ῥοδιῶ for ἐροδιῶ in 16. 2, βατηρήη for βακτηρήη in 20, represent the slovenly pronunciation of the street. So will the consonantalization of ι in ἡμίεκτον (21), διά (42. 2). Perhaps the curious mutation that the iambic trimeter and trochaic tetrameter have undergone in Hipponax, by which the penultimate syllable is usually long, may be understood as a deliberate crashing incorrectness emphasizing the clumsy uneducated character that is being projected; it cannot be accounted for by any ordinary genetic process.

An admixture of the high-flown adds another dimension to the style. Compounds such as ἑμφαλητόμος (19), κατωμόχανος (28. 1), πασπαληφάγος (103. 11), μεσσηγυδορποχέστης (114c) and others, like the burglar's prayer, are amusing in the same way as a balloon that turns out to inflate into a grotesque shape. Elevation can be expressed by variation of metre too. One of the prayers to Hermes causes a trimeter to turn into a hexameter in the middle:

ἔρῳ γὰρ οὕτω· "Κυλλήνιε Μαιάδος Ἐρμῆ"

(35), and elsewhere a complete hexameter seems to have occurred (23). After this it is not surprising to find a whole poem conceived as an epic parody (128-9a); the identifiable fragments are in hexameters, but trimeters may have been mixed in with them. The narrative concerned the future stoning of a glutton by popular consent, and we are justified in classing it as an iambus.

If that is an iambus, then so was the *Margites* ascribed to Homer, a burlesque epic composed in an irregular mixture of hexameters and trimeters, with a plebeian and ludicrous central character and a farcical and bawdy story. Another 'Homeric' poem called οἱ ἐπὶ ἐπ' Ἄκτιον (for this is what must underlie the many variants; it is a parody of οἱ ἐπὶ ἐπὶ Θήβας) had an alternative appellation λαμβοί, and while we know nothing of its contents, we may guess that it was a burlesque of the same general type as the *Margites*. It has further been suspected that Hipponax treated the Odysseus story in a comic spirit, but the evidence is thin (see 74 title, 77.2, 129). There is no indication that Archilochus' account of the myth of Deianeira (fr. 286-8) was any-

thing but serious; but it would be interesting to know in what metre and for what purpose he dealt with it. Lastly in this connexion I should refer to the choliambic *Theseis* by one Diphilus, the evidence for which is given in *Iambi et Elegi*, ii. 61 f. If it was a pre-Alexandrian poem (which we do not know), the metre presupposes a burlesque treatment.

There are many references in the fragments of Hipponax and other iambographers to food and foodstuffs: Archil. 79. 1; 116?; 241; 275; 281; Sem. 11; 15; 23-30; 32; 39; Hippon. 8; 26a; 29a; 39; 48; 58; 75; 102. 9; 106. 9; 114b; 124-5; 129a; 145; 149; 166; 168; Anan. 3; 5; Hermipp. 2. Not being so freely available as it is to us, food was a subject of perpetual interest to the ordinary Greek. But it was only in the most down-to-earth genres of poetry that this preoccupation was given full rein, and it is likely that the passages listed belonged with few exceptions to true iambus. Iambus makes a point of thumbing its nose at pretension; and it certainly strikes the right tone for iambus when Ananius writes

Of gold says Pythermus that nothing else matters.  
(... ) If you lock up a lot of gold in a house,  
with just a few figs, and two or three people,  
you'll see how much better figs are than gold.

But we have now reached a point where it is difficult to claim more for iambus with confidence. Besides Lycambes, a number of other men appear as objects of Archilochus' mockery or criticism; some of them were his friends (one of the things about Archilochus that struck Critias as reprehensible, see fr. 295). How much of this was iambus, and how much was that gentler badinage which was allowed in ordinary social intercourse? References to the lechery of a piper Myklos (270) or of a homosexual (294) may come from iambi; but it is hard to decide one way or the other when it comes to the tetrameters in which Pericles was scolded for gluttony and boorish behaviour (124), or in which the Muse was invoked to sing 'of Glaucus the horn-moulder' (117, probably alluding to a style of coiffure); or to the epode in which Charilaus, 'dearest of comrades', was told a funny story (168-71), perhaps the same poem in which he was mocked as a gourmand (167). In another epode an animal fable with the moral that *οἱ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀπερισκέπτως ἐπιχειροῦντες πρὸς τῷ δυστυχεῖν καὶ γέλωτα ὀφλισκάνουσιν* (*Aesop. fab.* 81 Perry) was related to one Kerykides (185, perhaps a fictive patronymic). The fact that animal fable was also used in the Lycambes epode, and nowhere so far as we know in elegy, may be an indication that the Kerykides-poem was an iambus, but it is not decisive.

Again, the satire on public figures which we see in 114 (οὐ φιλέω μέγαν στρατηγόν) and 112-3 as interpreted on p. 129 below, may have been iambus; but it would have been possible in elegy, and the fact that

these fragments are in tetrameters is perhaps a hint that they are to be grouped with the more serious comment on public events which is often evident in Archilochus' poetry in that metre (88-95, 97-9, 101-2, 105-8, 115; cf. 219, 227-30, 291-2), and which is presumably not iambus. Serious politics in the iambic metres is found a little later in Solon. Solon's tetrameter and trimeter discourses cannot be separated from his elegies. We cannot regard them as true iambs. The references to food in fr. 38-40 might be a point of contact with iambus, but perhaps Solon was just describing the prosperity which his measures had brought to the demos.

Another type of poem found in the early iambographers may be termed philosophic. The best examples, because the most extended, are Semonides 1 and 7. The first is a sermon on the vanity of human aspirations and the uselessness of worrying, addressed ὦ παῖ, and no different from what one might find in an elegiac poem - indeed it has much in common with Solon 13. The other is slightly more likely to be a genuine iambus: it is the flat-footed satire on women which has the distinction of being the longest surviving piece of non-epic Greek verse from before the fifth century. Fragments of addresses on the evils of womankind also appear in Hipponax (68) and Susarion (who is speaking to his fellow-δημόται), which strengthens the case for Semonides' poem being an iambus. On the other hand, a parallel classification of women according to the different animals they come from appears in hexameters of Phocylides, and one might treat these as belonging to the same category of popular philosophy as Solon's elegy (27) on the ten hebdomads of man's life.

We may now attempt some general observations on the Ionian iambus. It is always a poetic monologue, or a monody of simple structure. Conversations appear in it, but sometimes it is clear that they are reported by a narrator (Archil. 23, 33, 176-7, 187, Cologne epode, Hippon. 92. 1), and this is probably to be assumed for the altercation in Hippon. 25. The characteristic metres are the iambic trimeter and trochaic tetrameter, either pure or scazon, or epodic combinations. The speaker addresses himself sometimes to the public (Hippon. 1 ὦ Κλαζομένιοι, Susarion ὦ δημόται), sometimes to an individual, who may be a friend (Archil. 48. 7 ὦ Γλαῦκε, in a sexual narrative) but is more often the subject of mockery or worse (Archil. 49. 5 ἔχθιστε, 54. 8 Λυκά]μβα, etc.; Hippon. 70. 11 ὦ Ὀθρη, 118. 1 ὦ Σάωνε). He ridicules or denounces particular persons or universal types, in an amusing or entertaining way, or he tells tales of titillating sexual adventures or other low doings. He may represent himself as something of a clown, he may assume a different character altogether, at least at the beginning of the performance. Archilochus can become Charon the carpenter (19), or a father speaking to his daughter (122); Hipponax can become a back-



street burglar or a grumpy old peasant; Semonides can perhaps become a prostitute (16) or a cook (24). Simple actions appropriate to the character can be portrayed, and there are some indications of a phallus being worn. The singing of an epode will have been accompanied by a musical instrument. The same may have been true of the spoken iambs, though there is no usable evidence for archaic times. (What is said in ps.-Plutarch, *de musica* 1141a, about Archilochus' innovations in the delivery of iambic can only be based on the practice of later artists.)

The genre has its heyday in the seventh and sixth centuries. In the fifth, we find trimeters and tetrameters being used, outside drama, by Timocreon, Euenus, Scythinus, and Hermippus. But only in the case of the last-named poet does it look like iambus in the proper sense; and it is perhaps significant that he is otherwise a writer of comedies. Perhaps he used iambus as an alternative to comedy, either because of the temporary prohibition of τὸ ὄνομαστί κωμῶδειν (he was Pericles' most outspoken critic), or by way of reversion to an older fashion: the two explanations do not exclude each other. This brings us to the larger question of the historical relationship of iambus both to Attic comedy and to other genres.

Sometime about 534 B.C. Thespis of Icaria first produced tragedy at Athens. He is credited with an important innovation in the traditional performance of the τραγικὸς χορὸς which, it may be guessed, used to re-enact mythical events, like the old τραγικὸι χοροὶ at Sicyon which commemorated τὰ πάθεια of Adrastus (Herodotus 5. 67). The innovation was that Thespis appeared as a speaker who conversed with the chorus between its songs. Formally the arrangement can be seen as a progression from the exarchos + chorus pattern which had long been used on various ritual occasions, in dirges, paeans, dithyrambs, etc.<sup>11</sup> But while the chorus (to argue back from fifth-century tragedy) sang in Dorizing accents, affirming the Peloponnesian affinities of the thing, the speaker's dialect had a slightly Ionic colouring. His main metre was the trochaic tetrameter, to judge from Arist. *Poet.* 1449<sup>a</sup>21;<sup>12</sup> he may from the first have used the iambic trimeter as well, though Aristotle treats this as a subsequent innovation.

Wilamowitz subsumes these features of the speeches under a simple and brilliant formula: they are given the form which hitherto has been that of the Ionian iambus (*Einleitung in die griech. Tragödie*, p. 87). But this needs qualification. Still arguing from fifth-century convention, we must suppose that the performance mounted by Thespis represented serious events, death and lamentation. The *Suda* ascribes to him a

<sup>11</sup> *Il.* 18. 51, 316, 24. 720–2; Archil. 120, 121, and *Iobacchi*; Sappho 140(a); cf. later Bacchyl. 18; Telesilla, *Melici* 717.

<sup>12</sup> Aristotle does not name Thespis. The *Suda* ascribes the invention of the tetrameter to Phrynichus.

*Pentheus* and Ἐπι Πελίᾳ, besides two plays of less easily evaluated titles. The model cannot have been iambus in the strict sense, verse of a scurrilous, lubricious or farcical character, but rather the more dignified poetry which had been or was being composed in similar metres in the Ionian sphere and (with touches of Ionic dialect) by Solon at Athens. The preference for tetrameters is entirely in keeping with these antecedents: Archilochus clearly had a bias towards tetrameters for serious subjects; we do not know that Solon used the metre for any but serious themes (though our knowledge of his work is one-sided); and Anacreon chose it for his lament on Aristoclidēs.<sup>18</sup> There was no more natural metre for Thespis to adopt, given that he did not want to sing.

I turn next to the entertainments put on by Epicharmus and others in Sicily in the first third of the fifth century. Ancient writers treat Epicharmus' work as 'Comedy', because of a certain resemblance to Attic κωμῳδία, but Wilamowitz (op. cit., p. 55) is right to maintain that Epicharmus will not have given it that name. Note that one composition was called Κωμασταὶ ἢ Ἡφαιστος – Κωμασταί would have been useless as an identification if a κῶμος had been integral to the form. There was a chorus, to judge from the plural titles of several pieces. One of these, the *Dancers*, was wholly composed in anapaests (catalectic tetrameters), and the same was true of a performance called *Epinikios* (Hephaest. *Ench.* 8. 2). Perhaps these two so-called δράματα were entirely recited by the chorus, as it were an independent parabasis. Anapaestic tetrameters also appear in fragments of the *Periallos*, *Persae*, *Pyrrha* & *Prometheus*, and fr. 152 (fab. incert.); dimeters in the *Odysseus Automolos*. Otherwise the fragments are in trochaic tetrameters or iambic trimeters, the former being heavily in the majority. At least some of them belong to dialogue between two or in some cases apparently three interlocutors. The subjects were predominantly mythological. The plays seem to have been on average much shorter than those of Aristophanes: see Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy & Comedy*, 2nd ed. revised by Webster, p. 281.

One fragment (88 Kaibel) from *Logos & Logina* makes mention of 'iambi in the old (?) manner which Aristoxenus originally introduced'. Hephaestion tells us that this Aristoxenus was a Selinuntian, and that some anapaestic tetrameters by him were recorded. It seems likely that Epicharmus, speaking outside the action of the play, which was set in mythical times (fr. 87), was here contrasting his own kind of show with a different kind that was in fashion before. It may be that the anapaestic *Dancers* and *Epinikios* were examples of the old kind, and that they

<sup>18</sup> Whoever made ἰαμβος and ἰαμβεῖον into metrical terms (cf. p. 6) evidently knew the trimeter, not the tetrameter, as the characteristic metre of iambus. It is also worth noting that the tetrameter is avoided by the Hellenistic iambographers (except for Aeschryon, fr. 7) and by Horace.

were called *iambi*. There is one other early piece of evidence for the association of the name in Syracuse with dancers. The anapaestic fragment from the *Periallos* (109) reads:

Σεμέλα δὲ χορεύει  
καὶ ὑπαυλεῖ σφιν ἴσοφός κιθάρα παριαμβίδας ἅ δὲ γεγάθει  
πυκινῶν κρεγμῶν ἀκροαζομένα.

Ancient scholars understood παριαμβίδες to be a citharodic nome accompanied by the pipe. Its name implies that it went with something called *iambos*, and in the fragment it goes with a Dionysiac dance involving more than one person (σφιν). 'Semele' reminds us of Pindar's dithyramb for the Athenians ending ἀχει τ' ὀμφαί μελέων σὺν αὐλοῖς, οἴχνηϊ τε Σεμέλαν ἐλικάμπυκα χοροί (fr. 75. 18-19); and then it only remains to quote Ath. 181c, 'and in general, music took different forms among the Greeks, the Athenians preferring the Dionysiac, circular choruses, the Syracusans the λαμβιστάι, and others something else'. These λαμβιστάι were evidently dancers, and their *iambi* seemed to correspond in function to the Athenian dithyramb.

If we want to know where Aristoxenus got his anapaests from, we must take account of the fact that the other places where they appear are at Sparta in marching songs (*Melici* 856-7), and at Athens both in comedy (particularly the parabasis) and in tragedy (particularly in association with entries and exits). Selinus was founded from Megara, and it is natural to think in terms of a Peloponnesian origin for the rhythm and for its use by choruses.

To these anapaestic addresses Epicharmus or someone not much earlier added dialogue which, like that of early Attic tragedy, was more often in tetrameters than in trimeters. The plays so created were largely on mythical subjects. We cannot suppose the innovation independent of Attic tragedy. Aeschylus visited Hiero's court, and Epicharmus was thought to have parodied him (fr. 214); Phrynichus too is said to have died in Sicily (Anon. π. κωμωδίας p. 8 Kaibel). Wilamowitz's assumption that their work provided the model for the new form is very plausible (op. cit., pp. 53 f.; cf. L. Radermacher, *Aristophanes' Frösche*, p. 19).

The evolution of Attic comedy is more obscure, as Aristotle says (*Poet.* 1449<sup>a</sup>38). The reason is that it remained subliterate, texts were not written or at any rate not kept, till the mid fifth century. Comedy took its name from the κῶμος of a rowdy chorus which appeared in animal, satyr or other amusing guise. The parabasis delivered by this chorus must be an early feature that shared a common ancestry with Aristoxenus' *iambi* and resisted the tendency to make comedy tell a continuous story. According to Aristotle, the story element came from Sicilian comedy and was introduced by Crates (first victory 450 B.C.),

departing from the λαμβυχή ιδέα. In the earliest phase that we can see, mythical subjects were not uncommon; influence from Epicharmus is possible, but clearly tragedy was also a major influence, and it may have been enough. Aristotle seems to think that there was already dialogue before Crates. He must have had in mind something 'iambic' in his sense, exchanges of a comic and ribald sort. This is pretty much what one finds in an Aristophanic play if one disregards the plot (which is not hard to do), and it is a plausible picture for the early fifth century. There is no proof that it does not antedate Aeschylus' introduction of the second actor in tragedy. Another possibility is that the anapaestic addresses of the chorus were formerly combined with monologues of a kind that one would not care to distinguish from a specimen of Ionian iambus.

Such a conjunction may hold the key to the puzzle that the name 'iambus' belongs to the choral anapaests of Aristoxenus as well as to the *Sprechvers* monologues of Ionian writers. A fragment of an East Greek vase from Miletus shows that comic choruses of the 'padded dancer' type were known in Ionia before Archilochus (Pickard-Cambridge/Webster, op. cit., pl. XVb). If one may suppose that the "λαμβοι and τερωλαλ" which he mentions included dancing by these or some other ludicrous troupe, as well as the presentation of entertaining monologues such as he himself composed, it would be easy for the name iambus to attach itself to the latter in particular. "Let's go and watch the λαμβοι", people would say, and if the (actor-) reciter became the centre of attraction, the word might naturally come to be understood to refer primarily to his piece (or to him; cf. Semus cited above, p. 23). If on the other hand in mainland Greece the chorus played the more prominent part, themselves addressing the audience at some length, λαμβος would become the term for that. At Sicyon, sometime in the fourth or third century, a band known as the φαλλοφόροι marched into the theatre chanting a parody of a passage in Euripides' *Hippolytus*, after which they ran forward and mocked whoever they chose, and a large phallus was borne in by a man whose face was blackened with soot (Semus l.c.; *Melici* 851(b), cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 73 ff.). Semus appears to have treated these performers as akin to the αυτοκάβδαλοι who recited (and were also called) λαμβοι. Athenaeus in the same context (621 f) regards them as belonging to the εἶδος τῶν δευκηλιστῶν. The δευκηλιστής, 'representationalist', was an old sort of Spartan entertainer described by Sosibius (*FGrHist* 595 F 7). Using commonplace language (ἐν εὐτελεῖ τῇ λέξει) he acted the part, it might be, of someone stealing fruit, or a foreign doctor. Here we have evidence for something in the Peloponnese that, even if it was not in verse, corresponds in some way to Hipponax, and at the same time is put in the same category as a chorus of φαλλοφόροι who abuse their audience in a theatre. It was from οἱ τὰ φαλλικὰ

ἐξάρχοντες that Aristotle derived Attic comedy, τὰ φαλλικά δ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν πολλᾷ τῶν πόλεων διαμένει νομιζόμενα. The erotic prose iambi of Asopodorus of Phlius may derive from another local Peloponnesian tradition.

The features that Ionian iambus has in common with later Attic comedy are numerous. Iambic and trochaic metres; the projection of a vulgar or pretentious character by performers who may have worn the phallus; abuse of the grand and famous by the lowly, the classes of people mocked including priests or seers (Archil. 182–3, Hippon. 4–4a, 79. 16?; cf. Aristox. fr.), military leaders and statesmen (Archil. 112–5?), doctors (66–7), musicians (270, Hippon. 118. 12), homosexuals (25.3–4?, 294, Anacr. iamb. 7), ascetics (Sem. 10a), gluttons (Archil. 124, 167, Hippon. 114c, 118, 128); parody of serious poetry; plenty of sex; and much about food and cooking.

In the last resort, however, it remains impossible to define the exact historical relationship of the genres. The evidence of Boeotian, Laconian, Corinthian, Attic and East Greek vases indicates that grotesque choruses of various kinds – fat and phallic men, satyrs, animals – were widely known in Greece in the archaic period. (They are listed in Pickard-Cambridge/Webster, *op. cit.*, pp. 301 ff.) But in most cases we do not know and cannot guess what festivals they appeared at; the fact that at Athens they function in dithyramb, comedy and satyr-play should warn us against hoping for a single answer. On the other hand we have evidence for abusive and humorous addresses by solo performers, attaining literary status in Ionia, remaining subliterary at Sparta and elsewhere, and also by choruses at Sicyon and in Sicily. Linking the choral addresses with the monologues are (i) the application of the name ἰαμβος to some specimens of both, (ii) the kinship seen by ancient writers between the Spartan δεικηλιστής, the ivy-crowned αὐτοκάβδαλος – ἰαμβος, and the Sicyonian φαλλοφόροι, (iii) perhaps the conjunction of choral with solo addresses in Attic and Sicilian drama, where we also have the further connexion with animal and satyr choruses. We must beware of taking it for granted that Ionian iambus was itself one thing. Hipponax's is distinctly different from Archilochus', and if they both wrote for some kind of ritual festivity, it is to be remembered that they did so in different places and in different centuries.

If a man with a revolver requires me to say plainly how much of what I have collected in *Iambi et Elegi* I believe to have been called ἰαμβοί at the time of its composition, I will answer 'perhaps half of Archilochus; some of Semonides; nearly all of Hipponax and Ananius; the Anacreon epodes; the *Margites*; Susarion; the Hermippus pieces; Aristoxenus; Asopodorus'. As for the rest – the other half of Archilochus, Solon, etc. – it is understandable that the name should subsequently have been extended to include it. It had no name of its own,

any more than most elegy did. When the principle of classifying poems by metre established itself, if not before, all poems in trimeters were grouped together, iambi and non-iambi; and similarly with tetrameters and epodes. It became common to quote so-and-so ἐν τοῖς τριμέτροις or τετραμέτροις or ἐποδοῖς. The rather crude system by which the κατὰ στίχον metres were distinguished as τρίμετρα, τετράμετρα, ἑξάμετρα, and not as λαμβεῖα, τροχαιοί, δάκτυλοι, is already used by Herodotus, who describes the Pythia as prophesying τριμέτρῳ τόνῳ or ἑξάμετρῳ τόνῳ without regard to the difference of rhythm (1. 47. 2, 174. 5; cf. 1. 62. 4; 5. 60–61. 1; 7. 220. 3). When he says that Archilochus mentioned Gyges ἐν λάμβῳ τριμέτρῳ (1. 12. 2), he is surely not using λαμβος with reference to the rhythm but simply to the nature of the poem; likewise when Aristotle cites it with the formula ἐν τῷ λάμβῳ οὗ ἡ ἀρχή. We cannot tell whether the 'three-measure iambi' have yet been separated from those in other metres (for Herodotus' aim is to exhibit his technical knowledge of metrical terminology rather than to direct the reader to the passage), nor whether he would have applied the term iambus to a poem such as fr. 24.

Given a fixed collection of trimeter or tetrameter poems, many of which could be and were referred to as iambi, it was natural that the name should come to be applied to the whole collection. It was especially easy in the case of the trimeters, because more of them were iambi to start with, and because they were in a rhythm now designated 'iambic', each line being technically an λαμβεῖον. Hence Aelius Aristides can call Solon's trimeter poems λαμβοί and distinguish them as such from his tetrameters: καὶ ταῦτα μὲν (34. 6–7) ἐστὶν ἐν τετραμέτροις, ἐν δὲ τοῖς λάμβοις (36. 3–22). But in Diogenes Laertius' catalogue of Solon's poetry (1. 61; *Iambi et Elegi*, ii. 119) λαμβοί must include the tetrameters (epodes are mentioned separately); and the word is applied elsewhere to verses which seem to be tetrameters of non-iambic nature: to those of Scythinus (Hieronymus *ap.* D.L. 9. 16), and to Archil. 93 and 111 (Pausanias, Clement). The testimony of Hieronymus – assuming that Diogenes has reproduced his phrasing – takes us back to the third century B.C. It may be conjectured that already in Callimachus' *Pinakes*, where the whole of literature was catalogued and assigned to genres, trimeter and tetrameter poems generally were entered as λαμβοί. This (not τρίμετρα etc.) is what we regularly find in later bibliographical notices such as Diogenes on Solon (above) and on the two Xenophanes (9. 18, 20); *Suda* s.vv. Ἀνακρέων, Ὀμηρος, Σαπφώ, Σιμωνίδης Κρίνεω, Συμμίλας Ῥόδιος; Tz. *Chil.* 8. 400 (on Aeschryon).

So in including in my edition 'iambus' that would not originally have been so called, I am following a principle established at any rate by the Alexandrian age. I do not imagine that anyone will quarrel with its inclusion. It really has a better claim to be edited together with elegy

than true iambus does. If the scope of the collection were to have been restricted to give it a sharper unity, there would have been a case for excluding the latter; but even if it were always clearly distinguishable, the general convenience would hardly have been served by such an arrangement.

### III On the History of the Theognidean Sylloge

Of the pieces of verse that make up the Theognidea, a considerable number are marked as Theognis' by the use of the vocatives Κύρνε and Πολυπαίδη. On the other hand, several are known from other sources to come from Solon, Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus, and perhaps Euenus. Internal evidence indicates that others were composed in more than one place and period. It is prudent, therefore, to regard the remainder, which is the greater part of the whole, not as 'Theognis' but as anonymous.<sup>1</sup>

By examining the pieces for which we have independent evidence, those of Solon in particular, we can see that at least some of them are excerpts from longer poems. 1003-6 = Tyrtaeus, 12. 13-16. 153-4 = Solon, 6. 3-4. 227-32 = Solon, 13. 71-6. 585-90 = ib. 65-70. In two cases the excerpt has been given an independent appearance by substituting τοι for γάρ at the beginning (153; 315 = Solon, 15). (There are various other textual divergences, which must be judged on their merits.) It may be that many, or most, of the Theognidea are the outcome of similar processes. They often give the impression of being detached fragments: there are connecting particles unaccounted for (e.g. 197, 341, 413, 441, 563), there is many a τοι that may conceal other such particles,<sup>2</sup> there are pronouns without reference (193, 539, 543, 1045, 1055), there are pieces even syntactically incomplete (93-4, 1101-2).

It is a priori very credible that Theognis composed extended elegies in the style of Mimnermus, Solon, Xenophanes, and others. Starting from this assumption, V. Steffen has recently tried to reconstruct eleven elegies by juxtaposing excerpts (*Die Kyrnos-Gedichte des Theognis. Archivum filologiczne* 16, 1968). His attempts are largely unconvincing in detail, but they succeed in illustrating a possibility, in evoking a vision or Platonic form of a Theognidean elegy. To this extent the exercise may be profitable; but it is a delusion to suppose that we can recover lost poems in this way. It is like doing a jigsaw in which not only are many of the pieces probably missing, but the available ones are all more or less square, and coloured white, silver, or

<sup>1</sup> Hudson-Williams's introduction to his edition provides a convenient statement of the main facts. There are those who think that these facts must be forced to fit the ascription of the whole collection to Theognis, because it stands under his name in our manuscripts, and already did so in Roman times. Let them. There is no arguing with them.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. Peretti, *Theognide nella tradizione gnomologica*, Pisa 1953, p. 36 n. 2; B.A. van Groningen, comm. on lines 161 and 209, and his *La Composition littéraire archaïque grecque*, p. 157.



grey. Two fragments from Solon 13 occur in the Theognidea. Suppose a dozen more pieces from the same poem had been preserved there as well: who would have been able to restore from them the text that we get from Stobaeus?

That Theognis is capable of extended writing is shown by 237–54 (hardly a complete poem). However, we need not suppose that an elegy in his time had to be longer than four or six lines. (Cf. Hudson-Williams, pp. 18 f.) Here we may raise the problem of the frequency with which Cynos is addressed. In the extended passage just mentioned he is named only once, in eighteen lines, in spite of his being their central subject throughout. If we look at other of the longer pieces, we find him named thrice in twenty lines (19–38), twice in fourteen (39–52), thrice in fourteen (53–66), once in twelve (101–12), once in ten (119–28, 133–42), twice in ten (183–92, but I posit a lacuna after 188), not at all in ten (429–38, attributed to Theognis on the authority of Plato and Aristotle). That suggests an average frequency of one vocative in eight lines; and the figure might be too high, because other pieces without a vocative may be present without our being able to identify them as Theognis'. Why is it, then, that there are certain parts of the sylloge (19–254, 319–72, 539–54, 805–22, 1171–84b) in which nearly every excerpt, even if it consists of a single couplet, contains Κύρνε or Πολυπατῖδη? In these parts, clearly, we have blocks of pieces drawn from the authentic work of Theognis with little or no admixture of other poets. But even here we might expect the vocative to appear in only one out of every four or five couplets: the actual figure is 61 in 168 couplets (two bits of Solon being set aside), and when the longer pieces considered above are removed, it becomes 47 in 114 couplets. Put simply, the frequency in excerpts of eight lines or less is approximately double what it is in excerpts of ten lines or more. One explanation would be that a proportion of the short pieces are complete poems. (Cf. van Groningen, *Composition* p. 171.) If it was Theognis' practice to insert Cynos' name into every poem – which seems to have been true, or largely true, at least of the corpus from which the Theognis-blocks in our sylloge come – then the frequency per line in poems of three couplets or less will necessarily be higher than what we have found in longer passages.

However, there are other possible explanations of the phenomenon. In the long pieces, there is a marked tendency for Cynos to appear at the beginning (19, 39, 53, 101, 120, 133, 183), or where a new start is made (27, 43, 61). It would not be surprising if such parts of an elegy were most fully represented in a collection of shorter excerpts. It is easy to imagine many of the isolated couplets as openings of longer poems.

Certainly it would be foolish to assume that a couplet or short piece that does not contain Cynos' name cannot be by Theognis, even if he

did name Cynos in every poem: it may be an excerpt. There is more reason to make such an assumption in the case of a poem of twenty or thirty lines (e.g. 373–400, 697–718, 731–52). And in a section of the sylloge where Cynos is absent for a long time (e.g. 439–538, 555–630, 657–804, 837–94, 901–1026), while individual pieces may be Theognis', we cannot be in any doubt that these parts of our text have a different origin from the parts where Cynos appears in almost every piece.

From what sources, then, was our sylloge compiled, and in what circumstances? Before stating the views that I have formed on these questions, I must describe the contents of the collection in greater detail. At the beginning stand four addresses to gods (two to Apollo, one to Artemis, one to the Muses and Graces, in that order). They are hymns or prayers, or parts thereof, of a general nature, and they are nearly the only such pieces in the sylloge, for the invocations that occur elsewhere introduce moral reflection or appeals for help in particular circumstances (cf. 337, 341, 373, 731, 757, 773, 1087, 1117, 1323, 1386). The one exception is the address to Eros which stands at the beginning of the erotica, 'Book 2' (1231). They have been collected at the beginning in just the same way as the four addresses to gods that begin the series of Attic skolia quoted by Ath. 694c ff. (*Melici* 884 ff.): the parallel was drawn by Reitzenstein, p. 74. J. Kroll, *Theognis-Interpretationen* (*Phil. Suppl.* 29, 1936), p. 45, adds evidence from ancient editions of Alcaeus, Sappho, Anacreon, and Pindar.

The long sequence of Cynos-poetry, 19–254, opens with the so-called  $\sigma\phi\eta\gamma\iota\zeta$ -poem in which Theognis gives his own name and city, and ends with the famous piece in which he tells Cynos how he has immortalized him in his verse. The positions occupied by the two pieces are not accidental. They have been chosen to serve as a kind of prologue and epilogue. But they were not composed for this purpose: 19–26 is a complaint of political disappointment (see below ad loc.), 237–54 a complaint of erotic disappointment (the disproportion between 237–52 and 253–4 may have been less in the complete original). We know, moreover, that the Theognis known to Xenophon, or a fourth-century pseudo-Xenophon, began not with our 19 ff. but with our 183 ff. More on this below.

The section enclosed by these poems, 27–236, is in the main a well-arranged selection from Theognis. Two excerpts from Solon appear (153–4, 227–32), and there are a few adespota, but most of the pieces are labelled by the name of Cynos. They succeed one another in a fairly orderly sequence, seriously broken only by 209–10, 211–12, couplets that recur elsewhere in more suitable contexts<sup>3</sup>. The range of

<sup>3</sup> There is a detailed study of the arrangement of the 'Cynos-Buch' in F.S. Hasler, *Untersuchungen zu Theognis*, Diss. Bern, 1959.

topics is not as wide as in the remainder of the sylloge. 237–54 is the only amatory poem, and it was chosen for a special reason; we see from 371–2, 1101–2 + 539–42, and 1353–6 that there was more available. There are none of the personal grievances that are aired in 337–40, 811–20, 1197–1202. There are no symptica except the erratic couplet 211–12. It is all political comment and moral advice and reflection.

After 254 the character of the collection abruptly changes. Cyrnus vanishes for over forty lines. The very first piece is one known to Aristotle not as Theognis' but as an inscription in the shrine of Leto at Delos. The second is a riddle or allegory with a feminine subject. The next two are skolia on the subject of desired girls. Variety of content is matched by disorder of arrangement. In places adjacent pieces are clearly linked by community of subject, form, or phrase, but no continuous thread of association can be followed very far. This situation persists to the end of 'book 1' (1220). We have seen that there are four further Theognis-blocks, all much shorter than 19–254, and several longish stretches where Cyrnus is absent altogether; for the rest, he appears sporadically.

Towards the end, after line 1038, there is a dramatic increase in the number of couplets repeated from elsewhere. Up to this point only three couplets have appeared twice; between 1038a and 1184b, 21 couplets that appeared earlier make a reappearance, and another one appears twice within the section.

Finally there is the collection of amatory pieces preserved only in A and there headed *ἑλεγεῖων β'*. The opening address to Eros refers to Theseus and the Locrian Ajax as famous victims of the god, both of them infatuated by a woman. Most of the pieces that follow are specifically paederastic, a few are unspecific, a few need not be amatory at all but could be so taken. Four couplets make a second appearance; three of them appeared first between 1038a and 1184b.

### *The origin of the second book*

The amatory poems of book 2 include pieces by Theognis (1353–6), Solon (1253–4), and the Simonides-poet of 467 ff. and 667 ff. (1342–50); there is nothing in them that looks later than the fifth century B.C. They are drawn, then, to all appearances, from the same sources as the main body of the Theognidea. The four repeated couplets confirm the connexion. But whereas the main body was current in something like its present form and under Theognis' name by the second century A.D. at the latest<sup>4</sup>, no such concentration of paederastic verse as is represent-

<sup>4</sup> The collective evidence of quotations now reinforced by P. Oxy. 2380.

ed by book 2 was known in connexion with Theognis either then or at any time down to the fourth century. (See Hudson-Williams, pp. 96–99.) Was it then preserved from classical times under some other name? If so, it was extraordinarily percipient of someone to unite it with what was generally thought of as a morally improving book by Theognis.

The alternative seems to be the truth: the verses were not handed down in a concentrated group, but stood dispersed through the sylloge until quite a late period, then to be combed out and gathered as a separate part of the collection which could be reserved for mature readers. Distributed through the whole, they would not have attracted particular attention or harmed Theognis' reputation as a moralist. Most people probably had a general impression of the nature of the book rather than a detailed acquaintance. We see Athenaeus coming across a paederastic reference by accident (994, Ath. 310b) and being mildly amused at the discovery.

There is an important piece of external evidence. The *Suda*, after describing Theognis' works, adds: *ὅτι μὲν παραινέσεις ἔγραψε, (χρήσιμος addidi) Θέογνις· ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ τούτων παρεσπαρμέναι μιαιῖραι καὶ παιδικοὶ ἔρωτες καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ὁ ἐνάρετος ἀποστρέφεται βλός.* The plain meaning of this is that a serious amount of paederastic verse was to be found in the Theognidea, not collected at the end but interspersed with the moral advice. The biographical articles in the *Suda* come from an epitome of Hesychius of Miletus' *Ὀνοματολογικόν*. Hesychius wrote in the sixth century, the epitome dates from about 830–50, and the *Suda* from about 980. (Cf. H. Schultz, *RE* viii. 1323 f.) The sentence that concerns us looks like a Christian addition to the Hesychian material. Nietzsche, *Rh. Mus.* 22, 1867, 189, attributed it to the *Suda* compiler. But this was a very mechanical worker, without even the wit to eliminate from his 'Ἡσύχιος' entry the statement 'the present book is an epitome of Hesychius' work'. Besides, we know from A that the erotic pieces had been segregated at least half a century before the compilation of the *Suda*. It was rather the ninth-century epitomator of Hesychius who added the note, as he has elsewhere made additions on behalf of Christian interests. (Writing about Hesychius himself, he observes that the Church Fathers were ignored by him; he infers that Hesychius subscribed to the pagan folly, and he supplies the deficiency from other sources.)

If so, we learn that in the first half of the ninth century the erotic pieces were still spread through the book, and that offence was being taken at the situation. Within a hundred years, when A was written, we find that they have been segregated, though not with complete success; one or two remain in the body of the sylloge, and not all that were removed need be paederastic. All this is closely parallel to an operation performed – probably at the same period – on the paederastic epigrams

of the Greek Anthology. In Meleager's *Garland*, at any rate, paederastic epigrams were mixed up with other love epigrams, in the Palatine Anthology they are segregated to the part known since Jacobs as book 12. As in the Theognidea, the segregation was rather inaccurately done: 'A.P. 5 contains paederastic epigrams and A.P. 12 some not of that nature' (Gow – Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams*, I. xix). Gow and Page find it most natural to suppose that it was done by Constantine Cephalas, whose anthology underlies the greater part of that in the Palatine manuscript, rather than by a predecessor. That would mean that it was done about 900.

The four couplets that appear for the second time in book 2 were probably not duplicated before the bowdlerization. That would involve the unlikely assumption that the bowdlerizer, working through a text in which four erotic items were duplicated, four times removed one of the pair and overlooked the other; and moreover that he overlooked the striking six lines 949–54 but was offended by another occurrence of the first couplet alone. It may be significant that the pairs in question do not show the textual differences that often divide the two bodies of excerpts. (The differences between 1107–8 and 1318ab are trivial enough to be scribal.) I suggest therefore a different hypothesis. The bowdlerizer's method, I suggest, was to copy the pieces first and delete them in their original contexts afterwards. The four pieces in question only appeared once. He copied them in 'book 2' (only two lines from 949–54), and neglected to delete them in book 1. They all come in the last quarter of the older text, where he is most likely to have become careless.

### *Triple origin of the sylloge*

The title 'book 2' is a late invention. No ancient source mentions a division of Theognis into books, nor would a text of 1400 lines have been so unequally divided that the first book contained over 1200 lines and the second less than 200. Our 'book 1', I shall now assume, resembles the sylloge current in the Roman period, except that the latter incorporated the paederastic pieces, and a few more couplets that fell out before the time of our manuscripts. (Athenaeus quotes one, 1229–30, and Stobaeus four, 1157–8, 1221–6; our text seems lacunose in other places, e.g. 94/5, 382/3, 399/400.)

The form and content of 19–254 are so clearly distinct from the rest that we must recognize in it a separate constituent. I call it the *Florilegium Purum* – *purum* because of its virtual restriction to Theognis and to serious subjects. The inner coherence of the section and the presence of a specious prologue and epilogue show that it is preserved

more or less complete as the editor arranged it. Whether he included the Solon excerpts as they occurred to him, or they are later intruders, it is hard to say. 209–12 certainly seem intrusive (see above), and there may be other disturbance of the original collection, particularly in that region. (The theme of *ἄκαιρος φιλοχρηματία* in 183–208 is resumed in 227.)

The key to the analysis of the main part of the sylloge is given by the repetitions. They are not of scribal origin, the textual variations being of a looser character. In the visible part of the manuscript tradition, the tendency is uniformly to eliminate repetitions, not to multiply them, and by extrapolation one supposes that they may formerly have been even more numerous than now appears. From their distribution it has long been inferred that 1000–1220, or some similar length of text, represents an independent selection from the same source<sup>5</sup>. This source must itself have been an anthology of early elegy, but an ample one.

Confirmation of this is offered by the following observation. The whole section 1023 (sic) – 1220 can be torn into five overlapping strips, each of which runs closely parallel to a sequence in the section 255–1022. Please look at these comparisons:

## I

1023–4

οὐποτε τοῖς ἐχθροῖσιν ὑπὸ ζυγὸν  
αὐχένα θήσω  
δύσλοφον, οὐδ' εἰ μοι Τμῶλος  
ἔπεστι κάρη.

847–8

λάξ ἐπίβα δῆμῳ κενεόφρονι, τύπτε  
δὲ κέντρῳ  
δξεί και ζεύγλην δύσλοφον ἀμφι-  
τίθει.

1027–8

ῥηιδίη τοι πρῆξις ἐν ἀνθρώποις κα-  
κότητος,  
τοῦ δ' ἀγαθοῦ χαλεπή Κύρνε πέλει  
παλάμη.

845–6

εὖ μὲν κείμενον ἄνδρα κακῶς θέμεν  
εὐμαρές ἐστι,  
εὖ δὲ θέμεν τὸ κακῶς κείμενον  
ἀργαλέον.

1037–8

ἄνδρα τοί ἐστ' ἀγαθὸν χαλεπώτατον  
ἐξαπατῆσαι,  
ὡς ἐν ἐμοὶ γνώμη Κύρνε πάλαι  
κέκριται.

851–2

Ζεὺς ἄνδρ' ἐξολέσειεν Ὀλύμπιος,  
ὃς τὸν ἐταῖρον  
μαλθακά κωτίλλων ἐξαπατᾶν ἐθέ-  
λει.

<sup>5</sup> H. Schneidewin (son of F.W.), *De syllogis Theognideis*, 1878, p. 11, and others.

1038ab

ἦδεα μὲν καὶ πρόσθεν, ἀτὰρ πολὺ  
 λώιον ἦδη,  
 οὐνεκα τοῖς δειλοῖς οὐδεμί' ἐστὶ  
 χάρις.

853-4

ἦδεα μὲν καὶ πρόσθεν, ἀτὰρ πολὺ  
 λώια δὴ νῦν,  
 οὐνεκα τοῖς δειλοῖς οὐδεμί' ἐστὶ  
 χάρις.

1043-4

εὐδωμεν· φυλακὴ δὲ πόλεος φυλάκεσ-  
 σι μελήσει  
 ἀστυφέλῃς ἐρατῆς πατρίδος ἡμε-  
 τέρης.

887-8

μηδὲ λίην κήρυκος ἀν' οὐς ἔχε μακρὰ  
 βοῶντος·  
 οὐ γὰρ πατρῷας γῆς πέρι μαρνά-  
 μεθα.

1061-2

οἱ μὲν γὰρ κακότητα κατακρύψαντες  
 ἔχουσι  
 πλούτῳ, τοὶ δ' ἀρετὴν οὐλομένη  
 πενίῃ.

865-7

πολλοῖς ἀχρήστοισι θεὸς διδοῖ ἀνδρά-  
 σιν ὄλβον  
 ἐσθλόν, ὅς οὐτ' αὐτῷ βέλτερος  
 οὐδὲν ἐὼν  
 οὔτε φίλοις· ἀρετῆς δὲ μέγα κλέος  
 οὔποτ' ὀλεῖται.

1069-70a

ἄφρονες ἀνθρωποὶ καὶ νῆπιοι, οἳ τε  
 θανόντας  
 κλαίουσ', οὐδ' ἤβης ἀνθος ἀπολ-  
 λύμενον.  
 τέρπεό μοι φίλε θυμέ· τάχ' αὖ τινες  
 ἄλλοι ἔσσονται  
 ἄνδρες, ἐγὼ δὲ θανῶν γαῖα μέλαιν'  
 ἔσομαι.

877-8

ἦβα μοι φίλε θυμέ· τάχ' αὖ τινες  
 ἄλλοι ἔσσονται  
 ἄνδρες, ἐγὼ δὲ θανῶν γαῖα μέλαιν'  
 ἔσομαι.

1081-2

Κύρνε, κύει πόλις ἦδε, δέδοικα δὲ μὴ  
 τέκη ἄνδρα  
 ὑβριστὴν, χαλεπῆς ἡγεμόνα στά-  
 σιος.

855-6

πολλάκις ἢ πόλις ἦδε δι' ἡγεμόνων  
 κακότητα  
 ὥσπερ κεκλιμένη ναῦς παρὰ γῆν  
 ἔδραμεν.

1087-90

Κάστορ καὶ Πολύδευκες, οἱ ἐν Λα-  
κεδαίμονι δῖη  
ναίετ' ἐπ' Εὐρώτῃ καλλιρόφ πο-  
ταμῶ,  
εἴ ποτε βουλευσάμε φίλῳ κακόν,  
αὐτὸς ἔχοιμι,  
εἰ δέ τι κείνος ἐμοί, δις τόσον αὐτὸς  
ἔχοι.

1091-2

ἀργαλέως μοι θυμὸς ἔχει περὶ σῆς  
φιλότητος·  
οὔτε γὰρ ἔχθαίρειν οὔτε φιλεῖν δύ-  
ναμαι.

1045-6

καὶ μὰ Δι', εἴ τις τῶνδε καὶ ἐγκεκα-  
λυμμένος εὐδει,  
ἡμέτερον κῶμον δέξεται ἀρπαλέως.

869-72

ἐν μοι ἔπειτα πέσοι μέγας οὐρανὸς  
εὐρύς ὑπερθεν  
χάλκεος, ἀνθρώπων δεῖμα παλαι-  
γενέων,  
εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ τοῖσιν μὲν ἐπαρκέσω οἱ με  
φιλεῦσιν,  
τοῖς δ' ἔχθροῖς ἀνίη καὶ μέγα πῆμ'  
ἔσομαι.

873-4

οἶνε, τὰ μὲν σ' ἀνῶ, τὰ δὲ μέφομαι,  
οὐδέ σε πάμπαν  
οὔτε ποτ' ἔχθαίρειν οὔτε φιλεῖν  
δύναμαι.

The agreement in order is not perfect, but the presence of so many parallels, covering a variety of topics, within such short sections of text, goes beyond coincidence. The following short parallel sequence is also noteworthy:

1037-8

ἄνδρα τοὶ ἐστ' ἀγαθὸν χαλεπώτατον  
ἐξαπατήσαι,  
ὥς ἐν ἐμοὶ γνώμη Κύρνε πάλαι  
κέριται.

1041-2

δεῦρο σὺν ἀύλητῆρι· παρὰ κλαίοντι  
γελῶντες  
πίνωμεν, κείνου κήδεσι τερπόμενοι.

1219-20

ἐχθρὸν μὲν χαλεπὸν καὶ δυσμενῆ ἐξα-  
πατήσαι  
Κύρνε· φίλον δὲ φίλῳ βῆδιον ἐξα-  
πατᾶν.

1217-8

μήποτε πὰρ κλαίοντα καθεζόμενοι  
γελᾶσωμεν  
τοῖς αὐτῶν ἀγαθοῖς Κύρν' ἐπιτερ-  
πόμενοι.

1207-8

οὔτε σε κωμάζειν ἀπερύκομεν οὔτε  
καλοῦμεν·  
ἀρπαλέος παρεών, καὶ φίλος εὐτ'  
ἂν ἀπῆς.



## IIa

1075-6

πρήγματος ἀπρήκτου χαλεπώτατόν  
 ἔστι τελευτήν  
 γνῶναι, ὅπως μέλλει τοῦτο θεός  
 τελέσαι.

(1311)<sup>6</sup>

οὐ μ' ἔλαθες κλέψας ὦ παῖ, καὶ γάρ  
 σε διώκω.

1101-2

δοσὶς σοὶ βούλευσεν ἔμευ πέρι καὶ  
 σ' ἐκέλευσεν  
 οἴχεσθαι προλιπόνθ' ἡμετέραν φι-  
 λίην . . .

1103-4

ὑβρις καὶ Μάγνητας ἀπώλεσε καὶ  
 Κολοφῶνα  
 καὶ Σμύρνην· πάντως Κύρνε καὶ  
 ὕμμ' ἀπολεῖ.

1114ab

πολλὰ δ' ἀμυχανήησι κυλίνδομαι ἀχ-  
 νύμενος κῆρ·  
 ἀρχὴν γὰρ πενήης οὐχ ὑπερεδρά-  
 μομεν.

1117-8

Πλοῦτε θεῶν κάλλιστε καὶ ἡμεροέ-  
 στατε πάντων,  
 σὺν σοὶ καὶ κακὸς ὧν γίνεται  
 ἐσθλὸς ἀνήρ.

585-6

πᾶσιν τοὶ κίνδυνος ἐπ' ἔργμασιν,  
 οὐδέ τις οἶδεν  
 πῆ σήσειν μέλλει πρήγματος ἀρ-  
 χομένου.

599-602

οὐ μ' ἔλαθες φοιτῶν κατ' ἀμαξιτόν,  
 ἦν ἄρα καὶ πρὶν  
 ἡλάστρεις, κλέπτων ἡμετέραν φι-  
 λίην.  
 ἔρρε θεοῖσιν τ' ἐχθρὸν καὶ ἀνθρώποι-  
 σιν ἄπιστε,  
 ψυχρὸν δὲ ἐν κόλπῳ ποικίλον εἶχες  
 δφιν.

603-4

τοιάδε καὶ Μάγνητας ἀπώλεσεν ἔργα  
 καὶ ὑβρις  
 οἶα τὰ νῦν ἱερὴν τήνδε πόλιν κατέ-  
 χει.

619-20

πόλλ' ἐν ἀμυχανήησι κυλίνδομαι ἀχ-  
 νύμενος κῆρ·  
 ἀκρην γὰρ πενήην οὐχ ὑπερεδράμο-  
 μεν.

621

πᾶς τις πλοῦσιον ἀνδρα τίει, ἀτίει δὲ  
 πενιχρόν.

<sup>6</sup> May have stood hereabouts, since 1318ab = 1107-8.

1119-22

ἤβης μέτρον ἔχοιμι, φιλοῖ δέ με Φοῖ-  
 βος Ἀπόλλων  
 Λητοίδης καὶ Ζεὺς ἀθανάτων βασι-  
 λεύς,

ὑφρα δίκη ζῶοιμι κακῶν ἔκτοσθεν  
 ἀπάντων,  
 ἤβη καὶ πλοῦτψ θυμὸν λαινόμενος.

1135

Ἐλπίς ἐν ἀνθρώποισι μόνῃ θεὸς  
 ἐσθλή ἔνεστιν  
 κτλ.

1137-8

ῶχετο μὲν Πίστις, μεγάλη θεός, ῶ-  
 χετο δ' ἀνδρῶν  
 Σωφροσύνη, Χάριτες τ' ὦ φίλε  
 γῆν ἔλιπον. κτλ.

1153-4

εἴη μοι πλουτοῦντι κακῶν ἀπάτερθε  
 μεριμνέων  
 ζῶειν ἀβλαβέως μηδὲν ἔχοντι κα-  
 κόν.

1162ab

οὐδεὶς γὰρ πάντ' ἐστὶ πανόλβιος·  
 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐσθλός  
 τολμᾷ ἔχων τὸ κακὸν οὐκ ἐπι-  
 δηλον δμως.

1101-2

ὅστις σοι βούλευσεν ἐμεῦ περὶ καὶ  
 σ' ἐκέλευσεν  
 οἴχεσθαι προλιπόνθ' ἡμετέρην φι-  
 λίην, →

629-30

ἤβη καὶ νεότης ἐπικουφίζει νόον  
 ἀνδρός,  
 πολλῶν δ' ἐξάιρει θυμὸν ἐς ἀμ-  
 πλακίην.

637-8

Ἐλπίς καὶ Κίνδυνος ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν  
 ὁμοιοί·  
 οὔτοι γὰρ χαλεποὶ δαίμονες ἀμφο-  
 τεροί.

647-8

ἦ δὴ νῦν αἰδῶς μὲν ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν  
 ὄλωλεν,  
 αὐτὰρ ἀναιδεῖη γαῖαν ἐπιστρέφε-  
 ται.

653-4

εὐδαίμων εἶην καὶ θεοῖς φίλος ἀθα-  
 νάτοισιν  
 Κύρν' ἀρετῆς δ' ἄλλης οὐδεμιῆς  
 ἔραμαι.

657-8

μηδὲν ἄγαν χαλεποῖσιν ἀσῶ φρένα  
 μηδ' ἀγαθοῖσιν  
 χαῖρ', ἐπεὶ ἔστ' ἀνδρὸς πάντα φέ-  
 ρειν ἀγαθοῦ.

## IIb

539-40

οὔτος ἀνὴρ φίλε Κύρνε πέδας χαλ-  
 κεύεται αὐτῷ,  
 εἰ μὴ ἐμὴν γνώμην ἐξαπατῶσι  
 θεοί.

1103-4

ὕβρις καὶ Μάγνητας ἀπώλεσε καὶ  
Κολοφῶνα  
καὶ Σμύρνην· πάντως Κύρνε καὶ  
ὕμμ' ἀπολεῖ.

1104ab

δῶξα μὲν ἀνθρώποισι κακὸν μέγα,  
πεῖρα δ' ἄριστον·  
πολλοὶ ἀπείρητοι δόξαν ἔχουσ'  
ἀγαθοί.

1115-6

χρήματ' ἔχων πενήνην μ' ὠνείδισας·  
ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν μοι  
ἔστι, τὰ δ' ἐργάσομαι θεοῖσιν ἐπευ-  
ξάμενος.

1117-8

Πλοῦτε θεῶν κάλλιστε καὶ ἡμεροτέ-  
στατε πάντων,  
σὺν σοὶ καὶ κακὸς ὦν γίνεται  
ἔσθλος ἀνὴρ.

1131-2

ἀλλ' ἤβην ἐρατὴν ὀλοφύρομαι, ἣ μ'  
ἐπιλείπει,  
κλαίω δ' ἀργαλέον γῆρας ἐπερχό-  
μενον.

1151-2

μήποτε τὸν παρεόντα μεθεὶς φίλον  
ἄλλον ἐρεύνα,  
δειλῶν ἀνθρώπων ῥήμασι πειθό-  
μενος.

541-2

δειμαίνω μὴ τήνδε πόλιν Πολυπαίδη  
ὕβρις  
ἤπερ Κενταύρους ὠμοφάγους ὀλέ-  
ση.

571-2

δῶξα μὲν ἀνθρώποισι κακὸν μέγα,  
πεῖρα δ' ἄριστον·  
πολλοὶ ἀπείρητοι δόξαν ἔχουσ'  
ἀγαθῶν.

561-2

εἴη μοι τὰ μὲν αὐτὸν ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ  
πόλλ' ἐπιδοῦναι  
χρήματα τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῖσι φίλοι-  
σιν ἔχειν.

523-4

οὐ σὲ μάτην ὦ Πλοῦτε βροτοὶ τιμῶσι  
μάλιστα·  
ἣ γὰρ ῥηιδίως τὴν κακότητα φέρεις.

527-8

ὦ μοι ἐγὼν ἤβης καὶ γήραος οὐλομέ-  
νοιο,  
τοῦ μὲν ἐπερχομένου, τῆς δ' ἀπο-  
νισομένης.

529-30

οὐδέ τινα προῦδωκα φίλον καὶ πι-  
στὸν ἑταῖρον,  
οὐδ' ἐν ἐμῇ ψυχῇ δούλιον οὐδὲν ἐνι.

## III

409-10

= 1161-2

οὐδένα θησαυρὸν παισὶν καταθήσει  
ἀμείνω  
αἰδοῦς, ἣ τ' ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι Κύρνην  
ἔπεται.

1162a-f = 441-6

οὐδεις γὰρ πάντ' ἐστὶ πανόλβιος κτλ.

415-8 = 1164e-h

οὐδέν' ὁμοῖον ἔμοι δύνάμαι διζήμενος  
εὐρεῖνπιστὸν ἑταῖρον, ὄτω μή τις ἔνεστι  
δόλος.

449-50

ἐς βάσανον δ' ἔλθὼν παρατρίβομαι  
ὥστε μολύβδῳ  
χρυσός, ὑπερτερῆς δ' ἄμμιν ἔνεστι  
λόγος.εὐρήσεις δέ με πᾶσιν ἐπ' ἔργμασιν  
ὥσπερ ἄπεφθον  
χρυσόν, ἐρυθρόν ἰδεῖν τριβόμενον  
βασάνῳ.

1169

ἐκ καχεταιρείης κακὰ γίνεται.

411-12

οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων κακίων δοκεῖ  
εἶναι ἑταῖρος

453

ὦ γνώμη θ' ἔπεται Κύρνε καὶ ὦ  
δύναμις.ᾧ θρωπ', εἰ γνώμης ἔλαχες μέρος  
κτλ.

1171-2

γνώμην Κύρνε θεοὶ θνητοῖσι διδοῦσιν ἀρίστην  
ἀνθρώποις· γνώμη πείρατα παντὸς ἔχει.

1177-8

465-6

ἀμφ' ἀρετῇ τρίβου, καὶ τοὶ τὰ δίκαια  
φίλ' ἔστω,  
μηδὲ σε νικάτω κέρδος ὄτ' αἰσ-  
χρὸν ἔη.εἰ κ' εἴης ἔργων αἰσχυρῶν ἀπαθῆς καὶ ἀεργός  
Κύρνε, μεγίστην κεν πείραν ἔχοις ἀρετῆς.

413-14

479-80

πίνων δ' οὐχ οὕτως θωρήξομαι, οὐδέ  
με οἶνος  
ἐξάγει, ὥστ' εἰπεῖν δεινὸν ἔπος  
περὶ σοῦ.δς δ' ἂν ὑπερβάλλῃ πόσιος μέτρον,  
οὐκέτι κεῖνος  
τῆς αὐτοῦ γλώσσης καρτερὸς οὐδὲ  
νόου.

1185-6

νοῦς ἀγαθὸν καὶ γλῶσσα· τὰ δ' ἐν παύροισι πέφυκεν  
ἀνδράσιν οἱ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων ταμίαι.

421

πολλοῖς ἀνθρώπων γλώσση θύραι  
οὐκ ἐπίκεινται  
κτλ.

504-8

γνώμης οὐκέτ' ἐγὼ ταμίης...  
δέδοικα δὲ μὴ τι μάταιον  
ἔρξω θωρηχθεὶς καὶ μέγ' ὄνειδος ἔχω.

## IV

1177-8

εἰ κ' εἴης ἔργων αἰσχροῶν ἀπαθής καὶ  
ἀεργός  
Κύρνε, μεγίστην κεν πείραν ἔχοις  
ἀρετῆς.

789-94

μήποτε μοι μελέδημα νεώτερον ἄλλο  
φανείη  
ἀντ' ἀρετῆς σοφίης τ' κτλ.

1179-82

Κύρνε, θεοὺς αἰδοῦ καὶ δείδιθι· τοῦτο  
γὰρ ἄνδρα  
εἴργει μὴτ' ἔρδειν μῆτε λέγειν ἀσε-  
βῆ.

823-4

μήτε τιν' αὔξει τύραννον ἐπ' ἐλπίδι  
κέρδεσιν εἰκων  
μῆτε κτεῖνε θεῶν ὄρκια συνθέμενος.

δημοφάγον δὲ τύραννον ὅπως ἐθέλεις  
κατακλιῖναι·  
οὐ νέμεσις πρὸς θεῶν γίνεται οὐ-  
δεμία.

799-804

ἀνθρώπων δ' ἄψεκτος ἐπὶ χθονὶ γί-  
νεται οὐδεὶς·  
ἀλλ' ὡς λώϊον, εἰ μὴ πλεόνεσσι  
μέλοι.

1183-6

οὐδένα Κύρν' αὐγαὶ φαεσιμβρότου  
ἠελίοιο  
ἄνδρ' ἐφορῶσ' ᾧ μὴ μῶμος ἐπι-  
κρέμαται.  
ἀστῶν δ' οὐ δύναμαι γινῶναι νόον  
ὄντιν' ἔχουσιν·  
οὔτε γὰρ εὖ ἔρδων ἀνδάνω οὔτε  
κακῶς.

οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων οὔτ' ἔσσεται οὔτε  
πέφυκεν  
ὅστις πᾶσιν ἀδῶν δύσεται εἰς  
Ἄϊδεω·  
οὐδὲ γὰρ ὄς θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοι-  
σιν ἀνάσσει,  
Ζεὺς Κρονίδης, θνητοῖς πᾶσιν ἄ-  
δεῖν δύναται.

1187-8

οὔτις ἄποινα διδοὺς θάνατον φύγοι  
οὐδὲ βαρεῖαν  
δυστυχίην, εἰ μὴ μοῖρ' ἐπὶ τέρμα  
βάλτοι.

816

Κύρν' ἐμπης δ' ὅτι μοῖρα παθεῖν οὐκ  
ἔσθ' ὑπαλύξαι.

1195-6

821-2

μή τι θεοὺς ἐπίορκον ἐπόμνυθι· οὐ  
 γὰρ ἀνεκτὸν  
 ἀθανάτους κρύψαι χρεῖος ὀφειλό-  
 μενον.

οἱ κ' ἀπογηράσκοντας ἀτιμάζωσι  
 τοκῆας,  
 τούτων τοι χάρη Κύρν' ὀλίγη τε-  
 λέθει.

1197-1202

831-2

ὄρνιθος φωνῆν κτλ.

} poems

πίστει χρήματ' ὄλεσσα, ἀπιστίη δ'  
 ἐσάωσα·

1209-10

} of exile

γνώμη δ' ἀργαλή γίνεται ἀμφο-  
 τέρων.

1211-16

I hope it is not because these correspondences are my discovery (except that Hasler, *op. cit.* p. 150, notes a similarity between 793-832 and 1183-1220 (sic)) that I find them more impressive than those indicated by Hasler, or those set out by Peretti in his subtle and difficult book *Theognide nella tradizione gnomologica*, where he tries to show that excerpt sequences reflect the subject-headings of gnomologists, and that our sylloge was put together after Stobaeus' time from gnomologies like his - a conclusion hard hit by the papyrus<sup>7</sup>. If my correspondences are accepted as significant, I think that only one explanation of them will commend itself, namely that in each pair of sections listed, two compilers are working over the same portion of a larger anthology. (Cf. Hasler, p. 152.) The associative thread running through successive excerpts is strengthened, not weakened, when the parallel sequences are interwoven, which is what is to be expected if such integration takes us nearer the original, however many gaps remain.

The text of the doublets in 1023-1220 is usually inferior to that of the corresponding couplets in 1-1022, and the compiler was evidently using a considerably debased and banalized recension of the postulated *Florilegium Magnum* (as I shall call it). He may have been using only a part of it, since the parallel sequences in the longer collection are concentrated between 407 and 658 and between 789 and 888. In other words, 255-406, 659-788, 889-1022 seem to represent parts of the *Magnum* that are not represented among the *Excerpta Deteriora*. Only one couplet from these 418 lines recurs in the *Deteriora* (367-8 ~ 1184ab), against eleven from the other 352 lines.

In one respect the *Excerpta Deteriora* seem to reflect the *Magnum* more faithfully than do the *Excerpta Meliora*. The five strips into which

<sup>7</sup> In *Maia* 19, 1967, 113-53 he takes his stand on the brevity of the papyrus (which is on the verso of a document). He takes it to be just a gnomic sequence like those from which our sylloge was made.

I tore them run into one another in a natural way, as if they followed the original order, whereas the parallel strips from the *Meliora* do not stand well in their present sequence. It looks as though the compiler of the *Deteriora* worked over the *Magnum* in a fairly orderly progression from column to column, only at the end (1207–20) returning to where he started and adding a few further pieces; the compiler of the *Meliora* was more desultory, working through a hundred lines or so and then jumping back to an earlier section.

### *The symbiosis of the three anthologies*

Of the four invocations in 1–18, not more than one will have stood at the head of the *Florilegium Purum*, perhaps not even one. The others will have been transferred from the *Excerpta*. The juxtaposition of *Purum* and *Excerpta*, then, is not entirely mechanical; a new whole has been made out of them. Another sign of this is the dearth of verses common to the *Purum* and *Excerpta Meliora*. A collection with as much *Theognis* in it as the *Florilegium Magnum* had must have overlapped to some extent with the *Purum*, and in fact the *Excerpta Deteriora* contain ten couplets that also appear (in better shape) in the *Purum*. But the *Meliora* contain only three, and two of those have already been judged intruders in the *Purum* (209–10 = 332ab, 211–12 = 509–10). It appears from this that when the *Meliora* were joined with the *Purum*, or at some other moment before the accretion of the *Deteriora*, there was a systematic purge of doublets.

### *The stages of development*

In the fourth century B.C. we find the following verses quoted under *Theognis*' name: 14, 21–2, 33–6, 77–8, 125–6, 177, 183–90, 434–8. (147 is said by one source to have been ascribed to *Theognis* by *Theophrastus*, but this conflicts with other evidence.) Five of these eight passages belong to *Cyrnus*-poems; a sixth (33–6) stands in close association with a *Cyrnus*-poem, and may very well be part of it; a seventh (14) belongs to a poem which refers to a cult of *Artemis* established by *Agamemnon*, and we know that this suits *Megara*. In general, then, the ascriptions are well supported by internal criteria, and it is reasonable to suppose that the collection of verses which *Plato* and the others knew as '*Theognis*' really was *Theognis* and not a sylloge compiled from many different poets. They quote other verses that appear in our sylloge, ascribing them to other poets. It is interesting that they quote nothing from *Theognis* that does not appear in our

sylloge, but it does not prove a specially close relationship between the texts involved. Passages that had already excited comment or given other service (to more than one writer, in some cases) were especially liable to be received in the florilegia. Nor is it very significant that six of the eight appeared in the *Purum*, which accounts for more than half of the identifiable Theognis in our sylloge (160 out of 306 lines, not counting doublets).

One of the early quotations is of particular importance. The passage that contains it is preserved by Stobaeus 4. 29. 53 under the title *Ξενοφῶντος ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Θεόγνιδος*. I print part of it at the beginning of the text. No such work of Xenophon is elsewhere recorded, and it has been earnestly but inconclusively debated whether he is really the author of the passage. The most important advocates are O. Immisch in the 1888 Ribbeck *Festschrift* (for) and A.W. Persson in *Eranos* 15, 1915, 39 ff. (against). It certainly looks very much like a work of the first half of the fourth century B.C.; and its language, as Persson admits on his own evidence, has a good deal in common with Xenophon's. If it is not his, the work from which it was culled (in some Hellenistic anthology) may nevertheless have borne his name; and whoever its author, there is a good chance that it was not a work *περὶ Θεόγνιδος*, but merely devoted a section to him. The excerpt refers to him as οὗτος ὁ ποιητής, as if he were a subject newly introduced. This is preceded by the quotation of 21–2 *Θεόγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη τοῦ Μεγαρέως*, which opens the excerpt, having lost its introduction. We may imagine it arising in some such way as this: σύμφωνα δὲ τούτοις εἶπε καὶ Θεόγνις ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν Μεγάρους κακῶν· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ἦν, ὡς αὐτὸς δεδήλωκεν ἐν τούτοις· "Θεόγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη τοῦ Μεγαρέως". οὗτος δὲ ὁ ποιητής κτλ. . . ἢ οὖν ἀρχὴ μοι δοκεῖ τῆς ποιήσεως ὀρθῶς ἔχειν κτλ. (resumptive οὖν).

ἢ ἀρχὴ τῆς ποιήσεως, immediately reinforced by ἀρχεται γὰρ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τοῦ εὖ γενέσθαι, can only mean 'the beginning of his poetry'. Those who have wanted it to mean 'basic principle' or the like have failed to produce any example of ἀρχὴ being used in connexion with a literary work in any but its common sense of 'beginning'. The verses that 'Xenophon' proceeds to quote and discuss, then, 183 ff., came at the beginning of the text of Theognis he knew, and he assumed that Theognis had placed them there: if the arrangement of poems was variable at the whim of scribe or bookseller, he was unaware of the fact. The *Florilegium Purum* was unknown to him.

An inference about the order of poems in the fourth century has also been drawn from Plato, *Meno* 95de. (Socrates) ἀλλὰ καὶ Θεόγνιν τὸν ποιητὴν οἴσθ' ὅτι ταῦτά ταῦτα λέγει; (Meno) ἐν ποίοις ἔπεισιν; ('Oh? In which lines?') (Soc.) ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις οὐ λέγει· ('In the couplets where he says:') (33–6) . . . ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ γε ὀλίγον μεταβάς· (434–8). Now ὀλίγον μεταβάς does not, as some have thought, mean 'a little further on', it



means 'changing his tune a little', an ironic understatement of what is about to be held up as a complete contradiction. But we may at least say that 434–8 came later in Plato's text than 33–6, as it does in ours; otherwise it would not reflect any kind of change on the poet's part.

Anthologizing and collecting commonplaces from famous authors for private or school use was an established practice by this time. (See Hudson-Williams, p. 17.) Isocrates 2. 44 alludes to it just after mentioning Hesiod, Theognis and Phocylides as the acknowledged sources of the best advice for living. The passage certainly suggests that Theognis was available in full; the culling of γνῶμαι is represented as something that could be done to the best poets at any time, but not something that had already been done to the extent of affecting the book-market.

Any book that was well known at Athens in the fourth century is likely to have been known at Alexandria in the third, and it may be that the figure of 2800 lines given by Hesychius – *Suda* for the whole of Theognis' poetry has come down from an Alexandrian article, of the sort that Callimachus' *Pinakes* contained, and referred to the genuine elegies in the full edition plus the elegy on the survivors of the siege of Syracuse. (It has been suggested with some plausibility that this was the work of a late fifth-century Theognis, perhaps the member of the Thirty named by Xen. *Hell.* 2. 3. 2, the tragic poet ridiculed by Aristophanes. If so, early confusion with the Megarian's poetry would help it to survive as long as it did. It might also be relevant to Plato's belief that Theognis was a Sicilian (*Laws* 630a.) There certainly do not seem to have been 2800 verses current under Theognis' name in the Roman period, or we should have found many more quotations of non-extant verses. Another theory is that the figure 1400, the approximate number of verses in our sylloge, was duplicated in the source-material and thus erroneously doubled.

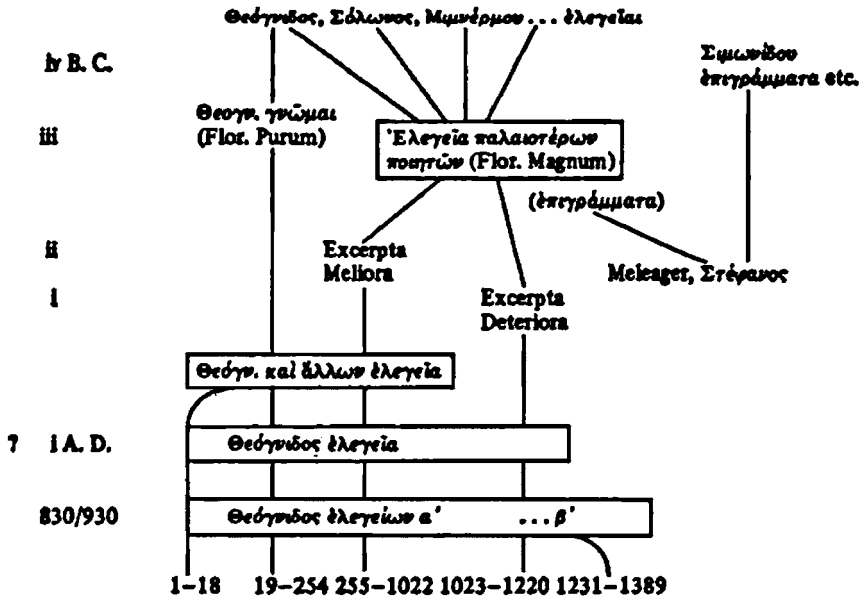
I would not think that the *Florilegium Purum* was drawn up much before 300 B.C. at the earliest. Its arranger concerned himself to impose form on a collection of separate pieces, to find them a prologue and epilogue: this is something that cannot be illustrated from before the third century (Theocritus, Posidippus, Corinna; cf. *CQ* 20, 1970, 284). Whether the same was done with the *Magnum* it is impossible to say; but its contents were evidently arranged with less regard for an overall plan, the compiler being led on from one topic to the next by a chain of associations. (Cf. Gow – Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* I. xviii on Meleager's *Garland*.) He had before him the texts of a number of elegiac poets, and the Theognis-blocks (a feature of both excerpt collections) show that he was liable to take several pieces in succession from one author. He uses nothing as late as Ion or Critias. Some rather out-of-the-way writers were still available, like Euenus or whoever wrote the

three poems addressed to Simonides, and the third century is perhaps likelier than the second or first. Time has to be allowed for the successive production of the two bodies of excerpts, with the debasement of the text that the second shows.

Here it may be worth considering the implication of the fact that only five fragments of classical elegy, as distinct from epigram, found their way into the Palatine Anthology (apart from Simon. eleg. 16, on which see p. 21), and four of them also appear among the Theognidea. The five are: Th. 527-8; 795-6 = Mimn. 7; 1151-2; 1155-6; Eue. 2. It seems that Meleager and his successors did not draw directly from any book of *Ἐλεγείαι* but only from books of *Ἐπιγράμματα*. The four pieces that stand in the Theognidea must have been drawn, directly or indirectly, from the same primary anthology, viz. the *Florilegium Magnum*. Since one of them preserves the heading *Μιμνέρμου* in the Palatine Anthology, it can be inferred that poets' names were given in the Magnum, as indeed might be expected in view of normal ancient practice. As for the Euenus piece, which does not appear in our Theognidea, there are at least three possibilities: that it stood in the Magnum but was passed over by both excerptors; that it really belongs to one of the later epigrammatist Eueni, and not to the Parian at all; or that through a confusion it got into one of these epigrammatists' works, and was received from there into Philip's *Garland*.

The Magnum, unlike Meleager's anthology, apparently admitted nothing that was not elegiac, and its original title may have included *ἔλεγεία*, even if this was replaced by *ἐπιγράμματα* in some recensions. If Theognis appears more frequently in the excerpts than any other poet, it may be simply because his habit of addressing Cyrnus makes him easily identifiable. We need not suppose that the Magnum compiler had a special interest in him, or that the Magnum as a whole was ever ascribed to him. The later person who joined the *Excerpta Meliora* to the *Purum* may have seen himself adding not Theognis to Theognis but elegiac chrestomathy to elegiac chrestomathy. It would be natural to entitle the result *Θεόγνιδος καὶ ἄλλων ἔλεγεία* or the like. Simplification to *Θεόγνιδος ἔλεγεία* might readily follow from that (but the *Deteriora* probably took their place in the sylloge first; there was no reason to add them to a 'Theognis'). The headings with various poets' names disappeared. By the time of Athenaeus, anything in the sylloge is assumed to be by Theognis. Note especially Clement, *Strom.* 6.8.8: he knows Solon 6.3-4 from elsewhere as Solon's, but the version of it that appears in the Theognidea he only knows as 'Theognis'. Finally, when the paederastic pieces were separated out, it became *Θεόγνιδος ἔλεγείων α'* and *β'*; this is what A gives, and it must go back to the archetype.

The following scheme summarizes my conclusions.



*The editor's task*

The Theognidea have a place in my edition because they are a fund of early elegiac verses. Ideally I would like to be able to treat them as straightforward poems and fragments of the period that concerns me, to group them according to their authors, purify them of syllogists' modifications, and restore the dialect forms appropriate to each poet. As it is, there is far too little to go on for that to be worth attempting. For reasons of general convenience the only course open to me is to print the sylloge in the order in which it has come down to us, that is essentially the form that it assumed in the ninth or tenth century. Naturally I shall not be content with the corruptions of a ninth-century text. I shall want to try to restore at least the form in which each piece stood in the collections from which our sylloge is directly constituted. This is often as far as I shall be able to see. But if I have two versions of a piece, one from the Excerpta Meliora and one from the Deteriora, I may be able to see back to the Florilegium Magnum. Should I put what I see in my text? Should I, for instance, instead of giving *ἄκρην πενήνη* in 620 and *ἀρχὴν πενήτης* in 1114b, give *ἄκρην πενήτης* in both places? Doing so might take us nearer to ancient elegy. But the nature of the

Theognidea is such that that ancient elegy is not the only or perhaps even the main object of study. We must study what is accessible, and here only the later stages of the transmission are reasonably accessible, the original sources hidden. The study is impeded, without corresponding gain, if the divergences between the ancient collections are eliminated from the text. The excavator must not destroy the upper layers in his eagerness to get down to the earliest stratum. If an excerpt is known from other sources to be from Solon, we may be in a position to restore something like the original version (though, as van Groningen points out more than once in his commentary, we must beware of thinking that a quotation bearing Solon's name is necessarily more accurate in every detail than a version of the same lines preserved in the Theognidea). But that would probably be to put in the Theognidea a version that never stood there. It is more instructive to print the Theognidean version, which can then be directly compared with what is printed among the fragments of Solon. It is not inconsistent with this principle that in 723, for example, I substitute  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  ('Solon') for  $\delta\acute{\epsilon} \kappa\epsilon$  of the tradition, in the belief that it was what originally stood in the context of the sylloge (see below ad loc.). When I bring the text of 853-4 into line with 1038ab and mark the doublet with '=', I am assuming that the Excerpta Meliora contained nothing so meaningless as what the manuscripts give. Similarly I have not refrained from improving the transmitted text at places such as 1160a and 1161-2.

In dividing excerpts with a rule or a poet's name, I wanted to make the sylloge look more like what it actually is. In the Florilegium Magnum, if not in the excerpt collections, it is likely that the poets were named. This would not be true of the Purum, which was all or nearly all drawn from Theognis, but the modern reader's convenience will be best served by applying the same principle throughout. To Theognis I have attributed generally the pieces that contain the name  $\text{Κύρνε}$  or  $\text{Πολυπαύδη}$ , though in one or two cases  $\text{Κύρνε}$  is a variant for something else (213/1071; 156), or appears in what looks like a gnomologist's patchwork (335-6); further, pieces quoted as Theognis by writers of the fourth century B.C. (11-14, 31-8, 429-38) – the justification has been explained.

The cross-references in my right-hand margin are to parallel couplets. I do not give cross-references where a hexameter is repeated with a different pentameter (597/1243) or vice versa (540/554), because that is a different phenomenon, a verse being used in different poems, not the same poem transmitted by different routes. The signs > and <, of course, denote superiority and inferiority, not direct dependence. I have further thought it useful to indicate possible alternative divisions or connexions between excerpts (x), and places where in my judgment a poem began or ended in its original form (⊗). I have been very sparing

with the latter sign. Where it does not appear, it does not necessarily mean that I regard the piece as incomplete, only that I can imagine it so. No doubt I shall be criticized for apparent caprice in this matter, but if I have succeeded in prompting others to apply their own judgment to each such question, that is good.

The quotations and imitations register does not include authors who merely allude to a passage without giving any evidence about the text in which they read it. I have also omitted a number of Bergk's references to Byzantine paroemiographers, who seem to be dependent on the Planudean part of the extant manuscript tradition, and the Hesychian entries gathered by Diehl, which do not derive from the Theognidea (Latte, *Mnem.*<sup>3</sup> 10, 1942, 89). The two Berlin ostraca which carry verses of Theognis appear here because they are not fragments of texts but simply isolated quotations.

I have not burdened the critical apparatus with conjectures designed to correct dialect. Many such were made by Bekker, Bergk, Renner and Hiller.

## EXCURSUS

### *Erasures in A: an unsolved crime*

When I first read in Hudson-Williams's commentary (pp. 104, 119, 163, 175, al.) statements that many erasures and changes in cod. A of Theognis were of later date than Bekker's collations, I was sceptical. The fact that a scholar's collation fails to record something in a manuscript is far from proving that it was not in the manuscript when he saw it. A microfilm of the manuscript, however, and comparison of a series of nineteenth-century collations of it, have eradicated my doubts. Bekker and his earlier successors report readings which they could not possibly have reported if the manuscript had been in its present state. There is no question of a gradual decline in legibility or of random blotching. The writing remains clear and sharp throughout, but certain letters and parts of letters have been deliberately erased.

Theognidean scholarship has remained surprisingly incurious about this circumstance. Neither Hudson-Williams nor anyone else has pursued the questions when and with what purpose the erasures were made. The following remarks set out what I have been able to discover. I stated my results briefly on p. xi of the edition:

A<sup>f</sup> = A inter annos 1856 et 1869 a falsario tractatus, qui nihil scripsit sed multa erasit, praecipue ut Bergkii lectionibus coniecturisque patrocinaretur.

The manuscript was first discovered at Paris by Bekker; it had previously been at Verona. Bekker collated it twice, the second time in

1815. Then it was temporarily mislaid, for in his second edition of 1827 he writes 'is a me bis excussus quo post annum 1815 devenerit nescio: latet enim perinde ac Thucydideus ille A'. But it appears in Miller's catalogue of 1840, and a collation made by Pressel for Schneidewin may date from the thirties, though it was not published till 1876 (*Phil.* 29, 546 ff.). In about 1852 the manuscript was inspected by Hase (*NGG* 1852 (5), 67), and in 1856 by van Herwerden, who published his collation in *Animadversiones philologicae ad Theognidem* (1870). The erasures were made after Herwerden's collation and before the anonymous one made at Paris and used by Van der Mey in his *Studia Theognidea* (1869). Van der Mey collated the manuscript for himself in 1875 (*Mnem.* n.s. 8, 1880, 311 ff.), and shortly afterwards it was sent to Königsberg for Jordan, who first drew attention to the erasures (*Hermes* 15, 1880, 527).

The passages concerned are as follows. The four editions of Bergk appeared in 1843, 1853, 1866 and 1882.

29 *πέπυσο*: the *σ* is erased. Bergk conjectured *πέπυο* in ed. 2, repeated in ed. 3; in ed. 4 he notes 'nunc compertum est in A legi *πεπυ||ο* littera erasa, quod emendationem plane comprobat'.

222 *ἐχεν*: the *ν* is erased. I have no note of anyone conjecturing *ἐχε*. Bergk ed. 4 remarks 'litt. *ν* in A vix conspici potest, neque tamen deleta est'.

276 *εγκαταθης*: the horizontal of the uncial-type *γ* is erased so as to produce *ι*. *ει καταθης* is a conjecture of Bergk's, printed in all four editions.

279 *τον*: the right-hand part of *ν* is erased to make *ι*. Bergk prints *τοι* in all four editions as his conjecture, though in fact he was anticipated by Epkema. In ed. 4 he writes 'εἰκος τον etiam A: quod nunc ibi exstat *τοι* pro τον macula potius quam rasura ortum videtur', following the report of Hiller in *N. Jb.* 123, 1881, 453.

304 *λαβηιο*: *λ* and *β* are erased. In ed. 1 Bergk printed *βάλης* without any critical note; in eds. 2 and 3 he ascribes the reading (incorrectly) to the Aldine edition; in ed. 4 he ascribes it to Sylburg. I find it first in Stephanus.

305 *πάντες*: *ε* erased. Bergk printed *πάντως* in all eds.

504 *γνωμηο*: *ν* and *μ* erased. Bergk conjectured *γλώσσης* in ed. 2 and kept to it thereafter.

592 *αμφοτερων*: part of the *ω* is erased so as to leave *ο*. *ἀμφοτερον* was Brunck's conjecture, not adopted by Bergk.

632 *κυρναϊ και μεγαλαιο*: *αι* erased, and obviously wrong. The erasure has no special relation to Bergk's correction *Κύρνε και <έν> μεγάλαις κείται {έν} ἀμηχανίαις*.

663 *πέπασται*: *σ* erased. Brunck's correction, adopted by Bergk.

602 ἀγάγοι: part of the first γ erased to make ν. ἀνάγοι was conjectured by Hecker in 1850; Bergk gave it as his own independent conjecture in eds. 2 and 3, and in ed. 4 writes 'in A αγ cum ras., sec. Iord. corr. in αν'.

717 ταύτην: ν erased. ταύτη was conjectured by Bergk in *Rh. Mus.* n.f. 3, 1845, 431, and by Hecker in 1850. It appears in the apparatus of Bergk's ed. 2, in the text of eds. 3 and 4.

733 αθηνησ: ην erased. The relevant emendation is ἀθειρήσ, Bergk eds. 2-4 (ἀθηρήσ ed. 1).

764 των πολεμων: the omegas partly erased to make omicrons. τὸν πόλεμον had always been known from ο and required no additional support.

771 δεικνυειν: ειν erased. The reading which requires all three letters to be changed is the Planudean δεικνύναι, accepted by Bergk in preference to modern alternatives.

772 τίσσφιν: the first σ erased to accord with ο and common sense.

778 και: the whole word erased. Bergk suggested τῆ τ' (eds. 2, 3), and finally adopted Hartung's τ' ἀμφ'.

792 νόον: the whole word erased. 'fort. βίον' Bergk eds. 3, 4.

829 ἀποπανε: ν corrected to υ by partial erasure.

854 τούνκα: τ erased. ούνκα is the reading of O and is usually adopted.

855 πολλάκις ἢ πόλις: both sigmas are erased, the second presumably by mistake for the first. The reading in view is Otto Schneider's πολλάκι δῆ, adopted by Bergk in eds. 2-4.

887 ανιοῦσιν: ι and ιω erased to restore the correct reading as given by ο.

950 καταμαρψασ: an ink dot added under the final loop of the second alpha creates the impression of καταιμάρψας, as written by A<sup>1</sup> in 1278d. Bergk adopts καταιμάρψας in ed. 4, noting 'i a m. sec.?'.

976 εσαειραμενος: the second α is altered to ο by partial erasure. Schaefer's conjecture, recorded by Bergk in all his editions and received in the text of the 4th.

982 φαίνοιτ' and δύναιτ': the taus are erased in accordance with Bergk's conjecture printed in eds. 2-4.

1190 βουλόμενος: β erased. Matthiae conjectured οὔλομνας; 'recte ut videtur' comments Bergk in eds. 2 and 3, but in 4 he prefers οὐνάμενος.

1244 πιστεωσ: the ω corrected to ο by partial erasure. Bekker had already made the emendation.

1247 εχθροσ: the ρ erased. Again, Bekker had seen the truth.

It will be seen that the falsifier did not venture to use the pen, except to add a single dot at 950, if indeed he was responsible for that. He relied on erasure, using it both to remove unwanted letters and to change the identity of letters; where the reading he wished to evoke

could not be produced by this means, he simply erased the letters he would have liked to see changed, so as to throw suspicion on them. (It is possible that he intended to write in what he wanted at a later time, and was unable to do so.)

Some of the readings that he was concerned to introduce have never been controversial (632, 663, 764, 772, 829, 887, 1244, 1247). In these cases two possible motives may be suggested. He may just have been practising; or he may have wished it to appear, from neutral as well as tendentious instances, that previous collations had been somewhat careless, so that it might be credible that the readings he was particularly interested in had been overlooked. In eleven of the remaining twenty places, his apparent aim is to change A in the direction of a conjecture made or claimed by Bergk; in seven more, to a reading approved by Bergk; only in 222 and 592 to a reading not approved by him (at least in the publications I have seen). Again, two possible motives can be thought of. The intention may have been to add to Bergk's reputation, or, more deviously, to detract from it. That Bergk himself was responsible is improbable. His reputation as an emender stood as high as almost anyone's in any case, and he was not the man to be bothered by the absence of manuscript support. No one worked harder at collecting the evidence for the text of the lyric poets or showed such restless zeal for uncovering its problems. He wanted not only *δοξεῖν ἄριστος, ἀλλ' εἶναι*. In ed. 4, after some of the erasures had been noticed, he does not crow. Only at 29 does he claim that his emendation has received new support; at 279 he scrupulously reproduces Hiller's opinion that the apparent reading of A is due to an accidental blemish, and at 692 he leaves the interpretation of the erasure to Jordan.



## IV The Life and Times of Theognis

Attempts at dating Theognis have orbited in the gravitational field of three focal dates, not all of which can be reconciled. The first is the tyranny of Theagenes and subsequent disturbances at Megara, in the period *c.* 640–580; the second is the cluster of chronographers' datings of Theognis' *floruit* to Ol. 59–57 = 552–41; the third is the invasion of Xerxes in 480, which is in all probability the invasion in question in lines 773 ff. (certainly by a Megarian poet).

Beloch in two radical articles (*N. Jb.* 137, 1888, 729–33, and *Rh. Mus.* 50, 1895, 250–5) took his stand on the last. His argument runs: 773 ff. is undoubtedly by Theognis, since we know of no other Megarian elegist. Therefore Theognis lived long after the Megarian revolution and the political troubles associated with it. Therefore his political poetry must concern Sicilian Megara, of which, after all, Plato states that he was a citizen: tyrants were still fashionable in Sicily. Besides, the reference to cavalry in 551 does not suit Nisaeian Megara. After the destruction of his city by Gelo in 483 he made his way to the mother foundation in nice time for the advent of Xerxes.

It is curious that the main foundation of the argument against his being from Nisaeian Megara is a poem which is taken to prove that he did write there: a poem which is even argued to be his on the ground that it is written 'in Megara und von einem Megarer'! The fact is that we have no grounds at all for the assumption that that Megarian was Theognis. If his poems were preserved at Megara in the earliest phase of the transmission, a later Megarian poem might well become included in the collection; or it might have survived independently down to the time of the *Florilegium Magnum*, like so many other pieces which we cannot assign to an author.

If 773 ff. is not by Theognis, there is no need of another, rather implausible solution to the problem, adopted by Hudson-Williams among others. That is to refer the poem to the period of Cyrus' conquests in Ionia. For a Megarian then to appeal to Apollo to 'keep the Medes away from this city' would have been ludicrous alarmism. It is better to leave the poem out of account altogether.

The dating to Ol. 59–57 (Eusebius, Jerome, Cyril, *Chron. Paschale*, *Suda*; Hudson-Williams p. 9; J. Carrière, *Theognis de Mégare*, 1949, 4), whether its source is Apollodorus or some other chronologist, cannot be trusted without knowing how it was arrived at. In a parallel statement of the *Suda*, s.v. Φωκυλίδης, Theognis is called the contemporary of

Phocylides, both being dated 647 years after the Trojan War (*sc.* 537) but in the 59th Olympiad (544/1). Rohde, *Kl. Schr.* i. 124 n. O, notes that 537 is Phocylides' date in the Armenian version of Eusebius, and suggests that the source had really dated Phocylides one Olympiad later than Theognis. In any case the synchronism is suggestive, in view of the tendency to link Phocylides and Theognis as paraenetic poets *par excellence*. (Isoc. 2. 43, Dio Chrys. 2. 5, Cyril. *c. Iul.*, *Patr. gr.* 76. 841d Migne; cf. Ath. 632d *Ξενοφάνης δὲ καὶ Σόλων καὶ Θέογνις καὶ Φωκυλίδης*, and Theophrastus' ascription to Phocylides of a line that stands in a Cynus-poem, 147.) The chronology smacks of systematization, and if it was anchored to some firm reference-point, we do not know which poet provided it.

A considerably earlier dating is implied by a marginal note in a Leiden manuscript of Aphthonius published by Herwerden in his 1870 dissertation (*Animadversiones philologicae ad Theognidem*, p. 11) and since ignored. Aphthonius' quotation of Th. 175-6 is noted as being *ἐξ ἐλεγίης πρώτης μὲν (?) πρὸς Κύρνον βασιλέα ἰσόχρονον ὑπάρχοντα Κυψέλω Κορινθίῳ*. Cypselus' rule is normally dated 655-625. The scholium does not have an air of great antiquity. *ἐξ ἐλεγίης πρώτης* resembles Tzetzes' citations of Hipponax *ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λάμβω* etc. (see the prefatory material to my text of Hipponax); and if the first book of elegies is meant, the reference is to a division not made before the ninth century. The statement that Cynus was a 'king', if it does not rest on a confusion with Cyrus (the *Suda* manuscripts give *πρὸς Κύρον τὸν αὐτοῦ ἐρώμενον*), seems to be an example of the rather free way in which writers of the imperial age use *βασιλεύς* of early oligarchs and tyrants;<sup>1</sup> and it does not suggest more than a hazy acquaintance with the text. The synchronism with Cypselus perhaps represents a muddled inference from *894 ὡς δὴ Κυψελιδῶν Ζεὺς ὀλέσει γένος*. The whole may be nothing but Byzantine rubbish.

There remain the historical allusions in the Cynus poems, and these must be our surest guide. First, 1103-4:

ἔβρις καὶ Μάγνητας ἀπώλεσε καὶ Κολοφῶνα  
καὶ Σμύρνην· πάντως Κύρνε καὶ ὕμμ' ἀπολεῖ.

The *Μαγνήτων κακὰ* referred to in this quasi-proverbial way cannot be any but those mentioned by Archilochus, presumably the destruction of Magnesia by the Treres about 650.<sup>2</sup> Callinus had mentioned their prosperity, and Athenaeus says it was *διὰ τὸ πλεόν ἀνεθῆναι* that they were destroyed. Luxury is not *ἔβρις*, but the *ἔβρις* mentioned by

<sup>1</sup> Of Amphidamas of Chalcis, *Cerlamen* 6; of Polycrates, Himer. *or.* 29. 22 Colonna; of Urras the father of Pittacus, schol. Dion. Thr. p. 368. 15 Hilgard.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jacoby, *CQ* 35, 1941, 106 = *Kl. phil. Schr.* i. 262 f.

Theognis presumably had some connexion with this state of affairs. As for Colophon, we hear of ὕβρις there from Mimnermus 9. 4. Speaking of the time preceding their occupation of Smyrna, he describes the Colophonians as ἀργαλέης ὕβριος ἡγεμόνες. It is tempting to connect this with Herodotus 1. 150, where it is recorded that the men who took Smyrna had been exiled from Colophon, στάσι ἐσσωθέντες. Mimnermus was of their stock, and saw the matter through their eyes, only with the wisdom of a younger generation. In some other place he may have spoken of Colophon's having been 'ruined' by ὕβρις. Theognis could then be echoing Mimnermus. And when he gives Smyrna itself as his third instance, perhaps he is thinking of the same events, since the στάσις at Colophon led directly to a bouleversement at Smyrna, the dispossession of the Aeolian inhabitants. He could hardly have held ὕβρις responsible for the destruction of the city by Alyattes at the end of the century. On the other hand he could not, after Alyattes, have spoken of any earlier event as the 'destruction' of Smyrna. The couplet seems therefore to date from before 600, though obviously not from before 650.

A similarly early date for Theognis is indicated by a study of his relationship to the history of Megara. Of early political changes there we hear the following. After a popular rising against the wealthy, Theagenes was given a bodyguard and able to set up as tyrant (Arist. *Pol.* 1305<sup>a</sup>24, *Rhet.* 1357<sup>b</sup>33). His rule lasted less than eighteen years (*Pol.* 1315<sup>b</sup>11–39), long enough to build a notable fountain (Paus. 1.40.1). Cylon's attempt to make himself tyrant at Athens, anciently dated to 632, 628 or 624, fell during it (Thuc. 1.126.12 with Gomme). Theagenes was deposed, and for a short time order prevailed; but then demagogues roused the people again, and they began to take over rich men's houses and eat their food (Plut. *quaest. gr.* 295cd, cf. 304ef). Anarchy reigned. Many of the γῶριμοι were forced to emigrate: some of these, the men of Doryclus, were accused of betraying Salamis to Athens c. 600 (Paus. 1.40.5). A band of exiles managed to return and restore an oligarchy (Arist. *Pol.* 1300<sup>a</sup>17, 1302<sup>b</sup>31, 1304<sup>b</sup>34). 'The democracy' is spoken of as a single period of Megarian history: it was then, they said, that Megarian Comedy came into being, and that was earlier than Attic Comedy (Arist. *Poet.* 1448<sup>a</sup>31). Aristotle believed Attic Comedy to have developed earlier than its first recorded exponents, Chionides and Magnes (1449<sup>b</sup>3, cf. 1448<sup>b</sup>34), i.e. than 486 B.C., but his Megarian source did not necessarily share his assumption. If we argue from the dating for Cylon, Theagenes' fall would come before 607 at the latest, perhaps twenty years earlier, and the democracy would be flourishing sometime in the first half of the sixth century.

The allusions to these matters in the sources are brief, and we nowhere find Theognis put in relation to them. But it would be

somewhat surprising if he was not drawn upon as a historical source in the same kind of way as Solon and Tyrtaeus are used by Aristotle, Callinus and Mimnermus by Callisthenes; and the language used by Plutarch in particular distinctly recalls him. ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐσωφρόνησαν . . . εἶτα πολλὴν κατὰ Πλάτωνα (*Rep.* 562d) καὶ ἄκρατον αὐτοῖς ἐλευθερίαν τῶν δημαγωγῶν οἰνοχοούντων διαφθαρέντες . . . τοῖς πλουσίοις ἀσελγῶς προσεφέροντο κτλ.: compare that with Th. 41-5,

ἄστοι μὲν γὰρ ἔθ' οἶδε σαόφρονες, ἡγεμόνες δὲ  
 τετράφαται πολλὴν εἰς κακότητα πεσεῖν.  
 οὐδεμίαν πω Κύρν' ἀγαθοὶ πόλιν ὠλεσαν ἄνδρες·  
 ἀλλ' ὅταν ὑβρίζειν τοῖσι κακοῦσιν ἄδη,  
 δῆμόν τε φθειρώσι δίκας τ' ἀδίκουσι διδῶσιν κτλ.

It may be, then, that circumstances described by Theognis were identified with circumstances known from other sources, and that details of the above account (though clearly not the whole) were based on Theognis. This ought to have led to a dating of the poet forty years or more earlier than the one preserved in the *Suda*; for all we know, it did.

But can those verses really be assumed to describe the growing excesses of the democracy? I venture to assert that they cannot. It is not that I advocate a blanket scepticism of any attempt to extract historical or biographical data from his remains. No less than the political poems of Solon and Alcaeus, they bear the stamp of real events, in principle identifiable. But the verses quoted go on to say that the city in which these things happen, bad men ruining the people for their private advantage, will not long remain at rest, ἐκ τῶν γὰρ στάσιές τε καὶ ἐμφυλοὶ φόνοι ἀνδρῶν μούναρχοί τε πόλει μήποτε τῆδε ἄδοι. (On the text see below ad loc.) The implication is very plain. These things have been known to happen elsewhere, and now they are in danger of happening in Megara – for the first time. It would have been impossible to express oneself in those terms during the democracy, shortly after the rule of a μούναρχος who was to be remembered for centuries afterwards. There is no escape from the conclusion that the verses were composed before (though perhaps very shortly before) the rule of Theagenes, not later than the 630s. Does the poem not begin

Κύρνε, κῦεὶ πόλις ἦδε, δέδοικα δὲ μὴ τέκη ἄνδρα  
 εὐθυντῆρα κακῆς ὑβριος ἡμετέρης?

It needed no special foresight to think in terms of a tyrant, after the recent examples of Cypselus at Corinth and Orthagoras at Sicyon.

The city populace is quiet (41, 48), but the ἡγεμόνες are headed for trouble. It appears from Solon 4. 7 and 6. 1 that ἡγεμόνες is a term for popular leaders. The cause of discontent is corruption in the courts (45). In the context we must assume the administration of justice to be in the

hands of the aristocracy: that is why the *δήμου ἡγεμόνες* are agitating (we may think of Hesiod's protests to the *βασίλῃες* as an example of the sort of verse oratory they may have practised), and why a tyranny is to be feared. It is the wealthy, naturally, who profit from the squires' venality. The squires stand to gain power and influence as well as money (46).

Theognis himself is a squire; the *ὕβρις* to be corrected by the anticipated tyrant is 'ours', i.e. that of our class. In 543-6 he represents himself as due to judge a case, a case that calls for absolute honesty and fair allocation to both sides. In 331-2 he advises Cynrus to follow his example, calmly tread a middle path, and not give either side more than its due. A similar recommendation in 219-20: 'Do not be too resentful of the citizens' unrest, Cynrus; tread the middle of the road as I do'. It is in this judicial capacity, we may suppose, that Theognis fails to please everybody (24-6, 1183-4b (= 367-8)), so that he is criticized both by high and low (369-70).

Another group of fragments suggests a more critical turn of events. Injustice, profiteering and violence have brought everything to ruin (833-6). The city has all the signs of imminent perdition (235-6). While comrades are available let us catch the trouble at its beginning, and seek a remedy for the ulcer while it is yet growing (1133-4). Few can be trusted in important undertakings; a trusty man is worth his weight in gold in time of discord (75-8, cf. 79-82). A slow runner can overtake a fast one if he plans well and has divine right on his side (329-30). - No doubt there are other possibilities, but all this would be appropriate in the context of Theagenes' seizure of power. Nothing was more natural than that the aristocrats, or some of them, should plan a counterstrike.

In 811 Theognis cries that his comrades have betrayed him. The only thing for him is to come to terms with the other side, but he will not flatter them; what will be, will be. It might have been in such a predicament that he prayed to Artemis for protection from *κακαὶ κήρες*, a small thing for her but important to him (11-14). If so, the prayer had no lasting effect, for he lost his estates (1197 ff.), presumably forced into exile. The verses on the miseries of poverty (173-82) and those on the sweetness of revenge (337-40, 361-2) may belong to this period; cf. the anonymous passage 341-50.

'Never befriend an exile in expectation of reward, Cynrus: even when he returns home he is not the man he was.' (333-4.) This too suggests an exile's own experience: making his way hopefully to someone he entertained before, he finds him unable to do much in return. Or was Theognis the returned exile who had had to let a benefactor down? At any rate, if I am right in guessing that he was exiled under Theagenes, he seems to have returned to see something of the democracy, perhaps even to see the end of the tyrant. 1217-8, I believe, is a

gnomologist's moralizing adaptation of a couplet that originally called for glee at someone's misfortune (cf. 1041-2 (adesp.) δεῦρο σὺν αὐλητῆρι· παρὰ κλαίοντι γελῶντες πίνωμεν, κείνου κήδεσι τερπόμενοι); and we cannot help thinking of the parallel in Alcaeus fr. 332, νῦν χρῆ μεθύσθην καὶ τινα πέρ βίαν πώνην, ἐπεὶ δὴ κάτθανε Μύρσιλος.

	Κύρνε, πόλις μὲν ἔθ' ἤδε πόλις, λαοὶ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι, οἱ πρόσθ' οὔτε δίκας ἤδεσαν οὔτε νόμους,	
55	ἀλλ' ἀμφὶ πλευραῖσι δορὰς αἰγῶν κατέτριβον, ἔξω δ' ὥστ' ἔλαφοι τῆσδ' ἐνέμοντο πόλεος. καὶ νῦν εἰς' ἀγαθοὶ Πολυπατῆθ' οἱ δὲ πρὶν ἔσθλοι	1109
58	νῦν δειλοί. τίς κεν ταῦτ' ἀνέχοιτ' ἔσορῶν, τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς μὲν ἀτιμοτέρους, κακίους δὲ λαχόντας τιμῆς; μνηστεύει δ' ἐκ κακοῦ ἔσθλος ἀνήρ·	1110 1111 1112
59	ἀλλήλους δ' ἀπατῶσιν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι γελῶντες, 60 οὔτε κακῶν γνώμας εἰδότες οὔτ' ἀγαθῶν.	

This passage, reconstructed from two overlapping excerpts, seems to describe the situation after Theagenes. The city is still a city (somewhat to the poet's surprise), but the former gentry have lost a lot of ground, the peasants (who started the revolution with a slaughter of their landlords' flocks) have moved into the town, many of them, and even occupy positions of standing. It is advisable to be polite to them but not to trust them (61-8).

μνηστεύει δ' ἐκ κακοῦ ἔσθλος ἀνήρ (1112): the complaint is elaborated in 183-90, κριοὺς μὲν καὶ θουοὺς κτλ. What better example of the trend than the marriage of the Athenian Cylon, Ὀλυμπιονίκης, τῶν πάλαι εὐγενῆς τε καὶ δυνατός, to the daughter of the upstart Theagenes (Thuc. 1. 126. 3)? They marry for money instead of going for inborn quality; and nowadays the two things no longer go together (cf. 149-50). 31-8, where the ἔσθλοὶ are synonymous with those who have great δύναμις (money and influence; cf. Solon 5. 3), must have been composed in a happier time.

Whether Theognis saw the fall of the democracy and the new oligarchy that succeeded it, there is no telling, though it must have been the oligarchy that honoured his memory. His poetic and political career began in the 630s at the latest, and apparently extended over several decades. It may have reached into the sixth century, overlapping Solon's. Solon's poems are closer to Theognis' in content and language than anything else we have. This is partly because similar events were afoot in both cities, but there is a case for direct influence of one poet on the other. It has always been taken for granted that Theognis imitated Solon (who is certainly the more imaginative and forceful writer), but for no other reason than that he has been dated later than Solon. The reverse relationship is equally possible.

With the higher dating of Theognis, the classic period of elegy is reduced to three generations: Callinus, Archilochus, Tyrtaeus in the first, Theognis and Mimnermus in the second, Solon in the third. The epigoni, Xenophanes and other later elegists, never enjoyed comparable renown. When we survey the whole evidence of the Cynus poems, Theognis takes on the colours of an Alcaeus: aristocratic witness of a demotic revolution, betrayed conspirator, and embittered exile.

## V Mimnermus

### '*Smyrnaeus, s. vii pars post.*'

Ancient authors usually refer to Mimnermus as a Colophonian. The *Suda* says Κολοφώνιος ἢ Σμυρναῖος ἢ Ἀστυπαλαίεύς. The name Astypalaea occurs in several places and might in principle be given to any district remembered as the site of 'the old city'. Both Colophon and Smyrna had moved themselves away from their archaic centres by Hellenistic times (a late-fourth-century B.C. inscription from Colophon refers to τὴν παλαιὰν πόλιν, *AJP* 56, 1935, 361), and some writer with local knowledge might have referred to Mimnermus e.g. as Σμυρναῖος ἐξ Ἀστυπαλαίας. The decision between Smyrna and Colophon is convincingly made in favour of the former by Jacoby, *Hermes* 53, 1918, 268 ff. = *Kl. phil. Schr.* i. 311 ff. Mimnermus speaks in fr. 9 as a Smyrnaean; Colophon is a place where 'we' were for a time, and from there, καίθεν, we came to Smyrna. The context of the fragment was a reference to fighting for Smyrna, and whereas Mimnermus mentioned the foundation of Colophon in another place too (fr. 10), he wrote a whole long elegy about Smyrna's finest hour when Gyges and his Lydians were beaten off. But fr. 9 gave a handle to Colophonian claims to the poet. Jacoby points out that Colophon had a continuous tradition down to Hellenistic times, while Smyrna was, as he puts it, dead. (It revived for a time after the sack by Alyattes, but in the fifth and fourth centuries it was a very unimportant place.) He assumes with reason that Nicander in his book on Colophonian poets will have included Mimnermus. It is surprising that Jacoby does not mention an important earlier figure, Antimachus, who claimed Homer as a Colophonian (perhaps on the strength of *Margites* fr. 1: Kirchhoff, *Sitz.-Ber. preuss. Ak.* 1895, 770), and whose *Lyde* may have been consciously intended as the successor of Mimnermus' *Nanno*. (They are associated by Hermesianax and Posidippus in the passages quoted on pp. 81 f. of the edition. See also below.)

There has also been some divergence of opinion on the poet's date, based on differing views of the chronological implications of fr. 14. 2-4 and of Solon's answer to fr. 6. To take the latter first: Mimnermus must have been young when he set sixty as a good age to die, but Solon was not necessarily old when he proposed eighty as a better idea. (Strictly his emendation would modify the age to which *Mimnermus* was to live, but he probably understood him to be enunciating an ideal for Every-



man, and meant by his correction 'you can die at sixty, I want to live to eighty'.) There is nothing in the lines to indicate whether he is older or younger than Mimnermus. Mimnermus must be still alive: Solon may not have meant his poem as a genuine communication for Mimnermus' ears, but it takes the form of one, and it would be absurd even to pretend to be asking a poet to revise his work and sing it differently if that poet was already in Hades. However, this gives very little help in fixing his dates.

The Smyrna in which he was active met its end at the hands of Alyattes within a few years of 600 B.C. (E. Akurgal, *Bayraklı*, 1950, p. 65; J.M. Cook, *BSA* 53/4, 1958/9, 25-7.) There is no indication that the poet made any mention of this event, which would be a little surprising if he outlived it, given his interest in the city's past history. His *Smyrneis* is likely to have been identical with the long elegy with a proem that Pausanias cites (9. 29. 4 = fr. 13), concerned with the Smyrnaeans' battle against Gyges. (Cf. 4. 21. 5, quoted among the testimonia.) Gyges was killed in 652, and as he was fully occupied in the last years of his reign with the incursions of the Cimmerians, his assaults on Ionia must probably be but back into the 660s at the latest. According to an ingenious conjecture of Pasquali's (*SIFC* 3, 1923, 293 ff. = *Pagine meno stravaganti*, 1935, pp. 113 ff.), Mimnermus' own name commemorated the famous resistance by the Hermus. His case is perhaps strengthened by the existence of a potter called Nikesermos whose signature appears on a Chian cup of about 600 (L.H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, pl. 65 no. 42e). Names in -ermos are not uncommon in Ionia (Maas, *RE* xv. 1725), but the theory is attractive, and if it is true it implies that Mimnermus was born very soon after the battle. It was remembered with pride for decades, but it was probably only in the first flush of victory that a child would be named after it.<sup>1</sup> That would have given Mimnermus a special personal interest in the event. It would mean that we could place his birth before 660.

We know nothing that is out of keeping with such a dating. From fr. 20 it may be inferred that Mimnermus witnessed and wrote about a total eclipse of the sun. The only two eclipses that come into question are those of 6 April 648 and 28 May 585. (Smyrna was better placed than Colophon for observation of either of them, if the charts in F.K. Ginzel, *Spezieller Kanon der Sonnen- und Mondfinsternisse für das Ländergebiet der klass. Altertumswissenschaften und den Zeitraum von 600 v. Chr. bis 900 n. Chr.* (1899), can be depended on to that extent.) The second cannot be ruled out, but it would be the sole sign of Mimnermus after the fall of Smyrna. If we prefer the first, he was already writing

<sup>1</sup> Hellanicus is said to have been born on the day of Salamis. (So is Euripides, less plausibly.)

verse in 648. Frs. 1, 5 and 6 show that he wrote at least some of his poetry when still relatively young; 5. 2 *πτοιῶμαι δ' ἔσορῶν ἔνθος ὀμηλικῆς* describes a condition that according to Hesiod is safely past by the age of forty (*Op.* 447). On the other hand, Hermesianax's *πολιῶ δ' ἐπὶ πολλάκι λωτῶ κηρωθεὶς* may mean 'when he was old', and he cannot have died too soon after 648 if Solon was to address him first.

It has been conjectured that fr. 14 comes from a poem in which Mimnermus roused his fellow-citizens to take a courageous stand against Alyattes, contrasting their present spirit (*τοῖον*, line 2) with that of the great hero, whoever he was, who was so successful against Gyges. (E.g. J.M. Cook in the article cited.) If so it would date from the last years of the century. But even if the purport of the passage is rightly understood, there may have been several earlier occasions calling for martial courage. Men who fought by the Hermus are apparently still living.

### *The nature of Mimnermus' poetry*

Those authors who quote fragments of Mimnermus with a title give either *Nanno* or *the Smyrneis*. *Nanno* will not have been a collective title covering all of Mimnermus' poetry, for Strabo, Athenaeus and Stobaeus use it as if they were being informative. None of them says *ἐν α'* or *ἐν β' Ναννοῦς*, nor do we find *ἐν α'* or *β' Σμυρνηίδος* or *ἐλεγείων*.

The *Smyrneis* must have been a poem of several hundred lines, to judge from the epic-style title bestowed on it, the fairly elaborate poem that began the 'elegiacs on the Smyrnaeans' battle against Gyges and the Lydians' referred to by Pausanias, and the ample narrative with speeches implied by fr. 13a. It might well count as a book, and it may be guessed that it and *Nanno* were the 'two books' mentioned by Porphyrio. That does not mean that *Nanno* was likewise a single long elegy. Callimachus in the much-discussed prologue of his *Actia* probably refers to Mimnermus' poetry, or the better of two parts of it, as *αὐ κατὰ λεπτόν [ῥήσεις]*, 'the small-scale addresses', a fitting description of the typical archaic elegy as we know it from Tyrtaeus and others.<sup>3</sup> They are contrasted with *ἡ μεγάλη γυνή*, which it is possible to take as a reference to the *Smyrneis* (Colonna, *Athenaeum* 30, 1952, 194), though that is only one of several possible explanations of the enigmatic words.

The somewhat varied contents of the fragments ascribed to the *Nanno* would be easier to understand on the view that it was a

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *GVI* 749. 7-8 = Tyrtaeus 24. In *epigr.* 27 Callimachus uses *λεπταὶ ῥήσεις* of Aratus' *Phaenomena* (imitated in proleg. Hes. *Op.* p. 4 Pertusi = Hes. fr. spur. 379). *ῥήσεις* is less appropriate here, and the phrase looks like a substandard self-quotation.

collection. 5 contains general reflection: Mimnermus is aroused by the beauty of his coevals. In 8 he is addressing a particular friend in tones that Theognis might have used to Cynrus. In 9 and 10 he is concerned with the history of Smyrna and Colophon. The heading which is all that is preserved of 24 implies that somewhere in the *Nanno* he criticized doctors. (As an example of the way in which such a subject might arise in early elegy cf. Solon 13. 57 ff.) Nowhere do we catch a whiff of *Nanno* herself. According to Hermesianax Mimnermus loved her, and according to Athenaeus she was an ἀλητρὶς and a ἑταῖρα. But Hermesianax balances *Nanno* against one Examyas; Alexander Aetolus associates Mimnermus' verse with the love of boys, and Mimnermus himself alludes to it in fr. 1. 9 as well as in fr. 5. It fits the general style of early elegy altogether better than the romantic modern picture of a Mimnermus constantly inspired by the love of a girl.

I suspect that that romantic modern picture is to be laid at the door of Antimachus. *Nanno* arrives at Alexandria, as we have seen, hand in hand with *Lyde*, the foreign girl mourned by Antimachus with such learned devotion. Mimnermus arrives a Colophonian, bearing (alone of the early elegists) a book named after a woman: individual elegies of other poets have acquired or will acquire titles, *Eunomia*, *Salamis*, but they are cited generally as so-and-so ἐν ταῖς ἐλεγείαις, ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν. Antimachus' personal marked copy of Homer came down to the Alexandrian library, no doubt proudly inscribed ΟΜΗΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΛΟΦΩΝΙΟΥ. It would be no extravagant hypothesis that his Mimnermus came too, and, together with anything he said about Mimnermus in his *Lyde* (cf. fr. \*192), exercised a decisive influence on the older poet's image and left his shorter elegies permanently under the title *Nanno*.

Of course *Nanno* cannot have been invented from nothing. Mimnermus' desire, no less than Anacreon's, could be aroused by girls as well as by boys. Both he (1. 9) and Solon (24. 5) speak of the love of boys and women as if they were complementary. Greek paederasty was not in any way incompatible with normal sexual instincts, since it was for the most part a substitute for heterosexual love, free contacts between the sexes being restricted by society. The boy was the object of desire because, among males, he was the most like a female: Anacreon's ὦ καὶ παρθένιον βλέπων goes right to the heart of the matter. As for women and girls, it was the wives and daughters of the citizen class who were most inaccessible. Anacreon's Thracian filly and his Lesbian νεᾶνις ποικιλοσάμβαλος obviously belong to a different category, and so does the ἀλητρὶς *Nanno*.

She need not have been mentioned a great deal in Mimnermus' poems. Perhaps even one or two references would have been considered a sufficient basis for a romantic construction which made her his great

love. Hermesianax, who follows his Colophonian tradition in writing a long love-elegy *Leontion* in at least three books, has the brazenness to interpret [Hesiod]'s formula ἡ' οἴη as the commemoration of an As-craean girl-friend named Eoie (7. 21 ff.), not to mention Homer as the lover of Penelope and many other such fancies in the same passage. Just as Hermesianax is amassing as many precedents as he can for his own poem, so Antimachus may have made Mimnermus much more of a precursor of himself than he really was.

## VI Language and Metre

These pages contain a repertory of facts about the language (particularly the morphology) and the metres of the iambic and elegiac poets. For this purpose they fall into three broad categories: Ionian poets of the seventh and sixth centuries, whose dialect is somewhere between that of their everyday vernacular and that of epic; early elegists of mainland Greece (Tyrtaeus, Theognis, Solon) who model themselves on their Ionian contemporaries but occasionally allow features of their own dialects to show; and poets, mainly elegists, of the fifth and fourth centuries, who are much more affected by Attic culture. I have taken the anonymous Theognidea, as distinct from the pieces assignable to Theognis himself, with the third group, since they certainly contain some poems of fifth-century date, and nothing that is now recognizable as pure Ionic of the earlier period.

### PHONOLOGY

#### *Vowels*

#### *ā/η*

The general change of original *ā* to *η* is to be assumed for all the early Ionians, and in most cases it is given by the tradition. Tyrtaeus' position is the same. With Theognis and Solon we are on less sure ground. How carefully did they observe the differences between Attic (the nearest brand of Ionic for both of them) and the Ionic of the eastern elegists? The Theognis manuscripts certainly give plenty of forms like σφρηγίς, μηδεμιῆς, πρῆγμα. But in a tradition where Theognis' verses have been mixed with a larger quantity of other elegiac excerpts, homogenization may have taken place, and manuscript evidence cannot be relied on in a question such as this. I have not made the attempt in my text to distinguish Atticisms of the poet from those of the tradition. With Solon the game seems more worth the candle, and in his case I have tried to discover consistent principles underlying the inconsistent testimony of the sources, and to apply them. It may be objected that Solon himself may not have been consistent, and that we ought to follow the best manuscript evidence in each place. I take the view that even if he was inconsistent, quotations, and the scribal transmission which each quotation has undergone, are going to be no reliable guide to his practice, and that we shall come nearer the truth by

regularizing his dialect than by committing ourselves to the vagaries of the tradition.

In the case-endings of  $\alpha$ -stems, the evidence of all quoting authors except Aristotle is heavily in favour of  $\eta$ , at least in elegiac pieces: it is attested at 1.2; 4. 3 bis, 4, 10, 20, 37, 38; 9. 2, 4; 10. 1, 2; 13. 15 bis, 22, 41, 49, 52, 70; 22a. 1; 24. 4 v.l., 6; 27. 6, 10, 16; 43. In three of these places a variant has  $\alpha$ ;  $\alpha$  appears further in three places in Demosthenes' quotation of fr. 4 (against  $\eta$  in six places), and in one fragment quoted by Aristotle. In the iambs,  $\eta$  is attested in four places (32. 2; 36. 10, 13, 16, in the last place as a variant),  $\alpha$  in eight (33. 3, 6; 34. 1, 8 bis, 9; 36. 7; 37. 4) - but six of these are Aristotle. I have given  $\eta$  everywhere.

In other circumstances,  $\eta$  is attested only in the words  $\lambda\eta\nu$  (6. 2, v.l.  $\lambda\alpha\nu$ ; 9. 5, prob. for  $\lambda\epsilon\iota\eta\varsigma$ ),  $\nu\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu$  (13. 44),  $\iota\eta\tau\rho\acute{\iota}$  (13. 58). Contrariwise  $\pi\rho\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$  (4. 25 Dem.; 36. 9 Arist. with the derivative Aristides);  $\tau\rho\alpha\chi$ - (4. 34 Dem.; 34. 3 Arist.);  $\pi\rho\alpha\theta\nu\epsilon\iota$  (4. 37);  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$  (9. 5, Diod.);  $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\alpha\varsigma$  (32. 3, Plut.).  $\text{'I}\alpha\omicron\nu$ - in 4a. 2 has Homeric precedent, and belongs in a separate category. Solon may have written E in all these places, but the prevalence of  $\alpha$  in the sources (by contrast with the first-declension endings), and the agreement of different authors in different fragments on the spelling of  $\lambda\eta\nu$ ,  $\tau\rho\alpha\chi\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\rho\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$ , suggests that his application of the east Ionic  $\eta$  may have been limited, apart from the large class of first-declension nouns, to certain words.

The evidence for fifth- and fourth-century poets is not extensive. In those of Ionian birth, not surprisingly,  $\eta$  is attested both in  $\alpha$ -stems (Eue. 2. 2; Ion 30. 1; Ant. 72) and otherwise (Sim. 6. 2 bis, 4; 10. 2; Eue. 4. 2; 8 v.l.; Ion 27. 2; 30. 3; Scy. 2. 3). So too in Critias (2. 12 v.l.; 5. 3; 6. 21). The remaining examples of  $\eta$  are likewise from elegy, and they are confined to cases of nouns in  $-\iota\eta$  (Dion. Ch. 4. 3; Arist. 673. 1, 2; ps.-Soc. 1. 2). I have not attempted to build on these scanty facts, except to generalize  $\eta$  in Euenus. I have left  $\gamma\eta\rho\alpha\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu$  in Sim. 8. 8 (perhaps a special case), and alphas also in Ion 32 (see note) and in various places in the Attic elegists.

### $\alpha\theta/\omicron\theta$

$\pi\alpha\rho\delta\alpha\kappa\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\delta\alpha\lambda\iota\varsigma$ : see the apparatus on Sem. 21.

X. 40 has  $\beta\rho\acute{\omicron}\tau\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$  for  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$ .

### $o/v$

$v$  for  $o$  appears in  $\kappa\epsilon\rho\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\delta\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  Hi. 155-155a;  $\beta\upsilon\phi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$  id. 165. In 78. 6 I have accordingly preferred  $\delta]π\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\tau\iota$  to  $\delta]π\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\tau\iota$ , since both forms are known, the former from Herodotus. Another instance of this sound-change in Ionic is Hellenicus'  $\text{'T}\sigma\iota\rho\iota\varsigma$  (4 F 176).

*Vowel-shortening*

There was a strong tendency in Ionic to shorten long vowels and diphthongs followed by another vowel, especially when the second syllable was long. Thus the adjectival termination *-ήεις* is reduced to *-είς*, *-έντ-* in Ar. 122. 8 (and 9 cj.); Sem. 7. 57; Ad. ia. 59; Ty. 4. 2; ζωοί, ζώειν to ζωοί, ζόειν, Ar. 133. 2, 3; 145. 7; Sem. 1. 17 (and 4 cj.); Θρήξιον, Θρηξίσιος to Θρε-, Ar. 93a. 6; Hi. 72. 5; 127. Archilochus gives us further λέως 226 (if from λειώς), δθνήην 244, δρέσχοος 278; Hipponax δειλαίος 36. 4, λεύειν 37, θηρεύει 43, εὔωνος 44, φοῖδας 59. 1, θύεσκε 104. 48 (this scansion also in Homer and elsewhere; in elegy, Th. 1146); in 50. 2 Τρηχέης may conceal *-τής*, and so εὔρείης in Ad. ia. 2. 2; cf. ταχεῶν scm. in Th. 715. Anacreon has ἀδοιάστως in his elegies (1), as well as θυτόντα, Ληθαίου and perhaps αἰεις in his lyrics (*Mel.* 347.1.17, 348. 4, 360. 2). Semonides adds τοῦτοῖς 7. 70 (also Ad. ia. 11. 7; common in Attic), γλοῖοῦ 8; Tyrtaeus γεραίους 10. 20 and ἥρωες 17 (cf. *Od.* 6. 303 Barnes, also Pindar). τοῖφδε Th. 928 and ποῖεῖν Cleo. 1. 2 belong to the Attic sphere.

These shortenings are not universal. *-ήεις* maintains its full length in τιμήεις (Ca., Mi., Sim.), φωνήεις (Ion), though nowhere demonstrably in iambus, since βουλήεις in Sol. 33. 1 and ἦεις in Ad. ia. 11. 5 are metrically ambiguous. ζω- is long in Sem. 13. 2 (ζωτων), Ad. ia. 54 (ζωόν or ζῶον), and always in elegy. Θρηξί- (-ξί) appears in Ty. 12. 4 and Hi. 115. 6 (epode). δειλαίος has its second syllable long in Ad. ia. 14. 2. τῷοῦτος appears in Ar. 67. 3 and several times in Semonides, and it is regular in elegy.

*Quantitative metathesis*

The combination ηο, of whatever origin, usually became εω in Ionic and Attic: Πριηνέως Ar. 43. 2, Hi. 123, Μεγαρέως Th. 23; πλέως Ar. 114. 4; Λεώφιλος Ar. 115, λεώς 89. 9, 94. 3, Sus. 1; ξυνοεωνίην Ar. 174. 2. But disyllables show some resistance: Hipponax knows ληός (158), and 'of a ship' remains νηός in Ar. 4. 6 (eleg.), 106. 3, Th. 513 - only Ant. 57. 3 has νεός. The forms λαός, λαόδικος, λαοφθόρος, ναός 'temple', βασιλῆος are confined to elegy and may be put down to the influence of epic or (in the case of Melanthius' ναός) other elevated poetry. -λαος also survived in names such as Χαρίλαος, Ἀρχέλαος, though Sophocles felt able to alter this to Ἀρχέλειος for the sake of getting it into elegiacs (fr. 1). Archilochus has further παιήονα, παρήορος.

*Vowel contraction: verb endings*

Verbs in *-ᾶω* are always contracted, except for the epicizing ναιε-τάοντες in Sim. 10. 1 and ἐλάοι in Th. 998 cj. The contraction takes a Doric form (αι > η) in λῆ Th. 299 (a Doric verb and poet), and φυσῆν

Ad. el. 19. 2. The contraction of *-άειαι* appears as *-έαι* (disyll.) in Ar. 113. 8 (< *ῆαι* < *ᾗαι*).

Verbs in *-άω* are represented by *ἡβάω*, which gives imperative *ἡβα* Th. 877, and *διψάω*, which gives pres. part. *διψέων* (trisyll., shortened from *-ήων*) Ar. 125. 1; so perhaps *μενοινέων* in 67. 10.

Verbs in *-έω*, other than disyllabic verbs like *ρέω*, are always contracted in the early Ionians except for two epicisms in Mimnermus (*τελέων* 11. 3, *κλονέοντα* 14. 3). (*ἔδοκεν* in *Margites* 7. 15 is hardly credible.) The contractions are usually written as follows in the papyri and other sources: (*εα*) *εα*; (*εε*) *εε* or *ει*; (*εη*) *η*; (*εο*, *εου*) *ευ*; (*εοι*) *εοι* (Hi. 115. 15) or *οι*; (*εω*) *εω*. Inscriptions show that the Ionians themselves wrote the contraction of *εε* with a single letter representing *ε̄*, and the contraction of *εο* or *εου* with *εο* (= *εδ* or *εδ̄*), which must have sounded different from *ευ*. We should accordingly use the spellings *ει* (= *ε̄*), *εο*, *εου* (= *εδ̄*). The contraction of *έειαι* appears as *ῆ* in Sem. 22. I have written *έαι* with Diehl, as *εαι* seems to maintain itself against *η*; down to the time of Anacreon and Ananius. *τιθεῦ* in Ar. 23. 10 seems to represent contraction from *τιθέεο*.

In Solon too these verbs are always contracted. The Ionic spellings with *εω* and *ευ* are attested in both the elegies and the iambs (13. 33, 45; 15. 1; 32. 4 bis; 36. 14, 26; sometimes *ου* is a v.l.); I have restored *εο/εου* for *ευ* in these places and in four places where only *ου* is transmitted (4. 11, 22, 24; 24. 1).

In Theognis, the Theognidea and Xenophanes both contracted and uncontracted forms appear, as follows:

*εω* uncontr. Th. 27, 137, 145, 552, 534, 1144.

contr. (*εω*) Th. 503. (*ω*) Th. 138, 371, 1134, 914, 1210, 1236, 1251.

*εο* uncontr. Th. 73 (from *εεο*), 162, 625, 739, 1160a cj. (from *εεο*).

contr. (*εο*) Th. 369, 385, 495, 737, 786, 1153. (*ου*) Th. 1207, 1315, 1381.

*εου* uncontr. Th. 278; X. 2. 5.

contr. (*εου*) Th. 337, 871. (*ου*) Th. 142, 684; X. 14. 1 (?).

*εοι* uncontr. Th. 339, 926.

contr. (*οι*) Th. 310 cj., 713, 1119.

*εη* uncontr. Th. 221 v.l., 1166.

contr. (*η*) Th. 96, 609, 929, 1008.

*εει*, *εε* are regularly contracted, though *δοκέει* in Th. 221 is better supported than *δοκέη*, and from a disyllabic verb we have *ἐπλεε* in Th. 12. Where the metre allows either scansion, scribes write *εε*, *εο* rather than *ει*, *ευ*. It may be noticed that for contracted syllables they tend to avoid diphthongal spellings other than *ευ* and *ου*.

In Sim. 6. 5 *χεέτω* is written; the metre allows *χείτω*. In the fragments of the later fifth-century elegists we find nothing but contracted forms written in the Attic way: Dion. Ch. 1. 5; Eue. 1. 4; 3. 1; Ion 32. 2; Soph. 4. 2. *βέοντα* Ant. 99 does not differ from Attic.



Verb roots such as *μνη*, *πλη* may be shortened in hiatus and then contracted like verbs in *-έω*. *μειμνέωμεθα* Ar. 106. 4, *κέχται* 235, *πεπλέχται* (transmitted *ηα*) Sem. 31a; *τεθνεώς* Th. 1192; *ἔστώς* Ty. 12. 19; *καταθώμεθα* Th. 983. But (in elegy) also *κείαται* Mi. 11a. 2; *τεθνηότος* Th. 1205.

Verbs in *-όω* are always contracted. The disyllabic *λόω* gives *λοῦται*, Sem. 7. 63. *ρίγῶ*, from *-όω*, has *ρίγῶσα* as its participle, Sem. 7. 26. But *ζώω*, being disyllabic, is usually left uncontracted (Ca. 1. 19, Th. 182, etc.), though shortened to *ζόειν* in Sem. 1. 17 (and presumably *ζόουσιν* is right in 1. 4 for *ζόομεν*). *ζῶμεν* in Sem. 3. 2 is anomalous; perhaps he wrote ZOMEN for *ζόμεν* (*ζοῦμεν*, i.e. *ζόμεν*), which would inevitably be read later as the Attic *ζῶμεν*. *ζῶντι* in Th. 1192 is no doubt to be referred to the Attic *ζῆν*, which occurs in 1156.

The middle personal ending *-εαι* is used both uncontracted and contracted in trimeters and tetrameters, standing always at the end of the line.

Uncontr. Ar. 27. 5, 10; 91. 9; 108. 2; 129; Anan. 1. 3; Ad. ia. 11. 7?

Contr. Ar. 23. 17 ?, 21 (v.l. *-ηι*); 29. 7; 112. 8; (written *ηι* or *ει*) Hi. 52.

In Archilochus' epodes it appears twice uncontracted (168. 4; 172. 4) and twice contracted (Cologne epode 2, 13). In early Ionian elegy it is not attested. It is used uncontracted by Solon 20. 1, Th. 35, and seven times in the anonymous Theognidea; the contraction (written *-ει* or *-ηι*) in Th. 65, 238, 239, 252, 409, 1100, 1170, and perhaps 956, 992.

The ending *-εο* is contracted in iambus (Ar. 108. 2 bis; 128. 2; Dem. 6; Anan. 1. 3) except at line-end (Ar. 28. 3; 128. 4, 5; 205). Elegiac instances are almost confined to the Theognidea; the facts there are: Uncontr. 30, 32, 331, 1297, 1321 (*ἐνθεο*), 1351.

Ambivalent (written *εο*) 47, 145, 100, 353, 455, 547, 557, 1331.

Contr. (*ευ*) 61, 71, 220, 1050, 1313. (*ου*) 129, 1179, 1226, 171, 271 bis, 454, 465, 633, 1362; Dion. Ch. 1. 1; Ad. el. 6. 1.

The ending *-αο* is contracted in Archilochus (23. 19 ?; written *-ω*, 172. 1; 189; 222); uncontracted in X. 6. 1.

*ῆδεα* in Th. 853 can be read either as a dactyl or as a spondee. The third person is written *ηεῖδεε* in the papyrus of Ar. 181. 4, but it is trisyllabic. Uncontracted *ῆδεε* has been conjectured in Ion 30. 3.

### Other contraction

*αα* remains uncontracted only in the epic *θάασσον* which is probable in Ant. 191. The cj. *ἀάτην* in Th. 402 is not particularly plausible.

*αε*, *αι* are contracted, besides verb endings, in *ἄθλον*, *-ος*, *πενταθλ-* (Ar. 182. 1; Th. 971, 994, 1014; X. 2.2, 16); *ἀργός* (Ad. ia. 39; Th. 584?); *ἔδω* (Ar. 58. 12, Th. 243); *αἰκέλιος*, *αἰκίζω* (Th. 1344, Sem. 1. 24); *ἐπαίρομαι* (Th. 1097). But we also have *ἀεθλ-* (Mi., Ty., X., Th.); *ἀεργός*

(Th. 1177); αείδω (Ar., Sol., Sim., *Th.*), ἀεικέλιος, ἀεικίζω, ἀεικής (Ar., Sol., *Th.*), αείρω (Th., *Th.*, Ion, cf. Ar. παρήειρεν); further ἀέκων, -ούσιος (Th., *Th.*, not guaranteed by metre), ἀελπτος, -ιη (Ar.), ἀέξω, ἐπαέξω (Sem., Sol., Sim., *Th.*); τεράσσι (Ty., a secondary formation). αε is uncontracted in Χαρίλαε Ar. 168. 1 (song).

αη is contracted in δάμονες Ar. 3. 4 (corr.), ἀδής Th. 296 (corr.); uncontracted in ἀηδονίς (Ar. 263), ἀηδών (Th. 939).

αι is uncontracted in πάις, πάι, which appear in Ar. (93a. 4; 94. 2 ?; 122. 11; 131. 1) and Ad. ia. 41. 2; αἰδρις, -ιη, and αἶτω, as always; αἶτσω (α as usually in Homer ?) implied by ἤ[τξ]αν Mi. 13a. 2; αἶ[στ]ώσας is doubtful in Ty. 23. 3; δέπαι Ant. 66. 1. The elegists' Ἀτδης is shortened from ατδης (Sem. 1. 15; 7. 117), which may be from \*αλφιδας. Similarly Ἀχατῆ (Sem. 23. 1) from \*Ἀχαφια; ἀχατνας Hi. 118D. 12. For ῥαίδιος see below on ηι.

αο is uncontracted in φάος everywhere; γήραος Ar. 188. 2, Mi. 2. 6, Th. 527 (prob.), πολυγήραος As. 14. 1 (prob.); σαόφρων Th. 41, 437. But γήρως 174, σώφρων 431, *Th.* six times, and Hi. 63. 2. αο is uncontracted in epicizing Ἰαονίης (Sol. 4a. 2 s.v.l.), contracted in Παῖωνος (id. 13. 57), παιάνων (Th. 779), θεωρός (805). For the treatment of the masculine genitive ending -αο see later on case-forms; for λαός, ναός, above on quantitative metathesis. αοι in αοιδός, -ή usually remains open (Ar. 253, Sol. 29, Th. 251, 791, *Marg.* 1. 1, X. 6. 4, Dion. Ch. 1. 4, Ion 27. 7), but we find ᾠδῆ in Sol. 1. 2 (corrupt ?) and Soph. 5. 1.

αω is uncontracted in (-)εσάωσα Ar. 5. 3, Th. 831. αω normally develops through ηω to εω: Ποσειδέων Ar. 192, and first-declension genitive plurals. But in dactylic verse the archaic αω is still sometimes employed: Ποσειδάων Ar. 12. 1, Th. 692, and see on case-forms. Dawn is ἠώς, Mi. 12. 3, 10.

εᾷ is regularly contracted in iambus. η is written in Ἀρχηνακτίδης (Ar. 122. 10), but mostly εα is left: μετέα Ar. 164. 4, ὑπέατι Hi. 78. 6, κρέα 114b, ἔα Sem. 3. 2, δήνα 7. 78, δυσμενέα 7. 102, εὐεργέα Ad. ia. 38. 9, ἔαρι Anan. 5. 1, Κλέαριστε Th. (511), 514. Disyllabic κρέα in Sem. 24. 1 (line-end) is perhaps κρεᾷ < κρέαα. In elegy, case-endings in -εα or -εας are quite often treated as uncontracted. See below on -εσ- and -υ/-εF- stems. The contraction is most often written with η: ἡρινός Sol. 13. 19, ἦρος Th. 777 (but ἔαρος Mi. 2. 2); ἔτη Ty. 5. 4, etc. But ἀναθεα Mi. 1. 4, μέλεα Ar. 9. 10, εὐαυθεα Ad. el. 30. 9.

εᾷ is contracted in εᾷ Ar. 116 (but uncontr. ἐάσομεν Th. 1055); ἐγγέας X. 5. 2 (prob.); ἀτταγᾶς Hi. 26a. 1; μνᾶς id. 36. 3; Βορρᾶς Soph. 4. 3. ἐάν from εἰ ἄν is conjectured in Ar. 122. 7, otherwise it is always ἦν (written ἄν in Ty. 11. 16, Th. 93, 682, 1385, Ad. el. 24), and similarly ἐπήν.

εε, εει are contracted except in the forms ἐ(F)εργμέν[ Ar. 95. 3, ἐ(F)ερδον Sol. 34. 7, ἐ(F)ειπεν Sim. 8. 1, ἐ(F)εἰκοσι X. 8. 3, κλε(F)εινώ ps.-Soc. 2, and probably Περβλε(F)ες Ar. 13. 1; 16; 28. 4?

ει is normally contracted and written η: ῥοδῆς Ar. 30. 2; κερδαλῆ 185. 4 (v.l. -έη); κληδών Hi. 28. 3, Sim. 11. 3; συκῆν Hi. 48, συκῆς Anan. 5. 2; γενῆν Hi. 75. 5; χρυσῆς Mi. 1. 1, Th. 1293, 1381; πορφυρῆς Sem. 1. 16; γαλῆς 7. 50; κωλῆν X. 6. 1. The following uncontracted forms occur: Κρητή Ar. 271; ἔη Th. 1354, 466; πορφυρέης Th. 1035.

ει is contracted except in ξ(φ)ιδε Hi. 117. 7 (epode), πα]ιδετης Ad. el. 28. 6, and if you like in ἔγχει μακρῶ Ty. 11. 29, νηλεί θυμῶ Th. 1125, δξέι 848. ]ελετ[ Ad. ia. 38. 14 is probably a part of κλετίζω, shortened from κλητίζω. Similarly εὐκλετῆσας Ty. 12. 24.

εο is contracted in genitives ending -εος in iambus (Hi. 28. 2; 34. 2; Sem. 7. 39, 43, 74; Ad. ia. 42. 5; 53; mostly written -εως), with the apparent exception of ἔντεος (Hi. 29a, line-end: see apparatus). In elegy -εως does not appear except in Th. 776, 1043 v.l., Ad. el. 58. 10 v.l.; we find either -εος or -ους.

-εος uncontr. Mi. 11a. 1; 14. 1; Ty. 2. 11 ? (suppl.); 10. 12 cj.; 11. 7, 34; 12. 35; Th. 46, 133, 811, 426, 475, 1244; X. 1. 6; Sim. 14. 2; 16. 1.

-εος contr. Th. 56, 550; ambiguous: Ad. el. 58. 10.

-ους Sol. 26. 1; Th. 607, 1304, 1307, 1332, 1345, 1382/3; Crit. 2. 5.

θεός is found contracted in all its cases except the accusative singular, and in both iambus and elegy. In most authors the instances of contraction are outnumbered by those of non-contraction; but it may be observed that the three instances of non-contraction (out of six) in Semonides, and the one (out of three) in Mimnermus, are confined to line-end. Contraction also occurs in the derivative Θεόγνιδος Th. 22 (written θεύ-), and it may reasonably be assumed in θεόσυλιν Hi. 118. 1, θεοσύλῃσιν Ad. ia. 35. 10.

ἔμεο, μεο, σέο, τέο, τεο are always contracted and written with εϋ (or ου). δετο fused with ἐνεκεν appears as δετεύνεκεν (Ad. ia. 38. 12); but the second syllable would have been εδ, i.e. by our conventions εου.

εοι is contracted in φωλοῖ Hi. 86. 4, unless the verse was a pure iambic trimeter, and in χρυσέοισιν Ant. \*191, unless χρῦσ- was intended.

έϋ- remains uncontracted in a few elegiac passages: Ar. 8. 1, X. 1. 4, Th. 765 (but not 766), 1339 ?; perhaps Anac. el. 2. 4.

εω is always contracted in the endings -εω, -έων from -αο, -άων (but not in Βορέ-ω, ταχε-ών). In -έως from -ῆος it is contracted in Th. 23, X. 45 (?), but not in Ar. 43. 2, Hi. 123, X. 2. 9, 22, Ant. 57. 3; nor is it in φύσεως Crit. 9. In genitive plurals from ηϝ- stems we have Αλνεῶν Hi. 72. 7, γονέων Th. 1330, but uncontr. Ἐρετρ[έων Ad. el. 62. 7. The only example from an ι-stem is πόσεων (uncontr.) in Crit. 6. 8. Genitive plurals from εσ-stems are mostly contracted in iambus and uncontracted in elegy:

Uncontr. Ar. 3. 3 (eleg.); 190 (epode); 222 ?; Mi. 7. 1; 12. 11; 14. 8; Ty. 5. 8; 11. 28; 12. 21; Sol. 4. 21; 13. 24; Th. 755, 870, 1141, 1292, 1334; Ad. el. 62. 11; Soph. 5. 1.

Contr. Ar. 128. 2 ?; 191. 3; Ad. ia. 38. 7; Sem. 1. 8; Sol. 1. 2; Th. 46, 951, 1164, 1321; Ad. el. 29. 6.

χρυσέω is contracted in Mi. 11a. 2 but not in Ant. 66. 1. ἡμέων, ὑμέων always are. So are τέωι Ar. 112. 10, τέων 89. 12; ξυν(ε)ωνίη 174. 2; κυκεῶνα Hi. 39. 4 (probably), πυγεῶνα 92. 2; Λεώφιλος Ar. 115 (though not λεώς). Adverbs in -έως are contracted in Ar. 114. 4; 128. 4; Ad. ia. 35. 6; Th. 963, 1211 (-ῶς); but uncontracted in Ar. 181. 10 and many other places. ἐμειωτόν is trisyllabic, Ar. 58. 11. On the participle of εἰμί see below, pp. 107f.

ηε is uncontracted in φονῆς Ar. 101. 2, but shortened to εε = ει in Ὑλλεῖς Ty. 19. 8. Adjectives in -ηεντ- also sometimes suffer shortening of the η, see above on vowel-shortening. ἤε 'or' appears only in Ad. ia. 35. 8 (elided) and perhaps Ar. 29. 2 (elided), Sol. 9. 1; otherwise the contracted η is used. ἥλιος is normal in elegy (Mi., Ty., Sol., Th., Th., Ant.: ἥλιος only Soph. 4. 1); but ἥλιος in iambus (Ar., Sem., Hi., Scy.). ἥεν does not occur. Callinus 4 seems to have used the form Τρήερας for the people that later writers call the Τρηῆρες - Τρηῆρες, *Treueri* ? ηει maintains itself in the Archilochian forms ἥειδει (57. 8, 181. 4, later ἥδει) and παρήειπεν (172. 2).

ηι is uncontracted in δήτιος (Ar., Ty., Sol.; but δῆτιων Mi., Ty., Th.); παρθενήτιος Ar. Cologne epode 18; Τήτιος Ad. ia. 3; ἡ[ι]άν Mi. 13a. 2; λήτιον Th. 107; ῥήτιδος, ῥήτιον Th. 239, 1027, 524, 577, 592, 1034 (but ῥήδιος, ῥάδιος, ῥᾶον, ῥήτερον 120, 429, 1220, 574, 1370; Sol. 9. 5; Eue. 1. 6); δουλητήν Anac. ia. 2. 2; ἐκτροπήτιον Hi. 57; χρητίζων Th. 1333 (but χρῆζων 958; Sol. 13. 44). Datives in -ηι are either uncontracted or pass through -ει to -ει. In the past tense of εἰμι we have ἦει (or ἦε) in Ar. 185. 3, perhaps ἦσαν in 170. 2; ἦσαν or perhaps ἦσαν X. 3. 3.

ιερ- is contracted to ιρ- in Sem. 7. 56; 24. 2; perhaps Anan. 1. 3; uncontracted elsewhere (Hi., Sol., Th., Th.).

οα is uncontracted in χράα (Ar., Sem., Ty., Th.).

οε is contracted in προ-ε- (augment) (Ar. 175. 6; 179; Hi. 14. 2; Th. 529, 813) and προ-εκ- (Sem. 22); written ου except in the last case. -οεργ- remains uncontracted in the epic ὄβριμοεργός (Ca. 5), but becomes -οουργ- in παναλουργέα (X. 3. 3) and perhaps -οργ- in λιτοργόν (Sem. 7. 12).

οη is contracted in ἔβωσαι Hi. 3, νωσάμενος Th. 1298, ὀγδωκονταέτης Sol. 20. 4, Sim. 14. 2. But νοῆσαι Sol. 16. 1, also νοῆ, νόημα.

οι is uncontracted in ἀθορο-ίζω Ar. 88 (but ἀθοροίσας cj. in Hi. 158); διζύς Ar. 102, διζυρῶν Th. 65 (but οίζ- Ar. 163. 2 ?; 228; Sem. 7. 50). οιοσ 'of a sheep' (Anan. 5. 6) is ambivalent.

οο is usually uncontracted in νόος and its cases (Ar. five times, Mi. once, Sem. twice, Sol. seven times, Th. nine times, Th. forty times, Ad. el. four times, Sim. and Eue. once each); but it is contracted in Sem 1. 3, Sol. 27. 13, Th. 898, 350, 1185, Tim. 9, Crit. 6. 12). ῥόος is uncontracted in Mi. 11. 4, and Hi. 115. 9 has χν(ό)ου.

ω is contracted in Th. 348 χειμάρρω. Contrast 1088 καλλιρόω. ]επ-  
λωσεν[ in Hi. 77. 3 is a mystery.

ωι is uncontracted in ζώων Sem. 13. 2 (but ζῶον perhaps Ad. ia. 54);  
λώτων, λώτον Sem. 7. 30, Th. four times (but λῶον Sol. 20. 2 cj., λῶα Th. 96  
dub., λῶστον 255); πατρώτα Ar. 57. 7?, -ον Th. 521 (but -ώας 888, 1210).  
Simonides' κυανοπρώρα (el. 2) is surprising.

### *Synecphonesis*

Vowels belonging to different words are run together much more  
frequently in iambus than in elegy. The clash or crasis of vowels was a  
normal feature of Greek speech, as of Latin, but it was evidently felt to  
sound rather sloppy and therefore to be avoided in more elevated verse  
and prose. It is commonest in the poets that concern us (as in prose,  
where people call it hiatus) with καί or the article.

καί + α- (κά-) Ar. 25. 7; 212; Cologne epode 26; Hi. 8. 1; 32. 5; 58; 103. 4;  
117.6; 125; Ad. ia. 35. 6; Anan. 5. 5; Sem. 1. 10, 21; 7. 35, 88; Sol. 36.  
18; Eue. 9a.

καί + α- (κά-) Ad. el. 24?

καί + αί- (καί-) Ar. 174. 2; 324. 3.

καί + αὐ- (καὐ-) Sem. 1. 19; Th. 536.

καί + ἐ- (κά-) Ar. 24. 16; 119. 1; 122. 5; Hi. 68. 2; 79. 6; 84. 11; 115. 5;  
Sem. 1. 6; 7. 45 ?, 85; Sol. 33. 7; 34. 2; Th. 355, 431, 661 ?, 711 ?,  
1349; Ion 30. 4 ?

καί + η- (κά-, v.l. κῆ-) Sem. 16. 1; (κῆ-) Hi. 105. 5; Anan. 5. 6, 10; (χῆ-)  
Th. 160.

καί + ι- (καί-) Ad. ia. 35. 19.

καί + ὀ- (κῶ-, χῶ-) Hi. 91. 3 ?; Ad. el. 19. 2; Sem. 7. 25 ?, 87; Sol. 13. 37.

καί + ὀ + ᾶ- (κῶ-) Hi. 25.

καί + οί (χοί) Th. 514.

καί + οὐ(-) (κοὐ) Hi. 84. 7; Ad. ia. 14. 5; Anac. el. 6. 1; Sem. 7. 59; Sol.  
13. 60; Th. 339, 441, 496, 915, 930, 1342; Scy. 2. 2; Panarces several  
times.

καί + ὡς (χῶς) Sem. 7. 82; 24. 1 bis.

ὀ + αὐτός (αὐτός) Th. 334, 622.

ὀ + ὀ- (οὐ-) Th. 918.

ῆ + ᾶ- (ᾶ-) Hi. 25 ?

ῆ + αὐτή (αὐτή) Anan. 5. 6 ?

οί + ἔτεροι (οὐτεροι) Sol. 36. 24.

τὸ + ᾶ- (τῶ-) Hi. 28. 6.

τὸ + ἐ (τοῦ-) Hi. 56; 92. 7; Th. 269; Crit. 5. 2.

τὸ + ὀ- (τοῦ-) Crit. 4. 3.

τὸ + οὐς (τοῦς) Hi. 118. 5.

τὰ + ᾶ- (τᾶ-) Anan. 2; Th. 515.

- τὰ + αί- (ταί-) Hi. 120 cj.  
 τὰ + ἐ- (τά-) Ar. 109. 1; Th. 346.  
 τὰ + οί- (ταί-) Hi. 36. 2.  
 τοῦ + ε- (τού-) Hi. 32. 6; Sem. 7. 113; Th. 21.  
 τῆι + ἄ- *Marg.* 7. 4.  
 τῆι + αὐτῆι (ταύτῆι) Th. 378.  
 τῆι + ἐ- (θή-) Ar. 184. 2.

Outside this category we find:

- ὦ + ἄ- (ῶ-) Ar. 26. 5 v.l.; 109.1 cj.; Hi. 70. 11; Anac. ia. 2. 1; Th. 453.  
 ὦ + ἐ- (ῶ-) Ar. 196.  
 δῆ + αὐτε (δηῦτε) Ar. 88; Hi. 122.  
 δῆ + ἐ- (usually written as 'prodelision', δῆ 'πί etc.) Ar. 216; Hi. 84. 20;  
 Th. 259.

Various words ending in -ῆ + ἐ- Ar. 127; 229; Hi. 23 ?; Th. 147; also  
 χαμαὶ 'πί Hi. 84. 9; τῶ 'ς Ar. 89. 29.

- ῆ + ἐ- (ῆ-) Th. 577; Crit. 9 ?  
 ῆ + ἄ- Sem. 7. 104.  
 μῆ + ἄ- Hi. 39. 2.  
 μῆ + ῆ- Hi. 84. 13.  
 μεο + ὀ- Hi. 73. 4.  
 μοι + οὐ- (μ' οὐ-) Ar. 215; Hi. 38. 2.  
 μοι + ὦ- (μ' ὦ-) Th. 1115.  
 ἐπει + οὐδέ Th. 931.  
 ἐγὼ + ἀνταμειβ[ (εγώντ-) Ar. Cologne epode 6.  
 ἐγὼ + οὗτος (οἱ αὐτός) Ar. 23. 13.  
 ἐγὼ + εἶπε (εγωπε) Ar. 25. 6.

### *Consonantalization of iota*

In a few places iota between a consonant and a vowel loses syllabic value. The assumption that *διά* in Hi. 42. 2 was pronounced *dja* (lengthening the preceding syllable; cf. Aeolic ζά) avoids the rhythmic irregularity of word-break between the syllables of a resolved long. Hipponax also has ἡμικτον (21), perhaps ἡμιανδρον (148); Archilochus apparently Ἄρθμικάδεω (29. 2); Tyrtaeus Μεσσηνηκων (23. 6). It is interesting that in all these four places the iota follows a nasal.

### *Apocope of prepositions*

This occurs mainly in elegy. It is confined to the prepositions *ἀνά*, *κατά* and *παρά*.

ἀν, ἄμ Mi. 14. 4; Th. 839; X. 1. 11. ἔμπαυσις Mi. 12. 2, -μα Th. 343.  
 ἀνοσχετός Th. 119. ἐπαμφέρετε Sol. 11. 2.

κα]δ δ[ε Ad. el. 40. 2 ?; Ant. 99. κάλλιπον Ar. 5. 2, -λείπομι Sol. 21. 2.  
 κακκείμενος Ty. 11. 19 v.l.

παρ Mi. 13a. 1; Ty. 11. 31; Th. 200, 282, 628, 639 ?, 643, 1217. -θέμενος Ty. 12. 18. -κέαται X. 1. 9. -μόνιμος Th. 198.

Neither of the two iambic examples is guaranteed by metre: κατθανοῦσι Ar. 134; ἀνταράξας Sol. 37. 8.

Apocope of a different sort occurs in ῥωδιῶ for ἐρωδιῶ Hi. 16. 2. We may guess that this reflects vulgar speech.

### *Metrical lengthening*

Epic forms with metrical lengthening in polybrach forms appear seldom: ὑπειρέχοι Th. 757; οὔρεος 881 (this even in iambus: οὔρεσιν Sem. 14. 1); οὐατα 1163 and οὐασι Sim. 8. 3, whence the secondary nom./acc. οὐας Cleo. 3. οὐνομα is implied by the transmitted κοῖνομαάλυτον Sem. 7. 87 (which Semonides would have represented by καινομαγλυτον or ρονομαγλυτον), but this is probably a scribal hyper-Ionism for κών-.

Antimachus' ὀργειῶνας for ὀργεῶνας (67) is also a metrical lengthening of epic type, admitted to avoid the sequence — —. Similarly ἀτιμη Ty. 10. 10; αἰθρητή Sol. 13. 22; προεδρητή X. 2. 7; τυραννήτη id. 3. 2; ἀπιστή Th. 831; καχεταρητή 1169. (But αἰδρητή, πολυιδρητή have etymological ι (< ι-), and so probably does ἀναλητή (: ἀναλκεις).)

## Consonants

### *Digamma*

Certain words that originally had initial digamma sometimes stand in apparent hiatus:

ἀναξ regularly in elegy (Ar. 1. 1; Th. 1, 5, 773, 987; Ion 26. 3; non liquet Sol. 13. 53), and I think also in Ar. 120. 1 (tetrameter: solemn formula) and 324. 2 (melic, not by Ar.).

Enclitic ε and οἶ always<sup>1</sup>, in iambus (Ar., Sem., Hi.) as well as in elegy; likewise δς = *suus*, Ty. 10. 2, but not Th. 920.

Less regularly so treated are:

ἀλίσκομαι Th. 236.

ἀνδάνω Th. 52.

εἶλω Ty. 10. 8 ?; Th. 389.

εἰπεῖν Th. 177 (after unelidable τι).

ἔργον (mostly in phrases like πίονα ἔργα) Ty. 5. 7; 11. 27; Sol. 13. 21; Th. 733, 1167; Ion 26. 15.

ἔρδω in the expression εἰ ἔρδω Sem. 7. 80; Th. 105, 1184b; Th. five times; Sol. 13. 67.

\*Ἰλιος Th. 1231.

<sup>1</sup> An exception would be Cologne epode 21 if ἐς] κόρακις ἀπεχε there represents elided κόρακις ε.

λοστέφανος Th. 250.

οἶδα in εὖ οἶσθα Th. 375; also in Th. 159, and in the epic formula νήπιοι οὐδέ ἴσασιν Sim. 8. 10.

οἶκος Mi. 2. 11 v.l.

οἶνος Th. 413 cj.

Prepositional prefixes remain unelided in the compounds ἐπίελπτος Ar. 122. 5; ἐπιεσσαμένη Sim. 6. 4; ἐπιόινιος Th. 971; ἀποειπών 89. There are also occasional forms with syllabic augment: ἔειπεν in Sim. 8. 1 is merely an epicism, but Solon 34. 7 has ἔερδον (un-Homeric) in tetrameters, and Hi. 117. 7 has ἔιδε in an epode. ἔεργμέν[ in Ar. 95. 3 (tetr.) represents *Fe-Fεργμένος*.

Words that contained postconsonantal digamma (other than after a stop consonant) regularly show compensatory lengthening of the preceding syllable in the earlier Ionian poets (Ar., Ca., Mi., Sem., As., Hi.) and in Tyrtaeus and Theognis: κᾶλός, ξεῖνος, εἴνεκα, μούνος, ἴσος, νοῦσος, φᾶρος, πολυάρητος, δούρατα, γούνατα. The only exceptions are Archilochus' δορί (thrice in 2), and false readings in Mi. 1. 6, Sem. 1. 12. Solon is inconsistent; he has κᾶλός twice, μούνος twice, νοῦσος thrice, ἴσος and ἴσομοιρή, κουροτρόφος, but also the Attic scansions κᾶλός (9. 6 ?); 13.21; ξένος 23. 2; μόναρχος 9. 3, μόνος 24. 3 (v.l.); ἔνατος 27. 15; τῆνω 13. 31. The latter occur only in his elegies, which may be fortuitous. In the anonymous Theognidea we find thirty cases of long scansion against seventeen of short. From the late sixth century on, poets of Ionian birth begin to show examples of the short scansion: ξένοισι Anac. ia. 1. 1 (easily emended away); κᾶλῶν Anan. 5. 2, Ion 26. 15; ἴση X. A 14 (uncertain whether verse); μόνος Sim. 9. 2. Anacreon, Simonides and Ion were all active at Athens, and Attic influence may be involved; Ceos, being towards the west of the Ionic area, may have had the short scansion anyway<sup>3</sup>. Its occurrence in Ananius, combined with the fact that he has που not κου, suggests that he was a western and not an eastern Ionian. Among the remaining fifth- and fourth-century poets we have κούρη in Ant. 100 (perhaps hexameters), but κᾶλός thrice in Critias, κόροι id. 6. 14, κόρη [Ar.] 322.1, μόνος Arist. 673. 4.

Before original -δF- we find a short syllable even in the east Ionians (Sem. 14. 2, Hi. 73. 7, neither guaranteed by metre), though a long one appears in the epic forms δειδιότες, δειδιθι, Th. 818, 1179.

### Aspiration

Psilotic spellings occur in the Ionian iambographers, as follows: Ar. 131. 2 v.l. ἐπ' ἡμέρην, 190 ἐπ' ἤβης, Cologne epode 11 ἐπ' ἡσυχίης. Sem. 7. 51 ἐπίμερον, 80 v.l. τοῦτ' ὄρᾱ, 113 τοῦτέρου.

<sup>3</sup> τσοφαρίζειν Sim. 14. 1 is an epic word never found with short iota.



Hi. 25 κῶπόλλων, 32. 6 τούτέρου, 66 οὐκ ὦς, 70. 7 κατευδούσης, 70. 13 ἐπ' ἤι(ς), 72. 15 ἐπ' ἀρμάτων, 78. 16 ἐδέψατ' ὦς, 91. 3 κῶ[?], 92. 7 τούτέρωθ[εν], 95. 12 κ[α]τεῖλε, 161 μεταρμόσας, \*177 κάτυπνον. (Some of these are cited by Tzetzes explicitly as evidence of psilosis.)

Anan. 5. 10 κῆμέρης.

Ad. ia. 35. 19 καλλάοισιν, 38. 12 δτεύνεκεν.

Psilosis is known to be a feature of East Ionic, and in Semonides and Hipponax I have generalized it, except for ἔνεφ' ὄπως in the epic parody Hi. 128. 3, and the old compound κάθημαι in Sem. 7. 90, Hi. 117. 4. In Archilochus the instances are heavily outnumbered even if Ad. ia. 35 and 38 belong to him, and they should perhaps be put down to scribes. ἐπ' ἡμέρην may be a special case, since ἡμέρα/αμέρα is often found without *h* in those inscriptions which employ the letter (cf. Buck, *The Greek Dialects*, p. 54). This is also relevant to Ananias, whose fragments show aspirated spellings with four other words.

### *Aspirated stops*

Transposition of aspiration is seen in the forms θευτίς (or θεῦτις) for τευθίς Hi. 149 (but τευθίς is transmitted in Sem. 15); κύθρος for χύτρος Hi. 29a (but χυτρ- is transmitted in 117. 8; 173; cf. 102. 49; and attested explicitly for Archilochus, 295a). Schneidewin conjectured ἐθαῦτα for ἐνταῦθα in Sem. 23. 1.

In a few words an unaspirated stop is preferred to an aspirated. The form Ταργήλια, known from Ionian inscriptions (cf. Anacreon, *Mel.* 364), may lie behind τὰ θαργήλια in Ar. 255 and/or θαργ-, v.l. γαργ-, in Hi. 104. 49. Hi. 26a. 1 and 104. 15 has -βρύκων for -βρύχων (but -βρυχον a.c. in the latter place). Anac. ia. 6. 1 is quoted for μοκλός. In Sem. 7. 107 Schneidewin restores δεκοίατο for δεχοίατο; δεκ- is the original form, and usual in Ionic.

Conversely we find χμ for γμ in the perfect participles ἐσμουριχμένας Ar. 48. 5 (v.l.), Ad. ia. 61; νευχημένω Hi. 104. 32; not, however, in μεμαγμένη Ar. 2. 1, ἐεργμέν[ 95. 3. In id. 132 Lobel has conjectured that ἐρύμασιν (for ἐργμασιν) conceals ἐρχμασιν, which is attested for Ionic by *Et. Magn.* p. 151. 41; but in 23. 5 ἐργματ[ is written, and this form, like πρῆγμα/πρᾶγμα, is invariable in elegy.

An aspirated consonant seems to make the preceding syllable long in ὄφης (-) Hi. 28. 6, βρόχον (-) Th. 1099; perhaps ὄφιοέσσης Ant. 93. The same phenomenon appears with ὄφιν *Il.* 12. 208, σόφον [Hes.] fr. 271-2, ὄχον Pind. *Ol.* 6. 24, etc. (cf. Call. fr. 355-6 with Pfeiffer). Clearly the extra length lies in the consonant and not the vowel; in other words the φ and χ denote sounds which we would normally represent by πφ, κχ, and it is logical to write them so here. (I have written ὄφιν also in

line 2 of the Hipponax fragment, assuming that the word must have been pronounced in the same way in both places.)

### *Labiovelars*

The poets are divided on the use of  $\chi$  or  $\pi$  in the words  $\delta\pi\eta$ ,  $\delta\pi\omega$ ,  $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\acute{o}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$ ,  $\pi\omega$ ,  $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ . The forms with  $\chi$  belong historically to East Ionic, and it is in accord with this that they appear regularly in Callinus (besides epic  $\delta\pi\acute{\rho}\omicron\tau\epsilon$ ), Semonides, and Hipponax (with occasional variants and exceptions, which I have normalized apart from  $\delta\pi\omega\varsigma$  and  $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  in Hipponax's epic parody, fr. 128-9). Mimnermus has  $\chi$  in 11. 1 but  $\pi$  in 12. 2 and 14. 5; there is a temptation to restore  $\chi$ , but he is the most Homeric of elegists, and it is possible that he sometimes wrote  $\pi$  under epic influence. Archilochus normally has  $\pi$ :  $\chi$  appears only in 131 (v.l.), 132, where it may be attributed to dialect-conscious scribes. In Ananias  $\chi\acute{o}\sigma\omicron\nu$  or  $\chi\acute{o}\sigma\omega$  is only one possibility in 3. 3, and against it there is  $\pi\omega$  in 1. 1. Nothing but  $\pi$  is found in the fragments of Tyrtaeus (11. 15), Solon, the Theognidea (with two examples of  $\delta\pi\acute{\rho}\omicron\tau\epsilon$ ), Xenophanes (7a. 1) and the rest.

Other words involving labiovelars are treated in the normal Ionic ways.  $\gamma\lambda\eta\chi\acute{\omega}\nu$  Hi. 84. 4 (= Attic  $\beta\lambda\acute{\eta}\chi\omega\nu$ ) is paralleled in Hdt. 9. 13, cf. Hippocr. *Morb.* 3. 17.

### *Metathesis of liquids*

Words in which  $\alpha\rho$  alternates with  $\rho\alpha$  are not uniformly treated. The following come into question:

$\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\alpha\pi\acute{o}\varsigma$  Sem. (So Hdt. etc.; epic  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\alpha\pi\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\alpha\pi\iota\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ , but also  $\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\alpha\pi\iota\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ .)  $\theta\alpha\rho\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  (as always) Ty.;  $\theta\alpha\rho\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omega$  Ar., Ty.; but  $\theta\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ , apparently in a good sense, Ar. 89. 4.

$\kappa\alpha\rho\delta\acute{\iota}\eta$  Ar. (five times), also Ad. ia. 39, and twice in the Theognidea; but  $\kappa\rho\alpha\delta\acute{\iota}\eta$  is commoner in elegy (Mi.; Th. four times).

$\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\iota\omicron\varsigma$  Ar. 248 s.v.l.

$\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  is used by Ar. in iambics,  $\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  in elegiacs,  $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma$  in an epode.

Solon and the Theognidea have all three forms in elegy ( $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\varsigma$  also in Solon's trimeters); Tyrtaeus has  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , Mimnermus  $\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ , Callinus  $\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\delta}\phi\rho\omega\nu$  (once each).

$\tau\alpha\rho\sigma\acute{\iota}\eta$  Sem. 39.

The word  $\kappa\rho\alpha\kappa\acute{o}\delta\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ , the first syllable of which is recorded in the forms  $\kappa\rho\alpha-$ ,  $\kappa\rho\alpha-$  and  $\kappa\rho\epsilon-$ , is quoted in Hi. 155-155a as  $\kappa\rho\epsilon\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\delta\epsilon\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  but scanned  $-\cup-\cup-$ : I have assumed  $\kappa\rho\epsilon-$ .

Trans-syllabic metathesis of a liquid appears in  $\beta\rho\acute{\rho}\tau\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$  =  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\tau\rho\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$  X. 40.  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\iota\theta\rho\acute{\omega}$  is conjectured in Sem. 3. 2 for  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\theta\mu\acute{\omega}$ .

*(νς) ειλς/ές*

Archilochus uses both forms before a vowel in his iambs (46; 89. 29; 122. 6; 124b.5); in the other iambographers we find only *ές* (Sem. 7. 106; Hi. 78. 10, 13; 79. 9; Ad. ia. 25. 2 ?). In his elegiacs Archilochus has one case of *ές*, none of *ειλς*; so has Mimnermus. The earlier mainland elegists and the Theognidea use both forms. In the fifth-century elegists (X., Dion. Ch., Ion, Crit.) we find only *ειλς* (six examples altogether), but *ές* returns in the Milesian Philiscus.

*σ/σσ*

*δσοσ*, *τόσοσ*, *μέσοσ* and cognates, *όπίσω*, are sometimes found with *σσ* in elegy. (Ar., Ty., Th., *Th.*, Sol., X., Sim.) Iambic examples are very uncertain: Ar. 112. 4; Hi. 114c; Ad. ia. 35. 10.

*σσ/ττ*

The Ionic *σσ* which corresponds to Attic *ττ* is transmitted as *ττ* in *μυττωτόν* Hi. 26. 2, *-φ* Anan. 5. 8; *άτταγαῖς* and *άττανίτας* Hi. 26a. 1, 3; *θαλατ[τη]ς* Hi. 103. 7 (pap.). All except the last case depend on the manuscripts of Athenaeus, where it is easy to assume scribal normalization. The papyrus case is more surprising, and K. Latte (*Phil.* 97, 1948, 46 = *Kl. Schr.* 476) suggested that it went back to the original spelling *ΘΑΛΑΠΗΣ*. But it is too isolated; we see *σσ* in Hipponactean papyri in 92. 16; 104. 7; 118E. 12; so that this was surely the norm for post-Alexandrian copies, and *ττ* must be looked upon as an aberration, not a survival.

*δ/ζ*

*ζάπεδον* for *δάπεδον* occurs in X. 1. 1. See the note on this passage, below, p. 188, where the nearby spelling *δσδόμενος* for *δζ-* is also discussed.

*δμ(θμ)/σμ*

*θμ* is replaced by *σμ* in *βουσμός*, Ar. 128. 7. In Hi. 92. 11 the papyrus gives the younger form *δσμήν*, perhaps rightly, while Tzetzes gives *δδμήν* (as in X. 3. 6; Th. 9). Herodian quotes *Κασμῖλος* from Hipponax (155b) together with *Καδμῖλος* from the same or another iambographer; the variation may have been due to the tradition.

*Simplification of consonants*

The *ξ* of *διέξ*, *παρέξ* remains unsimplified before a consonant (*τ*) in Ar. 32, Cologne epode 10, and it continued to be written also in 46 *διέξ σωληνος*.

βακτηρή in Hi. 20 is scanned  $\cup - \cup -$  implying simplification in (vulgar) pronunciation to βατηρή (as written in Herond. 8. 60).

### *Movable nu*

Movable nu is used without restriction.

## MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

### Nouns

#### *Rare suffixes*

The endings -δε and -θεν occur with some proper names: Οὐλυμπόνδε Th. 1136; Μαραθῶνάδε Euclides 1; Μεγαρόθεν Sus. 2; Διόθεν Th. 197; Πυθωνόθεν Ty. 4. 1. Otherwise -δε appears only in the stereotyped θύραζε. The old case-ending -φι is seen only in the epic θύρηφι, Th. 311.

#### *The dual*

The only examples of dual forms are αἰχμητά [Ar.] 324. 3; παῖδε κλεινώ [Soc.] 2; χειροῖν Sol. 13. 50, 62, conjectured also in Ion 27. 4; δηρισάντων Th. 995 (prob.), in a piece that shows other signs of Attic origin (the name Akademos, and the form κόρη). There are no dual verb forms.

#### *α-stems*

The vocative singular of masculine α-stems has two forms, -ᾶ and -ῆ (Attic -ᾶ after ρ or vowel: Th. 1059, Sim. 16. 2). In iambus both are used, in elegy mainly the latter.

φιλήτα Ar. 49. 7; Λυκάμβα 54. 8; 172. 1; κονάγχα Hi. 3a. 1; Κανδαῦλα ibid.; νικύρτα 28. 5; Σάνν(α ?) 118. 1; κομήτα Ad. ia. 38. 7; Σκύθα Th. 829.

Αἰσιμίδη Ar. 14. 1; Ἐρξίη 88; 89. 28; Ἐρασμονίδη 168. 1; Κηρυκίδη 185. 1; κρίτη Hi. 154; Ἰωνίδη ? Ad. ia. 11. 6; Ἀριστοκλείδη Anac. ia. 2. 1; Λιγιστάδη Sol. 20. 3; Πολυπατὶδη Th. 25 et saepe; Σιμωνίδη 469, 667, 1349; Κρονίδη 738; Εὐριπίδη Soph. 4. 1. – Τιμαγόρα Th. 1059; Καλλία Sim. 16. 2. It will be seen that -ῆ is constant in patronymics, and perhaps in general it has more solemn and elevated associations.

A possible example of masculine accusative sing. in -εα (by analogy with σ-stems) is Εὐρυμεδοντιάδεα Hi. 128. 1 (epic parody; cf. ad loc.); but perhaps it should be written -αδέα, as from nom. -αδεύς, cf. Μαιαδεῦ in 32. 1.

The genitive sing. of the masculines appears in several different forms:

(i) -αο, the primary form. Confined to elegy (Mi. 11a. 1; X. 2.3, 21; Th. 244, 427, 906).

(ii) -εω (always contracted), the historical Ionic form. So always in Ar., Hi., Ty., Solon; also Th. 702, 703, 802, 1124. After a vowel it is reduced to -ω, Βορέω Th. 716 (v.l. Βορέου).

(iii) -ᾱ, the Doric contraction. Used in Spartan names where the nominative commonly remained -ας: Εὐρώτα Th. 785 and perhaps 1088; Ἄρκεσθια Crit. 8. 2 (nom. -λας < -λαος, but treated as if an α-stem).

(iv) -ου, the Attic ending transferred from ο-stems. Only in Th. 1014, Crit. 4. 1.

(v) -εος, transferred from σ-stems, as sometimes in Ionic (see Thumb – Scherer, *Gr. Dial.* ii. 269). One apparent case, Λυκάμβεος Ar. 38; but since Archilochus has five examples of -εω in various personal names (29. 2; 57. 7; 131. 1; 151. 3; 183), Elmsley's change to Λυκάμβεω seems probable.

The accusative pl. -ας is scanned short by Tyrtaeus in the Doric manner, twice with masculines (δημότας 4. 5, δεσπότης 7. 1), once with a feminine (γαίτας 20. 14). He has no certain instance of -ᾱς, but a possible one in 2. 4.

The old genitive pl. in -ᾶων is occasionally found in hexameters or elegiacs (*Marg.* 1. 2; X. 6.4; Sim. 4; Th. 250, 766: all feminines). Otherwise it is -έων (monosyllabic; Σκυθέων can hardly be right in Anac. el. 3. 2). Attic -ῶν is transmitted in Sol. 2. 4; 33. 6; 36. 14; but -έων may be restored after 13. 51 (-ᾶων cod.) and 26. 2 (-έων two authors out of three).

In the dative pl. the earlier Ionians usually have -ησι (twenty examples), and it is possible to assume elision of this where a vowel follows -ης (Ar. 13. 4; Cologne epode 30; Mi. 2. 2?; 13a. 2; *Marg.* 1. 3) or -αις (Anac. ia. 3). There are, however, surer cases of a short form: Ar. 13. 2 θαλιῆς, 213 ἀγκάλαις (line-end), perhaps 253 ἀοιδαῖς; so too in the relative pronoun ἧς 172.3, and the article ταῖς Hi. 73. 5.

In the early mainland elegists the proportion of short forms is markedly higher.

	Ty.	Th.	Sol.	
-ησι	1	2	3(2)	} 8
-αισι	—	1	2(3)	
-ης + vowel	1	—	—	
-αις + vowel	5(4)	—	1	
-ης certain	—	2(1)	—	} 11(12)
-αις certain	1(2)	5(6)	3(2)	

-αισι should probably be replaced by -ησι in these poets, for they could only have got it from Aeolic lyric. (Old Attic -ᾱ(ι)σι could be assumed for Theognis' πλευραῖσι, but not for ἀρπαγαῖσιν or πολλαῖσιν in Solon. He uses -ησι even after ε and ι, 4. 5; 13. 37.) Cf. however *GVI* 73.2 (Corcyra, s. vii-vi) ἐπ' Ἀράθθιοιο ῥοφαῖσι.

For the rest, the picture is as follows.

-ησι X. 3. 5; *Th.* twelve times; Alcib. 1.

-αισι *Th.* 1269, 1281 bis; *Mel.* 1. 1; *Ion* 27. 3; *Eue.* 2. 3.

-ης + vowel X. 2. 3; *Th.* 879, 1271.

-ης certain *Th.* 6 v.l., 1002 v.l.

-αις certain *Th.* six (or seven) times; *Mel.* 1. 2; *Ion* 27. 6.

As before, -αις is preferred to -ης. There is now more support for -αισι, and as it was established in tragedy (after Aeschylus? cf. Barrett on *Eur. Hipp.* 101), elegists of the mid and later fifth century may have felt it to be a normal poetic form.

### *o*-stems

The epic genitive sing. of *o*-stems, -οιο, is used in elegy by Ar., Mi., Ty., Th., Sol., Sim., *Th.*, and in *Ad. el.* 29. 1 and *Ant.* 100. Its absence from the fragments of the chattier fifth-century elegists, Dionysius, *Ion*, Euenus, Critias, may not be accidental. In iambus it appears only in epic parody (*Hi.* 128. 4), unless we admit it in *Ar.* 120. 1 (see note).

In the dative pl. long and short forms are used everywhere; the long forms always predominate, though in the fifth-century poets it is by a lower factor.

	-οιοι	-οις + vowel	-οις certain	(At line-end)
Ar.	17	7	6(4)	1
Hi.	12	3	2(3)	1(2)
Sem.	15	6	2(3)	1
Anac., As., Ca., Mi., <i>Marg.</i>	4	2	1(0)	1(0)
	48	18	11(8/13)	
Ty.	23	4(5)	4	1
Th.	38	7	11	2
Sol.	27	13	6	1
	88	24	21	
<i>Th.</i>	72	33	34	9
X.	4	4	4	2
Remainder 5th/ 4th cent.	13	8	9	6
	89	45	47	

The above figures include the definite article, which is much more frequent in the short form: I have noted τοῖσι only in *Ar.* 306, *Ty.* 11. 38, *Th.* 562, while τοῖς appears seven times before consonants and a further fourteen times before vowels.

*-ασ-stems*

Gen. sing. γήρως trisyll. Ar. 188. 2 (epode); Mi. 2. 6; Th. 527; contracted γήρωσ Th. 174.

Dat. sing. δέπαϊ Ant. 66. 1.

Nom./acc. pl. κρέα (ā or ǎ?) Sem. 24. 1; κρέᾱ Th. 293.

Dat. pl. τεράεσσι Ty. 18. 7.

*-εσ-stems*

Vocative of names in -κλῆς: Περίκλεες Ar. 13. 1; 16; cf. ]λεες 28. 4; Ἡράκλεις [Ar.] 324. 2 (v.l. -εες); Δημόκλεις Th. 923.

The masc./fem. accusative sing. is normally monosyllabic. It is transmitted as -εα in Ar. 262 ?; Sem. 7. 102; Ad. el. 30. 9, 11 ?; Ad. ia. 38. 9; as -η in Mi. 6. 2; Sol. 13. 62; 19. 4; 20. 4; Th. 830, 1032 ?, 1219, 1235; X. A 14? The difference in spelling may be due less to the poets themselves than to the fact that the elegists did not receive philological attention from the Alexandrian scholars. Disyllabic -εα occurs in Sol. 36. 13 at the end of a trimeter, and in the fifth foot of a hexameter at Th. 175, 1209, 1277 (all epic-type formulae).

The genitive sing. is normally -εως (i.e. -εως) in the iambographers: Hi. 28. 2; 34. 2; Sem. 7. 39, 43; Ad. ia. 42. 5; 53 (-ους). Disyllabic -εως is seen only in Hi. 29a (line-end), where an easy emendation would dispose of it. In elegy we find -εως written where the metre requires or allows disyllabic scansion (Ty. 2. 11; 10. 12; 11. 34; 12. 35; Th. 46, 133, 475, 811; X. 1. 6; Sim. 14. 2), -ους where it requires monosyllabic scansion (Sol. 26. 1; Th. 607, 1304, 1308, 1332, 1345, 1382/3; Crit. 2. 5), except for τηλαυγέως in Th. 550 (ευ was avoided after αυ, cf. my note on Hes. Th. 549; but -ους would be expected).

Names in -κλῆς (-\*κλεΐεσ-) make genitives of several forms: Ἡρακλήως Ty. 11. 1; Ἡρακλέως (- ~ ~ ~ or ---) Ad. el. 58. 10; Μεγακλέως Sim. 16. 1; Προκλέους Dem. 2. 2 (-έως Renner). Πατρ]οκλοῦς is possible in Ad. el. 33.2, but Πατρ]όκλου σ- is more likely.

The dative sing. is -ει (disyllabic only in the epic formulae ἔγχει μακρῶ Ty. 11. 29, φιλοκερδέει θυμῶ Th. 199, νηλεί θυμῶ 1125 – if there). -κλῆς makes -κλεῖ or -κλεί in Ion 27. 5–6.

A masc./fem. form of the nominative pl. does not, I think, occur. The neuter nom./acc. appears in the Ionians as -εα, whether scanned as one syllable (Ar. 9. 10; Mi. 1. 4; Sem. 3. 2; 7. 78) or as two (Mi. 14. 8 (line-end) s.v.l.; either scansion is possible in Ar. 13. 1, and in a hexameter of the *Margites* (7. 2) where τεύχεα occupies the fourth foot). In the other poets -εα is written where disyllabic scansion is necessary or possible (Ty. 4. 2; Sol. 4. 8, 35; 4a. 1; 13. 74; 21. 2; Th. 50, 835, 222, 388, 713, 970, 1189, 1252; X. 3. 3 bis; Crit. 6. 5), and -η where it is not (Ty. 5. 4; Sol. 11. 7; 27. 14; 36. 14; Th. 22, 1180, 307, 1168, 1366).

The masc./fem. accusative pl. appears in elegy both as disyllabic *-εας* (Th. 184; X. 3. 1) and as *-εις* (Ty. 4. 5; Th. 1200), which has perhaps replaced *-εας*. The only instance in iambus is doubtful, Ar. 256, where ἄ ἔαδε εἷς seems to conceal an accusative plural adjective with the intensive prefix ἄ-. I have guessed ἄθαλέας, though *-εἷς* may equally represent *-εῖς*. The metre is uncertain. A possible example of a form from a compound in *-κλέης* would be ἄγακλέας Ant. 67, if that were the right reading.

The genitive pl. is usually *-έων* (monosyllabic) in iambus: Ar. 128. 2 (transmitted *-ῶν*, but see apparatus); Sem. 1. 8; Ad. ia. 38. 7. I have accepted trisyllabic *μελέων* in Ar. 222, but the reading is not certain. In dactylic cola of Archilochus' epodes both scansion occur: *ὄρε'ων* 190, but *στηθέων* 191.3. In elegy disyllabic scansion predominates: Ar. 3. 3; Mi. 7. 1; 12. 11; 14. 8; Ty. 5. 8; 11. 28; 12. 21; Sol. 4. 21; 13. 24; Th. 755, 870, 1141, 1292, 1334; Soph. 5. 1; Ad. el. 62. 11. But monosyllabic scansion occurs in Th. 46; Sol. 1. 2; and written as *-ῶν* in Ad. el. 29. 6 (prob.) and Th. 1321.

The dative pl. is normally *-εσι* in all the poets; *-εσσι* occasionally appears in elegy (Ar. 8. 1 ἐν πελάγεσσι, Th. 387, 507 ἐν στήθεσσι, both epic phrases), and in a dactylic colon of an epode (Ar. Cologne epode 29 τηλθεάεσσι, but one expects τηλεθάουσι). *-έεσσι* occurs once (X. 3. 5 s.v.l.), on the model of epic forms such as ἐπέεσσι.

### *-σσ-stems*

*χρῶς* has acc. *χρόα* (Ar., Sem. ?, Ty., Th.), this being the only case-form of the word found in our poets. *αἰδῶς* has only gen. *αἰδοῦς*, dat. *αἰδοῖ*.

### *ι-stems*

Voc. *-ι*, Ion 26. 14; Phil. 1.

Except in the word *πόλις*, the gen. sing. of *ι-stems* is uniformly *-ιος* (Ar., Mi., Th., Sol., Th.; fourteen examples) until we come to *φύσεως* (trisyllabic) in Crit. 9; *πίστεως* appears in Th. 1244, but a dactyl is needed, and I should perhaps have written *πίστιος* instead of Bekker's *πίστεος*. From *πόλις*, in which there was an ancient alternation between *-ι-* and *-ηF-*, we find several forms: *πόλιος* ( *υ* - ?) Hi. 50. 1; *πόληος* Th. 757; *πόλεος* ( *υ* - ) Th. 56; *πόλευς* Th. 776; 1043 (v.l. *-εως*); *πόλεως* ( *υ* - - ) X. 2. 9, 22; ( *υ* - ?) id. 45.

Dat. sing. in *-ι* survives in *βακκάρη* Sem. 16. 2, Hi. 104. 21 (v.l. in both). *πόλις* gives *πόληϊ* in Ty. 12. 15, but otherwise always *πόλει* (Ar. 91. 11 ?; Ty., Sol., X., Th.); and with other nouns we find nothing but *-ει* (Sem. 7. 86; Th. 323, 831; Crit. 6. 18).

Nom. pl. *-εις* Ar. Cologne epode 9; Th. 51, 499, 683, 1026; Sim. 10.



2. -εις Aristox.; X. 1. 17; Th. 444; Crit. 6. 22.  
 Acc. pl. -ιας X. 1. 23. -εις Crit. 6. 3, 6.  
 Gen. pl. -εων (disyll.) Crit. 6. 8.  
 Dat. pl. λάτρισι Th. 302. μάντεσι 545.

### -οι-stems

Accusative Κυψοῦν Hi. 129.

### -υ-stems

There is little to remark of the nouns that keep -υ- throughout the declension. The acc. pl. ἐγγέλους in Ar. 189 is emended to -ῦς, which gives a better rhythm. Anan. 5. 8 has an artificial dative plural ἐχθύεσσιν (s.v.l.).

There is a bit more to say of the type in which -υ- alternates with -εF- (adjectives in -ύς; πῆχυς, ἄστυ). The gen. sing. is always -εος: monosyllabic in Sem. 7. 74, disyllabic in Th. 426, indeterminate in ὠκέος Ἡελίοιο Mi. 11a. 1; 14. 11. The dat. -ει is likewise ambiguous in Th. 848, monosyllabic in Ion 26.5. The neut. pl. -εα is disyllabic in Th. 242 and can be taken so in 179 and Sol. 4. 34. For shortening of the feminine stem -ει- (< -εFι) to -ε- see above, p. 79.

### -ᾱF-stems

Nom. sing. ναῦς Th. 84, al.; νηῦς is a variant at 970, and γρηῦς should probably be written for γραῦς in Ar. 205.

Acc. ναῦν Th. 680.

Gen. νηός Ar. 4. 6; 106. 3; Th. 513; νεώς (or νεός?) Ant. 57. 3.

Dat. νηῖ Ar. 24. 1; Sol. 19. 3; γρη<τ> Ad. ia. 5.

Nom. pl. νῆες Ar. 106. 1.

Dat. νηυσί Ar. 89. 2; 98. 14 ?; Mi. 9. 2; Th. 12; Sol. 13. 44.

### -ηF-stems

In elegy the unreduced forms -ῆα, -ῆος etc. are usually retained (Ar. 10. 8?; Ty. 4. 3; 5. 1; 20. 15; Mi. 13a. 1; Sol. 31. 1; Th. 263, 285, 1211). But we also find Ἄρρεος Ty. 11. 7; Μεγαρέως Th. 23; Ἰλλεῖς (or -έες) Ty. 19. 8; ἀβακλέας (?) Ant. 67; Ἐρετρ[εῶν] Ad. el. 62. 7; γονέων Th. 1330.

In iambus we find φονῆες in Ar. 101. 2, but otherwise the stem is shortened: gen. -έως (disyll.) Ar. 43. 2; Hi. 123 (-έος is possible in both places); dat. -εῖ Sem. 1. 13; Hi. 117.8; gen. pl. Αἰνειῶν (for Αἰνει-έων) Hi. 72. 7.

The only instance of a dative plural is ὑπαγωγεῦσι Herm. 3. 2.

βοθς

Dat. pl. βοῦσι Ad. el. 62. 9.

### Consonant-stems generally

The epic forms ἀνέρα, -ος, -ι appear in elegy in Ad. el. 62. 17; X. 7a. 3; Cleo. 1. 1. Otherwise -r/-er- stems follow the usual gradation: γαστέρα, γαστρός, γαστρί; Δήμητρος, -ι.

χείρ retains the long form of the stem, χεῖρ-, everywhere except for χερί in Ion 28. The nominative appears as χέρς in Timocr. 9.

The oblique cases of Ζεύς normally have the Δι(Ϝ)-stem (Ar. 94. 2; 98. 7; 154. 5?; 157. 2; Hi. 127; Th. 1, 11, 15; Ad. el. 62. 15; Ion 27. 6; Sem. 7. 94; Sim. 9. 1; Sol. 4. 1; 31. 1; Ty. 18. 7; X. 2. 2); the dative is disyllabic, Διτ, Ad. el. 62. 15; Sol. 31. 1. The stem Ζην- is used by Sol. 13. 1, 25; Th. 285 (acc. Ζῆνα or Ζῆν), Scy. 1. 2.

γόνυ, δόρυ have the stems γούνατ-, δούρατ- (Ar., Ty., Th.), except that Tyrtaeus also has δουρός (11. 20) and Archilochus has dat. δορί thrice in 2. οὖς (Hi. 118. 5, Th. 887) = οὖας (Cleo. 3) has the stem οὔατ- (Th. 1163, Sim.).

All consonant-stems normally have their dat. pl. in -σι: ἀπίσι, ποσί, παισί; εἴμασι, ἔργμασι, κύμασι, δούρασι; ἰδοῦσι, πᾶσι; γυναιξί, ἀνδράσι, χερσί, φθειρσί, κυσί, δελφῖσι. The only anomaly in iambus is ποσσί in Ar. 114. 4 (contrast ποσίν 101.1). In elegy (Sol. 6. 1; Th. 306, 373, 522 cj., 559, 741, 800, 1043, 1097) use is also made of the epic -εσσι.

### Transfer between declensions, heteroclites, etc.

Certain nouns with nom. -ης, normally of the third declension, appear in Ionian iambus with a genitive -έω borrowed from α-stems: Ἄρω Ar. 18 (contrast Ἄρηα, Ἄρηος, Ἄρεος in elegy; dat. Ἄρει Sem. 1. 13); μύκω id. 252; φάλεω Hi. 21. The opposite transference would be represented by Λυκάμβεος, on which see above on α-stems.

Comparable phenomena are the gen. πολύπου Th. 215 (after nom. -πος reduced from -ποδ-ς); dat. κάρη 1024 (after nom. κάρη). We may also notice here the epic heteroclite datives ἀλκί, ὕδει in 949, 961; the new nom. σωλήνος = σωλήν, Anan. 6; λάους 'stones' in Sim. 3; Hipponax's τάλαντι for τάλανι (after πᾶς παντί etc.) (15); and his use of λύχων as a neuter in the singular (17).

πολύς

In the declension of πολύς alternation is limited to the masc. and neut. nom. and acc. sing. (otherwise only forms from πολλός are used). The Ionians use both πολύς, πολύν, πολύ, and πολλός, πολλόν:

πολύς Ar. Sol. Eue.	πολλός Ar. Sem.
-όν Anan. 3. 1(?) Sol.	-όν (masc.) Ar.
-ύ Ar. Th. Th. Eue.	-όν Ar. Anan. X. Th. Th. Ad. el.32.4(?)

There is some evidence for *πολύς* in Th. 509 (cf. 211), and *πολύ* is conjectured for *πολύ* in Ad. el. 25. 2; Eue. 5. 2.

### Comparison of Adjectives

The Ionic *κρέσσων* is attested in Hi. 123 (v.l.); Anan. 3. 3 (v.l.); Th. 218, 618, 631, 996; Ad. el. 15. I have accordingly written *ἄσσων* (as given by the best Homer manuscripts), instead of *ἄσσων*, in the Ionians, Sem. 7. 26, 33; Hi. 118E. 2; and I would have written *μέζων* if there had been occasion.

In comparatives ending in *-ων* the *iota* is long in Ar. 11. 1 (eleg.), but otherwise short (Ar. 5. 4; Mi. 2. 10; 4. 2; Sem. 6. 2 ?; 7. 30 ?, 31; Th. 262; Dion. Ch. 6. 1). (I pass over the redactor's verse, Th. [1175].) Short forms from these and other comparatives in *-ων* occur, besides the full forms, as follows:

masc./fem. acc. sing. *-ω* Ar. 5. 4; Th. 907.

nom. pl. *-ους* Sol. 37. 4; X. 3. 4; Crit. 9. *-ονες* Hi. 92; Sol. l.c.

acc. pl. *-ους* Th. 1111. *-ονας* Th. 605.

neut. pl. *-ω* Anan. 3. 3; Th. 517. *-ονα* Th. 702.

The following irregular comparatives and superlatives may be noted: *λωτών* Sem. 7. 30; *λώτον* Th. 424, 690, 800, 853; *λῶον* Sol. 20. 2; *λῶα* Th. 96 ?; *λῶστον* 255.

*μέλιον* Ty. 12. 6 cj.

*πλεῖον*, *-ονα*, *-ω* Sem. 2. 2; Th. 606, 702, 907; otherwise *πλέον* (Mi., Hi., Sol., al.).

*ρήτον* Th. 577; *ῤῶον* 429; *ῤῥητερον* 1370; *ῤῥαστος* (*ῤῥηστος*) Eue. 1.6.

*ρίγιον* Sem. 6. 2; Mi. 4. 2.

*βελτίων* Mi. 2. 10; *βέλτερος* Th. 92, 181, 866.

*γεραίτερος* Ar. 54. 3.

*φίλτερος* Ar. 122. 9; Th. 788; *φίλτατος* Ar. 168. 3; Th. 407.

*ἀμεινότερος* Mi. 14. 9; *ἀρειότερος* Th. 548; *χειρότερος* or *χειριότερος* Ad. el. 25. 2; Eue. 5. 2; *πρώτιστα* Ad. el. 28. 5.

*ἀλοχιστος* Sem. 7. 73; *ἐχθιστος* Ar. 49. 5; *δικιστα* Th. 427.

### Numerals

*δύο* Ar. 175. 3; 259; Hi. 68. 1; Th. 911; Anan. 3. 2; Sem. 7. 27. *δύω* [Ar.] 324. 3 (v.l. *δύο*); Th. 955. Genitive and dative do not occur except in

Hi. 92. 6 who has the form *δυοῖσι*; similarly *τριοῖσι* 79. 17 (*τρίοισι* pap. a.c.). (*τριῶν* Euc. 2. 3.) *τρίτατος* Sol. 27. 5 (*τρίτος* Ar. 243; Dion. Ch. 3. 1.)

*τέσσαρες* Sol. 27. 14; Ion 32. 3. *τέταρτος* Sol. 24. 7; Euc. 2.3. *εἰκοσι* (with prothetic *ἐ-*) occurs in X. 8. 3. (*εἰκοστός* Ty. 5. 7.) *δγδωκοντα-έτης* Sol. 20. 4; Sim. 14. 2. *χίλιοι* in Ar. 101. 2; X. 3. 4, probably conceals Ionic *χέλιοι*.

## Pronouns

### Personal pronouns

*ἐγών* is attested before a vowel in Th. 253, 527; before a consonant (*γν*) in 968 (v.l.). The genitive is *ἐμεῦ/μευ* (with *ευ* standing for *εο*) in the Ionians: Ar. 200; 202; Mi. 14. 2; Hi. 73. 4; 120 (transmitted *μου*); Anac. ia. 4. 1; and also in Th. 957, 1235. In six other places of the anonymous Theognidea, and in Dion. Ch. 1. 2, we find *ἐμοῦ/μου*. *ἐμεῖο*, *ἐμέθεν* do not occur.

*σεῖο* and *σέθεν* do (Th. 1, 1231), but otherwise we find *σεῦ/σευ* (Ar. twice; Ad. ia. 38. 10; Th. 253, 377, 516) or *σοῦ* (Th. 414, 969, 1239). The emphatic form of the dative is always *σοί*. The enclitic form is usually *τοί* in the Ionians (Ca. 2a. 1; Ar. 23. 12; 168. 2; Sem. 7. 108 ?; 23. 1; Hi. 32. 2; 36. 3; 44; 118.6; Anac. el. 1; Ad. ia. 7. 4), and so perhaps in Th. 655 and in four or six places in the anonymous Theognidea and in Ant. 70.2. But *σοί* appears in Ar. 25. 5; Hi. 118. 4, 11; Th. 1101; *Th.* five times; Dion. Ch. 3. 1.

For the third person, besides the common use of the oblique cases of *αὐτός*, we find the forms *μιν*, *ἐ*, *οί*. *μιν* is freely used both in iambus and in elegy. (*νιν* in Th. 364 is isolated and *μιν* is no doubt to be restored there.) In Sim. 8. 3 it stands for a neuter (s.v.l.), otherwise for masculine or feminine, usually of a person (but of *γνώμη* in Th. 1173). Solon also uses *ἐ* for 'him', 13. 27, and so perhaps Ar. Cologne epode 21; while in Hi. 21 it seems to be an indirect reflexive. *οί* is used by Ar., Sem., Th., *Th.*, X., always after a vowel except for Th. 186 *ἦν οί* (v.l. *ἦν τις*). The adjective *δς* (*suus*) comes in Sem. 7. 112; Ty. 10. 2; Th. 920.

*ἡμεῖς* and *ὕμεῖς* have acc. *-έας*, Ar. 13. 7; 26. 7; Hi. 84. 13; or *-ᾶς*, Th. 1215; also *ἄμμε* 1273, *ὕμμε* 1104. Gen. *ἡμέων*, *ὕμέων*, Sol. 11. 5 v.l.; 13. 72; Th. 353; transmitted as *-ῶν* Ar. 122. 6; Th. 469. Dat. *ἡμιν*, *ὕμιν*: the metre seldom allows the quantity of the second syllable to be seen, but it is short in Th. 235, long in Sol. 4c. 4. Also *ἄμμιν* Th. 418. In places I have given the enclitic accentuation *ἡμεας*, *ἡμιν*, etc. (see Barrett, *Euripides Hippolytos*, p. 425). It is given by the papyrus in Hi. 84. 13.

*σφεας* and *σφας* both occur in Archilochus as enclitic pronouns meaning 'them' (10. 2; 146. 9; they are variants in 26. 6). Th. 552 has

σφε (masc.). The dative is always σφιν: Ar. 122. 8; 230; Hi. 103. 4; Th. 66, 422, 732, 772 (neut.); Sim. 11. 2. The possessive adjectives σφός and σφέτερος occur in X., Th., *Th.*, always with reflexive reference.

The first person reflexive pronoun is supplied by αὐτόν in Ar. 5. 3 (s.v.l.); combined with ἐμέο, ἐμεῶντο[ Ar. 58. 11; ἐμᾶντόν is transmitted in the corrupt X. 45. σαντοῦ is probably intrusive in Mi. 7. 1 = Th. 795. There is no certain instance of ἑαυτόν, αὐτόν before Scy. 2. 1, 3, for Th. 539, 611, 895 can be interpreted as cases of αὐτός. The strengthening in 895, αὐτός ἐν αὐτῷ, is characteristic of mainland idiom (Attic, Boeotian, Delphian; cf. Buck, *Greek Dialects*, 99). *Suus*, where it is not expressed by δς or σφός or σφέτερος, is expressed by αὐτοῦ/αὐτῶν, usually following the definite article (Ty. 10. 3; Th. 440 ?, 955, 1009; Herm. 3. 2); the usage goes back to the earliest poetry (Hes. *Th.* 470, 754, *Il.* 9. 342), where αὐτ- is out of the question and αὐτ- must be assumed, but it may be that αὐτ- replaced it in the course of the classical period. Th. 1218 has τοῖς αὐτῶν for 'our own'. σὴν αὐτοῦ is a probable correction for τὴν σαντοῦ in Mi. 7. 1. Mel. 1. 1 has αὐτοῦ or αὐτοῦ alone.

### *Demonstrative pronouns*

The article δ has masc. nom. pl. τοί in Th. 305 v.l. and Aristox.

For the use of δ and δς as demonstrative pronouns see the word index.

ἔδε has dat. pl. τοῖσδεσι in Crit. 5. 3.

κεῖνος (with κεῖ, κεῖθεν, κεῖθι) is altogether more common than ἐκεῖνος, see the index. In Archilochus the latter need be assumed in only one (elegiac) place out of twelve, while among the other poets of Ionian birth it occurs only in Hipponax (and perhaps Ad. ia. 35. 8).

For 'no-one', 'no' (adj.), 'nothing', the mainland elegists use οὐδείς, μηδείς, not οὐτις, μήτις, except in the circumstances described in the note on Th. 1175. There are 24 instances of οὐδείς and μηδείς in the genuine Theognis, ten in Solon, and two in Tyrtaeus.

### *Relative pronouns*

The relative pronoun is usually the ordinary δς, δ, acc. ὄν, etc., but the use of δ, τό, acc. τόν, etc., is not infrequent. See index. For the strengthening of δς, οἶος, etc. by τε see the index s.v. τε 'epicum'. It is confined to elegy, except for Sem. 7. 117; 11.

### *τίς/τις*

From interrogative τίς Archilochus has τέου (disyllabic) 210, τέω 112. 10 (monosyllabic), τέων 89. 12 (monosyllabic): this series is peculiar to him. The gen. sing. is elsewhere τεῦ (for τέο), Ca. 1. 1, or τίνος Th. 1299.

Indefinite τις has gen. τῶ Ar. 178; Th. 749, 750; dat. τῷ Th. 139; τινι Crit. 2. 8.

### δοτις

From δοτις (also δτις, Hi. 43; 117. 6; Th. 676; Crit. 2. 8) we find neut. sing. δτι Th. 17, [818], elsewhere δτι; dat. δτῷ Sol. 6. 2 v.l.; 24. 1; Th. 416, 609; ᾧτινι 631, 807; neut. pl. ἄσσα Sol. 38. 4; Th. 1048.

## Prepositions

For apocope see p. 86.

εἰς/ἐς, see p. 91.

ἐνί for ἐν is occasionally used in elegy: Ty. 10. 1; Th. 121, 899, 99; Sol. 4c. 1 (all epic formulae).

So is ποτί for πρός, Th. 215; Sim. 8. 12.

οὐνεκα used as a preposition, instead of the usual εἵνεκα, appears as a v.l. in Th. 62, and in Sol. 36. 1, 26.

### σύν/ξύν

As a preposition, ξύν occurs only in Sol. 19. 3, Th. 1063, as against 29 instances of σύν in our poets. It is more frequent in compounds, especially the group ξυνήμι, (ἀ)ξυνετός, ξύνεσις. These words occur with ξ in Ar. 109. 1 (s.v.l.); Dem. 1 bis; Th. 1078, 1164 v.l., 1240; Dion. Ch. 2. 3; Eue. 1. 5; with σ in six other places of the anonymous Theognidea. Outside this group we find ξυνωρ[ Ar. 85. 5; ξυλλέγεται Sol. 13. 50; ξυνήγαγον 36. 1; ξυναρμόσας 36. 16 v.l.; ξυμβουλευειν Tim. 9; ξύνεστι Herm. 3. 1; ξύ[ — Ad. el. 62. 15.

## Conjunctions

### Simple copulas

The following are used only in elegy: ἠδέ, αὐτάρ and ἀτάρ.

The longer form of ἦ, ἠέ, is conjectured by me in Sol. 9. 1, and perhaps to be assumed in Ar. 29. 2, Ad. ia. 35. 8.

### Temporal

ἕως occurs only in Th. 1327. Elsewhere, 'so long as', 'while', 'until', is expressed by ὅρα (various elegists), ἕστε (Sol., X., Th.), and possibly ἕσσε (Ar. 15: ἕστε Fick).

'When' is ὅτε, ὅπ(ι)ότε (this only in general statements: 'whenever'), ἐπεί, ἐπὴν (Mi., Th., Sol.), or εὖτε (this not in the Attic poets); once ἠνίκα

(Th. 1275). The partly temporal, partly causal 'when' that in English subordinates the prior of two successive events in narrative ('when he had A, he B', meaning 'he A, and next he B') is *ἐπει* (Th. 275, 1249; Mi. 13a. 1), and perhaps *ὥς* in Ar. 48. 8.

### *Causal*

'Because' is *ἐπει*.

'Seeing that' (*quoniam*) is *ἐπειδή*.

### *Objective*

'The fact that' (as object of verbs of knowing, etc., or otherwise) is *ὅτι* (*ὄτι* Th. 1200), Sol. 20. 2; Th. 659, 1305; *οὐνεκα* 671, 854 (v.l. *τούνεκα*), 1349; *ὄτι* *ὄτι* *ὄτι* Ad. ia. 38. 12; *ὥς* Th. 1248; Arist. 673. 6; Sim. 8. 11; Sol. 4. 31; 13. 38; Ad. ia. 38. 9. In other places where *ὥς* might in Attic be replaced by *ὅτι*, the meaning is 'how' rather than 'the fact that': Ar. 174. 2 *αἰνός τις . . ὥς . .* (so also Panarces (a) 1); Th. 66, 282, 718, 1322; Anan. 2.

### *Final*

Final clauses are introduced by *ἵνα* in Th. 776, 908 (v.l.); by *ὥς μή* in Hi. 34. 4, *ὥς ἄν* 39. 3, *ὥς* X. 1. 20; by *ἕρρα* in Ar. 106. 4, Th. 565, 885, 1121, *ἕρρα μή* Th. 546; by *μή* alone in Hi. 84. 13 ?; 104. 14; Th. 76, 1307 (unless an independent sentence).

### *Consecutive*

The usual connective is *ὥστε*. Ar. 48. 6 has *ὥς ἄν καὶ γέρον ἠράσσατο*.

### *Comparative*

In comparisons *ὥστερ* is more frequent than *ὥστε*, except in Archilochus.

### *The modal particle*

The Ionic and Attic *ἄν* is the form usually used, but there are plenty of instances of *κε(v)* in elegy (see index), besides one in Archilochus' tetrameters (89. 9) and a possible one in Anan. 3. 3.

The particle is often omitted after relative pronouns or conjunctions followed by the subjunctive in indefinite sentences: Ca. 1. 13; Mi. 12. 3, 10; Sem. 1.12; 7. 19, 107; Ty. 10. 28; 11. 11 ?; 12. 16, 33, 35; Sol. 13. 29, 55, 75 v.l.; 25. 1; 27. 3; Th. 121, 125 v.l., 340 ?, 1354; *Th.* over twenty times; Anac. ia. 3; Sim. 8. 6. Some of these places might easily be emended, but enough remain to establish the principle.

Th. 1177 has *κε* with optative in a conditional protasis, for which there are Homeric parallels, cf. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* ii. 277 f.

## Verbs

### Personal endings

3 pl. aorist *-ν* in *εφανεν* Ad. el. 58. 12 ?; *εβαν* Th. 1136; contrast *εδοσαν* 272; passive *εκλίνθησαν* Ar. 36.

3 pl. perfect always *-ᾶσι* (Ar. 252 ?; Mi. 2. 5; Sim. 8. 10; Th. 305, 598, 614), though Xenophanes used *πεφῆνᾶσιν* in hexameters (B 36).

In the middle, primary tenses have 2 sing. in *-ται, -ηι, -ει*; secondary tenses have *-εο, -ευ, -ου*; aorist *-σαο, -σω*. For the details see p. 81.

1 pl. *-μεσθα* Ar. 254; Sol. 31. 1; Th. 671; otherwise *-μεθα*.

3 pl. perfect *-αται*, after consonant in *τετράφαται* (aspirate perfect of *τρέπω*) Th. 42; after vowel in *κείαται* Mi. 11a. 2; more often shortened and contracted, *κέγται* Ar. 235; *πεπλέγται* Sem. 31a; *κεκινέγται* Hi. 73. 5, cf. Anac. ia. 4. 2. *-κείται* is transmitted in X. 1. 9 (*-κείται* Wackernagel) and Th. 421 (v.l.).

2 sg. pluperfect *ἤρήρησθα* (so Bergk for *-εισθα*) Ar. 172. 3.

### Imperative

Of note are: *προμήθεσαι* Ar. 106. 7; *ἐπ(βᾶ* Th. 847; *ἐπόμνυθι* 1195; *κλυθι* Ar. 108. 1; Th. 4. 13; *κλυτε* Sol. 13. 2; *τληθι* Sim. 8. 13; Th. 1237; *τλητε* Ar. 13. 10.

Perfect *τέτλαθι* Th. 696; *δειδιθι* 1179; *εστάτω* Ty. 11. 28; *πέπνυσο* Th. 29; *ἠνίχθω* 681.

### Formation of tenses

The Doric future in *-σέω* appears in Ty. 19. 12 (and has been conjectured in Th. 772). The Ionic asigmatic future of *-ζω* verbs, *-ίω*, discovered by Wackernagel (*Kl. Schr.* 828–30), appears in *ἀμφικαπνίουσιν* Ar. 89. 1, and is restored by Wackernagel (l.c.) in Th. 47, *ἀτρεμίσθαι* (*ἀτρεμέσθαι* mss.).

Otherwise, verbs in *-ζω* have *σ* or *σσ* in the future and aorist (twice *ξ*, in the epicisms *εμερμήριξε* Hi. 79. 15, *ἀλάπαξα* Th. 951). *σ* is usual, *σσ* occasional and probably limited to dactylic verse: *εφράσσατο* *Marg.* 7. 7, cf. Ar. 50. 3 a.c.; *εϊάσσαις* Th. 127; *δπάσση* 321; *δικάσσαι* 543. The distribution is similar in the case of other classes of verb in which *σσ* can appear. *πλάσσω* gives *πλάσαντες*, Sem. 7. 21. From stems in *-σ-* we have *τρεσάντων* Ty. 11. 14; *εγέλασσε* Th. 9; *τελεσσο-* 953 bis, Sim. 9. 2; but *τελεσο-* Th. 70 al., 690 al. The treatment of stems ending in a short vowel is likewise variable:



ἡράσσατο Ar. 48. 6 (the only example in iambs); τανύσσεται 3. 1; δ]ῆμασεν Ad. el. 33. 3; ἔλασσε Marg. 7. 2; ἀνύσσαι Th. 511; ἀρεσσάμενοι 762; ἔλασσα 831; ἀπολέσσαι 323.

ἡλάσατε et sim. Ty. 11. 10; Sol. 4c. 2; Th. 560; Diph. 2; ἀνύσειεν et sim. Ty. 11. 15; Sol. 34. 6; Th. 954 bis; δλέση 542, 568; κεράσειε et sim. X. 5. 1; Dion. Ch. 1. 3; δμόσαι Th. 659; μαχέσασθαι 687; ἐπαρκέσω 871; σκεδάσεις 883.

The sigmatic future middle serves also as passive: τανύσσεται Ar. 3. 1; ἴησομαι 11. 1. So apparently does the aorist ἐπτόξατο in Ion 26. 5.

A future perfect middle/passive appears in κεκλήσομαι Ar. 216; Th. 1203.

The unaugmented iterative tense in -σπον is used by two of the Ionians: ἔσπον Mi. 14. 10; φοίτε[σκε Hi. 78. 11 (unavoidable restoration); with thematic -ε-, id. 104. 48 θύεσκε.

### Augment

ἠπίστατο Marg. 3 bis; ἡμελλε Th. 906.

Syllabic augment is omitted in the following places: Ar. 5. 2; 192; 219; Ca. 1. 15; Sem. 7. 45 ?; Ty. 5. 8; Sol. 4. 28; Th. 123; 897 cj.; 1101; 5, 10, 195, 226, 266, 463, 1108, 1319; Mel. 1. 2; Ion 32. 2; Soph. 5. 1; Ant. 57. 1; 66. 2 ?; 67; \*191 ?

Temporal augment is omitted, according to manuscripts, in Ar. 41. 2 ἀπτερύσσετε; Cologne epode 6 ἀνταμει[βόμεν; Hi. 15 συνοίχηςας v.l.; 79. 19 εὔρε; Ad. ia. 35. 13 εὔρε; Mi. 11. 4 ἔχοντο; 14. 2 ἴδον; Sem. 1. 18 ἀψαντο; 24. 1 ἀφρευσα; Sol. 4. 28 εὔρε; Th. 542 v.l. ἐλασεν; 16 ἀείσατε; 606 ἔθειλον (unless this be regarded as an augmented form of θέλω); 831 ἐλασσα; 951 ἀλάπαξα.

### Reduplication

Noteworthy forms are ἡμφιεσμένη Hi. 2 codd.; ἔδηκε Hi. 132 (a new κ-perfect formed after ἀδεῖν as if it were a present); ἐκτενισμένος Ar. 240; Sem. 7. 65; ἐκτεται Sem. 13. 2; ἡρήρησθα (augment + reduplication) Ar. 172. 3; ἐηλάμενος Mi., Ty.

### Subjunctive

3 sing. -ησι Th. 94 (ἰῆσι), 139; Ad. el. 62. 6; elsewhere -η.

The 2 sing. of the middle is -ηαι, Th. 929; shortened to -εαι in Ar. 29. 7 δύνεαι, where the underlying δύνηαι (< \*δύνᾱαι) represents the type of subjunctive formed from athematic verbs by lengthening the stem-vowel. Similarly βήγνυται Hi. 34. 4.

Short-vowel subjunctives appear in ἵομεν Sol. 3. 1 (Homeric), and in sigmatic aorists, guaranteed by metre in Mi. 2. 9; 3. 1; Th. 200, 709,

1056, 1133, 1307; not so guaranteed in Sem. 1. 17 v.l.; Sol. 13. 76 v.l.; 27. 3 v.l.; Th. 216, 1308; Anac. ia. 3.

The subjunctive of the perfect occurs in Th. 121 λελήθη, 300 γεγόνη, 396 ἐμπεφύη, and with aoristic extension in 814 εἰδήσω 'let me learn'; ἀναμεμίζονται Anac. ia. 3.

### Optative

An unusual form of the 2 sing. present occurs in ἐχοισθα Th. 1316.

Verbs in -άω have the 2/3 sing. both as -ώης, -ώη (Ty. 12. 4; Th. 93) and as -ῶς, -ῶ (Th. 107; X. 2. 21). Verbs in -έω have -οίη Ty. 12. 6; Sol. 36. 3; but -έοις Th. 926; -έοι Hi. 115. 15; -οῖ Th. 310 cj., 713, 1119.

The 3 sing. of the sigmatic aorist also shows alternatives:

-σαι Hi. 115. 7 ?; Th. 760, 876.

-σαιε Ty. 11. 15; Th. 350, 851, 894; Eue. 1. 5; 2. 5.

In the 2 sing. only -σαις is attested, Th. 127, 1158.

A perfect optative appears in the epic form τετλαίη, Ty. 12.11.

In the middle voice, the 3 pl. normally takes the form -οίατο, -οίατο: Ar. 146. 6; Sem. 1. 22; 7. 107; Sol. 36. 24; 37. 5. -οιντο occurs only as a probable variant in Th. 736.

### Infinitive

Infinitives in -μεν and -μεναι occur in the mainland elegists and anonymous Theognidea, with short and common verbs: ἔμεν and ἦμεν, ἴμεν, δόμεν, θέμεν, ἐχέμεν; ἔμμεναι, θέμεναι, εἰπέμεναι, ἴδμεναι, τεθνάμεναι. Also νηφέμεν Ar. 4. 9 v.l.; future γηρασέμεν Sim. 8. 8.

### Conjugation of verbs in -μι

Verbs in -μι show a tendency in certain parts to be transferred to the type of the contract verbs. This happens particularly in the Ionians, but also in Theognis and the anonymous Theognidea.

2 sing. περνᾶς Hi. 52 dub.

3 sing. τιθεῖ Mi. 1. 6; 5. 7;

X. 1.2; Th. 282

διδοῖ Mi. 2. 16; Sem.

7. 54; Th. 865

3 pl. διδοῦσι Th. 1171, 446,

514, al.

περνῶσι Hi. 27 v.l.

imper. middle τιθεῖ Ar. 23. 10 (i.e.

τιθέο < τιθέ-εο ?)

infinit. τιθεῖν Th. [285]

συνιεῖν Th. 565, 1237 cj.

τίθησι Sem. 1. 2; Sol. 13. 62;

26. 2

διδωσι Ar. 16; Th. 149; Sol. 13. 69;

ἴησι X. 1.7.

περνᾶσι Hi. 27 v.l.; Th. 1215

τίθεσο Th. 1160b

-ιστασο 485

(Cf. aor. μετα-δοῦν Th. 104, formed from διδοῦν after δοῦναι : διδόναι)

Cf. also the displacement of δλλυμι by δλλύω in δλλυ' ὥσπερ δλλύεις Ar. 26. 6.

τίθημι, ἴημι give 1 pl. aor. subj. middle -θώμεθα (Th. 983), -ώμεθα (Ar. 106. 2), contracted from θεώ-, ἐώ-, which are from earlier θηό-, ἦό-.

The aorist middle participle of τίθημι occurs as θηκόμενος in Th. 1150, elsewhere as θέμενος (Ty., Sol., Dion. Ch.).

### Contract verbs

For the forms of contraction see pp. 79–81.

Transfer from the -άω to the -έω type before an o-vowel occurs in Archilochus' εισορέων 122. 6 v.l. (contrast ὄραξ 176. 1; 177. 2); ἐρέω ('I desire') 125. 2; and in μωμεύμενος, -εὔνται, Th. 169, 369. For consistency I have accepted Lasserre's νικέων for νικῶν in Ar. 128. 4. In the other Ionians only forms from -άω are attested: ὄρων Mi. 1. 8; 5. 2; Sem. 7. 111 (+ Ty. 12. 11; Th. 58); ὄρωσι Ca. 1. 20 (Th. 1184 etc.); ἐρῶμεν Sem. 1. 23.

Conversely -άω for usual -έω appears in Mi. 5. 2 πτοιῶμαι, as in Sappho's ἐπτόαισε (22. 14; 31. 6) and in Eur. *I.A.* 586 ἐπτοάθης.

### Conjugation of εἶμι

Present. 2 sing. εἶς Ar. 29. 4, 8; 225; Ad. ia. 11. 5. The epic ἐσσί occurs in Th. 875, and the Attic εἶ in 456. 1 pl. ἐσμέν Ar. 101. 2 codd. (εἰμέν Renner). 3 pl. εἶσι Hi. 68. 1; Th. 716, 911, 1025; (epic) εἶσι X. 8. 1; Th. 623.

Imperfect. 1 sing. μετ-έξ Ar. 164. 4; but ἦν (or ἦα ?) 190. 2 sing. ἦσθα Th. 1314. Frequentative 3 sing. ἔσκεν Mi. 14. 10.

Future. 1 sing. ἔσομαι Ar. Cologne epode 23; Th. 872, 878. 2. sing. ἔσει (trissyllabic) Th. 884; (disyllabic, superscr. ηι) Ar. 23. 21. ἔση Th. 1106, 1242. ἔσση Th. 239, 252. 3 sing. ἔσται Hi. 28. 4 cj.; Ty. 19. 14; Sol. 13. 38; Th. 1048. ἔσεται Sol. 4c. 4. ἔσσεται Ar. 3. 3; Ca. 1. 8; Ty. 10. 7; Th. 801, 1280. 1 pl. ἐσομέθα Th. 1246. 3 pl. ἔσονται Th. 877.

Subjunctive. 3 sing. ἔη Th. 466, 1354, otherwise ἦ (Ca., Sem., Sol., X., Th.), and similarly ἦς, ὦμεν (Th.). (εἶη is possible in Th. 689 (cf. 1177), but probably the optative is to be read.)

Optative. 2 sing. εἶησθα Th. 715; εἶης 1177. 3. sing. εἶη Ty., X., etc.; εἶοι only as a doubtful variant, Sol. 27. 18. 3 pl. εἶεν Th. 327.

Infinitive. Normally εἶναι, but also: ἔμμεναι Sol. 13. 39; ἔμεναι Eue. 9. 1; <ἔ>μεν Th. 806; ἦμεν v.l. εἶμεν 960. This last is a West Greek form. Future ἔσεσθαι Th. 1077.

Participle. In the earlier Ionians always ἐών disyllabic (Ar. thrice, Ca., Mi., Hi.), except for παρόντα Sem. 7. 54 (suspect); εὔσαν Ad. ia. 35. 18; ἐών X. 2. 11. Of the early mainland elegists, Tyrtaeus has only ἐών (10. 30; 12. 32); Theognis and Solon both ἐών (six and four times

respectively) and the Attic ὦν (thrice and once). In the anonymous Theognidea we find ἑὼν 26 times (all disyllabic), ὦν nine times. For the rest we have ἑὼν in Simonides and Scythinus, ὦν in Dionysius Chalcus, Sophocles and Hermippus.

### οἶδα

2 sing. οἶσθα Th. 375. οἶδας 491, 957.

Imperfect. 1 sing. ἤδεα Th. 853. 3 sing. ἤειδει (written -ει) Ar. 57. 8, cf. 181. 4. ἤδεε Ion 30. 3 cj. 3 pl. ἤδεσαν Th. 54.

Subjunctive. εἰδῆς Th. 963; aoristic εἰδήσω 814.

Infinitive. ἰδμεναι Th. 221.

### Various verb forms

From εἰμι ἴδο we find imperfect 3 sing. ἦει (cj. ἦεν) Ar. 185. 3; 3 pl. ἦεσαν (cj. ἦισαν) X. 3. 3; subj. 1 pl. ἴομεν Sol. 3. 1.

ἦλυθε Sol., Th.; -ελεύσεται Th.

ἔγεντο Th. 202, 436, 661.

εἶπα Sol. 34. 6.

φάσθαι X. 7a. 2.

πίομαι Th. 962, but ἐμπίομαι 1129; πίεται Ion 27. 10.

ἔστασαν (transitive) Ar. 98. 15 v.l. Perfect ἔστασι Mi. 12. 10; ἔστώς Ty. 12. 19; ἔστάτω 11. 28; ἔσταναι Dion. Ch. 3. 1; but -εστήκασι Mi. 2. 5.

τεθνάμεναι Ty. 10. 1 (Mi. 2. 10 cj.); τεθνάναι Mi. 2. 10; τεθνηότος Th. 1205; τεθνεώς 1192; but τεθνηκώς 1230.

### Tmesis

λιπὼν ἀπο δέμνια Marg. 7. 8; λοῦται δὲ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην ἀπο ρύπον Sem. 7. 63. Much more frequent is the sort of tmesis in which the adverb precedes the verb and is separated from it by a particle, noun, etc.

(a) Separation only by particle: Hi. 47. 2; 78. 16; Ad. ia. 51. 2; Ad. el. 58. 8 ?; Th. 192, 311.

(b) Greater separation: Ar. 3. 1; 13. 3/4, 6; 131. 2; 177. 2; Cologne epode 8; Ca. 5; Sem. 26; Hi. 25; 118. 6; Ad. ia. 38. 9; Ty. 5. 7; 10. 9; 12. 17; 19. 10 ?; Th. 13, 265, 292, 349, 511, 664 ?, 671, 680, 767, 869, 883, 887, 891, 947/8, 1011, 1064, 1188, 1271, 1357; Sim. 6. 1, 5; Ant. 57. 1.

### Periphrastic constructions

(a) εἰμί + participle: ἦν πονεομένη Ar. 42. 2; ἔστε . . εὐκότες Anac. ia. 1. 1; δοκοῦντ' ἔστω Eue. 1. 4.

(b) ἔχω + participle: κακότητα κατακρύψαντες ἔχουσι Th. 1061. More

natural are 346-7 τὰμὰ χρέματ' ἔχουσι βίη σὺλῆσαντες, and 1286 νικήσας γὰρ ἔχεις τὸ πλεόν ἐξοπίσω.

### Use of the perfect

The usage of the perfect remains almost wholly within the limits existing in early Greek; in other words what Wackernagel called the resultative perfect (*Kl. Schr.* 1000 ff.), the transitive use expressing a lasting effect which the action had on the object, can hardly be found. Wackernagel allowed no certain instances earlier than the fifth century; he doubted the authenticity of the lines of Tyrtaeus that are now fr. 2. 12-15, the second of which read Ζεὺς Ἡρακλείδαις τήνδε δέδωκε πόλιν. The appearance on papyrus of a different reading, ἄστῳ δέδωκε τόδε, allows the conjecture ἔδωκε, since final υ is unelidable.

The perfect in Th. 1229, ἤδη γὰρ με κέκλιθε θάλασσιος οἰκαδε νεκρός, can be taken as expressive of the continuous sound of the conch, like Homer's τετριγυῖαι, μεμυκώς, etc.

For other examples of the use of the perfect see Ar. 37; 114. 4/130. 3; Sem. 7. 9, 15, 28, 89, 110; Ty. 12. 28; Sol. 13. 27; Eue. 2. 5.

### Word formation

I collect here words formed with certain suffixes and not found in Hesiod or Homer.

-ια, -ιη: ἀελπίτη Ar. διχοστασίη Th., Sol. πολυπλοκίη Th. αἰθρίη, δουλίη Sol. ἀλαζονία Aristox. ἀνοίτη, πονηρίη Hi. προεδρίη, τυραννίη X. ἀπροσηγορία, εὐλογία Ad. el. ἀτροπίη, δολοπλοκίη, καχεταιρίη, φιλοξενίη Th.

In εὐλαβίη Th. 118, δυστυχίη 1188, εὐσεβίη 1142 and Crit. 6. 21, -ιη replaces -εια.

-εῖη, -ηῖη: ἐπιπειθείη Sem. προμηθείη X. δουλητή Anac.

-ήσιος: παρθενήσιος Ar. (Cologne epode). ἐκτροπήσιος Hi. ?

-ινος: κήρινος (Alcm.), κρίθινος, ῥόδινος Hi.

-ι(α)κός: Ἰσμαρικός, Κρητικός Ar. Ἀττικός Sol. Κοραξικός, Σινδικός Hi. Ἑλλαδικός X. Κολοφωνακός Ant. ?

-ρός: ὄδυνηρός Mi., Th. ? ἀτηρός, ψυδρός Th. ἀγρουκτηρός Ad. ia.

-ήεις, -όεις: κροκόεις Ty. χαιτέεις Sem. βουλήεις Sol. βρωμέεις Ad. ia. βοτρυόεις Ion. ἀρματόεις Crit. ὀφίδεις Ant.

-όσυνος, -οσύνη: δεσπόσυνος (subst.) Ty. χρη(σ)μοσύνη Ty. ἀληθοσύνη, ἀγνωμοσύνη Th. γνωμοσύνη Sol. ἀβροσύνη (Sapph.), πυκτοσύνη X. μαργοσύνη Anac., Th. φιλημοσύνη Th.

-σις: βάξις Mi. ἀνάλωσις, ἀπόκρισις, μέθυσις Th. πρόποσις Crit.

-μός: ῥυσμός Ar. οἰκισμός Sol. ἀσπασμός Th. ἴφθινοπωρισμός Anan.

-μα: πταῖσμα Th. ῥῦμα Sol. ὄφελμα Hi. πλάσμα X. στεφάνωμα Th.

-τωρ: ἔρκτωρ Ant.

-τήρ: αὐλητήρ Ar. βλητήρ ? Ty. συνοικητήρ Sem. εὐθυνητήρ ? Th.  
σκαπτήρ Marg.

-τρον: μῆνυτρον Hi.

-τήριον: μαυλιστήριον Hi.

-τις, -ῖτις: ἐργάτις Ar. κασωρῖτις Hi.

-ἴσκ-: κυπασσίσκος, σαμβαλίσκα, ἀσκερίσκα(ι) Hi. αὐλίσκος Th.

-άζω, -ύζω: βαβράζω Anan. οἰνοποτάζω Anac. βαμβαλύζω, βορβορούζω  
Hi.

-ίζω: ἐξουδενίζω ? Ar. ἀσκαρίζω, βατταρίζω, πυκταλίζω, τερματίζω,  
ὕφερματίζω Hi. ἀγκαλιζομαι Sem. εὐκλειζω Ty. ἀτρεμιζω Th. προφασίζο-  
μαι Th. ἀκροβηματίζω Ad. ia. βληστρίζω X. βηματίζομαι Dion. Ch.  
βαπτίζω Alcib.

-όω: ἐμφελιώ ? Ty.

-ί/-εῖ: ἀμισθί, ἀμνητεῖ, ἐγκυτί (s.v.l.) Ar.

-ιστί: μηιονιστί, πυγιστί Hi. ἱρωστί Sem.

-δην: συλλήβδην Th. διαφάδην (Alcm.) Sol. ῥύδην Hi. παμπήδην, ὑπερ-  
βολάδην Th.

### Patronymics

Besides the usual -άδης, -ίδης, we find in Hipponax -αδεύς, 32. 1 Μαιαδεῦ.  
Perhaps Εὐρυμεδοντιάδεα (128.1; so accented in the manuscripts) should  
be regarded as belonging to this type. Cf. p. 92.

The -ίδης suffix makes an appellative in συκοτραγίδης (Ar., Hi.); and  
perhaps Ar.'s Κηρυκίδης too is more than a mere name.

### Compounds

Many compound adjectives and nouns appear for the first time, some of  
them no doubt ad hoc coinages. Here is a list arranged by poets.

Ar. κεραύλης, κεροπλάστης, μελάμπυγος, μουνόκερας, ὄτρυγηφάγος, πύ-  
γαργος ?, συκοτραγίδης, τρισμακάριος ?, τρισσιζυρός, τρίχουλος (unless  
τρίχ' οὐλος). [Ar.] καλλίνικος, χρυσοέθειρ.

Sem. ἀδηνής ?, ἄζηλος, ἄθηλος, ἄθυστος, ἄνεπίφραστος, ἄπλυ-  
τος, ἄπυγος, αὐτόκωλος, αὐτομήτωρ, λιτοργός, τρίορχος.

Ty. καλλίτροχος, μελιχόγηρυσ, φιλοψυχέω.

Mi. ἄμορφος, ἐξηκονταέτης, ὀλιγοχρόνιος, πολυάνθεμος, φερεμμελής.

Th. ἀπαθής, ἄσοφος, ἄφθογγος (*Hymn. Dem.*), εὐβουλος, θηροφόνη,  
ἰοστέφανος, κενεόφρων, πολυκώκυτος, ταχύπτερος, τηλαυγής.

Sol. ἄνηβος, ἀφυκτος, ἄωρος, βαθύφρων, θεόκτιτος, ἰσομοιρή, ξανθό-  
θριξ, δξύχολος, πολυκύμων, Σαλαμιναφέτης, φιλοκτήμων.

Th. ἀγνώμων, ἀγχίστροφος, (ἄτροπος) ἀτροπή, ἀφωνος, ἀψεκτος, δολο-  
πλόκος/-λή (Sappho), δονακοτρόφος, δορυσσός ([Hes.] Sc.), δύσλοφος, ἐπι-  
οίνιος, εὐδοξος, κακόδοξος, κακοκέρδεια, κακόπατρις, κακόψογος, καχεται-

ρίη, λυσίακος, ὀλεσίνωρ, πανόλβιος (*Hymn. Dion.*), πολύπλοκος/-ίη, τροχοειδής, φιλοδέσποτος, φιλοκερδής, φορτηγός.

Hi. ἀνασεισιφαλλος, ἀγχενοπλήξ, βορβορόπη ?, διοπλήξ, [ἐγγαστριμάχαιρα ?], ἐπτάφυλλος, εὐνοῦχος, εὐωνος, κάθυπνος?, καννηνοποιός, κατωμόχανος, κραδησίτης, κυλλήβης?, κυνάγχης, κυσοχήνη, λευκόπεπλος, λοφορρώξ, μεσσηγυδορποχέστης, μητροκοίτης, ὀμφαλητόμος, πανδάλητος ?, πασπαληφάγος, ποντοχάρυβδις, σαρκοκύων ?, ταραξίπους, χειρόχωλος, χρυσοδάμπετος.

*Marg.* εὐφθογγος (also Th.).

*As.* κνισοκόλαξ.

*X.* παναλουργής.

*Sim.* ἀγλαινος.

*Aesch.* φαρμακοποιός.

*Dion. Ch.* δυσέρως.

*Ion* δεκαβάμων, ἐνδεκάχορδος.

*Herm.* σπληνόπεδον.

*Crit.* ἀλεξιλογος, Ἀσιατογενής, οἰκοτριβής, οἰνοφόρος, χρυσότυπος (*Eur.*).

*Ant.* ἀγακλύμενος.

*Phil.* πολυήγορος.

*Arist.* καλλίτεκνος.

[*Soc.*] λαόδικος.

*Ad. el.* νεοτρεφής ?, ποντοβόης ?, χρυσῶπις.

*Ad. ia.* παχυσκελής, συκοτράπεζος.

## WORD ORDER

The strong tendency of enclitic pronouns to nestle in the second position in the sentence sometimes results in their intervening between article and noun: ἡ δὲ οἱ κόμη *Ar.* 31. 1; ἡ δὲ οἱ σάθη *id.* 43. 1; οἱ δὲ μεο ὀδόντες *Hi.* 73. 4; αἱ δὲ μεο φρένες *Anac. ia.* 4. 1; οἱ με φίλοι προῦδωκαν *Th.* 813 (575, 861).

Compare ὥσπερ γάρ μιν πύργον *Ca.* 1. 20.

In *Th.* 633 a pronoun intervenes between a relative and the modal particle: ὁ τοῖ κ' ἐπὶ τὸν νόον *Elth.* This is a West Greek habit, also found in *Hesiod (Op.* 208, 280).

In *Ty.* 11. 32 ἐν δὲ λόφον τε λόφῳ καὶ κυνέην κυνέη, the separation of preposition from noun by another case of the same noun has parallels in *Il.* 10. 224 πρὸ δ τοῦ, *Od.* 5. 155 παρ' οὐκ ἐθέλων ἐθελούση, 17. 285 μετὰ καὶ τόδε τοῖσι, *Aesch. Prom.* 921 ἐπ' αὐτὸς αὐτῶ, etc.; Kühner – Gerth, ii. 602; *Dover, Greek Word Order*, 16 f.

The same desire for juxtaposition may account for *Ar.* 191. 1 κατ' ἀχλὺν ὀμμάτων ἔχευεν; this can also be treated as 'tmesis', though the

common type would be represented by the order κατ' ἀχλὺν ἔχευεν ὀμμάτων.

A connecting particle is more than usually delayed in Sem. 7. 106 ἔκου γυνή γάρ ἐστιν, Anan. 5. 2 τῶν καλῶν δ' ἕψων, Th. 1052 σῶ ἀγαθῶ τε νόῳ.

The relative pronoun is postponed to second position in Th. 602, 744.

Th. 357 has ὡς δέ περ for usual ὥσπερ δέ.

## METRE

### *Caesurae*

As J. M. Edmonds observed, the ratio of masculine to trochaic caesurae in the hexameter of the elegiac couplet rises markedly between the seventh and the end of the fifth century. I have calculated the following percentages of hexameters with masculine caesura among the extant remains.

Ar. 27, Ca. 23, Mi. 35, Ty. 33.

Th. 44, Sol. 42, X. 44, Sim. 43, Dion. Ch. 42; anonymous pieces in Book 2 of the Theognidea, 40.

Ion 61, Eue. 58, Crit. 63.

It will be seen that the early Ionians all belong to the group with the lowest percentage. Only Tyrtaeus of the mainland elegists rivals them. Among the rest we find a row of very similar figures in the 40–44% range, until we come to three poets active at Athens in the second half of the fifth century, who jump to the 58–63% range. The narrowness of the spreads must be partly due to coincidence, since the number of lines available for some poets is not large. (Only twelve in the case of Euenus. I have not counted the three pieces addressed to Simonides in the Theognidea as Euenus'. The percentage of masculine caesurae in them is only 29; if they are assigned to Euenus his figure becomes 38. The large discrepancy scarcely proves that the verses are not Euenus', for individual figures based on such small amounts of text are liable to be erratic.) Nevertheless the groupings seem significant.

Elision at a trochaic caesura occurs in Crit. 4. 3 and 5. 1. At a masculine caesura it is less rare. In the above statistics I have counted such cases as trochaic caesurae, because the word chosen by the poet for the position was one that ended - υ̅.

The following lines have no caesura in the third foot but instead a long word reaching over to the arsis of the fourth: Th. 123, 1111, 255, 775, 1305; X. 1. 11, 15; 7a. 1; Ad. el. 28.7 ?; Arist. 673. 6.



## Bridges

Caesura after the trochee of the fourth foot of the hexameter (breach of Hermann's Bridge) occurs in Th. 1171, (881), 923, 981; X. 1. 17, 19; Eue. 1. 5.

Two laws formulated for the iambic trimeter and tetrameter by A. D. Knox<sup>3</sup> stipulate that disyllables are avoided before (a) the final iambus of the line, unless a monosyllable precedes; (b) the final cretic of the line. The first is strictly observed only in Archilochus, the second nowhere. If prepositions are counted as belonging to their noun, so that endings like *ἐπι-χθόνα* or *περι-κνήμας* *ἰδεῖν* do not offend, there are no breaches of the first rule in Archilochus; but elsewhere we find:

τίθησ' ὄκη θέλει Sem. 1. 2  
 πῶλος ὧς ἄμα τρέχ- 4  
 ἡμέρης ἄπο ῥύπον 7. 63  
 οὐδέ οἱ γέλωσ μέλει 7. 79  
 κάρτα γὰρ κακῶσ ριγῶ Hi. 32. 2  
 ἔστι γὰρ λίην τυφλός 36. 1  
 καὶ μεσέων νυκτῶν ἡδύς Anan. 5. 9  
 καὶ κυνός φωνήν ἰεῖς Ad. ia. 50.

There are two violations in the metrically rather loose Susarion fragment.

There are more exceptions to the second rule: Ar. 23. 9 ?; 24. 10; 26. 5-6; 41. 1 ?; 54. 5; 106. 5; Cologne epode 2, 24; Sem. 1. 4, 20; 7. 31, 59; 14. 2; Hi. 14. 2; 17; 29a s.v.l.; 36. 2; 78. 14; 79. 8; 158; Ad. ia. 35. 12; Anan. 4. 1.

Porson's Law is broken by Scythinus 1. 2 .. ἀρχήν καὶ τέλος, and perhaps 2. 1. Havet's Law (prohibiting word-end after - υ -- at the beginning of the tetrameter) is apparently broken by Hi. 122 Μητροδῆμω δηῦτέ με χρῆ τῷ σκότῳ δικάζεσθαι (the variant Μητρόδημε is worthless); but perhaps the δῆ, although coalescing with αὔτε, has the effect of extending the tetrasyllable to a pentasyllable.

## Metrical positions

The fifth foot of the hexameter is spondaic in Sol. (13. 71 v.l.); 17; Th. 271, 613, 693, 715, 875; Ion 26. 9; 27. 5; Ant. 67.

Syllables standing before a mute and liquid (other than βλ, γλ) are treated as follows. In the iambs of Archilochus and Semonides, they are never short, except perhaps in ἀμφιτρῖβας Ar. 257 (see note). In Hipponax, final syllables before initial mute + liquid are treated as long in 26. 5 ?; 28. 1; 42. 5; 102. 5; 115. 16; 122; as short in 26. 4; 50. 2; 115. 4

<sup>3</sup> The first also by Wilamowitz. Cf. Snell, *Gr. Metrik*, 14.

(dactylic); 117. 5 (dactylic); 176. Within a word (or closely cohering word-group such as τὸ πρῖν) such syllables are normally long (some thirty instances), though short in 26. 5 cj.; 104. 49 cj. Elsewhere in iambus we find short scansion only in Ad. ia. 40 ἄγροικηρῆν, Herm. 4. 1 Κυλλῆράνων, 2 Ἑρμῆκλειαν. (Hermippus naturally follows the practice of Attic Comedy; he has no long scansion. Solon's long scansion is all internal ones.)

In the early Ionian elegists and Tyrtaeus, short scansion is very rare: Ar. 17 τῆ βροτείη, Mi. 1. 1 Ἄφροδίτης, are necessary if the words are to be used at all; otherwise only Mi. 13a. 2 = Ty. 19. 7 ἀσπίσι φραζόμενοι. In Theognis and Solon they are admitted more freely, and this licence increases until Critias, who has 22 short scansion and only two long. The instances break down as follows (I omit unavoidable internal shorts as in ἀλλοτρίαν):

(i) Internal (avoidable). Th. 131 v.l., 1038 (spurious verse ?), 1200; 501, 786, 856, 921, 927, 1143, 1181, 1206, 1229; Sol. 4.14; 4c. 3 s.v.l.; Soph. 1; Eue. 6; Crit. 4. 4; 5. 2; 6. 4, 16, 19, 22 bis, 25, 27; Cleo. 3; Ad. el. 3.

(ii) Before a word beginning  $\sim$  - ( . . . ) which could not otherwise be used. Th. 123, 900, 1198, 1221; 96, 281, 283, 395, 489, 523, 564 ?, 591, 705, 827, 837, 1175, 1299; Sol. 4. 16; X. 1. 5, 9, 16, 24; 2. 17; Tim. 10. 1 bis; Dion. Ch. 1. 1; Soph. 4. 1; Ion 26.16; Crit. 2. 3, 7, 14; 6. 25; 7. 2; Phil. 2. 8; [Soc.] 2; Ad. el. 27. 5.

(iii) Before a word or word-group scanning  $\sim$  - which could have been placed differently. Th. 57, 387, 454; Eue. 2. 3; 6. 1; Crit. 2. 4, 10, 12; 6. 15, 23, 25.

(iv) In the second short of the thesis. Th. 20, 1173; 659, 903, 911, 923, 927; Sol. 4. 31; X. 8. 3; Sim. 12; Dion. Ch. 3. 5; Ion 26. 1; Crit. 2. 8, 10; Phil. 1.

Long scansion is confined to the arsis, except for X. 1. 13 χρῆ δὲ πρῶτον (first thesis) - where, however, Bergk's δῆ may be right.

The only shortening before βλ is Dion. Tyr. 1 κοινώμασι βλαστών.

A syllable before mute and nasal combination is, as in epic, much less often allowed to be short: Mi. 2. 10 δὴ τεθνάναι (τεθνάμεναι Bach); Hi. 28. 6 τῶν τεκνῆμιον; Th. 188, 599 ἀφνεόν (perhaps a spondee); 910 δᾶκνομαι; Arist. 672 καλλιτέχνου In Sem. 1. 13 φθειροῦσι θνητῶν is surely corrupt: it is associated with νόσοι, which is against Semonides' dialect.

Initial ρ lengthens a preceding short open syllable in Sem. 7. 63; 10a. 3; Hi. 115. 13 (epode); but not in Sem. 6. 2; Hi. 34. 4; 58; 78. 14, or in elegy (Mi. 11. 4; Sol. 11. 3; X. 2. 3; 7a. 3; Ant. 99).

A final syllable formed by a short vowel followed by λ, μ, ν, ρ, σ is allowed to occupy the arsis in either hexameter or pentameter in the following places: Mi. 12. 1; Sol. 27. 7; Th. 329, 1201; 2, 256 v.l., 280 v.l., 461, 950, 999, 1136 codd.; Ant. 57. 1 v.l. An apparent instance in a

dactylic colon of an epode (Ar. Cologne epode 21) is doubtful; cf. above, p. 87 n. 1.

### Hiatus

Hiatus is foreign to iambus except with the enclitic pronouns *ἐ*, *οἱ*, and in the elevated phrase *Διωνύσου ἀνακτος* at Ar. 120. 1 (more likely than *-οι'*, see note). *ῆ* in apparent hiatus at Ar. 29. 2 (?), Ad. ia. 35. 8, may perhaps be taken as elided *ῆέ*, though it would be surprising to meet unelided *ῆέ* in iambus. (The same applies to Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 99. *δρυὸς ῆ ἐλάτας* in Eur. *Phoen.* 1515, *Bacch.* 110, can be derived from *Hymn. Aphr.* 264.) Cf. my note on Hes. *Th.* 6.

In elegy hiatus is found

- (i) before words originally beginning with *F* (or *σF*); see p. 87.
- (ii) after a long vowel in the arsis, usually of the hexameter: Mi. 12. 11; Th. 253, 535, 621, 977 v.l., 1291, 1341; Sol. 15. 1; 27. 15; Ion 26. 5; Ant. 66. 2; also in the pentameter, Th. 778 ?, 960, 1052; Sim. 8. 11.
- (iii) after a short vowel: at the trochaic caesura in the third foot, Th. 333, 993; X. 14. 2; at the bucolic caesura, Th. 1141, 1195, 1287; in the phrase *ἄλλοτε ἄλλος*, Ar. 13. 7 (cj., see note); Sol. 15. 4; 13. 76; Th. 157, 992; when the vowel is unelidable, Ty. 2. 13 cj. (*ἄστυ ἐδωκε*), Th. 649 τὶ ἐμοῖς; at the end of the fifth foot, Th. 1335 s.v.l., 1351. Cf. also *Marg.* 7. 2 (end of hexameter) *καὶ ῥα ἔλασσε*.

### Resolution

With one exception the iambographers admit resolution, i.e. they allow certain metrical positions to receive two short syllables. The exception is Semonides, who has no clear instance in about 180 preserved trimeters. (Frr. 10 and 17 are proved corrupt by other considerations.)

The two shorts must belong to the same word. (Or closely cohere, as in Hi. 25 *ἀπὸ σ' ἄλῃσειεν* and (s.v.l.) *σὲ δέ*. 42. 2 *ἰθὺ δὶά* does not offend if *δὶά* is assumed to be pronounced *dja*. *ἀκούετε λεῶ* in Sus. 1 is an exception, but justified by the desire to incorporate the official formula.) Neither syllable may be followed by a mute + liquid. (In Hi. 67 *ἄλῃγα φρονέουσιν* it is best to regard *ἄλ-* as occupying the first metrical position: see *Glotta* 48, 1970, 190 f.) The word is normally of three or more syllables, and except in Ar. 122. 2, Anan. 5. 1, Herm. 4. 1, it does not end with the two shorts.

The metrical positions that admit a double short are in the main the longa, barring those of the last metron. But in Hipponax's trimeters the initial anceps of the first metron admits two shorts: 30. 2 *Κριτίης ὁ Χῖος*, 67 *ἄλῃγα φρονέουσιν* (see above). So too in the last metron, if *σὲ δὲ κώπῳλλων* is right in 25 (quoted by Tzetzes to refute Hephaestion's statement that the penultimate foot of a choliambic is never trisyllabic;

if Hephaestion was not guilty of an oversight, he must have read  $\sigma\tau\delta'$   $\acute{\omega}\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$  or  $\tau\epsilon\ \acute{\kappa}\acute{\omega}\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$ ). And even in the short third position:

78. 11  $\times - \cup \cup -$  and  $\cup \cup - \cup -$ , in order to incorporate his own name and that of his deme.

For every line containing resolution in Archilochus there are ten without. The same is true of Hipponax. Solon is stricter – only two resolutions in 59 lines.

### *Enjambement*

It is usual in elegy for the end of the couplet to coincide with the end of a sentence or clause. The average frequency of exceptions, i.e. couplets at the end of which something essential to the syntax of the clause is still to be supplied, varies: early Ionians, one in 8.5 couplets; early mainland, one in 29.0; Xenophanes, none in 33; Simonides, one in 17; Dionysius and Ion, one in 2.9; Euenus, one in 40; Critias, one in 9. High frequency may be regarded as a mark of virtuosity. Xenophanes and Euenus are in other respects too the clumsiest versifiers among our poets.

### *Elision of dative -ι*

The dative singular in  $-ι$  is elided in Th. 265, 1326, 1329; dative plural  $\eta\rho\omega\sigma\iota$  perhaps in Asius 14. 4,  $\iota\chi\theta\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\iota$  perhaps in Anan. 5. 8.

## Prosody, miscellaneous

### *Epic scansions*

$\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\omega$  Th. 4.  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\rho$  Arist. 673. 6.  $\pi\rho\tau\upsilon$  Ty. 14.  $\epsilon\delta\omega\rho$  Mi. 12. 7; X. 5. 2 (exceptionally with  $\upsilon$  in thesis, as in *Hymn. Dem.* 381); Th. 961 (s.v.l.).  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\zeta\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$  and  $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\beta\delta\omicron\rho\nu$  in Euclides 1–2 parody epic lengthening.  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  in Hi. 79. 9 is unexplained; perhaps it too is a comic touch of the high-flown. Antimachus' variable scansion of the first syllable of Πύδης (99–100) may again be a studied imitation of epic practice.

### *Other noteworthy scansions*

$\acute{\alpha}\tau\delta\eta\varsigma$  Sem. 1. 14; 7. 117. See Volkmar Schmidt, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Herondas* (1968), 1 ff.

$\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\nu\alpha\iota$  Hi. 30. 1. As in  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\epsilon$  *Il.* 5. 487 v.l., the  $\alpha$  is perhaps lengthened by analogy with the indicative  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega\nu$ , which comes by metathesis from \* $\acute{\eta}$ - $\acute{F}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\nu$ ; though Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* i. 18, points out that Ionic has always  $\eta\lambda\omega\nu$ .

ἀμῶς Th. 107.

ἄρα (inferential postpositive): so always in Archilochus (four times), and in Ad. ia. 35. 6; in all other poets ἄρα.

λῦω Crit. 6. 8.

μάκαρ Hi. 43; 117. 6; Sol. 14. 1; μάκαρ Th. 1013, 1173.

νῦν Ar. 89. 17.

## VII Commentary on Selected Passages

The poets are taken in the same order as in the edition: Archilochus, Hipponax, the Theognidea, then the rest in alphabetical order.

### ARCHILOCHUS

#### *Fr. 5*

3. Aristophanes' version represents an 'oral variant', i.e. a popular misquotation. The elimination of the reflexive αὐτόν (Homeric; cf. Kühner-Gerth i. 565) in favour of ψυχὴν (cf. φιλοψυχεῖν) was natural at Athens; the reverse change would be unlikely (K. J. Dover, *CR* 1960, 11).

The δ' is needed for the contrast, and guaranteed by the agreement of Aristophanes and Sextus (who are independent) against the Neoplatonists (who, despite the textual divergences among them, are probably dependent on a single source). Then again Aristophanes' agreement with the Neoplatonists guarantees ἐξεσάωσα (and therewith τί μοι μέλει) against the aberrant version of Sextus. Sextus is quoting from memory; he remembered αὐτο. δ' ἐξε- from the true text, but, influenced by what he had just written (σεμνυνόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν ἀσπίδα βίψας φυγεῖν), made it into αὐτὸς δ' ἐξέφυγον θανάτου τέλος, and then gave up. Quotations from memory are often deformed at the end like this.

#### *Fr. 12*

For κρύπτειν cf. *Men. Sam.* 351 (Sandbach) καὶ τὰτύχημα μὲν τὸ γεγονὸς κρύφθ' ἔσον / ἔνεστι.

#### *Fr. 13*

6. Mr Reeve has now argued for his attractive conjecture κρατερόν (with φάρμακον, 'a strong antidote') in *CR* 21, 1971, 324 f.

7. For the hiatus in ἄλλοτε ἄλλος cf. *Hes. Op.* 713, *Od.* 4. 236, 15.4, *Hymn. Herm.* 558, *Solon* 13. 76, *Th.* 157, 992, *Phocyl.* 15. 1 B., *Xenoph.* B 26. 2, *Ap. Rhod.* 1. 881 v.l., *Opp. Hal.* 2. 268, 566, 4. 290. In most of these places a particle (usually τ') or preposition has intruded in some or all manuscripts; so in this Stobaeus tradition at *Solon* 13. 76 and *Th.* 157.

#### *Fr. 23*

I follow Peek in treating 23 and 24 as separate poems, a possibility already envisaged by Lobel. The following analysis does not lean on this supposition, but will I think justify it, by clarifying the contents of the two sections and showing how total is the lack of connexion between them.

23 begins to be intelligible at line 7. The narrator (whom I shall assume to be Archilochus rather than some assumed character) says that he replied 'Madam', etc. It is true that γύναι is in one place contemptuously addressed

to a man, Aegisthus (Aesch. *Ag.* 1625, see Fraenkel ad loc.; adduced by Page, *Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.* 1961, 71). But to me, as to Treu (*Archilochos*, p. 179), this seems out of key with the tone of the following lines, and *ἄνδρες* in 18 has more point if a real woman is being addressed.

From the reply that she receives it may be inferred (i) that she is angry (*θυμὸν ὄλαον τιθεῖο*), (ii) that she has formed the opinion that Archilochus is a base and dishonourable person (*ἐς τοῦτο δὴ τοι* etc.), who cannot be relied on to abide with the same friends (*ἐπίσταμαι τοι* etc.), (iii) that he has made a declaration which she regards as untrustworthy (*λόγῳ νῦν τῷδ' ἀληθείη πάρα*: the resumptive *νῦν* points back to some previously discussed *λόγος*), (iv) that she is afraid of evil rumours, whether those already current about Archilochus or those likely to arise about herself (*φάτιν . . . μὴ τετραμήνης μηδέν*).

All of this suits the hypothesis that he has propositioned her and she has gibbed. My supplement in 9, *ἀμφὶ δ' εὐφρόνη*, is partly determined by this hypothesis, partly by my inability to think of any alternative noun beginning in *εὐ-* that will scan here and also give the impression of real Greek. (If *phi*, represented by the tip of a descender, is rightly recognized, the field of choice is still more circumscribed.) Lobel's note '*μέλαι . . . ἀμφὶ* unattested' is incidentally inapposite: the meaning is 'And as for a (or the) night, I will take care of the matter'. See E. Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge* i. 100, 125 f., 134 f.; to the Homeric example, *Il.* 7. 408 *ἀμφὶ δὲ νεκροῖσιν, κατακαίμεν οὐ τι μεγαίρω*, may be added *Hymn. Dem.* 85 *ἀμφὶ δὲ τιμῆν, ἔλλαχεν ὡς . . .* and *Herm.* 172 *ἀμφὶ δὲ τιμῆς, κάγω τῆς δόξης ἐπιβήσομαι*. The three passages make it uncertain which case Archilochus' *ἀμφὶ* governed. He uses the accusative with *ἀμφὶ* and *περὶ* in a local sense in several fragments, and the dative in fr. 13. 4 *ἀμφ' ὀδύνης* (which is akin to the sense 'impaled on').

In 17-21 we are startled to find that the city in which the woman moves has been captured by her spear, so that it is now open to her to set herself up as its queen; Archilochus advises her to take this course, which will make her envied by many. Suppose, first, that Archilochus is engaged in seducing some Amazon of the Aegean whose conquests and existence have by some mischance failed to leave any echo in the records of history, despite her sensational brush with one of the most famous of Greek poets. What then is the relevance of his kind political recommendations to the personal dispute that has gone before? What can be the importance of the 'men' in 18 who did something to the city once, or alternatively never did it?

These difficulties vanish if, as Adrados suggests (*Parola del Passato* 11, 1956, 40), the city is a metaphor. (Cf. Th. 951 for a probable parallel.) It is Archilochus whose defences she has broken through. He was never conquered by *men*, at the period of his life when that was most liable to happen, but she has succeeded where they failed. Let her now enter into her domain, and take advantage of her victory. There are many who will envy her.

It may be objected that *αἰχμῆ* and *μέγ' ἐξήρω κλέος* are too concrete for such a metaphor. But it is characteristic of early Greek poetic diction that traditional phrases can be used to express a basic concept even when the words are not entirely appropriate to the context. I think that *εἰδεις αἰχμῆ* etc. might be used without meaning more than *εἶδεις*. For a similar phenomenon in a metaphor cf. Th. 331 *μέσσην ὀδὸν ἔρχεο ποσσίν*. This interpretation

brings such advantages in relevance and coherence that it is not lightly to be dismissed.

Some points of detail.

13. ἐγὼ οὗτος seems better than ἐγὼ αὐτός from the point of view both of the space available in the papyrus and of language. 'So you take me for a low person, and mistake the true class of the man before you and of his background.'

14. Cf. Hes. *Op.* 353 τὸν φιλέοντα φιλεῖν καὶ τῷ προσόντι προσεῖναι. There is no doubt that the contraction of εε and εε to ε̄ was fully accomplished in Ionic by Archilochus' time, and that spellings such as φιλεῖν are late artificialities. So in fr. 181. 4 we find ἤειδεε written for the scansion ---, and below in line 19 ἐξήραο, also for --- (contrast fr. 172. 1 ἐφράσω, 189 ἐδέξω). Cf. above, p. 80.

16. Cf. Empedocles 114. 1 οἶδα μὲν οὖνεκ' ἀληθείη παρὰ μύθοις οὐς ἐγὼ ἐξερέω.

21. Cf. Th. 455.

### Fr. 24

The person addressed here has recently arrived from the Gortyn district in a small ship. The Cretan Gortyn is certainly meant. Its territory extended to the south coast (*Od.* 3. 294-6, where μικρὸς δὲ λιθὸς μέγα κύμα ἀποτέργει is a curious parallel to Archilochus' νηὶ σὺν σμικρῇ μέγαν [πόντον περήσ]ας). ἦλθεε in 2 has naturally reminded scholars of Alcaeus' welcome to his brother, ἦλθεε ἐκ περάτων γᾶς etc. (fr. 350), and 15 confirms that Archilochus is joyful at the safe return. In 17-18, indeed, he uses such emotional language that affection for the addressee, however great, is not enough to account for it: there must have been a near disaster. Examination of the text line by line will help to fill in the picture.

5-7. No part of γῆς is suitable here. The preceding vertical is too close for ἐγγῆς, and, knowing no other possibilities, I accept Lasserre's κρηγῆς, 'good', qualifying a feminine noun in the genitive. ἐπὶ νηός (continuing the reference to the ship from 1) is the obvious choice. 'You arrived on a good ship' or 'on no good ship'. 6 is more conjectural: e.g. 'fitted (ἐξηρτυμένης) with . . . eyes' (referring to the eyes commonly painted on prows) or 'tackle' (στολομοῖσιν, cf. Aesch. *Supp.* 715).

7 '... hand, and you got there', assuming παρ- rather than προσεστάθης. Whose hand? Surely God's (cf. 15). One would expect 'and/but God held his hand over you', ὑπερέσχε (cf. *Il.* 4. 249, Solon 4. 4, Th. 757 f., Hom. epigr. 14. 2, etc.), but I do not think an unaugmented form would be possible, and propose προέσχε instead.

8-10. 'But I am concerned about the cargo.' As Peek and others have seen, this must be negated. Archilochus is *not* concerned about the cargo so much as about his friend. If he mentions it, it must be because it has in fact suffered. The two next lines, 'whether it is lost [or] there is some way to [...]', suggest that it was not actually jettisoned at sea. Perhaps a storm arose in the treacherous Cretan sea, and the ship listed so alarmingly that it was deemed advisable to deposit the cargo, or part of it, at the first port of call, with the hope of eventually being able to recover it.

11-14. '(The cargo may possibly be recovered,) but I should not find [another



such as you, if] the salt swell had washed you away, [or . . .] at the hands of warriors [ . . .] your fine manhood (or womanhood) had been lost.' Achilles declined Agamemnon's offer of treasure as being less important than his life (*Il.* 9.406–9):

ληϊστοὶ μὲν γάρ τε βόες καὶ ἴφια μῆλα,  
κτῆτοὶ δὲ τρίποδες τε καὶ ἵππων ξανθὰ κάρηνα.  
ἀνδρὸς δὲ ψυχὴ πάλιν ἔλθειν οὔτε λειστή  
οὔθ' ἔλετή, ἐπεὶ ἄρ κεν ἀμείψεται ἔρκος ὀδόντων.

Archilochus himself says 'I threw away my shield, but I can get another one: I saved myself'.

The reference to warriors need not imply that Archilochus' friend ran into a war as well as a storm. Death in battle as an alternative to loss at sea was a cliché; cf. fr. 89. 19–21, *Od.* 11. 398 ff., Sem. 1. 13 ff., and with a different turn Hes. *Op.* 161–5. Mention of the relevant one leads Archilochus to bring in the other by way of complement, as in 23. 10 ἐπίσταμαι τοὶ τὸν φιλέοντα μὲν φιλεῖν prompts the complement τὸν δ' ἐχθρὸν ἐχθαίρειν τε καὶ κακο[ ] μύρμηξ, which, if my interpretation of the fragment was anywhere near the truth, was much less relevant to the situation.

Was the friend just a friend, or more? Archilochus had a brother-in-law who met his death at sea and was mourned by the poet. We are not told whether he was a professional sailor-trader. If he was, Archilochus might well have said to him on the occasion of an earlier escape 'I should not find such another husband for my sister if you had been lost'.

15. '[But as it is . . .] . . ., and God preserved you.' ]θεῖ is difficult to supplement; one would expect -εῖ to be written for a 3rd-person contracted verb (cf. 23. 14), -εαι or -ηι for a 2nd-person middle (cf. ib. 21), and εἰς for 'you are' (29. 4 and 8; Adesp. iamb. 11. 5).

Lines 1–18, then, make a coherent and well-balanced piece of writing. To enable this to be more easily appreciated, I print here a supplemented text that embodies the conclusions reasoned above. I make no claims for its verbal precision, but believe that the general train of thought is correctly represented. The marginal figures in brackets indicate the approximate number of letters by which the supplement printed falls short of the apparent space available. (It nowhere exceeds it.)

- (Vocative), χαῖρε:] νητὶ σὺν σ[μ]ικρῇ μέγαν  
(-2) πόντον περήσ]ας ἤλθεσ ἐκ Γορτυνίης·  
] . . ογηγ. γ. πεσάθη[[γ]]  
] καὶ τόδ' ἀρπαλ[ι]ζομαι.  
οὐ δὴ ἄπι νηὸς κρ]ηγύης ἀφίκε]ο,  
ἐσθλοῖσιν ὄφθα]λμοῖσιν ἐξ[ηρτυμέν]ης,  
θεὸς δὲ προέσχε] χεῖρα, καὶ π[αρ]εστ[ά]θης,  
κέρδος κολ]ούσας· φ[ο]ρτίων δὲ μοι μέ[λ]ετ  
(-2)<sup>1</sup> ἥμιστα, σέο σωθέν]τος, εἴτ' ἀπώλετο  
εἴτ' οὖν τις ἦ φέρους ἄ]ν ἐστῆ μηχανή.

<sup>1</sup> But σωισθεντος might have been written.

- (-1) φιλων<sup>2</sup> δ' ἂν ἔλλ[ο]γ οὔτιν' εὐροίμην ἐγὼ  
 τοιοῦτον, εἰ σ]ῆ κῦμ' ἄλδς κατέκλυσεν  
 ἦ ]ν χερσὶν αἰχμητέων ὕπο  
 ῥ]βην ἀγλ[α]ήν ἀπ[ώ]λεσ[α]ς<sup>2</sup>
- (-1) νῦν δ' ἦ μὲν ἀν]θεῖ, καὶ σε θε[ός] ἐρ]ρύσατο  
 ]. κᾶμῆ μουνωθέντ' ἴδ.,  
 ]γ, ἐν ζόφῳ δὲ κελμενο(ς)  
 τὸ πρῶτον, αὐτις] ἔ[ς] φά[ος] κ]ατεστάθη.

Three things are obvious. The addressee, a sea-trader, is a man and not a woman; there is not the slightest connexion between these lines and fr. 23; and they have a beginning, a middle and an end, which strongly suggests a self-contained poem.

The following poem, 25, was preceded by a heading, whose nature can no longer be determined; this one was not, nor should we expect that every poem in the book was. Elsewhere in the papyri division of poems is indicated by paragraphus and coronis, with no extra space between lines, and that will have been the case here.

### Fr. 25

3-4 seem to be a facetious illustration of the opening proposition, thrown in before the real subject of the poem is reached. 5 looks back to 1-2: Archilochus is able to guarantee the generalization from his personal experience. His story begins in 6-8.

κάγαθόν (7) was probably preceded by another adjective; the alternative is a new verb at the beginning of 8. If the structure was 'A . . . Zeus gave me who was . . . and good in social terms' (for μετ' ἀνδράσι cf., besides *Il.* 13. 461 cited by Lobel, *Alcm.* 5 fr. 2 i 9 οὐ γὰρ πολυπήμων Κά[λα]ισος ἀνήρ πεδ' ἀνδρῶν οὐ[δ'] ἄγριος, and 16 οὐκ ἦς ἀνήρ ἀγρεῖος οὐδὲ σκαιὸς οὐδὲ πὰρ σοφοῖς), the missing noun will have specified a personal relationship. The space available is surprisingly wide, about ten letters. I have thought of προπάτορα or τὸν πατέρα. In 7, Lasserre's ἐσθλόν τ' might do, though it is on the short side. (Elided vowels are not elsewhere written in this papyrus.)

Eurymas (8) annoyed Castor with malicious accusations against Polydeuces; Castor told his brother, who gave Eurymas a sound boxing. In the present passage Eurymas seems to function as a proverbial διάβολος. For the idiom see Headlam on Herondas 2. 90. οὐδέ may have been preceded by a relative (τὸν Steffen), or may itself be the sentence-connective.

If 6 began τὸν πατέρα, it is a possibility that Archilochus' chosen illustration of the variety of men's tastes was his father's love for a slave-girl, Enipo, which resulted in the birth of the poet. We know that Archilochus told of this somewhere. (Cf. p. 28.)

### Fr. 26

6. The better attested σφας occurs in 146. 9; σφεας in 10. 2 (hexameter).

<sup>2</sup> Or γαμβρόν.

*Fr. 28*

14 ἰδη, because the trema over the iota indicates that it is initial. Before it perhaps ἡμέων or ὕμέων, but then preceded by a proclitic monosyllable to satisfy the conditions of the Wilamowitz – Knox law (above, p. 113).

16. A proper name must be assumed here. Even so, the sequence of letters read by Lobel seems improbable. Δυκηρίδης appears in *Et. Magn.* p. 165. 6 in a discussion of patronymics, and presumably came from a literary source.

*Fr. 29*

2, or the cancelled δ an alternative such as τ may have been written above, where the papyrus is broken off; or ἡδ' may be being corrected to ἡ' (elided ἡέ as in *Adesp. iamb.* 35. 8; see above, p. 115). The following name is prosodically puzzling. Possibly -ιαδεω was written by mistake for -ίδεω or -άδεω; or the iota is consonantalized (above, p. 86).

In 7, the Wilamowitz – Knox law requires a monosyllable before /δπη / δύνει (and so in 3 if δάνος is right). Possibilities are εἰ δ', ρεῖ δ', κεῖ δ' (fr. 268), θεῖ δ'. Of these I find the last most attractive, because the adverbs in -η (ἦ, δπη, etc.) are in Ionic verse regularly used with verbs of motion and refer to a route or direction. Cf. fr. 88; 95. 4 ? 'Run wherever you can' might well be followed by (8) 'you are extraordinary'.

*Fr. 34–37*

I have conjecturally placed these fragments in association with ones which more clearly refer to licentious behaviour by Lycambes' daughters. The possibility I have in mind is that in 34 they are demanding a fee, the verb διαίγω meaning 'ferry' as a sexual metaphor (cf. *Sem.* 7. 54 ?); this might be followed by 35, if its implication is 'we have a willing servant, we don't depend on you' (cf. *Aesop. fab.* 215 Perry, cited by Lasserre). 36–7 would suit the precinct of Hera mentioned as the scene of the girls' meeting with Archilochus by Dioscorides in the epigram quoted on p. 15 of the edition. 'They lay down in the shadow of the wall.'

*Fr. 38*

The false interpretation of ὑπέρτερος as 'younger' in *Il.* 11. 786 was illustrated from this line. But we cannot be sure that Archilochus meant 'younger'. In default of evidence or intrinsic likelihood that 'upper' could stand for 'younger',<sup>8</sup> we might perhaps think of an orgiastic context in which he could speak literally of the 'upper' daughter of Lycambes. Cf. fr. 41.

*Fr. 41*

The fragment describes the motions of a girl sitting astride a man. The πέτρα προβλής, while ornithologically appropriate (cf. [Theophr.] *de signis* 16 p. 391 Wimmer, with E. Maass, *Aratea*, p. 354), had a human reference too. The Aratus scholiast quotes it in support of his suggestion that κόρακες flap their wings for a moment after landing because they are pleased at arriving (ὄφ' ἡδονῆς, τὴν κοίτην καταλαμβάντες). For in Archilochus, he says, someone rock-

<sup>8</sup> In Pind. *Nem.* 6. 21 ὑπέρτατος means 'eldest'

ing with pleasure (ὕφ' ἡδονῆς σαλευομένη) is compared to a bird flapping its wings in this way.

The verb *σαλεύομαι* is used as a sexual metaphor by Dioscorides epigr. 5. 6 and 7. 4 (*Anth. Pal.* 5. 54–5; cf. Rufinus, *ib.* 60). It might have been used by Archilochus here (not, of course, the participle, but e.g. *κάσαλεύετο*); but the word was widely used in later prose, and it may well be the scholiast's own choice. *κορώνη*, however, cannot be. If he wrote it at all, he must have taken it from Archilochus. *κορώνη* would then be a term for 'prostitute' (Dover, *Hardt Entretiens* x. 185 n. 1), or else a proper name. There are two objections that apply equally to either of these possibilities. One is that, since a real *κορώνη* might ἀπετύσσειν ἐπὶ πέτρης προβλήτος (cf. [Theophr.]), one would have expected Archilochus to go ahead with his comparison without bringing in a second bird, making it a pun instead of a simile. The other is that one would not have expected the scholiast to refer so familiarly to such a *κορώνη* or Κορώνη, especially as it was liable to be confusing to his readers.

I therefore conclude that *κορώνη* is an intrusion for which the ornithological nature of the context is responsible. *κόρη* and *πόρη* are possibilities; so is simple deletion.

ὥσπερ is the scholiast's word, leading into the verbatim quotation. Archilochus must have used a similar one. Wilamowitz's ὥστε is likely, cf. fr. 224.

ἀπτερόσσω, though an odd word, seems guaranteed by Aratus' ἀπτερόν-ται and the Hesychian gloss ἀπταρόσσειται· πέττειται. The change of ερ to αρ seen in the latter is a genuine dialect feature of North-West Greek; the most likely poet to have been affected by it is perhaps Pindar (through Delphic).

### Fr. 43

The fragment comes to us in two lines of tradition. In the one represented by the *Etymologica*, it was quoted for the word ὄτρυγηφάγου, and the fullest extant form of the quotation is ἡ δὲ οἱ σάθη ὄση τ' ὄνου κήλωνος ὄτρυγηφάγου, *prima facie* a complete trimeter and the end of a preceding one. (Cf. ἡ δὲ οἱ κόμη at the end of 31. 1.) In the other line of tradition, κήλων is the word at the focus of interest, and we are given ὥστ' ὄνου Πριηνέως κήλωνος ἐπλήμυρον, again *prima facie* from trimeters. It would be an excess of scepticism to doubt that the two quotations are to be combined. Bergk neatly joined them in one of the epodic metres:

ἡ δὲ οἱ σάθη  
ὥστί τ' ὄνου Πριηνέως  
κήλωνος ἐπλήμυρον ὄτρυγηφάγου.

This has found general approval. But both source-traditions are lacunose, and we cannot be sure that there is not still something missing. My placing of the fragment among the trimeters rests on the following considerations:

- (i) The fragment belongs to a narrative account of sexual goings-on. This is characteristic of trimeters; it is also found in the Cologne epode, but without the earthy vocabulary seen in the trimeter fragments and here.
- (ii) All the other fragments in the metre 3 *ia* | 2 *ia* apparently come from one poem, the indignant address to Lycambes which incorporated the fable of

the fox and the eagle. It is hard to believe that this poem, which cannot have been short, was further extended by a description of the daughters' sexual adventures; it would by no means advance the injured fiancé's case. The alternative that the fragment comes from a second poem cannot be excluded, but I have judged it more probable that it belongs with its trimeter kin.

*Fr. 45*

Photius' interpretation ἀπάγξασθαι is absurd, and must derive from the story that Lycambes' family or part of it hanged themselves. This implies that Lycambes is one of the people referred to in the fragment.

*Fr. 46*

Cf. below on Hipponax fr. 57.

*Fr. 47*

Perhaps virgin priestesses of Hera driving the miscreants away from the temple with sticks.

*Fr. 48*

5-6. Lobel's placing of the Athenaeus fragment here, though received sceptically by Peek (*Phil.* 99, 1955, 207) and Treu (pp. 187, 200), will be accepted by most. The words καὶ στῆθος cannot have opened many lines, ἐβουλόμην in 18 suits a narrative, and τροφός + verb in 5 neatly fits the accusative -μένας. The latter had been suspected of assimilation to the following κόμας, partly because of the Hesychian gloss ἐσμυριχμῆναι. I believe the truth to be the opposite: an original κόμην has been assimilated to -μένας. Not that the plural would have been ambiguous; but Archilochus uses the singular κόμη in fr. 31, and if he had used the plural here because he was speaking of more than one girl, as Greek idiom allows but does not demand, he would hardly have linked it with καὶ στῆθος.

The Hesychian gloss evidently comes from an Ionian poet. (Lesbian would have \*ἐμυριχμῆναι.) It may easily stand for -μένας, and so have come from this passage. But the nominative may have occurred elsewhere in Archilochus or (say) Semonides. I have therefore given it a place in the iambic adespota (61).

*Fr. 49*

7. Vocative φιλῆτα is not easy to reconcile with πωλοσμένω. It is a theoretical possibility that Archilochus used φιλῆτα as a dative; cf. Antimachus fr. 36 πατρὶ τε κυανογαῖτα Ποσειδάωνι παποιθῶς, and later examples quoted by Wyss ad loc. It would be surprising if Archilochus availed himself of such an artificiality, though I hesitate to exclude it in view of the equally artificial vocative ὠρανιαφι attributed to Alcman fr. 28 (cf. Page, *Alcman, The Parthenion*, p. 127).

*Fr. 67*

The scholiast on Theocritus states that φυτόν was here used of a 'growth' in the medical sense. What kind of a growth did Archilochus, if he was the speaker, exult in knowing a remedy for, better than surgery? In fr. 66 he uses

the metaphor for what must be a penis: φῦμα μηρῶν μεταξύ. So here. The troublesome growth is an erect penis, and the cure is a woman. ἐπεισίω, if rightly recognized in 11, is confirmation of a sexual context, and 9, if subjunctive, might be another reference to erection. Fr. 66 may belong to the preceding part of the same poem. The reciter might suitably have worn an artificial phallus; cf. p. 30.

4. ἦσιν is the most likely word for Archilochus to have used. Corruption to εἰκασιν might occur by way of εἰάσιν.

10. μενοιένων is a plausible conjecture. In ordinary verbs in -άω, -έω, the participle would be scanned -έων, but μενοιένάω has a long stem-vowel, like διψάω, and Archilochus has διψέων uncontracted in fr. 125. 1.

#### Fr. 89

The fragment describes an episode in the conflict between Paros and Naxos, for which cf. fr. 94. The future and present tenses indicate a still critical situation.

1. ἀμφικαπνίλουςιν is future of -ίζω; for the accent see Wackernagel, *Kl. Schr.*, pp. 828–30; Chantraine, *Gramm. hom.* i. 451.

4–8. 'Daring and courage fill the νέοι, who long to get onto Naxos and destroy their orchards, but the older men restrain them'?

19–21. Some [have fallen] at Thasos and Torone, others [have died] at sea'? Cf. on 24. 11–14.

28. Erxies appears also in fr. 88 and perhaps 110. He is always assumed to be a friend of Archilochus', but the inquiry in 88 and the appeal here would be more suitably addressed to a god, and the name seems to be a title, Defender. Herodotus gives it as the meaning of the name Darius (6. 98), which modern Iranists interpret as 'he who holds firm the good' (R.G. Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 189). The continuation of the prose narrative implies a prayer at the end of the fragment.

#### Fr. 91

The text printed is the result of repeated and protracted study of the papyrus itself and of an infra-red photograph. I should warn others who may concern themselves with the fragment that the suggestions of the photograph are often deceptive, and that they will need to work from the original.

3. I suggest in the apparatus that ἀκήρατος referred to gold, as in fr. 93a. 6. Perhaps the possibility should also be entertained that it is a proper name, since Akeratos appears towards the end of the sixth century as the name of a man who held the office of archon in both Paros and Thasos (J. Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos* i, 1954, 269 f.). A homonymous forebear of this worthy might have been named by Archilochus.

30–1. After the text was set up in print it occurred to me that what looks like καινων in the papyrus might really be κλινων, a likely word to appear in the vicinity of τάλαντα. E.g.

εἰ . . .

ἐς μέσον, τάλαντα δὲ Ζεὺ[ς] ἔλκ[ε] ἐπ' Ἴσα, μήτε τῶν

μήτε τῶν κλίνων μέτωπα, συμ[ικρ]

(μέτωπον = front line in battle, Aesch. *Pers.* 720, etc.)

## Fr. 93

I will content myself with a summary of the situation described, or as much as can be gathered from what is legible. For other attempts see Leo, *Ausgew. kl. Schr.* ii. 140-2; A. Hauvette, *Archiloque*, pp. 56-8; L. Weber, *Phil.* 74, 1917, 113; C.M. Bowra in *New Chapters in Greek Literature*, iii. 61; Hiller von Gaertringen, *NGG* 1934, 47 f.; V. Steffen, *Eos* 47, 1954, 53-8; Lasserre - Bonnard, p. 32; S. Luria, *Phil.* 105, 1961, 185-7; G.L. Huxley, *Greek Roman & Byzantine Studies* 5, 1964, 23 f.

The son of Pisistratus went from Paros to Thasos, taking with him some other men (who are mysteriously associated with music) and some gold. From the fact that the gold was afterwards 'restored' to the Parians, I infer that it was public money (and hence that the son of Pisistratus was on an official mission), and that it did not reach its intended recipients. We are told that he gave it to certain Thracians; but then that he and his men killed the Thracians. We surmise that the latter had performed whatever service was required of them, and that the perfidious Parians killed them in order to recover the gold and apply it to the purpose intended by their city. Their nefarious conduct was discovered. Some of them were killed by a Parian party, the rest escaped to Sapai, evidently the town on the mainland from which the Sapaioi took their name, and were killed there by Thracians. The gold was returned to its rightful owners, whether by the Thracians or by the Thasians.

## Fr. 94

The verses are quoted as evidence of a heavy defeat inflicted on Naxos by Paros. But we cannot be quite sure that the retreating army described in them is that of the Naxians, for line 6 may herald a reversal of fortunes, and the quotation may have gone on for many lines more. In 3, ὠρινεν seems the preferable reading. Cf. *Il.* 16. 280 ff.,

πᾶσιν ὀρίνηθη θυμός, ἐκίνηθεν δὲ φάλαγγες . . .  
πάπτηθεν δὲ ἑκάστος, ὅπη φύγοι αἰπὺν ἐλεθρον,

and 18. 223; also 11. 521, 14. 14 = 15. 7, etc. καρδίην corresponds to the Homeric θυμός. For ὠτρυνεν one could quote *Il.* 5. 470 al. ὄτρυνε μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἑκάστου, but καρδίην is less easily substituted there.

There is no parallel for λεώς feminine. Hiller von Gaertringen suggested that it was a sarcasm like Homer's 'Ἀχαιίδες οὐκέτ' Ἀχαιοί. One might add vase-inscriptions such as ἡ παῖς καλός, Ἱπποδάμιας καλή (Robinson - Fluck, *Greek Love Names*, pp. 11, 110, 119, 174), and the joke in *Ar. Nub.* 680. Empedocles B 62 uses πολὺκλαυτος as a purely ornamental epithet of women. Another way out is offered by Steffen, *Eos* 47, 1954, 57: γῆς πολυκλαύτου, for which we may compare fr. 20 κλαίω τὰ Θεσίων . . . κακά, *Soph.* 733 Θήβης τῆσδ' ὀμόπτολις λεώς, *OC* 1325 τὸν Ἄργους . . . στρατόν. In this case the army will be that of the Parians. αὐτῆς, however, gives no good sense on either interpretation. αὐτῆ (Steffen, Peek, Lasserre) or αὐτῆς would.

The next sentence is particularly difficult. κείνης ἡμέρης recalls ἡματι κείνῳ in battle contexts at *Hes. Th.* 667, *Il.* 4. 543, 21. 517. The genitive makes it 'in the course of that day' (Kühner - Gerth i. 386 f.).

νηλεῖ[ suggested to Hiller von Gaertringen the name Neleos (Νήλεως) or Neileos. (Neileos the son of Codrus and founder of Miletus is connected with Naxos by a story in Ael. *V.H.* 8. 5.) He supposed this Neleos to be a Naxian tyrant of Archilochus' time. Huxley (see on fr. 93) identifies him with the son of Pisistratus. But firstly there is no evidence that Naxians were involved in the episode which is the subject of fr. 93: I have argued above that Pisistratus' son is a Parian. Secondly, he and his cronies were killed in the sequel: Demeas has just told us this himself, and cannot have referred the present poem to a later year if he had any inkling that the son of Pisistratus appeared in it.

#### Fr. 98

A vivid account of a battle for a city. (Cf. 89.) The 'we' in 14 do not appear to be the attackers in 15. If ν[η][υ]σίν is right, we are not the defenders either, but Tarditi's αἰχμ[η]σιν makes for a simpler situation. The wall is mentioned in 9–10 as being built of [very large?] stones. Λεσβίω[ in 11 has reminded people of the Lesbian paean in fr. 121, but in the present context paeans would be premature. The drift of the two following lines is equally uncertain. Then, perhaps, we brought destruction on them with a hail of spears while they, πονεόμενοι, set ladders about the wall. The feminine subject in 17 was possibly a μηχανή clad in iron (Peck's σιδ[η]ρον εἰμένη could be accommodated, I think, if the previous word ended -με[ι], and I can think of no alternative), which was in some way capable of being switched, (-)ἀμειπτή. The missiles then reappear in augmented form.

#### Fr. 106

There can be no serious doubt that these verses, faultless in metre and dialect, direct and forceful in style, are by Archilochus. H. Wood, *Mus. Hclv.* 23, 1966, 228 ff., has a theoretical objection to the use of προμηθέομαι at so early a date, but I do not find his argument compelling, and am unwilling to believe, without better evidence, that tetrameters in the old style were composed by anyone in the third century B.C. Nor am I convinced by I. Boserup, *Classica et Mediaevalia* 27, 1966, 28–38, that the verses are trimeters.

Less certain, but nevertheless very attractive, is Croenert's suggestion that they belong to the sequel of fr. 105, and thus that (if we accept what Heraclitus tells us about Γλαῦχ' ἔρα) the situation described is an allegory. (So Adrados, *Aegyptus* 35, 1955, 206–9.) It has not been noticed, apparently, that the proposal to slacken sail, followed by a prayer to a god, agrees with what Plutarch (*de superstil.* 8 p. 169b, printed under fr. 105) represents as the helmsman's reaction to the danger stated in the other fragment. There is nothing to show whether Plutarch is following up his quotation with a paraphrase of its sequel or just using it in his own way, but the correspondence with the papyrus text lends weight to the former alternative and to Croenert's combination.

3. I do not see how anyone but a god can be asked to οὐρίην ἔχειν. Zeus, Poseidon, and the Old Man are the most likely candidates, and as the name has got to be fitted in at the beginning of 4, Zeus wins. He is also the most



suitable on the score that the prayer is not really for safety at sea but for salvation in the impending political situation.

4. *σάου θ' ἐταί[ρ]ους ὄφρα σοι μεμνῶμεθα* [κἀπὶ γῆς, implied promise of dedication when the danger is surmounted, expressed in a purpose clause as in Th. 775 ff.

### Fr. 112

If all the verses belong to the same poem, which is far from certain, the legible words suggest the following situation. A city is awaiting the attack of an enemy army (2). The young men are full of anticipation (5), and their protecting goddess, the Kourotrophos (attested for Attica and Samos: ps.-Hdt. *vit. Hom.* 30; Prehn, *RE* xi. 2215; Wilamowitz, *Glaube d. Hellenen* ii. 202, 204), is naturally concerned (6). At this critical juncture a wedding is being lavishly celebrated. Archilochus mocks the bridegroom, who behaves as if he were a favourite of Aphrodite and of fortune (8-12). Cf. perhaps Catullus 29. 6-8.

### Fr. 113

1-6 are the last verses of a poem, not necessarily the same one that was in progress at the end of the preceding column – the gap may easily have contained fifty verses. But there is a possibility that Aphrodite appeared in the last line, in the same position as in 112. 11.

The next poem begins with an indignant or bantering address to a commander. Of various possibilities for the structure of the first sentence, the most attractive, to my mind, is that it is a question ending at *πείρειαι*, followed by *λίην λιάζεις* as a comment. So Peek, who restores

Ἄρχος εὖ μαθ[ώ]ν ἄκοντι τ[υ]πτέμεν, τί κήδεσιν  
πείρειαι;

'O Archus, well-trained to wound with the javelin, why are you transfixed by cares? You overdo it.' For Ἄρχος as a proper name he refers to Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen d. Griechen*, p. 84. *-έμεν*, however, is not a form of the infinitive that we find or expect in iambic verse; and in the attempt to make sense of *πείρειαι* as 'you are transfixed' Peek leaves the javelin looking remarkably irrelevant.

Lobel considers the possibility that *πείρειαι* may be from *πειρώμι*. There are parallels for such a form (Kühner – Blass i. 182, ii. 146, adding Th. 73); and as the ending *-αι* is elsewhere monosyllabic in trimeters and tetrameters except at the end of the verse, the present disyllabic scansion may imply shortening from *-ῆαι* or *-εῖαι* (cf. above on fr. 67. 10). If so, it is best written with a paroxytone accent. The verb offers much more promising sense than *πείρω*. 'Why, when you are accomplished with the javelin, do you try your hand . . . ? You overdo it.' This leads us to look for a weapon that can be contrasted with a javelin. But before we do so, what kind of circumstances could prompt such a question at the outset of a poem?

I suggest that the circumstances are those of the poem in the preceding column, fr. 112, and that the unaccustomed activity to which the commander (or Mr Archus) has turned is marrying. Instead of his throwing spear he is

trying out a thrusting weapon. E.g. τ[ί]ξίφει × - ~ -. Or the verse ending ]ξίφει[ in fr. 153. 3 might conceivably be this one.

### Fr. 115

I have placed this after fr. 114 to suggest the possibility of a connexion. 'Leophilus' appears to be a political leader, which a στρατηγός well may be; and there is the imitation in Com. adesp. 1325 (ap. Plut. *praec. gerendae rei p.* 15 p. 811e),

Μητίοχος μὲν γὰρ στρατηγεῖ, Μητίοχος δὲ τὰς ὁδοῦς,  
Μητίοχος δ' ἄρτους ἐπωπᾶ, Μητίοχος δὲ τέλφριτα,  
Μητίοχος δὲ πάντα ἴποιεῖται, Μητίοχος δ' οἰμώζεται.

The text presents great problems. The fragment is quoted as an example of polyptoton, and it must contain the name Leophilus in four different cases. It is true that Zonaeus, *de figuris* iii. 168. 16 Spengel, illustrates polyptoton with an example that is in fact a mere case of anaphora: οὗτος ἦν φίλος αὐτοῦ, οὗτος προστάτης, οὗτος κηδεμῶν ἦν. But ps.-Herodian starts with a very exact example in which the name Demosthenes comes in the nominative, genitive, dative, accusative and vocative (the ancient order of cases), then quotes Archilochus, and then Anacreon with the qualification ἐπὶ τριῶν (πτώσεων). Anacreon has the genitive, dative and accusative. Clearly the Archilochus fragment did not contain three different cases, much less two, but four, if not all five. (Spengel raised the possibility that a verse had fallen out, iii p. ix.) So much is recognized by Dindorf (Ἰωαννοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέως Τονικᾶ Παραγγέλματα. Αἰθίου Ἡρωδιανοῦ περὶ σχημάτων, Lips. 1825), Lobel (*CQ* 22, 1928, 116), and Pfeiffer (*Hist. of Class. Scholarship*, i. 13), but they make no attempts to restore the text.

We cannot necessarily assume that the order of cases was the standard one; in examples of polyptoton quoted by Alexander (iii. 34 Sp.) and Anon. *de figuris* (iii. 139: cf. Hermog. ii. 338 Sp.), the cases appear in no fixed order. However, the manuscript evidence suggests that it was the standard order, just as in the adjacent examples. In the first line, it was natural for Λεώφιλος δ' ἐπικρατεῖ to establish itself, as *lectio facilior*, provided that ἐπικρατεῖ was close to the original word. Bergk's tentative ἐπι κράτος was an obvious shot, but we would expect ἐπὶ in such an expression to govern the dative (*Hymn. Dem.* 150, Th. 171, etc.). ἔπια κρατεῖ (Schneidewin), ἔπος κρατεῖ (Ahrens), ἔστιν κράτη (Nauck) are all unidiomatic and also violate the Wilamowitz - Knox law. Hoffmann's ἐπικρατέα or -ῆ, representing -εα, is ingenious, but lacks a parallel: the tendency in Ionic was for -εα to be replaced by -εῖη or -ῆῖη, and Archilochus himself probably has ἀληθεῖη, fr. 23. 16, ἀναιδεῖην 124 (b) 5. I can only think of ἐπικρατεῖν, but observe that if Archilochus chose Λεωφίλου δ' ἐπικρατεῖν here in preference to Λεώφιλος δ' ἐπικρατεῖ, he was going out of his way to vary the cases.

In the second line we have a choice between accusative and vocative. The first is the more promising metrically, though both have been made the basis of conjectures: Λεώφιλ' ἀλλὰ κλαῦσαι Schneidewin (cf. Com. adesp. l.c.; but against Porson's law); Λεώφιλ' ἔς) δ' ἀκούε <μεν> Ahrens; Λεώφιλον δ' ἀκούε(τω) Hoffmann (meaning?). If some part of ἀκούω is correct, and has

Λεώφιλον as its object, the sense will be 'hear the name Leophilus'. ἀκούομεν would be flat by itself, but possible followed by 'all the time'. I have also thought of ἔκουε <πᾶς> (the next word in the text is παρά); this would give a verbal balance with πάντα κείται, and imply that Leophilus was constantly issuing proclamations. (ἔκουε πᾶς Ar. *Thesm.* 372; commonly ἀκούετε λεώ.)

The manuscript tradition of the various treatises *de figuris* and *de tropis* is very sketchily known (cf. CQ 15, 1965, 233). Further investigation of it may contribute something towards the solution of our problems, though the four new manuscripts that I have consulted fail to do so. Four further manuscripts in which the treatise is contained are Paris. Supp. gr. 1091 (s. xvi), Vat. gr. 1733, Vallicellianus Allatianus 137, and Scorialensis Ψ IV 4 (A.D. 1571).

#### Fr. 120

ὥς in fr. 118 calls for a following ὥς, 'I wish I could touch Neoboule's hand as surely as . . .'. Cf. *Il.* 8. 538-41. If the present fragment is the sequel, the whole would make an acceptable opening to a drinking-song.

We have to choose between (i) hiatus before (F)ἀνακτος, (ii) elided -οιο. The first occurs in elegiacs at fr. 1. 1, but the only digamma-hiatuses attested in Archilochus' iambics are with the enclitic pronoun. However, its admission in a religious formula seems to me less objectionable than the alternative, for not only is the epic -οιο itself foreign to iambics, but its elision is foreign to epic, occurring to my knowledge only in Lasus (*Melici* 702. 1), his follower Pindar (several times), and Bacchylides (5. 62; f.l. in 17. 42).

#### Fr. 128

2. It is a pity that we have no papyrus here, for the probability is that it would instantly put an end to our uncertainty. The conjectures fall into two groups, according to whether they accept *δυσμενῶν* (which should then be -έων, cf. p. 96) or postulate *μένων*. If *δυσμενέων* is right, the genitive is governed by *ἐναντίον*, but it might have been more natural to write *δυσμενέας*. *ἔνα δέ* and *ἔνα σύ* are both palaeographically plausible, more so than *ἔνεχε*. (I have not quoted Buecheler's *ἀνάδῦ*, as there is no reason to think it a possible form.) Attempts with *μένων* go back to Emperius (*ἀντίχου*). Bergk's *ἀναδύου* would best account for the intrusion of *δυσ*, but *ἀνέχομαι* is much better paralleled in the required sense.

3. Hesychius' *ἔνδοκος* is probably rightly referred to this line, and gives us an ancient interpretation. But 'ambush' is out of place: direct confrontation is implied both by what precedes (*προσβαλῶν ἐναντίον στέρνον*) and by what follows (*ἐχθρῶν πλησίον κατασταθεὶς ἀσφαλῶς*), cf. Tyrt. 11. 21, 31-3. Xenophanes uses *δόκος* in the sense of *δόξα*, and one might translate 'in expectation', but I feel little conviction in this suggestion.

7. The primary meaning of *ῥυθμός* is 'shape', and Archilochus may have been acquainted with the popular notion that appears in Herodotus 1. 207. 2, *κύκλος τῶν ἀνθρωπῆϊων ἐστὶ πρηγμάτων, περιφερόμενος δὲ οὐκ ἐᾷ αἰεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐτυχεῖν*, and later (see G. Zuntz, *Persephone*, p. 320).

#### Fr. 130

1. 'Everything is easy for the gods' would be good sense; cf. Treu, p. 218. But Schneidewin's *τοὶ ρεῖα* and Wilamowitz's *θεοῖσι ρεῖα* (*Glaube d. Hellenen*, ii.

112 n. 3) both give the illicit rhythm — — — |, and it can only be avoided with βεῖα if a suitable proclitic monosyllable is put before it. (θεῖ βεῖα, for example, would give an etymological play on θεός.)

Many editions accept τίθει τὰ πάντα (Grotius) or τιθεῖν ἅπαντα (Jacobs), conjectures inspired by Trincavelli's τίθει πάντα. There is no proper parallel for such expressions; Aesch. *Pers.* 229 is quite different. Steffen's θεῖς (*Eos* 47, 1954, 62) involves the further implausibility of an excerpt beginning in the middle of a sentence. (Steffen attaches the fragment to 128.) Various other proposals are defective palaeographically (ἔτοιμα Hiller von Gaertringen) or on grounds of sense (θεῖα Kaibel; ἰθεῖα (sc. δὲσθ) Hoffmann). The best is τέλεια (Hommel, *Gymnasium* 58, 1951, 219, cl. Aesch. *Supp.* 91 f., 810, 823 f.; [Eur.] *Rhes.* 199 f.).

My own suggestion yields the sense 'put your trust in the gods'. Taken with what follows, it will suit a consolation addressed to someone (or possibly to the poet's heart) who has not only suffered a misfortune himself but seen an enemy succeed where he has failed.

5. The change from plural to singular is harsh, though perhaps possible. More strange is the conjunction of penury and mental derangement; and the words χρέμη πλανᾶται are followed in the next line in the manuscript by φήμη πλανᾶται in Stobaeus' next excerpt, from the tragedian Theodectes (where πλανᾶται is protected by Soph. *OC* 304). These are grounds for suspicion; yet the verse as it stands is perfectly metrical and grammatical, contains a choice Ionic word, and makes some sense.

#### Fr. 131

2. For ὀποίην not ὀκοίην cf. p. 90.

#### Fr. 172-181

The poem from which these fragments come is the only one of Archilochus' epodes, apart from the new Cologne epode, of whose contents we can form any real idea. It opened with an expostulation addressed to Lycambes, represented as having gone back on a promise to give his daughter to Archilochus in marriage. He must have gone out of his mind; everyone is laughing at him (172-3).

This was followed up by an αἶνος or parable. We recognize it as the fable of the fox and the eagle that appears in our Aesopic collections.<sup>4</sup> In the Aesopic version, a fox and an eagle became friends and neighbours. But one day when the fox was away, the eagle flew down and carried off its cubs to feed its own young. The fox was grieved at its loss, but more so that it was unable to reach the eagle's nest, which was in a tree, to get its revenge. It had to content itself with curses. However, they were not without effect, for it came about that the eagle snatched part of a sacrificial victim (a goat) from

<sup>4</sup> 5 Halm, 1 Hausrath and Perry, 3 Chambry; cf. Babr. 186 Crusius, Phaedr. 1. 28. A Syriac version in B. Lefèvre, *Une version syriaque des fables d'Ésope*, 1941, 36 ff.; cf. Lasserre, *Les Épodes d'Archiloque*, 38 ff. For Egyptian parallels see S. Morenz in *Festschr. Bernh. Schweitzer*, 93; Treu, *Archilochos*, p. 231; for a Babylonian parallel R. J. Williams, *Phoenix* 10, 1956, 70 ff.; I. Trencsényi-Waldapfel, *Acta Antiqua* 7, 1959, 317-27; A. Baldi, *Aevum* 35, 1961, 381-4; A. La Penna, *Riv. Fil.* 92, 1964, 28 ff.

an altar, and brought that back to its nest, not noticing that there was a fiery spark lodged in it. A strong wind caused it to blaze up, the nest was burned, and the unfledged young had no escape. (They fell to the ground and the fox ate them up – an inorganic final touch.)

In Archilochus' version the nest is not in a tree but on a high crag. There may have been other differences too, for it is not easy to see quite how all the fragments fit in. 175 tells how the eagle brought home food for its young. Despite a mention of fire in the scholium, I believe that this was the meal consisting of the fox-cub(s). The young eagles and the location of the nest are described circumstantially, as if this was the first mention of them. And I shall show that there is reason to think that 179, which must refer to the other of the two meals, refers to the smouldering victim. The scholium, if it refers to the visible column of text, may have been explaining that the *νεοσσιή* was of combustible material.

176 is puzzling. Lasserre makes it the continuation of 177: the fox pointing out to Zeus where the culprit is ensconced. But *σὴν μάχην* would be oddly referred to Zeus. (For the phrase cf. fr. 125.) It is the fox whose challenge the eagle is able to scorn by perching up on the crag. Pfeiffer, followed by Treu, accordingly postulates a third party who here addresses the fox, and finds support for this hypothesis in 181. 12, where again there is an addressee who cannot be either Zeus or the eagle. But this view creates new difficulties. Why does the fox need to be told where the eagle lives, when they have already become good friends? Who can this third creature be, and how can a place be found for it in the story? La Penna, p. 30 n. 1, puts the lines in Zeus' mouth; but it is again hard to imagine how Zeus might be described answering the fox.

I would prefer to suppose (following Mette, *Mus. Helv.* 18, 1961, 35) that the fox, on discovering its loss, first debates with itself, vowing retaliation but then admitting that the eagle's nest is completely inaccessible. (Cf. the passage of Atticus in which 176 is quoted.) Then it turns to Zeus and appeals to him (177). Somewhere in this neighbourhood 178 may have had its place. It is certainly a dimeter, and it is about eagles, for Porphyry quotes it to show that Archilochus called a certain variety of eagle *μελάμπυγος*. The black-rumped eagle had the reputation of being braver and fiercer than the white-rumped, *πύγαργος*. Someone is being warned that he is liable to encounter the fiercer sort, and it has reasonably been conjectured that the fox of our fable is warning the miscreant eagle that he may yet meet one stronger than himself (Schneidewin; Crusius, *RE* ii. 501; Adrados, *Rev. de Phil.* 82, 1956, 31). This turns out to be Zeus. – The line became proverbial, and was early brought into the story of the Cercopes. Their mother warned them against a black-rump, who turned out to be Heracles, as they discovered when he held them upside-down. Already in the fifth century the names *Μελαμπύγου λίθος* and *Κερκώπων ἔδρα* had been given to a pair of landmarks in Locris (Hdt. 7. 216). As Lobeck saw (*Aglaophamus*, p. 1299), the story of the Cercopes has nothing to do with Archilochus. – For a different interpretation see E. Fraenkel, *Aeschylus, Agamemnon*, ii. 68 f.

179 is quoted for the word *αἰγνός*, which is interpreted as 'grievous', 'harmful', or, very forcedly, 'eternal', on the ground that a dinner survives if

he who is due to eat it dies first. These interpretations presuppose that this was the dinner that set fire to the nest, and 180 may well have been the next line. Lasserre proposed the combination in *Les Épodes* (p. 44), but later, after the publication of P. Oxy. 2315, decided that the papyrus fragment referred to the bringing of the fatal meal and accordingly that 179 concerned the earlier repast.

In 181 we have 'knew the disaster . . . wits . . . helpless' in lines 2-4, and then in 6-9 a cluster of masculine participles that evidently refer to the eagle, 'mindful of . . . having drenched . . . path swiftly through the sky, curving its rapid wings'. The eagle may fly at any stage of the story, but the only possible relevance of *κλύσας* is in connexion with the burning nest. If appearances do not deceive, the eagle, having deposited the *δεῖπνον αἰηνές* and flown off again to fetch some water to go with it, returns to find its young roasted, is smitten with grief, but has the practical sense to let the water it is carrying fall upon the flames, before flying away to seek a new home. The story is ended, and Archilochus turns back to Lycambes. 'That was the fate of one who betrayed his trust with a friend, *σός δὲ θυμὸς ἔλπεται . . .*' – to go unpunished, presumably.

*Fr. 177*

3. Liebel's change is confirmed by line 4, and by *Od.* 17. 487 ἀνθρώπων ἔβρινον τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐφορῶντες.

*Frr. 188-191*

On the basis of the echoes it has left in Hor. *epod.* 8 and *carm.* 4. 13 (cf. Meleager epigr. 60 = *Anth. Pal.* 5. 204), it has been assumed that 188 (now enlarged by the Cologne papyrus) was the beginning of a hate-poem. This may not be certain, but 189-91 are all compatible with the hypothesis.

The purport of 189 is, I think, rightly given by Schneidewin's succinct note, 'τυφλάς ἐγγέλουας intellige membra virilia, quae receperat Neobule' – except that we do not know that Neoboule is the woman addressed. The idea that real eels are meant can lead to an explanation as ludicrous as that offered by Lasserre, *Les Épodes*, pp. 141 f. 'Blind' may simply be intended to differentiate them from real eels, whose most obvious feature is their eyes; but there may be a suggestion of 'undiscriminating, blinded by lust', cf. 191.

Athenaeus quotes the verse to show that Archilochus, like Homer, keeps the *u*-stem in the plural, as against Attic ἐγγέλις. We cannot be sure whether he himself read ἐγγέλις or -υας. Either is possible linguistically (for -υς see Chantraine, *Gramm. hom.* i. 221 f.; Herodotus manuscripts give both forms, sometimes as variants, see H. B. Rosén, *Laut- u. Formenlehre d. herodotischen Sprachform*, 1962, p. 78), but the first is much likelier metrically than -υυυ|. 'ἔ. contracte legendum' already Liebel, p. 207.

190, again, is best taken metaphorically. Archilochus is not recalling the delights of mountain walking, a most un-Greek pastime; the rocky glens are those of the woman's body. Cf. the anonymous verses quoted by Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5. 8:

αὐτὰρ ὑπ' αὐτὴν ἔστιν ἀταρπιτὸς οὐρυέσσα,  
κοιλῆ, πηλώδης· ἢ δ' ἠγγήσασθαι ἀρίστη  
ἔλσος ἐς ἱμερόεν πολυτιμήτου Ἀφροδίτης.

She was not really very enjoyable, but he had not been put off, οἶος ἦν ἐφ' ἕβης. 191 would come well after this: 'for such was the desire for sex that blinded me and robbed me of my wits'.

I do not believe in the metre of *δυσπαιπάλος*, although that is certainly what Hephaestion read. (So probably did Theocritus, epigr. 20. 2 *Μήδειος τὸ μνάμ' ἐπὶ τῷ ἑδῶ κηπέγραψε Κλείτας*.<sup>8</sup> For his imitation of metrical singularities cf. *CQ* 17, 1967, 82-4.) If it represented a legitimate alternative, it is surprising that it is so consistently eschewed not only in the five other Archilochian examples of the verse but in all later imitations with the exception noted above (Theoc. epigr. 20 and 21; Call. epigr. 39, 40, fr. 554 Pfl.; Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* 187; Hor. *carm.* 1. 4; *Anth. Pal.* 13. 8, 26-8: thirty-four verses in all). An accusative *δυσπαιπάλος*, first suggested by Bergk (but later retracted) is unacceptable for Archilochus. Sitzler's *δυσπαίπαλά θ'*, not bad palaeographically, was buttressed by reference to Call. *Hymn.* 3. 194 *παίπαλά τε κρημνοῦς τε* and schol. Ar. *Nub.* 260 *παίπαλα κελούμεν τὰ τῶν ὀρέων δύσβατα*, but *παίπαλον* is a noun to start with. For my own suggestion it may be said that the adjective goes better with 'mountain' than with 'wooded glens'. (In Hes. *Th.* 860 the text is uncertain.) For correction in a dactylic colon in the epodes cf. fr. 186, Cologne epode 13, 27.

#### Fr. 202

Presumably a dimeter, or the quotation would not stop at the same place in both sources.

#### Fr. 205

It may seem surprising that I have preferred *ἤλειφεο* of Plutarch's anecdote to Athenaeus' *ἤλειφτο*, since the Pericles of the anecdote may be consciously adapting his quotation to suit his purpose. But it was more likely to come to mind in the first place if it was originally in the second person; the corruption of *-εο* to the more familiar *-το* is very easy; and I have judged this to be the more probable reason for the discrepancy.

On the interpretation of the fragment cf. Hauvette in *Festschr. T. Gompertz*, 1902, pp. 216-9.

#### Fr. 206

*περισφυροί* in the Dublin poem about the Lycambides, and the testimony that Archilochus applied the word *παχεῖα* specifically to Neoboule, indicate that the verse belonged to an abusive account of the lady, and meant 'fat about the ankle, a revolting woman'. But it became proverbial in a more self-contained and general sense, 'a woman with fat ankles is revolting'.

In *μισσητή*, grammarians thought they found an example of the special sense 'lustful', for which they prescribe recessive accentuation. I have not followed their interpretation.

#### Fr. 215

The combination with fr. 196 is attractive in view of Hor. *epod.* 11. 1-2,

*Petti, nihil me sicut antea iuuat  
scribere uersiculos amore percussum graui,*

<sup>8</sup> But cf. A. M. Dale, *Wien. St.* 77, 1964, 30 = *Collected Papers* 203.

and *epod.* 14; but there are difficulties. As 196 is quoted by Hephaestion as a metrical example, it should be the first line of its kind in the poem it came from. It is clearly not the first line of a poem, so presumably it is the second. 215 is also not a first line (Immisch made it so only by an impossible emendation), so it must be the third if a combination is to be effected. This weakens the parallel with Horace; and in any case, we are ignoring Tzetzes' statement that the occasion of Archilochus' gloom was not love but the drowning of his brother-in-law, for which there is equally good support in a Latin poet (Catullus 68. 19, 25).

#### Fr. 217

Dettmer's *ἐν κύτει* would signify a rough 'pudding-basin' haircut. Cf. *σάφιον* in Antiphon fr. 12, Ar. *Av.* 806, *Thesm.* 838, fr. 147; and Theognostus, *can.* 56 Alpers and Phot. *κώθων· κουράς εἶδος*.

#### Fr. 222

Editors (Bergk, Hoffmann, Diehl, Lasserre, Adrados, Treu, Tarditi) have almost all printed *Ἰνας δὲ μεδέων ἀπέθρισε(ν)*, some of them declaring their belief that it was part of a trimeter. If it were, it would have to be *Ἰνας δὲ μεδέων - - ἀπέθρισεν*, since a resolved longum cannot be divided between *δέ* and *μεδ-*. It was perhaps consciousness of this that led Edmonds to transpose the words and make a dimeter, *Ἰνας δ' ἀπέθρισεν μεδέων*.

We have no evidence for the existence of a form *μέδεα*, for where it appears earlier in the Etymologicum entry it looks like a grammarian's form invented to link *μήδεα* with *μέδειν* and with the Hesiodic *μέζεα*. Nor is it likely that epic, with its avoidance of coarse words, would have tolerated *μήδεα* if such a similar form as *μέδεα* – no euphemism – had been in use in vernacular Ionic. Again, although Archilochus may have distinguished *ε* and *η* in his original copy, it would seem miraculous if *ΙΝΑΣΔΕΜΕΔΕΟΝ*, where *Ἰνας δὲ μηδέων* would scan, had survived copyists used to interpreting *E* as either vowel. Last but not least, the Archilochus quotation is apparently being produced for the purpose of supporting the statement that there is a form *μέζεα* perhaps derived from *μέσος*. Blomfield therefore conjectured *μεζέων*: sensible, but improbable on dialectal grounds (cf. my *Hes. Th.*, p. 86). I believe, therefore, that the verse was quoted to strengthen the etymology, by showing that someone did speak of the genitals as 'central'. My restoration accounts for the variant *μελέων*, and fills the lacuna suggested by the metre. *Ἰνας μελέων* will be like *Ἰνας ἄρθρων*, Ar. *Pax* 86 (cf. *ἄρθρα* of animals' genitals, Hdt. 3. 87, 4.2; Arist. *H.A.* 504<sup>b</sup>23). For *μέσων* cf. Ap. Rhod. 2. 825 *ἀνεπάλμενος ἤλασε μηρὸν αἰγίδην, μέσσας δὲ σὺν ὀστέῳ Ἰνας ἔκερσεν*, and the title *Μεσοτρῖβας* (Blaesus, *CGF* p. 191 Kaibel), with *Et. Magn.* p. 575. 10 *Σικελοὶ δὲ καὶ Ταραντῖνοι μέσα ἀποκαλοῦσιν (τὰ αἰδοῖα)*.

#### Fr. 234

Certain animals, including the deer, were held to have no *χολή* (Arist. *H.A.* 676<sup>b</sup>25), and the camel's deficiency in this respect plays a part in more than one Aesopic fable. This is no warrant for extravagant reconstructions around



the present fragment (Bergk, fr. 131; Lasserre, *Les Épodes*, pp. 83 f.). Archilochus used animal fables in two of his epodes, but he must not be turned into an avatar of Babrius. The fragment can perfectly well be addressed to a man. Cf. *Il.* 1. 225 οἰνοβαρές, κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων, κραδίην δ' ἐλάφοιο; 2. 241 ἀλλὰ μάλ' οὐκ Ἀχιλῆι χόλος φρεσίν, ἀλλὰ μεθήμων; Alc. 348 πόλιος τὰς ἀχόλω καὶ βαρυδαίμονος.

*Fr. 235*

Some garments have got stained – plural, so probably belonging to more than one person.

*Fr. 256*

The fragment which in my edition reads ἀθαλάας τε ταύρους appears in Lasserre's as ἄ ξαδ' εἰς τε θύρας (translated by the gallant Bonnard as 'Hélas! je me suis plu a rechercher ta porte'). I do not claim that my conjecture is certain, but his is absurd. It is not any kind of Greek, and no one could ever have quoted it, as the fragment is quoted, as evidence that ἄ signifies τὸ πολὺ καὶ μέγα. In obedience to private revelations concerning the metre and context of the fragment, Lasserre has emended away the one word which shows signs of a connexion with τὸ πολὺ καὶ μέγα.

Ξαδε clearly lies at the centre of the corruption, and it seems likely that we should look for an epithet of ταύρους to take the place of ἄ ξαδε εἰς, with initial ἄ- in intensifying function or what could be interpreted as such. So in Hesychius we are told that ἄ signifies, *inter alia*, τὸ μέγα, ὡς τὸ "ἀχανὲς πέλαγος", καὶ τὸ πολὺ, ὡς τὸ "ἐν ἀξύλω ὄλῃ". The *ductus litterarum* then prompts ἀθαλάας (θ/ε and λ/δ being uncial corruptions, α/εἰ early minuscule). ἀθαλής occurs in Plutarch meaning 'not flourishing, stunted'; either Archilochus meant that and was misunderstood, or there was an ἀθαλής in his time which meant 'well-grown', it fell out of use, and a negative ἀθαλής was created independently.

*Fr. 257*

Herodian writes that those who think the εἰ in πεδότριψ (or παιδότριψ, as transmitted) is long have been misled by ἀμφιτριβας in Archilochus. It follows that the latter had -τριβ-, and if it was not a genuine analogy for πεδοτριβ-, the reason must be that (at least in Herodian's judgment) it came not from ἀμφιτριψ but from ἀμφιτριβης. The long vowel itself indicates the same, for compounds in -τριβης should originally have had the prosody of the present τριβω, though we normally find -τριβης under the influence of -τριψ -τριβος (Debrunner, *Gr. Wortbildungslehre*, p. 49).

If the declension to which ἀμφιτριβας belonged was ambiguous, the last syllable must have stood in a place in the verse that admitted either a long or a short. Normally we would expect τρ to lengthen the preceding syllable in Archilochus; but no Archilochian metre admits the sequence --- X (except possibly the end of a hexameter, but ἄνδρας ἐς ἀμφιτριβας is far too crude for Archilochus in that position). This leaves us with -υ- X and the assumption of iambic or trochaic rhythm. But there is still no chance of fitting in ἄνδρας ἐς or ἄνδρας ὡς immediately before, and we must conclude that there is corruption.

*Fr. 258*

If the adjective meant 'weary', the 'sword' may have been the sexual and not the military instrument.

*Fr. 259*

A possible reference would be to the highly demanding daughters of Lycambes.

*Fr. 262*

ἀζυγία (cod.), i.e. *aziylá* in Byzantine pronunciation, is much more likely to represent ἀζυγία (*aziyéa*) than ἀζυγα (*ázigha*).

*Fr. 263*

When I take ἀηδονίς to be the word that Archilochus used in the sense of 'vagina', it may seem paradoxical of me to introduce a negative into the initial definition τόπος ἔνθα ἡδοναί. But the phrase recognizably belongs to an etymologizing interpretation, and the following ἐργαστήριον – surely not a genuine meaning that ἀηδονίς ever bore – completes the bridge between ἀηδονίς and 'vagina'. Archilochus called it ἀηδονίς, it is argued, because it is a place where you work, and work is the antithesis of pleasure. On ἐργαστήριον in this connexion cf. Headlam – Knox, *Herodas*, p. 417.

*Fr. 302*

The words εἰς πόρνης γυναικὸς ἔντερον in the Aelian passage display a fair trochaic rhythm, and πόρνη γυνή for the simple πόρνη has an archaic ring. Yet I feel altogether uneasy about the Archilochian authorship of this fragment. The verb is not so easy to accommodate as has been supposed; καταρρέει (Jacobs) is doubtful prosody (I would expect βεῖ in Archilochus), and βύσκειται (Meineke) a late form. The whole sentiment is clumsily expressed. While not obscure, it conjures up a grotesque picture that cannot have been intended. Archilochus could express himself with much greater elegance and precision than this. And ἔντερον is a moralist's word, contemptuous and anti-sensual; cf. Marc. Aur. 6. 13 καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν συνουσίαν, ἔντερου κατὰτριψις καὶ μετὰ τινος σπασμοῦ μὲξαρίου ἔκκρισις. This is not an attitude we expect to find Archilochus taking towards the female body in any circumstances.

*Fr. 324*

I have printed the fragment as it is transmitted. Most editors make considerable alterations, shuffling and repeating words in the belief that there should be at least two iambic trimeters, and that τήνελλα, or τήνελλα καλλίνικε, should appear three times. But – as was seen by L. von Sybel (*Hermes* 5, 1871, 201) and Wilamowitz (*Gr. Verskunst*, p. 286 n. 4) – the references in Pindar and the scholia to a triple refrain do not (or need not) refer to 'Archilochus', but only to the custom of acclaiming the victorious athlete in a way similar to our triple 'hip-hip: hooray!'. Archilochus was held to have invented this because a τήνελλα καλλίνικε appeared in a poem ascribed to him; or possibly, as von Sybel assumes, only a καλλίνικε.

Three made-up stories concern the circumstances of his invention. Firstly, he is said to have composed a hymn for Heracles at Olympia – because

Pindar referred to it resounding at Olympia, and because Heracles did have associations with the place. Secondly, the occasion is said to have been μετὰ τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ἀθλῶν αὐτοῦ. (μετὰ τὸν ἀθλον Αὐγέου is Tzetzes' bad conjecture, based on the text of V; when the texts of R and V are compared, it is obvious what the correct reading is.) What was the greatest of Heracles' labours? Who can say? The vagueness betrays an empty speculation. Thirdly, we hear that 'Archilochus is thought to have accorded this acclamation to himself after winning the competition for a hymn to Demeter at Paros'. As Lasserre has seen, this indicates that the cheer for Heracles appeared, devoid of context, after the *Iobacchi*, frs. 322–3. He infers further that as the *Iobacchi* bore a separate title from the *Epodes*, and there was some doubt about its authenticity, it stood at the end of the book; and the position of the 'hymn to Heracles' after it would imply that its genuineness too was disputed.

Ancient scepticism is not binding on us, but the metre and dialect of the piece, and its lack of content, are against Archilochus' authorship. The dimeters are freer than Archilochus', admitting a choriamb in place of an iambic metron. They resemble the popular verses discussed by Wilamowitz, *Gr. Verskunst* pp. 208 and 286 (*Melici* 879 (2), (3)). Two dimeters are succeeded by a trimeter, completing the simple A, A, A+ structure that underlies several Aeolic stanzas and may be seen as the matrix of Stesichorus' triads (CQ 21, 1971, 312 f.). The observance of digamma in ἀναξ has a probable parallel in Archilochus (above on fr. 120); the dual αἰχμητά has not, and duals were probably obsolete in the Ionic of Archilochus' time. Most manuscripts give the word as αἰχματά, and perhaps that should be adopted, in spite of the possibility of influence from Pindar's use of the word three odes earlier in the book. What we have before us, then, is a little song that would best be included with the carmina popularia. ἀναξ, with its religious associations, may suggest that it played a part in some cultic happening.

### Fr. 331

Interpretation and dating of the couplet must start from Stob. 3. 15. 10, Κράτης τὰ τῶν πλουσίων καὶ ἀσώτων χρήματα ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν κρημνῶν συκαῖς εἰκαῖεν, ἀφ' ὧν ἀνθρώπον μηδὲν λαμβάνειν, κόρακας δὲ καὶ ἰκτίνους, ὥσπερ παρὰ τούτων ἑταίρας καὶ κόλακας, and the similar comparison ascribed to Diogenes in 4. 31. 48 and D.L. 6. 60.

'Pasiphile', then, is out of reach of ordinary people but available to a lot of 'crows' who take advantage of her; she is an εὐήθης ξείνων δέκτρια, a hostess with a kind heart and no business sense. There is probably a play on the sexual sense of σῦκον, but βόσκουσα κορώνας does not make her into a πορνοβοσκάς, or κορώνη into a term for 'prostitute' (as Dover suggests; cf. above on fr. 41).

The comparison, applied to the money of the vulgar rich, appeared in some Cynic gnomology of the Hellenistic period. It is a typical titbit of the popular philosophy of the age, which so often used animal illustration and fables, many of them of non-Greek origin. (See *Harv. Stud.* 73, 1968, 113 ff.) This kind of material was also drawn upon by contemporary epigrammatists, and there is a presumption that our couplet is a product of that period. If it

had been by Archilochus, it would have been well known, and could hardly have been appropriated by the Cynics with no trace of acknowledgment.

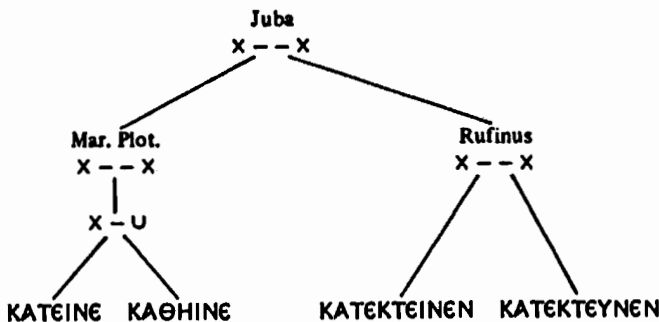
A similar conclusion has been reached by others on stylistic grounds. 'This couplet sounds quite different from everything else in the elegiac remains of Archilochus. It rings allusive, compact, clever, the sort of thing we admire without surprise in the more gifted Hellenistic epigrammatists.' (Page, *Hardt Entretiens*, x. 136.)

Finally, Athenaeus says that the couplet referred to the famous Milesian courtesan Plangon, who lived in the fourth century and was noted for her generosity to foreigners (Anaxilas fr. 22. 8 f.; Timocles fr. 25. 2) – just what the poet complains of. He cannot therefore have thought that it was by Archilochus, and the name must be corrupt. What was the correct name? Epigrams on famous courtesans, Lais, Phryne, etc. were common in the Hellenistic period. Plangon appears in Asclepiades 35 (*Anth. Pal.* 5. 202), with alternative ascription to Posidippus. Other poets who occur as alternative authors of epigrams with Asclepiades include Archelaus and Archias (*Anth. Plan.* (A) 120, *Pal.* 9. 64). I conjecture that our couplet was by Asclepiades, but that Athenaeus named Archelaus or Archias.

## HIPPONAX

### Fr. 1

Bergk's introduction of Bupalus' brother Athenis is superficially attractive, being based on the reading of cod. B of Marius Plotius, KAΘIINE. But this must be eliminated on stemmatic grounds:



The absence of Bergk's  $\tau\epsilon$  on both sides must go back to Juba: he and Plotius must both have ended their specimen choliamb with four syllables of which the first was  $\chi\alpha$ , and  $\chi\alpha\tau\epsilon\chi\tau\epsilon\iota\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon\upsilon$  alone accounts for the variants.

There is a similarity with a verse recorded by Aristotle, *de part. anim.* Γ 10 p. 673<sup>a</sup>17 ff. (Adesp. iamb. 49). He gives an Arcadian version of the folk-tale of the severed head that denounces its owner's murderer. The head belongs to a priest of Zeus Hoplosmios, and it announces repeatedly "†ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς ἀνδρα Κερκίδας ἀπέκτεινεν".

*Fr. 21*

If the transmitted text is right, it can be interpreted as κολάψαι ἐ, and translated 'he asks eight obols for pecking him on the φάλης'.

*Fr. 24*

Possibly of a garment, cf. Herondas 2. 22 f. ἐγὼ δ' οἰκέω . . . ἀσκέρας σαπρὰς ἔλκων, and below, fr. 32. 5, 34. 3.

*Fr. 25*

Evidently a quarrel; fr. 53 may have preceded.

*Fr. 26*

Perhaps a father complaining that one of his sons has reduced the household to poverty, so that he now has to scrape a living from the stony ground. For 4-5 cf. Men. *Dysc.* 3-4 τῶν δυνακμένων τὰς πέτρας / ἐνθάδε γεωργεῖν, and other passages quoted by G. Roux, *Rev. Ét. Anc.* 66, 1964, 125.

*Fr. 28*

1. The last element in κατωμόχανε (= κατ' ὤμου χάλινων) seems to have a parallel in Theodoridas, epigr. 15.6 = *Anth. Pal.* 13. 21. 6 διθυραμβοχάνα.

*Fr. 38*

Welcker defended the transmitted text as two separate examples of πάλμυς, understanding χρυσὸν ἀργύρου as = χρυσὸν ἀντὶ ἀργύρου. More recently, Tarditi (*Riv. Fil.* 40, 1962, 193) has seized on a remark of Aristophanes (*Pl.* 130-1) that Zeus rules the gods on account of his wealth, and thinks that Zeus may therefore be addressed as 'king of silver'. The suggestion is approved by Medeiros, *Hipponactea*, p. 8, but I find it bizarre. It seems to me altogether likelier that πάλμυς in line 2 is nothing but an erroneous repetition from the first line. Some manuscripts have assimilated it to the grammatical structure of the sentence, as often happens in such cases. The conjunction of accusative χρυσὸν with genitive ἀργύρου is noteworthy, and has led me to suggest κασίγνητον. Hipponax is fond of such phrases (cf. 48, 103. 10, 144), and in view of the frequency with which Tzetzes glosses his quotations, whence they often suffer interpolation (Masson, p. 50), the sacrifice of χρυσὸν is not difficult. In fr. 48, it is true, the riddle is preceded by its solution: συκῆν μέλαιναν, ἀμπέλου κασίγνητην; but here Hipponax might have followed the commoner Greek habit of giving the solution afterwards (see E. Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 494 f.).

*Fr. 50*

1. Verbs in οί- are not affected by augment in Ionic, cf. H.W. Smyth, *Ionic*, p. 472; H.B. Rosén, *Laut- u. Formenlehre d. herodot. Sprachform*, p. 153; apparatus to fr. 15.

2. Λεπρῆ ἀκτῆ must be accented after the adjective λεπρός; scribes were more

familiar with the noun λέπρα 'leprosy', and in Lyc. 642 (ἀκτὰς) λεπράς is misinterpreted as θαλάσση βεβρωμένας. Cf. schol. Theoc. 1. 40 (p. 43. 1 Wendel). The Λεπρὴ ἀκτὴ was later known as Πείλων, see Büchner in *RE* v. 2781. The name is corrupted to πρίων in Strabo, and to πρηῶν in Ant. Lib. 11.1.

### Fr. 57

Bethe's information about the manuscript readings is not correctly reproduced in any of the editions of Hipponax.

σάκοος is a wine-strainer; the word before it is a ἀπαξ λεγόμενον. If we want to make it into a word for a vat, τραπήιον (cf. τραπέω, τραπητής) is the likeliest form, and if that is where the grapes are trodden, as the cognates imply, the wine being strained is coming out of it, not going into it. The transmitted readings, however, point rather to ἐκτροπήιον. That could be an adjective with σάκοος, 'a strainer at a vat-outlet', but I am more inclined to connect it with ἐκτροπίαις (Alciphr. 1. 20, Pollux 1. 248), a term for wine that has turned sour. Cf. also LSJ<sup>9</sup> τρέπω II. 3, τροπή I. 2, τροπίαις.

But what was it that 'dripped like a strainer dripping vinegar'? In fr. 56, 'piercing the covering with thin (or stripped) pipe', we have one of those sexual metaphors from pipes and tubes that are dear to the Ionian iambographers (Archil. 42, 46, cf. Anan. 6, Eur. *Cycl.* 439, Sophron 24). Here I presume we have imagery from the same sphere, and I accordingly propose σάζουσαν. For wine as a metaphor for the vaginal secretion cf. *carm. conv.* 909. 4 (the song of Hybrias); Ar. *Plut.* 1084–5 (+ Plut. *de tuenda san.* 125a); the Sumerian love-song in Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*<sup>3</sup> p. 496; perhaps fr. 48 above.

### Fr. 62

ταμειῶ (Medeiros), besides being unsatisfactory as sense, is unacceptable prosodically. Internal correption is avoided when the preceding syllable is short (it is not to be assumed in ἐτέλευε fr. 37), probably because a resolved longum only admits the rapidest shorts (cf. *Glotta* 47, 1970, 186). It does not admit shorts belonging to different words, which makes against Nauck's ἐν τε ταμειῶ. φορμειῶ would do; cf. 84.9 and 170.

### Fr. 78

Towards the end of the fragment it becomes clear that a magical operation is being described, and ἀπ' ὧν ἐδέψατ' (with its apodotic particle) suggests that its purpose was to cure someone of impotence. There is an obvious parallel with Petronius 131, where the successful conclusion of a similar course of treatment is described: *hoc peracto carmine ter me iussit expuere terque lapillos conicere in sinum quos ipsa praecantatos purpura inuoluerat; admotisque manibus temptare coepit inguinum uires. dicto citius nerui paruerunt imperio, manusque aniculae ingenti motu repleuerunt.*

The details lend themselves readily to interpretation on these lines. Anything done with an awl (line 6) can be given a sexual symbolism and therefore used in sympathetic magic. ἐδυσφήμει (8) suggests the kind of obscene language traditional in Greek and other fertility rites. In 9–10, if my supplement is accepted, we learn that he [made use of] warm ashes (for cooking?), but avoided going in where there was red fire. Persons undergoing

certain kinds of purification are forbidden to see fire; see Frazer, *Golden Bough*, x. 20 f. In a sexual context it may be relevant to quote Hes. *Op.* 733 f.,

μηδ' αἰδοῖα γονῆ πεπαλαγμένος ἐνδόθι οἴκου  
 ἰστίη ἐμπελαδὸν παραφαινόμεν, ἀλλ' ἀλέασθαι,

and in another fragment of Hipponax (104. 20) someone who is obviously preparing for a sexual experience makes a point of covering up the fire.

In 11 something is done with an ἀθερίνη, a small fish; e.g. θύων δ' ἀθερίνην. A fish is a well-known sexual symbol, and the markings of the ἀθερίνη (see D'Arcy Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Fishes* s.v.) may have seemed propitious. The Kabeiroi are also suitable to the situation, for they were represented as ithyphallic, as is clear from Herodotus 2. 51. (This is the earliest mention of them in literature; Kadmilos is named in fr. 155b. φοίττοσε, a form attested in Asius of Samos fr. 13. 1, p. 206 Kinkel, seems the only possible supplement).

13-14, he went home, ate a dish of mulberries, and reddened this one at the nose with the juice. – I suspect that 'nose' in Hipponax's time and place was a term for 'phallus' or the tip thereof. In fr. 22 τὴν ῥίνα καὶ τὴν μύξαν ἐξαράξασα, we seem to have a reference to an accident that followed the arrangement in 17, κύψασα γὰρ μοι πρὸς τὸ λύχνον Ἀρήτη<sup>6</sup>: Arete overbalanced, forcibly expelling both the wick and – her nose? Nonsense. In fr. 118. 1 f. we read

ὦ Σάν', ἐπειδὴ ῥίνα θεό[σουλιν φύ]εις  
 καὶ γαστρός οὐ κατακρα[τεῖς].

What a sacrilegious nose may be, I cannot think, and it is surely more likely that lechery and gluttony are being mentioned in parallel, as so often. I cannot trace this sense of ῥίς outside Hipponax.

That the patient should redden the tip of his penis with mulberry-juice and then spit on it (with juice-stained saliva) makes a lucid enough piece of magic. For the spitting (self-directed) cf. the Petronius passage, and Gow on Theoc. 6. 39. The only problem is to account for τον[ . . . ], presumably τόνδε, where one would expect τὴν. Possibly ὅδε can stand for 'his phallus' as the speaker indicates his own, and ῥίνα then specifies the part.

*Fr. 79*

A mysterious narrative. In 2-4 there is folly and fisticuffs; in 5-6 some people are terrified, and one of them excretes upon something, possibly the golden wand of 7. Diehl compared Pl. *Laws* 633d: 'shall we define bravery just as resistance to fear and pain, or also to desires and pleasures and certain dangerous flatteries αἱ καὶ τῶν σεμνῶν οἰομένων εἶναι τοὺς θυμοὺς ποιοῦσιν κηρίνους?', and Ar. *Ach.* 350, ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους δὲ τῆς μαρδίας μοι συχνήν δ λάρκος ἐνετίλησεν ὡσπερ σηπία. For 2-6 as a whole cf. 73. 3-5.

Whose is the gold-gleaming wand? Hermes uses such a wand to send people to sleep, *Od.* 24. 2, but 9 is incompatible with his just having been

<sup>6</sup> In fr. 112, the line-end ]ητη is followed four lines later by ]ασα. This may be fortuitous.

mentioned. I suggest that it belonged to a seer (see below on 16), and if so, he is likely enough to have been Cicon (fr. 4).

In dealing with the next three lines it will be best to begin with the complete one and its sequel. 'And Hermes having given escort to Hipponax's [had kept safe] the burglar from the dog.' (Not 'the burglar of the dog', which is as unnatural in Greek as in English.) Hermes is the god of burglars, the dog-choker (fr. 3a); and we are reminded of *Il.* 24. 445, where he gets Priam past the Greek sentinels. The 'burglar' is presumably the person who has just appeared 'near the bedpost'. The present tense in 11 is surprising: these narrative pieces show no other example of a historic present. Perhaps the sense was '(the dog)  $\delta\varsigma$  τοῖς φλοιοῖσιν] ὡς ἐχιδνα συμπρῖζει.

12-15 may describe the forming of a plan for retaliation, though everything here is very uncertain.  $\kappa\alpha\upsilon\omega\iota$  in 16 is known to Hesychius, from whom it appears that interpretations as 'large', 'small', or 'good' were tenable, each in the neuter singular. Before it stood a word capable of being written with final  $\xi$  but considered more correct with  $\varsigma$ . I guess that it was  $\kappa\alpha\upsilon\eta\varsigma$ , which occurs in fr. 4 and which Tzetzes identified with ( $\kappa\alpha\upsilon\eta\xi$  =)  $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ . A possible interpretation is that Cicon, alarmed at the prospect of another fracas, 'sacrificed to the Appeaser  $\kappa\alpha\upsilon\omega\iota$  - a fly [...]'.

17 ff. 'And he at once went with three witnesses to where the bastard sells his vino, and found a bloke sweeping the shop: there wasn't a broom, he was using the bottom of a thorn-burnet.'

### Fr. 92

As in fr. 78, it appears that magic treatment for impotence is in progress. (Latte, *Hermes* 64, 1929, 385 f. = *Kl. Schr.* 464 f.; B. Lavagnini, *Annali delle Università Toscane* n.s. 12, 1929 = his *Da Mimnermo a Callimaco*, 1950, 64.) Here the narrator is the patient, and he is being treated by a woman. Again, the best parallel is to be found in Petronius, ch. 138 (compared by Latte and Lavagnini), where the narrator Encolpius is being treated for impotence by the priestess Oenothea: as the woman in Hipponax beats the man's genitals with a  $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta$  (cf. frs. 6 and 10, with Tzetzes quoted on 5), so Oenothea *uiridis urticae fascem comprehendit, omniaque infra umbilicum coepit lenta manu caedere*.

Foreign words are appropriate to spells, and that may be why a Lydian phrase is used in verse 1. The three Hesychius entries quoted ad loc. must all derive from this passage, perhaps also his  $\beta\alpha\sigma\alpha\gamma\iota\kappa\acute{o}\rho\omicron\varsigma$  at fr. 139. For the last two syllables,  $\kappa\rho\lambda\epsilon\alpha$  is indicated, since in  $\kappa\rho\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\zeta\epsilon\ \pi\lambda\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\zeta\epsilon\ \theta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu$  the first word has obviously suffered assimilation to the second. After  $\beta\alpha\sigma$ , we have the choice of  $\kappa\epsilon\pi\iota$ ,  $\tau\zeta\alpha$  and  $\alpha\gamma\iota$ . The papyrus favours  $\kappa$  as the first of these letters. The three variants have in common the element  $\Gamma$  I or  $\Gamma$  I I or  $\Gamma$  I I I, and two of them have it immediately before  $\kappa(\rho\lambda\epsilon\alpha)$ . If we assume that the odd one out,  $\tau\zeta\alpha$ , results from a transposition of syllables, we arrive at  $\zeta\alpha\pi\iota$ , which confirms the alpha of  $\alpha\gamma\iota$  against  $\epsilon(\pi\iota)$ . ( $\epsilon\pi\iota$  is suspect anyway. A scribe probably thought he saw  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa' \epsilon\pi\iota$ .)  $\zeta$  may be a graphical corruption of  $\kappa$ . It remains to choose between  $\Gamma$ ,  $\Gamma$  I,  $\Gamma$  I I, and of these the middle one is the most likely to have been corrupted into the other two. I conclude that Hesychius' variants are most readily accounted for from  $\beta\alpha\sigma\alpha\kappa\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\rho\lambda\epsilon\alpha$ .



Our knowledge of the Lydian language, based on about sixty inscriptions, does not enable us to divine a likely phrase for 'come quick' or 'hurry up and screw'. βα- may represent the verbal prefix *ba-* or the commoner *fa-*, whose exact functions are unknown (they may be alternative spellings of the same syllable). It is conceivable that Hipponax even wrote the Lydian letter ⚡ = *f*, though the sound could appear in Greek as β, cf. fr. 127 Κυβήβη = Lyd. *Kufafa*. The final εα is phonetically suspect; Lydian words seldom end in a vowel, and never in two. Many end in the liquid we transcribe as λ, and I suspect that Hipponax may have written -ΑΕΑ as an anaptyctic rendering of what would be transcribed from a Lydian text as -λ or -λλ. (For ε as an anaptyctic vowel in Greek renderings of foreign consonant clusters cf. *CR* 18, 1968, 6.) Such a form might be a dative-locative in a temporal sense, as e.g. βορλ 'in the year'; there may have been some noun of which this case amounted to 'without delay'. The final -λ would have syllabic value for metrical purposes, see *Kadmos* 11, 1972, 166.

The supplement suggested in verse 3 means 'pulling my testicle by the bald patch'. He seems to be lying down (7-8), and 5 may refer to forked appliances pinning his legs to the ground. Compare the mention of a κυσσώγη in fr. 82. Besides the discomfort of the beating from above, he is suffering from splatters of excrement from another direction, presumably from his own bowels, for any alternative would introduce extraordinary complications. As Latte saw, an explanation of his incontinence is suggested by Petronius. Just before Oenoea whipped Encolpius with the nettle, she had produced a *scortum fascinum, quod ut oleo et minuto pipere atque urticae trito circumdedit semine, paulatim coepit inserere ano meo*. If the flagellation in Hipponax was preceded by a similar operation, it would be in the poet's manner to make the stimulation produce coarser results than intended.

### Fr. 104

No continuous sense can be seen in this long fragment, and we cannot assume that it must all belong to the same poem. In 7-15 there is violent fighting. The speaker defeats his adversary: 'I . . . him as he twitched . . . I jumped on his belly . . . in case he should think of cursing me . . . roaring as I . . .'.

But within two lines the situation has completely changed. Perhaps the discomfited rival has been thrown out; at any rate, the speaker is at leisure to make preparations for much pleasanter activities. He undresses; rubs the dust from his feet (the active verbs might describe things done to someone else, but need not); bars the door; covers up the fire (see on 78.10); applies perfume below his nostrils (cf. *Od.* 4. 445, *Ar. Plut.* 313, *Alexis* fr. 190, *Luc. Nigr.* 32).

After this we lose the thread again, until 46, where there was a mention of something 'foot-confounding'. It caused someone to slip, with a comic imprecation and bad consequences for forehead and r[ibs]. The cabbage-oath recurs in *Anan.* 4 and several comedians, cf. *Ath.* 370b. The particular cabbage is specified in a parenthesis designed to stress the low-class character of the man concerned: a seven-leaved cabbage is all he used to give Pandora (a form of *Ge*: *Ar. Av.* 971 with schol., *Philostr. Vit. Apoll.* 6. 39, *Philo de opif. mundi* 133; *Weizsäcker, Roscher* iii. 1524. 58 ff.) at the Thargelia. —

ἐγγυτον in 49 makes no sense; we require 'in a pot', and Schmidt's ἐγγυτρον is the simplest correction. Behind it will lie ἐγκυθρον, cf. fr. 29a (and ἡ κύβηθ in Herondas fr. 3 Bgk.; Meister, *Die Mimiamben des Herodas*, p. 254 (= *Abh. sächs. Ges.* 13, 1893, 864)), in spite of χυτραῖ, χυτροπόδιον being transmitted in 117.8, 173. I am not sure how to take πρὸ φαρμακοῦ; 'before the φαρμακός event'?

*Fr. 114c*

Renner's modification is probable dialectally (though μεσσο- might be admissible as epic parody: Medeiros, ed. p. lxxiii) and metrically (μεσσο- could just be accommodated in a trimeter, in the vocative -χέστω (Knox), or X - - - μεσσηγυ.δορποχεστ - -).

*Fr. 115*

4. The sense is, 'may he be shipwrecked and after a difficult time be washed up on land'. In spite of Greg. Naz. in *Anth. Pal.* 8. 210. 2, κύμασι πλαζόμενον (quoted by E. Degani, *Quad. Ist. Fil. Cl. Cagliari* 2, 1967, 3), I prefer κύματι to the plural, because the wave that carries him along may be thought of as a single one; so *Od.* 5. 389, κύματι πηγῶ πλάζετο.

5. If some part of εὐφρόνη is consistent with the traces, I would think it the most suitable as sense. I quote Schulthess's εὐφρόνης σκότει (or σκότω) because the basic idea is due to him, but the phrase is suspect. Del Grande (*Note filologiche*, 1942) considered εὐφρόνην [χάτα], Cantarella (*Aegyptus* 24, 1944, 25 f.) εὐφρόνης [μέσης or ἀκρης or [έτι. Another possibility, somewhat more forceful, is εὐφρόνην [δλην.

9. The artlessly trailing αὐτόν seems to me a serious objection to the theory that this is a Hellenistic poem.

Masson's χνόου, based on J. Schwartz's correct reading of the papyrus, gives excellent sense. I then want ἐπέχοι, and I am fairly sure that the scribe wrote it: 'and from the surf may he have on him much seaweed'. Schwartz read επιχοι, and Cantarella proposed επιχ(έ)οι (doubtful prosody), supposed to mean 'may he shed' much seaweed, sc. as he struggles to his feet and walks up the beach. The picture is rather that he lies exhausted at the water's edge. It would be nicely finished if κυματιν[ο]ι can be read in 13, the waves still surging up against him; but it is difficult to end the line, there being insufficient space for δ' ὁμοῦ or the like.

*Fr. 117*

The addressee is a thief (8), and the cloak in 2 is probably one that he stole. A possible interpretation of 3-4 would be that it was stolen from a fisherman, who took it off so as not to get it wet when he was sinking his creel (κύβηθ): the thief was waiting his chance nearby. The facts are known to Hipponax, and to Ariphantos too.

The natural supplement Ἴππῶνα[ξ], as the name of the poet, has been objected to on the ground that the context calls for an enemy of the poet (Wilamowitz, *Textgesch. d. gr. Lyr.*, p. 30 n. 1, repeated by Leo, *Ausgew. kl. Schr.* ii. 143, E. Fraenkel, *Horace*, p. 32 n. O, and Treu, *Archilochos*, p. 227). The text gives no support to such a view. There is no hint that either Hipponax or Ariphantos in any way deserves reproach. They are people who

know all about the thief, probably having suffered from him. It is this that prompts the exclamation ἄ μάκαρ δτις . . .

Now, however, the culprit is unmasked (11) – because the potter Aeschylides has taken [all his movable good]s. φωρός δ' ἴχνια φῶρ ἔμαθεν.

An anonymous fragment quoted in the scholia to Aesch. *Prom.* 400 = Adesp. iamb. 56 suits both the metre and the subject matter of this poem:

οἴχεται  
τὸ κλέπος αὐτὸς ἔχων.

### Fr. 118

We are here dealing with a number of fragments from a papyrus commentary on Hipponax. From the larger pieces we can partly reconstruct the beginning of one poem in epodic metre.<sup>7</sup> As for the others, we do not know in what order they belong or whether they refer to the same epode. Following Masson, I have found it convenient to use letters to designate the pieces, the original numeration in P. Oxy. 2176 having been upset by joins later made by Lobel.

In A 1–2 stands a lemma which evidently consists of the opening couplet of the poem. The second line of the papyrus began ες, with no room for a preceding letter. The principles of syllabic division demand then that the stem of the verb ended in a vowel, and φύ]εις fits sense and space alike. (The right-hand margin is a trim one, and supplements must take account of it almost as carefully as on the left.)

The next quotations from the poem come in 12–13; but they are not lemmata, they are introduced as part of the commentary on the first couplet, and I believe that Maas was right in thinking that they belong after the lemma in B 1–2 (from the lower part of the same column).

C, from the next column, brings a further series of lemmata, which, to judge from the fullness of the commentary, will belong close to each other and not long after σύν τοί τι βουλεύσαι θέλω. Hipponax described Sannos' neck and arms as emaciated for all his eating. We recall Callimachus' Erysichthon:

κακά δ' ἐξάλλετο γαστήρ  
αἰεὶ μᾶλλον ἔδοντι.  
... ἐτάκετο, μέστ' ἐπὶ νεύροις  
δειλαίῳ ἰνές τε καὶ δοτέα μῶνον εὐειφθεν.

(*Hygmn* 6. 88–93.) Then he warns him against gripes (γαστρή), which the commentator takes to mean an insatiable hunger (Erysichthon's malady was a λιμός) that will make him press (?) his belly as beggars do to show how starved they are.

Hipponax recommends a course of treatment which was no doubt intended to appear painful and ludicrous. Sannos is to drink some medicine, but first he is to strip and do exercises, while Cicon sets the rhythm by playing Codalus' air on the pipe. We have met Cicon as a priest (fr. 4). The joke may

<sup>7</sup> The metre was first recognized by E. Fraenkel, *CQ* 36, 1942, 54–6 = *Kl. Beitr.* i. 241–4.

be that an inexperienced piper will perform bad music. νεῦμα[ον in 11 suits the traces and the space, and in sense presumably corresponds to χειρονομ[ήσαντι in the exegesis. But the simple verb will need qualification in order to bear the specialized sense. I see four possibilities: (i) βραχίονας is understood from the context; (ii) some similar object was specified in the next trimeter, ἀύλησει – μέλος being parenthetical; (iii) a whole couplet intervened between νεῦμον and ἀύλησει; (iv) the interpretation χειρονομεῖν was mistaken, and the poet really meant 'measure out' the dose. ἐκδύς then has less point.

The passage is interesting for the light it throws on Greek medicine in the sixth century. It appears that the emphasis laid on exercise, for example by Herodicus of Selymbria, the teacher of Hippocrates, was nothing new.

#### Fr. 124

The place Kamandolus is only known from here. The form of the ending is supported by Τμῶλος, Πακτωλός, Καστωλός, all Lydian place-names. The beginning reminds us of (σ)κάμανδρος, and it is conceivable that ἐκ Σκαμανδωλοῦ was once written ἐξκαμ- and ἐξ later replaced by ἐκ.

#### Fr. 128

1. Editors refer to the opening verses of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, but the initial position of Μοῦσα is better illustrated by *Hymn. Aphr.* 1 Μοῦσά μοι ἔνεπε ἔργα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης, *Cert. Hom. et Hes.* ap. Plut. *sept. sap. conv.* 153 f Μοῦσά μοι ἔνεπε κείνα τὰ μήτ' ἐγένοντο πάροιθε κτλ. (after Lesches? *CQ* 17, 1967, 439 f.). The structure of the invocation follows epic models: 'Sing, Muse, of -, the -, who -: tell how he -'. This protects the accusative Εὐρυμεδοντιάδεα (but the form may be hyper-Ionic, cf. Thumb – Scherer, *Gr. Dial.* ii. 270; add [Hes.] fr. 8 Πολυδέκτηα); the relative δε (against Kalinka's δσα); and Cobet's future δλεῖται (the story is to be about the future instead of the past, a prediction of misfortunes; cf. frs. 115 and 118, and *Ar. Ran.* 684).

For the satirical use of a patronymic cf. frs. 4a, 117. 9?; *Archil.* 57. 7, 183, 185. 1. Comic compounds occur in fr. 28. 1, 114c, 135–135c. Charybdis is one who gulps things down, so τὴν ποντοχάρυβδιν will mean 'the Charybdis who gulps down the sea'. See Medeiros for illustrative material. That may be taken as a noun; but τὴν ἐγγαστριμάχαιραν could only be a feminine adjective, which could only be accepted here as a direct qualification of τὴν ποντοχάρυβδιν. I expect another noun, and that means taking ἐν γαστρὶ separately. If a glutton can be called a γαστήρ (see my note on *Hes. Th.* 26, and Headlam – Knox on *Herondas* 6. 16), I suppose that by a slight extension he can be called a μάχαιρα ἐν γαστρὶ.

3–4. Death on the seashore (fr. 118E, cf. 103. 7, 115) and the maltreatment of the φαρμακός are favourite motifs of Hipponax. For Musurus' κακῆ (now favoured by several scholars, see Medeiros, *Hipponactea*, p. 58) cf. *Call.* frs. 85. 8, 193. 13.

#### Fr. 135b

βορβορόπις is an unlikely form, -όκη unintelligible (-οδόκη *Lobeck*); -ῶπις, -ῶπη are possible, or -όπη, for which cf. ἡμιτοπος in *Anacr.* fr. 95 *Gentili, Melici* 375. Cobet's -ῶπων κῆπον is based on *Suda* i. 480 and *Arcadius. Medeiros*,

*Hipponactea*, p. 69, would prefer βορβορόκηπος, comparing μνιόκηπος in Anacr. 164 G. = *Mel.* 446.

*Fr. 155*

Hunger's reading *καὶ ἐπλεν* was unsatisfactory metrically and linguistically, as I pointed out in *Maiá* 20, 1968, 198. In July 1969 I examined the palimpsest at Vienna with the aid of ultra-violet light. I found that the letters read as ι and λ were quite unclear (the rest were all right), and could as well be read as τ and ς, i.e. *κατέπιεν* or *κἄτ' ἐπιεν*, '... drank it up (or and then drank it), like a lizard in a privy'. The simile seems designed not to illustrate a particular *style* of drinking, but the act itself; in other words, it was urine that was being drunk.

### THEOGNIDEA

19-26

Theognis is usually taken to be saying that he has labelled his verses in some way, and that for this reason nobody will get away with trying to pass them off as his own. The debate about what the seal consists of has so engrossed its participants that they have not stopped to enquire whether such an announcement makes sense in the context. By the context, I mean what follows: ἀστοῖσιν δ' οὐπω πᾶσιν ἀδεῖν δύναμαι, with the next couplet, which rounds off a period if not the poem.

In this line, 24, we must recognize the antithesis heralded by σοφιζομένῳ μὲν (Campbell). His verse as verse wins universal approbation (20-23); it must therefore be something else that displeases some of the Megarians, whether the sentiments expressed in the verses or another form of activity in the sphere of public life. Solon complains similarly (*fr.* 7): ἐργμασιν ἐν μεγάλοις πᾶσιν ἀδεῖν χαλεπόν. And later in Theognis, 1184ab (~ 367-8): ἀστών δ' οὐ δύναμαι γνῶναι νόον ὄντιν' ἔχουσιν· οὔτε γὰρ εὖ ἔρδων ἀνδάνω οὔτε κακῶς.

The point of the whole first part, then, σοφιζομένῳ - ὄνομαστός, is to say 'my poetry, at least, is a general success, in Megara and everywhere else'. σφρηγὶς ἐπικλείσθω will mean 'it had better be locked up, it is the sort people will want to steal'. The device of describing a situation graphically by specifying an action appropriate to it may be illustrated by Hes. *Op.* 45, 'you could hang up your rudder' for 'seafaring would be unnecessary'; 475 'you can clear the cobwebs out of your storage jars' for 'there will be a rich harvest'. The next sentence, λήσει δέ κτλ., is not an explanation for the slow-witted of the effect of putting on a seal. It makes a different point. 'My verse had better be protected from thieves - only it will be obvious whose it is even if they do steal it. No one will substitute a bad (author's name) when the good is at hand. Everyone will identify Theognis of Megara.'

πάντας δὲ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ὄνομαστός is often attached to the speech. As van Groningen remarks in discussing the alternatives, 'on sous-entend plus facilement ἐστὶ qu'une première personne'. But the sentiment is more in place in Theognis' argument than in the protest of the man being served stolen poetry. πάντας picks up πᾶς τις: 'everyone will identify me as the Megarian,

everywhere they know my name'. Then this last phrase determines the form of the antithetic statement: 'But within the city I have not yet succeeded in pleasing everyone'. If less had intervened, σοφιζομένῳ μὲν might have been answered rather by ἐργασαι δέ or the like.

31

ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἴσθι is surely the summation of a longer paragraph than 29–30.

40

The variant seen in 1082 may have been devised to make the verses more widely applicable, or to eliminate the paradoxical ὄβριος ἡμετέρης. In any case it is the secondary version; ἡγεμόνα does not go well with ἡγεμόνες in the next line. I have wondered about postulating as the original εὐθυντήρα, κακῆς ὄβριος ἡγεμόνα, after Mimn. 9. 4 ἐζόμεθ' ἀργαλέης ὄβριος ἡγεμόνες, but the same objection applies. For a historical interpretation see above, p. 68.

52

Dictators have not been mentioned in what precedes, and can only be in place as a further effect of civil corruption, like στάσεις. The same sequence, στάσεις – φόνος – μοναρχίη, appears in Herodotus 3. 82. 3. We require τε in place of δέ, leaving ἀδοι with κέρδεα as its subject understood from ἐκ τῶν. Ahrens's θ' & avoids an unusual rhythm (for which, however, cf. 164, 328, 886), and is not difficult palaeographically: TEA > T  $\frac{A}{E}$  > ΔE?

53–60

In 1109 we have, clearly, a replacement for 53–7. This major alteration might be held to discredit the additional verses 1111–2, but 59 comes abruptly after 58, and the extra verses go well between. In this case the Excerpta Deteriora seem to have preserved something lost in the Purum, either deliberately passed over by the editor or accidentally lost in the transmission. The dots printed at the end of 58 indicate an omission not necessarily to be charged to the transmission of the Theognidean corpus or its component anthologies, and similarly in 188, 1278b; dots below a verse, as at 94, 382, 399, indicate a scribal omission.

93–4

The apodosis is not 95, for τοιοῦτος there is differently described. 'V. 93–96 nescio an ex diversis eclogis coaluerint, certe v. 96 cum praegresso disticho non satis congruit' Bergk. For the optative δρώης cf. Kühner – Gerth i. 252 f.

96

The comparatives λῶων and λωίτερος and superlative λῶστος are familiar. Such forms as λῶιον and λῶους (= -ονας) also generated a heteroclitite λῶια (Th. 853 AO, aliter 1038a; Theoc. 26. 32). But here a comparative is out of place. We might try to restore the corresponding (unattested) positive form. It cannot be λῶιος (as Wilamowitz proposes, on Eur. Her. 196), for the comparative neuter is λῶιον, and a comparative must be differentiated from the positive. The word is probably related to the Doric verb λῆν (Frisk, Gr.

*Etym. Wb.* s.v.), and I would guess that the positive was λωός, on the model of ζῆν/ζωός. Then λωίων and λωίτερος would be to it as βάλων, βηίτερος to \*βᾶος implied by βᾶ/βεία.

The sense, however, rather favours Richards's λεία (*J. Phil.* 25, 1897, 86). Cf. Solon 34.3, Aesch. *Prom.* 647.

111

A difficult line. τὸ μέγιστον may mean 'what they have mainly had from you': they do not allow a single lapse to outweigh your other kindnesses. ἐπαυρίσκουσι must then mean 'remain aware of' what they enjoy.

115

πάρ κρητῆρι in 643 is the more archaic expression, cf. 493, 981; φίλοι . . . ἑταῖροι as in 95, 113, 332a, 753. πόσιος καὶ βρώσιος (cf. Philoxenus, *Melici* 836. 39 βρωτός ἤδὲ ποτᾶτος . . . ἑταῖροι) makes the sentiment more generally useful.

119

Older editions wrongly report ἀσχετός from I. It has ἀσχετος, as Garzya says.

129–30

A moral paradox drawn from observation, like Hes. *Op.* 270 νῦν δὴ ἐγὼ μήτ' αὐτὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποισι δίκαιος εἶην μήτ' ἐμὸς υἱός, ἐπεὶ κακὸν ἀνδρα δίκαιον ἐμμεναι. *Od.* 2. 230 μή τις ἐτι πρόφρων ἀγανὸς καὶ ἥπιος ἔστω σκηπτοῦχος βασιλεύς . . . ὡς οὐ τις μέμνηται Ὀδυσσεύος θελοῖο. Wealth and ἀρετή are the two basic terms of Theognis' moral arithmetic; but now he exclaims that what counts is neither of these, but success. I can only see this as the beginning of an elegy prompted by the political success of an upstart endowed with neither rank nor riches. Theagenes?

144

The late position of θνητῶν is nothing to do with the juxtaposition of ἀθανάτους, nor is it objectionable; cf. e.g. 379–80, Hes. *Th.* 81–2, 793–4, *Od.* 9. 405, Eur. *Supp.* 201–2.

155–8

τοι is rare in commands (Denniston, *Greek Particles*<sup>2</sup> p. 545), and here it may have intruded from neighbouring lines. χολωθείς is a good epic form, but more likely to displace the choice χαλεφθείς at a later period than vice versa. In the next line οὐλομένην (guaranteed by Hesiod) may have been replaced by the gloss κακῆν (cf. 102, 163 app.), and the metre then repaired with Κύρνε. In 157, ἄλλως makes better sense in view of 158.

203 ff.

With the transmitted text, πρήγματος has no meaning or construction. Cf. Solon 13. 25, (Zeus) οὐδ' ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ ὥσπερ θηητὸς ἀνήρ γίνεται ἐξέχολος ('at each single offence').

Planudes' δε δέ in 205 has a specious attraction (cf. Solon 13. 29–32), but could not have been followed by 207–8, unless we follow Camerarius in writing αὐτὸν for ἄλλον. For οὐδέ cf. 735 f. αὐτὸν ἐπειτα πάλιν τεῖσαι κακά, μηδ'

ἐτ' ὀπίσω πατρὸς ἀτασθαλίαι παισὶ γένοιτο κακόν. The composition is certainly clumsy, as Wilamowitz brings out in SS 269.

## 211

πουλὼν is an emendation of Planudes, as in Hes. *Th.* 190 and *Sc.* 475; see my note on the *Theogony* line. πολλὼν is equally possible (so A in 492); but I have accepted πουλὼν, because the verse is a variant of 509 where πουλώξ is more strongly attested (πολλοῖς 0).

## 261-6

These lines are usually taken as one poem, but no convincing interpretation of it has been found. I hope that by separating the first couplet and making two small emendations I may have discovered something more satisfactory. 261-2 are simple enough, apart from κατέχει (see the commentaries for attempts to explain it).

For 263-6 I follow an interpretation by J. Labarbe *ap.* van Groningen pp. 452 f. (though he takes 261-2 to be part of the poem). 'The parents at this girl's house must be drinking cold water – so often she returns to the well, and cries for me while she carries, where I caught her round the waist and kissed her neck as she squealed.' The themes of love and winelessness give the poem a natural place after 261-2. The further link of the initial μοι, however, is spurious. In 263 it would mean 'my parents', which leads to no sense. The interpretation adopted suggests που, which in capitals might easily have been misread as μοι after 261.

## 290

ανδρῶν γέγονται A  
ἀνδρῶν γίνονται 0

The η in A seems to be a misreading of capital N. If so, the archetype had a verb beginning with γ, something like γέονται, and obscure to the scribe who substituted the meaningless γίνονται. 'Exult' gives the best sense in the context of topsy-turvy moral values. γάλω is not attested in the middle, but χαίρω/χαίρομαι, γήθω/γίθομαι are perhaps sufficient analogy.

The alternative is that Bekker's ἡγέονται is right, though the sense and orthography would be untoward. (Contracted so in verb forms elsewhere appears as εϋ or ου, see p. 80.) The η would have been accidentally omitted and restored above the line, to be taken by the scribe of A (or a predecessor) as a correction of ν.

## 309-12

'At the common meal a man should be seen full of sense, without appearing to take note of what others say, and he should make jokes; but outside he should have a hard manner, knowing the mettle of each of his associates.'

ο's ἴσθι in 309 is probably an interpretation of εἶναι (cf. 323 v.l.), perhaps helped into the text by the occurrence of the form in 301. εἶναι may conceal εἴη (Hermann), but it seems possible to retain it with δοκοῖ understood from the pentameter. A man should be seen to have his standards, but not give the impression of attending too sharply, or of being out of sympathy with the



general fun. What he learns of others' characters will stand him in good stead on other occasions.

325-8

Kühner – Blass ii. 571 explain *χολῶτο* as a Dorism, but it is more likely to be an intrusion of the later form *χολᾶσθαι*.

As Bergk's apparatus shows, scholars of the more critical sort have long been troubled by the irregular construction in 327, *ἐπεσθαι ἐν* (cf. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 47; Pl. *Alc. I* 135a), and by the sense of 328 (it may be true that the gods will not put up with peccadilloes, but it is not a suitable remark for a context advising tolerance). Peppmüller proposed *εφορᾶν* for *φέρειν*. I prefer *ἐφέπειν* (Hes. *Th.* 220 αἰ τ' ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε παραιβασίας ἐφέπουσιν). The gods do not trouble themselves with individual offences, as men are too prone to. οὐδ' ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ ὡπερ θνητὸς ἀνὴρ γίνεται δξύχολος (Solon 13. 25 f., of Zeus). There the point is that the account builds up and punishment comes in the end. Here it is 'to err is human, to forgive divine'. The emphasis would be improved by transposing, *θνητοῖς*: οὐδὲ θεοὶ Κέρν' ἐθέλουσ' ἐφέπειν.

*ἐφέπειν*, however, will make *ἐπονται* look even more suspect. The construction could be accepted, but the sense is clumsy; *ἀμαρτωλαί* are not external entities that *attend* men. *φέρονται* is better (completing the swap of line-ends): 'are accepted currency'.

347-8

*χαράδρη* is a mountain watercourse, a dry gully in summer, a chill torrent in winter. I take the dative in 348 to be analogous to *θέρει, χειμῶν*. 'I was the (familiar) dog who crossed the beck in winter flood, I shook it all off.' (Commentators are curiously slow to recognize a dog's invariable action on emerging from water.) The poet had a brief unpleasant experience which made him rid himself of his property all at once. Cf. Anacreon, *Melici* 413. 2.

352

A's *φλοι* is supported by the presence of *μη* in the meaningless *μ' ἦν δῆν*. The residue, *ὠδῆν*, would naturally be emended to *δῆ μ'* even if the other branch of the tradition did not give precisely that in its place. *τῆ . . . φλοῖς* represents a conjecture for what was unintelligible in the archetype. If *ο* had *τῆ δέ*, *Ο* omitted the *δέ*; alternatively Planudes added it to correct the metre.

Another possibility is that the true text is *καὶ δῆ μ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντα φλοῖς*. A's *ἦν* would be an uncial corruption of *καί*, its *μ'* a misplaced correction of *δῆν*, and *φλοι* an accident.

367

Here, unusually, the Excerpta Deteriora have the better text. The reason is that they have kept the two preceding lines (instead of the two following); 367 has rearranged itself to suit its independence.

373-400

The lines have been variously divided, emended and interpreted. The more I have considered them, the more difficult I have found it to separate one part from another; there is the same kind of unity as in Solon fr. 13, with a progressively changing perspective.

373–80 present no problem. I take 381–2 as a follow-up question (so Hartung, who adopts Hermann's transposition to before 379): most people take it as a statement. The *δαίμων* is that which contributes to a man's individual fortune from above. 381 means 'and is there no element of divine allocation in men's fortunes?' In 383 ff. the grounds of the complaint are being set out more explicitly. The section is clearly incomplete at the beginning; *ἐμπης δ' ἄλβον ἔχουσιν ἀπήμονα* must have been preceded by a protasis about unscrupulous profiteers.

The argument is then lucid as far as 387. The righteous become poor and helpless, a condition which leads men willy-nilly into temptation. *τολμᾷ δέ* in 388 must mean 'but he endures' (and does not succumb to temptation), cf. 398, 355, 442. *οὐκ ἐθέλων* is a self-contained qualification: *αἰσχέα πολλὰ φέρειν χρημοσύνη εἰκων* is governed by *τολμᾷ*, and illustrated by Tyrt. 10. 7 ff.:

ἔχθρὸς μὲν γὰρ τοῖσι μετέσσεται οὐς κεν ἴκηται,  
 χρημοσύνη τ' εἰκων καὶ στυγερῆ πενίη,  
 αἰσχύνει τε γένος, κατὰ δ' ἀγλαὸν εἶδος ἐλέγχει,  
 πᾶσα δ' ἀτιμὴ καὶ κακότης ἐπιταί.

The idea of 386–7 is now repeated so that details can be added. *δὴ* (389) acknowledges the repetition. *οἱ* in 391 is the man: cf. 525.

The poet next wants to expand his statement that the good man resists the temptation of crime. In 388 it developed from the theme *πενίην μητέρ' ἀμηχανίης*. So now, to reintroduce it, he reasserts the relationship: *ἡ γὰρ καὶ χαλεπὴν τρέχει ἀμηχανίην*, and proceeds from there. Line 397, which at first sight looks to be about a morally nondescript man, is shown by the parallel of 443 to be about the bad man, as the previous lines have led us to expect: *κακοῖς* and *ἀγαθοῖς* are neuters, and the general sense is that the bad man is inclined to wrongdoing in time of bad fortune, which is not to say that he is any better in good. But it is difficult to get this sense out of the Greek, and I record two conjectures designed to help. The pair, good and bad fortune, is picked up by *τά τε καὶ τά* in 398, where descriptive language gives way to prescriptive. 399 echoes 390. In 400 the choice word *ἐντρέπεια* is surely genuine; but it does not construe (I will not follow those who understand it as an adverb), and I see no alternative to the assumption of a lacuna. Bergk suggested . . . *ἔπη φεύγειν δύσφημα καὶ ἔργα* as the end of the hexameter.

Cataudella, *Riv. di cultura class. e medioev.* 9, 1967, 173, conjectures *ἐκτρέπου*, comparing Greg. Naz. in *Patr. Gr.* 37. 812 Migne, line 322, *δρκους ἐκτρέπου*.

#### 413

*οὐδέ μὲ τ'* is not sufficiently paralleled by material in Denniston, *Greek Particles*<sup>3</sup> p. 529.

*οὐδέ μ' ἔτ'* is a remote possibility.

*οὐδέ μὲ γ'* (*γ'* effectively emphasizing *οἶνος*) reads badly.

*οὐδ' ἐμέ γ'* emphasizes *ἐμέ* unnecessarily; as if someone else might speak ill of you.

*οὐδέ μέγ'* is quite implausible.

*οὐδέ με* is what sense and style most favour; cf. e.g. 839, 1363. Bergk writes

'fuit antiquitus με Φοῖνος . . . Item A v. 548 et 574 εὐφεργεσίης i.e. εὐφεργεσίης exhibit'. The latter is unacceptable; it is out of the question that scribes of the classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods copied either εὐφερ- or εὐγερ-. They may well have copied γ' οἶνος or τ' οἶνος, and it might represent a very early corruption of an original ΦΟΙΝΟΣ, or just a commonplace intrusion of a particle at a hiatus. The omission in ρ is more probably due to accident than to tradition.

## 422

The verbal adjective in -τός is not equivalent to a gerundive but to a participle, and neither ἀμέλητα μέλει (codd.) nor ἀλάλητα πέλει (Stob.) gives a satisfactory sense. The same goes for Geel's conflation ἀλάλητα μέλει. Buecheler's λαλητὰ πέλει is sensible but flat. I have preferred ἀμέλητα πέλει, i.e. they are often careless. The next couplet then follows more logically.

## 476

Bergk's λησιάκου (*Zeitschr. f. Altertumswiss.* 1837, 454) deserves remembrance; he compared *Od.* 20. 85 and similar phrases elsewhere. According to Young, I offers this reading after correction, something that I failed to observe when I collated it.

## 477-8

It was natural for ἤκω to be changed into ἤξω under the impression that the 'arriving' belonged to the 'going home' of the previous line; but the condition in which he will get home is of no special importance, he is talking about his condition now, at the party, as the following lines show. ἤκω is the true text. 'I have reached the-state-in-which (ὡς) wine is loveliest for a man to have drunk' – a loose construction, but certainly easier than ἤξω (οἰκίαιδε) ὡς οἶνος κτλ.

The reading adopted in 478 accounts for Athenaeus' variant and eliminates the hiatus.

## 487-90

"ἔρχε" τοῦτο is usually taken as the object of κωτίλλεις, though the verb is not very appropriate to the cry ἔρχε and is probably not elsewhere found with direct speech. Rather is μάταιον κωτίλλεις αἰεὶ parallel to μάταιον ἐρεῖ in 492, and refers to the silly talk mentioned in 487. Cf. Phocyl. 11.2 Bgk. It then looks as if τοῦτο is adverbial, parallel to τούνεκα: 'this is why you keep up this silly chatter'. ταῦτα is commoner in this sense, and might be introduced here; or τοῦτο might be combined with μάταια. In either case, false concord would be a natural cause of corruption. I leave ἔρχε as direct speech (rather than μὴ πῖνε, σὺ δ' ἔρχε) for the logical connexion.

In 489 πρόκειται may mean 'is there on the table'. Hudson-Williams takes it as 'is for a wager', 'is a prize'; but so long as the prize πρόκειται it can neither be drunk nor too confidently anticipated. ἐπὶ χειρὸς ἔχεις is not a normal way of saying 'you have on hand', and I suggest that it is equivalent to ἐπίχειρα ἔχεις in the sense 'you have got as a prize or penalty', in other words a sconce.

511-22

Cf. Archil. 24.

My transposition brings the following advantages. Instead of having his ship stocked with provisions the moment he arrives, as if he were being packed off again as soon as possible, Clearistus is properly entertained first, as any reader of the *Odyssey* would expect. The transition between the two operations becomes clearly marked, *νηός τοι* less abrupt, and the repetition of the name less immediate. The loading of the ship prepares the way for the conversation envisaged in 519 as taking place elsewhere. The whole falls into a straightforward sequence. 'Welcome, old fellow: I am as poor as you are, but I will set before you the best of what I have; and if you have a friend to bring, make yourself at home, lie as suits your relationship. (Cf. Pl. *Symp.* 222e.) I'll share what I have, without laying on anything special; for your voyage I'll give you what I can; and if anyone ever asks you how I live, tell him "So-so; well enough not to fail a family friend, but he can't manage more than one".'

551-2

*ἀντιάζω/ἀντιάω* may take the dative or the genitive, and the assumption of a switch from one to the other here, *δηίων ἀνδρῶν . . . διαπρήσσοις*, is the only way to make sense of the text without more drastic alteration. 'I think they will meet the foe; the distance is not far; they will get there' is inane; 'I think they will meet the foe – the distance is not far – already on the way' is good sense.

557

Something at risk may be said to be *ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἀκμῆς*; danger itself cannot. *κίνδυνος* has intruded from a gloss on the phrase; cf. *Paroem. Gr.* ii. 753. 11 *ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἀκμῆς ἴσταται ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν μεγίστῳ κινδύνῳ ὄντων*. That being so, A's *δ'* *ὀ* deserves more notice than it has had, and *κλήρος* seems the right word for the gap it leaves. *κτῆνος* 'wealth' would be another possibility, though a very rare word (only in [Hes.] fr. 193. 5 and 198. 6).

571-2

*δόξα* here means hope or expectation; *ἀγαθῶν* is neuter, 'good things' to come. For the general sense of the couplet cf. Sem. 1. 6 ff., Sol. 13. 33 ff.

579-82

The most interesting suggestion about the speaker is that she is *Τύχη* (Carrière, *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 77, 1954, 61). Perhaps a goddess more concerned with morality is likelier; *Δίκη* comes to mind, walking among men as she does (Hes. *Op.* 256 ff.), though sexual promiscuity is not her province; so do *Αἰδώς* and *Νέμεσις*, who will one day depart from the earth *λευκοῖσιν φάρεσσι καλυψαμένω χροά καλόν* (ib. 198). However, we may simply have to do with a poetess speaking in her own person (in reply to an improper proposal?). There is no warrant for dividing the piece between two speakers.

593-4

Bekker's *τεροθένε'* regularizes the syntax, but the assumed corruption is

unlikely, and the active form ἀσῶντα is itself irregular. Bergk demanded two imperatives, as in the twin couplet 657–8, and claimed support from the gloss λυποῦ which has infected ο (replacing λίην probably because it too began with λ), and also appears, though not in the text, at 657. But it is hard to deal with ἀσῶ, with the existing word order: λίην is always scanned as an iambus in the Theognidea, and stopgaps such as τὰ or τι do not convince. The gloss may have been meant to be read λυποῦ(ντα).

The original verse must indeed have had ἀσῶ, but to accommodate it we must revert to the phrasing of 657, μήτε λίην χαλεποῖσιν ἀσῶ φρένα. It will not have been a mere scribe who altered it so drastically, to bring it into (partial) syntactical connexion with 592, but the editor of the collection.

### 611–2

The expression is equivalent to 'it is not hard to criticize the next man, any more than it is to praise him'. Cf. Alc. 1. 43–5 ἐμὲ δ' οὐτ' ἐπαινῆν οὔτε μωμῆσθαι νιν ἅ κλενὰ χοραγῶς οὐδαμῶς ἔη.

### 633

ὁ τοί κε, if right, is Doric word order; cf. *Glotta* 44, 1967, 146 on two similar instances in Hesiod. O has ὅτι, a simple corruption; but ὅτι is possible (*Il.* 20. 434; *Or. Sib.* 14. 4, *Procl. H.* 6. 42), and might be followed by ἐπί τοι νόον ἐλθῆ.

### 661–4

καὶ . . . μέντοι is all right, see Denniston p. 414. Only it presupposes a finite verb, and ἐπρηξάν is what is needed to introduce the examples. The gods not only dislike assumptions about the future, which is in their hands, they confute them effectively. (Heimsoeth wrote καὶ πρῆξαν μετόπιν τι.)

664 is difficult. The object of ὤλεσε needs to be expressed, and πάντα is an acceptable expression of it. Apodotic οὖν is likely only with ἀπό, as ἀπ' οὖν ὤλεσε, and πάντ' οὖν is unsatisfactory. ἀπὸ πάντ' is fine, but the intrusion of such an idiomatic particle hard to account for. Bergk also thought of δγ' ἀπ' οὖν, Ahrens of ποτ' ἀπ' οὖν, but either would send the sensitive reader straight to the apparatus, and the object of the verb is lost.

### 667–70

It is unnatural to take οἷά περ ἤδη with what follows, but those who have done so are rightly concerned about the sense of ἤδη. We must understand εἶχον with it, and then it can mean 'already, before now'; cf. e.g. *Il.* 1. 260 ἤδη γάρ ποτ' ἐγὼ καὶ ἀρείοσιν ἤε περ ὑμῖν ἀνδράσιν ὠμίλησα. But it is odd that the past tense which determines its temporal reference is omitted.

I take 670 to mean 'though (if I were speaking) I would have given a verdict yet better than many people'. οὐνεκα may be 'that', specifying the verdict, or more loosely 'concerning the fact that'. Cf. 1349 (by the same poet).

### 687–8

Prima facie the pentameter means that men are not in a position to adjudicate in disputes between the gods. A strange idea: perhaps the original poet meant 'it is as hard (in the present political circumstances) to δίκην εἰπεῖν as

it is to fight against gods', the forces of unrighteousness being too powerful. (Cf. 541 f. for Theognis' difficulties in the matter of an adjudication.) οὐ . . . οὐδέ as in 1245. The addition of οὐδενὶ τοῦτο θέμις, if it is not a stopgap by an excerptor, has more point on this interpretation.

## 689-90

If δτε . . . εἴη is right, the effect is to make this a remoter contingency. 'You should not do damage – except in a case where it was called for – or do what is not better done.' But the parallelism obtained by δτε . . . εἴη is attractive.

## 691-2

Sitzler's interpretation of Χαίρων as a proper name was one of his best ideas. The name is quite a common one, and the hypothesis saves the redundancy of χαίρων εὔ and yields the option of seeing a special point in χάρμα φίλους. We have a vocative in the voyage-poem 511 ff., and the initial position is paralleled by Κύρνε in 19, 39, al., Ζεῦ 373, 731, Τιμαγόρα 1059, Δημῶναξ 1085, etc.

## 721-4

τάδε πάντα is poor sense, and probably a scribal corruption (influenced by πάντα in 725?); Plutarch's μόνα ταῦτα probably gives what Solon wrote, cf. I. Heinemann, *Studia Soloneae*, 1897, 22, who compares the demonstratives in Sol. 4. 30; 6. 1; 13. 38; Th. 49, 432; Mimm. 1. 2.

The next couplet is more difficult. The reversal of ὥρη and ἤβη again looks like mismemory, while ἀρμονία is a graphic error that might easily occur independently in the traditions of Stobaeus and Plutarch. Of greater substance is the discrepancy between καί and δέ κε, which means a different articulation of the whole sentence. With καί, the genitives παιδός and γυναικός depend on ὥρη, and the sentence ends at ἀρμοδία. With δέ κε, the genitives are loosely dependent on ἀβρά παθεῖν as if it were ἀπολαύεσθαι (so 1009; cf. Hudson-Williams); δταν starts a new sentence of which either ταῦτ' ἄφρονος θνητοῖσι is the main clause or σὺν δ' ἤβη γίνεται ἀρμοδία.

I venture to assert that quotation from memory, while it may admit many mistakes, is unlikely to restructure sentences. Nor had the editor of an anthology anything to gain by making such a change. The variants are then scribal, and we should prefer the one which gives the better sense and grammar. That is καί, with which the genitives are better catered for, and ὥρη has point.

## 765-8

This is part of a prayer, and cannot follow on from 764.

## 769-72

From a poet's manifesto. Momentary modesty accounts for the remote optative in 770. μῶσθαι 'meditate', with a suggestion of 'consult the Muses'; δευκνόναι 'present publicly', cf. Herodotus 1. 0 Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνηστέος ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις ἤδε. What is left to be covered by ἄλλα δὲ ποιεῖν? No convincing answer has been proposed, and it may be worth considering δευκνόναι: ἄλλα δὲ ποιῶν etc., 'but if he does otherwise what use is he to make of it, keeping his knowledge to himself?'

## 797-800

The two distichs express contrasted views. The first says that *oi áγαθοί* are criticized by some, but at least they are famous. The second says that no one can avoid criticism, and it is better if one is not a public figure.

## 809

I take *φάρμακον* to be the remedy supplied by the oracle for the situation which prompted its consultation. *οὐτέ τι γὰρ προσθεῖς* ought to be followed by an apodosis expressing something advantageous, parallel to *πρὸς θεῶν ἀμπλακίην προφύγοις*, and the extra negative *οὐδέν*, while not impossible, is awkward.

## 815-8

I know how to flatter my enemy, but I cannot bring myself to do so. There is no point in worrying about the consequences; destiny is fixed, what will be, will be.

This last reflection is used often enough in early Greek to counter fear (e.g. Callinus 1. 8; *Il.* 6. 487 ff.; 18. 115 ff.). The idea is not that if a thing is fated it cannot be terrible, but that, since fear and evasion will make no difference to whether it is going to happen now or at another time, one might as well do one's best. 818 implies a different and considerably later (Stoic) idea, that fear is not a proper attitude towards what is fated: it is part of the cosmic plan, and one should accept it contentedly. This seems to be one of those cases where an excerpt which did not end tidily at the end of a pentameter was filled out by the editor. He has repeated *ὅτι μοῖρα παθεῖν* from 817, in a way that Theognis himself would not naturally have done, and made out of it a flat smug Hellenistic gnome.

## 821-2

The couplet might be linked with 131-2, and set in the context of description of current evils: cf. Hes. *Op.* 185-8.

## 831-2

Influenced by Hes. *Op.* 372 *πίστεις ἴδ' ἄρ' ὁμῶς καὶ ἀπιστίαι ὤλεσαν ἄνδρας*. But instead of saying that both alike are dangerous, it says they are difficult; mistrust is the safer of the pair. *γνώμη* is the attitude-forming that is involved.

In 831, however, the poet has not given us a generalization but a statement in autobiographical form. Did he lose his property, or keep it? We shall not naturally take him to mean that he lost some of it and kept some, or that he lost it and subsequently, by mistrusting people, got it back. One might turn the line forcibly into a generalization (*ὄλεσσαν . . . ἐσάωσαν*, or *ὄλεσσαι . . . σάωσαι*); it is easier to write *χρημῶ κ'* or *χρημ' ἄν*, the particle preferably to be understood with both verbs. 832 then has more point. 'By trusting I would have lost (all) my property, by mistrust saved it (all); but both are difficult attitudes to adopt.' As so often in the Theognidea, in situations ranging from politics to inebriation, a poet represents himself as steering a middle course.

## 843-4

A mock oracle (S. West, *Gnomon* 39, 1967, 325), with the typical hieratic ἀλλ' ὀπότεαν (cf. Ar. *Av.* 967, 983). ἔμειν is of course infinitive for imperative; the nominative is normal with it when it refers to the person(s) addressed.

## 861-4

The speaker is in the position of a beggar. Those on whom she has the most claim refuse her, at least in public, and she leaves them for the duration of the night: unsuccessful beggars are sent away (cf. Theoc. 16. 5 ff.), and the prospects are so obviously poor that she goes αὐτομάτη. The time of her absence shows that the company, the ἄνδρες φαινόμενοι, are those arriving for a symposium. At cock-crow it is all right for her to return; cf. Pl. *Symp.* 223c ἐξεγρέσθαι δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἤδη ἀλεκτρούωνων φθόντων, ἐξεγρόμενος δὲ ἰδεῖν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους καθύδοντας καὶ οἰχομένους, Ἄγαθωνα δὲ κτλ. She has a place in the house, but the master banishes her when his friends are present. I do not see why she should not be his wife or daughter. οἱ με φῶλοι προδιδοῦσι need not be pressed, as it is adapted, I think with conscious humour, from another sort of context (cf. 575, 813).

## 877

ἦβα is less obvious than the τέρπεο of 1070a, and suits the ἦβη theme that seems from 1063-70 to have been dominant in the context in the Florilegium Magnum.

## 884

πολλὸν ἐλαφρότερος 'refreshed, less weary'. The same phrase in Hes. *Op.* 417.

## 887-8

From a sympotic song of the mercenary soldier, in the same devil-may-care tone as Archilochus' ἀσπίδι μὲν Σάτων τις.

## 889-90

Metaphorical? Cf. 951-2.

## 894

Κυψελίζων (A) is possible as a very early spelling of Κυψελιδέων, cf. Hes. *Th.* p. 86. Only it is incredible that it should have been transmitted through the classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods. A late scribal blunder must be assumed.

## 897-900

The general sense appears to be, 'if God, perceiving all thoughts and deeds, got angry with men at every misdemeanour, there would be a lot more woe on earth than there is'. Cf. above on 203 ff. and 325-8.

A Byzantine reader for whom it was axiomatic that God did get angry at all sins, perceiving all thoughts and deeds, felt driven to write μή above εἰ, hence the variant in ο. χαλέπαινε is a very probable emendation, supplying the verb of the protasis. The next desideratum is its subject, Ζεὺς or θεός. From the point of view of word order, Hermann's θεός θνητοῖς is a most felicitous conjecture, but the corruption unlikely. In fact there is nowhere



where the subject can plausibly be disguised until we come to the unwanted  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  in 898. If it does conceal  $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ , a transposition might be considered,  $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,  $\nu\omicron\upsilon\tilde{\nu}$   $\gamma\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\omega\nu$ : once corruption to  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  had occurred, a scribe would be liable to rectify what looked to him back to front.  $\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$  –  $\epsilon\rho\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$  looks all right ( $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  ‘privately’).  $\tau\tilde{\omega}$  δὲ  $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\acute{\omega}$ , if rightly transmitted, must introduce the apodosis, though  $\beta\rho\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\iota\sigma\iota\nu$  is then awkward (it would be otherwise if it preceded the singulars). An alternative is to read  $\tau\tilde{\omega}$   $\tau\epsilon$   $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\acute{\omega}$  and regard the words as in apposition to  $\alpha\tilde{\nu}\delta\rho\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$  in 897. Otherwise we shall have to emend to genitives, whether singular or plural, dependent on  $\epsilon\rho\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ .

901

If  $\epsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ , is right, it must be an independent clause: ‘everyone has his role’. Cf. Eur. *Alc.* 39  $\tau\acute{\iota}$   $\delta\eta\tau\alpha$   $\tau\acute{o}\xi\omega\nu$   $\epsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\nu$ ; etc. Pl. *Rep.* 352e  $\acute{\alpha}\rho'$   $\omicron\upsilon\tilde{\nu}$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$   $\alpha\tilde{\nu}$   $\theta\epsilon\iota\eta\varsigma$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\epsilon\pi\pi\omicron\upsilon$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon$   $\delta\tau\omicron\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\tilde{\nu}$   $\epsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\nu$ ,  $\delta$   $\alpha\tilde{\nu}$   $\eta$   $\mu\acute{o}\nu\omega$   $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\iota\acute{\nu}\omega$   $\pi\omicron\iota\eta$   $\tau\iota\varsigma$   $\eta$   $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$ ; with the following discussion. It may be objected that  $\delta$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\omega\nu$ ,  $\delta$   $\delta'$   $\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\iota\omega\nu$  need further qualification. This they may have had in the context from which the couplet was lifted.

905

The end is written in O  $\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\rho}\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}$ , that is  $\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\rho}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$   $\tau\iota\varsigma$ . It is obvious how easily this has arisen from a misreading of  $\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\rho}\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}$ . As  $\tau\iota\varsigma$  appears also in  $\rho$ , it is probable that  $\sigma$  had  $\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\rho}\sigma\omicron\varsigma$   $\tau\iota\varsigma$  written as in O (or else  $\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\rho}\sigma\omicron\nu$   $\tau\iota$  so badly written as to be misread by O and  $\rho$  independently);  $\rho$  restored  $\acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\rho}\sigma\omicron\nu$  by conjecture.  $\tau\iota\varsigma$  should therefore not be treated as a variant of equal status to  $\tau\iota$ , and editors who print it should not merely note ‘ $\tau\iota$  A’ in their apparatus.

928

I think that  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota$  here means ‘class of people’, sc. the elderly; a very prosaic use (cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 1408<sup>a</sup>27  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\kappa\alpha\theta'$   $\eta\lambda\iota\kappa\iota\alpha\nu$ ,  $\omicron\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$   $\eta$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\rho$   $\eta$   $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\nu$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\gamma\upsilon\nu\acute{\eta}$   $\eta$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\rho$ ,  $\kappa\tau\lambda.$ ), but prosaic language is characteristic of this elegy, e.g.  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\delta\alpha\pi\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$ .

961

‘There is a mixture of waters’ seems an acceptable metaphor, even if not the same as  $\tau\epsilon\theta\acute{\omicron}\lambda\omega\tau\alpha\iota$ . If there is a corruption, I would rather keep the dative  $\acute{\upsilon}\delta\epsilon\iota$  and have the adulterating substance in the nominative. For example, if  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$   $\delta'$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$   $\acute{\upsilon}\delta\epsilon\iota$  were right,  $\acute{\upsilon}\delta\omega\rho$  might be a variant or explanatory jotting on  $\acute{\upsilon}\delta\epsilon\iota$ .

997 ff.

The lines are rightly combined by Young with the four preceding. The circumstances of the imagined competition are described in detail; cf. *Od.* 18. 366 ff. It would be the middle of the day. The sun would lately have begun to drive his horses on a horizontal path. ( $\pi\chi\rho\alpha\rho\gamma\acute{\gamma}\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota$  is quite unsuitable for a charioteer, and does not help to specify the time of day.  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\nu$  ‘ $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega$ ’ expresses a highly precise sense in the most correct possible language;  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha\nu\tau\alpha$  is found only in *Il.* 23. 116, but is the exact word for going on a level as distinct from uphill or downhill. ΠΑΡΑΝΤΕΛΛΟΙ > ΠΑΡΑΝΓΕΛΛΟΙ.) We would be finishing our meal, in our own time, not as the food ran out but as each person was satisfied.

## 1019

ἐπεὶ is generally printed; but πλέον εἶναι is not Greek for 'last longer', and ἐπεὶ is bad sense (it is not awareness of its impermanence that makes young beauty potent).

## 1031-2

ἔχθει μῆδ' { ἄχθει  
εχθει mss. αὐχει μῆδ' αἴσχεα Stob.

ἔχθει is clearly influenced by ἐχθρούς in the following line, and ἄχθει (which itself becomes εχθει in A) may be partially influenced by it. Stobaeus' readings are not, and are therefore likely to be nearer the truth. αἴσχεα is at least possible, as an addition to ἄλγος. The hawk said to the nightingale (Hes. *Op.* 210 f.)

ἄφρων δ', ὅς κ' ἐθέλη πρὸς κρείσσονας ἀντιφερῖζειν·  
νίκης τε στέρεται πρὸς τ' αἴσχεσιν ἄλγεα πάσχει.

So here the ἀπρηκτα ἔργα may be unrealizable ambitions. Is αὐχεῖν a suitable verb? The meaning will be 'And do not feed your pride on hopes beyond achievement: you will only increase your suffering and shame'. This does not strike me as unacceptable, and if αὐχει is not right, I do not know what is.

## 1085-6

The meaning of the couplet changes according to the reading adopted. I understand it to mean 'Demonax, you are often hard to tolerate, because you have not learnt the art of doing things you dislike'. Most editors read σοὶ πολλὰ φέρειν βαρὺ, which yields the dull communication 'Demonax, it is hard for you to tolerate many things, because you have not learnt to do things you dislike'.

## 1097-1100

Several conjectures have been provoked by the oddity of a bird apparently snared in water. I wonder whether the poet is not alluding to a story known to us from Mesomedes (poem 10 Heitsch). A swan was stuck fast on a frozen river. A passing goatherd, ἄμουσος ἀπόλος ἀγρότας, set out towards it intending to kill it; but the sun melted the ice in time, the villain fell through, and the swan flew away rejoicing. Another of Mesomedes' animal stories is attested in the eighth century B.C. (on an Assyrian tablet), and there is no difficulty in the icebound bird (not necessarily a swan on a river) being an equally ancient theme. Cf. *Harv. Stud.* 73, 1968, 114-6.

But what about βρόχον ἀπορρήξας? Can it be taken metaphorically, of ice? The Mesomedes poem, as transmitted, begins

κύκνον ἐνὶ ποταμῷ  
κάτεχεν ἄτερ βρόχου  
παγόμετον ὕδωρ.

But ἄτερ βρόχου is unmetrical. The metre (anapaestic dimeters) requires something like Horna's ἄτε βρόχος.

## 1101-2b

In 1101-2, transmitted as an unattached relative clause, I recognize the relative clause desiderated by Bergk as the qualification of 539-40. The possibility is raised to a probability by the similarity obtaining between the next couplets, 541-2 and 1103-4. (Peppmüller even proposed to combine them.) The general parallelism between 523-72 and 1101-52 indicates the provenance of both sections from the same part of the *Florilegium Magnum*. In the *Magnum*, *δοτὶς σοι - φίλων* will have been followed by *οὗτος ἀνὴρ - θεοῖ* and then the two couplets about *ὕβρις*. The first excerptor took 539-40 and 541-2; the second 1101-2, surely also the main clause on which it grammatically depended, and 1103-4. The recurrence of 1101-2 without the main clause as 1278ab shows that the couplet fell out (perhaps deleted as a repetition) before the segregation of the erotica.

## 1133-4

'Cyrnus, with the friends that we have let us check this evil in its beginning, and seek our remedy for the ulcer while it is yet growing.'

## 1157

I object to *ἀμαχώτατον* not as a neuter but as a singular. It would imply 'the combination of riches and cleverness'. Young suggests *ἀμαχωτάτω*, but the dual is hardly used in elegy (cf. p. 92), and again would suggest a closer connexion between *πλοῦτος* and *σοφία* than the poet can intend. Blaydes proposed *ἀμαχώτατα*.

## 1160a, 1162

The gross corruptions here resemble scribal conjectures in a part of the text that had become partly illegible through damp or some other cause.

## 1164gh (417-8)

*ὑπερτερή* probably means 'the surface' of the metal being tested, like *χρομή* in 451. 1164g is a *nominativus pendens*, 'when I come to the assay and am the gold rubbed against the lead', followed by *ὑπερτερῆς ἀμμιν ἔνεστι λόγος*, 'the reckoning of the surface is (proved to be) in me (throughout)'. 417 is the primary version, 1164g has been assimilated to 1105.

## 1166

*τέρματα* marks the end of the journey. The advice cannot be 'never associate with low types when you reach your journey's end'; what is special about the time of arrival? It must be 'until you reach your journey's end', i.e. at any time during your travels. It is very doubtful whether *εὔτ' ἄν* can mean 'until' (see my note on Hes. *Th.* 754; at Ap. Rhod. 3. 944 a papyrus has now appeared giving *ἔστ' ἄν*), and as *εὔτε* and *ἔστε* are elsewhere confused I am cheerful about writing *ἔστ' ἄν* here. *ἀπ' ἐμπορίας* accounts well for the variants of A and o.

## 1175

Several things are wrong. *ἔστὶ* is so easily understood in *ἢ πολὺ κρείσσων - κέρου* that no decent poet would have made space for it in the next couplet.

The plural τῶν is unexplained except by the most artificial expedients. And οὐ τι 'nothing', 'none', is against Theognis' usage: he consistently uses οὐδεὶς (43, 61-2, 64, 66, 101, 131, 133, 141, 143, 152, 159, 219, 235, 299, 335, 370, 409, 411, 430, 895, 1183, 1223, 1225: 24 instances) except where a particle intervenes between the negative and the pronoun, οὐδέ τις etc. (21, 135, 139, 177, 833). Conclusion: the line is a patchwork designed to replace a longer passage that led to 1176. ἐστὶ was used to complete what seemed syntactically incomplete (a common urge in interpolators); τῶν was made plural in anticipation of τοῦτων; οὐ τι κάκιον was perhaps borrowed from 811, where οὕτι is adverbial.

## 1181-2

κατακλῖναι is a strange verb to meet. Perhaps this is a mock oracle (like 843-4), addressed to the wife of Pisistratus. It became public knowledge that she had a problem with his unorthodox style of intercourse (Herodotus 1. 61). The verb would have the double sense, 'lay' sexually and more generally 'lay low'.

## 1194

For τῷ ξυνόν, 'it is all the same to him', cf. Parmenides B 5 ξυνόν δέ μοι ἐστὶν ὀπίθεον ἀρξωμαι· τόθι γὰρ πάλιν ἴξομαι αὖθις. For the construction σκληρὸν γίνεται ἢ μαλακόν cf. *Od.* 11. 463 f. οὐδέ τι οἶδα, ζῶει ἐγ' ἢ τέθνηκα, 24. 238, *Il.* 10. 546. The interpolation of an introductory ἦ was natural enough.

## 1201

Planudes' κύφων' . . . ἀρότρου is ingenious, but the phrase κυφὸν ἄροτρον is supported by *Ephigr. Gr.* 618. 14 Kaibel (compared by Garzya). The inscription preserves 43 verses of an extempore poem on a set subject, with which one Q. Sulpicius Maximus favourably impressed the judges at the Capitoline games of A.D. 94. He died shortly afterwards aged twelve, his health undermined by unremitting devotion to the Muses. Apart from these interesting circumstances, the poem is important as evidence how far the stylistic trend that culminates in Nonnus had already developed by the end of the first century.

## 1202

Bergk's apparatus contains a string of wild conjectures that I have not thought it necessary to reproduce in mine, since they neither solve the problem (at least, no one has thought so except their authors) nor suggest a plausible line of approach to it.

Young's νῆσταις is more interesting, though he makes it part of a quite incredible reconstruction.\* To me it suggests 'working non-stop', as Odysseus imagines himself and Eurymachus in their reaping competition (*Od.* 18. 370) νῆσταις ἄχρι μάλα κνέφαος. (Shortage of fodder would not be in point, for

\* 'Naufragio rei publicae (cf. 667ss 855s) exsulans poeta mulos secum in nave vexerat vel terra egerat, vel curru mulari vectus erat. inopia domini exsulantis esuriunt.

Theognis is recalling his former prosperity.) Hesiod advises non-stop work at ploughing-time:

δὴ τότ' ἐφορμηθῆναι ὁμῶς διμῶές τε καὶ αὐτός,  
αὐτὴν καὶ διεργὴν ἀρόων ἀρότοιο καθ' ὥρην,  
πρῶτ' ἄλλ' ἀπὸ σπείδων, ἵνα τοὶ πλήθωσιν ἄρουραι.

(*Op.* 459–61.) A connexion with sailing (εἰνεκα ναυτιλῆς) is possible, for the main sailing season comes to an end shortly before ploughing-time (*Op.* 614–23). If the mules are particularly pressed for time, it is because they have started late, and if it is because of the trading voyage, the latter has been extended; of the possible reasons for that, the one that suits the context is commercial success.

1226

An awkward line, presumably meaning 'I can testify to that; now you make yourself able to testify to my trustworthiness'; a roundabout way of saying 'marry one'. The unnatural expression perhaps indicates alteration by the excerptor. Contrast 37–8 ἀγαθοῖσιν ὁμίλει, καὶ ποτε φήσεις εὖ συμβουλεύειν τοῖσι φίλοισιν ἐμέ, 99–100 σὺ δέ μοι φίλε ταῦτ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ φράζεο, καὶ ποτέ μου μνήσκει ἐξοπλῶ.

1230

Cf. *Hymn. Herm.* 38 (and 443, 478); Soph. *Ichn.* 292 f.; 'Cleobulina' fr. 3; Philitas fr. 16 Powell.

1234

You cannot say that someone perished ἔρωτος or θεοῦ ἀτασθαλίαις: sinners perish by their own ἀτασθαλίαι, even if a god has caused their derangement.

1254

It is quite possible that Plato's version is due to inaccurate recollection, and that Hermias, although he has got additional information from elsewhere about the authorship, is dependent on Plato for the text.

1283–94

In the first couplet, ἔτι σοὶ καταθύμιος εἶναι βούλομαι is usually (after Passow) taken as a parenthesis, εὐφροσύνη τοῦτο συνεὶς ἀγαθῆ being connected with μή μ' ἄδικαι. It is true that τοῦτο συνεὶς and similar expressions tend in these verses to refer to the addressee and to form part of the appeal (cf. 1237, 1305–6, 1322). On the other hand, εὐφροσύνη usually refers to the happiness of the lover-poet (cf. 1256, 1324), and without the aid of our clever punctuation it would be difficult for anyone not to relate συνεὶς to the closely preceding βούλομαι. I interpret: 'I still want to be friends; this discovery (viz. your infidelity) has not destroyed my εὐφροσύνη, because you cannot get the better of me by deception'.

"For the words οὐ γὰρ τοὶ με δόλω printed by all the editors before παρελεύσεται", declares Hudson-Williams, "there is no MSS. authority whatever; they should be treated as a pure conjecture; they are written in the margin of A in a very late hand (probably late eighteenth century), and the

black ink seems quite fresh. They were there when Bekker used the MS. for his edition (1815)." The dating to the late eighteenth century, bolstered by the silly remark about the apparent freshness of the ink, seems to result from the desire to make the supplement as late as it could be in view of Bekker's collation. Who this eighteenth-century scholar was who made a single efficient intervention in a text still lurking at Verona unknown to the learned world, and silently withdrew, leaving to Bekker the glory of its discovery, it is hard to conceive. In fact the hand is not 'very late' at all. Naturally it is difficult to date such a short specimen of writing, but the depressed lambda suggests a date not later than the twelfth century, the closed omega and adscript iota also look early features, and there is not the smallest detail out of keeping even with a tenth-century dating. I was glad to have my judgment confirmed by Mr Nigel Wilson, whose immediate impression was of a tenth-century hand, probably contemporary with the text. There is therefore no reason why the supplement should not have been inserted on manuscript authority. If it was a conjecture, it was a remarkably stylish one, and it is surprising that its author did not exercise his talent anywhere else in the entire text.

I proceed with my interpretation. 'You cannot get the better of me by deception. For though your success has given you an advantage from now on, yet I will prick you from behind, as once, they say, Atalanta . . .' If the text broke off there, commentators would naturally refer to Hyg. *fab.* 185: *pater eius simultatem constituit, <ut> qui eam ducere vellet prius in certamine cursu(s) cum ea contenderet, termino constituto; {ut} ille inermis fugeret, haec cum telo insequeretur; quem intra finem termini consecuta fuisset, interficeret, cuius caput in stadio fi(g)eret.*

This version of the story is not otherwise attested, but Rose notes that it may have an old ritual background. Supposing that it was what the poet of 1287 had in mind, we understand that τρώσω is meant purely metaphorically, it is not an indelicacy of a kind quite foreign to these poems. (So in 1362, σαπρού πεισματός is accounted for by the nautical metaphor of 1361, and does not have the sense of the rotten rope in Ar. V. 1342-3.)

But the allusion to Atalanta develops in a quite different way, after an extraordinary tautology, Ἰασίου κούρην, παρθένον Ἰασίην. We are told (as also in the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, with which there are verbal parallels: cf. fr. 73. 4-5; 76. 6) that Atalanta refused to consider marriage, and that she 'fled' from it and took to the mountain heights (this is not attested for the *Catalogue*, but there is a parallel case in Porthaon's daughters, fr. 26. 10 ff.); but in the end she came to know the gifts of Aphrodite all the same. In order that this may be parallel to ἀλλά σ' ἐγὼ τρώσω φεύγοντά με, we must imagine Hippomenes pounding up the mountain slopes and finally catching and raping the runaway at a gusty altitude. Not only is this a preposterous departure from the myth, it makes 1287 mean 'I'll get you back in the end', which is a contradiction of 1286.

The problem can only be resolved by assuming two different poets. It is theoretically possible that two poems which referred to Atalanta, and were placed in succession because of it, have become conflated, a scribe's eye slipping from Ἰασίου κούρην in one to παρθένον Ἰασίην in the other. I think it

more probable that the second phrase is a stopgap filling out the pentameter, perhaps, as in other such cases, the work of an excerptor who needed to round off a couplet: 1289-94 would then be a subsequent extension by someone who thought the Atalanta reference should be expanded. Alternatively, the second half of 1288 was from the start connected with what followed, and the second poet deliberately changed the first poet's work. In favour of this hypothesis is the appearance of ζωσαμένη(ν) in 1290. No doubt Atalanta did 'gird up' when leaving home, but the verb has more point in the context of the armed race. I suspect that the poet has borrowed it from the original. Perhaps the same is true of the curious phrase ἐργ' ἀτέλεστα τέλει, which would be more appropriate in an appeal to the errant boy, 'don't leave our affair unfinished'. Cf. 1355-6, 1370, 953.

## 1311

διώκω is what sense and style most favour (cf. 1283 ff., 1299), and in early minuscule κω might well be misread as μαι. It is usual to start a new sentence with τούτοις, resumed with the second τούτοις in 1314. It is surely more straightforward to hang τούτοις on κλέψας and make a new sentence at 1314.

## 1335-6

A mild joke, according to my conjecture. The lover's palaestra is at home. Douglas Young told me there is an Italian term for an afternoon sleep 'ginnastica napoletana'.

Haec sunt paucula illa, amice Lector, quae in Theognidis Γνώμας Ἐλεγειακὰς habuimus, tibi que impertienda duximus: quae eo tu animo accipias velim, quo nos tua (id est pergrato) sumus lecturi, siquid his melius ampliusque aliquando dederis. (Vinetus)

## ADESPOTA ELEGIACA

## Fr. 8

The nature of the continuation, an expression of grief or severe love, is suggested by Archil. 215 καὶ μ' οὐτ' ἰάμβων οὐτε τερπωλέων μέλει (see note ad loc.), or Sappho's

γλόκηα μᾶτερ, οὐ τοὶ δύναιμι κρέσθην τὸν ἴστον  
πόθῳ δάμεισα παῖδος βραδίαν δι' Ἀφροδίταν.

## Fr. 28

There can be no doubt about the subject matter of the lines once it is recognized, and probable supplements follow. The poet confesses that his sexual inhibitions are losing their grip. Ever since his pubic hair appeared, he has - ἀχνόμενος - respected Dike and Aidos, but now he is a prey to Desire.

3 looks like the beginning; cf. Th. 695 οὐ δύναμαι σοὶ θυμὲ παρασχεῖν ἄρμενα πάντα (which supports ψυχή vocative here, though the spacing, so far as it can be estimated on the basis of supplements in the next lines, suggests that ψυχηι may have been written instead), and οὐ δύναμαι (or -ται) opening poems in Th. 367, 415, 939; *Anth. Pal.* 11. 242, 268, 378; 12. 19; 14. 93.

What he means by ὀπιθός I do not know.

5, νεο[τρεφέ]ων suits the context well, and it is not surprising if the much commoner word διοτρεφέων, inappropriate as it is, had displaced it in the corrector's other copy.

7, a variation on Solon's ἤβης . . . σήματα γεινομένης (27. 4).

10 ff., for 'the child in me' cf. Pl. *Phaed.* 77e. In what follows, the supplements suggested assume use of Hesiod's famous image of the hill of Ἀρετή, but at the same time 'leafy [glens]' may be an allusion to a specific carnal pleasure, especially in view of fr. 29. 8, which comes from the lower part of the same column and may well belong to the continuation of the poem. There, after remains suggesting a sea crossing (image for emotional disturbance?), we see the poet wishing to arrive at a certain distant goal. Something that in different texts might be either ]δενδρον or ]υμνον must be a celebrated grove, and it does not seem far-fetched to think of the metaphorical grove of Venus described in the anonymous hexameters quoted above on Archil. 190.

In the succeeding column someone appears to be being praised for beauty of appearance and voice (5?, 8, 10 f.) in the context of a symposium (7, 9). It is easy to imagine this as part of the same poem, but we can do no more than speculate.

#### ADESPOTA IAMBICA

##### Fr. 35

The piece contains a remonstrance with a man (9) who has wronged an innocent female relative (7-8, 12-13, 18) in such a way as to offend the gods (6, 10, etc.). Philanthe is probably her name. As for what has been or is being done to her, the likeliest hypothesis is betrothal to an unworthy man instead of to the speaker - just what Archilochus attacked Lycambes for, though of his daughters it was Neoboule that most interested Archilochus, the name of the other (or others) being unrecorded. Of the two early Ionian iambographers who wrote pure trimeters and were read in the Roman period, Archilochus and Semonides, the first is the stronger claimant for authorship of the fragment on grounds of tone and metre (resolution in 11). ἄρα (6) occurs four times in Archilochus, κίχων (16) twice, ὄσος (19) thrice, and none of them is found elsewhere in early iambus. The emphatic ταῦτ' ἐγὼ μαντεύομαι recalls Archil. 25. 5, τοῦτ' οὕτως ἄλλος μάντις ἀλλ' ἐγὼ εἶπέ σοι. There are some points that might be held to favour a later writer: the double γε in 8-9 (which does not however go beyond Homeric usage); περί + accusative in the sense 'concerning, towards' (frequent in Herodotus; Th. 1144, 1359); ἐπισφάζω first in Euripides; ἐών contracted in pronunciation (see above, p. 107).

If it is Archilochus, the pronoun in 8 will probably be κείνη not ἐκείνη, and ]νε a vocative; the genitives will be with τούξεται, 'she will get . . . from her husband, or from her erinyes'.

14, my supplement makes it easy to say why the scribe at first wrote ἀμοιβήν.



19, the suggested supplement would mean, 'Not everyone is able to please the gods even when they are agreeably disposed'.

## AESCHYLUS

### Fr. 2

Bergk conjectured Τυρσηνῶν γενεάν, which would be paralleled by *Persae* 912 Περσῶν γενεᾶ. As it stands, the text is excellent Greek for 'an Etruscan by descent' (the apposition φαρμακοποιὸν ἔθνος is surely acceptable), as e.g. *Il.* 23. 471 Αἰτωλὸς γενεήν. So in epitaphs, with γενεάν in just this place in the couplet, as *GVI* 325 (Panticapaeum, v B.C.) Ταῦρος ἐὼν γενεήν, or with ancestor's name 42 (Corcyra, vii B.C., hex.) Οἰάνθεος γενεάν.

## ANANIUS

### Fr. 5

3. φθινοπωρισμῶ is usually accepted as a poetic variant on φθινοπώρω. The prosody is licentious, and the formation outlandish: what would \*φθινοπωρίζω mean? I suspect that an intrusive gloss φθινοπώρω has deformed a word or phrase ending in -ισμῶ and referring to an activity of that season. But I have no suggestion as to what it was.

8. ἰχθύεσσιν is an Aeolism, or more probably epicism. Ananius may have been freer in this respect than the other Ionian iambographers, but it seems worth considering ἰχθύσ' ἐστὶ as a possible alternative. Cf. Kühner – Blass i. 236 for the elision, and Th. 522 for the converse corruption.

## ANTIMACHUS

### Fr. 66

The fragment may mean simply, 'the sun had just set'.

### Fr. 69

The mother of the ethnic eponym Solymus must have been a local nymph; that is the regular pattern. Searching the map for a likely name, I find nothing more promising than the Χελιδόνιοι νῆσοι, just out from the promontory to which the Solyma mountains descend at their southern end. Chelidonia might therefore be an appropriate name for a nymph of that region.

Local nymphs tend to be daughters of a river, and fr. 100 refers to the daughter of the river Pydes, of whose location we know only that it was in Pisidia (St. Byz.); Antimachus' 'far-famed' is something of an exaggeration. Indeed, who can the daughter of the river be but the local nymph?

### Fr. 191

I have assigned this number to an anonymous hexameter which obviously comes from a learned poet, and is attributed by Pfeiffer with great plausibility to Antimachus' *Lyde*. If the smallest possible change is made to the

unmetrical θᾶσσον, it reads 'I sat', or 'they sat, on the golden banks of the Pactolus'. We knew from Hermesianax 7. 42 (= test. 6) that 'Antimachus, smitten with love for Lyde, came to the stream of Pactolus river'<sup>9</sup>. Pfeiffer proposes Ἀντίμαχος for ἄλλως: I think it slightly more likely that καὶ ἄλλως introduced a second quotation, the first having fallen out together with the poet's name.

If the combination is right, it gives us for the first time a fragment from the personal framework of the *Lyde*. As Antimachus went to Lydia on account of the girl, and she was kind to him, it may be conjectured that he did not sit by the river in solitude but together with her. It is interesting to notice that he made Jason and Medea make love for the first time on the banks of the barbarian princess's local river, whereas other writers placed the event at Byzantium or Corcyra (fr. 64).

We are also told that he comforted himself on the death of his beloved by relating the misfortunes of heroes (ps.-Plutarch in test. 7), and in fact the poem contained the stories of Jason, Oedipus, Bellerophon, and perhaps Smyrna, tales in which love is associated with violent death; there were doubtless more.

## CALLINUS

### Fr. 4

Stephanus' terminology, τρισυλλάβως, indicates a variant of scansion rather than morphological nature. If the Treres are the same as the Treveri, \*Τρήφηρες might be postulated, giving Τρήφηρες > Τρήρες. The relationship of Τρήρες to Τρηῆρες would be obscure.

## CRITIAS

### Fr. 6

15. I am not sure whether φρένα is the object of the verb, parallel to γλῶσσα (cf. νόος paired with γλῶσσα in a sympotic context, Th. 480 v.l., 504-7 cj., and otherwise, 1185, al.), or governed by the preposition, so that φρέν' εἰς ἁρᾶν is parallel to εἰς φιλοφροσύνην μέτριόν τε γέλωτα. If the first, Emperius's ἐπίδα may be right: 'just enough for the mind to turn everything into a cheerful prospect, and the tongue (to turn everything) to bonhomie and controlled gaiety', or, with Bergk's πάντας ἄγειν, 'enough for everyone to bring his mind to a cheerful outlook' etc. If the second, ἀσπίδα may conceal a neuter plural agreeing with πάντα: 'enough to turn all their (worries, or something) into cheerfulness'.

26. εἶναι δυνατούς is clumsy and redundant, the idea being already contained in σύμμετρα πρὸς τὸ φρονεῖν καὶ τὸ πονεῖν. As δυνατός, δύναμις, may refer

<sup>9</sup> The epithet applied to Lyde, transmitted in Athenaeus as λυσθηδος, is usually read as Λυθηίδος, an improbable form, and no less improbable stylistically with Λύδης. Νυσθηδος, i.e. from the Lydian Nysais, seems much likelier.

particularly to the power of action conferred by wealth (cf. Solon 5. 3, Th. 34, 412, 522, 718), and as above in 9–13 and 17–18 health of body, mind and finances is treated together, it may be that a copula should be added to make εἶναι a third infinitive in series with the other two.

## DEMODOCUS

### Fr. 2

The distich about Procles appears in the Anthology as Demodocus', with Procles a Chian, and in Strabo as Phocylides', with Procles a Lerian. It is customary to assume two separate poems, one by Demodocus and one by Phocylides, and as Demodocus was a Lerian, it is sometimes supposed that Phocylides turned the other's jest against his island.

I see it like this. We are dealing with sixth-century (or possibly fifth-century) verse, not with Hellenistic epigram. Whoever this Procles was, he was a real person, and either a Chian or a Lerian. Since the better-known place is likely to have extruded the lesser-known, and since the couplet is quoted by Strabo specifically in relation to Leros, and since Χῖος is unmetrical in the second line, and the combination καὶ . . . δέ foreign to archaic verse, it is clear that he was a Lerian. ΧΕΙΟΙ may have been a visual error for ΑΕΠΙΟΙ in the first verse, entailing a corresponding alteration of the second.

Again, this joke about the Lerians and Procles must either be by Demodocus or by Phocylides. Since the Anthology has it from a book tradition, whereas Strabo is quoting from memory and might easily substitute Phocylides' well-known signature for Demodocus'; and since pieces quoted from Phocylides are usually in hexameters and it is not certain that he wrote elegiacs (see under his name in the edition); and since those pieces are not distinguished for wit, while the Procles poem deservedly stands beside the Μιλήσιοι ἀξύνετοι one; I conclude that it was the Lerian who castigated the Lerians. Who else was interested in them, after all?

### Fr. 6

δικάζεσθαι means to litigate, to have one's case heard. In certain circumstances, says Demodocus, you must insist on getting severe justice. The best parallel is the Hipponax fragment (123, cf. 122) quoted with this one by Diogenes. πίνων (F) is not nonsense: 'when drinking, insist on strictly fair shares'. Or τίνων, 'if you are making repayment'. But it may well be that τύχης was followed not by a participle but by a genitive, concealed in τήνων: 'if you encounter' a certain class of people.

## EUENUS

### Fr. 2

The parallel between line 4 and Critias 6. 18 favours the ascription to the sophist Euenus, and there is also a certain similarity between ὕπνω γείτονι τοῦ θανάτου and Critias' ὕπνον . . . τὸν καμάτων λιμένα, despite the difference in the evaluation of sleep.

*Fr. 3*

The preoccupation with σοφία (cf. 4, 9a), combined with the theme of discovering each man's character, which is common in the Theognidea, again suits our Euenus rather than a later one.

*Fr. 9*

1. Many editions wrongly give πολυχρονίην.

## 'HOMER', MARGITES

*Fr. 7*

The verses describe a comic nocturnal misadventure – no doubt of Margites – conceived in a spirit of Hipponactean farce. (Line 3 indeed parallels Hippon. 92. 6.) I take the narrative to run as follows. Needing to empty his bladder (1?), he pushes the appropriate organ into a vessel, and finds he is stuck, hand and all (1–5). In this predicament he promptly passes water (6). Now he has another idea. He leaves his bed and rushes out into the night, looking for means to free his hand (7–11). It is pitch dark; he has no torch (12–13). Encountering the unlucky head of some other person, he takes it for a stone, and with one hefty blow he smashes the pot over it (14–17), thus administering at once a painful crack on the pate and a sour douche.

## ION

*Fr. 26*

5–6. The arm is usually taken to belong to the vine which, as it puts forth from the ground, embraces or reaches for the aither. But ἐπτύξατο on this interpretation would require the accusative, while Lobeck's ἐπορεύξατο would require χερσί, besides being too far removed from the transmitted variants. Von Blumenthal sees that αἰθέρος must depend on πήχει, but decides to read ἐν λέξατο, explaining 'die Rebe ist personifiziert gedacht, sie zeugt mit dem Aether die Kinder', viz. the offspring described in the following lines. The interpretation, which was anticipated by O. Schneider (*Zeitschr. f. Alt.* 1838, 947), is illuminating, but the conjecture unnecessary if ἐπτύξατο is taken as passive (so Schneider).

The metaphor of the aither's embrace is best paralleled by Eur. fr. 941:

ὄρᾳς τὸν ὕψου τόνδ' ἀπειρον αἰθέρα  
καὶ γῆν περίξ ἔχονθ' ὕγραῖς ἐν ἀγκάλαις·  
τοῦτον νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τόνδ' ἡγοῦ θεόν.

12. The asyndeton is one symptom of corruption, a symptom easily curable by the injection of δ' (Hartung). But there are other signs that the malady is more serious: the abrupt change of subject, and the conclusion of the hymn so suddenly after the leisurely account of the vine's progress from under the ground to the mixing-bowl. We expect more about the symposium itself. And rather than τῶν ἀγαθῶν . . . οἶνος ἐδειξε φύσιν, we expect something like

Th. 500 ἀνδρὸς δ' οἶνος ἔδειξε νόον, Alcaeus 333 οἶνος γὰρ ἀνθρώπων δίοπτρον, Adesp. eleg. 22 (χρόνου) δε καὶ ὑπὸ στέρνοις ἀνδρὸς ἔδειξε νόον. It is not incorrect that wine reveals the character of the trusty, but Ion is more likely to have used a polar expression such as τῶν τε πονηρῶν / τῶν τ' ἀγαθῶν. Cf. 'Chilon' ap. D.L. 1. 71 ἐν δὲ χρυσῷ (l. χρόνω) ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν τε κακῶν τε νοῦς ἔδωκ' ἔλεγχον. In that case, you may say, why not mark a lacuna after line 11, with Meineke? Because I do not want to have to assume both a lacuna and the omission of a particle in 12. My suggestion is, accordingly, that Ion wrote χοροὶ τε τῶν ἀγαθῶν, in the same spirit as the famous αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ δαίτας ἔνται ([Hes.]) fr. 264, Bacchyl. fr. 4. 23, Cratin. 169, Eupol. 289, Pl. *Symp.* 174b).

### Fr. 27

Wilamowitz, *Timotheos*, p. 75 n. 1, and *Hermes* 62, 1927, 283 = *Kl. Schr.* iv. 438, attributed this fragment to the Samian Ion who composed a dedicatory epigram in Doric on behalf of Lysander (i. 1. 87 Diehl<sup>9</sup>). He argued that its directness differentiated it from the individual style of fr. 26; that although a visit by the Chian to Archidamus would account for the libation to Procles, the founder of the Eurypontid house at Sparta, and supply a possible origin for the story of a conversation between Archidamus and Thucydides the son of Melesias (Plut. *Per.* 8. 5; U. Koehler, *Hermes* 29, 1894, 156–8), a pro-Athenian should not so lower himself as to hail a Spartan king as 'father and saviour'; and thirdly that other poems ascribed to him must date from after his death (fr. 32, see below; *Anth. Pal.* 7. 43 on the death of Euripides, which, as an epigram, I would put in a separate category).

The argument from ἡμέτερος βασιλεύς would be weak even if it were clear that the salutation does not refer to wine, or to Dionysus (Schneidewin; C. Nieberding, *De Ionis Chii vita* etc., 1836, 69. Cf. 26. 12 βασιλεύς οἶνος, 13 πάτερ Διόνυσε, 15 χαῖρε). As for style, the fragment does not contain a flight of fancy comparable with 26. 4–9, but the mood is identical. If line 1 refers to wine, there is a strong stylistic link straight away. 7 πίνωμεν, παίζωμεν — 26. 16 πίνειν καὶ παίζειν. 8 ὀρχεῖσθω . . . φιλοφροσύνης — 26. 11 φιλοφροσύναι τε χοροὶ τε. 10 κυδρότερον 'more proudly', the same use in Ion's play *Eurytidae*, fr. 55 Blumenthal = 13 Snell (Hesych. κυδρός· ἐνδοξος καὶ τὰ ὅμοια, γαυριῶν, πεποιθώς. <Ἴων> Εὐρυτιδαίς). There can be little doubt that Athenaeus' ascription of the lines to the Chian is correct. This is also the view of Jacoby, *CQ* 41, 1947, 8–9, who dates them to 463/2, when Ion's friend Cimon led a force to join Archidamus against the revolting Messenians.

### Fr. 32

The poet addresses the newly-invented eleven-stringed lyre. The authenticity of the verses is disputed (Wilamowitz, *Timotheos* l.c., and others) because Timotheus in his *Persae*, probably composed about 25 years after Ion's death, claims the eleven-stringed lyre as an innovation of his own which makes him the true successor of Orpheus and Terpander (*Melici* 791. 221 ff.). He is defending himself against Spartan criticism of his modern style of citharody (206 ff.). It was evidently already notorious, eleven strings and all. Timotheus was not less than 26 at the time of Ion's death, possibly as old as 40, and there is no chronological impossibility in Ion's having heard the new

instrument. At least two other hypotheses are consistent with the genuineness of the fragment: that the instrument was invented independently in more than one place at the same period, or that however originally Timotheus exploited it, his claim to have invented it was exaggerated.

Another objection might be raised, but hardly sustained, on the ground of the fragment's dialect. Ionic forms such as we see in other fragments of Ion's elegies are absent, and there is the Attic -ούσας; this might be due to the tradition. There is δεκαβάμονα, but that had better be left out of account, since -βήμων never occurs in compounds so formed. Then there is Aeolic ἔχοισα suggested by the transmitted ἔχοις ἀεί, a frail datum unsupported by συμφωνούσας immediately following, and lacking any parallel in classical elegy, though one can conceive that it might have been felt appropriate to an address to a lyre with novel musical properties.

δεκαβάμονα τῶξιν ἔχοισα presumably means 'arranged to give ten progressions' from a given starting-point. On the same principle the seven-stringed lyre is said in line 3 to be plucked merely διὰ τέσσαρα; that is to say, from the central string common to the two tetrachords in the system, the melody can only move within the limits of a single tetrachord in either direction. The new lyre provides a third tetrachord, disjunct, i.e. without a string in common with the other pair but wholly above or below it. If it is so arranged that the lowest note of the disjunct tetrachord is a whole tone above the highest of the other seven (or its highest a tone below the lowest), the note common to the conjunct tetrachords will make an octave with the outermost note of the disjunct one, e.g. (ascending) D x x G A x x D x x G, and at the same time the innermost note of the disjunct one will make an octave with the last note at the opposite end of the conjunct sequence, D x x G A x x D x x G.

(T. Reinach, *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 14, 1901, 11.) This must be what is meant by συμφωνοῦσαι ἀρμονίας τριῶδοι. The τριῶδοι are the junctions of the tetrachords, where the melody can pass from one track to another, and these junctions stand in harmonic relationships.

For a more detailed and technical account see Flora Levin, *TAPA* 92, 1961, 295-307.

## MIMNERMUS

*Fr.* 5

3. See on Th. 1019.

*Fr.* 9

5. For several years, from the time when I first considered the problem to a moment very shortly before my edition went to the press, I was satisfied that Brunck's δ' Ἀλήεντος was the true reading. The name of a river at Colophon is required: the one river associated with Colophon in ancient literature is the Ἄλης, genitive Ἀλεντος, which was once presumably called Ἀλήεις,<sup>10</sup> and δ' Ἀλήεντος is palaeographically close to διαστήεντος.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. ψίης ψίεντος from \*ψιήεις. The accents are all wrong, though; we should have ψιῆς ψιέντος (LSJ s.v.), Ἄλης Ἀλέντος, and in fact the mss. of

Unfortunately the Ales is firmly identified as the stream which rises from several springs to the south of Colophon and flows southwards past Claros to the sea at Notium. (Fontrier, *Μουσείον καὶ Βιβλιοθ. τῆς εὐαγγ. σχολῆς ἐν Σμύρῃ* 3, 1880, 191; C. Schuchhardt, *Ath. Mitt.* 11, 1886, 413.) Anyone setting out from Colophon to go to Smyrna would have left the city by the north gate which opened towards the valley of a different river, now called Dereboğaz Deresi, that flows in a roughly southwesterly direction and debouches between Notium and Lebedos; and he would go up that river valley for the first part of his journey. That is the river that Mimnermus must have had in mind if he had ever been at Colophon; and even if he had not, the story came from people who had. Fontrier and Schuchhardt are both led to this conclusion, and both assume that the poet knew the river as the 'Αστίεις.

But again there is a snag. The name of the river appears in Paus. 7. 3. 5 as *Καλάων* (Hitzig-Blümner ad loc.), and the river-god *Καλεων* or *Καλλων* who is shown on imperial coins of Smyrna (Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>3</sup> p. 594; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, Ionia, p. 278) is evidently the same. (Perhaps *Κάλλοντα* should be written for *Καλάοντα* in Pausanias.) J. M. Cook sets out the difficulty in *Χαριστήριον εἰς Α. Κ. Ὀρλάνδον* 1, 1965, 148-52. He rightly insists that Mimnermus must have named his river.

'There is no notable river of Colophon; and a reference to an unnamed and unspecified stream there would have been meaningless to the poet's audience. The various conventional epithets that have been proposed are therefore not only individually more or less arbitrary, but they are in general unacceptable.'

The two rivers near Colophon, however, have the disadvantages mentioned. His solution is to turn to the one remaining river which could come into question: the Meles, which would have to be crossed shortly before reaching Smyrna. He notes that the letters HENTOC are not far distant from MEAITOC (the itacistic spelling found at ps.-Hdt. *vit. Hom.* 3), and he suggests δ' αὐτε Μέλητος. He finds an echo of Mimnermus in Hom. epigr. 4. 6 ff., *Αλολιδα Σμύρην . . . ἦν τε δι' ἀγλαδὸν εἰσιν ὕδωρ ἱεροῖο Μέλητος. ἐνθεν ἀπορνύμεναι Μοῦσαι κτλ.*

The corruption postulated is not impossible, if not particularly likely. A more serious objection is that the reader of the lines must expect (and in the past always has expected) that . . . ἀπορνύμενοι ποταμοῖο represents an expansion of *καίθεν*, and marks the departure of the expedition from Colophon. When one looks at the map of the region, it is hard to avoid the conviction that Mimnermus should be speaking of Dereboğaz Deresi, whatever name he knew it by. Is it possible that in his day the name 'Αλήεις referred to it and not to the stream on the other side of the town? Or that he loosely equated Colophon with the Ales? I do not find either idea specially attractive, and prefer to leave *διαστήντος* with the decent ornament of an obelus.

#### Fr. 12

6. *κοίλη* is metrically unsatisfactory, and a surprising epithet for a bed. Athenaeus has just claimed that in speaking of a golden bed, Mimnermus is

Lyc. 425 give 'Αλέντα. The same passage shows that the first syllable is long; Hermann's transposition is arbitrary.

alluding to the hollow of the cup that other writers gave as the sun's vehicle. I think he would have expressed himself differently if Mimnermus had actually called the bed 'hollow'. Kaibel's *ποικίλη* fits the following phrase excellently, and it is obvious how easily *κοίλη* could have intruded.

The bed transports only Helios himself (5 τὸν μὲν); he finds horses and chariot waiting in the east. If he uses the same ones every day, as 3 may suggest, their return from west to east is unexplained. If *ἑτέρων* is right in 11, Mimnermus will be saying that he takes a new team each day, and in a sense anticipating the doctrine of Heraclitus and Xenophanes that the sun itself is new each day. But if so, he may only just have thought of the idea (and the problem), for it does not seem to be present in 3 and 9.

*Fr. 14*

11. Those who leave the line unchanged and unaugmented must understand it as 'while he lived'. 'Mit welchem Schmucke Mimnermos den Gedanken "als er lebte" umkleiden wollte, ist nicht unsere Sache ihm vorzuschreiben', writes Wilamowitz (*SS* 277). Only it is not a question of telling the poet how to express the idea, but of finding out whether that is his intention, and we must do that on the basis of Greek poets' usage so far as we know it. Sunlight might certainly play a part in such a phrase, but *φέρετο* will hardly do for 'being carried through life'. It surely refers to his activity on the battlefield, cf. *Il.* 5. 701; 15. 743; 20. 172. We can then either make it 'like the swift sun', i.e. swift and fierce as the sun, or 'while the sun shone on him', but in each case we must add a word. H. Fränkel, *Dicht. u. Phil.*<sup>3</sup> 239 n. 3, proposes *θαλπόμενος*, comparing Pind. *Nem.* 4. 13 εἰ δ' ἔτι ζαμενεῖ Τιμόκριτος ἄλιω σὸς πατήρ ἐθάλλετο, but that looks like Pindar's individual style. I would prefer the more ordinary *τερπόμενος*. Cf. 1. 8; 2. 2-4; *Il.* 8. 480. V. Steffen, *Quaestiones Lyricae* (1955) 11, takes *ἔργον* as the subject: 'when sunrise brought battle'.

## SCYTHINUS

*Fr. 2*

Why not prose? Because, while Scythinus wrote history in prose (*FGrHist* 13), he wrote on cosmology in verse (fr. 1 and D.L. 9. 16); the fragment goes into tetrameters more easily than prose ordinarily does; and its contents find their best parallel in verse, in a fragment of Hermippus, fr. 4 Kock:

ἐκεῖνός ἐστι στρογγύλος τὴν ὄψιν ὧ πόνηρε,  
 ἐντὸς δ' ἔχων περιέρχεται κύκλῳ τὰ πάντα' ἐν αὐτῷ,  
 ἡμᾶς δὲ τρίκει περιτρέγων τὴν γῆν ἀπαξάπασαν,  
 ὀνομάζεται δ' Ἐνιαυτός, ὧν δὲ περιφερῆς τελευτὴν  
 οὐδεμίαν οὐδ' ἀρχὴν ἔχει.

Scythinus' phrase *ἔχει ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα* properly belongs to an etymology of *ἐνιαυτός* (besides Hermippus, cf. Eur. fr. 862, Pl. *Crat.* 410d); and one might think that Stobaeus or his source had adapted a description of *ἐνιαυτός* to



serve as a description of χρόνος, except that παρ' ἐναιυτόν seems to occur as part of it.

For my reconstruction of the verses I claim that it really accounts for the prose in Stobaeus, word for word. Wilamowitz showed the way, and his version may be quoted here *honoris causa*:

πάντων χρόνος  
ὑστατον και πρῶτόν ἐστι, κὰν ἑαυτῷ πάντ' ἔχει,  
κάστιν εἰς κούκ ἐστιν· αἰεὶ δ' ἐξ ἐόντος οἴχεται  
και πάρεστιν αὐτις αὐτὸς τὴν ἐναντίην ὁδόν·  
αὔριον γὰρ ἡμῖν ἔργω χθές, τὸ δὲ χθές αὔριον.

His second and third verses, in particular, recede too far from Stobaeus. My boldest modification is ἤματι τρίτῳ for ἡ μὲν τῷ ἔργῳ, where ἡ μὲν makes no sense at all and τῷ ἔργῳ is inappropriate.

Opinions differ on Scythinus' date. G.S. Kirk, *Heraclitus*, p. 11, allows the possibility that he was as late as 240, finding a strong similarity with Cleanthes. So far as I can see, it consists only in the idea of the sun as the plectrum of a cosmic lyre (*SVF* i. 112. 19): a striking idea, certainly, but one rooted in pre-Platonic musical-cosmological speculation, not in third-century Stoicism. When Hieronymus wrote that Scythinus the iambographer endeavoured to express Heraclitus' discourse in verse, he was surely not pronouncing upon the intentions of a contemporary, but of one who was already a poet of the past and therefore of interest to studious persons. To me the writer whose similarities with Scythinus seem most significant is Hermippus. Both are intrigued by similar properties of time. Both, curiously, are interested in the Kylikranes (Scyth. *FGrHist* 13 F 1, Hermippus fr. iamb. 4). To these points of contact with a fifth-century poet may be added the fact that Scythinus uses Ionic prose for writing history. This does not suggest a date much later.

## SEMONIDES

### *Fr. 1*

9-10. νέωτα is likely to be the object of ἔξεσθαι. Cf. *Od.* 15. 366 ἤβην ἰκόμεσθα (Björck, *Symb. Osl.* 15/16, 1936, 93); Hes. *Op.* 477 εὐοχθέων δ' ἔξει πολίων ἔαρ. Πλούτῳ φίλος is paralleled by ib. 299 f. ὕφρα σε Λιμός ἐχθαίρη, φιλέη δέ σ' εὐστέφανος Δημήτηρ; Th. 352 (Πενίη) μὴ δὴ μ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντα φίλει. Semonides personifies Λιμός in 7. 101. The addition of κάγαθοῖσιν introduces a difficulty. It may be neuter, just an expansion of Πλούτος, but it is awkward in the personalized phrase; ἀγαθοῖσι φίλος by itself would mean 'moving in the best circles', and I incline towards this interpretation although the ἀγαθοί are not on the same footing as the god.

12-13. The transmitted reading, if νόσοι | φθέρουσι θνητῶν may be so described, is open to two objections: Semonides will have used the form νοῦσος (<\*νόσφος), just as he uses ἴσος, μοῦνος, ξεῖνος, κᾶλός; and there is no parallel in his remains for a syllable being treated as short before θν.

17. None of the conjectures is attractive. The meaning is probably that

others, unable to make a living on *terra firma*, are driven to seafaring (cf. Hes. *Op.* 646 f.). This leads on well to the suicides.

*Fr. 7*

12. If *αὐτομήτορα* is right, it might mean 'giving birth without her husband's help', i.e. promiscuous, the same kind of irony as in *τοῖς εὐτυχοῦσι καὶ τριμήνα παιδία* (Suet. *Claud.* 1 = Com. adesp. 213). *ἀναίδεια* is the outstanding quality of the female *κύων* in Greek, though it is not what is emphasized in what follows: it is the donkey-woman who is noted for promiscuity (48 f.). Another interpretation would be 'a very mother', if that could imply 'a busy-body'.

43. *τεφρῆς* is very satisfactory in accounting for *σποδιῆς*; so is *πολιῆς*, if we admit resolution, which is nowhere established in Semonides. But neither seems relevant to the characterization.

53-4. Bergk writes 'huc refero Hesychii glossam: ἀληνῆς· μαινόμενος, apud Suidam et Zonar. 117 est ἀλαινῆς· ὁ μαινόμενος. Adde praeterea Hesychium: ἀλινοί· ἐπαφρόδιτοι.' I suppose he takes the word to mean 'possessed by mad lust for', but no glossator would have expressed this meaning either by *μαινόμενος* or by *ἐπαφρόδιτος*. Diehl dutifully quotes the first Hesychian entry, states 'explic. B(ergk) ex Hesych.', and adds 'opp. εὐληνῆς (Hesych., Et. Magn.)'. How we are to reconcile these two pieces of instruction, I fail to understand. *εὐληνῆς* means 'fleecy'; *ἀληνῆς* should mean 'without fleeces', and when it occurs in connexion with the bed of a charmless woman it might conceivably mean 'uncomfortable' – 'as regards the bed of love she is no comfortable spread' – though one would rather expect *εὐνή* . . . *ἀφροδιατή*. I have preferred the old conjecture *ἀδηνῆς*. *δῆνεα* is used in 78.

*παρόντα* is an unacceptable Atticism (cf. Lobel on P. Oxy. 2320. 18; above, p. 107). I propose *περῶντα* in the double sense 'penetrate' (cf. *περαίνω* in a sexual sense) and 'cross over' as on a ferry (cf. *ναυστήη*); that this may have been current as a sexual metaphor in contemporary Ionian is a possibility suggested by Archil. 34 *ἀμισθὶ γὰρ σε πάμπαν οὐ διάζομεν*. From later Greek cf. Meleager, epigr. 60 (*A. P.* 5. 204), with the commentary of Gow and Page. 62. *ἄνδρα ποιεῖται φίλον* ought to mean 'beguiles' a man, makes him enter into a relationship, cf. Hes. *Op.* 707, 713; Sol. 37.5; Th. 61, 113. She does it *ἀνάγκη*: he cannot help being attracted by her elegance, her scented body and the flowers in her hair.

76. *ἄπυγος, αὐτόκωλος*, perhaps 'she has no buttocks, it's just leg', *πυγὴν οὐκ ἔχει ἄλλ' αὐτὰ κῶλα*. The more glamorous padded out their bottoms, cf. Hes. *Op.* 373; Alexis 98. 10 f.

94-5. 'But these other kinds (contemptuous *οὔτος*, as Sol. 15. 2, Heraclitus 17, 86 Marcovich) – so Zeus has contrived – all exist and will remain with men.'

97-8. The transmitted text may be supported by 83, for *ἦν τι καὶ δοκέωσιν ὠφελεῖν ἔχοντι* is equivalent to *ἦν τι καὶ δοκῆ εὐτυχεῖν λαβῶν τινα αὐτῶν*.

102. *δυσμενέα θεῶν*, cf. *δία θεῶν*; Hes. *Op.* 257 v.l. *κωδρῆ τ' αἰδοίη τε θεῶν*; *Hymn. Herm.* 551 *θεῶν ἐπιούνη δαῖμον*; Kühner-Gerth i. 339; Dodds's note on Eur. *Bacch.* 370-2, and mine on Hes. *Th.* 240.

*Fr. 8*

'Like an eel down in the slime.' Doubtless from a sexual context. Eel = penis in Archil. 189.

*Fr. 17*

The verse is quoted by the Etymologica under ὄρσοθύρη, as 'Simonides' writing κακοσχόλω, in *malam partem*. The 'back door' must be someone's anus, cf. Sotades fr. 2. 1 Powell ὁ δ' ἀποστεγάσας τὸ τρήμα τῆς ὀπισθε λαύρης. The Ionic forms, and the first-person sexual narrative characteristic of the Ionian iambos, show that 'Simonides' is the Amorgian. But the word ὄρσοθύρη will not fit the very strict metre of Semonides, and the fact of his being quoted in a discussion of it does not necessarily mean that he used it. The quotation is immediately preceded by a derivation of ὄρσοθύρη from ὀρούειν and θύρα: the back door is so called because people rush at it. The Semonides fragment would support this extravagant generalization even if it only referred to ἡ ὀπισθε θύρη. Nothing could be easier in the context than the intrusion of ὄρσοθύρη. The rearrangement ἡλασάμην X - θύρης suggests itself.

The next question is what the sense would require in the place vacated by ὄρσο. ἡλασάμην cannot be equated with ἡλασάμην: it is the sigmatic aorist of εἶλω (H. W. Smyth, *Ionic*, 492; Volkmar Schmidt, *Sprachl. Unters. zu Herondas*, 98 n. 8), 'I was forced' or 'compressed myself'. (Ibycus has a fragment ἡλασατο βοῦς (*Melici* 332), interpreted by an ancient grammarian as ἡλάσατο, but perhaps 'drew itself in' made as good sense in the original context as 'drove'.) Now this cannot govern a genitive. The case might have depended on something in the following line, but the more promising approach is to look for a preposition which will take care of it. The most suitable is διέκ, apparently used of sexual passage in Archil. 32 διέξ τὸ μύρτον.

## SIMONIDES

*Fr. 8*

Σιμωνίδου in a Stobaeus lemma may in principle stand either for Simonides of Ceos or for Semonides of Amorgos. Stobaeus himself may not have appreciated that there were two different poets. But an earlier anthologist must have taken this elegiac piece from a book of poems under one or the other name. We must ask which name it is likely to have been, and then consider whether in relation to that name the verses are authentic.

Semonides is characterized as ὁ λαμβογράφος by Choeroboscus ap. *Et. Magn.*, Pollux 2. 65, St. Byz. s.v. 'Αμοργός, *Suda*; ὁ τῶν λάμβων ποιητής Strabo 10. 5. 12 p. 487. All the fragments assigned to him are in iambic trimeters. The only suggestion that he wrote elegiacs comes in the confused statement of the *Suda*: Σιμωνίδης Κρίνω, 'Αμοργῖνος, λαμβογράφος. ἔγραψεν ἐλεγείαν ἐν βιβλίῳ β' λάμβους. There is also the section of the article on Simmias of Rhodes that evidently refers not to him but to Semonides, and says καὶ ἔγραψε κατὰ τινὰς πρῶτος λάμβους, καὶ ἄλλα διάφορα, ἀρχαιολογίαν τε τῶν Σαμίων. The *Suda*'s lists of authors' works, derived from Hesychius of Miletus, are notoriously untrustworthy, often containing items otherwise

unheard of. This mention of an elegy in two books is no substitute for an ancient reference to elegiac verse by Semonides, especially as we know that the iambs were in two books (if not more): we have quotations *ἐν πρώτῳ ἰάμβων*, *ἐν δευτέρῳ ἰάμβων*, and simply *Σιμωνίδης δευτέρῳ* (fr. 35).

Simonides on the other hand, was known for elegiac as well as lyric verse, especially epitaphs and dedicatory epigrams, but also some narrative and sympotic elegy. So there is a natural presumption that when a piece of elegiac verse is quoted as 'Simonides', he is the one meant. That answers our first question, as far as it can be answered.

As to the second, we may agree with Bergk and those who have followed him that the simplicity of thought and the absence of distinctive language do not remind us of Simonides. As far as the thought goes, there is nothing that could not have been said in the seventh or early sixth century. The comparison of human lives to leaves, here quoted from Homer, was also used by Mimnermus. The passage about the vanity of human hopes resembles *Sem.* 1. 6 ff., *Sol.* 13. 35 ff. The message that life, and particularly youth, is short, and that we should concentrate on enjoying it, is that of Mimnermus. But in some respects the manner of writing is more like that of fifth-century poetry. The technique of taking a famous quotation and commenting on it is first found in Ananius 2-3 (if he really belongs in the sixth century) and then used by Simonides (*Melici* 542, 579, 581), Pindar, and others. (Solon's correction of Mimnermus is not the same thing.) The allusion to Homer as *Χῖος ἀνὴρ* has no earlier or better parallel than Bacchylides' *Βουιωτὸς ἀνὴρ τᾶδ' ἐφώνησεν, γλυκεῖαν* 'Ἡσίοδος πρόπολος Μουσᾶν' *ὃν ἂν ἀθάνατοι τι[μῶσι, τούτῳ] καὶ βροτῶν φήμαν ἐπ[εσθαι]* (5. 191 ff.). The expression *βιότου ποτὶ τέρμα* in 13 is not paralleled before Aesch. fr. 708. 2 Mette, Soph. *OT* 1530, Eur. *Alc.* 643. Similarly *τέλος βίου* and the like: first in Sophocles and Euripides. *βίοτιο τελευτῆ* is Homeric, but it is not till later that *τέρμα* from meaning 'finishing line', and *τέλος* from meaning 'outcome', 'fulfilment', assume the sense of 'end' in parallel phrases. The use of *ψυχῆ* in 14 is again unexampled before the fifth century: *IG* 12(9). 287 (Eretria, c. 500-480) *ἐνθάδε Φιδὼν κεῖται, τὸν δὲ κατὰ γαῖ' ἐκάλυσφεν, ναυτίλον, ἠδ' οὐ ψυχεῖ παῦρα δέδδοκ' ἀγαθὰ*; Aesch. *Pers.* 840 *ἐν κακοῖς δμῶς | ψυχῆ διδόντες ἡδονὴν καθ' ἡμέραν*; Eur. *Cycl.* 340 *τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν ἐγὼ | οὐ παύσομαι δρῶν εἶ*; ps.-Epicharm. 297. 2; Theoc. 16. 24.

For these reasons I regard the piece as a product of about the time of Simonides, preserved under his name, but probably not by him.

## SOLON

### Fr. 5

1. *ἐπαρκεῖν* has more of the required sense of 'protect' than *ἀπαρκεῖν*; the infinitive conveys the sense of purpose better than the indicative, and so provides a better balance with line 4.

### Fr. 13

11. None of the conjectures is overwhelmingly convincing, and the transmitted *τιμῶσιν* receives support from Th. 189 *χρήματα γὰρ τιμῶσι*, where the

context deals with the disturbance of values that is caused by such veneration. Cf. also 523 οὐ σὲ μάτην ὦ Πλοῦτε βροτοὶ τιμῶσι μάλιστα, Eur. fr. 354 (44 Austin), τὰς οὐσίας γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς ἀρπαγὰς τιμῶν δίκαιον. Solon's use of the verb is less clear, but the addition of ὄφ' ἕβριος points the meaning, as it were ὄν δὲ ἄνδρες δι' ἕβρεως κτήσονται ἅτε τὰ χρήματα ἄγον τιμῶντες.

16. For the expression cf. *Il.* 6. 130 f. οὐδὲ γὰρ . . . Λυκόβοργος δὴν ἦν.

34. For εἶ βεῖν cf. *Th.* 639.

36. βοσκόμεθα (van Leeuwen) may seem an extravagant conjecture when the first hand of S has altered τρεφόμεθα into the perfectly acceptable τερπόμεθα. But τρέφειν is used in the very similar poem of Semonides, 1. 6 ἔπις δὲ πάντα κάπιπειθειή τρέφει | ἀπρηκτον ὀρμαίνοντας. βόσκομαι in the same application appears in *Soph. Ant.* 1246 ἔπιςιν δὲ βόσκομαι, fr. 948 Pearson, Eur. *Bacch.* 617, *Phoen.* 396, etc. Hesychius gives βοσκίων· ὁ τροφεύς. βοσκή· τροφή. βόσκομεν· τρέφομεν, etc., which shows that βοσκόμεθα might be glossed τρεφόμεθα, or simply replaced by it as a result of mental translation.

42. The aorist infinitive is frequently found with δοκῶ (μοι) in the sense 'think to': Ar. *Av.* 671, Pl. *Euthyd.* 288c, Men. *Dysc.* 266, etc. See my note on Hes. *Th.* 628.

73, 75. διπλάσιον and ὅποτε are more likely to have been displaced by διπλασίως and ὅποταν than vice versa.

The rather rambling train of thought in this elegy may be summarized as follows:

#### MANIFESTO

1-8. I want prosperity of the god-given sort, and to be well thought of by men (the two things being interconnected). I want to be respected by my friends and feared by my enemies (not distrusted by both alike). Unrighteous acquisition is always punished.

#### AMPLIFICATION

9-24. God-given prosperity is dependable, but that acquired by unrighteousness is truculent, leads increasingly to Ate, and is visited by Zeus with unforeseen punishment.

25-32. It does not follow every individual transgression, it is sometimes delayed till a later generation, but it falls inevitably sooner or later.

33-36. People never expect things to go wrong;

37-42. and when they are afflicted, they cherish comforting thoughts instead of realizing how serious their case is.

43-64. They bustle and toil, trying to improve their lot or others', but it all depends on the gods.

65-70. Whatever you do, you cannot be sure how it will turn out. God can change everything.

71-76. (Return to opening theme:) But still men, not content with the wealth they have, strive to add to it. It is to the gods that they must look for increase, but their own conduct is the cause of Ate and the punishment of Zeus.

#### Fr. 20

Solon must have quoted the line of Mimnermus before criticizing it in these terms. Compare the quotation of *Il.* 6. 146 in Sim. eleg. \*8. 1-2. If a noun is

to be understood with that poet's ἐν τῷ κάλλιστον, it would be ἐπος, and this, not στίχος, is what Solon would have said for 'verse'; cf. 1. 2, and Th. 18, 20, 22. So τοῦτο must be read in line 1, not τοῦτον.

For the transmitted κᾶν cf. Kühner-Gerth i. 245; but the earliest evidence for the usage seems to be from Aristophanes. There is a parallel for the corruption in Hes. *Op.* 357.

3. I have given the patronymic in the form presupposed by the tradition (D.L. + *Suda*). Obviously Λιγυ- is the slightest of changes; but I do not regard the rest of the name as clear. I would be disturbed to meet such a form as ἔσσης in early poetry. λιγ' ἰαστί is no more plausible an analysis.

*Fr. 24*

See on Th. 721-4.

*Fr. 36*

12. ὡς ἄν is an anachronism in Solon. There is no potentiality involved, 'as it were', these people really are πολλαχῆ πλανώμενοι. AN and ΔH are often confused. The corruption here must have occurred either before Aristotle or in the tradition of his *Ath. Pol.* before it was drawn upon by Plutarch and Aristides.

I find that the excellent Arthur Platt rejected ὡς ἄν, *J. Phil.* 24, 1895/6, 251. He proposed ὥστε.

*Fr. 37*

8. πῖαρ must be the object of ἐξεῖλεν, since you can take it out of milk but you cannot do the contrary. γάλα could be construed with ἀνταράξας, but in view of the word order I would rather regard ἐξεῖλεν as governing two accusatives (as in Eur. *Alc.* 69, *I. A.* 972 (both middle); similarly with ἀφαιρεῖν, ἀποστερεῖν). That would be the grammatical structure, but at the same time, of course, the need to specify the object of ἀνταράξας finds its fulfilment.

It is true that one does not *remove* cream from milk by shaking or stirring it (J. Taillardat, *Les Images d'Aristophane*, 409: but his interpretation of πῖαρ as butter – after Crusius and others – does not produce good sense). However, the point of the metaphor is that the cream disappears and is no longer recognizable as the cream. The ἀγαθοί would have been submerged in the commotion of the δῆμος.

*Fr. 38*

1. πίνουσι must have been qualified in the line preceding.

3-5. For οὔτε . . . δέ . . . see Denniston, *Greek Particles*<sup>2</sup> 511; the δέ-clause replaces a second οὔτε-clause that the writer at first envisaged. The earth does not bring forth πέμματα, but we may understand 'πέμματα (made of) whatever grows anywhere in the inhabited world'.

## SOPHOCLES

*Fr. 4*

What Euripides said on hearing of Sophocles' misadventure was that he had enjoyed the same boy himself, but nothing had been taken off, μηδέν

προεθῆναι (cf. Dem. 21. 216 θολιμάτιον προέσθαι καὶ μικροῦ γυμνὸν ἐν τῷ χιτωνίσκῳ γενέσθαι): Sophocles' abandoned behaviour in undressing had brought its own punishment. Sophocles in his reply used the excuse of the weather (χρησάμενος τῷ περὶ τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ βορέου λόγῳ), and also implied that Euripides was an adulterer. The verses make two points. 1. It was not the boy, or ἀκολασία, that made me strip, but the heat of the day. If you did not strip, that was because it was cold at the time. 2. Your position is contradictory (favourite oratorical strategy of the time): you indulge in adultery (ἀλλοτριάν sc. γῆν, or ἄρουργαν, cf. Th. 582), and then arraign Love for the minor crime of misappropriating a cloak.

### SUSARION

Folk are unkind to Susarion. Not content with saying that of the five verses ascribed to him three are forged, one an interpolation in the forgery, and the last an accidental accretion, they even accuse him of never having existed at all.<sup>11</sup>

The ancients mention him only in connexion with the beginnings of comedy. They attribute to him an iambic monologue about women, spoken in his own person, and they are able to quote the beginning. They say that he recited it at Icaria during the Dionysia, and comedy developed from it. The second line makes him a Megarian from the village of Tripodiscus. The verse is omitted by Diomedes and Stobaeus, but this is not usable as evidence that it is interpolated: Diomedes only gives half the first line, and that distorted, while Stobaeus' interest was in Susarion's thoughts on women, not in his personal particulars. Stylistically it is well in place; Σουσαρίων λέγει τάδε υἱὸς Φιλίνου is like Ἀλκίμεων Κροτωνιῆτης τάδε ἔλεξε Πειρίθου υἱός (*Vorsokr.* 24 B 1 D.-K.). The fact that the Parian Marble does not mention Susarion's Megarian origin may have another significance than that the verse in question was still unknown. The scholium on Aristotle which I have printed next need have no implication that anyone disputed Susarion's birthplace (as Körte infers); nor need Clement's 'Susarion the Icarian' be anything more than a transformation of 'Susarion at Icaria'.

Clearly, Susarion played a part both in Megarian and in Icarian claims concerning the origin of comedy. Aristotle seems not to know of this (*Poet.* 1448<sup>a</sup>32, 1449<sup>a</sup>38 ff.); which does not necessarily mean that he had never heard of Susarion, only that no one had yet thought to connect this minor iambographer with comedy. That happened soon afterwards – the Parian Marble, 264 B.C., gives the terminus ante quem. I suspect that it was the Megarians who picked on him, and that they did so because, while he was no more a comedian than Semonides, he was a Megarian. The Icarian claim is less plausible. There cannot have been documentary evidence for the alleged event, since we know that there was no official record of any comic performance in Attica before 486; and while we allow that Thespis came from

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Körte, *RE* xi. 1222 and ivA. 973 f.; Pickard-Cambridge/Webster, *Dithyramb Tragedy & Comedy*, 2nd ed., 183–7; Dover in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. Susarion.

Icaria, we cannot believe in comedy was well as tragedy issuing from that insignificant parish.

If Susarion had been an invented person, he would surely have been credited with verses more suited to the purpose he was to fulfil. As it is, the fragment manifestly belongs to the genus iambus. The thought is at least as old as Hesiod (*Th.* 590 ff.). There is nothing distinctive about the expression, except that the self-introduction has its parallels in Demodocus, Phocylides, and prose writers down to Thucydides and Antiochus of Syracuse. The dialect is Attic: even if this is not partly the result of Attic transmission, it would hardly be surprising for a Megarian using an Ionian literary form. The metrical technique is looser than that of the Ionians; besides the anapaests entailed by the names of the poet and his town, we have two breaches of Knox's first law; but Attic tragedians break it as far back as we can see.

Aristotle's Megarians put the beginning of comedy in the time of their democracy (see p. 67). The Parian Marble's date for Susarion may have been based on this. At any rate it should not be relied on as any guide to the man's real date. No one will have had any information beyond the iambus itself, perhaps already reduced to a fragment. I have therefore allowed him two centuries' leeway; perhaps I should have allowed even more.

### TIMOCREON

#### Fr. 10

You may say that Timocreon was cheating if he substituted  $\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\nu\nu\tau\alpha$  for  $\omicron\upsilon\kappa\ \acute{\epsilon}\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\nu\nu\tau\alpha$  in the tetrameter. I say he was cheating worse if he counted the latter as a trochaic metron.

### TYRTAEUS

#### Fr. 4

The usual assumption that this comes from the poem called *Eunomia* has received some confirmation from the mention of oracles in P. Oxy. 2824 = fr. 2, 2, 4, known to belong to that poem. The work called for  $\epsilon\upsilon\nu\omicron\mu\iota\alpha$  (whether or not Tyrtaeus actually used the word), i.e. respect for the established law. An important part of established law, defining the rights of the kings and the people in assembly, was based on the oracle described in fr. 4. The lines may well have stood shortly before fr. 2, where the reference to oracles is followed after a few lines by the exhortation 'let us obey [the kings; for they are] nearer to the stock [of the gods,] since Zeus himself gave this city to the sons of Heracles'. (The sense of the supplements is more or less determined by lines 12 f. Cf. also 9  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\sigma\iota\ \phi\iota[\lambda$  with 5. 1  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\sigma\iota\ \phi\lambda\omega\ \Theta\epsilon\omicron\pi\acute{o}\mu\pi\omega$ .)

As reported by Tyrtaeus, the oracle contains four hexameters and three pentameters.<sup>18</sup> Bergk saw that the pentameters add nothing significant to

<sup>18</sup> Plutarch's quotation stops at line 6, but this leaves  $\delta\eta\mu\acute{o}\tau\alpha\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha\varsigma$  without a verb (they do not  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\alpha\iota\nu\ \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\varsigma$  like the kings and elders). 7-10 given by Diodorus are unquestionably authentic.



the sense of the hexameters – not a normal feature of Tyrtaeus' style – and that in all probability the poet is expanding a hexameter oracle which ran

ἄρχειν μὲν βουλῆς θεοτιμήτους βασιλῆας  
 πρεσβυγενέας τε γέροντας· ἔπειτα δὲ δημότας ἄνδρας  
 μθελίσθαι τε τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἔρδειν πάντα δίκαια,  
 δήμου τε πλήθει νόκην καὶ κάρτος ἔπεσθαι.

Now this obviously parallels that part of the *rhetra* quoted by Plutarch, *Lyc.* 6, which reads <τ>ούτως (i.e. the γερούσια σὺν ἀρχαγέταις) εἰσφέρειν τε καὶ ἀφίστασθαι, δάμω δὲ ἀν<τα>γορίαν ἤμην καὶ κράτος. What was the relationship between the hexameter oracle and the *rhetra*? The latter is itself described by Plutarch as an oracle brought from Delphi, but its form shows it to be not an oracle but a statute (or a draft statute; but it could hardly have survived if it had not become law). The passing of the law will have been immediately preceded by the publication of the oracle, and justified by it. In referring to the oracle, Tyrtaeus was no doubt also referring to the law; perhaps he went on to say, 'and the city decreed that it should be so'.

Tyrtaeus (according to Plutarch) said that the oracle was brought from Delphi by Polydorus and Theopompus. In this case the *rhetra* should date from their time, i.e. the late eighth or early seventh century. But Plutarch, while he accepts that they produced the oracle, believes that the main part of the *rhetra* is an earlier oracle brought by Lycurgus, and that Polydorus and Theopompus only added the last clause, αὶ δὲ σκολιὰν ὁ δᾶμος ἔροιτο, τοὺς πρεσβυγενέας καὶ ἀρχαγέτας ἀποστατῆρας εἶμεν. He thinks that their oracle was designed to justify the extra provision, and that lines 1–6 of the Tyrtaeus fragment accord with this account. This is not satisfactory; for firstly, supposing that the last clause of the *rhetra* were an addition, it is hard to see how this fact could either have been recorded on the document or, if not so recorded, remembered; secondly, while the oracle might – if the pentameters belonged to it originally, which I do not accept – have been *quoted* in order to justify such a clause, it was obviously not *composed* for that purpose but to provide backing for the main part of the *rhetra*.

This is what is presupposed by our other source, Diodorus; for he quoted the fragment as an oracle given to Lycurgus, with a quite different form of the first couplet in which the verb *ἐνείκαν*, and thus the reference to the kings, did not appear. Diodorus' source (Ephorus?), then, shares with Plutarch's source (Aristotle?) the belief that the main assembly procedure was due to Lycurgus. How much easier it would have been for Plutarch's source if he had been able to quote Tyrtaeus' oracle as one given to Lycurgus! But he evidently knew only the version in which it was brought by the kings. He was struggling to reconcile this with the attribution of the *rhetra* to Lycurgus. He could only do so by relating the oracle not to the main part of the *rhetra* but to a provision which could be interpreted as a post-Lycurgan addition.

His version of Tyrtaeus is presumably the original one. It is hard to see why anyone should have wanted to bring the kings in if they had not been there from the start, whereas it is easy to see why they should be displaced, to harmonize with the Lycurgus story. The tendency was to ascribe progres-

sively more to the legendary Lycurgus. Herodotus 1. 65 records the story that Lycurgus got τὸν νῦν κατσεσῶτα κόσμον Σπαρτιήτησι from Delphi, but he contrasts this with the story the Lacedaemonians themselves tell, viz. that he got it from Crete. Herodotus is speaking of the whole constitution with its system of gerousia and ephors as well as the organization of the army and the *συστήται*, but his non-Spartan oracle story, even if it did not directly concern the *rhetra*, illustrates the trend which brought the *rhetra*, and subsequently the oracle on which it was based, into connexion with Lycurgus.

If this analysis is correct, there is no reason to think that Tyrtaeus mentioned Lycurgus. He said that Polydorus and Theopompus brought the oracle; and such early testimony must be accepted, together with the consequences (i) that the *rhetra* is an enactment of their time, (ii) that Lycurgus had nothing to do with it, and (iii) that its last sentence, which in fact only spells out something that is implicit in ἀφιστασθαι in the main part, was integral to it from the beginning.

### Fr. 5

The three fragments fit together so perfectly that I have not hesitated to print them as one, as most editors have done following Bergk. Protesters (e.g. E. Schwartz, *Hermes* 34, 1899, 428 n. 5; Prato) decry Buttmann's ἀγαθὴν as arbitrary. They apparently understand the line to mean 'it is a good thing to plough Messene, and a good thing to plant it'. I find it hard to imagine a context in which such advice would be in place, and adhere to the interpretation 'Messene good to plough and good to plant'. ἀγαθὸν feminine is abnormal, but in my note on Hes. *Th.* 406-8 I have remarked on the phenomenon that when several adjectives are appended to a feminine noun, a legitimate -ος ending may attract following adjectives into the same form: Λητῶ κυανόπεπλον . . . μελιχον . . . ἤπιον . . . μελιχον . . . ἀγανώτατον. So here, if 3 follows 1-2, we have Μεσσηνήν . . . εὐρύχορον . . . ἀγαθὸν . . . ἀγαθὸν.

Schwartz and Prato also, to dissociate 4-8 from the rest, cleave to the corrupt reading in Strabo, ἀμφω τῷδε. They turn it into ἀμφ' αὐτῷ δέ and then say 'There, it doesn't fit the lines before, it refers to some masculine or neuter'. I see no reason not to accept Pausanias' feminine, which makes sense as it stands. Only I think Schwartz may have been right to say that usage calls for a dative. The dative is used in the clearest Homeric examples of fighting *over* something (*Lex. f. frühgr. Epos*, col. 669, C III 2); wherever the accusative is used, it can be taken in the strictly local sense of fighting *round* (col. 664-6, B I 4a, 10), and so in the rare cases where the genitive is used (col. 670, D 1). But the second sense passes very easily into the first, and it is impossible to say dogmatically that Tyrtaeus could not have used the accusative. He uses both genitive and dative with περί in similar phrases, 10. 1 and 13; 12. 34.

### Fr. 11

13. ὀπίσσω suggests 'for the future', cf. 10. 12 s.v.l.; 12. 30; and for the general sentiment e.g. 12. 15. But the local sense may be preferable, and for that I would expect ὀπίσθεν, cf. 17, 20; 20. 13; *Il.* 4. 293; especially *Il.* 13. 834 and 17. 723 ἐπὶ δ' ἔλαχε λαδὸς ὀπίσθεν.

16. Page, *CR* 1, 1951, 13, asks 'is anyone yet satisfied with αἰσχροῦ πάθη

meaning φύγη?' I do not know that anyone had ever questioned it; but they should have done.

### Fr. 12

1. τιθείην and τιθείμην are equally good Greek. I have chosen the former because a quotation, especially by Plato, is liable to be less trusty than a direct tradition, and because τιθείμην was more likely to displace τιθείην after μνησάμεην than vice versa.

### Frr. 18-23

These are fragments from a papyrus roll of Ptolemaic date. Three separate pieces of papyrus are preserved, each of them showing remains from two columns of text. The length of the column is unknown, so that we cannot calculate how many verses are missing between the remains on the left and right side of each piece. In the third edition of Diehl's *Anthologia* the fragments appear combined in one long sequence, on the basis of a conjecture which was refuted by L. Koenen, *Rh. Mus.* 96, 1953, 187-9; its impossibility was fully confirmed by my study of the papyrus (*Zeitschr. f. Pap. u. Epigr.* 1, 1967, 181 f.). Koenen tentatively suggested an alternative combination which, though not impossible, is not likely; see the apparatus to fr. 22.

The six fragments may not all belong to the same poem. The military situation suggested by 23 (see below) is a different one from that of 19 and 20; and if 19 came from the same poem as 20 an undue amount of repetition might be implied.

### Fr. 19

Tyrtaeus looks forward to a battle, in the same spirit as Archilochus fr. 3. The stone-throwers and archers were dealt with in 2 f., the hoplites in 6 ff. 10 f. This is a puzzling couplet. 'Putting all our trust in the gods we will obey the . . . of our leaders', or 'obey the leadership of . . .'. The only known words which could be read before *πεισόμεθα* are *μνήη*, *μονήη* or *τερμονήη* 'of the boundary'; a conceivable unattested word is *ἀτερμονήη* = *ἀτέρμονι*. My suggestion of *οὐπω* at the beginning of 10 would give the sense 'it has not yet reached the point when (cf. 11. 2) we just rely on the gods'; in 11 we should then need some such sense as 'and, in no order, let ourselves be led by sheer fury', which would be complemented by 12. But *κόσμου* would be too long for the space before *ἄτερ*.

13. The *ἀχμηταί* may either be the Spartans, if 'we' means the light-armed troops (cf. 11. 38), or the enemy (cf. 12. 12). From marching order Tyrtaeus has passed to battle order.

### Fr. 20

7 ff. In *Il.* 22. 162 ff. the racehorse simile is applied to the pursuit of Hector by Achilles, but there it is the cyclical aspect of the race that is in view (*περὶ τέρματα*), here the goal is directly ahead (*τέρμ' ἐπιδερκόμενοι*, cf. *Il.* 23. 323). So perhaps the sense is not 'we will pursue them', but 'we will vie with each other' in our eagerness to attack. If the streaming *χαιται* in 14 still refer to the horses (cf. *Il.* 6. 509, 23. 367), this has some support in 15. But they might be helmet-plumes (cf. 11. 26).

17. οἷδὲ λογήσει, 'and he will reck nought' (of the blows which fall about him), a neologism derived from the epic ἀλογήσει known to us from *Il.* 15. 162.

18. For the supplement suggested cf. 11. 25, 28-9; Callinus 1. 9-10; *Il.* 16. 734; 21. 393, etc.

*Fr. 21*

5-7. Probably the defeated enemy were likened to clouds, leaves or chaff scattered by the Cleansing Wind. Cf. *Il.* 11. 304-9; (5. 499-503); Bacchyl. 5. 64-7. To explain the repetition of the name in 5 and 7 we should probably assume that the first line introduced the idea, 'we shall sweep them away like Argestes', and the next couplet developed it, e.g. 'for as many husks as Argestes blows away from a threshing-floor, even so many . . .'

*Fr. 23*

The Messenians (6) seem to be beleaguered in a fortress (τεῦχος, 3, 7; πύργος, 12), as happened more than once in their history. The poet anticipates that they will soon surrender.

4-5. The supplement suggested would mean 'in which they sit taking their chance' (literally: are having their lots shaken, or are being shaken as lots) 'on whether each will have his land, his grave and his descendants for the future'. A man who fights bravely for his country can die with the satisfaction of knowing that his grave will be well respected (12. 29 καὶ τύμβος καὶ παῖδες ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀρίσημοι), and that his estate is safe (*Il.* 15. 497 f. ἀλλ' ἔλοχός τε σόη καὶ παῖδες ὀπίσσω καὶ οἶκος καὶ κλῆρος ἀκήρατος). That is what these poor Messenians have at stake. Cf. frs. 6-7 for the unexpected compassion which Tyrtaeus shows for the Messenians' sufferings.

13. Not λείψουσι λ.,[ for an initial λ lengthening a short final syllable would have been written double in a book of this date (cf. S. West, *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer*, 113).

15. If κυ[φ]αλ[έτοι, the point would be that their heads will be bowed in subjection; cf. 11. 2, Th. 535-6.

## XENOPHANES

*Fr. 1*

1. ζάπεδον, see Lobel on P. Oxy. 2617 fr. 4 i 17. ζ here seems to represent a sound closely related to δ, and it may be significant that in 6 ὀσδόμενος (though not in 9 τράπεζα) σδ is used for the ζ resulting from δξ. On the use of σδ for ζ in poetic texts see Page, *Alcman, The Partheneion*, pp. 144 f. Page overlooks the present instance, and the variant λακτισδέμεν in Pind. *Pyth.* 2. 95. It is agreed to be a late phenomenon, representing an assertion of the older pronunciation of ζ against the more modern z. The older pronunciation survived in third-century Sicilian Doric, and Theocritus used σδ to represent it. It must have been at about the same period that σδ was introduced into texts of Alcman and the Lesbian poets, by someone who knew or thought they knew the pronunciation proper to the dialects, and wished to differentiate it from that of the koine ζ. As for the isolated examples in Xenophanes

and Pindar, it is interesting that both poets worked in Sicily; the second Pythian is for Hiero. There may have been a Sicilian tradition of the poems concerned that influenced the later 'vulgate', and in that tradition *οδ* may have been introduced in more of the old poets than elsewhere.

Another orthographical peculiarity in this fragment is *ὕμνεν* (or *ὕμνευ*) in 13. The Doric infinitive in *-εν* is found in Alcman (not metrically guaranteed), Stesichorus, Pindar, Bacchylides, Theocritus, and the pseudo-Pythagorica. (At Hes. *Op.* 611 it is probably only a humanist conjecture.) *-εν* for *-εῖν* is metrically guaranteed only in Stes. P. Oxy. 2618 fr. 1 ii 9 (if rightly understood). That Xenophanes should have used it is highly unlikely. Whoever wrote it here (assuming that we have to do with a deliberate act) evidently wanted to scan *ἐύφρονας*, like *ἐύφροσύνης* in 4, introducing a violation of Hermann's Bridge – not foreign to Xenophanes (cf. 17, 19; 15.2; 34. 2), but no commendation of a conjecture. He probably found *ἐύφρονας* written in his exemplar.

9. A Colophonian born in 565 will have used no form but *κε(ι)αται* for the third person plural of *κεῖμαι*. But the conditions are ideal for a *schema Pindaricum* – initial position, verb meaning 'there is' (cf. Kühner-Gerth i. 86) – and he may have written *πάρκεται* here.

17. Most editors read *οὐχ ἔβρις πίνειν δ'*, or even delete the *δ'*, which is a clear sign of where to punctuate: why should Xenophanes have undertaken such a violent postponement of the particle when he could have said *οὐδ' ἔβρις* – if it were Greek at all to say *οὐχ ἔβρις πίνειν*? No, *ἔβρις* (= *ἀδίκια ἔργα*, Hes. *Op.* 146 codd., etc.) stands in antithesis to *τὰ δίκαια*, as *ἔβρις* and *δίκη* often do in early Greek. *πίνειν δ'* introduces a new prescription: 'as for the drinking, you (he) should take . . .'. So in 19, 'as for the guests, applaud him whose skolion is edifying, so that the company's reflection on things past, and their effort in the future, may be concentrated on goodness'. Then, if the infinitive is right in 21 (24 supports it), there is a shift to the more general: 'your skolion should not . . .'.

22. To supply *κε*, because *Κενταύρων* begins with those letters, is sheer mindlessness.

24. For *ἀγαθὴν* Herter, *Wien. St.* 69, 1956, 37, compares Iambl. *VP* 100 *περὶ τε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ περὶ τοῦ δαιμονίου καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἥρωικοῦ γένους εὐφημῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθὴν ἔχειν δίκαιοιαν*.

Fr. 3

4. For *ὡς (τὸ) ἐπίπαν* see Powell's *Lexicon to Herodotus* s.v. *ἐπίπαν*.

## VIII Addenda and Corrigenda to *Iambi et Elegi Graeci* Vol. II

For those of the following items which relate to the *Margites*, I am indebted to Rudolf Kassel.

P. 72 (De Margite homine ingenuo), add:

Aristid. *or.* 46, ii. 406-7 Dindorf ὡςπερ ἂν εἶ καὶ ὁ κλέπτης ἤγειτο κλέψας τὰ βλεπόμενα Ῥαδάμανθους εἶναι, ἢ ὁ Θερασίτης προσεῖπεν ἑαυτὸν Ῥάκινθον ἢ Νάρκισσον, ἢ ὁ Λυκάων Ἐκτορα, ἢ ὁ Κόροιβος Παλαμήδην, ἢ ὁ Μαργίτης Νέστορα, ἢ Βάττος Στέντορα ὁ περὶ τῆς φωνῆς εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀφικόμενος.

Teles p. 60. 1 Hense γελοῖον γὰρ ἔσται εἰ ἂν τὸν ἕτερόν τις ὀφθαλμὸν ἀποβάλλῃ δεήσει καὶ τὸν ἕτερον προσεκκίψαι, κἂν ὁ εἰς ποὺς κυλλός, καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀνάπηρον ποιεῖν, κἂν ἓνα ὀδόντα, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσεκλέξαι· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τούτων εἰ τις οὕτως οἴοιτο, μαργίτης. It is possible that Margites in the poem did something resembling Teles' examples.

P. 73, fr. 2. 2 is also attested by Dio Chrys. 7. 116 (i. 211. 8 von Arnim) λέγοντες ὅτι σὲ ὦ ἄνθρωπε "οὔτε σκαπτῆρα θεοὶ θέσαν οὔτ' ἀροτῆρα".

Fr. 3, in the Philodemus passage, after τοῖς εἰρημένους add πᾶσι.

P. 74, fr. 4, at the end of the Eustathius passage add ἐκεῖνος before ἐπλησίασεν.

Pp. 144 and 149, I have inadvertently written ἐλεγχοποιῶ and ἐλεγχοποιός for ἐλεγχοποιοῦ, -ός.

Index Verborum:

εἶργω, add ἐεργμέν.[ Ar.95. 3.

μέσος, for Ad. read Ad. ei.

ὄς suus, add Ty. 10. 2.

Πατροκλέης, read Πάτροκλος.

τίθημι, for Sol. 4c. 2 read Sol. 4c. 3.

τίς, delete Ty. 7. 2.

τις, add Ty. 7. 2.

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