

Dialect, Diction, and Style in Greek Literary and Inscribed Epigram

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Preface

Epigram is a broad generic category of ancient Greek poetics, as it encompasses both the literary form written by distinguished poets and the anonymous verses inscribed on stone and various objects, and spans almost a dozen centuries from the archaic and classical period until the rise of the Byzantine empire and beyond. Versatility and variety—in content, tone and diction—are the cornerstones of this genre, whose popularity is evidenced by the numerous epigrammatic corpora that have come down to us. Yet it was the artistic innovation introduced by the Hellenistic learned poets to the epigram that marks the turning point in the history of the genre. The main ideas explored in the present volume were probably conceived for the first time in Ptolemaic Alexandria by the very same poets who saw in the epigram, a poetic form whose brevity dramatically increases the power of the word, the λεπτός genre *par excellence*. The aim of the volume at hand is to offer new insights into a key feature of the epigrammatic genre, namely its rhetoric in all its possible manifestations in both literary and inscriptional epigram. The spotlight is turned on Hellenistic and post-Hellenistic epigrams, precisely because it was then that the poets became acutely aware that in epigram ‘every word counts’.

Twenty-one contributors bring to the fore the various aspects of this premise, and highlight language, style, and structure of words as a heuristic tool for the interpretation of epigram. The first part is dedicated to dialect and diction. Choice of dialect and dialect mixing are seen as part of the poet’s strategy in the early Hellenistic era, whereas imitation and variation in terms of diction become a rule in later epigram. Epigram as a formal construction and a genre dependent on sophisticated word design is explored in the second part; discussions feature letter- and word-play, the use of pentameters and syntactical patterns, the rhetoric of riddles and *technopaegnia*, and the introduction of the epigrammatic diction into epic. The remaining chapters of the volume come under the heading of ‘style’. In literary epigram style seems to be defined by theme. Three different thematic areas are viewed from the perspective of their idiosyncratic style, and hence three styles emerge as paradigmatic, namely the sepulchral, the philosophical, and the pastoral. In the last part of the volume a fresh approach to epigrammatic discourse is pursued: the concluding chapters demonstrate that inscriptions feature elaborate linguistic and rhetorical patterns and that style in these anonymous verses is equally essential as in their artistic counterparts.

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ized by the Department of Classics of the Aristotle University and the Centre for the Greek Language. This international conference was part of the Action “Ancient Greek Dialects of Vital Importance for the Continuity of the Greek Language and the Cultural Tradition”, co-financed and managed by the Greek Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs and the European Union (NSRF 2007–2013). Our thanks go to the Welfare Foundation for Social and Cultural Affairs (K.I.K.P.E.) for sponsoring the conference; we owe a special debt of gratitude to the Vice-President of the foundation, Manos Dimitrakopoulos, who believed in the *Trends in Classics* project in the first place.

Evina Sistakou
Antonios Rengakos

Thessaloniki, August 2016

Table of Contents

Preface — V

Dialect and Diction

Ewen Bowie

Doing Doric — 3

Dee L. Clayman

Callimachus' Doric Graces: 15 GP = 51 Pf. — 23

Taylor Coughlan

Dialect and Imitation in Late Hellenistic Epigram — 37

Lucia Floridi

The Language of Greek Skoptic Epigram of the I–II centuries AD — 71

Form and Design

Regina Höschle

“Unplumbed Depths of Fatuity?” Philip of Thessaloniki's Art of Variation — 105

Gregory O. Hutchinson

Pentameters — 119

Demetra Koukouzika

Epigrams in Epic? The Case of Apollonius Rhodius — 139

Jan Kwapisz

When Is a Riddle an Epigram? — 151

Giulio Massimilla

The ἀπὸ κοινοῦ Construction of Prepositions as a Feature of the Epigrammatic Style — 173

Style in Literary Epigram

a) Sepulchral Style

Egbert J. Bakker

Archaic Epigram and the Seal of Theognis — 195

Michael A. Tueller

Words for Dying in Sepulchral Epigram — 215

b) Philosophical Style

Benjamin Acosta-Hughes

A Little-Studied Dialogue: Responses to Plato in Callimachean Epigram — 237

Kathryn Gutzwiller

Style and Dialect in Meleager's Heraclitus Epigram — 253

Richard Hunter

A Philosophical Death? — 269

c) Pastoral Style

Marco Fantuzzi

Novice Pastoral Eros and Its Epigrammatic Critics — 281

Nita Krevans

Pastoral Markers in Hellenistic Epigram: The Fan-Fiction Approach — 297

Style in Inscribed Epigram

Francesca Angiò

A Sundial for a Deceased Woman: Two Epigrams from Pamphylia (I–II A. D.) — 311

Valentina Garulli

**Playing with Language in Everyday Poetry: *hapax legomena* in Inscribed
Funerary Epigrams — 323**

David Petrain

Hearing Heracles on the *Tabula Albani* — 335

Andrej Petrovic

**Casualty Lists in Performance. Name Catalogues and Greek
Verse-Inscriptions — 361**

Ivana Petrovic

The Style and Language of Epigrammatic *Programmata* — 391

List of Contributors — 415

Index — 421



Dialect and Diction

Ewen Bowie

Doing Doric

This paper has two parts. In the longer, first part I offer some observations on the use of Doric by poets whose work has been transmitted initially *via* the *Garland of Philip* and then *via* the *Anthology*. In the second and shorter part I consider the case of five poems from a sepulchral monument in Nicaea, poems not read by modern epigraphists but preserved by Book 15 of the *Anthology*.

The Garland of Philip

Some of Philip's poets, especially those of the middle and latter part of the first century BC, have no truck with Doric. This is no surprise in Philodemus, whom neither his Gadarene origin nor his Italian residence, whether in Rome or on the bay of Naples, would have given an incentive to compose any of his 29 surviving epigrams in Doric. Nor is it a surprise in the 15 poems of Parmenion and Diodorus of Sardis respectively, despite the Spartans at Thermopylae being the subject of Parmenion x Gow-Page (= *AP* 9.304) and a Tarentine setting being that of Diodorus ix Gow-Page (= *AP* 7.700). But if it is right to think that Honestus was domiciled in Corinth it is somewhat surprising that none of his 22 poems shows any sign of Doric,¹ and also perhaps surprising that Crinagoras, despite his Mytilenean origin, adhered throughout his 51 surviving poems to Attic-Ionic.² Less can be argued on the basis of poets of whose epigrams only very few survive, but for what it is worth I note that there is no Doric in the single surviving epigrams of Apollonius, Automedon, Boethus, Diotimus, Etruscus, Quintus, Scaevola or Serapion; in the two epigrams of Sabinus; in the three of Macedonius, Maeandrius, or Polemo; or in the four of Diocles or Secundus.

In certain poets who did choose Doric for *some* of their surviving poems it might be argued that the dialect is chosen either when there is a thematic or contextual trigger in the poem, or when the poem follows or refashions the work of an earlier poet strongly associated with Doric.

¹ For Honestus see Jones 2004, 93–6; Bowie 2008 [2012], 236.

² But for the absence of local dialect features from the works of both Theophanes and Crinagoras see Bowie 2011, esp. 195.

Thus several poems using Doric evoke either a Leonidean or a Theocritean pastoral world and their poets may be choosing to use Doric so as to stress that aspect of a poem. Of Myrinus' four transmitted epigrams it is only iii Gow-Page (=AP 7.703), on Thyrsis asleep, that uses Doric:

Θύρσις ὁ κωμήτης, ὁ τὰ νυμφικὰ μῆλα νομεύων,
 Θύρσις ὁ συρίζων Πανὸς ἴσον δόνακι,
 ἔνδιος οἰνοπότης σκιερὰν ὑπὸ τὰν πίτυν εὔδει
 φρουρεῖ δ' αὐτὸς ἑλὼν ποιμνία βάκτρον Ἔρωσ.
 Ἄ Νύμφαι, Νύμφαι, διεγείρατε τὸν λυκοθαροῦ
 βοσκόν, μὴ θηρῶν κύρμα γένηται Ἔρωσ.

Thyrsis the rustic, who pastures the nymphs' sheep,
 Thyrsis whose piping equals Pan's reed,
 the noon wine-bibber, is under the shady pine, asleep,
 and Eros himself has taken a crook and guards his flocks.
 – oh Nymphs! Nymphs! Wake up the wolf-bold
 herdsman, lest the beasts' prey should be Eros.

Of Thallus' poems it is just one, v Gow-Page (= AP 9.220), on the pleasures of sex under a plane-tree entwined with a vine, his only surviving treatment of a rural (though not properly pastoral) scene, that is also his only epigram to exploit Doric:

Ἄ χλοερά πλατάνιστος ἴδ' ὡς ἔκρυψε φιλεύντων
 ὄργια τὰν ἱερὰν φυλλάδα τεινομένα·
 ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ἀκρεμόνεσσιν ἐοῖς κεχαρισμένος ὤραις
 ἡμερίδος λαρῆς βότρυς ἀποκρέματα.
 οὔτως, ὦ πλατάνιστε, φύοις· χλοερά δ' ἀπὸ σεῖο
 φυλλὰς αἰεὶ κεύθοι τοὺς Παφίης ἐτάρους.

The green plane-tree – see how it has hid the lovers'
 rites, stretching out its sacred foliage:
 and around its own branches, a delight to the Seasons,
 a sweet tended vine's bunch dangles down.
 So may you grow, plane-tree, and may your growth
 of green foliage ever conceal the Paphian's companions.

Another example is Adaeus ii Gow-Page (= AP 6.258), a dedication by Crethon to Demeter 'characteristic of the imitators of Leonidas' (Gow-Page *ad loc.*), 'in the Leonidean manner':³

³ Cf. Magnelli 2007, 178.

Τὰν ὄιν, ὦ Δάματερ Ἐπόγμιε, τάν τ' ἀκέρωτον
 μόσχον καὶ τροχιάν ἐν κανέῳ φοοῖδα
 σοὶ ταύτας ἐφ' ἄλωος, ἐφ' ᾗ πολὺν ἔβρασεν ἄντλον
 Κρήθων καὶ λιπαρὰν εἶδε γεωμορίαν,
 ἱρεύει, πολύσωρε· σὺ δὲ Κρήθωνος ἄρουραν
 πᾶν ἔτος εὐκριθον καὶ πολύπυρον ἄνοις.

The ewe, Demeter of the Furrow, and the hornless
 calf, and the wheel-cake in its basket,
 to you, on this threshing-floor, where a rich pile
 he has winnowed, and seen a brilliant harvest, Crethon
 consecrates, o many-heaped one! May you make Crethon's plough-land
 fine in barley and plentiful in wheat every year.

The name Crethon is already in Adaeus' model, Leonidas lxxv Gow-Page (= *AP* 7.740):

αὐτὰ ἐπὶ Κρήθωνος ἐγὼ λίθος, οὖνομα κείνου
 δηλοῦσα· Κρήθων δ' ἐγχθόνιος σποδιά.
 ὁ πρὶν καὶ Γύγη παρῖσεύμενος ὄλβον, ὁ τὸ πρὶν
 βουπάμων, ὁ πρὶν πλούσιος αἰπολίοις,
 ὁ πρὶν – τί πλείω μυθεῦμ' ἔτι; πᾶσι μακαρτός,
 φεῦ, γαίης ὄσσης ὄσσον ἔχει μόριον.

Here upon Crethon stand I, a stone, and his name
 I display; but Crethon's in the earth, he's ash.
 He who before equated his prosperity even with Gyges, who before,
 was cattle-rich, who before was wealthy in flocks,
 who before – why do I say more? Blessed in every way
 alas! of so much land how small a piece he has!

But as Gow-Page noted Adaeus is also influenced by Theocritus 7.154–7.⁴

Both such a pastoral setting *and* Doric subjects seem to have been relevant to Erucius' decisions to use Doric. Of his fourteen transmitted poems Erucius chooses Doric for no less than eight, in four of these apparently for its pastoral associations; and of those for which he did not choose to use any Doric two were virtually excluded by their subject matter – an epigram on an Athenian woman who died at Cyzicus which begins programmatically with the ethnic Ἀθίς, Gow-Page vi (= *AP* 7.368),⁵ and another on the Athenian poet Sophocles,

4 οἶον δὴ τόκα πῶμα διεκράνασατε, Νύμφαι, | βωμῶ παρ Δάματρος ἀλωίδος; ἄς ἐπὶ σωρῶ | αὐτίς
 ἐγὼ πάξαιμι μέγα πτόνον, ἃ δὲ γελάσσαι | δράγματα καὶ μάκωνας ἐν ἀμφοτέραισιν ἔχοισα.

5 Merkelbach-Stauber 2001, 08/01/36 = *GVI* 806.

Gow-Page xi (= AP 7.36). The poems with some Doric have almost all a pastoral setting:

Erucius i Gow-Page (= AP 6.96), where two ox-herds sacrifice to Pan:⁶

Γλαύκων καὶ Κορύδων, οἱ ἐν οὐρεσι βουκολέοντες,
 Ἀρκάδες ἀμφότεροι, τὸν κεραὸν δαμάλην
 Πανὶ φιλωρεΐτα Κυλληνίω αὐερύσαντες
 ἔρρεξαν καὶ οἱ δωδεκάδωρα κέρα
 ἄλλω μακροτένοντι ποτὶ πλατάνιστον ἔπαξαν
 εὐρέϊαν, νομίῳ καλὸν ἄγαλμα θεῶ.

Glaucou and Corydon, who herd cattle in the mountains,
 Arcadians both, took the horned calf
 for Pan, the mountain-loving Cyllenian, drew back its head,
 and slaughtered it; and its twelve-palmed horns
 they pinned with a long-tapered nail to a plane tree
 that stood broad, a fair ornament for the god of pastures.

Erucius iii Gow-Page (= AP 9.558), in which dogs frighten off wolves:

Ὁ τράγος ὁ Κλήσωνος ὄλαν διὰ πάννουχον ὄρφναν
 αἶγας ἀκοιμάτους θῆκε φριμασσόμενος—
 ὀδμὰ γάρ μιν ἔτυψε λύκου χιμαροσφακτῆρος
 τηλόθε πετραίαν αὐλιν ἀνερχομένου—
 μέσφα κύνες κοίτας ἀνεγέριμονες ἐπτοίασαν
 θῆρα μέγαν· τραγίνους δ' ὕπνος ἔμυσε κόρας.

Clyson's billy-goat throughout all the dark night
 kept the nanny-goats awake with his snorting –
 for the scent of a she-goat-slaying wolf had struck him
 as it made its way up from afar to the rock-built fold –
 until the dogs, aroused from their rest, scared off
 the great beast, and sleep closed the goats' eyes.

Erucius iv Gow-Page (= AP 9.824), where Pan promises success to hunters. The dialect is very Doric, the subject reworks Leonidas xxix Gow-Page (= AP 9.337):

Εὔστοχα θηροβολεῖτε, κυναγέται, οἱ ποτὶ ταύταν
 Πανὸς ὄρειώτα νισσόμενοι σκοπιάν,
 αἴτε λίνιοις βαίνοιτε πεποιθότες, αἴτε σιδάρω,
 αἴτε καὶ ἰξευταὶ λαθροβόλῳ δόνακι·

⁶ The Doric forms are φιλωρεΐτα (3) and ἄλλω, ποτὶ, and ἔπαξαν (5). For a succinct and judicious statement of the debated relationship between this poem and the *Arcades ambo* of Vergil, *Eclogue* 7.1–5 see Clausen 1994.

κάμέ τις ὑμείων ἐπιβωσάτω· οἶδά ποτ' ἄγραν
κοσμεῖν καὶ λόγγαν καὶ λῖνα καὶ καλάμους

May you hit your target, huntsmen, who to this
peak of mountain-dwelling Pan come,
whether you advance trusting in nets, or in iron,
or indeed are fowlers with a stealthy-striking rod;
and let each of you call upon me: I know how to set
the foot-trap, and spear, and nets, and reeds.

The Leonidas poem is clearly Erucius' model, but Erucius has eight Doricisms in his six lines (κυναγέται, ποτί, ταύταν, ὀρειώτα, σιδάρω, ἐπιβωσάτω, ποτ'(ι), λόγγαν), Leonidas only one in his four (βόασον, line 3):

Εὐάγρει, λαγόθηρα, καὶ εἰ πετεινὰ διώκων
ἰξεντήης ἦκεις τοῦθ' ὑπὸ δισσὸν ὄρος,
κάμέ τὸν ὑληωρὸν ἀπὸ κρημοῖο βόασον
Πᾶνα· συναγρεύω καὶ κυσὶ καὶ καλάμοις.

Good hunting, hare-chaser, or if pursuing winged things
you come with lime to beneath this twin peak,
and from a crag call upon me, the forest-watcher,
Pan: I shall join your hunt with dogs and reeds.

Erucius vii Gow-Page (= *AP* 7.174), an epitaph for a cowherd, is marked by light Doric:

Οὐκέτι συρίγγων νόμιον μέλος ἀγχόθι ταύτας
ἀρμόζη βλωθράς, Θηρίμαχε, πλατάνου·
οὐδέ σευ ἐκ καλάμων κερααὶ βόες ἀδὺ μέλισμα
δέξονται σκιερᾷ πᾶρ δρυὶ κεκλιμένου.
ᾤλεσε γάρ πρηστήρ σε κεραύνιος· αἱ δ' ἐπὶ μάνδραν
ὀψὲ βόες νιφετῷ σπερχόμεναι κατέβαν.

No more do you fashion your pastoral tune near this
tall plane tree, Beast-fighter,
nor will the horned cattle listen to the sweet tuning from your reeds
as you recline beside a shady oak.
For a lightning bolt destroyed you: and to their byre
your cows came down late, hurried by snow.

Two other poems seem to use Doric not only because of a pastoral setting but also because their speaker is Dorian. One, Erucius ii Gow-Page (= *AP* 9.237), on a statue of Heracles about which an unnamed interlocutor asks a cowherd, is noted by Gow-Page as exhibiting a 'severer Doric dialect':

‘Βουκόλε, πρὸς τῷ Πανός, ὁ φήγινος, εἰπέ, κολοσσός
 οὔτος, ὅτῳ σπένδεις τὸ γλάγος, ἔστι τίνος;’
 ‘Τῷ λειοντοπάλα Τιρυνθίω· οὐδὲ τὰ τόξα,
 νήπιε, καὶ σκυτάλην ἀγριέλαιον ὀρῆς’.
 ‘Χαίροις, Ἄλκείδα δαμαληφάγε, καὶ τάδε φρούρει
 αὔλια κῆξ ὀλίγων μυριόβοια τίθει’.

‘Cow-herd, in Pan’s name tell me, the oak statue
 here, for whom you pour your libation of milk – whose is it?’
 ‘The Tirythian lion-wrestler’s: do you not even see his bow,
 you idiot, and his club of wild-olive?’
 ‘Hail, calf-eating Alcides, and guard these
 byres, and from few make their cattle countless’.

The second is Erucius v Gow-Page (= *AP* 6.255), both pastoral and at the same time a vehicle for the thoughts of an Ambraciot dedicator: it uses several Doric forms despite touches of epic colour:⁷

Τοῦτο Σάων τὸ δίπαχυ κόλον κέρας Ὠμβρακιώτας
 βουμολγὸς ταύρου κλάσεν ἀτιμαγέλου,
 ὅπποτε μιν κνημούς τε κατὰ λασίους τε χαράδρας
 ἐξερέων ποταμοῦ φράσασατ’ ἐπ’ αἰόνι
 ψυχόμενον χηλάς τε καὶ ἰξύας· αὐτὰρ ὁ βούτεω
 ἀντίος ἐκ παγέων ἴεθ’· ὁ δὲ ῥοπάλω
 γυρὸν ἀπεκράνιξε βοὸς κέρας, ἐκ δὲ μιν αἰπᾶς
 ἀχράδος εὐμύκῃ πᾶξε παρὰ κλισίᾳ

This docked horn of two cubits Saon the Ambraciot,
 the cow-milker, broke off from a bull that scorned his herd,
 after he had sought it out along the ridges and shaggy torrent-beds
 and spotted it on a river’s bank
 cooling its hooves and flanks. But right for the cowherd
 it lunged from the stream – and he with his club
 de-headed the curved horn from the ox’s head, and on a tall
 pear tree fixed it, beside his fine-lowning byre.

The remaining poem of Erucius to use Doric seems to do so exclusively because of its Dorian subject: in Erucius xii Gow-Page (= *AP* 7.230) a Spartan mother castigates and kills her son who had fled from the battlefield (i.e. a τρέσας). The Doric appears both in the description and in the mother’s words that are quoted:

⁷ Epic colour noted by Gow-Page 1968, 2.282–282. For a defence of the Palatinus’ αὐτᾶς and a rejection of Gow-Page’s emendation αἰπᾶς see Giangrande 1975, 41–42.

Ἄνικ' ἀπὸ πτολέμου τρέσσαντά σε δέξατο μάτηρ,
 πάντα τὸν ὀπλιστὰν κόσμον ὀλωλεκότα,
 αὐτὰ τοι φονίαν, Δαμάτριε, αὐτίκα λόγγαν
 εἶπε διὰ πλατέων ὠσαμένα λαγόνων·
 'Κάτθανε, μηδ' ἔχέτω Σπάρτα ψόγον· οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνα
 ἤμπλακεν, εἰ δειλοὺς τοῦμόν ἔθρεψε γάλα'.

When you fled battle and your mother received you
 after you had lost all your hoplite gear,
 it was she herself, Damatrios, who forthwith a deadly spear
 thrust through your broad flanks, with the words
 'Die, and may Sparta bear no blame: for it is not
 she who erred, if it was cowards my milk nourished'.

By contrast I can see no obvious explanation for the choice of Doric in Erucius x Gow-Page (= *AP* 6.234), in which a Gallus dedicates his kit to Cybele:

Γάλλος ὁ χαιτάεις, ὁ νεήτομος, ὠπὸ Τυμώλου
 Λύδιος ὀρηστὰς μάκρ' ὀλολυζόμενος,
 τᾶ παρὰ Σαγγαρίῳ τάδε Ματέρι τύμπαν' ἀγαυᾶ
 θήκατο καὶ μᾶστιν τὰν πολυστράγαλον
 ταῦτά τ' ὀρειχάλκου λάλα κύμβαλα καὶ μυρόεντα
 βόστρυχον, ἐκ λύσσης ἄρτ' ἀναπαυσάμενος.

The long-haired Gallus, gelded young, the one from Tmolus,
 the Lydian dancer whose shrieks carry far,
 has dedicated to the noble Mother by the Sangarius
 these timbrels and scourge with many knuckle-bones
 and these chattering copper cymbals and a perfumed
 lock, having just now entered rest after frenzy.

Since Erucius' origin is Cyzicus it might seem probable that his choice of dialect related to the city's claims to have been originally an ἀποικία of Corinth, though the city was later refounded by Miletus. Epigraphically preserved epigrams from Cyzicus do indeed use some Doric, though neither extensively nor consistently, and its proportion diminishes slightly between the Hellenistic and imperial periods. But even what seems to be our earliest case, from the third or second or first century BC, an iambic trimeter epitaph for Menecrates, has only three or four Doric forms in eight lines other than the personal name of his father, Matrodorus.⁸ From the second or first centuries BC an elegiac poem for Maea-

⁸ Merkelbach-Stauber 2001, 08/01/47 = *GVI* 1792 = *IK* 18.520: [τᾶς] Ἀφροδίτας ναός (1), ἔτερπόμεν (3), Ματροδώρου (8): ναός, regular in Attic tragedy, might well not be perceived as Doric. For the special case of personal names see Sens 2004, 73 with n.38.

dria surprisingly has twelve Doric forms in ten lines,⁹ whereas one for Menander has only two in six lines.¹⁰ A first century AD epitaph for Alexander from Alexandria has only two Doric forms in eight lines,¹¹ while the elaborate and ambitious acrostich poem for Apollonides, of the first or second century AD, two in its ten lines – the first (ἄ ...) required by the acrostich, and the second (ποτι) perhaps following suit: the remaining nine and a half lines are consistently Attic-Ionic.¹² Likewise two imperial epigrams from Cyzicene territory for statues of poets eschew Doric – though of course that both statues are of epic poets may have been sufficient reason for their epigrammatists to maintain Attic-Ionic. That for Homer's statue is short and simple, *IMT Kyz Kapu Dağ* 1425:¹³

ἡρώων κλέα πολλά καὶ Ἰλιακοῦ πολέμοιο
κοσμήσας ὁ θεοῖς ἴσος Ὅμηρος ὄδε.

The man who the heroes' many deeds of renown and the war for Ilium
arrayed, the man equal to the gods, Homer, is before you.

The other, much later, is for the poet Nestor of Laranda, *IMT Kyz Kapu Dağ* 1451:¹⁴

ἡ βουλή[ι] τείμεσσαν ἀγασσαμένη τὸν αἰοιδόν
Νέστορα καὶ μολπῆς εἴνεκα καὶ βιοτοῦ·
[ε]ικόνα <δ'> ἐξετέλεσσαν καὶ εἴσατο πατρίδος ἄρχων
Κορνοῦτος θαλερῆς ἐν τ<ε>μένεσσ<ι> Κόρησ·
ὄφρα καὶ οὐψίγον<ο>ί περ ἐν ἄσταί παῖδες ἔχιοιεν
σῆμα φιλοξενίας καὶ δέλεαρ σοφίης.

The Council honoured in admiration the bard
Nestor, both for his singing and his lifestyle.
The image was made and set up by the fine city's archon
Cornutus in the precincts of Korē,
so that children in later generations too might have
a marker of friendly action and a lure to wisdom.

9 Merkelbach-Stauber 2001, 08/01/45 (assigning to the late Hellenistic period) = *GVI* 1585 (assigning to the second or first century BC) = *IK* 18.516: Φερσεφόνα (1), θνατοῦς ἀλικίαν θεμένα (2), τῆ (3), ἀλλοδαπὰν (5), δεικνυμένα (6), γενόμεαν ... λειπομένα (8), Φερσεφόνας (9), Λάθας λουσαμένα (10).

10 Merkelbach-Stauber 2001, 08/01/46 = *GVI* 1552 = *IK* 18.519 τὰν (1), ἀνδρολέταν (6).

11 Merkelbach-Stauber 2001, 08/01/33 = *GVI* 1816 = *IK* 18.492: δμαθεῖς (1), Λάθας (2)

12 Merkelbach-Stauber 2001, 08/01/34 = *GVI* 1610 = *IK* 18.494: ἄ ... ποτι (1).

13 Merkelbach-Stauber 2001, 08/01/04.

14 *CIG* 3671 = Merkelbach-Stauber 2001, 08/01/07. On Nestor of Laranda see Ma 2007.

If there is a pattern to be discerned at all, it is one which reveals a decline in Doric by the late first century BC.¹⁵ Erucius' choice, then, was not determined by his Cyzicene origin.

But similar choices to those of Erucius of Cyzicus may also be seen in the epigrams of Antiphilus of Byzantium,¹⁶ who seems to eschew Doric for paradoxography, but uses it in his Leonidean xv Gow-Page (= AP 6.95), a dedication by the rustic Parmis, a ploughman (γατόμος, line 6), whereas in his other Leonidean dedications by tradesmen he does not:¹⁷

Βουστρόφον, ἀκροσίδαρον, ἀπειλητῆρα μύωπα
καὶ πῆραν μέτρου σιτοδόκον σπορίμου
γαμψόν τε δρέπανον, σταχυητόμον ὄπλον ἀρούρης,
καὶ παλιουροφόρον, χεῖρα θέρευς, τρίνακα
καὶ τρητοῦς ποδεῶνας ὁ γατόμος ἄνθετο Διοῖ,
Πάρμις, ἀνηρῶν παυσάμενος καμάτων.

His ox-turning, iron-tipped, threatening goad,
and wallet that held corn in the measure to be sown,
and curved sickle, ear-cutting tool of the field,
and fork that casts back to the wind, the harvest's hand,
and pierced funnels – the ploughman dedicated to Dēo,
Parmis, when he retired from his painful toils.

This reworks a Leonidas poem which is also a dedication by a rustic Parmis, Leonidas lxvi Gow-Page (= AP 7.504), where the *Palatinus* has Doric ὀλόαν and παλλομένα but Gow-Page print Ionic.

Antiphilus also uses Doric for the several poems with arguably Doric themes. One of these is Antiphilus vi Gow-Page (= AP 9.178), immortalising the moment when Nero give freedom to the Dorian island of Rhodes:

Ὡς πάρος Ἐλίου, νῦν Καίσαρος ἅ Ῥόδος εἰμι
ναῖσος, ἴσον δ' αὐχῶ φέγγος ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων.

¹⁵ I set aside the sporadically Doric poems describing to mythological scenes represented on columns of the early second century BC temple of Apollonis, mother of Attalus and Eumenes of Pergamum: it seems clear that the 19 poems, constituting Book Three of the *Palatine Anthology*, are late, perhaps as late as Nonnus, cf. Demoen 1988, Cameron 1993, 148.

¹⁶ Gow-Page 1968, 2.117 rightly see his geographical references as confirming the ethnic 'Byzantine' attached to 24 poems, though they miss the mise-en-scène of Elaeous at xxiii (= AP 7.141). See also Robert 1979.

¹⁷ On these other dedications see Ypsilanti 2006. For an interesting proposal that Antiphilus xi GP (= AP 10.17) was a programmatic first poem in an Antiphilan collection and xvi (= AP 6.199) an epilogue see Hörschele 2007, 360–361.

ἦδη σβεννυμέναν με νέα κατεφώτισεν ἀκτίς,
 Ἄλιε, καὶ παρὰ σὸν φέγγος ἔλαμψε Νέρων.
 πῶς εἶπω, τίμι μᾶλλον ὀφείλομαι; ὃς μὲν ἔδειξεν
 ἐξ ἄλός, ὃς δ' ἦδη ῥύσατο δυομέναν;

Just as before I was the island of the Sun, so now I, Rhodes, am Caesar's,
 and I boast an equal light from both:
 when I was already being extinguished a new beam lit me up,
 Sun, and alongside your light shone Nero.
 How can I put it? To which of you do I owe more? To the one who displayed me
 from the sea, or the other who saved me when I was already sinking?

Another is Antiphilus xiii Gow-Page (= AP 5.307), on a painting of Leda and the swan, where the choice of dialect may be a response to the very explicitly Spartan setting:

Χεῦμα μὲν Εὐρώταο Λακωνικόν, ἃ δ' ἀκάλυπτος
 Λήδα χῶ κύκνω κρυπτόμενος Κρονίδας.
 οἱ δέ με τὸν δυσέρωτα καταίθετε. καὶ τί γένωμαι;
 ὄρνεον. εἰ γὰρ Ζεὺς κύκνος, ἐγὼ κόρυδος.

The stream is the Eurotas, in Laconia, the unclothed woman
 Leda, the male concealed as a swan, Zeus.
 You inflame my fragile passion – just what am I to become?
 A bird. If Zeus is a swan, then I am a lark.¹⁸

The Trojan horse of Antiphilus xxxv Gow-Page (= AP 9.156) is a more precarious case. The *Palatinus* reads ὄλα in line 4 and μάταν in line 5, both of which Gow-Page print; the Planudean reads ὄλη and μάτην. Homer had Menelaus describe the Trojan horse filled with the best of the Argives (*Od.* 4.271–3), which may be enough to explain the Doricisms.¹⁹

Δέρκεο τὸν Τροίας δεκέτη λόχον, εἴσιδε πῶλον
 εὐόπλου Δαναῶν ἔγκυον ἠσυχίης.
 τεκταίνει μὲν Ἐπειός, Ἀθηναίη δὲ κελεύει
 ἔργον, ὑπέκ νότου δ' Ἑλλάς ὄλα δύεται.

18 Gow-Page see this as an adaptation of the 'proverbial phrase' comparing the singing of larks and swans, AP 9.380.1 and Dioscorides xxxvi 5–6 Gow-Page (= AP 11.195.5–6). Konstan 2008, 296–7 suggests that Antiphilus' point is that like Zeus he will be a singing bird – not indeed a swan, but 'at all events' a lark. This still lacks force, and I suggest there may also be a pun – with itacism κόρυδος can sound like κόρη δός, 'Give, girl'.

19 Or perhaps Antiphilus has been reading the *Iliou Persis* of Stesichorus, a well-known poem, or that of the Argive poet Sacadas, still known to Athenaeus 13.610c some 150 years after Antiphilus, cf. Bowie 2014a.

ἦ ῥα μάταν ἀπόλοντο τόσος στρατός, εἰ πρὸς Ἄρηα
ἦν δόλος Ἀτρεΐδαις ἐσθλότερος πολέμου.

Behold the tenth-year ambush of Troy, behold the filly
pregnant with Greeks' well-armed silence.
The carpenter is Epeius, and Athena commands
the work, and up into its back all Greece enters.
In vain did so large an army perish, if for Ares
the Atreidae found guile better than battle.

The Doric of Antiphilus xxxviii Gow-Page (= *AP* 9.294) on the corpse of Leonidas is much more pervasive, though at line 6 the Palatine has Ionic ἐλευθερίας where the Planudean has ἐλευθερίας:

‘Πορφυρέαν τοι τάνδε, Λεωνίδα, ὤπασε χλαῖναν
Ξέρξης ταρβήσας ἔργα τεᾶς ἀρετᾶς’.
‘οὐ δέχομαι· προδόταις αὐτα χάρις· ἀσπίς ἔχοι με
καὶ νέκυν· ὁ πλοῦτος δ’ οὐκ ἐμὸν ἐντάφιον.’
‘ἀλλ’ ἔθανες, τί τοσόνδε καὶ ἐν νεκύεσσιν ἀπεχθῆς
Πέρσαις;’ οὐ θνάσκει ζᾶλος ἐλευθερίας.’

‘This purple cloak, Leonidas, is given you
by Xerxes, in fear of your valour’s deeds’.
‘I do not take it. This is a favour to traitors. May a shield cover me
even as a corpse. Wealth is not my shroud.’
‘But you have died. Why, when dead, so hostile
to Persians?’ ‘Love of freedom never dies.’

Antiphilus xlviii Gow-Page (= *API* (A) 136) has six instances of Doric in eight lines in describing Timomachus’ *Medea*, perhaps gesturing to the myth’s location in Corinth:²⁰

Τὰν ὀλοὰν Μήδειαν ὄτ’ ἔγραφε Τιμομάχου χεῖρ
ζάλω καὶ τέκνοις ἀντιμεθελοκόμεναν,
μυρίον ἄρατο μόχθον, ἴν’ ἦθεα δισσὰ χαράξῃ,
ὦν τὸ μὲν εἰς ὄργαν νεῦε, τὸ δ’ εἰς ἔλεον.
ἄμφω δ’ ἐπλήρωσεν· ὄρα τύπον· ἐν γὰρ ἀπειλᾷ
δάκρυον, ἐν δ’ ἐλέω θυμὸς ἀναστρέφεται.
ἀρκεῖ δ’ ἂ μέλλῃσις, ἔφα σοφός· αἶμα δὲ τέκνων
ἔπρεπε Μηδείῃ, κού χερί Τιμομάχου.

When Timomachus’ hand painted murderous Medea
by her jealousy and her children pulled to and fro,

²⁰ For a discussion of this and the three other epigrams on Timomachus’ *Medea* see Gurd 2007.

he took on a huge task, to sculpt the two sides of her character,
 of which one inclined to anger, the other to pity,
 and achieved both: see the image – for in her threat
 a tear lurks, and in her pity, anger.
 ‘Intent suffices’, said the sage: the children’s blood
 fitted Medea, not Timomachus’ hand.

Similarly Antiphilus xlix Gow-Page (= *API* (A) 147) weaves some Doric into its description of a painting of Perseus and Andromeda, presumably because Perseus is a hero of Argive descent:

Αἰθίοπων ἄ βῶλος· ὁ δὲ πτερόεις τὰ πέδιλα
 Περσεύς· ἄ δὲ λίθῳ πρόσδετος Ἄνδρομέδα·
 ἄ προτομὰ Γοργοῦς λιθοδερκέος· ἄλλον ἔρωτος
 κήτος· Κασσιόπας ἄ λάλος εὐτεκνία.
 χὰ μὲν ἀπὸ σκοπέλοιο χαλᾶ πόδας ἠθάδι νάρκα
 νωθρόν· ὁ δὲ μναστήρ νυμφοκομεῖ τὸ γέρας.

The soil is Ethiopian; the man with winged sandals
 Perseus; the woman tied to the rock Andromeda;
 the head, a petrifying Gorgon’s; love’s ordeal
 a sea-monster; Cassiopeia’s, the big-mouthed child-pride.
 She loosens her legs from the crag, numb with
 now-familiar torpor; her suitor scoops his bridal prize.

But this explanation does not work for Antiphilus xxxvi Gow-Page (= *AP* 9.192) on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, unless the prominence of ‘Argives’ in the *Iliad* is relevant:

Αἱ βίβλοι, τίνας ἐστέ; τί κεύθετε; Ἐυγατέρες μὲν
 Μαιονίδου, μύθων δ’ ἱστορες Ἰλιακῶν·
 ἄ μία μὲν μνηθμὸν Ἀχιλλέος ἔργα τε χειρὸς
 Ἐκτορέας δεκέτους τ’ ἄθλα λέγει πολέμου·
 ἄ δ’ ἑτέρα μόχθον τὸν Ὀδυσσεὸς ἀμφὶ τε λέκτροις
 χηρείοις ἀγαθᾶς δάκρυα Πηνελόπας·
 ἴλατε σὺν Μούσαισι· μεθ’ ὑμετέρας γὰρ αἰοιδὰς
 εἶπεν ἔχειν αἰὼν ἕνδεκα Πιερίδας.

‘Books, who are you? What have you within?’
 ‘Homer’s daughters, tellers of the tales of Troy.
 One tells of Achilles’ wrath and the deeds of
 Hector’s hand, and ordeals of a ten-year war,
 the other Odysseus’ toil and the tears of
 noble Penelope over her widowed bed’.
 ‘Be gracious, with the Muses: for after your songs
 Time has said it has eleven Pierians’.

I find Antiphilus' choice of Doric here as puzzling as that of Argentarius for his only Doric epigram out of his 37 surviving poems, i.e. xxxv Gow-Page (= *AP* 9.221), a carving of Eros on a *sphragis*:

Αὐγάζω τὸν ἄφυκτον ἐπὶ σφραγίδος Ἔρωτα
 χερσὶ λεοντείαν ἀνιοχεῦντα βίαν,
 ὡς τᾶ μὲν μᾶστιγα κατ' αὐχένος, ᾗ δὲ χαλινούς
 εὐθύνει· πολλὰ δ' ἀμφιτέθηλε χάρις.
 φρίσσω τὸν βροτολοιγόν· ὁ γὰρ καὶ θῆρα δαμάζων
 ἄγριον οὐδ' ὀλίγον φείσεται ἀμερίων.

I behold on the seal inescapable Eros
 reining in a mighty lion with his hands,
 with one guiding the whip to its neck, with
 the other the bit: much grace blooms all around.
 I shudder at the man-destroyer: for he who tames
 even a wild beast will not spare mortals at all.

As suggested by Kathryn Gutzwiller in the discussion at Thessaloniki, the best explanation for this unusual move by Argentarius is that the recipient of the poem, perhaps also recipient or existing owner of the seal, had a Dorian connection.

In the case of Antiphilus we might perhaps expect Doric to be his dialect of choice, since Byzantium was, and sometimes remembered that it was, a Megarian colony. But in fact Byzantium's inscribed epigrams are resolutely Attic-Ionic, and by the imperial period we find Doric only in occasional personal names like Asclapiadas, or in the names of offices like that of the *hieromnamon*.²¹ A nice example of an inscribed epigram of the early first century AD ('or shortly after') is the following poem with some literary aspirations but no scent of Doric, presumably composed for the sculpture of a dolphin on a *nymphaeum*:²²

[τόν με κυ]βιστητῆρα τὸν ἐξ ἁλὸς οὐκέτι Νηρεὺς
 [πομαίνει]: χέρσονδ' ὧδε μετωκισάμην·
 [ἤλλαγμα]ι Νύμφας Νηρηΐσι καὶ πεπέδημαι
 [νόματος ἀ]λλοτρίου τερπνοτέραις σταγόσιν·
 [χαίροισι] εἶ]ς κόλποιο μυχούς εὐίχθους ἄγραι·
 [... ..]ς χέρσῳ πόντον ἀναινόμεθα.

A diver from the sea, I no longer have Nereus
 [as my shepherd]: I have moved house to here on land.
 [I have exchang]ed the Nereids for Nymphs, and am tied
 to the pleasanter droplets of another's [stream].

²¹ *IK* 58.30

²² *IK* 58.10.

[Farewell] hunts rich in fish into the gulf's depths:
[content with?] dry land we reject the sea.

Sacerdos of Nicaea

Against this background of poets composing during the century or so before the reign of Nero I turn to five splendid poems from Nicaea. We might approach these epigrams of Nicaea with no special expectation that *they* would be Doric. Indeed there is only one other poem which uses some Doric in the currently known epigraphy of Nicaea, an epitaph for a weaver called Myrmex:²³

[...] σου χθών ἦδε [.....]κεύθει
[M]ύρμηξ, ἰστεῶνος πρόστατα καλλιπέπλου·
[σᾶι τέχνην γὰρ ἔφυς [.....] ἔξοχος ἄλλων
[καὶ δόκιμος βιοτῆ καὶ φρενὶ πιστότατος·
[οὔ] σε μάταν μύρμηκος ἐπώνυμον ἔφρασαν [ἄ]ν[δρες].
[...]*this earth*[.....]*holds*
Ant, guardian of the fair-clothed loom
For in your skill you were [] above others
and approved in your lifestyle and most trusted for your character;
not for nothing did men call you by the name 'Ant'.

More telling, perhaps, is the fact that of the thirty one surviving epigrams of Apollonides, who seems to be from Nicaea, not one uses Doric, even though xxi Gow-Page (= *AP* 9.280) has a Spartan setting and xxviii Gow-Page (= *AP* (B) 49) is set in Rhodes. One might add that Doric is not used by Diodorus x Gow-Page (= *AP* 7.701) in his poem for Diomedes of Nicaea; but since Diodorus seems never to have used Doric anyway not much weight can be placed on this detail. Overall, however, Nicaea seems very rarely to exhibit Doric in its 'literary' or in its other inscribed epigrams.

It is therefore surprising that Doric is on show in no less than three of the five poems on the grandiose funeral monument of a Nicaean who is there referred to only by his ὄνομα, in Roman terms his *cognomen*, Sacerdos. Its five elegiac epigrams are transmitted by Book 15 of the *Palatine Anthology*, where the poems are numbers 4 to 8.²⁴ A note by J tells us that *AP* 15.4 was a sepulchral epigram copied 'at Nicaea near the lake on the obelisk' (ἐπιτύμβιον ἐν Νικαίᾳ πλησίον

²³ *IK* 58.103.2.

²⁴ Merkelbach-Stauber 2001, 09/05/04, 05, 06, 07 and 08 (on pages 159–163).

τῆς λίμνης ἐν τῷ ὀβελίσκῳ). The writer of this note, suggested by Cameron to be Constantine of Rhodes and perhaps to be getting his information from Alexander, metropolitan of Nicaea in the tenth century,²⁵ evidently uses the term ‘*the obelisk*’ because this was the architectural form of Sacerdos’ tomb. It must have been similar to the obelisk of Cassius Philiscus, some five kilometres out of town away from the lake, and erected c. AD 120.²⁶ I have discussed these poems recently elsewhere,²⁷ but for convenience I also print both texts and translations here:

Αὔχησον, Νίκαια, τὸν οὐρανομάκεα τύμβον
καὶ τὰν ἀελίῳ γείτονα πυραμίδα,
ἃ τὸν ἐνὶ ζωοῖς βεβοαμένον ἱεροφάνταν
κρύπτει ἀμετρήτῳ σάματι θαπτόμενον.
ἔστι Σακέρδωτος τόσον ἠρίον, ἔστι Σεουήρας
μνᾶμα τόδ’, ᾧ γείτων οὐρανός, οὐκ αἶδας.

Boast, Nicaea, of the tomb as tall as heaven
and the pyramid that is neighbour to the sun,
which hides the hierophant renowned among mortals
buried in its measureless monument.
This is the great sepulchre of Sacerdos, of Severa is
this memorial, to which heaven, not Hades, is neighbour.

AP 15.4

Οὐράνιον τὸ μνᾶμα καὶ ἃ χρυσήλατος ἀκτίς
ἀνδρὸς ἴσον βίῳτῳ καὶ τάφον εὐραμένου
ἄστροις γειτονέοντα· φέρει δ’ ὅσον οὔτινα τύμβος
ἀνέρα, τὸν τελετᾶς οὐρανίδος ζάκορον,
τὸν πάτραν ἐριπούσαν ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὑψώσαντα,
τὸν φρενός, ἧ γλώσσας, ἄκρα λαχόντα γέρα·
ᾧ πέρι δηρίσαντο καὶ ἃ νέκυν ἐν πυρὶ θεῖσα
Ἄτθις χά κόλποις ὄστέα δεξαμένα.

The heavenly memorial and the ray of beaten gold
matches the life of a man who found even his burial
neighbouring the stars: the tomb harbours
a peerless man, sacristan of the heavenly mystery,
who raised up his fallen country from the ground,
who attained the highest honours for mind as for tongue,
over whom the land fought that set his body on a pyre,
Attica, and that which took his bones to its bosom.

AP 15.5

²⁵ Cameron 1993, 316.

²⁶ *IK* 9.85: Γ. Κάσσιος Φιλίσκος, Γ. Κασσίσιου Ἀσκληπιοδότου υἱός,| ζήσας ἔτη πγ. Cf. Bekker-Nielsen 2008, 112,

²⁷ Bowie 2014b, 42–5.

Τοῦτο Σακέρδωτος μέγαλου μέγα σῆμα τέτυκται
 παμφαές, Ἀσκανίης ἄστρον ἐπιχθόνιον,
 ἀκτίνων ἀντωπών· ὁ δ' ἦσυχος ἔνδοθι δαίμων
 κεῖται ὁ καὶ πάτρη δεξιτερὴν τανύσας
 κεκλιμένη καὶ στέμμα περὶ κροτάφοισιν ἀνάψας
 ἱερὸν ἐκ πατρὸς παιδὶ νεαζόμενον,
 ὃν πάτρη μὲν ἔδεκτο φίλον νέκυν, ἤγνισε δ' Ἀθίς
 πυρκαϊῆ, σέβεται δ' Ἑλλάς ἅπασα πόλις.

This is the great monument of great Sacerdos,
 shining everywhere, the earthly star of Ascania,
 its face to the sun: but inside in peace the spirit
 rests, who stretched out his hand to his country
 in collapse, and tied a sacred fillet on the head
 of a son when it was rejuvenated by a father,
 whose dear body his country received, Attica
 sanctified on a pyre, and every Greek city reveres.

AP 15.6

Ἄ πάτρα Νίκαια, πατὴρ δέ μοι ὀργιοφάντας
 οὐρανοῦ, αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ κλαρονόμος τελετᾶς·
 οὗτος ὁ καὶ σεισθεῖσαν ἐμὴν πόλιν ἐξ αἶδαο
 ῥυσάμενος δώροις Αὐσονίοιο Διός·
 θνάσκω δ' Ἀσκανίας μὲν ἀπόπροθεν ἠδ' ἐπὶ γαίας
 Ἀθίδος ἀρχεγόνου πυρκαϊᾶς ἐπέβαν.
 μνάμα δέ μοι περίσασμον ὁμώνυμος εὖρατο πάππῳ
 παῖς ἐμός· ἅ δ' Ἀρετὰ λεύσσει ἐς ἀμφοτέρους.

My country is Nicaea, my father displayer of the
 holy objects of heaven, and I the heir of his office.
 I am the man who also saved from Hades his city
 shaken by earthquakes, by the gifts of Ausonian Zeus.
 I died far from Ascania, and in the Attic land,
 whence my family came, I mounted the pyre.
 My famed memorial was devised by one who has his grandfather's name,
 my son: excellence looks upon both of them.

AP 15.7

Εἷς γάμος ἀμφοτέρων, ξυνὸς βίος, οὐδὲ θανόντων
 μνήμονες ἀλλήλων ἔσχον ἀποικεσίην·
 καὶ σεῦ μὲν τελεταί τε καὶ ἄρρενος ἔργα, Σακέρδως,
 κηρύξει βίοντα πάντα ἐς ἡελίους·
 αὐτὰρ ἐμέ Σεουήραν ἀνήρ, τέκος, ἦθεα, κάλλος
 τῆς πρὶν Πηνελόπης θήσει ἀοιδότερην.

One marriage united both, a shared life, and
 not even dead did they part, thinking of each other.
 And your offices and manly deeds, Sacerdos,
 will proclaim your life each day the sun rises;

me, Severa, my husband, son, character,
 beauty, will make more hymned than Penelope of old.

AP 15.8

One surprising features of these five poems commemorating Sacerdos is that neither his father nor the homonymous son who erected the obelisk is named. But the riddling phrase that closes AP 15.7 covertly reveals their names:

μνᾶμα δέ μοι περίσαμον ὀμώνυμος εὐρατο πάππῳ
 παῖς ἐμός· ἅ δ' Ἀρετὰ λεύσσει ἐς ἀμφοτέρους.

My famed memorial was devised by one who has his grandfather's name,
 my son: excellence looks upon both of them.

Not many Greek names mean 'virtuous' (ἀγαθός, for example, is used only as part of a compound personal name in Bithynia),²⁸ but the name Chrestus does (of course with the shift of accent from χρηστός to Χρῆστος that is regularly found when nouns or adjectives are used as personal names). The father of Sacerdos is therefore none other than a man well attested in Nicaean epigraphy, C. Cassius Chrestus, who died aged 58.²⁹ The Sacerdos of the tomb-obelisk thus had as his full Roman name C. Cassius Sacerdos: he will have taken on the position of ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ σεβαστοφάντης, *archiereus* and Sebastophant, on his father's death, perhaps around AD 90, and seems himself to have died around AD 130. He joins Cassius Asclepiodotus, Cassius Philiscus and (a century later) the historian Cassius Dio Cocceianus as a distinguished member of one of the leading families in imperial Nicaea, the Cassii.

We do not know what Sacerdos was doing in Attica when he died. Merkelbach suggested he was there for the ceremonies attending establishment of the Panhellenion in AD 131/2,³⁰ but there is no hint of that in the poetic texts. His presence in Attica may equally have related to his intellectual and rhetorical eminence, picked out in the second poem in the attributive phrase τὸν φρενὸς ἧ γλώσσας ἄκρα λαχόντα γέρα, 'who attained the highest honours for mind as for tongue' (AP 15.5.6)?³¹ Nothing helps answer these questions as yet. Unfortunately

²⁸ But it does appear as a name in other provinces, e.g. in Egypt, Baillet 1920–1926, no. 1742.

²⁹ C. Cassius Chrestus is described on his late first-century sarcophagus, found outside Nicaea's East (Lefke) gate (for whose reconstruction between AD 70 and 81 he was responsible, *IK* 9.25), as πρέσβυ[ς καὶ] (οἱ πρεσβύ[τερος]) | ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ σεβαστοφάντης | ἐτῶν νη', *IK* 9.116.

³⁰ Merkelbach 1987, repeated Merkelbach and Stauber 2001, 159.

³¹ In this line the *Palatinus* reads ἧ, 'or', giving the feeble sense 'who attained the highest honours for mind or for tongue'. Merkelbach-Stauber 2001, 160 translate ἧ 'und'. I print and trans-

the name of Sacerdos' wife, Severa, is too common to be diagnostic either for her place of origin or her status in society, but certainly admits a relationship with some of the top families in western Asia Minor.

One mark of Sacerdos' *paideia* may be the Doric dialect that was chosen for three of the five poems. Like Byzantium, Astacus, on the gulf of Nicomedia and a little west of Nicaea, claimed foundation by Megara,³² and the poet may be gesturing towards the Dorian origins of parts of his and Sacerdos' region. The identity of that poet cannot be resolved – indeed it cannot be assumed that the same epigrammatist was responsible for all five poems. Sacerdos was grand enough for more than one poet to have been approached, and the practice of inscribing poems by more than one poet on the same monument is a very old one.³³ That said, it is possible that the poet responsible for the poems that use Doric might be the sophist Memmius Marcus, a member of the governing class of Byzantium and a man whose *floruit* is Hadrianic.³⁴ Among the anecdotes reported by Philostratus is one concerning his visit to Megara and his successful intervention to quell Megarian hostility to Athenians, allegedly stemming from Pericles' Megarian decree of the fifth century BC.³⁵ Memmius Marcus was clearly conscious of Byzantium's foundation by Megara – indeed he traced his family's origin to the founder Byzas.³⁶ As one might expect, and as the poets collected by Philip of Thessalonice in his *Garland* exemplify, the intellectual links between the cities of the northern Aegean, the Propontis and north-western Asia Minor (i.e. Bithynia and Mysia) were sometimes closer than their links with Attica or with the great cities of *provincia Asia*.³⁷ Marcus might well have had connection with the elite of Nicaea. The other sophist from Byzantium who makes it into Philo-

late ἦ, 'just as', which will of course have been indistinguishable from ἦ in the epigraphic text copied at Nicaea.

32 Bekker-Nielsen 2008, 28 n.3. Note also the Doric form γυνά in *IK* 9.225 Ὀλυμπιάς Διονυσίου γυνά ἐτῶν σε' χαίρει of which Robert *Bull.* 1980 no. 562 wrote that the woman must have come from the southern shore of the gulf of Nicomedia, around Pylae, which was Byzantine territory.

33 Cf. the story about a competition between Aeschylus and Simonides for a ἐλεγείον to commemorate the battle of Marathon, with Bowie 2010, 215–7; more generally on epigram competitions Petrovic 2009, 203–212.

34 ἠγάσθη αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀδριανὸς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ πρεσβεύοντα ὑπὲρ Βυζαντίων, ἐπιτηδειότατος τῶν πάλαι βασιλέων γενόμενος ἀρετὰς αὐξῆσαι, Philostr. *VS* 1.24.529–30. For a good discussion distinguishing the (Memmius) Marcus noted as magistrate on coins representing Pius and then later as ἥρωος (i.e. after his death) on coins representing Annia Lucilla (i.e. pre-169) from the Memmius Marcus, his son, on coins of Marcus and Commodus, see Puech 2002, 344–5.

35 Philostr. *VS* 1.24.529.

36 Philostr. *VS* 1.24.528.

37 On the economic basis for this network see Gren 1941.

stratus' selective series of biographies is called Chrestus.³⁸ This Chrestus lived at least a generation after our grandee commemorated at Nicaea, Sacerdos, son and father of a Chrestus. But his name raises the possibility that there was some connection between the families located in Byzantium and Nicaea respectively. It will not only be in the fictional world of Achilles Tatius that a one of the Byzantine elite married somebody of their own class from another city.

Abbreviations

AP *Anthologia Palatina*.

CIG Boeckh, A. (ed.) (1828–1877), *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Berlin.

GP Gow, A./Page, D. (eds.) (1968), *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip and Some Contemporary Epigrams*, 2 vols., Cambridge.

GVI Peek, W. (ed.), (1955), *Griechische Vers-Inschriften*, Berlin.

IK *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*. 1972ff., Bonn.

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³⁸ Philostr. *VS* 2.11.590–2. That Chrestus had been a pupil of Herodes, and that the Athenians wanted the emperor to appoint him as successor to Hadrianus of Tyre in the imperial chair at Athens, suggests a *floruit* in the 170s and early 180s.

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Dee L. Clayman

Callimachus' Doric Graces: 15 GP = 51 Pf.*

τέσσαρες αἱ Χάριτες, ποτὶ γὰρ μία ταῖς τρισὶ κείναις
ἄρτι ποτεπλάσθη κῆτι μύροισι νοτεῖ.
εὐαίων ἐν πᾶσιν ἀρίζηλος Βερενίκα,
ἄς ἄτερ οὐδ' αὐταὶ ταὶ Χάριτες Χάριτες.

1 κείναις AP : τήναις Wilamowitz 3 ἀρίζηλος AP : ἀρίζηλος Brunck, Wilamowitz

Four are the Graces; in addition to those three, one has just been molded and is still damp with myrrh. Fortunate Berenike, conspicuous among all, without whom the Graces themselves are not Graces.

15 GP = 51 Pf. = AP 5.146

Epigram 15 GP is one of a handful of Callimachus' epigrams that contain more than a few Doric word forms.¹ This is literary Doric, not a language that anyone actually spoke, but a selection of Doric forms inherited from earlier literature mixed with others including Homeric, poetic, and koine.² Below I argue that Callimachus' selection of Doric words and their precise deployment in the epigram constitute a rhetorical strategy designed to compliment his dedicatee, Berenike II, and to implicate her in his stylistic agenda.

The texts of Callimachus' Doric poems are slippery objects of study because ancient editors and copyists had a tendency to replace unfamiliar spellings with standard ones, and modern editors tend to do the opposite; they correct standard spellings with Doric ones.³ Two examples of this are below, which I will argue are both ill-conceived. But editing is not the whole story. Dialect instability is also found in inscribed epigrams in the third century BC, as koine began to assert itself against dialects generally, and Alexander Sens has shown that it characterizes the text of the "new" Posidippus, which was produced within a generation

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1 Callimachus' other epigrams with Doric features include 3 GP = AP 12.150; 17 GP = AP 13.7; 39 GP = AP 7.523; 44 GP = AP 7.519; 45 GP = AP 7.271 and 59 GP = AP 11.362. Others are possibly Doric.

2 On the Doricisms of Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter* where the poet uses a similar melange of dialect forms see Hopkinson 1984, 43–51; on the literary Doric of bucolic poetry, Molinos Tejada 1990; and on Theocritus' literary Doric, Hunter 1996, 28–45.

3 On the treatment of dialect forms by ancient editors, Colvin 1999, 103–116.

of the poet's death in the 3rd c. BC.⁴ This, he argues, implies that Posidippus himself was the source of the dialectic mix, and that dialect itself could be an element in his poetic toolbox. Callimachus' famous pronouncement on dialect mixing in *Iamb* 13 seems to corroborate this.

τοῦτ' ἐμπ[έ]πλεκται καὶ λαλευσ[...].
Ἴαστι καὶ Δωριστι καὶ τὸ σύμμεικ[τον].

This is interwoven and chattering/ in Ionic and Dorian, and the mixed type.

Call. fr. 203.17–18 Pf.

Here Callimachus reserves the right to use any dialect forms that he likes consistently or inconsistently.

Why Callimachus includes so many Doric forms in 15 *GP* is not a mystery. The subject of his poem, named in line 3, is Berenike. This is generally agreed to be Berenike II, the wife of Ptolemy III and Callimachus' great patron.⁵ It is significant that the poet uses the Doric form of her name here, Βερενίκα. Both Callimachus and Berenike were from Cyrene and native Doric speakers. He is not speaking Cyrenean here,⁶ and we do not know whether he ever had opportunities in real life to speak with her in the accents of their native city, but it is self-evident that he exploited their common homeland to claim a special relationship with her in the endless game of one-upsmanship that characterized life among the royal courtiers in Alexandria.⁷ In all likelihood she was among the intended readers of this poem, so this is a subtle or not so subtle way to remind her of their shared linguistic heritage. Beyond her Cyrenean birth and childhood, Berenike was Doric by virtue of her family's Macedonian background. Her father Magas was a son of the first Berenike by her first husband, the otherwise unknown Philip.⁸ And we know from Posidippus (AB 88.4) that Berenike I came from Macedonian Eordea like her second husband, Ptolemy I, so the social and political values that became attached to Macedonian Doric speech by Callimachus' time are operative here.⁹ A key component of the Ptolemies' claim to be Dorians is the myth of Macedonian ties to Doric speaking Argos in the Peloponnese, which Callimachus highlights and associates with Berenike II in the begin-

⁴ Sens 2004. Horrocks 2010, 40 notes the tenacity of Dorian spelling and Dorian identity in the face of the spread of Attic-based koine.

⁵ Wilamowitz 1924, vol. 1, 216, nt. 1; Pfeiffer 1928, 332; Gow-Page 1965, vol. 2, 171. On Berenike II as a patron of Callimachus, Clayman 2014, 57–61 and *passim*.

⁶ On Doric dialect as Cyrenean, Ruijgh 1984, and for a critique of this claim, Abbenes 1996.

⁷ On Alexandrian court life, Weber 1993 and 2011.

⁸ On Berenike's parents, Clayman 2014, 30–39.

⁹ On the politics of Macedonian, Hunter 2005.

ning of the 'Victoria Berenikes' (54–60j Harder = 143–156 Massimilla) which also features Heracles, that quintessentially Doric hero.¹⁰ In short, Berenike II was three times Doric.

Though Callimachus had personal and political motives for spelling her name in the Doric manner he was not in the habit of doing so. In the three other places where he names his queen in his extant poetry, she is Berenike, not Berenika.¹¹ This form, as well as its accompanying adjective, ἀρίζηλος is a literary reference, a quote from Theocritus *Id.* 17.57, the 'Encomium to Ptolemy',¹²

Ἀργεῖα κῦάνοφρυ, σὺ λαοφόνον Διομήδεα
μιγομένα Τυδείη τέκες, Καλυδωνίῳ ἀνδρί,
ἀλλὰ Θέτις βαθύκολλος ἀκοντιστὴν Ἀχιλλῆα
Αἰακίδῳ Πηλῆϊ· σὲ δ', αἰχμητὰ Πτολεμαίε,
αἰχμητᾶ Πτολεμαίῳ ἀρίζηλος Βερενίκα.

Argive woman with dark brows, you bore man-slaying Diomedes in union with Tydeus, the Calydonian hero; and deep-bosomed Thetis [bore] the warrior Achilles to Peleus son of Aeacus; and you, spearman Ptolemy, conspicuous Berenika [bore] to spearman Ptolemy.

Theoc. *Id.* 17.53–57

Theocritus' poem describes the birth of Ptolemy II, whose mother was Berenike I, and celebrates their closeness to the gods. The concept is reinforced by ἀρίζηλος, 'very conspicuous', which may be appropriately applied to both Berenikes. ἀρίζηλος has struck some editors as an undoric form, and since the Doric ζᾶλος is attested, Brunk and others corrected it to ἀρίζαλος, but this would be a mistake as Pfeiffer knew.¹³ Not only do the best manuscripts of Theocritus have ἀρίζηλος, but so does Pindar (*Ol.* 2.55) and the spelling is supported by evidence from inscriptions (*IG* 9.1.270).¹⁴ We can be confident it is correct and that the whole phrase is a literary reference intended to confer some of the weight of Theocritus' argument for the Ptolemies' divine, heroic, and Doric qualities on Callimachus' own slight epigram. Just as Theocritus tells us that Ptolemy II resembled

10 On Heracles as a Ptolemaic ancestor, Griffiths 1979, 91–98. Berenike's husband, Ptolemy III claims descent from Heracles in the opening lines of the Adoulis decree (OGIS 54).

11 Other passages where Callimachus names Berenike include fr. 110.7; 387.2; and 388.11 Pf.

12 Gow-Page 1965, vol. 2, 172 explain, following Kaibel, that Βερενίκα at the end of the verse violates a metrical rule observed by Callimachus in his elegies that a 4-syllable word at the end of a verse in the shape ~ ~ ~ must be preceded by a monosyllable. There are a number of examples of verses that ignore this rule in Theocritus, but this is the only one in Callimachus, so it seems all but certain that Callimachus borrowed the words and placement from Theocritus. See also McLennan 1971.

13 Pfeiffer 1949–53, 95.

14 There is more on ἀρίζηλος below.

his father, Ptolemy I (in the manner of Achilles and Diomedes) so, Callimachus subtly suggests, Berenike II resembles the first Berenike.

There is a point, then, to Berenike's Doricness, but the epigram does not begin with it. It opens with the startling fact that there are now more Graces than there once were: Τέσσαρες αἱ Χάριτες, 'Four are the Graces.' Τέσσαρες is epic in form. The Doric would be τέτορες¹⁵ which would not scan, but that is not the only reason Callimachus chose Τέσσαρες. In this brief narrative the Graces start with their epic/Ionic identity, but by the end of line four, αἱ Χάριτες have become ταῖ Χάριτες.¹⁶ They become Doric Graces right before our eyes. Though ταῖ is also epic, it appears in Homer very rarely as an article followed by a noun, as it does here.¹⁷ To be precise, though, we could say that the epic/Ionic Graces become epic/Doric Graces.

Not only have the Graces become Doricized, but they have multiplied. At the conclusion αἱ Χάριτες are ταῖ Χάριτες Χάριτες. The increase in number is the first message of the epigram and it is reinforced by Callimachus elegant word order. But how and when was the transition made? To observe the process let us look again at line 1. In addition to those three (ταῖς τρισὶ κείναις), a new one has just now been created. Those three are the traditional three, the Graces from the Ionic island of Paros, who appear near the beginning of bk 1 of the *Aitia* (fr. 3–7b Harder).¹⁸ The manuscripts of the *AP* make their origin clear with κείναις, an Ionic form equivalent to the Attic ἐκείναις. This reading is not found in every text. Wilamowitz and Pfeiffer after him corrected κείναις to the Doric τήναις. The emendation was made on the grounds that Callimachus uses τήνος consistently in his Doric hymns 5 and 6,¹⁹ but consistency is not a characteristic of Hellenistic poets using dialect forms. Gow-Page retains the manuscript reading and it is likely correct. Before the miraculous creation of a new Grace, the original three were firmly epic/Ionic.

In line 1 the new Grace has not yet been identified. She is simply 'one', μία. This form is dialectally ambiguous. It could be Attic, but also West Greek or epic. The first unambiguously Doric word is ποτί which joins the One to the other Graces, while it retains the distinction between them.²⁰ This epic/Doric one has been added to 'those Ionians.'

15 Tribulato 2012, 211.

16 On the articles ταῖ and τοῖ as characteristic of West Greek dialects, Colvin 1999, 195–96 and Tribulato 2012, 211.

17 The overwhelming majority of Homer's ταῖ's and τοῖ's are pronouns.

18 As noted in I. Petrovic & A. Petrovic 2003, 196.

19 Wilamowitz 1925; Pfeiffer 1949–53.

20 On ποτί for Attic/Ionic πρός, Tribulato 2012, 212.

The two linguistic groups come together in a process that has just been completed as line 2 begins, ἄρτι ποτεπλάσθη. Ποτεπλάσθη with its Doric prefix, reinforces ποτί in line 1. It was 'molded in addition to', or 'molded on' not simply 'added' as *LSJ* suggests. This is an act of creation and extension, and the process that it describes is doricizing. The verb is not simply πλάσσω, or προσπλάσσω, but ποτιπλάσσω. It is a Doric fashioning that has just been completed as Callimachus begins his poem.

At this point the moment of inception has already passed, but the new creation is still damp. The adverb ἔτι is in krasis Doric-style with καί,²¹ and its position following the diaeresis is emphatic. Though the process is complete, the dampness persists beyond expectation. νοτεῖ, 'it is damp', is not marked as Doric, but νοτέω is an interesting word. Its first appearance in Greek literature is right here, and the only other citations in *LSJ* come from Eratosthenes, Callimachus' younger contemporary, and the still later Nicander. νοτεῖ, then, is apparently a Hellenistic formation and seems to have a scientific ring. In the *Alexipharmaca* it is used with ἰδρῶς, sweat (*Al.* 24), but also oil precisely as it is pressed out of olives (*Al.* 494). In Eratosthenes, it is dampness from melting ice (fr. 16.10 Powell). The older, more usual form of the verb, νοτίζω, also refers to perspiration and other bodily fluids. In our epigram the liquid in question is myrrh, a perfume, and a commonly repeated idea is that perfume was poured or rubbed on a statue of the queen during its dedication ceremony.

This interpretation was questioned by Gow-Page, who do not doubt that the poet is describing a statue, but note that there is no evidence that perfume was used in dedication ceremonies.²² The notion of pouring or anointing is absent from the poem itself which offers only νοτεῖ. The new creation is wet with a liquid like sweat, freshly pressed olive oil, or water from melting ice, *i.e.* liquid that originates within its source and then appears on the surface. No agent applies it. This suggests, in turn, that Callimachus is in the presence of that uniquely Hellenistic marvel: a sweating statue.²³

Sweating statues are omens, usually bad ones, and Posidippus includes one among his 'Oinoskopika':

ξέσματος ἰδρώσαντος ὅσος πόνος ἀνδρὶ πολίτηι
καὶ δοράτων ὅσος προσφέρεται νιφετός·
ἀλλὰ τὸν ἰδρ[ώσα]ντα κάλει θεόν, ὅστις ἀπώσε[ι]
πῦρ ἐπὶ δυ[σμε]νέων αὔλια καὶ καλάμα[ς].

²¹ The poet wrote κήτι, not Ionic κάτι.

²² Gow-Page 1965, vol. 2, 172.

²³ For references to sweating statues in antiquity, Bastianini / Gallazzi 2002, 143.

When a statue has perspired what trouble it is for the citizens, and how great a snow storm of spears approaches. But call on the sweating god, who will push the fire onto the buildings and crops of the enemy.

Posidippus AB 30

Posidippus' straightforward description of the phenomenon raises an alarm at the omen, but offers a solution to the threat: call upon the god who has perspired and he will drive away the enemy. There is a seamless transition from the perspiring statue to a perspiring god, who will avert the danger for a worshipper who is reverent. No prayer is evident in Callimachus' epigram, but the suggestion that the statue is the same as its subject and that both have qualities of divinity is certainly present.

Sweating statues were usually understood as negative omens like Posidippus', but there was a notorious exception. Arrian (1.11.2) reports that shortly before Alexander set out on his expedition to Asia a statue of the poet Orpheus in Pieria sweated continuously. Though various explanations were offered, the seer Aristander of Telmissus soothed the king by explaining that the omen meant that epic and choral poets, as well as those who wrote odes, would perform much hard labor singing of Alexander and his works.²⁴ A perspiring Berenike would have the same effect on the poets of Alexandria.

That Callimachus might present a sweating Berenike is not in the least inappropriate. Posidippus AB 36 marks the dedication of a headband to Arsinoe Philadelphus by a young girl who dreamed that the queen had used it to wipe the sweet sweat from her brow as she rested after heavy toils (3–4). The queen was holding a spear and a shield, so she had been toiling on the battlefield. In Posidippus' text Arsinoe's sweat is sweet (*γλυκὺν*), but Callimachus goes one step further, Berenike sweats myrrh. If this is an omen, it is certainly a good one.

Though Berenike, too, was represented as a warrior,²⁵ her perfumed fragrance does not suggest toil so much as divinity. She is like Artemis whom Hippolytus perceives not by sight, but by the 'divine breath of her fragrance' (Eur. *Hipp.* 1391). In the same way Prometheus knows that the Oceanids are near by the sound of their winged chariot and their scent (Aes. *Prom.* 115–16). He wonders whether the fragrance is 'divine, mortal or a mixture', and Callimachus' reader could ask the same question of Berenike's. In this too, Alexander set

²⁴ Versions of the story are also in Plut. *Alex.* 14.5 and Ps.-Callisth. 1.42 where another seer connects the sweat to Alexander's own future toils on the battlefield.

²⁵ Berenike also was portrayed by Callimachus as active on the field of battle (Hy. *Astr.* 2.24.11–18).

the precedent. As Plutarch says on the authority of Aristoxenus, 'From his skin a sweetness emanated and there was a fragrance around his mouth and all his flesh so that his clothing was full of it' (Plut. *Alex.* 4.2).

Berenike's sweat is not simply perfume, but precisely myrrh. This was generally harvested by tapping the myrrh tree *i.e.* slashing its bark and letting its juices run. These would soon concretize, and the residue would be packaged and sold. But unlike ordinary myrrh, Pliny (*NH* 12.35) reports that at the height of summer, the tree spontaneously sweats (*sudant*) a liquid called *stacte*, which is the most precious of all myrrh.²⁶ Berenike's own sweat is surely *stacte*, and this, in turn, associates her with Myrrha (or Smyrna), who was impregnated by her own father and gave birth to her son Adonis after changing into a myrrh tree. The story of Myrrha's incestuous passion with its dramatic consequences was known by Panyasis in the 5th c. BC and was current in the Hellenistic age.²⁷ Ovid's retelling of the tale highlights its eroticism, a quality inherent in the story itself that may explain why Callimachus' epigram was classified by its earliest compilers with other erotic epigrams.²⁸

Myrrha's son, Adonis, the beloved of Aphrodite, is one of those liminal figures who hovers between mortal and immortal. He plays a leading role in the constellation of myths used by the Ptolemies and their apologists to situate their dynasty culturally between the east and west and themselves, between mortal and immortal.²⁹ An important document in this program is Theocritus' *Id.* 15 which features an elaborate description of an Adonia produced by Arsinoe II to celebrate her mother's deification. At the center of the festivities is a statue of Adonis surrounded by flowers, fruits and costly offerings including perfumes from Syria. In the words of 'the Argive woman's daughter', a singer who performs at the festival, 'Cypris, daughter of Dione, you made the mortal Berenike immor-

²⁶ Theophr. (*de Odor.* 6.29), in contrast, says that *stacte* is the oil that flows from the myrrh tree after it has been bruised and notes that others describe it as the product produced when myrrh is processed with oil of *balanos*. Discussion in Lucas 1937.

²⁷ In his rendition of Myrrha's tale Apollodorus (3.14.4) cites Panyasis (5th cen. BC) as a source, and his version of Myrrha's story was current in the Hellenistic age: Schol. on Lycophron 829; Ovid *Met.* 10.298–518.

²⁸ The *AP* locates the poem in book 5, a collection of erotic epigrams probably reflecting the original arrangement of Meleager (I. Petrovic / A. Petrovic 2003, 185–86). The Petrovics further identify three motifs in the epigram which make it similar to other erotic epigrams: Charis and the Charites, perfume, and statues (187–91). Given the Ptolemies' penchant for incestuous marriages, the nature of Myrrha's relationship with her father was not a narrative detail that needed to be suppressed or explained away (Griffith 1979, 65 n. 40). Berenike, too, was a woman, like Myrrha, who chose her own husband (Clayman 2014: 36–39).

²⁹ Griffith 1979, 65–66; Reed 2000.

tal, as men say, when you dripped (ἀποστᾶξασα) ambrosia into the woman's breast. You who are much-hymned, you who have many temples, to gratify you Berenike's daughter Arsinoe, as beautiful as Helen, cherishes Adonis with many lovely things' (*Id.* 15.106–11).

Here at a festival for Adonis Arsinoe II celebrates the deification of her mother, Berenike I, as the gift of Aphrodite. The metamorphosis is accomplished by the goddess's dripping ambrosia into Berenike's breast.³⁰ The unique benefits of divine fluids were well known to Callimachus. In his *Hymn to Apollo* (38–41) the god himself produces a magical oil that drips from his hair bringing healing to mortals, and the poet asks his Parian Graces in *Aitia* 7.11–14 to wipe their anointed hands on his elegies in order to give them long life. Their hands are slippery with oil that flows, like Apollo's, from their locks.

With a unique reconfiguration of these same imaginative elements, our epigram implies that Berenike II herself generates a divine fluid in the guise of the myrrh tree that brought forth Adonis. Unlike her predecessor, she is self-anointing, like Apollo and the Graces, and therefore already on a path to immortality. That Callimachus presents this image in Dorian accents is also a reflection of *Id.* 15. There the description of the Adonia is embedded in a mime featuring two Alexandrian women visiting the festival who vigorously defend their right to speak Dorian when a man in the crowd complains about their speech (87–95). Callimachus claims the same right in his epigram which puts another Berenike at its center.

The third line of our epigram finally reveals the name of the newest Grace, which is accompanied by some of her attributes as if the poem were a very short hymn. εὐαίων, 'fortunate' Berenika, 'happy in life' and ἀρίζηλος 'very conspicuous.' Both also appear elsewhere describing other Ptolemies, e.g. εὐαίων is attached to Ptolemy IV in SH 979.2, an anonymous epigram in a school text, and Eratosthenes (35.13 Powell) applies it to Ptolemy III, Berenike's husband. Likewise ἀρίζηλος 'very conspicuous' appears in an anonymous fragment (fr. 734 Pf.) attributed to Callimachus himself, attached to Ptolemy son of Lagus.

It seems, then, that these adjectives were authorized epithets for Ptolemaic rulers, but they are not banal or irrelevant to this poem. In *Iliad* 22.28–29 and Pindar *Ol.* 2.55 ἀρίζηλος describes a star that recalls Berenike's 'Lock', which became a constellation (fr. 110–110f Harder); the 'star of Berenike' (fr. 387 Pf.); and generally, the Graces' association with light (Pind. *P.* 9.89–90). Likewise εὐαίων

³⁰ Ambrosia, conventionally called the "food" of the gods, was often represented as a liquid rather than a solid (Wright 1917). There are early precedents for rendering a mortal immortal by the application of ambrosia in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (231–241) and Pind. *P.* 9.59–65.

often accompanies Apollo in tragedy (Eurip. *Ion* 126, 142; Soph. *Phil.* 829–30) whose closeness to the Graces is well attested.

But there is an edge to Callimachus' praise, as if, like Pindar, he felt the need to remind his laudanda that even *charis* can have a dark side. In his fifth hymn 'The Bath of Pallas', εὐαίων describes the nymph Chariclo whose son Teiresias has just been blinded because he inadvertantly saw the goddess naked in her bath. Chariclo is 'blessed', but only in comparison with the mother of Actaeon, who suffered a much worse punishment for a similar crime. In comparison with being torn apart and eaten by your own dogs blindness is a blessing.

ἀρίζηλος also is double-edged. In *Iliad* 22.27–29 it describes the armor of Achilles which shines like the light of the Dogstar, the brightest of all, but a sign of evil.³¹ And in *Iliad* 2.318 it is linked to another portent: a serpent, which appears while the Greeks are sacrificing to the gods at Aulis. The serpent jumps to a nearby tree where it eats eight baby sparrows together with their mother. Then, the poet says of the portent,

τὸν μὲν ἀρίζηλον θῆκεν θεός, ὅς περ ἔφηνε·
 λᾶαν γάρ μιν ἔθηκε Κρόνου πάϊς ἀγκυλομήτεω.

318 ἀρίδηλον Zenodotus: ἀΐζηλον Aristarchus 319 athetized

The god who revealed it, made it ἀρίζηλον / the son of crooked-counseling Kronos, turned it to stone.

Il. 2.318–19

As Schmid notes, these verses are especially relevant to Callimachus' epigram because here ἀρίζηλος describes a living creature that is turned to stone, *i.e.*, it becomes a statue.³² The passage was of interest to Homer's Alexandrian editors and to Callimachus himself because Aristotle had commented on it.³³ In using ἀρίζηλος to describe Berenike as a statue, the poet may have been thinking not only of a divine portent turned to stone, but of its ultimate form, the constel-

³¹ The rising of the Dogstar is also precisely the moment when Myrrh trees are ready to be tapped (Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* 9.1.6).

³² Schmid 1923, 177.

³³ The question asked by Aristotle was why does Chalcas' speech (*Il.* 2.333–329) interpret the snakes' eating of the birds as a portent, while ignoring the metamorphosis of the snake into stone (Porph. 145 Rose = 369 Gignon). Aristotle concludes that the petrification of the serpent does not refer to the return of the Greeks, but to the slowness and long duration of the war, which was not relevant in the dramatic circumstances. Thus, *Il.* 2.319 presents no difficulty. Both Zenodotus and Callimachus seem to accept this. Later, Aristarchus tried to improve the coherence of the passage by reading ἀΐζηλον for ἀρίζηλον and athetizing 2.319. A detailed study with bibliography is in Montanari 2008.

lation Draco, which is in the same family of constellations as the Coma Berenices.

The fourth verse is the poem's elegant conclusion, 'Berenika, without whom the Graces themselves are not Graces.' The relative pronoun, ἣς, is Doric like its referent, and now the article accompanying the Graces is also Doric. So great is her power, that though she is only one, and they, three, the combined ensemble takes on her identity. They and she are all Doric now and they have become indistinguishable – a group of four Doric Graces.

To say that a queen is like a goddess or in this case, like a Grace, or that the queen is a Grace, is not the height of poetic creativity. The conceit that a human could be like a deity begins with Homer, and was taken to a new level of literalness by Alexander and his successors. But this is not exactly Callimachus' point. By manipulating dialect forms, Callimachus has found a subtle way to say not only that Berenike has become a Grace, but that the Graces have become Berenikes. This puts a new spin on an old cliché, and is a much greater compliment.

The newly doricized Graces are also uniquely Callimachus'. Now that Berenike has been grafted onto them, he no longer has to make do with the usual three Ionians. Now he has a unique set of four, specifically Dorian Graces to bring their many gifts to his work. These would include not only their inspiration and beauty, but their newly acquired financial and political clout. No one would doubt the power of that combination or Callimachus' success in forging it. It is clear, then, that Callimachus uses dialect here, with all of its literary, social and political connotations, to claim a unique and powerful position for himself and his art.

Though attention to dialect reveals something new about Callimachus' artistry with words, it does not address all of the interpretative issues of the poem. One that has generated ongoing discussion is the question of what relation the poem may have to Callimachus' literary agendas. Ivana and Andrej Petrovic, for example, have argued that the four Graces represent the four books of the *Aitia*, which begins with the Parian Graces and ends with Berenike's 'Lock', and that it may have announced the publication of books 3 and 4.³⁴ Benjamin Acosta-Hughes and Susan Stephens come to the same conclusion using a slightly different approach.³⁵ They understand the epigram's referent not as a perfumed statue, but a perfumed lock of hair, representing Berenike's 'Lock.' Neither argument takes into account the corporality of the statue which was molded (ποτεπλάσθη) and is wet (βοτῆι), but the statue's apparent solidity does not invalidate them.

³⁴ I. Petrovic & A. Petrovic 2003, 194–198.

³⁵ Acosta-Hughes & Stephens 2012, 222–25.

The poet does not make clear whether he is describing a real statue or an imagined one, and real or imagined, it could be understood metaphorically.

Though attention to dialect will not solve this particular problem, it is possible to associate the epigram with Callimachus' poetic program in another way. At the conclusion of his *Hymn to Apollo* Envy speaks to Apollo and declares,

‘οὐκ ἄγαμαι τὸν αἰοιδὸν ὃς οὐδ’ ὄσα πόντος αἰεῖει.
τὸν Φθόνον ὠπόλλων ποδί τ’ ἤλασεν ὠδέ τ’ ἔειπεν·
‘Ἀσσυρίου ποταμοῖο μέγας ῥόος, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλὰ
λύματα γῆς καὶ πολλὸν ἔφ’ ὕδατι συρφετὸν ἔλκει.
Δηοῖ δ’ οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδωρ φορέουσι μέλισσαι,
ἀλλ’ ἦτις καθαρὴ τε καὶ ἀχράαντος ἀνέρπει
πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς ὀλίγη λιβάς ἄκρον ἄτων.’

‘I do not like the singer who does not sing as much as the sea.’
Then Apollo struck Envy with his foot and said,
‘Great is the flood of the Assyrian river, but it hauls
much refuse and garbage in its water.
The bees carry water to Deo not from every source
but from that which flows, pure and immaculate,
from a holy spring, a little trickle, the topmost flower.’

Call. *Hymn to Apollo*, 106–112

This passage has long been understood as a statement of Callimachus' literary values that contrasts two kinds of style.³⁶ One is like a river that is large, copious, and filled with garbage. The other resembles tiny liquid droplets that are pure, sacred, and harvested from perfection itself, the topmost flower. Though a variety of interpretations have been advanced for the identity of the great Assyrian stream,³⁷ it is clear that the pure droplets carried by the bees³⁸ represent Callimachus' own poetry. The droplets are not exactly water but nectar, the clear, thin liquid that bees transform into honey. Berenike's statue, damp with *stacte*, the pure liquid which produces the finest myrrh is equivalent to the 'topmost flower',

36 A bibliography of the modern discussion is in Williams 1978, 86 which is supplemented with more recent bibliography in Cheshire (2008, 354 nt. 2). Typically this passage is read as Callimachus' defense against his critics, especially Apollonius of Rhodes. Cheshire argues that Apollo is portrayed here as defending the chorus which performs in the hymn.

37 The great stream has been variously identified with the Euphrates (Schol. ad loc.); the Pontic Assyrian rivers such as the Thermodon, Iris and Halys (Huxley 1971); or Homer's Ocean (Williams 1978, 87–89).

38 The bees have been understood as poets (Bacchylides 10.10–11 S.-M.; Aristoph. *Birds* 748–751), priestesses of Demeter (Schol. ad Theoc. 15.94/95a; Schol. ad Pind. *Pyth.* 4.106a; Apollodorus of Athens, *FGrH* 244 F 89 = *P.Oxy.* 1802 col. 2.29), or literally bees.

the perfect source of nectar from which Callimachus distills his honeyed verse.³⁹ In this way, his fourth Dorian Grace is not only a patron and inspiration for the poet, but a template for precisely the kind of poetry that he wishes to write.

Abbreviations

- AB Austin, C./Bastianini, G. (eds.) (2002), *Posidippi Pellaei quae supersunt omnia*, Milan.
 AP *Anthologia Palatina*.
 GP Gow, A./Page, D. (eds.) (1968), *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip and Some Contemporary Epigrams*, 2 vols., Cambridge.
 LSJ Liddell, H.G. / Scott, R. *A Greek-English Lexicon*, rev. and augm. throughout by Stuart Jones, H. with the assist. of McKenzie, R. and with the cooperation of many scholars, Oxford 1940 + *A Supplement*, ed. by Barber, E.A. with the assist. of Maas, P. / Scheller, M. / West, M.L., Oxford 1968 + *Revised Supplement*, ed. by Glare, P.G.W. with the assist. of Thompson, A.A., Oxford 1996.
 OGIS W. Dittenberger (ed.) (1903–1905), *Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae*, Leipzig.

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³⁹ Honey is a conventional marker for the sweetness of poetry (Hes. *Th.* 83–84; Vita Pindari 1.6–9 Drachmann.; Theoc. *Id.* 1.146–47). It is noteworthy that the bees do not bring Callimachus honey, but its less viscous precursor, nectar (not literally water, *pace* Crane 1987) which the poet himself will transform into verse.