

*Leonidas of Tarentum, Fifty-nine Epigrams:
Text, Translation, and Commentary*



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*Molto lontano dormo dalla terra
d'Italia e dalla mia patria, Taranto.
Questo è per me più amaro della morte.
Tale è la vana vita d'ogni nomade.
Ma le Muse mi amarono, e per tutte
le mie sventure mi diedero in cambio
la dolcezza del miele.
Il nome di Leonida non è morto.
I doni delle Muse lo tramandano
per ogni tempo.*

Leon. AP 7.715
(transl. S. Quasimodo)

*'Obscuritates' inquit Sex. Caecilius 'non adsignemus culpa
scribentium, sed inscitiae non adsequentium, quamquam hi
quoque ipsi qui quae scripta sunt minus percipiunt culpa
vacant. Nam longa aetas verba atque mores veteres
oblitteravit'.*

Gell. 20.1.5

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Abstract

The present thesis is an edition with translation and commentary of 59 epigrams of the Hellenistic poet Leonidas of Tarentum. It starts with an Introduction which, after briefly tracing the history of the scholarly work on Leonidas, considers general aspects pertaining to his life, his work, and his poems. The transmission of text is outlined (medieval transmission, papyri, epigraphic evidence, quotations). Leonidas is then placed in his historical and cultural context and his potential links with historical figures and poets of the Hellenistic age are treated, as well as his reception in Antiquity. Lastly, his language and style are outlined, followed by observations on the metre of his poems.

There follows the text, translation and commentaries of selected epigrams. These are chosen from three macro-categories (dedicatory, sepulchral and 'miscellaneous' epigrams) and are arranged according to their theme. Some general observations precede specific groups of epigrams. The commentary deals with all relevant aspects of the poems, such as text, interpretation, *Realien*, and matters of style, metre and diction.

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This thesis was begun in 2017 and it took slightly longer than expected to complete. Leonidas was a far more complex subject than I had thought; there were a few obstacles of varying natures along the way and - needless to say - the Coronavirus pandemic which started in 2020 did not make things easier. However, I am writing these words not in justification for delays or shortcomings, but rather because I believe it should be said more explicitly and more often that things can be more complicated than expected, and that research does not exist miraculously disjointed from our personal lives; and at the same time because, if this piece of work makes its way into the repositories of the Bodleian library, it is thanks to the help of many, which I should now acknowledge.

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1. Introduction

1.0 Foreword

Leonidas is not the most popular Hellenistic poet among modern critics, a position inversely proportional to the fortune which he seems to have enjoyed in antiquity. With ca. 100 poems (depending on how confident we are about dubious ascriptions, for which cf. below) for a total of ca. 600-50 lines surviving, he is the most represented poet after Meleager in the *Greek Anthology* and in Hellenistic epigram in general (except for Posidippus after the discovery of the Milan papyrus, if we believe that all the poems contained in it are by Posidippus, as the majority of scholars today do). All of this despite the fact that we only have a selection of what Meleager chose of his poetry. We have papyrological as well as epigraphical evidence of his epigrams and quotations by several Latin authors. Yet he is probably the most underestimated of Greek epigrammatists in recent times.

Leonidas' poems were edited together with the material of the *Greek Anthology* in the seminal editions of Brunck, Jacobs, Dübner and Stadtmüller. He was then the focus of Meineke's *Utriusque Leonidae Carmina* (1791), together with Leonides of Alexandria, a peculiar poet of the Neronian age who composed isopsephic epigrams; the isopsephic technique of Leonides made it relatively easy to settle matter of dubious ascriptions between the two, especially compared to trickier cases such as that of the two Antipaters.¹ This study was followed by an edition and commentary - quite rare for an epigrammatist before the second half the 20th century - by L. Geffcken (1896), who also wrote the entry 'Leonidas' for the *RE* (1925): this edition, though flawed in principle as a result of some drastic assumptions, e.g. that Leonidas was an actual adept of Cynic philosophy (on which, though, Geffcken changed his mind over the years by the time of the *RE* entry), tried to sketch a complete figure of the poet, even tracing a hypothetical

¹ Cf. Argentieri (2003).

evolution in his poetry, and thus arranging the poems in a tentative chronological order (which, too, he suggested with less confidence in his later *RE* entry). As Gigante noted,² though this arrangement can today be seen as inadequate, it constituted an attempt to give an overall literary interpretation of Leonidas, a pioneering enterprise which was destined to remain isolated for many a decade.

Then came Wilamowitz, who pronounced a harsh judgment on Leonidas, whom he sees as 'unworthy of the sacred name of Poet' and composing with a 'bombastic' style, nothing but a muddle of bizarre words.³ As often, his opinion was bound to become a sort of dogma, and it resulted in a setback in Leonidean studies, paving the way for Gow's demolition of the poet. Already a few years before publishing the monumental *Hellenistic Epigrams* with Page (1965), Gow anticipated some issues regarding Leonidas in a notorious article which referred to the poet as a 'tedious writer' from its very opening.⁴ Both in this article and in the introductory section on Leonidas in *HE*, Gow's tendency was twofold: to demonstrate how feeble the alleged evidence for the chronology of Leonidas is on one hand, and on the other hand to tentatively post-date the poet on the basis of a closer resemblance to Dioscorides and Antipater of Sidon, but ultimately on the basis of an aesthetic bias which runs throughout the whole commentary in *Hellenistic Epigrams*.

His arguments lead him to conclude 'Naturally that does not prove that Leonidas cannot have been contemporary with Callimachus or even Asclepiades, *for a ripe fruit may already have a rotten patch*⁵ but it is a warning that such a dating should not be accepted without good reason, and I have tried to show that the reasons are not

² Gigante (1971:17-19).

³ Cf. Wilamowitz (1924.1: 139-44); 'An sich betrachtet mag Leonidas den Ehrennamen eines Dichters gar nicht verdienen; er ist nicht einmal ein Künstler der Sprache', Wilamowitz (1924.1:139) and elsewhere Leonidas' style is described as 'hohler Wortschaum', Wilamowitz (1903:55) and 'bombastische Gedankenleere', Wilamowitz (1906:114).

⁴ Gow (1958), cf. p. 1 'The surviving century of epigrams by this tedious writer...'

⁵ My emphasis.

good. I cannot replace them with better, and have no firm suggestion to make about Leonidas' date, but the considerations just mentioned, and Leonidas' deplorable popularity with later and worse epigrammatists, encourage the suspicion that he is usually dated substantially – possibly as much as half a century – too early'.⁶

The year 1971 saw a revolution in Leonidean studies with the publication of M. Gigante's *L'edera di Leonida*:⁷ this monograph places itself at the opposite pole of Gow's position, trying not only to prove that evidence for the chronology of Leonidas is sound but also that it conforms perfectly with the cultural *Zeitgeist* of 3rd century Tarentum. Gigante's analysis might be flawed by a certain Marxist bias and excessive confidence in pinning down specific references to exact dates and events. His work, however, retains many merits: first of all that of challenging Gow's general views, which were contained in a piece of scholarship bound to remain very authoritative in the field; secondly, his attempt to relate Leonidas to the discourse of realism in Hellenistic poetry and authors such as Herodas; and, among other things, the recovery of earlier scholarship of a different orientation with which Gow and Page did not engage.⁸ It is worth mentioning that around the same time the Hermetic poet and Nobel laureate Salvatore Quasimodo gave a speech on Leonidas' poetry at Tarentum (11th April 1967), which was later published together with a translation of the epigrams.⁹ His essay, which of course will be more of artistic than of academic value, is a sign of the renewed interest in the poet and indeed an attempt to legitimise the title of 'poet' which Wilamowitz questioned so harshly.

A balanced assessment of Leonidas was produced some twenty years later

⁶ Gow (1958:117).

⁷ This was reprinted forty years later = Gigante (2011²), of which page numbers remain the same.

⁸ E.g. the contribution in Polish by Smotricz (1965); another Polish contribution rarely quoted by scholars is Smolarczyk-Rostropowicz (1983).

⁹ Quasimodo (1969).

by K. Gutzwiller in her chapter of *Poetic Garlands* dedicated to Leonidas,¹⁰ which reasonably rejects Gow's arguments on chronology¹¹ and addresses issues which are central in Leonidas' extant poetry, such as his alleged cynic influences, the contrast between his refined style and humble subject matter as typically Hellenistic, and even some speculative thoughts on the forms of a possible poetry book by Leonidas. This last element has been also made possible by the New Posidippus revolution, after which many new parallels came to light. In this sense, a tentative comparison between Posidippus and Leonidas was carried out by De Stefani,¹² though without much emphasis on a striking parallel, i.e. the presence of a *nauagika* series in the Posidippus papyrus and a series of epigrams on shipwrecks by Leonidas, which, however, was partially elaborated on by other scholars.¹³

The last twenty years have seen a few contributions on Leonidas from different points of view. E. Prioux has explored ekphrastic aspects, as well as various themes of Leonidas' poetry such as landscape, the hunting theme, and some points of contact with Callimachus together with the poem attested in the 'House of Epigrams' in Pompeii.¹⁴ Some themes which kept attracting scholarly attention are the world of humility and simple people described by Leonidas, analysed by scholars such as Cusset and Nardone.¹⁵ Very recently, general treatments of Leonidas have offered a more balanced view of the poet, distancing themselves from many of the extreme positions of older scholarship.¹⁶ It will be

¹⁰ Gutzwiller (1998:88-114).

¹¹ 'Of course, the fallacy of this argument is to assume that Leonidas' popularity with epigrammatists of the second half of the third and of the second century suggests he belongs to that period. The underlying assumption is teleological, that Leonidas is an inferior stylist and so must belong to a period of decay', Gutzwiller (1998:89 n.103).

¹² De Stefani (2005).

¹³ The treatment of the *nauagika* by Di Nino (2010) is much ampler and integrates Leonidas in many points: cf. my section 2.2.1, Epitaphs for seaman.

¹⁴ Prioux (2009), (2011), (2017a), (2017b).

¹⁵ Cusset (2017), Nardone (2017) and (2018).

¹⁶ The chapter by Klooster (2019) in the recent companion to ancient epigram edited by Henriksen (2019) and the brief introduction and selection of epigrams by Leonidas in Sens (2020).

evident by now that the way is paved for a new commentary and a complete reassessment of the poet, which the present work hopes to initiate by providing a general introduction and a commentary on ca. 2/3 of the poems variously ascribed to Leonidas.¹⁷

1.1 Life and Works

Nothing is known of Leonidas except for what can be inferred, with varying degrees of plausibility, from the works ascribed to him. In its turn, the ascription of poems to Leonidas is not exempt from doubts and issues. For these reasons, it is convenient to start from a review of such works and the problems linked to their ascription to Leonidas.

Only epigrams are ascribed to Leonidas. Most of the poems come from the so-called *Greek Anthology*¹⁸ (for which cf. below, 1.3.1 Medieval transmission), a collection of poems belonging to different ages ranging from the Classical Era to Byzantine times. The *AG* usually bears *lemmata* which indicate the authorship of each poem, sometimes indicating a double ascription, sometimes stating anonymous authorship or unclear authorship (cf. below, 1.2 the ascription of the poems). In his edition of *Epigrammata Graeca* (1975), Page reproduces the ordering criterion for the works of Leonidas which he and Gow had already used in *Hellenistic Epigrams* (1965),¹⁹ that is, ordering the epigrams in three categories by allegedly decreasing likelihood of being genuinely Leonidean based on their different *lemmata*.

¹⁷ For a list of all the epigrams ascribed to Leonidas, cf. Appendix. Asterisks following epigram numbers mark epigrams which are not included in the selection of the present work.

¹⁸ From now onwards = *AG*.

¹⁹ From now onwards = *GP*.

The division is as follows:

- A. epigrams 1-33, which in the mss bear the lemma ΛΕΩΝΙΔΟΥ ΤΑΡΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ.
- B. epigrams 34-92, which in the mss bear the lemma ΛΕΩΝΙΔΟΥ or ΛΕΩΝΙΔΑ.
- C. epigrams 93-103, *incerta*, which in the mss bear contested ascriptions (double ascriptions, unclear or more uncertain authorship).

Of these 103 epigrams, 101 are transmitted by AG, one solely by Stobaeus (*Ep.* 79* GP), and another one solely by a papyrus (*Ep.* 51 in P. Oxy. 4.662, where an abbreviated lemma 'Leonidas of Tarentum' can be read with a good degree of certainty, especially because it contains another epigram by Leonidas transmitted also by AG, that is AP 7.163 = 70 GP).²⁰ Some of the epigrams transmitted by AG are also known through abundant (partial) quotations by Suidas and remnants of two wall-paintings (AP 6.13 = 46 GP in Pompeii, in the 'House of Epigrams', and AP 6.110 = 96 GP in a fragment of wall from Suasa) and an ostrakon from Egypt (cf. below, 1.3.3 Epigraphic evidence). Propertius translates in its entirety AP 9.337 = 29 GP within one of his elegies (3.13.42-46). Some other quotations of Leonidas including epigraphic ones, without a mention of the author, are more dubious (cf. below 1.3.3 Epigraphic evidence and 1.4.5 Leonidas and his reception in Antiquity). It does not seem reasonable to doubt Leonidas' provenance from Tarentum, proved by his ethnonym and by *Ep.* 93 (self-epitaph lamenting death in exile far from Tarentum, which, though belonging to the *incerta*, is very likely to be Leonidean: cf. comm. there).

²⁰ Cf. below, 1.3.2 Papyri.

As far as Leonidas' dating is concerned, it has often been anchored to 276 BC, i.e. the date of publication of Aratus' *Phaenomena*, to which epigram 101 is dedicated, as a *terminus post quem*. Epp. 34 and 35, then, might presuppose conflicts between Lucanians and Rome, which ended in 281 BC, but cf. comm. on the epigrams.

These elements established a traditional dating of Leonidas with a purely hypothetical date of birth around 315 BC, a *floruit* in the beginning of the 3rd century and a possible publication of a poetry book in the second quarter of the 3rd century (cf. Gutzwiller 1998: 88-89). Gow has tried to push this chronology down to the second half of the 3rd century on the basis of the dubious ascription of epigrams 34, 35, and 101, and on stylistic grounds, believing that Leonidas' style is closer to the 'age of decadence' of the epigram than to its *akmè*, a judgement inevitably flawed by an aestheticizing bias (cf. above, Foreword).

A strong claim in favour of the traditional dating and against Gow's objection was raised by Gigante (2011² = 1971), whose seminal monograph on Leonidas ultimately aimed to demonstrate how the poet belonged fully to the *Zeitgeist* of early 3rd century Tarentum. Gigante was also the strongest advocate of the historicity of Leonidas' link to Pyrrhus, which is founded on a small group of epigrams (for which cf. below 1.4.1 Leonidas and Pyrrhus).

Believers in the Pyrrhus hypothesis are keen on seeing the demise of the king of Epirus as the cause of Leonidas' (possibly) voluntary exile from Tarentum, which is bound to remain a mere hypothesis for now. Even if it is plausible to assume that Leonidas travelled around the Greek world, on the basis of his self-depiction as a vagabond, more specific movements remain speculative:²¹ *Ep.* 23* (*AP* 16.186), an ekphrasis of the *Aphrodite Anadyomene* by Apelles might suggest a visit to Cos; *Ep.* 88*, on Myron's *Cow*, might point to a visit to Athens;²² *Ep.* 96, a dedication by a

²¹ Gow-Page (1965.2: 307-8), Cameron (1995:68-9).

²² An ekphrastic epigram on a work of art does not necessarily require an autoptic inspection of the

certain Cleolaus by the river Meander, might point to Asia Minor. Notably, there seems to be no trace of Alexandria in the extant epigrams.²³

All the extant work of Leonidas is in epigrammatic form (mostly in elegiac distichs, but a few epigrams are iambic: cf. 1.6 metre). We have no way of knowing whether he composed other kinds of poetry like other Hellenistic poets.²⁴ It is plausible that his epigrams were collected by Leonidas himself during his lifetime in one or more poetry books, whose hypothetical form has been reconstructed by Gutzwiller (1998: 91; 107-12).

It must be said that even though, like all the poets from *AG*, the extant work of Leonidas is the result of anthologising, the selection we have is quite abundant, Leonidas being the second best preserved author of *AG* after Meleager himself, and of all epigrammatists excluding Posidippus after the publication of the Milan scroll.²⁵ Compared to other epigrammatists and more fragmentary Hellenistic poets, the extant Leonidean oeuvre consists of ca. 100 epigrams for a total of 600-650 lines. This fact, along with a certain homogeneity of language and themes in extant epigrams, allows us to trace a literary profile for Leonidas that, though necessarily speculative, is certainly less so than for many other poets of *AG* (e.g.

work: it might also build on celebrated descriptions of such work, which could attain much fame in the Greek-speaking world. It should be said, however, that in cases such as Myron's *Cow* – where a long series of epigrams on the same object exists – Leonidas' poem might be the earliest one and might in some cases be the source of inspiration for such descriptions, whether it is based on a personal inspection of the work of art or not.

²³ Cameron (1995:69 with n.286) speaks of Alexandria in pointing to section III.2 of his monograph, but he does not elaborate on the point other than by discussing the epigrams on Aratus' *Phaenomena*, including the one by Leonidas.

²⁴ Apart from poets who programmatically embraced *polyeideia* like Callimachus, there are testimonies of poets whose major works survive along with a few (sometimes dubious) epigrams, e.g. Euphorion (two of whose epigrams survive); or vice versa, epigrammatists for whom there are traces of other works, e.g. Posidippus (cf. Gow-Page 1965.2: 484), Asclepiades (cf. Sens 2011:xxii-xxiv).

²⁵ Meleager's indication in his proem of Λεωνίδεω θαλεροῦς κισσοῖο κορύμβου may be 'implies that Leonidas was a prolific epigrammatist or that he has included a large selection of L.'s epigrams in his anthology' (GP 2.307).

Anyte and Nossis, to quote just examples of poets close to him for various reasons, of whom 24 and 12 epigrams respectively survive).

1.2 Ascription of the poems

As will be explained in the following section, the majority of Leonidas' epigrams are transmitted in the *Greek Anthology*, the manuscripts of which usually bear *lemmata* of ascriptions which are rather problematic. It is worth summarising Gow's considerations, which remain the most exhaustive treatment of the topic, upon which other scholars have built.²⁶

We may distinguish three broad categories of headings, each of which presents its own cases and problems:

A) Lemma bearing the name of the author:

1. Simple name of the author: e.g. Λεωνίδου/Λεωνίδα.
2. Name of the author plus ethnic: e.g. Λεωνίδου Ταραντίνου.

Case A.1 is to be found also in papyri, alternatively with anonymous authorship. The ethnics were supposedly introduced to distinguish homonymous authors but it is doubtful whether they were already systematically used by Meleager: though there was no scope for him to distinguish Leonidas of Tarentum or Antipater of Thessalonica from the yet unborn Leonides of Alexandria and Antipater of Sidon (as shown in P.Oxy. 4.662), the *Garland* might have included homonymous authors distinguished by ethnicity, e.g. Διονυσίου Κυζικηνοῦ (*AP* 7.78) and Διονυσίου Ποδίου (*AP* 7.716); Philip of Thessalonica, however, had reasons for the possible employment of ethnics in his *Garland*. Gow rightly emphasizes that ethnics are not

²⁶ Gow (1958b), then Gow (1965.1: xxviii-xxxii).

to be trusted wholeheartedly, given cases such as *AP* 9.38, a single line ascribed to Διονυσίου, which we know from *Athen.* 7.281e to be by Timon the Sillographer (and Dionysius actually being the name of the target of Timon's lines), or the case of *AP* 9.78-80 and 9.106, which despite being ascribed to Leonidas of Tarentum are by Leonidas of Alexandria, as demonstrated by the use of isopsephy.²⁷ Leonides of Alexandria was a poet favoured by emperor Nero (and possibly also Vespasian) who employed isopsephy in his works, which is the treatment of Greek letters as numerals in order to obtain equal amounts in certain lines, a technique which makes his epigrams quite recognizable. However, Page claimed that for some epigrams (*AP* 9.106, 9.179, *API* 206) it is impossible to judge between Leonidas of Tarentum and Leonides as author.²⁸

B) Lemma indicating unclear information about authorship, and notably anonymous epigrams:

1. Headless epigram = no lemma, explained variously by Gow (1958b:26).
2. Ἀδέσποτον: possibly used originally for verses whose author was not well-known, or verses taken from inscriptions without explicit authorship
3. Ἄδηλον: possibly for epigrams the authorship of which was disputed or not recorded from the source.
4. Ἄλλο: ambiguous, since it might mean ἄλλο τοῦ αὐτοῦ (of the same author) or εἰς τὸ αὐτό (on the same theme).
5. Ὅμοίως or ὅμοιον: possibly meaning 'on the same or a similar theme'.

C) Lemma indicating two possible authors:

²⁷ For Leonides, cf. *FGE* 503-513.

²⁸ Cf. *FGE* 505.

1. ἄδηλον ἀδέσποτον οἱ δὲ τοῦ δεῖνα, e.g. Leonidas 94 GP = AP 6.44 bearing the lemma ἀνάθημα Ἡρώνακτος γεωργοῦ ἄδηλον τίνος οἱ δὲ Λεωνίδου Ταραντίνου.
2. τοῦ δεῖνα οἱ δὲ τοῦ δεῖνα, e.g. Asclepiades 40 GP = AP 5.161 bearing the lemma Ἡδύλου οἱ δὲ Ἀσκληπιάδου.
3. τοῦ δεῖνα ἢ τοῦ δεῖνα, e.g. Leonidas 100 GP = AP 7.316 bearing the lemma Λεωνίδα ἢ Αντιπάτρου. Gow believed that some *lemmata* of this kind might go back as far as Meleager (in other cases it is not possible since it affects post-Meleagrian authors).

It must be taken into account that discrepancy on authors can also originate from different ascriptions in different manuscripts, i.e. P and Pl disagreeing in a *lemma*.

This last case may be due to different factors, as schematised by Gow (1958b:xxxi):

- (i) Carelessness of the scribe in writing or deciphering a name.
- (ii) Confusion generated by crowded *marginalia*.
- (iii) The heading τοῦ αὐτοῦ moved together with an epigram in the many rearrangements of epigrams in different collections, and therefore losing its original meaning.
- (iv) Epigrams attached without breaks to preceding epigrams, therefore possibly acquiring the same ascription.
- (v) Guesses by compilers, scribes or scholars which were noted in *marginalia*.

1.3 Transmission of the Text

1.3.1 Medieval transmission

The majority of the epigrams ascribed to Leonidas are transmitted through the manuscripts which conventionally constitute the *Greek Anthology*. For convenience's sake they can be divided into the following categories:

(P) *Palatinus gr. 23 + Parisinus suppl. gr. 384*, the so-called *Codex Palatinus* (now split into two parts), dated paleographically to the mid-10th century, compiled by a group of scholars whose hands are usually marked as A (main scribe), B, B2 and B3, and annotated by a lemmatist (J) and a corrector (C).²⁹ The manuscript is made of two main blocks (P^A and P^B) and it seems to have been compiled using mainly an anthology by the Byzantine Constantinos Cephalas.

(PI) *Marc. Gr. 481*, also called *Codex Planudeus* since it was written by Maximus Planudes' own hand and explicitly dated to 1301. Two separate parts can be recognized (PI^A and PI^B) which draw heavily on different exemplars which seem to be closely related to P.

Apographa: for both P and PI we have several apographa. The main ones for P are **Ap. B.** (Apographon cod. Buheriani), **Ap. G.** (Aprographon Guietianum), **Ap. L.** (Apographon Lipsiense) and **Ap. R.** (Apographon Ruhnkenianum).³⁰

²⁹ Cf. Cameron (1993:99-100) who relies on the now traditional study of Preisendanz.

³⁰ For detailed treatments of the apographa, cf. GP (1965.1:xliv-xlv), Sens (2011:c-cvi), Floridi (2020:17-24).

Sylogae Minores: these collections are variously dated and contain mostly epigrams which are also present in P and Pl, plus some epigrams absent from both. They are the *Syloge Euphemiana* (**E**, early 10th century), *Syloge Σ^π* (12th/13th century), the *Syloge Laureantiana* (**L**, compiled by Planudes ca. 1280), the *Appendix Barberino-Vaticana* (**ABV**, early 14th century), and the *Syloge Parisina* (**S**, of unknown date, contained in a 13th century manuscript). On this material, cf. Maltomini (2008).

1.3.2 Papyri

There is one certain and quite significant attestation of Leonidas on papyrus along with a dubious one. Of course, it cannot be ruled out that papyri which preserve only incipits (like the Vienna epigrams papyrus) or fragments might also contain some Leonidean material which we are unable to recognise as such.

P. Oxy. 4.662 (Figure 1),³¹ usually dated on the basis of the handwriting to the Augustan age, is the *verso* of a book-roll now badly preserved, the *recto* of which contains Pindaric fragments.³² It is an anthology of epigrams which contains both known and unknown poetry, whose authors are indicated through *lemmata*, which though very fragmentary can be read with good certainty. The content of the *verso* of the papyrus is the following:

³¹ = P.Lond. Lit. 61 = TM 61303 = LDAB 2445 = Mertens-Pack 01595.000.

³² For a bibliological study of the book-roll, especially of the *recto*, cf. Prodi (2014).

col. i: an epigram by Leonidas (epitaph for Prexo, *AP* 7.163) and its imitation by Antip. Sid. (*AP* 7.164).

col. ii: two epigrams by a certain Amyntas, one of which is an imitation on the theme of the Prexo epitaph, the other a poem on the capture of Sparta by Philopoemen (188 BC), not transmitted anywhere else = *SH* 42-44.³³

col. iii: an epigram by Leonidas (votive offering by Glenis) = *Ep.* 51, and its imitation by Antipater (48 GP), neither of which are transmitted elsewhere, followed by the start of a new epigram apparently by Leonidas which was never finished.

The document is undoubtedly important for several reasons, but scholars do not agree on its interpretation as a whole. The critical point is the presence of Amyntas, a poet who is otherwise unknown. A. Wifstrand³⁴ suggested that Amyntas is the compiler of this anthology, which would then be pre-Meleagrian. A. Cameron³⁵ objected to this hypothesis, since he identifies Amyntas with the author of *AP* 6.114: given that this epigram belongs to a Meleagrian section, it would have been hard for this Amyntas to include Antipater of Sidon in his anthology, since the subject of *AP* 6.114 (Philip V of Macedon) places its author earlier than him. Cameron is convinced that the alternation of themes in this papyrus leads to the 'obvious conclusion (...) that P.Oxy. 4.662 is in fact an excerpt from a funerary section in Meleager'. That the papyrus is an excerpt, according to the scholar, is proved by the omission of *AP* 7. 723 next to its imitation by Amyntas.

L. Argentieri³⁶ is right to reject the alleged mention of Amyntas in *AP* and to point out the importance of some of Wifstrand's arguments, that is i) in Meleager's garland the epitaphs for Prexo would have had to be placed next to the epitaphs for women who died in childbirth (*AP* 7.462-465 and *AP* 7.729-730), and ii) the

³³ These are preceded by two problematic lines which are either incomplete or misplaced: cf. Lloyd-Jones&Parsons, *SH* 42.

³⁴ Wifstrand (1926:33-39).

³⁵ Cameron (1993:11-12).

³⁶ Argentieri (1998:15-16).

epigram on Sparta by Amyntas should have been close to its model (*AP* 7.723). These two arguments would prove that P.Oxy. 4.662 is independent from Meleager. A third argument would prove that the papyrus is not even an extract, but an independent anthology: the epigrams on Sparta in the funerary section of Meleager's garland in *AP* 7 should come after the epitaphs for poets and before the epitaphs for pregnant women, whereas in this papyrus the order is exactly reversed. Furthermore, if Amyntas were indeed the anthologist of this collection, the collection would definitely be pre-Meleagrian. If that is the case, one must agree with the scholars who pointed out the poor quality of the collection, but at the same time, with Argentieri, recognise that a private owner 200 years later had his anthology transcribed.

K. Gutzwiller observed that it would be rash to assume that the ordering principle of the epigrams must be Meleagrian.³⁷ As she notes, it is interesting that all the papyri containing epigrams show some principle of ordering and it is undeniable that private collections existed. The presence of an epigram by Leonidas which did not survive in other sources is hardly surprising in light of the the Posidippus Milan papyrus, which contains 112 epigrams, possibly all by Posidippus, of which only 2 were known already from other sources.

As far as the quality of the papyrus is concerned, there are no doubts that this is no calligraphic copy and so it is likely to be a private document. As already noted by the *editores principes*, the scribe is careless, and mistakes and corruptions are frequent. That, in addition to the bad preservation, makes reading the papyrus rather difficult.

³⁷ Gutzwiller (1998:35).

Figure 1: P.Oxy. 4.662 (source: the British Library,
http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Papyrus_1533)



The remaining testimony of Leonidas on papyrus is dubious. **P.Lond. Lit. 60**³⁸ = *SH* 961 is constituted by some fragments coming from a mummy cartonnage usually dated to ca. the mid-3rd cent. BC from the archaeological context.³⁹ The main fragment (a) has on the *recto* remnants of an elegiac poem sometimes referred to as the *Epithalamium of Arsinoe* due to the name of the queen and other marriage-related words that can be read with certainty, while on the *verso* σύμμεκτα ἐπιγράμματα can be read, followed below by the genitive Ποσειδίππου and what seemed to some scholars to be traces of the names of other poets. The layout of the text (cf. Figures 2-3) suggests that the scribe meant *epigrammata varia: Posidippi etc.* rather than *epigrammata varia Posidippi* (Lloyd-Jones/Parsons 1983:485). Lasserre claims that scanty traces of the names of Hedylus, Anyte, and Leonidas can be read,⁴⁰ while the editors of *SH* disagreed.⁴¹ Upon careful inspection of the original, the situation seems more complicated. On the one hand, the traces seem unable to be dismissed, since at least some of them do not look like stains but actual writing; on the other hand, they are very badly preserved and it is quite hard to read any name with certainty. Under the current state of affairs, then, the presence of the name of Leonidas can neither be ascertained nor ruled out with certainty (cf. Figures 4-5). Further work on the papyrus, which I intend to undertake, might however shed more light on its overall interpretation.

³⁸ Former P.Petrie II 49 (a) = TM 62662 = LDAB 3848 = Mertens-Pack 01593.000.

³⁹ The most detailed treatment of the papyrus to date is Caroli (2007:133-41 with plates XIII-XIV-XV).

⁴⁰ Lasserre (1959.224-6); Canfora (1995:217) takes it for granted that Leonidas is among the legible names, presumably relying on Lasserre.

⁴¹ '[N]os nihil nisi atramenti maculas videmus, quae ex altera charta adhaesisse possunt' (Lloyd-Jones/Parsons 1983:485).

Figure 2: *Verso* of P.Lond.Lit. 60, fr. (a) as read by Lloyd-Jones&Parsons (from Caroli 2007:136).

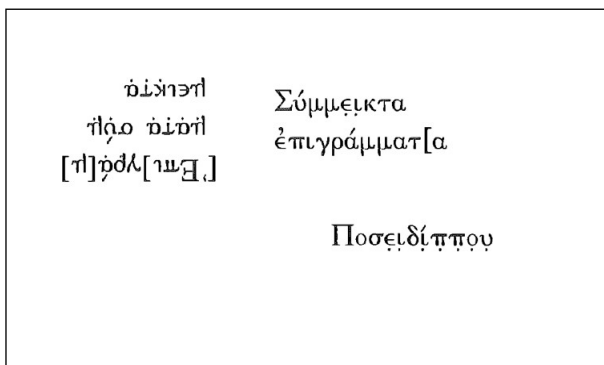
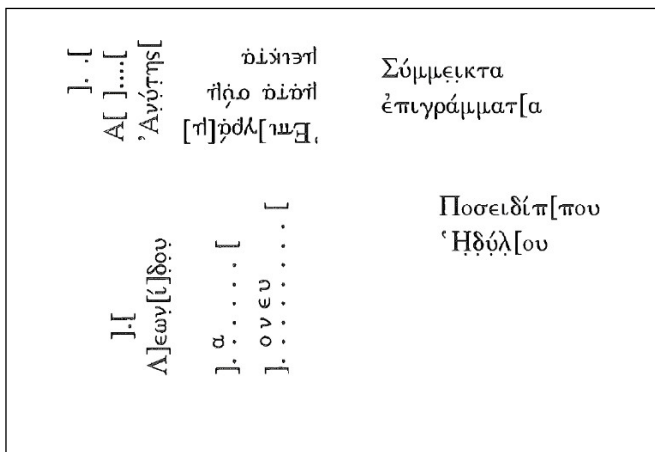


Figure 3: *Verso* of P.Lond. Lit. 60, fr. (a) as read by Lasserre (from Caroli 2007:136).



Figures 4-5: detail of P.Lond.Lit. 60, fr. a *verso* (with the traces identified by Lasserre as Λ]εων[ί]δου. (self-taken photographs, © British Library Board, Papyrus 589)



1.3.3 Epigraphic evidence

Though we have no certain trace or proof, it is plausible that some of Leonidas' epigrams were originally meant for real inscriptions. Some of the best candidates, for example, are the epigrams accompanying the battle spoils from the victory against the Lucanians (*Epp.* 34-35). This of course does not mean that epigrams meant for actual inscriptions could not also be included in one or more epigram books edited by Leonidas; and we do not know for certain whether the sources used by Meleager to compile his garland already included material from inscriptions.⁴² For Leonidas, however, we do have 'secondary' epigraphic evidence, i.e. evidence of an epigraphic re-employment of some epigrams (whether or not they were meant for an inscription in the first place, which we do not know). This comprises three major cases, plus a different category of evidence.

A) The first is constituted by fragments of wall-painting (Figure 6) found in the Northern portico of the forum of Suasa (Roman settlement in central Italy founded in the early 3rd cent. BC).⁴³ Stylistic elements of other fragments led archaeologists to date the decoration to the 2nd style (ca. 30-20 BC) or early 3rd style (early Augustan age). The precise context of the fragments is still unclear, but might become less so with the advancement of the excavations on the site. The fragment which concerns us measures 12,2x7,5x1,4 cm, made of four smaller fragments bearing elegantly painted letters, of which we can read short segments for four lines. This was sufficient to identify remnants of Leon. *Ep.* 96 GP (*AP* 6.110), the dedication of the antlers of a stag by a certain Cleolaus by the river Meander:

⁴² Cf. Gutzwiller (1998:91), but on *Ep.* 95 GP quoted at n. 110 cf. my introduction to the epigram.

⁴³ The finding was published by Antolini-Lepore (2009), on which I rely for all the data in this paragraph.

[Τὰν ἔλαφον Κλε]όλαος ὑ[πὸ κναμοῖσι λοχῆσας]
 [ἔκτανε Μαιάνδρ]ου πὰ[ρ τριέλικτον ὕδωρ]
 [θηκτῶ σαυρωτῆρι, τ]ὰ δ' ὀκ[τάριζα μετώπων
 [φράγμαθ' ὑπὲρ κραν]αὴν [ἄλος ἔπαξε πίτυν.



Figure 6: the fragments of wall-painting from Suasa (from Antolini-Lepore 2009:24-5).

B) The second, more significant attestation comes from the 'House of Epigrams' (VI.1.18) located in the via Stabiana in Pompeii. The house is named after an exedra (usually indicated as 'y') which shows a complex decorative system of related paintings and epigrams. It contains five distinct panels, three on the long side and one on each short side (Figure 7). The panels are the following:

1. Depiction of Homer and fishermen identified by labels, depicting the famous scene of the death of Homer accompanied by the epigram-riddle (*Cert. Hom. et Hes.* 18 = *AP* 7.213).
2. A boy leading a goat next to a column on which grows a vine nibbled by another goat, with an accompanying epigram (*AP* 9.75 = Euenos of Askalon 3 GP).
3. Three men dedicate hunting nets to a statue of Pan, accompanied by an epigram (Leon. *Ep.* 46 GP = *AP* 6.13).
4. Eros wrestling with Pan in front of Aphrodite with accompanying epigram (*CIL* 3407).
5. Dionysus and Aphrodite. The lower part of the panel, where presumably an epigram was painted, is now lost.

As scholars have noted, the exedra shows a complex iconographic program with an interplay of painting, sculpture and poetry whose unknown creator is undertaking an operation akin to Meleager's collection of a garland of poetry.⁴⁴ The inclusion of Leonidas attests further to his fortune in the Roman world, together with the testimony from Suasa.

C) O. Wilcken II 1488⁴⁵= *SH* 976 (Figure 8), an ostrakon from Egypt datable to the 2nd century on archaeological grounds, contains the incipit of 14 epigrams (8 on the 'recto', 6 on the 'verso' though one has been erased and one is not legible), all of which are unidentified except for the incipits of two epigrams by Leonidas, i.e. *AP* 9.322.1 = 24 GP and *AP* 6.13 = 46 GP (the same from Pompeii).

⁴⁴ Strocka (1995) is an important contribution on the complex, followed by Bergmann (2007) and Prioux (2011) who independently reached similar conclusions on the artistic program of the decoration.

⁴⁵ TM 61302 = BM 25736 = Mertens-Pack 01596.000.

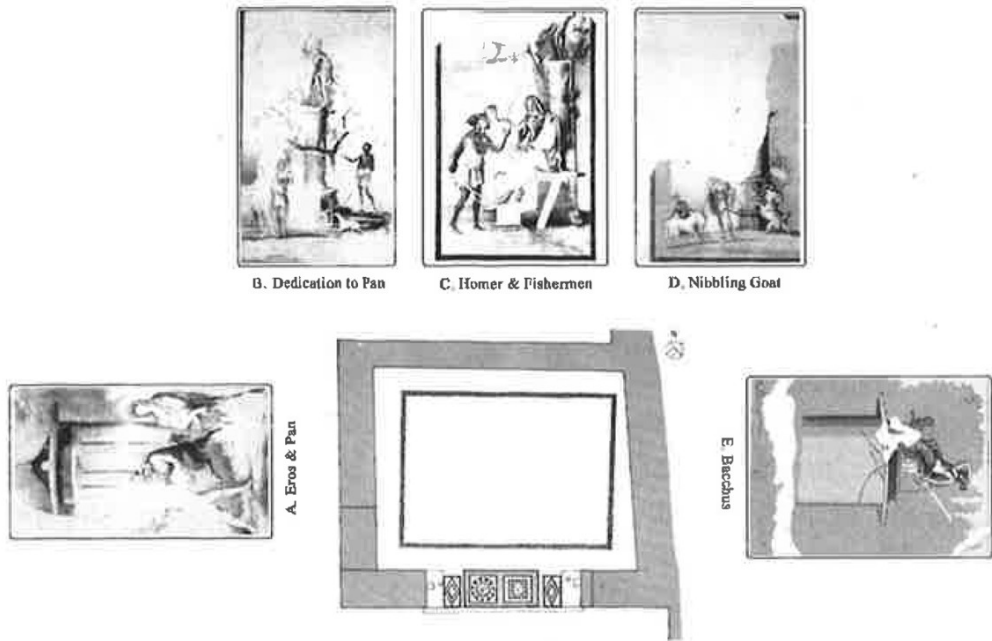


Figure 7: The decorative system of the exedra y (from Bergmann 2007).

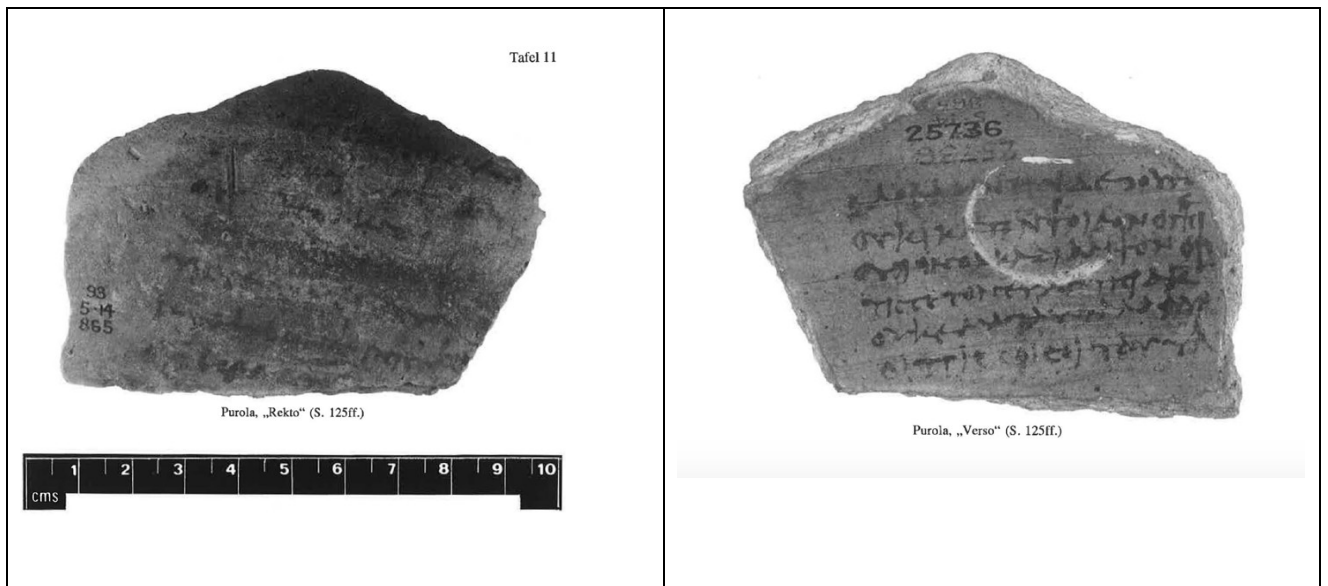


Figure 8: O. Wilcken II 1488 (from Purola 1993).

D) A different category of epigraphic evidence is constituted by echoes of epigrams by Leonidas in epigraphic poetry. These cases have yet to be collected systematically; we may quote by way of example *SGO* 15/03/03 = *SEG* 41 1150 (Pessinus, unknown date) of which the first distich is plainly adapted from Leon. *Ep.* 70, the epigram for Prexo, which knew many imitations and is also attested in the only Leonidean papyrus (cf. above).⁴⁶

1.3.4 Quotations

The most generous source of quotations for epigrams is undoubtedly the 10th-century lexicon Suidas,⁴⁷ which contains 1076 epigram quotations from a total of 430 epigrams in total,⁴⁸ all of which are also contained in *AP* (which led scholars to conclude that the lexicon was drawing from sources close to *AP* and not directly from epigrammatic books, which must already have been long lost at that time).⁴⁹ In total, Suidas quotes Leonidas 85 times from a total of 28 epigrams.⁵⁰ On most occasions one or two lines are quoted and not the whole epigram, with the author never mentioned, but just the words ἐν ἐπιγράμμασι as in the rest of epigrammatic quotations. One epigram, *Ep.* 79* *GP*, is transmitted only by quotation from Stobaeus (4.52.28)..For possible Latin quotations, cf. below section 1.4.5.

⁴⁶ This inscription was pointed out to scholarly attention by Magnelli (2004:54-5); cf. Garulli (2012:116-34) for the fortune of this epigram and Antipater's imitation, including echoes in inscribed epigrams.

⁴⁷ On the Suidas in general, cf. Adler (1928-38), Wilson (1983:145-7), Zecchini (1999).

⁴⁸ Data from Cameron (1993:279).

⁴⁹ Cf. Cameron (1993:278-82) for a detailed treatment.

⁵⁰ The epigrams quoted are: 1 (x2), 2 (x1), 3 (x3), 8 (x7), 21 (x3), 33 (x1), 34 (x2), 35 (x2), (36 (x4), 37 (x6), 39 (x1), 40 (x2), 41 (x3), 46 (x2), 47 (x6), 48 (x1), 49 (x4), 50 (x3), 53 (x1), 54 (x1), 55 (x3), 56 (x3), 57 (x3), 59 (x6), 87 (x5), 91 (x6), 92 (x1), 96 (x3). These quotations are always noted in the *apparatus criticus*.

1.4 Leonidas and his time

1.4.1 Leonidas and Pyrrhus

As has been anticipated (cf. above 1.1), there is a certain amount of speculation on the hypothetical connection between Leonidas and Pyrrhus. There has been no agreement among scholars on the matter and they have held such different opinions that some have denied any possible link, with others defining such a link as incontestable and well-established. It is therefore useful to make two orders of considerations, one being an analytic survey of alleged evidence from Leonidas' own epigrams and the other concerning the plausibility of the hypothetical link on the grounds of what we know about Pyrrhus: these will be preceded by a short biographical sketch of the king of Epirus.⁵¹

Pyrrhus was born in 319/318 BC and was banished very early from the throne of Epirus, to which he returned only in 306 BC. He was soon deeply involved in the intricate wars of the Diadochi, starting with his flight from Cassander in 302 BC, which brought him to seek shelter with Demetrius Poliorcetes, who arranged for him to go to king Ptolemy I Soter in Alexandria and marry his daughter Antigone. In 297 BC, supported by Ptolemy, Pyrrhus became a co-regent in Epirus with Neoptolemus, whom he had killed not long afterwards. Pyrrhus' support of Alexander V's claim to the Macedonian throne brought him to war with Demetrius Poliorcetes and Lysimachus: he managed to seize the throne of Macedonia himself for some years before being driven away in 284 BC. It is then that his Italian enterprise began, when the Tarantines asked for his support against Rome. The conflict with Rome saw several victories with non-lasting effects, until the occasion

⁵¹ For Pyrrhus, apart from the entries in *RE* (Pyrrhus [13] = Kienast 1963) and in *BNP* (Pyrrhus [3] = Günther 2008), cf. the monographs by von Hassel (1947) and Nenci (1953), followed by the seminal work of Lévêque (1957); cf. also the chapter by Carcopino (1961) and another monograph in two editions by Garouphalias (1979²). The interactions with Antigonus Gonatas are covered by the seminal monograph by Tarn (1969²).

arose both for withdrawal and for a new enterprise in Sicily in defence of the Greeks against the Carthaginians. After some victories, Pyrrhus returned to Tarentum but decided to leave the Italian peninsula due to hostilities with the local Greeks. He then resumed war in the Peloponnese against Antigonos Gonatas, joining his sons Neoptolemus and Helenus, and dying in Argos in 272 BC.

Let us now scrutinise all the epigrams which might show a connection with Pyrrhus.

1. *AP* 6.334 = *Ep.* 3 GP, a dedication of rustic offerings to Hermes and Pan by Neoptolemus Aeacides [*lemma*: Λεωνίδα]. The chronological value of the epigram would lie in the possible identification of Neoptolemus with the son of Alexander of Epirus who shared the throne with Pyrrhus before being murdered by him, an identification which was first proposed by Susemihl (1892.2:535 n.81) and widely accepted afterwards by most scholars. Geffcken (1896:12-13) accepted this identification but, being a firm advocate of the link between Leonidas and Pyrrhus, he believed that L. could not honour Neoptolemus, who was killed by Pyrrhus, and therefore declared the epigram not Leonidean. A more far-fetched hypothesis is that of Reitzenstein (1893:191), who thought that the name Neoptolemus is that of a fictitious rustic chosen to flatter the prince: admittedly, Leonidas has a rustic named Crethon, possibly after a Messenian prince from the *Iliad* (*Ep.* 75, cf. comm. there), but the patronymic in *Ep.* 3 is hard to explain. Gow (1958:113, 1965 comm. *ad loc.*) objected that this Neoptolemus can either be the son of Achilles (as intended by the Corrector of P, who remarks Λεωνίδα Ταραντίνου ανάθημα ἐπὶ θυσίᾳ Πύρρου Νεοπτολέμου υἱοῦ Ἀχιλλέως) or another Neoptolemus of the same family, since other people of this name are

known and therefore it is likely that there were many others.⁵² Now, it must be said that there are no specific reasons to believe that the mythical Neoptolemus was meant. As for Gow's second remark, it is indeed true that the genealogy of the Aeacidae is not entirely clear to us, but there is a difference between pointing towards a specific Neoptolemus and saying that too many people bore that name for it to have any significance.

2. *AP* 6.129 = *Ep.* 34 GP, the first dedication to Athena Koryphasia of battle spoils won from the Lucanians [lemma: P^A (PPI) Λεωνίδου]. This, together with *Ep.* 35, commemorates a battle of unknown date. It has been observed by several scholars that it is likely that the dedication was made (and the epigram presumably commissioned) by the Tarantines, who were at war with the Lucanians on several occasions but eventually allied with them against the threat of the Romans in 281 BC, which is usually assumed as a *terminus ante quem* for these poems.
3. *AP* 6.131 = *Ep.* 35 GP, a second dedication, this time to Athena Pallas, of battle spoils won from the Lucanians [lemma: (P) Λεωνίδα, (P^A) τοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. Λεων.)]. The same applies as in *Ep.* 34 GP.
4. *AP* 6.130 = *Ep.* 95 GP, a dedication of shields of the Gauls fighting in Antigonos' army by Pyrrhus, king of Epirus [lemma: (P^A) τοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. Λεων.), also quoted by Plut. *Pyrrh.* 26.8, Diodor. 22.11, Paus. 1.13.2 without the name of the author]. The epigram refers to a battle which took place in 273 BC. It must be admitted, with GP, that evidence for the authorship of this epigram is less solid, and it must also be noted that all the historians who

⁵² Cf. Gow (1958:a113 n.8).

quote the epigram do not mention the author, but it is possible that someone had reasons to add the ascription to Leonidas (cf. comm. *ad loc.*).

- (5.) *FGE* 142 = Preger 97 = Gaertringen 94.II, a dedication of the shields of the Macedonians by Pyrrhus in the temple of Zeus Naios at Dodona, after the same victory over Antigonos to which *Ep.* 95 GP refers, cf. Paus. 1.13.2-3 (*s.a.n.*). This epigram is only found in Pausanias and the hypothesis of a Leonidean authorship was advanced by Sushemil (1892.2:535 n.81) without many followers.

There was a significant amount of scholarly attention to Pyrrhus in the 20th century, which focused on several aspects of his political and historical stature. Part of this scholarship highlighted the role played by contemporary sources in shaping the figure of Pyrrhus as a 'warrior king'.⁵³ Plutarch, in his *bios* of Pyrrhus, states that the king only cared about war, quoting his writings on the subject (which, if they ever existed, have not survived), and quoting anecdotes such as 'the other kings, they said, represented Alexander with their purple robes, their bodyguards, the inclination of their necks, and their louder tones in conversation; but Pyrrhus, and Pyrrhus alone, in arms and action' (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 8.1) or 'for instance, we are told that when he [*sc.* Pyrrhus] was asked at a drinking party whether he thought Python or Caphisias the better flute-player, he replied that Polysperchon was a good general, implying that it became a king to investigate and understand such matters only' (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 8.3). This *topos* lasted not only throughout antiquity but also until modern times: 'Pyrrhos, because of his well-known war with Rome, has often been treated as a typical Hellenistic monarch. In fact, no one could have been less representative of his time than the king of Epeiros. All his Macedonian

⁵³ In particular cf. Nenci (1953:39-62) and Garouphalias (1979:153-64).

contemporaries, without exception, were men who cared strongly for learning and letters in some form or other; (...) But Pyrrhos, king of a very backward country, cared as little for knowledge or culture as any other immaterial thing as did any baron of the dark ages' (Tarn 1979:257).⁵⁴ P. Lévêque, in his monograph devoted to Pyrrhus (1957: 642-4, 675-6), has tried to refute this image by claiming that Leonidas' presence at Pyrrhus' court is certain and that of the historian Proxenus is probable – therefore there would be proof that Pyrrhus surrounded himself with learned people. It is clear in the light of the above-mentioned evidence that Lévêque's certainty is misplaced, as there is a shadow of doubt on the whole matter. Gigante (1971:43-46) is equally certain of this link, partly relying on Lévêque, and partly because he imagines that Leonidas must have seen in Pyrrhus the last hope of Tarentum against the Romans (and must have lived the rest of his life in exile because of Pyrrhus' demise): though his confidence in this claim might seem as unsound as that of Lévêque, Gigante makes some other arguments which are more valid, elaborating (though briefly) on the link between Tarentum and Epirus not only from a political point of view but also in terms of artistic expressions (Gigante 1971:41).⁵⁵

As we have seen, on the topic of an alleged link between Leonidas and Pyrrhus there are two opposite poles, the ultra-sceptical approach by Gow, which was heavily biased by a parallel desire to date the poet later, and that of Gigante, who deemed such a link unquestionable. Since Gigante's times, no major evidence has emerged to strengthen his claim. However, between the two extremes lies the matter of the *plausibility* of a Leonidas-Pyrrhus hypothesis: that is to say, there is

⁵⁴ This belief was sometimes followed rather derivatively by scholars of Leonidas: cf. e.g. De Stefani (2005:181), 'non è probabile che Leonida abbia costituito una sorta di anti-Arato (ad es.) alla corte epirota, perché Pirro era notoriamente insensibile al patrocinio delle lettere e delle scienze, e perdeva la testa solo per le guerre (la perse, infatti)', admittedly relying on Tarn's opinion.

⁵⁵ Gigante (1987) and (1991:54) also tried to use onomastic arguments which are not seem persuasive: cf. the criticism by De Stefani (2005:180 n179).

no certain proof of the link, but there are clues which cannot be discounted, and such a link cannot in the end be deemed implausible.

1.4.2 Leonidas and other Hellenistic poets (Callimachus, Theocritus, and other epigrammatists)

Due to heavy chronological uncertainties, the notion of personal or literary relationships between different Hellenistic poets is notoriously a thorny issue which can easily involve risky speculations. Leonidas is no exception in this respect and is actually even more of a tricky case: among Hellenistic poets he seems to be particularly isolated and the fact that he does not seem to mention Alexandria in his extant work complicates the issue. For Asclepiades, Hedylus, Posidippus and Callimachus it is easier to hypothesise personal contacts,⁵⁶ whereas for Leonidas, whose biography is very obscure, such matters are even more speculative.

1.4.2.1 Callimachus

There are several passages for which scholars have pointed out potential points of contact between Callimachus and Leonidas; some others will be suggested *ex novo*.⁵⁷

1. The apostrophe of Molorchus against the mice in Callimachus *Ait.* F 177.12-14 Pf. = F 149.12-14 Massimilla = F 54c 12-14 Harder: “ὄχληροί, τί τό[δ]’αὖ γείτονες ἡμέ[τ]ερον / ἦκατ’ ἀποκναίσοντες, ἐπεὶ μάλα [γ’] οὔτι φέρο[ισθε] / ξ]εῖνους κωκυμοὺς ἔπλασεν ὕμμε θεός”, “Troublesome creatures, why have you come as neighbours to destroy our home, because you will gain absolutely nothing? A god

⁵⁶ Cf. Guichard (2004:3-30), Sens (2011:li-lxii), Floridi (2020:10-15).

⁵⁷ Points 4, 8, 9 have not been singled out to my knowledge; among the others, some are only mentioned in passing by scholars (e.g. point 10).

made you into sources of wailing for guests and hosts”⁵⁸ to be compared with Leonidas’ apostrophe to the mice in Leonidas *AP* 6.302 = 37 GP Φεύγεθ’ ὑπέκ καλύβης, σκότιοι μύες· οὔτι πενιχρῆ / μῦς σιπύη βόσκειν οἶδε Λεωνίδεω...τῶ τί μεταλλεύεις τοῦτον μυχόν, ᾧ φιλόλιχνε / οὐδ’ ἀποδειπνιδίου γευόμενος σκυβάλου; / σπεύδων εἰς ἄλλους οἴκους ἴθι (τάμα δὲ λειτά), / ὧν ἄπο πλειοτέρην οἶσσαι ἀρμαλιήν; the similarity was noted by Harder and Massimilla (comm. *ad locum*), and by Livrea (1980:244). The closeness of the passage might be further strengthened by a new reading of Callimachus’ fragments recently proposed by Parsons (forthcoming), for which cf. comm. on *Ep.* 37 GP.

2. The comparison of someone to a dog and a wasp, possibly Archilochus, in Call. *F* 380 Pf. εἴλκυσε δὲ δριμύν τε χόλον κυνὸς ὀξύ τε κέντρον / σφηκός, ἀπ’ ἀμφοτέρων δ’ ἰὸν ἔχει στόματος, may recall the comparison of Hipponax with a wasp in Leon. *AP* 7.408 = 58 GP Ἀτρέμα τὸν τύμβον παραμείβετε, μὴ τὸν ἐν ὕπνω / πικρὸν ἐγείρηε σφηκῆ ἀναπαυόμενον...though this might point to a common source, possibly an image taken from the iambographers (cf. comm. on *Ep.* 58 GP).

3. The praise of the *Phaenomena* of Aratus both in Callimachus *AP* 9.507= 27 Pf. = 56 GP and Leon. *AP* 9.25 = 101 GP. Scholars have argued differently for the priority of one epigram over the other.⁵⁹

4. The dedication of objects to Aphrodite by a hetaera in Call. *AP* 13.24 = 38 Pf. = 20 GP and Leon. *AP* 7.211 = 2 GP.

5. The epigrams for Timon the misanthrope (within a longer series) Call. *AP* 7.317-

⁵⁸ Translation by Harder.

⁵⁹ Cf. Amerio (1981-1982), Bagordo (2000).

318 =3-4 Pf. = 51-52 GP and Leon. 7. 316 = 100 GP.

6. The humble Mikylos who lives on scanty resources from Call. *AP* 7.460 = *Ep.* 26 GP = 47 Pf., to be compared with the poor dedication by the mother of Mikythos, especially the emphasis on the humble gift (cf. also Prioux 2017a:50).

7. The word μεθυπλήξ from Call. F 544 Pf. (said of Archilochus), to be compared with the same word in Leon. *AP* 16.306 = *Ep.* 31* GP (on Anacreon), where GP think that L. might be the borrower; the same epigram of Leonidas contains other similarities with Hellenistic authors, as noted by Phillips (1971:268 n8).

8. Call. F 730 Pf., the noun ἀδρανίη, for which cf. Leon. *AP* 6.296 = 50 (and also A.R. 2.200): cf. comm. there.

9. The speaker compared to a αἰθυίη in Call. *AP* 7.277 = 59 Pf. (epitaph for a shipwrecked sailor) αἰθυίη δ'ἴσα θαλασσοπορεῖ, and the seaman compared to a αἰθυίη in Leon. 7.295 = *Ep.* 20 τὸν αἰθυίης πλείονα νηξάμενον, though the association is customary: cf. comm. there.

10. Εὐκρηνον in Call. F 75.72 and Leon. *AP* 16.230 = *Ep.* 86* GP: Schmitt (1970:110 n.15) thinks that Leonidas might have coined the word.

11. Several potential echoes from the *Hecale* have been suggested by Prioux (2017a),⁶⁰ which present varying degrees of plausibility.

⁶⁰ Building also on previous scholarship, i.e. Piacenza (2006), (2010), (2013).

When mentioning these parallels, scholars tend to imply that Leonidas must be the borrower, which is plausible, though as usual hard to prove; it is a fact that Leonidas and Callimachus seem to have been roughly contemporaries.

1.4.2.2 Theocritus

Similarities between themes in Theocritus and Leonidas have led scholars to highly speculative hypotheses which are indeed hard to prove. An early example is Legrand's theory of the 'mascarade bucolique', according to which characters in Theocr. *Id.* 7 hide the identities of Hellenistic poets and in particular Lykidas would in truth stand for Leonidas. Later literature has heavily discounted such speculations.⁶¹ Equally far-fetched is the hypothesis according to which the spurious *Id.* 21 of the Theocritean corpus would have in fact been composed by Leonidas, an idea formulated by Brinker and Cholmeley without many followers (cf. Gow 1952²:370). This attitude animated more recent contributions, such as that by Piacenza (2006), who argued that in Theocritus' *Id.* 4 Battus, Corydon and Aegon all stand for poets, and namely Callimachus, Theocritus and Leonidas.⁶² Contrarily to the case of Callimachus, there are not many close textual parallels between Leonidas and Theocritus:⁶³ Leonidas does have a Theocritus setting up a statue of Priapus in *Ep.* 84, and we are left to wonder if that is a sheer coincidence.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Further discussion of the matter was carried out by Bignone, Bonghi, Cataudella, Sanchez-Wildberger, Kuehn, Van Groningen, Puelma, Cameron, Gow and Giangrande: cf. Gigante (1971:111 n128).

⁶² The identification is based on the following details (2006:101-6): the mention of a Milo in l.6 and 27, whom Aegon followed, abandoning his pastoral activity (Milo also being the name of a general of Pyrrhus); the 20-animal herd mentioned in l. 10 would correspond to the 20 elephants of Pyrrhus' army and the adj. πύρριχος would allude to the king of Epirus; the alleged antithesis between the name Aegon, etymologically linked to the goat, and the 'lion' at the basis of Leonidas' name. One of the problems of Piacenza's hypothesis is that it relies on the certainty of a link between Leonidas and Pyrrhus as argued by Gigante, which has been discussed above and established as dubious.

⁶³ For some lexical similarities between Theocritus and Leonidas, however, cf. Phillips (1972: 236-38).

⁶⁴ Cf. below (Leonidas and Pastoralism), however, for some parallels in *Ep.* 86* GP.

1.4.2.3 Apollonius Rhodius

Similarities in the style and in some specific passages between Leonidas and Apollonius have not been extensively noted by scholars. From a general point of view, what is striking is that the ‘lexicographic technique’ which has been attributed by Rengakos (1994) to Apollonius seems to be already employed by Leonidas (cf. below, section 1.5, and comm. on κρήγυον at *Ep.* 26.2).⁶⁵ Points of contact are visible in specific words (cf. above on Callimachus on ἀδρανίη, the discussion of ἀποτηλοῦ below in 1.5.1, and the comment on βοοκτασία in *Ep.* 49.6), but at least *Ep.* 48 has a wider resemblance with A.R. 2.123-29, though the common Homeric model of similes with wolves and lions attacking livestock should be kept in mind (cf. introduction to *Ep.* 49).

1.4.2.4 Asclepiades

There are some points of contact in themes or wording in a few epigrams of Asclepiades and Leonidas, though it is hard to guess the direction of the contact. If one admits that in some cases Leonidas is the borrower, and in some others Asclepiades is, as Sens (2011:l ii-l iiii) does, we are led to conclude that the two authors were roughly contemporaries and knew each other’s work, which is perfectly plausible.

1. Asclepiades *Ep.* 28 GP (AP 7.11) and Leon. *Ep.* 98* GP (AP 7.13) are both on Erinna.
2. Asclepiades *Ep.* 30 GP has the expression τρηχεῖα θάλασσα which is also found in Leon. *Ep.* 14 GP (AP 7.665.4), with both epigrams on shipwrecks; cf. also Leon. *Ep.* 63 GP τετρηχυῖα θάλασσα. On the whole matter, cf. Sens (2011:l iiii) and my

⁶⁵ Cf. also Phillips (1972:242-6).

comm. on *Ep.* 30.

3. The incipit of *AP* 5.161 (Εὐφρῶ καὶ Θαΐς καὶ Βοΐδιον, αἱ Διομήδους...), ascribed to Asclepiades or alternatively to Hedylyus or Simonides,⁶⁶ might be a parody of Leon. *Ep.* 42* GP = *AP* 6.289 (Αὐτονόμα, Μελίτεια, Βοΐσκιον, αἱ Φιλολάδεω...) according to Sens (2011:liii).⁶⁷

1.4.3 Leonidas and Philosophy

Among the different genres of Hellenistic literature, epigram seems to have been quite permeable to the influence of philosophy, if anything with a polemical intention:⁶⁸ this is shown, for instance, by the case of Callimachus, whose epigrams show on several occasions an engagement with or polemic on philosophical themes (e.g. the epigrams for Timon, Cleombrotus, Charidas).

As outlined above, most editors and scholars of Leonidas have raised the problem of his engagement with philosophy and specifically with the Cynics. Evidence for such claims comes from the themes of specific epigrams: the mention of Cynic philosophers, the similarity with a passage of Bion of Borysthenes, the self-portrait of Leonidas as a poor person and a wanderer, the predilection for humble people (cf. below).

Gigante, before tackling the issue himself, offers a good *status quaestionis*:⁶⁹ Geffcken's initial claim that Leonidas was an actual Cynic adept was so extreme that the scholar himself withdrew it at a later stage,⁷⁰ and Pohlenz later argued for a label of cynic 'sympathy' rather than a profession,⁷¹ which also echoes in Webster's formulation of a 'cynic perspective'.⁷² Gigante himself, building on

⁶⁶ Asclepiades 40 GP = *LX Sens = Hedylyus *13 Floridi. On the authorship, cf. now Floridi (2020:172-3).

⁶⁷ Floridi (2020:174) is more hesitant on the matter.

⁶⁸ Cf. Clayman (2007, esp. p.497) for general considerations.

⁶⁹ Gigante (1971:53-4).

⁷⁰ Geffcken (1896:138) and later Geffcken (1925:2023).

⁷¹ Pohlenz (1911).

⁷² Webster (1964:220).

Dudley's case for a distinction between a κυνικός τρόπος and a κυνικός βίος, claims that Leonidas drew on cynic themes but always reshaped them with the greatest originality; he also criticised philosophical over-interpretations of some epigrams and tried to single out other possible models of Leonidas (e.g. for the λιτὸς βίος, the proverbial Spartan simplicity). Later on, Gutzwiller suggested an even more nuanced view⁷³ arguing that Cynic tenets undoubtedly inform Leonidas' perspective without a philosophical commitment *stricto sensu*, and that his sympathy for 'lower class' people joined with a philosophical reflection on their condition is an expression of a κυνικός τρόπος comparable to Cercidas' and Phoenix of Colophon's.⁷⁴ The most recent treatment of the topic, by M. Solitario, builds on Gigante's views, and tries to develop closer readings of cynic sources to stress the originality of Leonidas and criticise simplistic interpretations.⁷⁵ Though there have been some dissenting voices, e.g. Cairns' claim that Leonidas' epigrams are a case of 'philosophical superficiality',⁷⁶ scholars now reasonably agree on a more balanced view. Some considerations can be added, but it will be convenient first to review the epigrams which informed this debate and to make some distinctions. Some broad categories can be distinguished:

1. Satirical epigrams (*Epp.* 54*, 55*, 56*, 59*): these address more or less famous Cynic figures with a mocking tone.
2. 'Philosophical' epigrams, i.e. epigrams with no apparent *persona loquens* in

⁷³ Gutzwiller (1998:103-4).

⁷⁴ 'I believe, then, that Cynic tenets are basic to the philosophical perspective of his collection, though Leonidas himself need not be viewed as a committed Cynic like Diogenes or Bion nor his epigram book as a Cynic manifesto. (...) Leonidas creates for himself a poetic ego who both shares the experiences of his lower-class characters and has the philosophical sophistication to reflect upon them. His epigram collection thus takes its place with works like Cercidas' *Meliambi* or the iambic poetry of Phoenix of Colophon in the category of literature evincing a κυνικός τρόπος'. (Gutzwiller 1998:104).

⁷⁵ Solitario (2015).

⁷⁶ Cairns (2016:70).

which there are generalising and moralistic utterances, usually on life and death (*Epp.* 76*, 77*, 78*, 79*).

3. *Ep.* 33, the exhortation to the mice to leave Leonidas' hut, is *sui generis* because it is uttered by the poet and contains references to a humble life.
4. Epigrams featuring humble people: these constitute the vast majority of Leonidas' production; however, there are a few of them in which the characters utter moralistic sentences defending or praising a humble and poor condition (e.g. Cleitagoras, Aristocrates).

From an overall reading of the epigrams, it will become clear that the idea of Leonidas as a Cynic adept is indeed implausible. He seems to speak vehemently in favour of a humble and simple lifestyle (through his literary persona or his characters, e.g. Aristocrates in *Ep.* 10), but he does not seem to embrace a quasi-ascetic demeanour like that of Diogenes, which is evident both from his satire of Cynic characters and from his prayer to a Lathrian goddess⁷⁷ to be saved from ἐχθρῆς...πενίης (*Ep.* 36.7-8). As scholars have highlighted, he might have had cynic 'sympathies', which could however just be the result of his own tenets on frugality, in their turn possibly based on ancestral Spartan ideals (cf. *Ep.* 37.4 with commentary).

1.4.4 Leonidas and Pastoralism

The problem with 'Leonidas and Pastoralism' is complicated by the very notion of 'Pastoralism', 'Bucolic', or 'Bucolic poetry'. As L. Rossi has pointed out, the problems are stratified: how can the bucolic genre be defined? What did the ancients mean by bucolic? What is the role of Theocritus in this, and what is the role of the later bucolic tradition? Last but not least, since epigram is probably the

⁷⁷ Whose identification is problematic: cf. comm. there.

Hellenistic genre which overlaps the most with bucolic, can we apply the category of bucolic to epigram too?⁷⁸

Scholars generally agree on a certain number of distinctive features of the bucolic genre: the cowherds/shepherds/goatherds as protagonists, musical competitions (often having to do with erotic themes), the mention of bucolic deities such as Pan and the Nymphs, and the presence of a *locus amoenus*.

The existence of a bucolic typology of epigram is a further complication.⁷⁹ It is evident that many early Hellenistic epigrams expressed an interest in bucolic features. The earliest poet to do so is Anyte of Tegea, followed by Nossis and Leonidas who seem to be part of an earlier generation; then, with heavy chronological uncertainties, Perses, Nicias, Mnasalces and Simias.⁸⁰ In addition to this, and further complicating the picture, six of the epigrams ascribed to Theocritus show pastoral/bucolic themes and characters (epigrams 1-6 of the corpus). The analysis of Stanzel (2007) highlighted how Anyte and Leonidas on one hand and Theocritus on the other hand relate in a different way to the bucolic world. Anyte's and Leonidas' epigrammatic world feature bucolic landscapes and rustic people, the former with a focus on refreshment, drinking fountains and pleasant landscapes, the latter with a focus on simple people: both of them, however, operate within the traditional form of dedicatory and sepulchral epigram; and love, a prominent theme in the Theocritean Idylls, is apparently absent.⁸¹ The bucolic epigrams in the Theocritean corpus, instead, have a different tone altogether: they feature erotic themes (*Ep.* 4), they go beyond the dedication/epitaph type (*Ep.* 5), and they somehow presuppose Theocritus' world from the *Idylls* (Daphnis and

⁷⁸ Rossi (2001:30).

⁷⁹ On 'bucolic' epigram, cf. in general Stanzel (2007).

⁸⁰ Anyte, Mnasalces, Nicias, Nossis and Leonidas were thought by Reitzeinstein (1893:130) to form the so called 'Doric-Peloponnesian school'. This label was gradually criticised in 20th-century scholarship: cf. Gow-Page (1965.2:91) and Gutzwiller (1998b:53 n.21).

⁸¹ There are poems by the two which are very similar in tone and style, e.g. Leon. *Ep.* 86* and Anyte *Epp.* 16-18 GP (drinking fountains and refreshing springs), Leon. *Ep.* 21* and Anyte *Ep.* 20 GP (on insects), but for the ascription of Anyte *Ep.* 20 cf. GP (1965.2:101).

Thyrsis are mentioned in five out of six epigrams).

As far as bucolic epigram is concerned, Rossi has argued for another distinction to be made, i.e. between 'rustic' and 'bucolic'.⁸² The former would concern hunters, farmers, gardeners, beekeepers and such, while the latter is strictly concerned with cowherds, shepherds, and goatherds. According to Rossi, the presence of a *locus amoenus* or the mention of Pan are bucolic elements, but not sufficient to make a poem bucolic. This framework might be slightly too rigid,⁸³ but it highlights that Leonidas' epigrams with bucolic themes (which are ca. 10)⁸⁴ mostly belong to the rustic typology: they seem to be more concerned with hunters and farmers than with shepherding and bucolic singing.

There are, however, hints of something more, i.e. traits that are more bucolic in a Theocritean sense in traditional dedications or epitaphs. The most striking example is *Ep.* 19 GP, featuring a request from the deceased to shepherds to come and sing at his tomb:⁸⁵ this is the closest we get to a bucolic song, but it is presented just as a suggestion within a sepulchral composition. Then there is *Ep.* 86* GP, in which the speaking voice exhorts the passer-by not to drink from a muddy fountain, but to go further and find a better stream under a pine tree, which, as Sens (2006:149-152) argued, might be related with some Theocritean passages and show therefore an awareness of bucolic convention.

At any rate, Stanzel's claim that Leonidas' bucolic is highly individualised holds true: most epigrams mention people by their name, and they are interested in placing these people in a rural setting. Sometimes, judging from their aristocratic-sounding names, we might be dealing with the placement of an alien

⁸² Rossi (2001:34).

⁸³ It encountered scepticism from e.g. Stanzel (2007:335).

⁸⁴ AP 6.262 = 48 GP, 6.263 = 49 GP, 6.334 = 3 GP, 7.657 = 19 GP, 9.318 = 80 GP, 9.236 = 5 GP, 9.744 = 82 GP, 16.190 = 81 GP, 16.230 = 86 GP, 9.337 = 29 GP.

⁸⁵ The deceased has traditionally been believed to be a shepherd himself, but Gutzwiller (1998:97) following Labellarte thinks that he is actually a townsman buried in the countryside. Cf. comm. on the epigram.

element into the countryside (e.g. Cleitagoras, Neoptolemus Aeaecides). More than a bucolic poet, Leonidas is a poet of rustic people and – at least in the later perception – a poet of rustic landscapes,⁸⁶ as also shown by his fortune among the Romans (cf. below).

1.4.5. Leonidas and his reception in Antiquity (including Latin poetry)

The neglect or contempt received by Leonidas in modern scholarship contrasts starkly with his fame and influence in the ancient world. He is, in fact, one of the most imitated epigrammatists in the *Greek Anthology*; and, as will be shown, he was more popular in the Roman world than it has been observed so far. A survey of his reception in Antiquity might both explain why so much of his production was preserved despite the selection processes of the epigrammatic garlands and possibly help reshape his status as a poet in contemporary scholarship.

In the so-called Meleagrian sequences of the *Greek Anthology*, that is series of epigrams on the same theme which possibly preserve original sections of Meleager's Garland, it is often the case that Leonidas' is the oldest piece of the series. Leonidas was also a model for many imperial epigrammatists, who of course kept both him and his imitators in mind (cf. e.g. Ypsilanti 2006, and De Stefani 2005 on Antipater of Sidon and Phaniás). A striking example is *AP* 6.13 = 46 GP, which inspired numerous imitations:⁸⁷ a first sequence constituted by 6.11 (Satyrius), 6.12 (Julianus), 6.14 (Antipater of Sidon), 6.15 (Antipater of Sidon/Zosimus), 6.16 (Archias); 6.179, 6.180, 6.181 (Archias), 6.182 (Alexander of Magnesia), 6.183, 6.184, 6.185 (Zosimus of Thasos), 6.186 (Julius

⁸⁶ On Leonidas' landscapes, cf. Prioux (2017b).

⁸⁷ For this series cf. commentary on *ep.* 46 GP and especially cf. Longo (1987), Coughlan (2016), Massimilla (2016).

Diocles), 6.187 (Alpheus of Mytilene); furthermore, as we have seen above, this epigram was copied on the wall of the exedra in the 'House of Epigrams' in Pompeii and identified in an ostrakon bearing epigram incipits. When Leonidas' piece is not the oldest in a series (or at least when we cannot say for certain due to problems in chronology), it still heavily influences the variations on the theme. Leonidas' fortune was not limited to the epigrammatic world. Some of the eccentric words which first occur in Leonidas, and possibly are his own neologisms, resurface later in imperial or later antique authors: e.g. ἀπαμαλδύνω from Leon. *AP* 9.24 = 30 *GP* in Greg. Naz., Quintus Smyrnaeus and Nonnus of Panopolis, or συναγρεύω from Leon. *AP* 9.337 = 29 *GP* in Nonnus alone.

The influence of Hellenistic Poetry, and epigram specifically, in the Roman world is well recognized. However, Leonidas' role in this has so far been downplayed. Here is a brief review of possible or certain reprisals of Leonidas in Latin literature.⁸⁸

1. Cicero *Att.* 9.18.3 *inde expecto equidem λαλαγεῦσιν illam tuam; Att.* 10.2 *λαλαγεῦσα iam adest et animus ardet* seem to refer to the arrival of spring as signalled by the coming of the singing swallow, which is called *λαλαγεῦσα* in Leon. *Ep.* 85 *GP* = *AP* 10.1 (Priapus announces the return of spring and the sailing season). It must be said that if this was a proverbial denomination of sorts for the swallow (though not attested elsewhere with this phrase, the verb is used for birds and cicadas e.g. in Theocritus, cf. comm. *ad locum*) we do not need to think that Cicero has Leonidas in mind, but cf. comm. on *Ep.* 85.

2. Lucretius, *DRN* 3.1042 *ipse Epicurus obit decurso lumine uitae* resembles Leonidas' praise of Homer in *Ep.* 30 = *AP* 9.24, but it might be derived from Meleager's imitation or some other poem drawing on the image (so Kenney 2014²:222).

⁸⁸ Many of these have been conveniently gathered by Specchio (1981).

3. Virg. *Ecl.* 5.38ss. describes the tomb of Daphnis overgrown with plants and thorns, which might be influenced by Leon. *AP* 7.656 = 18 GP (description of a tomb covered in thorny plants), cf. Clausen (2015) *ad loc.*

4. Virg. *Ecl.* 7.29-30, with the offering of the antlers of a stag by Micon to Diana (*ramosa Micon vivacis cornua cervi*), might echo Leon. *AP* 6.110 = 96 GP (Cleolaus the hunter dedicates the antlers of a stag on a tree). The same epigram has been identified on a fragment of wall painting from Suasa (cf. above and comm. on the epigram).

5. Ovid *Tristia* 2.527, *sic madidos siccat digitis Venus uda capillos* on Apelles' *Aphrodite Anadyomene*, with Leon. *API* 182 = 23 GP, 1.5 εὖ μὲν γὰρ ἄκραις χερσὶν ἐκθλίβει κόμην (description of the same statue).

6. Ovid *Fasti* 1.353-8. The fable of the goat and the vine, and in particular l. 357 *rode, caper, vitem!*, cf. Leonidas' account of the same fable in *AP* 9.99 = 32 GP, κείρε, κάκιστε... κλήμα (for the fable cf. Gow 1965.2:342). This fable was quite popular in antiquity and Leonidas' epigram shares its last line with another epigram by Evenos of Ascalon (*AP* 9.75) on the same story, which accompanies a fresco in the 'House of Epigrams' in Pompeii (cf. above).

7. Ovid *Met.* 10.244-47 describes Pygmalion's attitude towards women, *Quas quia Pygmalion aevum per crimen agentes/viderat, offensus vitiis, quae plurima menti/femineae natura dedit, sine coniuge caelebs/vivebat thalamique diu consorte carebat*, which might recall Aristocrates' attitude in Leon. *AP* 7.648 = 10 GP, ll. 9-10 ἦδει Ἀριστοκράτης τὸ κρήγγυον· ἀλλὰ γυναικῶν, / ὄνθρωπ', ἤχθαιρεν τὴν ἀλιτοφροσύνην (parallel noted by Gow-Page 1965 *ad locum*).

8. Prop. 3.13, ll. 42-46 directly translates an entire epigram by Leon. AP 9.337 =29 GP, the exhortation of Pan to a hunter (cf. comm. on the epigram).

9. Sen. *Epist.* 49.2-3 (reflections on life, time, and death) resembles Leon. AP 7.472 = 77 GP; in particular *punctum est quod vivimus et adhuc puncto minus*, cf. l. 4 στιγμὴ καὶ στιγμῆς εἴ τι χαμηλότερον;

10. One of the epigrams on Priapus (APl 236 = *Ep.* 83) has been roughly translated by one of the Latin *Priapea* (c. 24), which are usually dated to the 1st century BC (cf. comm. there).

To this purely literary evidence one must add the above-mentioned testimonies of the 'House of Epigrams' in Pompeii and the fragment from Suasa (cf. Introduction 1.3.3, Inscriptions and wall paintings), which both involve a dedicatory epigram with rustic themes. This resonates with Propertius' insertion of the exhortation from Pan, which he uses to exemplify the benevolence of the gods (l. 41 *praebebant vestri verba benigna foci*): it is possible that he imagines this epigram as inscribed in a shrine of Pan or something similar, and it is not impossible that such monument or similar ones existed. Overall, this evidence bears some coherence and gives the impression that Leonidas was an appreciated source of representation of rustic, simple life, and that the Roman world saw in him a good source of rustic vignettes which were very pictorial, and sometimes actually accompanied them with images.

1.5 Language and Style: compounds, neologisms, and intertextuality

We have seen (cf. above, Foreword) how the negative judgment of modern critics on Leonidas was heavily informed by Leonidas' language and its relationship with the subject matter of his epigrams. It is striking that the reassessment of Leonidas inaugurated by Gigante's work did not rehabilitate the poet's language in full, though of course it abandoned the negative aesthetic judgment of the past. It is also striking how R.D. Phillips's 1972 dissertation,⁸⁹ which explored Leonidas's style and diction in great depth, went almost unnoticed in Leonidean studies.⁹⁰ I will draw abundantly from the material collected by Phillips and try to put it into dialogue with more recent studies on Leonidas and Hellenistic poetry in general. Another element which was underestimated is the dialect, the study of which can now benefit from scholarly progress in this direction (cf. below). All of these elements, when considered together, will make clear that what constituted Leonidas' greatest fault in the scholarship of the past is instead one of the most characteristic and interesting features of his poetry.

1.5.1 Epic language and diction⁹¹

It is not surprising that a Hellenistic poet would use a deeply epic diction, nor that they would actively engage in Homeric (or Hesiodic) scholarship within their own poetry. However, this well-recognised feature has not been explored in

⁸⁹ Phillips (1972).

⁹⁰ Readers will find it very rarely quoted or alluded to in most recent scholarship on Leonidas (one exception is Solitario 2015). It seems to be taken into account in the recent work by Iodice (2022), a brief study on the language of Leonidas which announces a more thorough analysis, but I could not take this into account in the present work.

⁹¹ This section inevitably owes much to Phillips (1972:5-153), but I deemed it best to have a less rigid classification both for the forms and scope of the epic style, since different forms often coexist and different strategies often seem to be at work simultaneously.

depth for Leonidas.⁹²

Epic language or diction can be achieved on different levels, and with different literary purposes. As for the degree of epicisation, it can range from the use of *glossai* or single words to epic forms and formulae, or even the imitation of or allusion to longer epic passages. The goals of all these in Leonidas seems to be extremely varied, as they are used alternatively (or simultaneously) to signal learnedness, to give an epic tone to certain scenes or characters, to shed some irony on a situation, or possibly to change the interpretation of a scene through allusion.

The use of *glossai* is a sophisticated and typically Hellenistic form of engagement with Homer and Hesiod. In an important contribution, E. Sistakou (2007) has explored the ways in which Hellenistic epigrammatists carry out Homeric exegesis, mostly signalled by *glossai*, by offering as case studies examples from Simias, Asclepiades, Posidippus, and Callimachus. The same operation can be performed systematically for Leonidas, with interesting results.⁹³ Leonidas does not seem to have a unique approach to *glossai*. For example, one of the *glossai* discussed by Sistakou primarily in relation to other epigrammatists, i.e. κρήγυον (Homeric *hapax* from *Il.* 1.106), is employed twice by Leonidas (in *ep.* 10 and *ep.* 26): each time, the word is employed seemingly in one of the two different ways in which Hellenistic authors interpreted it. This could potentially point to an awareness of the scholarly debate surrounding the Homeric *hapax*, rather than to polysemy (cf. comm. on *ep.* 26 for a full discussion). On a different note, again in *ep.* 10.3, the word ἐδνώσαιτο is a Homeric *hapax* found only in *Od.* 2.53, the meaning of which seems to have been disputed in antiquity: in this case, F. Cairns has suggested that the phrasing of Leonidas implies that he took a specific stance on the debate (cf. comm. on 10.3).

⁹² Cf. e.g. Rengakos (1993), (1994).

⁹³ Though not all are Homeric *glossai*, Phillips (1972:8-32) discusses the following words: ἱξάλος (*ep.* 32.1*), ἀμολγαῖος (*ep.* 19.10), λυκάβας (*ep.* 21.5*), ἀήτης (*ep.* 60.1), τετροχηυῖα (*ep.* 63.1), ἄρκιος (*ep.* 72.7).

It needs to be acknowledged that occasionally the use of *glossai* can be shared with other Hellenistic poets, although it is impossible to say more about Leonidas' relationship with them for the aforementioned reasons. For example, in *Ep.* 84, Leonidas uses the adverb ἀποτηλοῦ, which occurs in early poetry only at *Od.* 9.117 and *H. Hom. Dem.* 344, and then (beside Leonidas) in Apollonius Rhodius (2.192, 4.1092, 4.1174). Leonidas and Apollonius retain the metrical *sedes* of the word from Homer, but the similarity between Leonidas and A.R. 2.191-3 points to a possible relationship between the two.

The next level of engagement with epic texts and epic language is that of employing formulae, phrases or expressions. This can be done either through *verbatim* imitation, or in a looser way in the manner of what E. Cahen, in relation to the style of Callimachus' *Hymns*, defined as 'presque homérique'.⁹⁴ The aim of this strategy can vary: let us consider some examples.

The simplest goal that Leonidas seem to have in mind is to employ an epicising style just to heighten the tone of an epigram. An example is the dedication of the traveller Aristocles to the nymphs (*Ep.* 5):

Πέτρης ἐκ δισσῆς ψυχρὸν καταπαλμένον ὕδωρ,
 χαίροις, καὶ Νυμφέων ποιμενικὰ ξόανα
 πέτραι τε κρηνέων καὶ ἐν ὕδασι κόσμια ταῦτα
 ὑμέων, ᾧ κοῦραι, μυρία τεγγόμενα,
 χαίρετ'· Ἀριστοκλέης ὄδ' ὁδοιπόρος, ᾧπερ ἄπωσα
 δίψαν βαψάμενος, τοῦτο δίδωμι γέρας.

The atmosphere is very similar to a scene from the *Odyssey*, and in particular the description of the water (17.204-211):

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ στείχοντες ὁδὸν κάτα παιπαλόεσσαν
 ἄστεος ἐγγύς ἔσαν καὶ ἐπὶ κρήνην ἀφίκοντο
 τυκτὴν καλλίροον, ὅθεν ὕδρευόντο πολῖται,
 τὴν ποίησ' Ἴθακος καὶ Νήριτος ἠδὲ Πολύκτωρ·
 ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αἰγείρων ὕδατοτρεφῶν ἦν ἄλσος,
 πάντοσε κυκλοτερές, κατὰ δὲ ψυχρὸν ῥέεν ὕδωρ

⁹⁴ Cahen (1929:519-25).

ὑπόθεν ἐκ πέτρης: βωμός δ' ἐφύπερθε τέτυκτο
Νυμφάων, ὅθι πάντες ἐπιρρέζεσκον ὀδίται (...).⁹⁵

A similar strategy is at work in the series of epigrams for shipwrecks, which draws on imagery from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* to build up dramatic tension. Let us consider the following Homeric simile (*Il.* 15.623-9):

αὐτὰρ ὁ λαμπόμενος πυρὶ πάντοθεν ἔνθορ' ὀμίλῳ,
ἐν δ' ἔπεσ' ὡς ὅτε κῦμα θεῆ ἐν νηϊ πέσῃσι
λάβρον ὑπαὶ νεφέων ἀνεμοτρεφές· ἦ δέ τε πᾶσα
ἄχνη ὑπεκρύφθη, ἀνέμοιο δὲ δεινὸς ἀήτη
ἰστίῳ ἐμβρέμεται, τρομέουσι δέ τε φρένα ναῦται
δειδιότες· τυτθὸν γὰρ ὑπέκ θανάτοιο φέρονται·
ὡς ἐδαΐζετο θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι Νηλεΐδων.

Leonidas alludes to this passage in *Ep.* 15 GP (= *AP* 7.652), an epitaph for a certain Timares who died at sea: after an opening which already shows Homeric echoes (ἠχήμεσσα θάλασσα, cf. *Hom. Il.* 1.157), the shipwreck is described through the expression λάβρον κῦμ' ἐπιχευαμένη (*sc.* θάλασσα), *casting a furious wave*, thus repeating the exact Homeric words. Let us then consider the epitaph for Callaeschrus, *Ep.* 62 GP (= *AP* 7.273):

Εὔρου με τρηχεῖα καὶ αἰπήεσσα καταγίγ
καὶ νύξ καὶ δνοφερῆς κύματα πανδυσίης
ἔβλαψ' Ὀρίωνος· ἀπώλισθον δὲ βίοιο
Κάλλαισχρος, Λιβυκοῦ μέσσα θέων πελάγευς.
Κἀγὼ μὲν πόντῳ δινεύμενος **ἰχθύσι κύρμα**
οἴχημαι· ψεύστης δ' οὔτος ἔπεστι λίθος.

The rough and violent squall of Eurys and the night and the waves of Orion's dark setting hit me: I slipped away from life, I, Callaeschrus, travelling over the middle of the Libyan sea. And I am ruined, whirled by the sea, prey to the fish: this stone standing here is a liar.

The accumulation of elements (the winds, the waves, the darkness) building up the dramatic tension of the disaster is already reminiscent of the storm which caused Odysseus' shipwreck in *Od.* 5.291-4, especially in the gathering of the winds and

⁹⁵ Cf. Phillips (1972:141-142). The same passages is echoed in *Theocr.* 1.7-8 (cf. Hunter *ad loc.*).

the sudden darkness (l. 294, ὀρώρει δ' οὐρανόθεν νύξ), but it is line 5 that confirms the Homeric intertextuality. The expression ἰχθύσι κύρμα comes from *Od.* 15.480, within the episode of the (unnamed) deceitful Phoenician woman who robbed Eumaeus' family palace and is struck by Artemis, clearly as a punishment, and then thrown overboard by the sailors. The allusion does not seem to be an embellishment, but rather a possible interpretative key for the epigram: Leonidas might be implying that Callaeschrus, possibly a merchant sailing across the Libyan sea, is being punished for his greed.⁹⁶

An analogous strategy emerges from *Ep.* 65 GP (= *AP* 7.506), an epitaph for a fisherman named Tharsys who dived to recover an anchor stuck on the sea-bed and was bitten in half by a sea-monster. The man had already resurfaced and was about to be lifted up by his fellow sailors, when the animal bit him from the depths (ll. 6-8, ἤδη καὶ ναύταις χεῖρας ὀρεγνύμενος, / ἐβρώθη· τοῖόν μοι ἐπ' ἄγριον εὖ μέγα κῆτος / ἦλθεν, ἀπέβροξεν δ' ἄχρισ ἐπ' ὀμφαλίου, *already reaching out my hands to the sailors, I was eaten: such a fierce and big monster came towards me, and bit me up to the navel*), where the expression ἤδη καὶ ναύταις χεῖρας ὀρεγνύμενος seems to be reminiscent – though with a reversal of roles – of Odysseus' companions stretching out their hands to escape the fury of Scylla at *Od.* 12.257, χεῖρας ἐμοὶ ὀρέγοντας ἐν αἰνῇ δηϊοτήτι. It is then evident that Leonidas is not only drawing from the general atmosphere of trouble at sea evoked by the *Odyssey*, but also using intertextual markers to allude to specific Homeric scenes: in this instance, the allusion to Scylla is bound to make the sea-monster even more terrifying, and to add an epic tone to the struggle and death of Tharsys (with the fundamental difference that the horror narrated by Tharsys is experienced first-hand).⁹⁷

In the above-quoted passage of the *Iliad*, right after the storm simile, there is another

⁹⁶ Cf. commentary on the epigram. The motif of greed recurs in several epigrams for shipwrecked sailors of the *Greek Anthology*: cf. the general section on shipwrecks below.

⁹⁷ There might however also be some irony at play at the same time: cf. commentary on the epigram.

simile comparing Hector to a lion (*Il.* 15.630-6):

αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ὡς τε λέων ὀλοόφρων βουσὶν ἐπελθὼν,
αἶρά τ' ἐν εἰαμενῇ ἔλεος μέγαλοιο νέμονται
μυρίαί, ἐν δέ τε τῆσι νομεὺς οὐ πω σάφα εἰδῶς
θηρὶ μαχέσσασθαι ἔλικος βοὸς ἀμφὶ φονῆσιν·
ἦτοι ὁ μὲν πρῶτησι καὶ ὑστατίησι βόεσσιν
αἰὲν ὁμοστιχάει, ὃ δέ τ' ἐν μέσσησιν ὀρούσας
βοῶν ἔδει, αἶ δέ τε πᾶσαι ὑπέτρεσαν...

This is just one of many lion similes of the *Iliad*, in which the lion is usually the counterpart of the hero, and can be compared to *Il.* 17.61-9 (Menelaus compared to a mountain lion who seizes the fattest heifer, while the shepherd and hounds clamour but are too afraid of him to do anything).⁹⁸

Such similes seem to be alluded to by Leonidas in a series of dedications by rustics and shepherds who are characterised as heroic in the defence of their flocks, and specifically in some epigrams in which shepherds dedicate the hide of wild animals which had been attacking their flocks and which they managed to kill. K. Gutzwiller noted how 'by granting the herdsman the competences of the Homeric warrior, Leonidas suggests that heroic qualities are not the prerogative of the aristocratic' (1998:98). This view could be slightly reductive in light of the precise allusions that Leonidas creates. The second simile mentioned above, and in particular the shepherd who is unable to fight the lion standing over the carcass of a dead heifer is exactly reversed in Leon. *Ep.* 49 GP (=AP 6. 263), in which Sosus the cowherd dedicates the skin of a lion that he killed in similar circumstances:

Πυρσῶ τοῦτο λέοντος ἀποφλοιώσατο δέρμα
Σῶσος ὁ βουπάμων, δουρὶ φονευσάμενος
ἄρτι καταβρύκοντα τὸν εὐθηλήμονα μόσχον·
οὐδ' ἴκετ' ἐκ μάνδρας αὐτίς ἐπὶ ξύλοχον,
μοσχεῖω δ' ἀπέτισεν ὁ θῆρ ἀνθ' αἵματος αἶμα
βληθεῖς· ἀχθεινὰν δ' εἶδε βοοκτασίαν.

Sosus, rich in cattle, stripped off this hide of a tawny lion, after killing it with a spear,

⁹⁸ In *Il.* 18.161-4, instead, the two Aias are compared to shepherds who cannot drive away a tawny lion while he is devouring his prey, whereas the lion is Hector. The echoes of these similes in Hellenistic and Imperial poetry have recently been investigated by Massimilla (2020), who however does not touch on Leonidas.

just as it was devouring the young calf: and it did not return from the fold to the thicket, but the beast, pierced, repaid to the calf blood for blood: it encountered much grief for its slaughter of cattle.

The reversal is strengthened by a series of details: βουπάμων, a neologism which is a variation on the Homeric *hapax* πολυπάμων from *Il.* 4.433,⁹⁹ the use of a δόρυ, which is more appropriate to a warrior than a shepherd, and the noun βοοκτασία (found only here and in *A.R.* 4.1724) which will be a variation on the Homeric word ἀνδροκτασία. The allusion to the Iliadic simile is dynamic: Sosus, unlike the unskilled herdsman' who helplessly watched the lion kill his calf, caught the beast during its wretched act and made it pay the price for it. That is to say, Leonidas is rewriting the Homeric scene to make Sosus even braver than the Homeric heroes. A similar strategy is at work in *Ep.* 48 (= *AP* 6.262), where a certain Eualkes kills a beast¹⁰⁰ which was wreaking havoc among the pastures:

† Τὸν νομίην † καὶ ἔπαυλα βοῶν καὶ βώτορας ἀνδρας
σινόμενον κλαγγάν τ' οὐχὶ τρέσαντα κυνῶν
Εὐάλκης ὁ Κρηῆς ἐπινύκτια μῆλα νομεύων
πέφνε καὶ ἐκ ταύτης ἐκρέμασεν πίτυος.

The beast which used to ravage pastures, cattle sheds and herdsmen, never fearing the baying of dogs, Eualkes the Cretan slew, while grazing his herds at night, and hung it on this pine.

The phrase βώτορας ἀνδρας is borrowed from Homer (*Il.* 12.302, *Od.* 14.102, *Od.* 17.200). The *Iliad* passage here is relevant. Sarpedon is about to attack the Trojans and is compared to a lion attacking the flocks:

τὴν ἄρ' ὃ γε πρόσθε σχόμενος δύο δοῦρε τινάσσων
βῆ ῥ' ἴμεν ὡς τε λέων ὄρεσίτροφος, ὅς τ' ἐπιδευῆς
δηρὸν ἔη κρειῶν, κέλεται δέ ἐ θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ
μῆλων πειρήσοντα καὶ ἐς πυκινὸν δόμον ἐλθεῖν:
εἶ περ γὰρ χ' εὖρησι παρ' αὐτόφι βώτορας ἀνδρας
σὺν κυσὶ καὶ δουρεσσι φυλάσσοντας περὶ μῆλα,
οὐ ρά τ' ἀπειρήτος μέμονε σταθμοῖο δίσσθαι,
ἀλλ' ὃ γ' ἄρ' ἠ ἥραξε μετάλμενος, ἠὲ καὶ αὐτὸς

⁹⁹ For neologisms, cf. below.

¹⁰⁰ For the problem of identifying the animal, cf. commentary *ad loc.*

ἔβλητ' ἐν πρώτοισι θοῆς ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἄκοντι...

This is not the only simile of this kind and, for example, in *Il.* 11.548-55, Aias is compared to a lion which shepherds and dogs do manage to drive away:¹⁰¹ however, by choosing the expression βώτορας ἄνδρας we have the impression that Leonidas

is alluding to *Il.* 12.302 with the purpose of characterising Eualkes as stronger, and of the two possibilities from the Homeric similes he chooses the latter, where the lion is killed. Therefore, while Gutzwiller's statement concerning the heroization of these shepherds is indeed true, one should also appreciate the sophistication of the intertextuality through which this effect is accomplished.

This overview has shown that models of Homeric intertextuality such as the one proposed by Tsagalis¹⁰² present some limitations, and the epigrams of Leonidas show a varied range of sophisticated ways in which a Hellenistic poet can engage with early epic texts.

1.5.2 Tragic diction

Though epic is the main inspiration for Leonidas' language, other models are also present, such as that of tragedy. As we have seen for epic, reminiscence of tragedy can be expressed through a single word or an expression, or a more generic similarity. It is true, as Phillips (1972:192-6) points out with regards to single tragic words, these are also shared with epic and the two models will have coexisted for Leonidas.

Two features of Leonidas' tragic diction are shared with his epic diction. On one

¹⁰¹ For other such similes, cf. comm. on the epigram.

¹⁰² Tsagalis (2017:22).

hand, the occasional mediation of another Hellenistic author through whom Leonidas might be looking at a tragic passage; on the other hand, the purpose of the tragic diction itself, which alternates between elements added to heighten the tone of an epigram and features that are aimed at producing irony.

To start from a single word, let us consider δόρυ. The word is not tragic *per se*, but its metonymical use for 'ship' is common in tragedy and is found in Leon. *Ep.* 14.2 (cf. comm. there). Adding to the strength of the epic reminiscences recalled above, the word equally contributes to heighten the tone of the story of Promachus' death. Examples of expressions used to heighten the tone are also found: in *Ep.* 33.1, βίον ἔλκων must be reminiscent of e.g. Eur. *Or.* 206-7 βίοτον...ἔλκω (cf. comm.). Finally, some epigrams are redolent of tragic tones on many levels. Let us consider *ep.* 71, in which an unnamed mother mourns the untimely death of her son Anticles:

Ἄ δειλ' Αντίκλεις, δειλή δ' ἐγὼ ἢ τὸν ἐν ἡβῆς
ἀκμῇ καὶ μούνον παῖδα πυρῶσαμένη,
ὀκτωκαιδεκέτης ὅς ἀπώλεο, τέκνον· ἐγὼ δὲ
ὀρφάνιον κλαίω γῆρας ὀδυρομένη.
βαίην εἰς Ἄϊδος σκιερὸν δόμον· οὔτε μοι ἤως
ἦδεῖ οὔτ' ἀκτὶς ὠκέος ἡελίου.
Ἄ δειλ' Αντίκλεις μεμορημένε, πένθεος εἴης
ιητῆρ ζωῆς ἔκ με κομισσάμενος.

O miserable Anticles, and miserable me who laid my only son on the pyre in the peak of his youth, you who died when eighteen, child: and I, bereaved, weep for my old age, lamenting. I wish I could go to the shady house of Hades: to me neither dawn nor the swift ray of light is sweet. O miserable Anticles, who fulfilled your destiny, be the healer of my pain by taking me from life with you.

Besides specific expressions found in tragedy (e.g. ἐν ἡβῆς ἀκμῇ), here we find many other tragic features, such as the lament, the refrain,¹⁰³ and the idea of death as a healer of evils (cf. commentary on the epigram).

Moving to instances where tragic words or phrases are more ambivalent or

¹⁰³ Even though refrain is much more characteristic of dirge-like compositions, it is found in tragedy in imitation of that or cult songs: cf. Alexiou (2002²:12-13, 134-7), Rutherford (2012:47).

strongly suggest ironic connotations, let us consider an illuminating example discussed by Phillips (1972:212-3). *Ep.* 55* is a poem criticising Sochares the cynic, which consists of a detailed description of his beggar-like attire, including a walking staff (l.2. βάκτρον... ὄδοιπορικόν). The word βάκτρον is first found in tragedy: Aesch. *Ag.* 202 (for the scepters of the Atridae), *Ch.* 352 (for that of Agamemnon), then six times in Euripides (e.g. for the staff of Cadmus at *Bacch.* 363). It is employed by Hellenistic authors, such as in Call. *Hymn* 5.127 (the staff of Teirisias) and A.R. 1.670 (the staff of Polyxo), A.R. 2.198 (the staff of Phineus), which Phillips plausibly argues is the intermediary model of Leonidas *ep.* 55.¹⁰⁴ The connotation of Sochares is anything but positive, therefore the employment of a word often used for tragic characters and venerable old men or prophets is bound to create some contrast.

As for tragic expressions possibly used with ironic overtones, in the above-quoted epigram for Sosus (*Ep.* 49), the last two lines (5-6) seem to bear strong tragic reminiscences: μoσχείω δ' ἀπέτισεν ὁ θῆρ ἀνθ' αἵματος αἶμα / βληθεῖς· ἀχθεινὰν δ' εἶδε βοοκτασίαν. The insistence on blood and retribution is often found in tragic contexts with similar wording (cf. comm. on the epigram). Bearing in mind what was said on 'heroic shepherds', one could detect traces of irony in such a description of a hunting scene.

1.5.3 Neologisms

The other striking feature of Leonidas' style, and one that is not completely separate from his epic diction, is the creation of new vocabulary. Almost every epigram by Leonidas contains at least one word that is a *hapax legomenon*, and while we cannot know for sure that these words are always Leonidas' neologisms,

¹⁰⁴ That this is the case might be further suggested by junction of ἀδρανίη and γῆρας (l. 200) which is found in Leon. *Ep.* 50.6, as noted by Phillips (cf. comm. there).

there is a high chance that a good percentage of them are. Discussion of neologisms (or alleged neologisms) is best divided, in the wake of Phillips, into simple words and compound words.¹⁰⁵

Leonidas' epigrams present 40 new simple words (19 nouns, 18 adjectives, 3 verbs). Some of them follow regular patterns of Greek word formation, e.g. ἀγρεσία (*Ep.* 46.2). Others are clearly modelled on Epic style, such as the adjectives formed with the suffix -όεις/-ήεις (e.g. δουλιχόεις in *Ep.* 52*), a practice shared by other Hellenistic poets.¹⁰⁶ Another typically Hellenistic feature is the creation of adjectives with -της/-τις to denote possession or material, e.g. σχοινίτις < σχοῖνος (*Ep.* 20.7).¹⁰⁷

Occasionally, this results in 'hyperepicisms', such as in the case of ὠκήεις (*Ep.* 8.7*) built from the Epic adjective ὠκύς. With Callimachus, Leonidas shares some word formations that violate conventional rules. For example, nouns in -τήρ were only derived from verbs in -έω/-άω (θηράω>θηρητήρ). This pattern is violated by ἀγρευτήρ (Call. *Hymn* 4.218) and σαγηνευτήρ (Leon. *Ep.* 2.5) and τυρευτήρ (Leon. *Ep.* 82.3): the model will have been the Homeric ἀρνευτήρ, employed also by Herod. 8.42 (Phillips 1972:285-6).¹⁰⁸ More unusual, and only shared by Nicander, is the coinage of adjectives through the rare Epic suffix -ίνεος, i.e. μυρκίνεος (*Ep.* 55.5*), πυξίνεος (*Ep.* 45.2), paralleled by ἰρίνεος (Nic. *Alex.* 203).¹⁰⁹

On the whole, then, his new words are well inserted in Hellenistic trends of

¹⁰⁵ Data is from Phillips (1972:277-342), with the addition of data from epigrams 93-103 (category C from GP) that Phillips does not take into account, presumably due to the uncertainty around the ascription, for which cf. above my section 1.2 'ascription of the poems', while some words listed by Phillips are excluded for various reasons (explained in notes): this account for the differences in our respective figures. I refer to words that only appear once in Leonidas as hapax, while neologism can include that but also words possibly coined by Leonidas and then employed by later writers.

¹⁰⁶ Especially liked by Nicander: cf. Overduin (2015:66).

¹⁰⁷ Phillips (1972:287).

¹⁰⁸ The pre-Hellenistic exception is the θεραπευτήρ (Xen. *Cyr.* 7.5.65). These type of nouns are collected in Fraenkel (1910:134-5).

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Phillips (1972:282-3).

poetic word-formation, even though with some peculiarities. It will become evident, however, especially in the commentary, that the sheer quantity and frequency of neologisms in the epigrams of Leonidas is unparalleled and it is evident when comparing most of his poems with epigrams by e.g. Asclepiades or Callimachus (cf. also Magnelli 2007, esp. 173-4).

Table 1: Neologisms in Leonidas (i): simple nouns

Typology	Word	Epigram
Feminine noun in -ια	ἀγρεσία	46.2
Neuter noun in -εῖον	μλτεῖον	8.3*
Nouns in -ών	ἀνδρειών	25.7*
Feminine nouns in -σύνη	λαβροσύνη	56.1*
	τεχνοσύνα	52.8*
Feminine nouns in -ιδ (-ις)	λαρίς	15.5, 16.5
Feminine nouns in -ῆτις	καλαμίτις	21.5*
	μολπᾶτις	41.5*
Nouns in -της	ἀκρωρίτης	51.1
	κελευθίτης	91.3*
	λιμενίτης	85.7
Nouns in -τήρ	δωρητήρ	56.7*
	εὐαστήρ	97.1
	έψητήρ	56.3*
	ύμνητήρ	57.1
Nouns in -ευτήρ	σαγηνευτήρ	2.5
	τυρευτήρ	82.3
Nouns in -τωρ	πλώτωρ	20.4
Underived nouns	γύαια, τὰ	85.5

Table 2: Neologisms in Leonidas (ii): simple adjectives

Typology	Word	Epigram
adjectives in -ιος	νύκτιος ¹¹⁰	53
	ὀλιγήριος	18.1*
	ὀρφάνιος	71.4
adjectives in -αῖος	ἀγωγαῖος	47.5
	βορειαῖος	86.6*
	χαραδραῖος	86.2*
adjectives in -αλεος	αἰμαλέος	34.2
adjectives in -αρός	γλαγερός	97.8
adjectives in -της	ὀρφνίτης	42.4*
	τυμβίτης	21.2*
adjectives in -τις	σχοινίτις	20.7
adjectives in -εντ (-εις)	δουλιχόεις	52.1*
	πήεις	36.3
	ῥυπόεις	54.3*
	ώκηεις	8.7*
adjectives in -ίνεος	μυρικίνεος	55.5*
	πυξίνεος	45.2
verbal adjectives in -τός	μακαρτός	75.5

Table 3: Neologisms in Leonidas (iii): simple verbs

Typology	Word	Epigram
Verbs in -άω	κυδωνιάω	23.7*
Verbs in -όω	στυλόω	10.5
	στελεόω	8.5*

¹¹⁰ The reading is uncertain: cf. commentary on the epigram.

The majority of Leonidas' neologisms, however, are compound words, which are the place in which he best expresses his verbal inventiveness. He seems to have coined 104 compound adjectives, 18 compound nouns and 16 compound verbs:¹¹¹ the data clearly shows that he had a stronger inclination towards new compound adjectives than towards compound nouns and verbs.

From a formal point of view, most of the compounds are regular in their formation. There are quite a few in which Leonidas is the first poet to our knowledge to use a certain word as the initial or final part of a compound, and some of these compounds are employed by later writers.¹¹² As for recurring elements, some favourites that stand out are εὐ- (19 compounds), φιλο- (5 compounds), ὀλιγο- (4 compounds) as initial parts of compounds.

As for the choice of elements of compounds and their combination from a semantic point of view, Phillips has outlined some interesting patterns.¹¹³ One is the appearance of nouns denoting objects that feature very rarely in compounds, e.g. σιπύη, *cupboard* (*Ep.* 41.10* εὐσίπυος, *Ep.* 36.2, 41.10* ὀλιγησίπυος), or tools of craftsmen, which Gigante (1971:65-76) has amply considered with regards to the representation of manual labour in Leonidas. The other important trend is the strong presence of the pastoral world expressed in elements of compounds such as the goat, both as a first element (αἰγινόμος in *Epp.* 53.4, 82.1, αἰγιβότης in *Ep.* 2.4, αἰγῶνυξ in *Ep.* 47.1, αἰγίβοσις in *Ep.* 80.2) and second element (πολύαιγος in *Ep.* 82.2), or plants which never feature as second part of a compound elsewhere (e.g. εὐμάραθος and εὐσκανδιξ in *Ep.* 80.1).

Overall, however, we find once again that the Epic model is very significant. Compounds sometimes are plain variations of Homeric compounds: this is the case of the above mentioned βουπάμων (*Epp.* 49.2, 75.4), built on the

¹¹¹ To data included by Phillips one must add neologisms from epigrams of category C, as recalled above.

¹¹² Phillips (1972:303-5).

¹¹³ Phillips (1972:309-14).

model of πολυπάμων from *Il.* 4.433. The occasional Homeric phrase seem to have inspired a compound, as in the case of ἐπεσχάριος (*Ep.* 10.8), for which cf. the Homeric ἐπ' ἐσχάρη. Phillips goes as far as hypothesising (not always convincingly) that some of Leonidas' compounds aim at condensing entire Homeric phrases, e.g. δαιδαλόχειρ in *Ep.* 7.1*, which would be compressing ...ὄς χερσὶν ἐπίστατο δαίδαλα πάντα / τεύχειν (*Il.* 5.60-61), the aim being that of gloryfying the carpenter Theris with a reminiscence of the builder Phereclus.

Table 4: Neologisms in Leonidas (iv): compound adjectives

A. 1st and 2nd element are nominal

1. Adj. + subst.	βαθύσχινος	82.2
	βιαιομάχος	34.4
	δαιδαλόχειρ	7.1*
	λευκοόπωρος	102.2*
	ὀλιγαῦλαξ	87.1*
	ὀλιγόξυλος	87.3
	ὀλιγοσίπυος	36.2, 41.10*
	παμπότνια	44.3
	πολύαιγος	82.1
	πολύσκαλμος	20.4
	ῥαιβόκρανος	47.3
	τανυῆλιξ	43.1
	ταχυχειλής	43.3
2. Subst. + subst.	αἴγωνυξ	47.1
	αἴμωπός	47.4
	ἀμπελοφύτωρ	94.1*
	γλευκοπότης	94.1*

	μιτοεργός	42.3*
	υαλόχρους	2.3
	χαριεργός	8.9*

B. 1st element numeral, 2nd element substantive

ὀκτάρριζος	96.3
πεντάρρωγος	36.5
τετραγλώχισ	3.3

C. 1st element adverb, 2nd element nominal

1.Adv. + subst./adj.	ἀρτίτοκος ¹¹⁴	97.3
	εὐάλφιτος	33.5
	εὐαρνος	19.9
	εὐβριθής	41.7*
	εὐθήσαυρος	36.3
	εὐθύσανος	1.1
	εὐκρόταλος	45.1
	εὐκύλικος	11.8
	εὐμάραθος	80.1
	εὐπήληξ	91.5*
	εὐπίων	16.3
	εὐποίκιλος	97.5
	ἔυπρεμνος	53.10
	εὐσίπυος	41.10+
	εὐσκανδιξ	80.1
	ἐϋστόρθυγξ	47.3
	ζαθηρής	91.2*

¹¹⁴ The word is found in Imperial literature, both poetry and prose, so it might be just a coincidence that its first occurrence is Leonidas.

	πανεπόρφνιος	43.7
2.adv. + verbal adj.	ἀειδίνητος	42.3*
	εὐδίνητος	8.7*
	εὐχάλκωτος	56.5*
	πρωτόχυτος	94.4*

D. Adjectives with α- privative

1. with a pure nominal stem	ἄδηρις	11.7
	ἄστυλος	10.5
2. with a verbal adjective	ἀκέρκιστος	77.10*
	ἀστλέγγιστος	55.3*
	ἀχάλκωτος	55.3*

E. Nominal plus verbal elements

1. 1 st element nominal, 2 nd element verbal		
a. preceding nominal element is governed by a verbal	αἰγιβότης	3.4
	αἰγινόμος	53.4, 82.1
	ἀκανθοβάτις	21.4*
	βουπάμων	49.2, 75.4
	γλαγοπήξ	47.5
	δελεάρπαξ	66.3*
	δικτυβόλος	52.4*
	ἐτνοδόνος	56.6*
	ἰχθυβόρος	15.5
	ἰχθυδόκος	52.2*
	λαχανηλόγος	80.3
	μηλοσσόος	3.3

	πλειστοβόλος	22.4*
	τοξοβόλος	28.1*
	χιμαράρχος	82.3
b. The nominal element modifies the verbal	άδυμιγής	33.8
	άλίζωος	16.5
	άλιφθόρος	16.1
	δαμαλήβοτος	86.3*
	δείσοζος	56.2*
	εύρουχαδής	56.4*
	πολυκαής	10.7
	πυρκαής	44.1
2. 1 st element verb, 2 nd element substantive		
φιλοεργός		41.2*
φίλερως		43.5*
φιλόκρημος		53.4*
φιλόλιχνος		37.5
φιλοπωριστής		102.1*

F. 1st element numeral, 2nd element verb

τριπόνητος	40.6
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G. 1st element numeral, 2nd element verb

εύγραφής	53.9
εύθηλήμων	49.3
ήμιφανής	73.2*
ιθυτενής	84.2

H. 1st element preposition, 2nd element nominal/verbal

1. preposition + nominal element			
a.	preposition adverbial	περιπλάνιος 33.1	
b.	preposition modifies substantive	ἀπαυλόσυνος	53.8
		ἀποδειπνίδιος	37.6
		ἀποκράδιος	36.4
		ἐγκλήμων	92.6*
		ἐγχθόνιος	75.2
		ἐμβύθιος	66.4*
		ἐπακταῖος	66.1*
		ἐπεσχάριος	10.8
		ἐπιμοῖριος	66.11*
		ἐπινύκτιος ¹¹⁵	48.3
		ἐποψίδιος	33.8
		ἐφώριος	102.2*
		παριστίδιος	72.5*
		περίσφυρος	2.1
		ποτιθύμιος	41.3*
ὑποπυθμίδιος	36.6		
ὑποβωλής	9.1		
2. Deverbative formations (formed directly from the compound verb)			
ἀμφίξους (ἀμφιξέω)		8.9*	
3. denominative formations (formed directly from the compound noun)			
συνεργατίνης (συνέργαται)		20.10	

¹¹⁵ Though ἐπινυκτίδιος is found in Call. F 775 Pf. (*incert. auct.*).

Table 5: Neologisms in Leonidas (v): compound nouns

A. 1st and 2nd elements nominal

1. True compounds		
a. both elements are substantives	αἰγίβοσις	80.2
	θυρεάσις	35.1
	λαμποπέδα (-δη)	47.6
	ἰχθυσιληϊστήρ	20.3
b. 1st element adj., 2nd element subst.	μουνολέων	53.3
2. Derivative from compounds		
ἄκρολοφίτης (ἄκρόλοφος)		53.9
Analogical formations ¹¹⁶		
ἄλιτοφροσύνη		10.10

B. Nominal + verbal elements

1. True compounds		
αὐλοδόκη	43.4	
λαγοθήρας	29.1	
λαγωβόλον ¹¹⁷	50.2	
μηλοῦχος	2.3	
χηραμοδύτης	20.3	
χιμαροβάτας /-της	47.1	
χιμαροθύτης	36.8	
2. Derivative from compounds		
πολυστροφίη (πολύστροφος)		21*
Analogical formations	λινοστασίη	???

¹¹⁶ Phillips (1972:297) included in this sub-category also πανδυσίη (*Ep.* 62.2), which however does not seem to be a neologism: cf. comm. *ad loc.*

¹¹⁷ This is of course a spelling variant chosen for metrical convenience, but as it is not attested elsewhere it could technically be Leonidas' neologism.

	λινσοστατέω	
C. 1st element preposition, 2nd element verbal		
Deverbative formation	ἀποσπάς	36.5

Table 6: Neologisms in Leonidas (vi): compound verbs

A. True compounds		
1. Compound verbs with prepositions	ἀπαμαλδύνω	30.3
	ἀπέβροξεν	65.8
	ἀποφλοιόω	49.1
	ἐπισταλάω	25.6*
	ἐπιστηλόμαι	64.1*
	παραξέω	73.4*
	προσεγγίζω ¹¹⁸	22.6*
	καταπρηνόω	15.3
	συναγρεύω	29.4
2. Compounds with double preposition	ὑπεκκαλύπτω	74.1*
B. Derivative from compound words (parasynthetic compounds)		
1. 1 st element adverb	δυσκωφέω (δύσκωφος)	78.3*
2. 1 st element noun	δημολογέω (δημολογικός)	11.5
	συκοφορέω	102.4*
Analogical formations	ἀλοθετέω	91.8
	γελοιομελέω	9.2
	όπλομανέω	24.2

¹¹⁸ The word is found in later prose writers.

Two general points concerning Leonidas' neologisms on the whole remain to be considered. The first one is that some of Leonidas' neologisms do indeed pose some problems either from a formal point of view or with regards to interpretation, though not as many as GP thought.¹¹⁹ The unusual nature of some of these words has led many editors to emend the text on many occasions or to resort to *crucis desperationis*. It will be clear from the above that Leonidas is certainly bold and innovative in his language, therefore one should be particularly cautious in adopting either of these approaches.¹²⁰

The second issue is that of the purpose and strategies behind Leonidas' style, which were completely lost in the hostile scholarship inaugurated by Wilamowitz's formula of *hohler Wortschaum*, and were only gradually highlighted by the work of Gigante, Phillips, and Gutzwiller among others. As will emerge from the commentary, the purpose of Leonidas' linguistic choices seems to be at least twofold. On one hand, the epicizing diction aims at dignifying the humble subjects which fill his poetry. By way of example, let us consider the portrait of the fisherman Theris (*Ep.* 20): the old man is called *τριγέροντα* (very old), *ἰχθυσιληιστήρα* (preyer on fishes), *σαγηνέα* (net-armed), *χηραμοδύτη* (creeper into holes). This has been particularly stressed by K. Gutzwiller in her chapter on Leonidas (1998:88-114), but as noted above this interpretation risks being too simplistic. It is equally clear that on many occasions the style creates a stark contrast with the subject matter. So, for example, the series of epigrams mentioned above on shepherds dedicating the skins of wild animals which they have killed is bound to create an ironic impression, when one thinks that it is very unlikely that such deeds were accomplished. There is a lot of nuance in these intentions, and they are also embedded in a dialogue with other Hellenistic poets, the details of which

¹¹⁹ 'The formation of many of L.'s adjectives is open to criticism', a statement already criticised by Phillips (1972:296) in view of his thorough linguistic analysis.

¹²⁰ Some problematic formations are discussed by Phillips (1972:296, 298). Such words are discussed case by case in my commentary.

unfortunately often escape our grasp. This nuanced interpretation was initiated by Phillips, but only occasionally explored by later scholarship (cf. Klooster 2019:309). A more thorough analysis of Leonidas' style shows indeed that 'the commonly accepted view of Leonidas as a bombastic poet, naively glorifying the common folk, must be revised'.¹²¹

1.5.4 Dialect

The question posed by dialect in the poems of the *Greek Anthology* is indeed a 'tiresome and insoluble problem'.¹²² Epigrams can present epic/Ionic language, and/or non-Ionic/Doric features. The problem, of course, is that the long and rough textual transmission of the *Anthology* complicated a situation which was already complex, in a way that is not entirely clear to us. Gow and Page explain the problem in these terms: '[e]pigrams in which the dialects appear to be mixed present an editor with one of two problems. If there are dialect-variants in the tradition he must choose between them. Our choice has been in favour of the forms which best match the rest of the epigram, but this principle, though logical and perhaps the only possible basis for choice, may well have occurred to scribes and correctors in the past and account for some of the variants we have preferred; we have no confidence that it will regularly restore what the author wrote. If on the other hand there are no variants in the tradition and the dialect of an epigram is mixed, an editor must consider whether uniformity should be imposed by emendation'.¹²³

At least two objections can be made to this approach. The first one is that it seems to imply an aprioristic belief that, though it is hard to restore the original dialectal traits of a text, that text must have been uniform in dialect. That this was not the case for Hellenistic authors is evident from a passage such as Call. *Ia.* 13 F 203.17-18 Pf., which though problematic seems overtly to defend a mixture of

¹²¹ Phillips (1972:351).

¹²² As Gow-Page put it (1965.1:xlv).

¹²³ Gow-Page (1965.1:xlvi).

dialectal forms: τοῦτ' ἐμπ[έ]πλεκται καὶ λαλευσ[...].[| Ἰαστὶ καὶ Δωριστὶ καὶ τὸ σύμμικτον].¹²⁴ The second objection is that this picture probably underestimates the complexity of the consequences of textual transmission on dialectal forms. Deliberate or involuntary alteration of dialectal features occurred in one direction or another, and in an inconsistent fashion. The Posidippus Milan Papyrus has provided a better understanding of this complexity, as it gives examples of both Doric traits that have been lost in the medieval transmission (i.e. levelled out by medieval scribes) and hyperdorisms (Sens 2011:lxvi).

Gow and Page's conclusion to their discussion of dialect has nowadays also become problematic. They claim that 'it is of some consolation in questions so incapable of satisfactory solution to reflect that vagaries of dialect affect neither the meaning nor, to a modern reader, the poetical value of the poems'.

Both the New Posidippus and the advancement of the study of Greek epigrammatists have undermined this statement. R. Hunter has argued that Doric forms in Theocritus and Posidippus might be paying a tribute to the Ptolemies by alluding to their Macedonian ancestry;¹²⁵ again on Posidippus, A. Sens has argued for the significance of Doric dialect in the epigrams from the section on statues in the Milan scroll;¹²⁶ K. Gutzwiller has similarly analysed the use of Doric forms by Meleager and explored their poetological value.¹²⁷ In a similar trend, T. Coughlan has very recently argued for a poetological value in Leonidas' dialectal forms:¹²⁸ for example, he suggests that the epigram on the *Aphrodite Anadyomene* might have a Doric colouring to reproduce the language of a Coan visitor (the work being on Cos), or that the Ionic form of Leonidas' name in *Ep.* 93 (rather than the Doric one) might help to convey the displacement of the poet, who suffers from being far from

¹²⁴ Sens (2011:lxvi) and Gutzwiller (2014:76) both refer to this passage in discussing dialectal matters. It is also possible that it is meant that different poems could use different dialects.

¹²⁵ Hunter (2005).

¹²⁶ Sens (2004).

¹²⁷ Gutzwiller (2014).

¹²⁸ Coughlan (2020a), (2020b, esp. 619-23 on Leonidas).

his native land. Similarly to Asclepiades,¹²⁹ dialectal forms seem to reproduce the dialect of the speaker: so, for example, epigrams on Cretans often present Doric forms (e.g. 12, 13, 42), whereas the epigram for the Samian Prexo (*Ep.* 70) is in Ionic dialect. Other times, though there is no specification, the Doric colouring might imply a Doric-speaking protagonist, as in *Ep.* 39; in *Ep.* 6, the mention of the Nymphs as ‘offspring of Dorus’¹³⁰ together with the Doric forms might have something to do with the setting of the epigram.

1.5.5 Structure of the epigrams

Scholars who have produced harsh stylistic judgments of Leonidas have failed to recognise the sophistication of his compositional technique as displayed in the structure of his epigrams; this is seen both in shorter and in longer poems. Let us provide some examples.

Ep. 39 (*AP* 6.355) is an elegant quatrain made of two sentences:

Ἄ μάτηρ ζῶον τὸν Μίκυθον, οἷα πενιχρά,
 Βάκχῳ δωρεῖται ῥωπικὰ γραψαμένα.
 Βάκχε, σὺ δ’ ὑψώης τὸν Μίκυθον· αἰ δὲ τὸ δῶρον
 ῥωπικόν, ἅ λιτὰ ταῦτα φέρει πενία.

The name of Mikythus is repeated in the same metrical *sedes*, and encapsulates in a chiasmus the name of the addressee of the dedication, Bacchus, itself repeated with a polyptoton. Similarly, *Ep.* 6 (*AP* 9.329):

Νύμφαι ἐφυδριάδες, Δώρου γένος, ἀρδεύοιτε
 τοῦτον Τιμοκλέους κᾶπτον ἐπεσσύμεναι·
 καὶ γὰρ Τιμοκλῆς ὑμῖν, κόραι, αἰὲν ὁ καπεὺς
 κάπων ἐκ τούτων ὤρια δωροφορεῖ.

¹²⁹ Cf. Sens (2011: lxx-lxxi).

¹³⁰ Cf. commentary for this problematic expression.

The name of Timocles is this time repeated with a metrical *variatio* in that comes once in the pentameter and once in the hexameter. The last verb δωροφορεῖ might be playing with the address to the Nymphs as Δώρου γένος, again producing almost a chiasmus.

Syntax is also exploited to poetic effect. In *Ep.* 1 (*AP* 6.202):

Εὐθύσανον ζώνην τοι ὁμοῦ καὶ τόνδε κύπασσιν
 Ἀτθίς παρθενίων θῆκεν ὑπερθε θυρῶν,
 ἐκ τόκου, ᾧ Λητώϊ, βαρυνομένης ὅτι νηδὺν
 ζῶν ἀπ' ὠδίνων λύσαο τῆσδε βρέφος.

The convoluted syntax of the second couplet may be conveying the idea of the difficult labour of Atthis, with the word βρέφος artfully placed at the end of the labour and the poem. Artful composition is also displayed in longer poems, such as the epitaph for Tharsys, *Ep.* 65:

Κῆν γῆ καὶ πόντῳ **κεκρῦμμεθα**· τοῦτο περισσόν (1)
 ἐκ Μοιρέων Θάρσυς Χαρμίδου ἠγνυσάμην.
 ἦ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀγκύρης ἔνοχον **βάρος** εἰς ἄλα δύνων
 Ἴόνιον θ' ὑγρὸν κῦμα κατερχόμενος
 τὴν μὲν ἔσωσ', αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰτροπος ἐκ βυθοῦ ἔρρων, (5)
 ἦδη καὶ ναύταις χεῖρας ὀρεγνύμενος,
ἐβρώθην· τοῖόν μοι ἐπ' ἄγριον εὖ μέγα κῆτος
 ἦλθεν, ἀπέβροξεν δ' ἄχρῃς ἐπ' ὀμφαλίου.
 Χῆμισυ μὲν ναῦται ψυχρὸν **βάρος** ἐξ ἄλδος ἡμῶν
 ἦρανθ' ἡμισυ δὲ πρίστις ἀπεκλάσατο· (10)
 ἠόνι δ' ἐν ταύτῃ κακὰ λείψανα Θάρσυος, ὦνερ,
ἔκρουψαν· πάτρην δ' οὐ πάλιν ἰκόμεθα.

The opening is designed to puzzle the reader, who will wonder how it is possible that Tharsys is buried both on land and sea. The epigram plays on mirrored movements: the sailor diving to recover the anchor, then resurfacing, only to be

bitten in half, after which one half goes down again eaten by the sea-monster, while the other is dragged up by the sailors – a mirroring which is artfully reflected by the repetition of βάρος. More significantly, the word ἐβρώθην, ‘I was eaten’, comes right in the middle of the poem, cutting both Tharsys’s body and the epigram in half. By the end of the poem, the unique fate of Tharsys alluded to at the beginning is clear, and the repetition of κρύπτω in a ring-composition encloses the whole story (cf. commentary).

Repetition is used also to dramatic effect. An example comes in the elegy for Anticles, *Ep.* 71 (*AP* 7.466):

Ἄ δειλ’ Αντίκλεις, δειλή δ’ ἐγὼ ἢ τὸν ἐν ἡβῆς (1)

ἀκμῆ καὶ μῦνον παῖδα πυρωσαμένη,
ὀκτωκαιδεκέτης ὃς ἀπώλεο, τέκνον· ἐγὼ δὲ

ὀρφάνιον κλαίω γῆρας ὀδυρομένη.
βαίην εἰς Ἄϊδος σκιερὸν δόμον· οὔτε μοι ἤως (5)
ἤδεῖ οὔτ’ ἀκτὶς ὠκέος ἡελίου.

Ἄ δειλ’ Αντίκλεις μεμορημένε, πένθεος εἴης
ιητῆρ ζωῆς ἔκ με κομισσάμενος.

The repetition of the *iunctura* Ἄ δειλ’ Αντίκλεις adds to the pathos and recalls funeral laments both from ritual and literature. In a similar way, the epigram in which Leonidas offers an exhortation to poverty features a repetition (*Ep.* 33 = *AP* 7.736):

Μὴ φθείρευ, ὦνθρωπε, περιπλάνιον βίον ἔλκων, (1)
ἄλλην ἐξ ἄλλης εἰς χθόν' ἀλινδόμενος,
μὴ φθείρευ· κενεή σε περιστέξαιτο καλιή,
ἦν θάλποι μικκὸν πῦρ ἀνακαιόμενον,
εἰ καὶ σοι λειτή γε καὶ οὐκ εὐάλφитος εἶη (5)
φυστὴ ἐνὶ γρόνῃ μασσομένη παλάμαις,
ἦ καὶ σοι γλήχων ἦ καὶ θύμον ἦ καὶ ὁ πικρὸς
ἀδυμιγῆς εἶη χόνδρος ἐποψίδιος.

The anaphora of μὴ φθείρευ is probably aimed at reproducing the tone of paraenesis and didactic exhortations, possibly even with popular tones.

1.5.6 Poems' length

The most common lengths for Leonidas' poems are 4-line and 6-line epigrams, followed by 8-line epigrams. His one-distich epigrams are 6.1% vs. Callimachus' 18.33%. With the exception of the lengthier poems by Posidippus, Leonidas has more or less the highest percentages of 8-line, 10-line, and 12-line epigrams. This might show that though Meleager did not apparently include many long epigrams in his selection, in the case of Leonidas he possibly included longer compositions.

Table 7: length of Leonidas' epigrams¹³¹

	A ¹³² = 31	B = 56	C = 11	Total = 98
1 distich = 2 lines	1	4	1	6 = 6.1%
2 distichs = 4 lines	11	18	5	34 = 34.9%
3 distichs = 6 lines	7	16	4	27 = 27.5%
4 distichs = 8 lines	4	12	1	17 = 17.3%
5 distichs = 10 lines	5	3	0	8 = 8.1%
6 distichs = 12 lines	3	2	0	5 = 5.1%
8 distichs = 16 lines ¹³³	0	1	0	1 = 1%

¹³¹ My calculations. I have excluded the poems in iambs (*Epp.* 2, 33, 68, 79, 90).

¹³² A, B, and C refer to the categories of ascription of the poems, for which cf. section 1.2 above.

¹³³ The only 16-line epigram is *Ep.* 77*, but the text is troubled and according to some editors it might actually consist of more than one epigram (cf. *GP ad loc.*).

Table 8: length of Posidippus' epigrams

	'Old Posid'. = 24	'New Posid'. = 115	Total = 139
1 distich = 2 lines	1	0	1= 0.71%
2 distichs = 4 lines	12	59	71= 50.7%
3 distichs = 6 lines	5	39	44= 31.65%
4 distichs = 8 lines	4	10	14 = 10%
5 distichs = 10 lines	1	4	5 = 3.59%
6 distichs = 12 lines	1	1	2= 1.23%
7 distichs = 14 lines	0	3	3= 2.15%

Table 9: Comparative poem length (Leonidas and other epigrammatists)

	Leonidas	Posidippus	Callimachus ¹³⁴	Dioscorides ¹³⁵
1 distich = 2 lines	6 = 6.1%	1= 0.71%	11 = 18.33%	1 = 2.43%
2 distichs = 4 lines	34 = 34.9%	71= 50.7%	28 = 46.66%	13 = 31.70%
3 distichs = 6 lines	27 = 27.5%	44= 31.65%	18 = 30%	16 = 39.02%
4 distichs = 8 lines	17 = 17.3%	14 = 10%	0	4 = 9.75%
5 distichs = 10 lines	8 = 8.1%	5 = 3.59%	1 = 1.6%	6 = 14.63%
6 distichs = 12 lines	5 = 5.1%	2= 1.23%	1 = 1.6%	0
7 distichs = 14 lines	0	3= 2.15%	0	0
8 distichs = 16 lines	1 = 1%	0	1 = 1.6%	1 = 2.43%

¹³⁴ My calculations. I have counted epigrams 1-63 GP but I excluded 17, 19, and 20 which are not in elegiac couplets.

¹³⁵ Data from Galan Vioque (2001:32) and Guichard (2003:123).

Overall, then, when compared to the extant poems of other epigrammatists, the following data emerge for Leonidas: the percentage of short epigrams (2, 4, and 6 lines) falls within the average, while for longer poems (8, 10, and 12 lines) Leonidas seems to have the highest percentage of epigrams among his contemporaries; the majority of his epigrams have a 4-8 line length. As usual, however, it is hard to tell whether these tendencies are due to the selective nature of epigrams which have survived and the comparison of data from the Old Posidippus with the ones from the New Posidippus is particularly instructive (cf. Table 8).

1.6 Metre

The relatively large number of extant epigrams by Leonidas allow us to study his metrical preferences with meaningful results. The structure and tendencies of Callimachean hexameter have been studied extensively in the past decades and studies on Leonidean metre have been carried out too. The results are reported here together with fresh data and further observations.¹³⁶

1.6.1. Prosody

Before discussing metre, a few remarks on prosody are due:

- *Muta cum liquida*: it has been noted how Hellenistic epigram allows 'Attic correction' (the absence of lengthening on a short syllable preceding a *muta cum liquida* group) more than Hellenistic elegy, and at the same time how Leonidas is a countertrend with regards to this, in as much as he tends to

¹³⁶ For the Hellenistic hexameter, Fantuzzi-Pretagostini (1995) is fundamental, as well as Magnelli (1995); for Leonidas, the treatments of Geffcken (1896) and Hansen (1914) are still very valuable, and statistics are provided by Fantuzzi (2002) and De Stefani (2005), who both focus on a comparison with Posidippus, and by the editions of other epigrammatists such as Guichard (2004) and Sens (2011) for Asclepiades, and Floridi (2020) for Hedyllus.

avoid Attic correption more than his contemporary epigrammatists.¹³⁷ One noteworthy occurrence is the fact that in *Ep.* 3.3 the $\gamma\lambda$ fails to make position, which never happens elsewhere.¹³⁸

- Elisions:¹³⁹ here too Leonidas shows a countertrend, as together with Asclepiades he allows more elision than contemporary non-epigrammatic elegiacs, which tended to avoid it, and even within epigrammatists who are more keen on it.¹⁴⁰
- *Correptio epica*: notable is the failure to shorten ω in hiatus in the fifth foot in *Ep.* 38.3, which is unusual but extensively paralleled in Theocritus (cf. comm. on the epigram).
- Artificial lengthening/shortenings:¹⁴¹ there are a few of these, but they generally have parallels. For example, in *Ep.* 85.7 the lengthening of \acute{o} before a liquid (here λ) is rare in Hellenistic poetry but found in Homer (cf. comm. on the epigram); similarly, $\kappa\omicron\rho\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$ is spelled with a long υ in *Ep.* 47.3 (which never happens in Homer and A.R.) but has parallels in other Hellenistic poets (cf. comm. there). When Leonidas coins the spelling $\lambda\alpha\gamma\omega\beta\acute{o}\lambda\omicron\nu$ for $\lambda\alpha\gamma\omega\beta\acute{o}\lambda\omicron\nu$ in *Ep.* 50.2 he might be drawing on the Homeric $\lambda\alpha\gamma\omega\acute{\sigma}$ for $\lambda\alpha\gamma\acute{\omega}\varsigma$.¹⁴²

¹³⁷ Cf. Slings (1993:32). The percentages collected by Slings for Leonidas (1993:37) are only based on category A, but my calculations on B and C confirmed this trend.

¹³⁸ As already noted by Slings (1993:31 with n.6).

¹³⁹ Meaning elision of endings of nouns, adjectives and verbs, as it is customary when studying this feature (cf. also Guichard-Romero (2005:121-2)).

¹⁴⁰ Page (1978:34) has the following percentages for 3rd century epigrammatists, i.e. 11% for Leonidas, 14% for Asclepiades, 5% for Callimachus, 8% for Dioscorides: though it is not clear what is the basis of these statistics (and specifically whether for Leonidas he took into account only A, or A+B+C), most scholars rely on those.

¹⁴¹ Specific anomalies are noted and discussed in more detail throughout the commentary.

¹⁴² Hom. *Il.* 10.361, 22.310, *Od.* 17.295.

1.6.2. Iambics

In Hellenistic time, iambic metre is occasionally employed in inscribed and literary epigram, e.g. *GVI* 1620 (a 3rd/2nd-century funerary stele from Alexandria) and Phaedimus *AP* 13.2 = 2 *GP*, or one of the two epitaphs for Zeno's dog (= *SH* 977.14-24).¹⁴³ It is very possible that iambic epigrams were more abundant than we know of in the output of Hellenistic epigrammatists.

Among the extant epigrams, Leonidas has 5 in iambic metre (i.e. *Epp.* 2, 33, 68, 79, 90), which is the highest number recorded for a Hellenistic epigrammatist (though one must always remember that we have an unusually high amount of epigrams from Leonidas). Their length varies (*Ep.* 2: 7 lines, *Ep.* 33: 9 lines, *Ep.* 68: 6 lines, *Ep.* 79*: 6 lines, *Ep.* 90*: 8 lines). Among these, there is one line with no caesura, i.e. *Ep.* 79.5* ἄπασα κῆκ μεμυκότων ὀδεύεται (West 1982.160).

1.6.3 Elegiac distichs

Studies on the Greek hexameter have shown that early Hellenistic poetry has a preference for a dactylic composition of hexameters,¹⁴⁴ but Leonidas stands out as a countertrend in this panorama in preferring spondaic realisations. A look at the data shows this clearly.

¹⁴³ Cf. West (1982:160).

¹⁴⁴ West (1982:154), Fantuzzi (1995).

Table 10: ‘Outer metric’ of Leonidas’ hexameters¹⁴⁵

	Epp. 1-33 (A) 101 hexam.	Epp. 34-92 167 hexam.	Epp. 93-103 27 hexam.	Epp. 1-103 295 hexam.
Holodactylic verses	8	15	7	30 (10.2%)
dddd	8	15	7	30
Verses with 1 spondee	38	55	13	106 (35.9%)
sdddd	10	13	3	26
dsddd	16	27	6	49
ddsdd	9	5	1	15
dddsd	3	9	3	15
dddds	0	1	0	1
Verses with 2 spondees	37	63	5	105 (35.6%)
ssddd	12	25	1	38
dsdsd	8	10	0	18
dsdds	0	4	0	4
sddds	0	1	0	1
sddsd	5	9	0	14
ddsds	1	0	0	1
dssdd	8	11	1	20
sdsdd	3	3	3	9
Verses with 3 spondees	18	32	2	52 (17.6%)
sssdd	8	16	1	25
ssdsd	8	10	1	19
ssdds	1	4	0	5
sdssd	1	1	0	2
sdsds	0	1	0	1
Verses with 4 spondees	0	2	0	2 (0.7%)
sssds	0	1	0	1
ssdss	0	1	0	1

¹⁴⁵ Data for *Epp.* 1-33 (A= 101 hexameters) are from Fantuzzi (2002:81), while the rest of the data is from my own calculations.

Table 11: realizations of spondees in Leonidas' hexameter compared to other epigrammatists:¹⁴⁶

	1 st foot	2 nd foot	3 rd foot	4 th foot	5 th foot
P. Mil. Vogl.	74 =32%	89= 39%	48= 21%	48= 21%	0
Posidipp.	27= 29%	41= 44%	12= 13%	10= 11%	0
Asclep.	23= 30%	32= 42%	20= 26%	9= 12%	1=1%
Call.	36= 27%	64= 48%	7= 5%	11= 8%	0
Leon. (A)	48= 48%	60= 59%	30= 30%	25= 25%	2= 2%
Leon. (A+B+C)	142= 48%	142= 48%	74= 25%	69= 23%	15= 5%

It will appear evident that among these *comparanda* Leonidas has the highest percentage of spondees in each foot of the hexameter, except for the 2nd foot where he has roughly the same as Callimachus. Looking at realisations of the hexameter, Leonidas has three consecutive spondees in 26 hexameters, i.e. 8.81% of the total¹⁴⁷ compared to 1.31% for P. Mil. Vogl., 4.16 for Posidippus, 1.29% for Asclepiades and none in Callimachus. There are as many as 15 hexameters with a spondee in the 5th foot vs. none in Callimachus and Posidippus (for which cf. Sens 2011:lxxxiv). By contrast, there are only 30 holodactylic hexameters (= 10.2%) compared to e.g. Callimachus' 33% (in the epigrams).¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Data from this table are from Fantuzzi (2002:82), except the last line, which reflects my new calculations based on the entirety of epigrams 1-103.

¹⁴⁷ Fantuzzi has 7.92% (8 cases), i.e. the ones in A.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Sens (2011:lxxxiii).

Table 12: *Caesurae*, violations of laws and bridges in the ‘inner metric’ of Leonidas’hexameters:¹⁴⁹

	A = 102 ll.	B =171 ll.	C =27 ll.	Total = 300 ll.
Meyer’s 1 st law	5 = 4.9%	3 = 1.7%	1= 0.3%	9 = 3%
Giseke’s law	0	1 = 1.7%	0	1 = 0.3%
Hilberg’s bridge	2= 1.9%	7 = 4.1%	0	9 = 3%
Meyers’ 2 nd law	3= 2.9%	4 = 2.3%	1= 0.3%	8 = 2.7%
Hermann’s bridge	0	0	0	0
Naeke’s bridge	0	2 = 1.2%	0	2 = 0.6%
Tiedke’s law	0	1 = 1.7%	0	1 = 0.3%
Mayer’s 3 rd law	0	0	0	0
Bulloch’s law	0	0	0	0
Caesura B1	44%	48%	52%	47%

¹⁴⁹ Data is from De Stefani (2005:148-57), which draws partly from Magnelli (2002), rearranged into a single table: complete lists of occurrences are reported there.

Table 13: *Caesurae*, violations of laws and bridges in the ‘inner metric’ of Leonidas’hexameters compared to other Hellenistic poets:¹⁵⁰

	Leon. (A+B+C)	Call. (hymn.)	Call. (epigr.)	A.R.	Theocr. (buc.)	Theocr. (epic.)	Arat.	Euph.
Meyer’s 1 st law	3%	0.96	0.90	2.53	6.12	5.70	3.03	1.48
Giseke’s law	0.3%	0.21	0.90	1.80	1.49	1.81	1.47	1.97
Hilberg’s bridge	3%	0.43	1.62	2.52	0.99	1.53	1.13	0.49
Meyers’ 2 nd law	2.7%	0.32	0.18	1.47	3.14	2.09	1.30	0
Hermann’s bridge	0	0	0	0	0	0.13	0.69	0
Naeke’s bridge	0.6%	≤ 0.32	0	1.16	0.33	2.50	2.61	1.25
Tiedke’s law	0.3%	0.21	0	0.53	0.16	3.89	3.73	0.80
Bulloch’s law	0	0.64	0	2.80	0.50	2.40	10.90	2.80

As for the bucolic caesura (C2), the data seems to be in the average displayed by the hexameter of other Hellenistic authors: Leonidas has it in 190 out of 295 hexameters (= 64.4%), to be compared with A.R. (63%), Callimachus (*Hymns* 72.5%, *Epigrams* 88.6%), Theocritus (bucolic 74%, epic 50%, mimic 59%), Asclepiades (70-80%).¹⁵¹ Some epigrams present bucolic caesura in all the hexameters, e.g. Epp. 6, 16, 21*, 60, 99*, 101*, 103* to quote only some in which the caesura is accompanied by a strong pause in sense or interpunction.

¹⁵⁰ The data for Leonidas is again from De Stefani (2005:148-57), the rest is from Magnelli (2002:80-1), but De De Stefani draws some of the data from the latter.

¹⁵¹ Data from West (1982:154).

As for the pentameter, Leonidas does not seem to stand out from the practice of his contemporaries. There is a preference for ending the first half of the pentameter with a syllable which is naturally long rather than lengthened by the following syllables. Compared to Archaic and Classical elegiac couplets, the percentage of pentameters which end with an accented syllable is lower (11.8% of pentameters), and comparable to that of Callimachus, Dioscorides and Asclepiades.¹⁵² The 'feature' studied by Slings of ending both halves of the pentameter with words in grammatical agreement is quite significant, i.e. ca. 50% of the pentameters, if one takes into account all 98 elegiac epigrams.¹⁵³

There is one noteworthy phenomenon in Leonidas' distichs. The enjambement between different distichs, which is quite rare in Hellenistic epigram apart from Posidippus,¹⁵⁴ is employed by Leonidas with more frequency than other authors, i.e. in ca. 20 distichs out of ca. 300 (vs. e.g. only twice in Callimachus' epigrams). In some occasions, notably *Epp.* 65.6-7, it is employed with a deliberate poetic effect (cf. comm. there).

¹⁵² Cf. West (1982:158).

¹⁵³ Cf. Slings (1993:36-7), with the remarks of Hutchinson (2016). Slings' percentage is based on 74 pentameters out of 102, which means that he too only took into account epigrams 1-33 (A); in the totality of the elegiac epigrams, the feature is found in 151 pentameters out of 299 according to my own calculations.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Fantuzzi 2002:94-6.

1.7 Selection criteria and aims of the present work

As was outlined above, 103 epigrams are ascribed to Leonidas, most of which are considered by scholars (and rightly so in my opinion) to be of secure authorship. While the long term aim is that of commenting on all the epigrams, it soon became clear that a selection was necessary for the thesis. Any selection is bound to be questionable: the main criterion was to give ample specimens of different categories of poems from the dedicatory and sepulchral sub-categories, which make up ca. 2/3 of the extant epigrams. As for the division into thematic categories, not all epigrams perfectly fit certain categories and some of them belong to more than one category. For instance, *Ep.* 3 is not a dedication by a rustic, but by a certain Neoptolemus (who might be a royal figure: cf. commentary *ad loc.*); however, since it is presented as a humble dedication it was grouped in this subcategory. In a similar way, *Epp.* 30, 99 and 101 concern poets without being epitaphs, but they have been treated together with epitaphs on poets due to thematic affinity. Some pieces of great importance, and at the same time burdened by many interpretative issues, had to be left out, e.g. *Ep.* 77* (reflections on life and death)¹⁵⁵ and *Ep.* 101* (on Aratus' *Phaenomena*). On the other hand, it is hoped that the present selection is enough to give a good idea of Leonidas' poetry; it contains some notable poems. Some give valuable insight into private life, such as the dedication of toys in *Ep.* 45, or those for children in *Epp.* 39 and 44; some groups show great consistency and internal variations, such as the dedications by rustics and shepherds, and the epitaphs for shipwrecks. Again, the three epigrams which mention Leonidas himself are of great importance in evaluating his literary persona. Lastly, the selection includes epigrams which were transmitted solely or jointly by non-medieval transmission, such as *Epp.* 50, 46, 96 and 70, or that have been translated or quoted by Latin authors, namely *Epp.* 29, 83 and 85, or found on walls of Roman

¹⁵⁵ With 16 lines, this is the longest of Leonidas' extant epigrams: however, the text is very troubled and some editors consider it actually to be form more than one poem.

buildings (*Epp.* 96, 46).

2 Text, Translation and Commentary

2.0 Conspectus Siglorum

P Codex *Anthologiae Palatinae* (Palat. 23 + Paris. Suppl. Gr. 384)

P^a P^b epigr. eorum quae in P bis exarantur prima et altera transcriptio

J cod. P partium librarius, alibi lemmatista

C cod. P libr. I-IX corrector

PI Codex *Anthologiae Plaunudaie* (Venet. Marc. 481)

PI^A ff. 2-76 capita VII Anthologiae complectentia

PI^B ff. 81v.-100 supplementa ad cap. I-IV complectentia

Sylogae Minores

Syll. E Sylloge Euphemiana

Syll. Σπ Sylloge Σπ

Syll. S Sylloge S

App.B.-V. Appendix Barberino-Vaticana

Suid. Suidae Lexicon

2.1 Dedicatory epigrams

2.1.1 Dedications after childbirth (1, 38)

Epp. 1 and 38 are part of a series of dedications by women on the occasion of childbirth, either to thank deities for a successful labour or to pray for one, i.e. *AP* 5.192-208 and later *AP* 6.270-4:¹⁵⁶ they are likely to represent a relic of a Meleagrian section (cf. Gutzwiller 1998: tables II and IV), and other epigrams outside this section might originally have been part of the series, such as Callimachus *AP* 6.146 (= 23 GP = 53 Pf.).¹⁵⁷ The recipients of the dedications are Artemis or Eileithyia, a pre-Hellenic goddess of childbirth with whom Artemis was identified starting from the Classical age. The epigrams constitute one of several types of document of this ritual custom that we possess.¹⁵⁸ Among the literary sources, besides several cult epithets of Artemis,¹⁵⁹ are e.g. medical texts such as the *περὶ Παρθενιῶν* of the *Corpus Hippocraticum* and the *περὶ γυναικείων παθῶν* by Soranus of Ephesus. The archaeological record is also informative: the dedication lists at Brauron including garments,¹⁶⁰ votive plaques, terracotta figurines, and funerary reliefs depicting pregnant women or women in childbirth.¹⁶¹ Epigrams 1 and 38 find a counterpart in

¹⁵⁶ *AP* 6.270 = Nicias 3 GP, Anpharetas dedicates garments to Eileithyia before childbirth, *AP* 6.271 = Phaedimus 1 GP, the son of Chichesias dedicates garments to Artemis after childbirth, *AP* 6.272 = Perses 2 GP: Timaessa dedicates a belt and garments to Leto after childbirth, *AP* 6.273 = 'Nossis' 12 GP, invocation to Artemis to free Alketis from the pains of labour, *AP* 6.274 = Perses 3 GP, Tisis offers garments to Artemis Eileithyia after childbirth.

¹⁵⁷ Callimachus seems to have been particularly interested in Artemis and childbirth: cf. *Ia.* F 202.1 Pf., *Ait.* = F 79 Pf./Harder = F 182 Massimilla (*Dieg.* I.27): on the topic, cf. Tapia Zúñiga (1991-2) and Massimo (2021).

¹⁵⁸ I elaborate on this in the wider context of Hellenistic poetry in Massimo (2021).

¹⁵⁹ I.e. *λοχεία* (*aiding birth*, e.g. Pl. *Tht.* 149b), *λυσίζωνος* (cf. above), *μογοστόκος* (*of birth-pangs*, Hom. e.g. *Il.* 16.187), *σοωδίνα* (*saving in travail*, IG VII 3407), *ὠκυλόχεια* (*she who speeds the travail*, Orph. *H.* 36.8).

¹⁶⁰ Eur. *IT* 1462-7 is an aition of the custom of the dedications at Brauron. The dedications are treated extensively in Cleland (2005). More recently, Petsalis-Diomidis (2018) has tried to integrate epigraphic and material records of clothes dedication with literary sources including some of these Hellenistic epigrams.

¹⁶¹ E.g. The Echinus relief, for which cf. Morizot (2004), or the Tanagra figurines, for which cf.

the epitaph which Leonidas dedicates to a woman who died in childbirth, i.e. *Ep.* 70 for Prexo, and it is very possible that his poetry book included more epigrams on this theme. Even though we do not know whether these epigrams originated as real dedications or not, and if so whether the women mentioned are from humble origins, the effect seems to be that of glorifying their labour with epic overtones and implicitly juxtaposing them with mythical and divine labour: in particular, the labour of Leto comes to mind, especially in its Hellenistic depictions (e.g. Call. *Hymn* 4).

Epigram 1: Atthis dedicates garments to Artemis after childbirth

Εὐθύσανον ζώνην τοι ὁμοῦ καὶ τόνδε κύπασσιν
Ἀθίς παρθενίων θῆκεν ὑπερθε θυρῶν,
ἐκ τόκου, ᾧ Λητωῖ, βαρυνομένης ὅτι νηδὺν
ζῶν ἀπ' ὠδίνων λύσαο τῆσδε βρέφος.

*The well-fringed belt together with this frock
Atthis dedicated to you on your virginal doors
After her childbearing, daughter of Leto, since you freed a living child
From the pang of this woman's labour as she suffered in her womb.*

A.P. 6.202 (caret P1) Λεωνίδου [C] Ταραντίνου ; Sud. s.vv. Θυσάνοις, κύπασσις [1-2].

Lemma A: ἀνάθημα τῇ Λητοῖ [τῇ Λητωῖδι em. Stadtmüller] παρὰ Ἀθίδος
3 Λητωῖ Graefe : -τοῖ P.

The epigram bears a close resemblance to Perses *AP* 6.272 = 2 GP, which features Leto, a ζώνη and a κύπασσις. However, the uncertainty over Perses' date (cf. GP 2.446-7) makes it hard to establish who is the model and who is the borrower. The tone of the poem aims at giving a solemn tone to Atthis' childbirth, regardless of whether she was highborn or of modest origins:¹⁶² in the background might be the mythical trouble of Leto's own childbirth and an implicit comparison between hers and Atthis'. The convoluted syntax may further convey the idea of a difficult labour. Together with *Ep.* 38, the epigram should also be read in contrast with some counterpart pieces by Leonidas, i.e. *Ep.* 69 GP (epitaph for the four daughters of Aristodicus, who all died in childbirth) and *Ep.* 70 GP (dialogue between the passer-by and the tomb of Prexo of Samos, who died in childbirth). We cannot rule out that there were more similar poems in 'Leonidean' poetry book(s) and that the reader will have had the two sets for comparison.

¹⁶² In the case of the offerings found at the sanctuary of Brauron, scholars have established by means of prosopography the high status of some of the women (cf. Osborne 1985: 154-172).

1 Εὐθύσανον: *hapax*, probably Leonidas' own invention since he seems very fond of compounds in εὐ- (cf. Introduction 1.5.3, Neologisms). In Homer, θύσανος describes the tassels of the Aegis (*Il.* 2.448 τῆς ἑκατὸν θύσανοι παγχρύσειοι ἠερέθονται, for which cf. θύσανοι χρύσειοι of [Hes.] *Sc.* 225-226) and of Hera's belt (*Il.* 14.481 ζώσατο δὲ ζώνη ἑκατὸν θυσάνοις ἀραρυίη). The word is also used to describe the tufts of the golden fleece in Pindar (*P.* 4.231 κῶας αἰγλαῖεν χρυσέφ θυσάνῳ) and hence in A. R. (4.1146 τοῖον ἀπὸ χρυσέων θυσάνων ἀμαρύσσετο φέγγος). It is worth recalling that Artemis in Call. *Hymn* 3.12 asks Zeus for a χιτῶνα ζώνυσσθαι λεγνωτόν: the scholia Ψ there explain λεγνωτόν as the equivalent of the Homeric θύσανοι. The adjective will then be aimed at giving a solemn connotation to the dedication from the beginning.

ζώνην: it was a custom for new mothers to dedicate their belts after the birth of their first child according to different sources, e.g. *schol.* A.R. 1.288 λύουσι γὰρ τὰς ζῶνας αἰ πρώτως τίκτουσαι καὶ ἀνατιθέασιν Ἀρτέμιδι· ὅθεν καὶ Λυσιζώνου Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἐν Ἀθήναις, Suidas λ 859 αἰ γὰρ παρθένοι μέλλουσαι πρὸς μίξιν ἔρχεσθαι, ἀνετίθεσαν τὰς παρθενικὰς αὐτῶν ζῶνας τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι: the reason for this is presumably that women in childbirth are said to 'loosen their belt', which is also linked to Artemis' cult epithet of Λυσιζώνος (also attested for Eileithyia, cf. Theocr. 17.60).

όμοῦ καὶ τόνδε κύπασσιν: the κύπασσις is a frock worn by both men (cf. Alc. Z 34.7 L.-P.) and women (cf. Ar. F 519 K.-A.), as explicitly remarked by Harpocration s.v. κύπασσις: οἱ γλωσσογράφοι χιτῶνος εἶδός φασιν αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν κύπασσιν, οἱ μὲν γυναικείου, οἱ δὲ ἀνδρείου.

2 Ἀτθίς: the name is not common in inscriptions (fewer than 10 occurrences). In literary sources, it occurs three times in Sappho's fragments (49, 96, 131 L.-P.). One might be tempted to read in this choice of name a Sapphic suggestion: the reader might think of a possible married life of Atthis, after leaving Sappho's *thiasos*.

παρθενίων ... θυρῶν: the *virginal doors* might mean either the doors of a temple, although this expression is unparalleled, or the doors of Atthis' home, but it is not clear why they would be virginal, if she is married and bearing a child, and this practice would be quite strange. The first option might be more likely if one thinks of Artemis as the *πάρθενος* goddess *par excellence*.

ὦ Λητώϊ: P has Λητοῖ, which must be wrong (and either it misled the lemmatist, or there is an error in the lemma too). Graefe, here and for Perses *AP* 2.272 (= 2 GP), suggested emending into a form of Λητωῖς, - ἴδος (cf. the more common Λητώος), which is used by A.R. 2.938 and Call. *Hymn* 3.45. The mention of Leto is appropriate since in the myth she had a very difficult but successful labour and the invocation might aim at resembling cries uttered during the labour (cf. e.g. Ter. *Ad.* 487).

3-4 ἐκ τόκου, ὦ Λητώϊ, βαρυνομένης ὅτι νηδὺν / ζῶν ἀπ' ὠδίνων λύσαο τῆσδε βρέφος: the syntax is not very clear. As GP suggest, while ἐκ τόκου (after childbirth) goes with the previous lines, we have two possibilities for the rest: either ἀπ' ὠδίνων depends on λύσαο (with τῆσδε βαρυνομένης dependent on ὠδίνων) or ἀπ' ὠδίνων depends on βαρυνομένης (with instrumental ἀπό) and βαρυνομένης would go with τῆσδε forming a genitive absolute. GP are undecided between these possibilities: however, it is much more natural to have ἀπ' ὠδίνων depending from λύσαο than from βαρυνομένης and it is hard to interpret τῆσδε βαρυνομένης as a genitive absolute when the words are so distant.

ἐκ τόκου... βαρυνομένης: in Eur. *IT* 1228 similar words occur before Artemis is invoked as the daughter of Leto for a purification (ἧ γάμον στείχει συνάψων ἧ τόκοις βαρύνεται).

4 ζῶν...βρέφος: the fact that the dedicant specifies that the child is living implies the uncertainty of a healthy birth and maybe also some unsuccessful pregnancies, which are often recalled in sepulchral epigrams. The two words are placed at the beginning and end of the line, and βρέφος at the end puts the emphasis on the child, which is the final result of the difficult labour; cf. in *Ep.* 38

the phrasing δισσὸν ... τέκνων.

Epigram 38: Ambrosia dedicates garments to Eileithyia after childbirth

Ἐκ τόκου, Εἰλείθυια, πικρὰν ὠδῖνα φυγοῦσα
Ἀμβροσίη κλεινῶν θήκατό σοι πρὸ ποδῶν
δεσμὰ κόμας καὶ πέπλον, ἐν ᾧ δεκάτῳ ἐπὶ μηνὶ
δισσὸν ἀπὸ ζώνης κῦμ' ἐλόχευσε τέκνων.

*After escaping the bitter pangs of labour,
Ambrosia dedicated to you, Eileithyia, at your renowned feet,
The headbands and the robe in which in the tenth month
She gave birth to a double fruit of children from her womb.*

A.P. 6.200 (caret Pl) Λεωνίδου

Lemma A: ἀνάθεμα τῇ Εἰληθυία παρὰ Ἀμβροσίης.

1 Εἰλείθ- C : Εἰλήθ- P 2 ἀμβροσίων Κλεινή Page 3 post δεσμὰ interpunct C
| ἐπὶ P : ἔπι C : ἐφ' ᾧ ... ἐνὶ μηνὶ Hecker 4 τέκνων C : -ναν P

The epigram is a dedication to Eileithyia after a successful childbirth, akin to that in *Ep.* 1 (cf. introductory section there). Here too an actual inscription is mimicked, as the 'sacred feet' of the goddess will refer to a statue of her, presumably in a temple. Similarly to *Ep.* 1 the style and the convoluted phrasing (compare l. 4 of each poem) give a solemn tone to the event. There is an emphasis on corporeal aspects, the headbands and the robe on one side, and statue of the goddess on the other, which is possibly aimed at stressing the distance between the woman in pain and the power of the deity.

1 Ἐκ τόκου: it means *childbirth*, as in Leon. *Ep.* 1, l. 3.

Εἰλείθια: on the goddess, cf. the introductory section to *Ep.* 1. Since she is later assimilated to Artemis, her name is sometimes used as an epithet for Leto's daughter. As for the spelling of the name, C as elsewhere corrects P's εἰ with η, but in this case it might not be necessary, since the alternative spelling Εἰλήθια seems to coexist in the same authors (cf. Call. *Hymn* 1.12 vs. *Hymn* 4.132 with Pfeiffer, [Theocr.] 27.29) and stated by Hdn. I 281 Lentz (Εἰλείθια καὶ Εἰλήθια); inscriptions attest even more spellings (Εἰλείθια, Ἐλείθια, Ἐλείθια, Ἰλείθια, Ἐλείθια), on which cf. Preller-Robert (1886.1:319n5,511 n2).

πικρὰν ὠδίνα φυγοῦσα: the phrasing is somewhat similar to Hom. *Il.* 11.271 Ἥρης θυγατέρες πικρὰς ὠδίνας ἔχουσαι, which falls right after the mention of the Eileithyiai (daughters of Hera, only mentioned there); cf. also Soph. *Tr.* 41-2 πλὴν ἐμοὶ πικρὰς/ὠδίνας αὐτοῦ προσβαλὼν ἀποίχεται.

2 Ἀμβροσίη: a rare name (ca. 10 occurrences in inscriptions). While Page in his apparatus (1975:150) thought that it was a corruption for ἀμβροσίων Κλεινή (an unattested name), presumably deeming odd the use of the adjective in connection with feet, but it is perfectly possible that we are dealing with a hypallage.

κλεινῶν... πρὸ ποδῶν: meaning that Ambrosia put the offerings at the foot of the statue.

3 δεσμὰ κόμας: the *headbands*, though GP think it is possible that the original reading is δέσμα in the singular, modelled after ἀπὸ κρατὸς βάλε δέσματα σιγαλόεντα of Hom. *Il.* 22.468, but δεσμὰ in the plural is common enough. Note that C punctuates after δ., taking κόμας as an acc. plural, possibly because he is not inclined to read Doric forms.

καὶ πέπλον: πέπλος is a fairly generic word for any piece of clothing. As an item of women's dress, it is usually a kind of mantle or upper garment.

ἐν ᾧ: meaning the dress in which she gave birth, while Hecker wanted to read ἐφ' ᾧ, i.e. οὔνεκα (the occasion of the dedication).

δεκάτω ἐπὶ μηνί: A pregnancy of ten lunar months is the standard and was perceived to be so by ancient authors: e.g. Verg. *Ecl.* 4.61 *matri longa decem tulerunt fastidia menses*, and Gel. 3.16, a discussion on the length of pregnancy which also quotes a fragment by Men. = F 307 K.-A., γυνὴ κυεῖ δέκα μῆνας. The long vowel (ω) unshortened in hiatus in the fifth foot is unusual but occurs several times in Theocritus (e.g. 1.98, 2.46, 7.88, 10.28, 14.49, 15.110, 15.123, 16.31, 17.79, 22.174): cf. the section Introduction 1.6.1, Prosody.

4 δισσὸν ... κῦμ' ... τέκνων: the whole phrase describes *twins*. The word κῦμα is based on κύω, *to be pregnant*: cf. e.g. Aesch. *Ch.* 128 θρέψασά τ' αὔθις τῶνδε κῦμα λαμβάνει and A.R. 4.1492 βαρὺ κῦμα φέρουσιν (with Livrea *ad loc.*).

ἀπὸ ζώνης: for the belt, cf. Leon. *Ep.* 1. Here it is used metonymically for the womb.

2.1.2 Dedications for childhood and adolescence (39, 44, 45)

Greek culture placed a great deal of importance on the phase between childhood and adulthood which we call adolescence but for which the ancient terminology is more ambiguous. This period of transition was characterised by different rites of passage, which varied according to city and sex, and happened in the context of religious-civic celebrations and rites. Both boys and girls took parts in different rites and performances and their youthful image was immortalised in the *kouroi/korai*-type statues.¹⁶³ The stages of childhood and adolescence were then naturally transposed to the divine sphere, and several myths feature children-gods, such as Hermes and Dionysus.

Dedicatory epigrams give us a more intimate and private insight into the world of childhood and adolescence compared to documents pertaining to initiation rites and civic ceremonies. The epigrams by Leonidas, which are not isolated in this respect, portray the affection of mothers and narratives of the coming of age of children. *Epp.* 39 and 44 portray the devotion of two mothers expressed through simple acts, whereas *Ep.* 45 gives a valuable insight into the world of toys used by young boys, embellished by refined vocabulary.

¹⁶³ For an overview, cf. Garland (1990:163-98).

Epigram 39: a mother dedicates a simple portrait of her son Mikythus to Dionysus

Ἄ μάτηρ ζῶον τὸν Μίκυθον, οἷα πενιχρά,
Βάκχῳ δωρεῖται ῥωπικὰ γραψαμένα.
Βάκχε, σὺ δ' ὑψώης τὸν Μίκυθον· αἰ δὲ τὸ δῶρον
ῥωπικόν, ἅ λιτὰ ταῦτα φέρει πενία.

*His mother, poor as she is, dedicates this portrait of Mikythus,
having him painted coarsely, to Bacchus.
Bacchus, make Mikythus great: even if the gift is
Coarse, it is simple poverty that makes these offerings.*

A.P. 6.355 Λεωνίδα caret Pl Suid. s.v. ῥωπικά (vv.1-2)

1 μάτηρ P Suid v.l.: μήτηρ Suid v.l. ζῶον Meineke : ζῶον P Suid.
3 αἰ P : εἰ C 4 λιτὰ C : -γα? P

The epigram, in common with its neighbouring *AP* 6.356 by Pancrates (2 GP) and *AP* 6.357 by Theaetetus (1 GP), is an offering of a portrait of a child by an unnamed mother; cf. also Call. *AP* 6.150 (= 57 Pf. = 18 GP), a dedication by a mother of a statue of her daughter to Isis. As GP already note, it will be addressed to Dionysus probably because the woman is a priestess or a Bacchant (but cf. below for cultic aspects). Like other epigrams by Leonidas (e.g. *Ep.* 26) it stresses the concept of a humble offering the simplicity of which is justified by poverty and does not hinder the good intentions of the devotee. The structure is elegant, with a chiasmus enclosing the names of Mikythus and Bacchus, which are repeated in a symmetrical way.

1 Ἄ μᾶτηρ: the Doric form is striking. GP think that she may be a priestess of Dionysus or a Bacchant and a similar case might be that of *Ep.* 44 (cf. there), but cf. below.

ζῶον: both P and Suidas have ζῶόν, which a few editors retain in the sense *having had him painted from life*, which is quite unparalleled, *pace* GP who quote as a parallel the description of Mandrocles painting Darius' offerings and the bridge on the Bosphorus in Hdt 4.88.1 (ἀπαρχὴν ζῶα γραψάμενος πᾶσαν τὴν ζεῦξιν τοῦ Βοσπόρου), which is not usually understood in this sense (cf. Corcella *ad loc.*) Most editors rather accept Meineke's correction ζῶον, 'figure, image', which should be taken as a predicative accusative with Μίκυθον.

τὸν Μίκυθον: the name is not uncommon, and just like Μικκός or Μίκυλος, it seems to be a hypocoristic form linked to μικκός/μικρός (on which cf. comm. on Leon. *Ep.* 33, l. 4) which can also refer to a baby (Theocr. 15.12): cf. also Μικαλίων in Leon. *Ep.* 26 GP, Μίκυλος in Call. *Ep.* 26 Pf. = 47 GP and Μίκκος in *Ep.* 48 Pf. 26 GP, which mostly concern humble characters; and the protagonist of Lucian's *Gallus*, a humble person *par excellence*, is called Μικύλλος.

οἷα πενιχρά: the poverty of the dedicant is presented as an explanation for the poor gift, as in Leon. *Ep.* 26 and somewhat as in Leonidas' own offering in *Ep.* 36.

2 Βάκχω: GP thought that the mother was a priestess of the god, presumably to motivate the dedication, but the choice might also be rooted in cult: apart from being associated with growth and vegetation (cf. Jeanmaire 1951:12-18), Dionysus was associated with initiation rites such as the Choës, in which three-year old infants were offered their first sip of wine (cf. van Hoorn 1951), and there is some evidence that in the Hellenistic age children might have been admitted to Dionysiac mysteries (cf. Deubner 1932:147-51, Nilsson 1957:111). Furthermore, many mythical narratives (including Orphic material) feature the god as a child, as well as iconography such as that of Praxiteles' statue 'Hermes and the Infant Dionysus'.

ῥωπικὰ γραψαμένα: *having him painted coarsely*. The words ῥωπογράφοι and ῥωπογραφία seem to mean 'landscape painters/-ing' (cf. e.g. *Et. M.* 705.55), from ῥῶψ, *shrub*, but Pliny (*NH* 35.112) uses ῥυπαρογράφος to mean a painter of humble subjects, and in some passages pertaining to stylistic considerations recalled ῥωπικός seems rather linked to ῥῶπος, *rubbish, petty wares* (e.g. *Dion. Hal.* 16.3, in which a fine mural painting is said to be empty of ῥῶπος); cf. GP *ad loc.* for a collection of relevant passages. The meaning here, therefore, will be of poor style.

3 σὺ δ' ὑψώης: there is a deliberate play on the contrast between the verb and the meaning of the name (GP).

τὸν Μίκυθον· for the repetition of the name, cf. *Leon. ep.* 6. Note the chiasmus: τὸν Μίκυθον ... Βάκχω ... Βάκχε... τὸν Μίκυθον.

3-4 αἰ δὲ τὸ δῶρον / ῥωπικόν: the repetition of the same concept with the same adjective may stress the humble status of the devotee.

ἄ λιτὰ ταῦτα φέρει πενία: it makes the conceit explicit, in a similar way to *Ep.* 26: the gift is only poor because the dedicator is. The word λιτά has been emended by some to λειτά comparing *Leon. Epp.* 37 and 87, but in neither case it is a unanimous reading. GP take πενία as an abstract noun in the place of 'poor people' (cf. *Theocr.* 6.18 with *Gow ad loc.*), but the abstract noun causes no problem in its literal sense and therefore λιτά can be taken with πενία.

Epigram 44: prayer to Cybele from Seilene on behalf of a daughter

Δίνδυμα καὶ Φρυγίης πυρκαέος ἀμφιπολεῦσα
πρῶνας, τὴν μικρὴν, Μῆτερ, Ἀριστοδίκην,
κούρην Σειλήνης, παμπότνια, κεῖς ὑμέναιον
κεῖς γάμον ἀβρύναις, πείρατα κουροσύνης·
ἀνθ' ὧν σοι κατὰ πολλὰ προνήια καὶ παρὰ βωμῶ
παρθενικὴν ἐτίναξ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα κόμην.

*Mother, you who watch over Dindyma and the forelands
of scorched Phrygia, powerful Lady, protect the little Aristodike,
The daughter of Seilene, and beautify her until the hymenaion
And marriage, the boundaries of girlhood:
In exchange for this, at many temple-fronts and in front of your altar,
She tossed her maidenly hair hither and thither.*

A.P. 6.281 Λεωνίδου caret Pl

1 πυρκαέος Ap.B. P^{pc}: πυρὶ καὶ ἔος P^{ac} : πυρκαϊέος Meineke

2 Ἀριστοδίκην C : -δοκ- P 4 ἀβρύναις Mein. κουροσύνης Stadtmüller : -ας P

5 κατὰ Passow : καὶ P

This epigram is a prayer from a mother called Seilene, a priestess or devotee of the Great Mother, who asks the goddess to protect her daughter Aristodike so that she can reach marriage. Though Meineke's correction in l.4 is maybe not necessary (cf. below), his interpretation of the epigram is reasonable, i.e. the person who dances in the second part of the poem is Seilene, as her daughter is still too young and presumably still a child, as in *Ep.* 39. There seems to be an implicit contrast between the 'Great Mother', addressed with high-sounding epithets, and the 'little' Aristodike. The epigram attests to the widespread popularity of the cult of the goddess during Hellenistic times and can be paralleled with similar prayers such as Call. *AP* 6.148 (= 16 *GP* = 55 *Pf.*).

1 Δίνδυμα: is the name of two mountains in Phrygia (one near Cyzicus, cf. A.R. 1.985-1147, the other one closer to Pessinus) which were both sacred to Cybele/the Great Mother, hence called the Δινδυμήνη Μήτηρ (already in Hdt 1.80), a name later reprised abundantly in Latin poetry, e.g. Cat. 43.13 *Dindymenae dominae*, Verg. *Aen.* 10.252-3, Prop. 3.22.3, Hor. C. 1.16.5 etc. The name is occasionally found in the plural like here apparently because it was a double-peaked mountain, which was also at the origin of the ancient pareymology shown in Nonn. *D.* 48.855.

1-2 Φρυγίης πυρρικαέος... πρῶνας: according to Strabo (13.628) there was an area of Phrygia which was called ἡ κατακεκαυμένη due to its volcanic nature (cf. Radt *ad loc.*). All the surrounding area in general is sometimes referred to as burned or sun-scorched in Greek literature (cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 12-15).

2 τὴν μικρὴν... Ἀριστοδίκην: the adjective stresses the young age of the daughter (cf. also *Ep.* 39), but it is not clear how young she exactly is.

Μῆτερ: the cult of the Mother, or Great Mother, mixing ancient Minoan-Mycenaean traditions and an Anatolian (more specifically Phrygian) cult, spread from the East and even reached Athens in Classical times, where a statue of the Mother by Agorakritos stood (in the *Old Bouleuterion*, henceforth *Metroon*). In Hellenistic times it spread over a much wider geographical area, as testified by archaeological evidence and mentions in Hellenistic texts; some specific aspects of this cult become particularly popular (e.g. the cymbals, the music, the priests of Cybele, and the so-called Galli: cf. Fantuzzi 2019). Her epithet of Μεγάλη (already attested from Classical times, cf. Pi. *Parth.* F 95 S-M) might be implicitly create a contrast with μικρὴν... Ἀριστοδίκην.

3 κούρην Σελήνης: a rare name (less than 10 occurrences in LGPN, all in the form Σελήνη).

Παμπότνια: *hapax*, but not different from many titles of the goddess, such as παμβῶτις (Soph. *Phil.* 391), πολυπότνια (A.R 1.1151), παντότεκνος (anonymous

AP 16.159) and παμβασίλεια (Orph. H. 14.7 of Rhea).

κείς ὑμέναιον: in Greek culture, the peak of a girl's life was marriage. The dyad κείς ὑμέναιον κείς γάμον will mean 'to marriage (as a rite) and then the fulfilment of this marriage' (i.e. including the conception of children).

4 ἀβρύναις: Meineke suggested emending to ἀδρύναις, *bring her to maturity*, of which Geffcken approved; but in order to retain the reading of the mss it is not necessary to imagine Aristodike as approaching a marriageable age (with GP), since the prayer might just mean 'protect A. and make her beautiful up until she marries'.

πέιρατα κουροσύνης: the word κ. seems to be used for small children in Theocr. 24.58 and in Leon. *Ep.* 45, but here it means the end of adolescence.

5 ἀνθ' ὧν: Seilene mentions the many occasions on which she honoured the goddess as a sufficient reason to ask the favour, in the logic of the so-called *da quia dedi*.

κατὰ πολλὰ προνήια καὶ παρὰ βωμῶ: the mss' reading καὶ πολλὰ προνήια καὶ παρὰ βωμῶ would require πολλὰ (sc. πολλάκις) προνήια to be taken adverbially with ἐτίναξ(ε), which also has a direct object; hence Passow's correction κατὰ, which as GP note would mean that Seilene honoured the goddess at many temples, which maybe is not very likely.

6 παρθενικὴν ἐτίναξ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα κόμην: The details surrounding the rites for Cybele are not clear to us due to their mystic nature, but glimpses from literary sources and vase paintings give us at least an idea (cf. the account with iconography in Roller 1999:144-61). Music, dance and movement were important parts of the rites, as in maenadism, as captured by famous representations such as the Maenad of Skopas: in particular, the shaking of the head is mentioned also in Call. *Ia.* 3.35-7 (F 193 Pf.) Κ[υβή]βη τὴν κόμην ἀναρρίπτειν / Φρύγ[α] πρ[ὸς] αὐλὸν ἢ ποδῆρες ἔλκοντα / Ἄδω[ν]τιν αἰαῖ..., Rhianus AP 6.173 (7 GP) ἡ περὶ πεύκας / πολλάκι τὰς ἱεράς χευαμένα πλοκάμους (possibly borrowed by Thyillus AP 7.223.1-2 = FGE 2 ... ἡ περὶ πεύκας τὰς Κυβέλης πλοκάμους ῥῖψαι

ἐπισταμένη) and anonymous *AP* 6.51 ...καὶ ξανθὰς, τὰς πρὶν ἔσεισε, κόμας (for a detailed discussion on the role of this movement in the ecstatic frenzy of orgiastic cults, cf. Bremmer 2019:262-3).

Epigram 45: dedication to Hermes of toys by Philocles

† Εὐφῆμόν † τοι σφαῖραν ἐυκρόταλόν τε Φιλοκλῆς
Ἐρμείη ταύτην πυξινέην πλατάγην
ἀστραγάλας θ' αἶς πόλλ' ἐπεμήνατο καὶ τὸν ἐλικτόν
ρόμβον κουροσύνης παίγνι' ἀνεκρέμασεν.

*This nice ball and this lively boxwood rattle
Philocles hung up for you, Hermes,
Along with these knucklebones for which he was so mad, and this twisted
Tambourine, the toys of his youth.*

A.P. 6.309 [vv. 3-4 cum Asclep. XXVII coniungit P, 1-2 in marg. inf. addidit C;
nusquam nomen auctoris], P^A Λεωνίδου

1 εὐφῆμόν PPI : εὐφυλλόν Gow

3 ἀστραγάλας θ' αἶς Jacobs : στραγγάλας αἶς P : ἀστραγάλους θ' οἶς P1

The epigram belongs to a category of dedications by youths for their coming of age, which give valuable insight into Greek adolescence. The toys which Philocles dedicates are well-known through ancient sources, mostly lexicographers, and more rarely through vase paintings and the material record (cf. Garland 1990:124-7 for an overview). The representation is very lively, and words like ἐυκρόταλον and ἐπεμήνατο depict with realism the enthusiasm of a child playing with his favourite toys. Such depictions can be compared with contemporary Hellenistic passages which deal with children, e.g. Callimachus' child-Artemis in *Hymn* 4 (ll. 4-5) or another scene in the same *Hymn* (ll. 66-71).

1 † Εὐφῆμόν †: the transmitted reading has been questioned by most scholars, except for Waltz who gave a somewhat far-fetched explanation (*son ballon renommé*) and White (1985:117-8) who thought that Leonidas might be producing a variation on the Homeric σφαῖραν καλήν (*Od.* 8.372) on the basis of Hesychius s.v. εὐφημα: καλά, ἐπαινετά, which seems a convoluted explanation. Other conjectures include εὐνητον, εὐπηκτον, and εὐσημον. The most attractive are

Gow's εὔφυλλον, with beautiful plates, or with plates well arranged (φύλλον meaning the outer sections of a ball), and Geffcken's εὔφιμον, *well-sown together* (accepted by Beckby). Cf. Figure 9.

σφαῖραν: a generic term for ball, with which the Greeks enjoyed playing, as shown already in early literary representations (*Od.* 6.100, 8.372-80) and for a variety of games. It featured in the education of children, which accounts for *sphaerisiteria* in the gymnasium, and also featured in the ritual of the *Arrhephoroi*.

ἐγκρόταλόν τε: the word occurs only here and in Claudianus *AP* 9.139 Μαχλάς ἐγκροτάλοισιν ἀνευάζουσα χορείαις and presumably it refers to the rattling of the object.

Φιλοκλῆς: the name is not uncommon in literary sources.

2 Ἑρμείη: albeit more marginal than others (Burkert 1985:158-9), one of the roles of Hermes was his patronage of youths, especially expressed in palaestrae and gymnasia (together with Herakles) and in some festivals which involved adolescents, such as the Hermaea (cf. Golden 2015²:59 with n.97), and it might not be a coincidence that he disguises himself as a youth who has just grown a beard in *Hom. Il.* 24.347-8. To these testimonies, one should add other epigrams (*AP* 6.280 and *AP* 6.282) which are also offerings from adolescents to Hermes, together with Artemis as protectress of young women. One should also take into account some images of Hermes which qualify him, to use Herter's formula, as 'Kinderwärter des Olymp', namely the playful Hermes-child in the Homeric Hymn to the god and the episode of Call. *Hymn* 3.66-71 (cf. now Adorjani 2021:184-5).

ταύτην ... πλατάγην: Aristotle (*Pol.* 8.6 1340b) quotes the rattle invented by Archytas of Tarentum as a useful object to keep restless children busy so that they do not do any harm (cf. also *Plut. Quaest. Conv.* 7.714e, which recommends a rattle and a ball for them), and Gigante (1971:83-4) wants to read here a homage by Leonidas to an invention of his fellow-citizen. The word is otherwise used mainly for the object which Heracles used to drive away the Stymphalian birds.

πυξινέην: as often, a Leonidean form which is a slight variation of an existing adjective (*πυξινός*). The bark of boxwood (*buxus sempervirens*) had a variety of uses, especially carving objects such as statues and boxes.

3 ἀστραγάλας θ' αἷς πόλλ' ἐπεμήνατο: the *astragaloι* were used in different games popular both with children and adults. They were made of different materials (originally animal bones, then other materials) and mentioned already in Hom. *Il.* 23.85-8, and they appear in dedications, tombstones and vase paintings. In Hellenistic poetry, they also feature in Call. F 676, Herod. 3.7 and A.R. 3.117 (in the scene of Eros playing, to whom Aphrodite promises a beautiful *sphaira*). GP think that the choice of the verb might be reminiscent of Anacr. *PMG* 398 ἀστραγάλαι δ' Ἔρωτός εἰσιν | μανίαί τε καὶ κυδοιμοί, and in Herodas too the passion for gambling is connoted with strong words.

3-4 καὶ τὸν ἐλικτόν / ῥόμβον: this may mean a *bull-roarer*, a rudimentary musical instrument (cf. West 1992:122), which is often associated with orgiastic rites but is mentioned as a toy in an Orphic fragment (F 23.34 D.-K.) featuring the child Dionysus together with the *astragaloι*. For extensive discussion of the object and the problems linked to its exact shape and function, cf. Gow (1934) and Gow on Theocr. 2.17.

κουροσύνης παίγνι': on the first noun, cf. note on l. 4 of *Ep.* 44, where the phrase *πείρατα κουροσύνης* in a similar way makes explicit that the dedication marks the end of the adolescence.

ἀνεκρέμασεν: since Hermes does not usually have proper temples, we should imagine the dedication being placed either at a Herm or a smaller shrine.

Figure 9: terracotta sculpture model of a ball, ca. 275-250 BC, from the South Necropolis of Samothrace, diameter ca. 4,5 cm (image from Dusenbery 1959:168).



2.1.3 Dedications by women (2, 40, 43)

Young women are the protagonists of several epigrams by Leonidas. Epigrams 2 and 43 are dedications by hetaerae, who feature often in Hellenistic epigrams: a large number of hetaerae, both fictitious and historical, are the subject of dedications, satires and epitaphs (especially in the production of Asclepiades and Meleager). Leonidas' hetaerae epigrams fit into the wider pattern of his poems: *Ep.* 2 features a list of objects described with unusual words and original imagery, while *Ep.* 43 features two girls who are depicted as tireless workers who attend the *komos* until daybreak and who dedicate their musical instruments, presumably upon 'retiring'. *Ep.* 40, and *Epp.* 41* and 42*, are dedications of embroideries or weaving implements to goddesses. While the latter two are addressed to Athena, *Ep.* 40 is addressed to Artemis, probably because she generally oversees the life of women (cf. commentary).

Epigram 2: Kalliclea dedicates various objects to Aphrodite as a thank offering

Τὸν ἀργυροῦν Ἔρωτα καὶ περίσφυρον
πέζαν τὸ πορφυρεῦν τε Λεσβίδος κόμης
ἔλιγμα καὶ μηλοῦχον ὑαλόχροα,
τὸ χάλκεόν τ' ἔσοπτρον ἠδὲ τὸν πλατύν
τριχῶν σαγηνευτῆρα, πύξινον κτένα,
ᾧν ἤθελεν τυχοῦσα, γνησία Κύπρι,
ἐν σαῖς τίθησι Καλλίκλεια παστάσιν.

*This silver statuette of Eros, her anklet,
The purple headband of her Lesbian hair
And the glass-coloured breast-girdle,
The bronze mirror and the large fishing
net of her locks, a wooden comb,
Kalliclea dedicates in your colonnades
To you, true Aphrodite, having received what she asked.*

A.P. 6.211 (caret Pl) Λεωνίδου Ταραντίνου; ἀνάθημα τῆ αὐτῆ παρὰ Καλλιρίας |
ιαμβικὸν καὶ τοῦτο add. C; Sud. s.v. κτένα [4 ἠδὲ - 5]

2 πορφυροῦν Jacobs 3 μηλ- Toup : μελ- P
6 γνησία P : Κνωσσία Reiske : Κρησία Meineke 7 Καλλίκλεια Toup : -κρια P

This dedication is an example of Leonidas' predilection for lists replete with bold imagery and lively vocabulary. Some ambiguity exists around the circumstances and the reader is left to put the pieces together: the list of objects, which consists *de facto* of a tour of Kalliclea's vanity table, reveals her to be a hetaera. The somewhat problematic address to γνησία Κύπρι (cf. commentary) constitutes another piece of the puzzle and leads us to think that Kalliclea is 'retiring' from her occupation,

possibly after finding a husband, a situation akin to those frequently featured in New Comedy (and one wonders if the choice of the iambic metre has anything to do with that: cf. the Introduction 1.6.2, Iambics). From a formal point of view, the abundant use of enjambment – most of the descriptions of the objects are split between different lines – makes the epigram a continuous catalogue. The objects, though usual ‘tools of the trade’, are described in a very original and allusive way.

1 Τὸν ἀργυροῦν Ἔρωτα: depictions of Eros were extremely common (cf. *LIMC* s.v.) and Leon. *Ep.* 28* describes one made of frankincense. The incipit might also maliciously hint at ‘mercenary love’, since the dedicator is almost certainly a hetaera, as the reader will realise.

1-2 περίσφυρον / πέζαν: for πέζα, cf. commentary on *Ep.* 40, l. 1: here, combined with the adjective, it must mean something like *anklet* (equivalent to πέδη or περισφύριον).

2-3 τὸ πορφυρεῦν τε Λεσβίδος κόμης / ἔλιγμα: the expression is not straightforward: ἔλιγμα, usually meaning *fold* or *bracelet*, has been understood here by some as lock (of hair), but as GP point out the colour would be unusual, and therefore a headband is more likely. To express the provenance of Kalliclea with the phrase Λεσβίδος κόμης is quite unusual and has led to convoluted explanations, such as that of Giangrande (1974) who wanted to read an obscene *double entendre* in the whole dedication with an allusion to female homoeroticism. The most likely explanation is that the reader will have associated her provenance with the reputation of Lesbos for beautiful women (cf. Bernsdorff 2020 on Anacreon 358 *PMG*, and cf. also Luc. *Dial. Mer.* 5.3 where a courtesan from Lesbos wears a wig). Some echoes of lyric passages may be intended, such as the κόμη from Anacreon 358 *PMG*; and note the resemblance with some colours and materials listed in Sapph. F 44 V. (8-10 πορφύρ[α] καταύτ[.]να, ποικίλ' ἀθύρματα, / ἀργύρα τ' ἀνάρ[ι]θμα...). As for the colour purple, it is often associated with prostitutes in ancient sources, together with bright colours in

general (cf. Kapparis 2018:86-91, Grand-Clement 2010:92ss, Fischer 2011).

3 καὶ μηλοῦχον ὑαλόχροα: on the basis of the use of μηλον as *breast* from Aristophanes onwards (cf. comm. on *Ep.* 43.1), we might understand μηλοῦχον as *breast-band*. The adjective is a *hapax*, and should mean ‘of the colour of glass/crystal’, not necessarily transparent (cf. Floridi 2020 on Hedylus 3 GP, l. 4). The precise nature of the object is obscure, but one could think of a breast-band of diaphanous material, akin to sensual robes attested for Tarentine women (cf. Athen. 15.522d).

4 τὸ χάλκεόν τ'ἔσοπτρον: mirrors, which were usually made of bronze during Classical and Hellenistic times, were commonly associated with women and Aphrodite, cf. e.g. Call. *Hymn* 5.21, Aphrodite looking at herself in the mirror before the judgment of the goddesses, and dedications of mirrors to Aphrodite in the *Greek Anthology* (cf. Lee 2017 with bibliography); cf. also Kapparis (2017:350).

4-5 ἡδὲ τὸν πλατύν / τριχῶν σαγηνευτήρα: the image, very unusual, is that of a comb as a sort of fish-net for hair, which fits into L.’s pattern of personification of objects through bold and original imagery (e.g. *Ep.* 8* 1.6, *Ep.* 43 ll. 5-6). For this type of compounds, cf. Introduction 1.5.3, Neologisms.

πύξινον κτένα: Greek combs were usually made of ivory or bone: this one is made of boxwood, possibly a humbler specimen, like the boxwood flute-case dedicated by the hetaera Satyra in *ep.* 43 and Philocles’ rattle in *Ep.* 45.

6 ὧν ἤθελεν τυχοῦσα: what Kalliclea has obtained is not clear: the most natural possibilities are a lover or a husband, of course, which regularly fall under the powers of Aphrodite.

γνησία Κύπρι: the adjective means *true*, *genuine* or *legitimate* (usually said of children born in marriage) and GP recalled Xen. *Cyr.* 4.3.1 (γυναικῶν τῶν βελτίστων τῶν μὲν γνησίων τῶν δὲ καὶ παλλακίδων). It might mean that Kalliclea is satisfied in a marriage, and as Waltz suggests she might be dedicating the ‘tools of her trade’ to Aphrodite since she will not need them anymore, but the

sense is far from certain: the necessity of scanning the final syllable of τυχοῦσα as short, furthermore, troubled most editors, who suggested various emendations of γνησία (Κνωσσία Reiske, Κρησία Meineke).

7 ἐν σαῖς τίθησι ... παστάσιν: παστάς can mean an outside colonnade, such as that of a temple, which is meant here.

Καλλίκλεια: P reads Καλλίκρια, and both GP (though *dubitanter*) and Waltz accept Toup's correction Καλλίκλεια. This name is not extremely common (ca. 20 occurrences in *LGPN*), but not surprising, as names with καλλ- in their stem are generously attested.

Epigram 40: three girls dedicate a piece of embroidery to Artemis

Τῆς πέζης τὰ μὲν ἄκρα τὰ δεξιὰ μέχρι παλαιστῆς 1
καὶ σπιθαμῆς οὐλῆς Βίττιον εἰργάσατο,
θάτερα δ' Ἀντιάνειρα προσήρμοσε, τὸν δὲ μεταξύ
Μαίανδρον καὶ τὰς παρθενικὰς Βιτίη.
Κουρᾶν καλλίστη Διὸς Ἄρτεμι, τοῦτο τὸ νῆμα 5
πρὸς ψυχῆς θεΐης, τὴν τριπόνητον ἔριν.

*The right edge of the border, measuring a span
And a whole palm, Bitto produced,
Antianeira added the other end, and Bitie added
The Meander and the maidens in the middle.
Artemis, fairest of the daughters of Zeus, accept this woven work
in your heart, a triple-toiled strife.*

A.P. 6.286 P1^A [PPI] Λεωνίδου; Sud. s.vv. Βιττίον, πέζαν [1-2 omissis μέχρι – οὐλ.]

1 μέχρι CPI : om. P 2 σπιθ- CPI : σπαθ- P 5 κουρᾶν Brunck P : κούραν
P : κοῦραν C : κούρα P1^{ac} : κούρη P1^{pc} ; fort. κουρῶν | καλλίστη Desrosseaux
6 πρὸς ψυχῆς P1 : προσψυχῆς P : προσπτύκτον Desrosseaux : προσπτύκτην
Waltz | θεΐης PPI : θεΐη Desrosseaux

This epigram is an example of another Leonidean pattern, a dedication by a group of three or four people, in this case possibly sisters. Once again, it is possible that a margin of ambiguity is left in the details of the dedication, and scholars have different ideas about whether L. is attributing different parts of the garment to the different girls or if it is an overall description; similarly, it is not clear if the river Meander is meant or a meander-pattern (cf. below). Contrary to that of other dedications, the vocabulary is rather prosaic, but in the last line τριπόνητον leaves a typically Leonidean mark.

1 Τῆς πέζης: the word denotes the edge or the end of something, and it is occasionally used of the border of a garment (e.g. A.R. 4.46) and in this sense explained by lexicographers as a technical word (cf. *schol.* A.R. 4.46, Phot. *Lex.*, Suidas and Hesychius s.v., Poll. 7.62).

1-2 μέχρη παλαιστῆς / καὶ σπιθαμῆς: παλαιστής is a palm's breath, while σπιθαμή is the space between the thumb and the little finger (so 3 and 9 inches respectively). As a fixed measure a σπιθαμή is equivalent to 3 παλαισταί (Hero *Deff.* 131). This would make the piece woven by Bitto 12 inches (ca 30 cm) long and, if GP were right to think that each girl should have woven an equal piece of embroidery, that would make the whole garment 36 inches long (ca. 92 cm).

Βίπτιον: the name, along with the similar Βίτιννα, Βιττίς, Βιττώ, is of uncertain etymology, on which cf. Headlam-Knox on Herod. 5.5.

3 Ἀντιάνειρα: the name does not occur anywhere else outside mythology (lover of Hermes and mother of two Argonauts, cf. A.R. 1.56) and Antipater's imitation of this epigram. The choice of the name is odd if compared to the other two, which seem to come from everyday life.

τὸν δὲ μεταξύ: the indication of the middle of the garment is neatly placed roughly in the middle of the whole epigram.

4 Μαίανδρον καὶ τὰς παρθενικάς: the imitating poem by Antipater (6.287) shows that he understood L. to mean that Bitto and Antianeira just wove edges, while Bitie realised the central scene with the girls and the Meander, but GP take this as a misunderstanding on Antipater's part. Paton thinks that the subject is the river Meander, which GP deem unrealistic, but whether the dedication is true or fictitious there is no reason to rule out literary embellishment (cf. the garment of Praxinoa in Theocr. 15.37); one of course could also think that the pattern is the one called meander (whose name originates from the proverbial tortuousness of the river, cf. Strabo 12.577 with Radt). We are left to wonder what exactly the scene represents, if a river is implied, but girls by the river would not be an

unlikely vignette (and they could stand for Bitto, Antianeira and Bitie themselves).

Βιτίη: cf. note on line 2 on Βίττιον.

5 κουρῶν καλλίστη: possibly a traditional epithet for Artemis, cf. e.g. Eur. *Hipp.* 63 κάλλιστα πολὺ παρθένων with Barrett *ad loc.* (but also for Aphrodite, e.g. Eur. F 781.19). The dialectal form stands out.

Ἄρτεμι: For the dedication of garments to Artemis, cf. *Epp.* 1 and 38 with notes. The address to Artemis as a the most beautiful of Zeus' daughters, together with the virgins represented on the embroidery, insists on the virgin aspect of goddess who presides over rites of passage and femininity.

τοῦτο τὸ νῆμα: νῆμα may denote fabric, as in Hom. *Od.* 2.98 (Penelopes' famous shroud); cf. GP *ad loc.* for further discussion.

6 πρὸς ψυχῆς θεΐης: this is P1's reading, an odd and unparalleled expression but certainly preferable to P's reading προσψυχῆς. Waltz emends to προσπτύκτην (cf. also Desrosseaux's πρόσπτυκτον); cf. LSJ s.v., IV, though there are no convincing parallels.

τὴν τριπόνητον ἔρι: the adjective is a *hapax*. It well suits L.'s pattern, which figures in several epigrams, of brothers and sisters associated in dedications (e.g. *Ep.* 46). The substantive ἔρις seems to introduce an element of rivalry, which is paralleled in e.g. the weaving myth of Arachne. The expression is ambiguous enough to let us wonder whether rivalry among the three girls or with someone else is meant.

Epigram 43: the hetarae Melo and Satyra dedicate musical instruments to the Muses

Μηλῶ καὶ Σατύρη ταυνηλικες, Ἀντιγενεΐδew 1
 παῖδες, ταὶ Μουσέων εὐκόλοι ἐργάτιδες,
 Μηλῶ μὲν Μούσαις Πιμπληΐσι τοὺς ταχυχειλεῖς
 αὐλοὺς καὶ ταύτην πύξινον αὐλοδόκην,
 ἢ φίλερως Σατύρη δὲ τὸν ἔσπερον οἰνοποτήρων 5
 σύγκωμον κηρῶ τευξαμένη δόνακα,
 ἦδὺν συριστῆρα, σὺν ᾧ πανεπόρφνιος ἦῶ
 ἠῦγασεν αὐλείοις οὐ κοτέουσα θύραις.

*Old Melo and Satyra, daughters of Antigenides,
 Agile workwomen of the Muses,
 Dedicate to the Pimpleian Muses, Melo the swift-lipped
 Flutes and this wooden flute-case,
 And the amorous Satyra a pipe sealed with wax,
 The evening companion of wine drinkers,
 A sweet whistler, with which all night long
 She waited to see the dawn, not becoming angry at the house doors.*

A.P. 5.206 (caret Pl) Λεωνίδου [C] εἰς Μηλῶ καὶ Σατύρη τὰς αὐλητρίδας

1 ταυν- C : πανυ- P 2 ταὶ Reiske : θ'αί P Μουσέων Brunck : -σῶν P
 3 Πιμπληΐσι Ap.L. : πίμπλησι P 6 τευξαμένη C : τε ξαμένη P :
 τεγξαμένη Desrousseaux 8 οὐ κοτέουσα P : ἐγκροτέουσα Dorville : οὐ
 κροτέουσα Geffcken | θύραις Gruter Dorville : θύρας P

This epigram belongs to a type which is not isolated in Leonidas' poetry, that of a dedication which features a sort of miniature-narrative. Melo and Satyra, two sisters, are old flute-players who are 'retiring' and dedicating the musical instruments with which they used to accompany the *komos*. A great emphasis is put on sensory impressions, from the sweet sound produced by the *auloi* of the girls to the light of dawn interrupting a long *komos*. The arrangement of the epigram is elegant: the names of Melo and Satyra are stated in the first line and then repeated in the second and third hexameters in the same positions as in line

1. Somewhat as in *Ep.* 72, the women are depicted as tireless and working until dawn, which effectively marks the end of both the symposium and the whole composition.

1 Μηλώ: the name does not occur elsewhere, but as GP note it might be appropriate for a hetaera, given that in Greek literature the apple is a clear love token (to name but a few Hellenistic examples, Theocr. 5.88 with Gow *ad loc.* and the tale of Acontius and Cydippe in Call. FF 67-75 Pf.; for an exhaustive account see Littlewood 1968, Foster 1899). The word is often used to indicate women's breasts, especially in comedy, e.g. Aristoph. *Lys.* 155 (with *schol. ad loc.* τὸς μαστοὺς μῆλά φησιν), but also elsewhere in epigram (e.g. Rufinus *AP* 5.60.2).

Σατύρη: the name is attested (in the form Σατύρα) a few times in literary sources (notably as one of the hetaerae brought to Athens by Themistocles according to Athen. 13.576c) and more abundantly in inscriptions (ca. 50 occurrences in *LGPN*).

τανυήλικες: *hapax*, paralleled by other compounds in τανυ- which are predominantly epic (cf. Phillips 1972: 314-5). The meaning is presumably that the sisters are old and therefore dedicating their instruments upon retirement, as paralleled by many epigrams of the *Anthology*.

Ἀντιγενείδεω: Antigenides is the name of a famous Theban flute-player known through different sources (cf. v. Jan 1893). Since his *floruit* is placed in 400-370 BC it is impossible that the same person is meant here. While some commentators (Geffcken, Waltz) thought that the expression Ἀντιγενείδεω παῖδες is simply a way of saying flute-players, GP think that the name cannot be a coincidence and that Leonidas must be hinting at least at descent from him (whether true or fictitious).

2 τὰ Μουσέων εὐκολοὶ ἐργάτιδες: the mention of the Muses clearly refers to the act of playing music, to which the adj. adds in an unusual way (as it seems to be

employed in the sense of *agile* rather than the more usual *content, satisfied*, cf. *LSJ* s.v., 3). The word ἐργάτις, though as an adjective can be more neutral (cf. *Soph. Phil.* 97), as a noun refers to someone who works for hire, and mostly to prostitutes (e.g. *Archil.* F 208, *Hdt.* 5.13). The word here seems to lack the usual negative connotation, e.g. Pindar's invective on the Μοῖσα ... ἐργάτις in *I.* 2.6-7, and its reprisal in *Call. Ia.* F 222. Macedonius' Κύπριδος ἐργάτιδες (*AP* 5.245 l. 8) for hetaerae might be reminiscent of this passage.

3-4 Μηλῶ μὲν Μούσαις Πιμπληῖσι τοὺς ταχυχειλεῖς / ἀλούς και ταύτην πύξινον ἀλοδόκην: the second couplet focuses on Melo (the name of the first sister maintains the same metrical position as in l.1, and so does the name of Satyrain l. 5).

3 Μούσαις Πιμπληῖσι: Pimpleian is an epithet of the Muses linked to Pimpleia, a place sacred to them (*Strab.* 9.2.25, 10.3.17) and variously explained as another name for Pieria, or some place nearby (*schol.* *A.R.* 1.15 Πίμπλεια χωρίον κατὰ Πιερίαν· οἱ δὲ ὄρος Θρακῆς, οἱ δὲ κρήνην και κόμην τῆς Πιερίας). The epithet occurs a few times in Hellenistic poets: *A.R.* 1.25 (σκοπιῆς Πιμπληίδος), *Call. Hymn* 4.7-8 (ὡς Μοῦσαι τὸν ἀοιδὸν ὃ μὴ Πίμπλειαν ἀείση / ἔχθουσιν), *Lyk.* 275 (Λειβηθρίην θ' ὑπερθε Πιμπλείας σκοπήν); Latin poets widely reprised it (in various forms: *Pimpleus, Pimpleis, Pimplias*).

ταχυχειλεῖς ἀλούς: the adjective is a *hapax* which might be interpreted in two ways, i.e. flutes upon which the lips move swiftly or with swiftly moving lips, depending on whether χεῖλη refers to Satyra's lips or the edges of flutes (a similar interpretative problem as in *Theocr.* 1.129, ἐκ κηρῶ σύριγγα καλὸν περὶ χεῖλος ἐλικτάν, cf. *Hunter* 1999 *ad loc.*).

4 και ταύτην πύξινον ἀλοδόκην: the noun is a *hapax* and it will denote a flute-case, which also features in vase paintings, even if it is usually called ἀλοθήκη or συβήνη (on the technical aspects, cf. *Hagel* 2010:327-65 and *Terzes* 2020:213-27). Ancient sources mention examples made of leather (*Phot. Lex.* s.v. συβήνη) but it is not hard to imagine one made of boxwood, especially if the dedication is from two

humble hetaerae. For the material, cf. *Ep.* 45 l.2.

5-8 ἡ φίλερως ... θύραις: to Satyra are devoted twice as many lines as Melo has, and these develop a small vignette and almost a narrative (the girl waiting for the dawn while she played the flute at the *komos* for the beloved).

5 φίλερως: a rare adj., only here and in Nic. F 16.2 prior to several occurrences in Meleager, and quite apt for a courtesan.

5-6 τὸν ἔσπερον οἰνοποτήρων / σύγκωμον: an effective image, with two rare words. The first, οἰνοποτήρ, is a Homeric *hapax* from *Od.* 8. 456, where Odysseus, after a bath, is going to join the *wine-drinking men* in the hall, and there is maybe an allusion to the act of Nausicaa staring at Odysseus from the doorstep in the following lines. The word was replaced in postclassical prose and occasionally poetry by οἰνοποτής (cf. e.g. *Call. Ep.* 36 GP, *Ait.* F 69), as happened with βώτωρ, replaced by βοτήρ and βούτης (cf. Fränkel 1910:65 and Phillips 1972:77), and besides L. it is only reprised by Nonnus, who took it from L. On the other hand, σύγκωμος too is not a very common word and all its occurrences (*Aesch.* F 355, *Ar. Ach.* 265, *Eur. Ba.* 1172, *Plut. E. apud Delph.* 389b1) belong to Dionysiac contexts (*Clem. Alex. Paed.* 4.40.1 is apparently an exception but it is at any rate talking about a *παννυχίς*). The originality of the phrase also lies in the fact that it refers to the musical instrument, in a pattern of personification of objects which is also used elsewhere by L. (cf. *Ep.* 40).

6 κηρῶ τευξαμένη δόνακα: δόναξ is an equivalent of the σῦριγξ, the shepherd's pipe (cf. [*Aesch.*] *PV* 574 κηρόπλαστος δ. = syrinx). The wax was used to stop the reeds at different lengths and to fasten them together (sources and discussion in Gow on *Theocr.* 1.128). It is strange to picture the girls manufacturing the instrument, as the participle would suggest.

7 ἡδὺν συριστήρα: συριστήρ is less common than the various other forms attested (*συριστής*, *συρικτής*, *συρίγκτης*, *συρικτάς*); it is the only one used in the Theocritean corpus, cf. 7.28, 8.9, 8.34.

πανεπόρφνιος: *hapax*, probably L.'s coinage, based on the rare form ὄρφνιος = ὄρφνιος, a colour hard to define but with prevalent dark tones (cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 8.3.3).
ἠῶ: the dawn marks the end of the *komos* and is a neat pendant to ἔσπερος mentioned beforehand. The noun is placed at the end of the line and after πανεπόρφνιος, as if to convey the idea of the break of dawn after the length of night. For symposia that are prolonged until dawn, cf. Hor. *C.* 3.21.24 (also at the end of the poem) with Nisbet-Rudd *ad loc.*

8 ηὔγασεν: the use of the verb, to be understood here as *set the gaze upon*, is reminiscent of the literal meaning, *to see in the sunlight* (αὐγή), i.e. *clearly* (cf. e.g. Soph. *Phil.* 217, ἡ ναὸς ἄξενον αὐγάζων ὄρμον); cf. Gärtner (2007:43-44).
αὐλείοις οὐ κοτέουσα θύραις: D'Orville suggested emending the text transmitted by the manuscript to ἐγκροτέουσα θύραις, meaning *beating the tune in front of the doors*, but ἐγκροτέω is more suitable to percussion, and as Gärtner (2007:43-44) persuasively argued the original reading can easily be retained: οὐ κοτέουσα θύραις, *not becoming angry at the doors*, should be interpreted as a further proof of the zeal of Satyra who played the flute until dawn with patience, to be contrasted implicitly with the impatience and passion of the lovers inside the house: this is no violent *komos*.

2.1.4 Dedications of battle spoils (34, 35, 95)

Dedications of battle spoils and inscriptions for war monuments are recorded since Classical times, even before the most famous ones pertaining to the Persian wars: though for many of them we can only rely on literary sources, e.g. Pausanias, Diodorus and Plutarch, we occasionally have epigraphical records of them.¹⁶⁴ Even when the inscriptions do not survive, scholars now tend to suppose that these epigrams were actually inscribed on monuments and votive offerings; this also explains why they are often quoted without the name of their author.¹⁶⁵

It will be evident that to have such dedications ascribed to Leonidas is a potentially fundamental clue to anchoring the poet to precise historical events. However, both their ascription and their dating are far from sound. As mentioned in the introduction, the poems have been regarded very differently by scholars, and whereas Gow and Page believed that they do not help us in dating Leonidas, Gigante was extremely keen on reading them as proof of a strong link between Leonidas and his home town Tarentum.

Let us first review the matter of the ascription. The data of the manuscripts are as follows:

- 1) *AP* 6.129 = 34 *GP*, 1st dedication of spoils by the Lucanians to Athena: *PI^A*[*PPI*] *Λεωνίδου*;
- 2) *AP* 6.130= 95 *GP*, dedication of spoils by Pyrrhus after the defeat of Antigonus: [*PI^A*] *τοῦ αὐτοῦ* [sc. *Λεων.*]; *Plut. Pyrrh.* 26.8, *Diod.* 22.11, *Paus.* 1.13.2 [s.a.n.].
- 3) *AP* 6.131 = 35 *GP*, 2nd dedication of spoils by the Lucanians to Athena: [*P*] *Λεωνίδα*, [*PI^A*] *τοῦ αὐτοῦ* [sc. *Λεων.*].

¹⁶⁴ One of the earliest one is Kazcko (2016) n.1a+1b, a dedication of battle spoils of the Athenians against the Boeotians and the Chalkidians (507/6 BC).

¹⁶⁵ On the dedication of battle spoils, cf. Barbantani (2014).

In P, *Ep.* 95 immediately follows *Ep.* 34 and it was originally joined to it: the Lemmatist then separated the two and added a lemma (ἀνάθημα τῆ Ἀθηνᾶ παρὰ Πύρρου τοῦ Ἡπειρώτου) without specifying the author; it is Planudes who added the headings to all three, respectively Λεωνίδα; τοῦ αὐτοῦ; τοῦ αὐτοῦ. GP believe that epigram 95 is an intruder in a compact group constituted by the two dedications of the spoils by the Lucanians, followed by Nossis 2, a similar dedication by the Locrians after the defeat of the Bruttians: they suggest that 95 was directly taken from the accounts of the historians and the ascription might have been triggered by the use of the uncommon word *θυροεὺς*. It is not certain whether this is enough ground for inserting the epigram on the dedication by Pyrrhus into this sequence: it is true that the ascription to Leonidas is not attested elsewhere, but was there something which could lead Planudes to believe that Leonidas was the author of the dedication?

As for the circumstances of the dedications, while the third dedication is said to be by a certain Hagnon, the second does not specify who is the dedicant, but it is generally assumed that it is the people of Tarentum, i.e. the fellow citizens of Leonidas, who were often in conflict with the Lucanians. According to Mele (1995), the *terminus ante quem* for the dedications must be 281 BC, when the people of Tarentum and the Lucanians formed an alliance with Pyrrhus and the other people of Magna Graecia against Rome. Besides, after the end of the war between Pyrrhus and Rome, the cities of Magna Graecia were allied with Rome and there was no room for such a conflict.

**Epigram 34: Hagnon dedicates battle spoils from the Lucanians to Athena
Coryphasia**

Ὀκτώ τοι θυρεούς, ὀκτώ κράνη, ὀκτώ ὑφαντούς
θώρακας, τόσσας δ' αἵμαλέας κοπίδας,
ταῦτ' ἀπὸ Λευκανῶν Κορυφασίᾳ ἔντε' Ἀθάνᾳ
Ἄγνων Εὐάνθευς θῆχ' ὁ βιαιομάχος.

*Eight shields, eight helmets, eight woven
Corslets, and just as many blood-stained daggers,
These arms from the Lucanians Hagnon, son of Euanthes,
The strong fighter, dedicated to Coryphasian Athena.*

A.P. 6.129, P1^A [PPI] Λεωνίδου ; Suid. s.vv. θυρεός, αἵμαλέας [1-2]
ἀνάθημα τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ παρὰ Εὐανθέως

2 δ' PPI Suid : θ' Brunck 3 τόσσ' ἀπὸ C^γ

4 Ἄγνων Meineke : Ἄγνων CPI : Ἄγνων P1 Εὐάνθευς C : Εὐανθεὺς P1 : -θέςP

The epigram is one of three (but cf. above on the group) celebrating military victories. In this case, the protagonist is a certain Hagnon son of Euanthes, who dedicates the arms of the defeated Lucanians in batches of eight. The addressee is Athena, evoked in her title of Coryphasia, which betrays some Spartan connection either through Tarentum or from a local Peloponnesian cult (see commentary). It is usually assumed that Hagnon is making a dedication on behalf of the Tarentines, i.e. the fellow citizens of Leonidas, who were often in conflict with the Lucanians, probably before 281 BC (cf. above). The tone is epicising and aims at glorifying the valour of Hagnon and his troops; the detail of the blood-stained daggers either commemorates or mimics a fresh dedication with vividness.

1 Ὀκτώ: the numeral is repeated three times. Mele (1995:123-4) argues that the number is not randomly chosen but it matches the figures quoted by ancient authors for the armies of the Samnites (with all the caution due with such figures in ancient sources): each cohort had 400 soldiers (Livy 10.48.6), each legion 6,000 (Livy 10.38.12) and overall they had 80,000 foot soldiers and 4,000

cavalrymen around 323 BC (cf. Strabo 5.4.12).

θυρεούς: the θυρεός might be the rectangular, oblong shield (Lat. *scutum*) as opposed to the ἀσπίς, the round shield (Lat. *clipeus*): GP note that the Lucanians came from Samnium and according to different sources the Romans adopted this kind of shield from the Samnites, cf. Athen. 7.273f [the Romans] ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ παρὰ Τυρρηγῶν τὴν σταδίαν μάχην φαλαγγηδὸν ἐπιόντων, καὶ παρὰ Σαυνιτῶν δὲ ἔμαθον θυρεοῦ χρῆσιν, παρὰ δὲ Ἰβήρων γαίσιων, καὶ ἄλλα δὲ παρ' ἄλλων μαθόντες ἄμεινον ἐπεξεργάσαντο. In the case of Galatians and Macedonians, however, cf. comm. on *Ep.* 95.1

κράνη: κράνος is a generic word for helmet.

1-2 ὑφαντοῦς / θώρηκας: this should indicate a linen corslet, the kind already mentioned in Homer (*Il.* 2. 529, 2.830 λινοθώρηξ, adj.) and Alcaeus (F 140 Voigt, l.10 θόρορακές τε νέω λίνω): for a detailed account of literary and iconographic sources for this type of armour, cf. Aldrete *et al.* (2013); on a general level, Mele believes this detail to be compatible with an increasing use of lighter armour in the 4th century BC and with representations on frescos from Paestum (Mele 1995:122).

τόσσα: while varying and avoiding the repetition of the numeral eight, the word underlines too how the battle spoils also included offensive weapons, implying that the Lucanians fought back very strenuously.

αίμαλέας κοπίδας: the word κοπίς denotes, besides a cooking knife (e.g. Ar. F 138 K.-A.), a 'single-edged, slightly curved short sword' which became quite common in the 5th century BC (Snodgrass 1999: 97-8), perhaps related to those used by the Persians and Egyptians (Xen. *Cyr.* 2.1.9, 6.2.10). This kind of weapon was very sharp, if we are to believe that it was used against Porus' elephants by Alexander's soldiers (Curt. 8.14.29). The adj. is first found here, and its formation

exploits the Homeric ending -αλέος (found e.g. in ἀργαλέος, κερδαλέος); it is later borrowed by Paulus Silentarius (*AP* 11.60) and Theaetetus Scholasticus (*A.Pl.* 221), and also employed by Nonnus (*D.* e.g. 4.454) and Tryphiodorus (70).

3 ταῦτ'... ἔντε': the word ἔντεα for arms is equally epic (both *Il.* and *Od.*).

ἀπὸ Λευκανῶν: The Lucanians played an important role in the history of Magna Graecia, and they fought in the Samnite wars and the Pyrrhic war between the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the 3rd. It is commonly, and reasonably, inferred that this battle was fought between the Tarentines and the Lucanians.

Κορυφασία Ἀθάνᾱ: this cult title of Athena comes from the Coryphasium peninsula, where Pylos lies, and is recorded in antiquity by Paus. 4.36.2, Clem. Al. *Protr.* 2.28 and Arnob. 4.16 (as well as in coins from Messenia: Imhoof-Blumer&Gardner 1964:69 with plates), and explained either by the fact that Athena was born from the head (κορυφή) of Zeus or from the name of the mother, the Oceanid nymph Coryphe. Other scholars have claimed that some coins from Tarentum show Taras' dolphin on one side and Athena Coryphasia on the obverse, but there is no actual caption clarifying the title of Athena. Scholars have explained this mention in Leonidas either by hypothesising that it is the Polis-cult of Tarentum (Lippolis 1982:91) or the nearby Metapontum with a reference to its Peloponnesian origin (Lippolis *et alii* 1995:333), or by speculating that the dedication might be due to mercenaries from the Peloponnese employed by Tarentum (Mele 2005:114), recalling that Coryphasium is the Spartan name for Pylos according to Thuc. 4.3.2. These hypotheses are all plausible but bound to remain uncertain: at any rate, the dedication is very naturally addressed to Athena, either in a local epiclesis or with a reference to an original mainland cult.

4 Ἄγων Εὐάνθευς: the *LGPN* records ca. 50 occurrences for each of the names, including some in the Peloponnese.

ὁ βιαιομάχος: possibly Leonidas' own neologism, though Polybius does have βιαιομαχεῖν (1.27.12, 5.84.2). The reader might be inclined to think that Hagnon defeated eight opponents on his own, which would prove his bravery and strength

in battle. On the accent of compounds with $\mu\alpha\chi$ -, cf. Hdn 1.232.23 Lentz.

Epigram 35: dedication to Athena of battle spoils from the Lucanians

Αἶδ' ἀπὸ Λευκανῶν θυρεάσπιδες, οἶδε χαλινοὶ
στοιχηδὸν ξεσταί τ' ἀμφίβολοι κάμακες
δέδμηνται, ποθέουσαι ὁμῶς ἵππους τε καὶ ἄνδρας,
Παλλάδι· τοὺς δ' ὁ μέλας ἀμφέχανεν θάνατος.

*These shields taken from the Lucanians, and these bridles
Arranged in a row, and the polished double-pointed shafts
Are set up here for Athena, longing for their horses together
With their men: but black death devoured them.*

A.P. 6.131 Λεωνίδα, P1^A τοῦ αὐτοῦ [sc. Λεων.] ; Sud. s.vv. δέδμηνται [1 οἶδε – 4
Παλλ.], ἀμφέχανε [4]
ἀνάθημα [C] τῆ Ἀθηνᾶ [P]

1 αἶδ' Meineke : οἶδ' PPI Suid. 2 ξεσταί Brunck : -τοί PPI
Sud.4 Παλλάδι PPI : Παλλαδίου Suid.

The epigram gives less context than *Ep.* 34, but refers again to a victory against the Lucanians, and it is not impossible that the two stood together in the same place, although this would not mean that they necessarily refer to the same battle. The perspective is quite different from the preceding epigram and the personification of the spoils adds to the pathos: the last line presents a heavily Homeric character which once again aims at an epicisation of the enterprise.

1 Αἶδ' ... θυρεάσπιδες: the noun is a *hapax*. Mele (1995:126-7) suggests that it refers to a sort of shield whose shape is between rectangular and round, which could find some parallels in vase figures (cf. Saulnier 1983:81-84), the aim of which would be to protect the horseman without obstructing his riding.

ἀπὸ Λευκανῶν: for the Lucanians, see commentary on *Ep.* 34: this might or might refer to the same battle as in that epigram.

οἶδε χαλινοί: the word χαλινός sometimes means *bit* and is equivalent to στόμιον; elsewhere the two things are distinguished (e.g. Hdt 1.215, Pollux 2.100 στόμιον δὲ καὶ χαλινοῦ τι μέρος), the στόμιον being the bit and the χαλινός (presumably) the

bridle connected to it; on other occasions *χ.* can mean the whole head-harness, i.e. bit *and* bridle (e.g. Hdt 3.118), and this should be the meaning intended here, as there would be no point in dedicating just the bits.

2 στοιχηδόν: the word is rather prosaic and used very rarely in poetry, at least before late antique and Byzantine times (A.R. 1.1003-4, *ὡς δ' ὅτε δούρατα μακρὰ νέον πελέκεσσι τυπέντα / ὑλοτόμοι στοιχηδὸν ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι βάλωσιν...*, Dion. Per. 63).

ξεσταί τ' ἀμφίβολοι κάμακες: κάμαξ usually denotes a generic spear, as in e.g. Aesch. *Ag.* 66, Eur. *Hel.* 1155, but the adjectives refer to a specific kind of weapon and style of fighting, as Mele (1995:127) points out. As far as the double-endedness is concerned, Xenophon mentions a δόρυ καμάκινον used by horsemen to harm the enemy (*Xen. Eq.* 12) and suggests that a skilful cavalryman can use either end of the javelin; this seems to be of a kind similar to the ones used by Macedonian soldiers (*Arr. An.* 1.15.5-8) and Roman cavalrymen (*Plb.* 6.25.9). As for ξεστός, a similar adjective (ξυστός), referring to the same weapon, is used in *Ar. F* 418 K.-A. *λόγχοι δ' ἐκαυλίζοντο καὶ ξυστὴ κάμαξ;* besides, *Arr. Tact.* 40.4 mentions ξυστοῖς δόρασιν.

3 δέδμηνται: if we understand this form to be derived from δέμω (with Suidas, followed by Geffcken), then the sense must be together with the adverb *they have been set up [in a row]* as GP saw; we could also derive it from δαμάω (as is δεδμηῆσθαι in *Il.* 5.878, with *schol.* there) and understand they have been vanquished one after the other, even if it would be strange to say that of bridles.

ποθέουσαι: ποθέω denotes a strong longing (often with erotic connotations) and πόθος is usually a desire for something which is far away or absent, or which has been lost, as here. The originality of the image becomes clear when one realises that the armour and weapons seem alive, whereas their masters are dead: GP point to some precedents with inanimate objects, e.g. Aesch. *Ag.* 545 *ποθεῖν ποθοῦντα τήνδε γῆν στρατὸν λέγεις;* (but cf. Medda 2017 *ad loc.*), but the personification of objects is found in Leonidas, cf. *Ep.* 8* 1.6 and *Ep.* 43 ll. 5-6. One could also

compare the anonymous epigram (Paus. 1.13.2 = FGE 142) accompanying the shields of the defeated troops of Antigonos by Pyrrhus at Dodona (for which cf. below on *Ep.* 95), ll. 3-4 νῦν δὲ Διὸς ναῶ ποτὶ κίονας ὀρφανὰ κείται / τᾶς μεγαλαυχῆτω σκῦλα Μακεδονίας, where ὀρφανὰ oddly refers to the shields, as well as the epitaph from Tegea for Kallias (Peek 1971 n.14 = Cairon 2009 n.39), whose death has left his weapons ‘orphan’ (l. 5 ὀρφανὰ δ’ ἔντη: cf. Barbantani 2018:298 with bibliography). The verb ποθέω is used for the shield of the young Athenian Cydias killed by Gauls in 279 BC in an anonymous epigram (Paus. 10.21.5 = FGE CXL), ll. 1-2 ἦμαι δὴ ποθέουσα νέαν ἔτι Κυδίου ἠβην / ἀσπίς ἀριζήλου φωτός κτλ. The image seems to be negated by Nossis *AP* 6.132 = 2 GP, l. 4 [*scil.* ἔντεα] οὐδὲ ποθεῦντι κακῶν πάχεας οὐς ἔλιπον.

4 Παλλάδι: Πάλλας is a cult epithet exclusive to Athena, its origin and meaning unknown and much debated: ancient explanations connected it either with the verb πάλλειν, *to swing* [*scil.* the javelin] or to the name of a giant or a girl killed by Athena. Dedications to Pallas are attested in Athens (for an example of battle spoils, cf. epigram 1a+b in Kaczko 2016), rarer outside Attica. While the epithet in Hom. is always accompanied by the name of the goddess, later it can stand alone to indicate her, e.g. Pi. O. 2.26 (cf. Parker 2008).

ὁ μέλας ... θάνατος ἀμφέχανεν: the phrase is epic, e.g. Hom. *Il.* 2.834, *Od.* 17.326 and Hes. *Op.* 154-5. In Homer the adjective is often used of κῆρ, and in tragedy it occurs in Eur. *Tr.* 1315-1316 while *schol.* Eur. *Alc.* 843, commenting on the word μελάμπεπλον, says εἰδωλοποιεῖται μελαίνας πτέρυγας ἔχων ὁ Θάνατος. The choice of the adj., however, might be influenced by *Il.* 23.79-80 ἀλλ’ ἐμὲ μὲν κῆρ / ἀμφέχανε στυγερῆ, an impression reinforced by the use of the rare compound form ἀμφιχάσκω.

Epigram 95: Pyrrhus dedicates the shields from the Gauls of the army of Antigonus Gonatas

Τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὁ Μολοσσὸς Ἴτωνίδι δῶρον Ἀθάνᾳ
Πύρρος ἀπὸ θρασέων ἐκρέμασεν Γαλατᾶν,
πάντα τὸν Ἀντιγόνου καθελῶν στρατόν· οὐ μέγα θαῦμα·
αἰχμηταὶ καὶ νῦν καὶ πάρος Αἰακίδαί.

*The shields, taken from the brave Gauls, Pyrrhus the
Molossian hung up as a gift to Itonian Athena
After destroying the whole army of Antigonus. No great wonder:
The Aeacids, now as before, are warriors.*

A.P. 6.130 s.a.n., P1^A τοῦ αὐτοῦ [sc. Λεων.]; ἀνάθημα τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ παρὰ Πύρρου
τοῦ Ἡπειρώτου [J]

Paus. 1.13.2, Plut. Vit. Pyrrh. 26, Diodor. 22.11 s.a.n.

1 Μολοσσός Diod. | Τριτωνίδι ...Ἀθηνᾶ Diod 2 Γαλατῶν Diod.
3 ὦ μέγα Diod. 4 αἰχμηταί Diod.

The epigram can be related securely to a military event in 273 BC. After being defeated in Italy, Pyrrhus came back to Epirus around 275/274 BC. Some Gauls also joined what was left of his army. The king began to attack Macedonia, which was then ruled by Antigonus II Gonatas (son of Demetrius Poliorcetes), at first plundering small cities, and then on a larger scale. In 273 BC he engaged in battle with Antigonus in a narrow pass, where the army of the Macedonian king was defeated. Antigonus' rear-guard of Gauls bravely stood its ground and fought to the death, while the king himself fled with a few soldiers. According to Plutarch, Pyrrhus was particularly pleased with this victory (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 26.2 ὁ δὲ Πύρρος ἐν εὐτυχήμασι τοσούτοις μέγιστον αὐτῷ πρὸς δόξαν οἰόμενος διαπεπραχθαι τὸ περὶ τοὺς Γαλάτας). He then dedicated the shields of the Gauls to Athena Itonis, while, according to Pausanias, he dedicated the arms of the Macedonians to Zeus Dodonaius.

The dedication of shields of defeated Gauls was a frequent event in Hellenistic times (cf. Barbantani 2001: 194-99): the shields of the Galatians who invaded Delphi

were dedicated by king Attalus at Delphi (Paus. 10.19.4), while their arms were dedicated at Pergamon (Paus. 1.4.6); and shields are mentioned twice in Callimachus' *Hymn 4* (cf. Giuseppetti 2013:156-64 for ample discussion) in connection with the defeat of the Galatians at Delphi and to the victory of Ptolemy against the rebellious Gauls (though the link between the two events is problematic: cf. Hutchinson 1988:39); cf. Figure 10. The event behind Pyrrhus' dedication is certainly different, as these Gauls were mercenaries of Antigonos and possibly not perceived as a foreign threat like the Gauls who had invaded Delphi (after that invasion, Hellenistic kings had started employing them as mercenaries). The focus is not so much on the barbaric character of the enemy as on their bravery, which contributes to the praise of Pyrrhus' valour.

1 Τοὺς θυρεούς: for this kind of shield, see the commentary on *Ep.* 34, but in this case the word could also refer to the type of oval shield pictured in some Hellenistic frescoes and reliefs: cf. Barbantani (2001: 194-7) with bibliography.

ὁ Μολοσσός... Πύρρος: the Molossi used to live in Epirus: the Molossian kings claimed descent from Achilles because his son Pyrrhus supposedly settled in Epirus after the Trojan war (cf. Apollod. 6.12).

Ἴτωνίδι ... Ἀθάνᾳ: Iton or Itonus was a city in Phthiotid Achaea, which hosted a most important sanctuary of Athena which was predominant in Thessaly: for an extensive treatment of this cult, cf. Lalonde (2020, and esp. 81-84 for discussion on the hypothetical place of this dedication, which is disputed).

2 ἀπὸ θρασέων ... Γαλατᾶν: the rear-guard of Antigonos' army, made up by Gauls, stood its ground and died bravely in battle against Pyrrhus, according to Plut. *Pyrrh.* 26, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς οὐραγίας τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου τεταγμένοι Γαλάται, συχνοὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες, ὑπέστησαν εὐρώστως (after the account of the battle, Plutarch then quotes this dedication, cf. above). The adj. might praise the adversary, while at the sametime exalting by contrast the valour of Pyrrhus' army

which managed to defeat them, but its semantic connotation include also *rash*, *insolent*.

ἐκρέμασεν: as sometimes happens, a more specific verb stands for a general verb of dedication like τίθημι, which suggests that the spoils are hanging from the walls of the sanctuary.

3 οὐ μέγα θαῦμα: the expression μέγα θαῦμα is Homeric (*Il.*, *Od.*, *HH*, e.g. ὦ πόποι ἦ μέγα θαῦμα τόδ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὄρωμα *Il.* 13.99) and imitated also by other Hellenistic poets (A.R.1.943, Aratus 15, 46, Mosch. *Europa* 2.38) and later by Imperial poets, here negated, similarly to Pi. *N.* 10.50-1 οὐ θαῦμα σφίσιν | ἐγγενὲς ἔμμεν ἀεθληταῖς ἀγαθοῖσιν and Archelaus *SH* 129.6 οὐ θαῦμα βλαστεῖν τὸν διφυῆ Κέκροπα, thus adding almost a humorous note to this solemn dedication.

4 αἰχμηταὶ... Αἰακίδαί: the word means *valiant warrior* or more generally *spearman*, and it often occurs in Homer: it is used of Achilles at *Ba.* 13.100 ([αἰ]χμητὰν Ἀχιλλέα) and of the Aeacids in Pi. *N.* 5.8-10 (ἥρωας αἰχμητὰς... Αἰακίδας). The same word is used by Theocritus to give a solemn tone in 16.103 (of Hiero) and 17.56-7 (of Ptolemy). On the Aiacidæ, cf. Garouphalias (1979²:165-70) with bibliography.

καὶ νῦν καὶ πάρος: the emphasis is on the ancestry that Pyrrhus himself stressed, claiming direct descent from Achilles.



Figure 10: Marble statue of Apollo trampling on the shields of the Galatians, Delos, 2nd cent. BC, thought to be a copy of a votive statue from Delphi to commemorate the victories against the Galatians (source: [Wikimedia Commons](#)).

2.1.5 Dedications by rustics and shepherds

Dedications set in rustic and rural environments are placed at the intersection of dedicatory epigram, whether that is fictional or born of a genuine dedication, and the Hellenistic taste for bucolic scenery. In this section I have grouped both dedications *stricto sensu* (*Epp.* 5, 26, 47, 48, 49, 53, 81, 82, 97, 3) and prayer-like epigrams (*Epp.* 6, 80) which could however be envisaged as accompanying a dedication.¹⁶⁶ Some thematic sub-groups can be identified, such as the epigrams for 'heroic shepherds' (47, 48, 49), for which cf. Introduction 1.5.1, Epic language and diction, or epigrams to accompany the setting up of Herms (26, 81). The general emphasis seems to be on the value of the dedications and the people making them, whether it is stressing their good intentions in spite of the poor means, as in the case of Micalion's Herm from *Ep.* 26, or the incredible efforts that originated them, as in the case of the animal hides obtained with fierce fights by the 'heroic shepherds'. An ample array of bucolic deities and semi-deities are addressed (Pan, Nymphs, Satyrs) along with Zeus and Hermes due to some of their specific functions (cf. commentary).¹⁶⁷ The overall picture is consistent with that of the majority of the corpus, i.e. to ennoble the status of humble folks, occasionally with some irony, but if the Neoptolemus from *Ep.* 3 is really to be identified with a royal figure, as is possible (cf. commentary), we would have a striking example of the opposite process, that is of making a royal figure look humble and devout to rustic deities.

¹⁶⁶ This is very likely at least for *Ep.* 80: cf. comm. there.

¹⁶⁷ Priapus is also represented in three epigrams, which we have treated separately due to the peculiarity of the *Priapea* genre, though two of them present markers of rusticity.

Epigram 5: Aristocles dedicates a drinking vessel to a rustic shrine of the Nymphs

Πέτρης ἐκ δισοῆς ψυχρὸν καταπαλμένον ὕδωρ, 1
χαίροις, καὶ Νυμφέων ποιμενικὰ ξόανα
πέτραι τε κρηνέων καὶ ἐν ὕδασι κόσμια ταῦτα
ὑμέων, ᾧ κοῦραι, μυρία τεγγόμενα,
χαίρετ'· Ἀριστοκλέης ὄδ' ὁδοιπόρος, ᾧπερ ἄπωσα 5
δίψαν βαψάμενος, τοῦτο δίδωμι γέρας.

*O cold water which darts down from the double rock,
Hail! And you shepherd-wrought images of Nymphs,
And rocks around the springs, and these countless figures
Of yours, Maidens, soaked in the waters,
Hail! I, Aristocles the wayfarer, give you as a gift
This thing with which, dipping it into water, I warded off my thirst.*

A.P. 9.326 (caret Pl) [C] Λεωνίδου Ταραντίνου

1 κατεπαλμ- Dindorf 3 κρηνέων Ap. B. : -ναίων P
5 Ἀριστοκλέης ὄδ' Meineke : -κλή σὲ δ' P : Ἀριστοκλέης δέ Jacobs
6 τοῦτο Heringa : του τι P | κέρας Salm.

Depictions of a *locus amoenus* where water flows and which is therefore sacred to some deity are already found in the *Odyssey* and appear throughout Greek literature, partially through the intermediary of a famous scene from Plato's *Phaedrus* (230b-c), which stood as the prototype for the Hellenistic *locus amoenus*.¹⁶⁸ The subgenre of dedicatory epigrams exploits this by creating an idyllic narrative with the pretext of an object which a passer-by dedicates to the deities of the place. As in other cases, the epigram is construed backwards, as it were, i.e. by first describing the pleasantness of the place and then narrowing the focus to the reason why the epigrammatist is indulging in such description: it is only in l. 5 that we learn the name of the person who makes the dedication and his reasons for doing so. The structure of the epigram is pervaded by a sense of doubling (the rocks, the water, and the Nymphs are all mentioned twice), as noted by Prioux (2017a:13),

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Fantuzzi-Hunter (2005:146).

and more generally by a multiplication of elements; one can imagine a further level implicit in the reflection of all these figures in the water. The dedication by Aristocles is added to a large quantity of votives which were left at the spot by local people, thus contributing to this sense of multiplication.

1-2: the address to these natural features somewhat resembles the farewells by tragic heroes to their land, e.g. Soph. *Aj.* 859-863, and esp. the address of Philoctetes to his cave in Soph. *Phil.* 1452-71 (1454-7 νύμφαι τ' ἔνυδροι λειμωνιάδες, / καὶ κτύπος ἄρσην πόντου προβολῆς, / οὐ πολλάκι δὴ τοῦμὸν ἐτέγχθη / κρᾶτ' ἐνδόμυχον πληγαῖσι νότου...); at the same time it is inserted in the tradition of epigrams on fountains and springs which refresh the wayfarer (e.g. Leon. *Ep.* 86* = A.Pl. 230, Anyte *Ep.* 3 = A.Pl. 291), though unusually it addresses the place itself rather than travellers.

Πέτρης ἐκ δισσηῆς: the expression could mean that there are two rocks or that the rock has two ledges: the same ambiguity in Leon. *Ep.* 29 (= AP 9.337), δισσὸν ὄρος.

ψυχρὸν ... ὕδωρ: the cold and thus refreshing stream of water is a key feature of such descriptions, already in Hom. *Od.* 17.205-11 (ll. 209-10 κατὰ δὲ ψυχρὸν ῥέεν ὕδωρ/ὕψόθεν ἐκ πέτρης) and Sapph. 2.5 L.-P. (in both cases the water is ψυχρός). It features in proto-bucolic scenes such as Plat. *Phaedr.* 230b6 and is then a recurrent feature in the bucolic *locus amoenus* (Theocr. 1.9 ἀπὸ τᾶς πέτρας καταλείβεται ὑψόθεν ὕδωρ, 5.33 ὕδωρ τουτεῖ καταλείβεται ψυχρὸν, 5.47 ἐνθ' ὕδατος ψυχρῶ κρᾶναι δύο, 9.9 ἔστι δέ μοι παρ' ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν, 11.47 ἔστι ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ).

καταπαλμένον: Dindorf, followed by other editors, wanted to alter the word to κατεπαλμένον, epic aor. participle of κατεφάλλομαι (attested in A.R. 2.583, *Il.* 11.94 and Opp. *Cyn.* 3.120), which should be understood as 'leaping down'. However, as GP and Bühler (1960:150-1 on Mosch. *Europa* 2.109) argued, on the

basis of Hsch. καταπάλλμενος· καταπηδήσας and other passages (e.g. Nonn. *D.* 18.13), the change does not seem necessary and we can understand the form as deriving from καταπάλλομαι, which would be more appropriate since the function of ἐπί in κατεφάλλομαι would not be entirely clear (GP). Cf. also West on Hes. *Th.* 855.

2 καὶ Νυμφέων ποιμενικὰ ξόανα: wooden statuettes of the Nymphs, made by rustic people of the surroundings or by passers-by. Many votives representing Nymphs and other rustic deities have been found in caves in Greece (though of course no wooden material has survived): cf. Larson (2001: 226-267) for images and discussion and Ustinova (2009, ch. 2). On the *xoana* in general, cf. Donohue (1988).

3-4 πέτραι τε κρηνέων: if one takes the gen. as connected to the rocks, it will presumably mean the rocks around these springs, but Hecker (Comm. Crit. 2.118) suggested constructing it with the following ἐν ὕδασι. Though the phrasing of the former interpretation is odd, the water later in the line seems more likely to be a specification for the κόσμια.

3-4 καὶ ἐν ὕδασι κόσμια ταῦτα / ὑμέων, ὧ κοῦραι, μυρία τεγγόμενα: as Meineke suggested, the expression will be equivalent to κοροκόσμια, which should denote figurines of the Nymphs made of wax or chalk (*schol.* Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 51); *An. Bekk.* 102.5 also says that wooden figurines placed at crossroads are called κόραι in Attica, and κόραι and ἀγάλματα are found in the idyllic scenery of Plat. *Phaedr.* 230b mentioned above. The following vocative κοῦραι, addressing the Nymphs, resembles ποταμοῦ κόραι of Moero *Ep.* 2.1 GP (*AP* 6.189). The specification ἐν ὕδασι could allude to figurines actually immersed in water (*pace* GP *ad loc.*), ‘much as we throw coins into fountains today’ (Larson 2001:51, with image of Athena and doll votives at a fountain on a vase). The word μυρία can be understood either as adverbial with the participle (*constantly*) or just as meaning *countless*.

5 χαίρετ’: for the repetition of the address, cf. the examples from tragedy quoted above at 1-2.

Ἀριστοκλέης ὄδ' ὄδοιπόρος: the word qualifies the person who made the dedication but also the potential passer-by who might stumble upon the cave and the votives just as Aristocles did. For a similar use of ὄδε, cf. Maecius *AP* 9.249.2.

5-6 ᾠπερ ἄπωσα / δίψαν βαψάμενος, τοῦτο δίδωμι γέρας: the verb ἀπωθεῖν is used for shaking off or casting away something physical, but also an emotion (e.g. pain) or ὕπνον (e.g. Theocr. 21.21), or thirst as here and in the anonymous *AP* 9.142. The γέρας (which Salmasius, followed by others, unnecessarily wanted to correct into κέρας) is the unnamed votive object, which will be a drinking vessel.

Epigram 6: prayer to the Nymphs by Timocles

Νύμφαι ἐφυδριάδες, Δώρου γένος, ἀρδεύοιτε
τοῦτον Τιμοκλέους κᾶπον ἐπεσσύμεναι·
καὶ γὰρ Τιμοκλέης ὑμῖν, κόραι, αἰὲν ὁ καπεύς
κάπων ἐκ τούτων ὄρια δωροφορεῖ.

*Water Nymphs, offspring of Dorus, quickly
Irrigate this garden of Timocles:
For to you, Maidens, Timocles the gardener always
Brings seasonal gifts from these gardens.*

A. P. 9.329 (caret Pl) [C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ [sc. Λ.Τ.] εἰς τὰς Νύμφας παρὰ Τιμοκλέους
κηπουροῦ

2 ἐπεσσύμεναι anon. in marg. Ap. Vat.: ἐπεσσύμεναι P 3 ὑμῖν
Jacobs : ὑμῖ P4 κάπων anon. in marg. ap. Vat. : κάσπων P

The gardener Timocles addresses the Nymphs, asking them to irrigate his property. The epigram might have accompanied a depiction of the Nymphs or an offering to them, as in e.g. *Ep.* 5, or perhaps pretended to do so. The prayer follows a common pattern: if the garden is irrigated, Timocles will keep bringing gifts to the Nymphs as he usually does. The address to the Nymphs, called ‘offspring of Dorus’ (cf. below for problems of interpretation) is accompanied with consistent doricisms (cf. Introduction, 1.5), which makes this one of the epigrams of L. in which the dialectal pattern is more uniform: this might have to do with the real or imagined place of the dedication, possibly a Doric-speaking region, though as usual it is hard for us to grasp. The structure presents an elegant chiasmus (Nymphs – Timocles – Timocles – *korai*), very similar to the pattern of *Ep.* 39; as was the case there, the repetition of the proper name is placed in variation once in the hexameter and once in the pentameter and there are deliberate repetitions with parechesis and polyptoton (κᾶπον, καπεύς, κάπων).

1 Νύμφαι ἐφυδριάδες: there are many kinds of water nymphs (extensive list in Ruge 1937:1533-4, and cf. Larson 2001:3-8 for a discussion of taxonomies): this

specific group is first mentioned by Hellenistic poets, i.e. Call. *Ait.* F 66.2 Pf./Harder =165 Massimilla (cf. Harder *ad loc.*), Alex. Aet. F 3.22 Magnelli (*apud* Parthen. 14), and Hermocreon *AP* 9.327 = 2 GP (though his date is hard to determine and he may depend on Leon.); conjectural in Moero 2 GP. Massimilla (on Call. F 165) thinks that Leon. depends on either Call. or Alex. Aet., but caution is required (Lightfoot 1999:467); for the chronology of Call. and Leon., cf. Introduction. The same nymphs are also mentioned in Artemid. 2.38; Ὑδροιάδες Nymphs appear in 'Plato' *AP* 9.823 and Paul. Sil. *AP* 6.57, and Porph. *Antr.* 13 says that they include πηγᾶιαι and ναΐδες. The nymphs are here less dangerous than in other Hellenistic passages such as in Theocritus *Id.* 13.43-57 (in the pattern of deadly waters and ominous women that Segal 1974 explored) and they are instead appealed to for their more benevolent powers.

Δώρου γένος: the expression has puzzled editors and triggered several emendations. With GP, it is not necessary to alter γένος, when one thinks of e.g. Moero *AP* 6.189 = 2 GP ποταμοῦ κόραϊ, Call. *Hymn* 4.109, 4. 256 ποταμοῦ γένος (of the Deliades). This, however, led to different explanations of Dorus: Unger and Geffcken, comparing Hesychius ε7593 Ἐχεδωρίδες· αἱ νύμφαι, interpreted Δώρου γένος as ἔχεδωρίδες from the Macedonian river Ἐχέδωρος, called Δῶρος in the ms of Scylax 66.2 (modern Gallikos) and for which Geffcken (*ad loc.*) compares abbreviations such as Φράδμων for Πολυφράδμων. The solution that GP suggest hesitantly, about which Waltz had been already more confident, i.e. that the Nymphs are the progeny of Dorus (i.e. the son of Hellen and the nymph Orseis and eponym of the Dorians) in the sense that they inhabit a Dorian land, might not be implausible: one source (Serv. *ad Aen.* 2.27) takes this Dorus to be the same as the son of Poseidon and a nymph, who founded Dora in Phoenicia (Claudius Iolaous *FGrH* 788 F 2 *apud* Steph. Byz. s.v. Δῶρος), and Meineke thought this was the reference here (or alternatively suggested reading Δώτου, the founder of Dotion in Thessaly). Both Doruses, at any rate, are sons of a nymph.

2 Τιμοκλέους: a well attested name in inscriptions.

κᾶπον: the word denotes a fertile place, but as opposed to a field (ἄρουρα) it is specifically a plantation or an orchard cultivated for pleasure and which receives particular care (cf. Gow on Theocr. 18.30), notably water in abundance (cf. the simile in Hom. *Il.* 21.257-62, and e.g. Eur. *Hipp.* 78, *El.* 777). The Doric form might remind the reader of several mythical or semi-mythical orchards in Pi. *O.* 9.26-7 Χαρίτων...κᾶπον, *P.* 5.24 κᾶπον Ἀφροδίτας and *P.* 9.53 Διὸς... κᾶπον (i.e. Cyrene's region).

ἐπεσσύμεναι: the dedicant asks the Nymphs to provide water in a rush, as if in a time of drought (GP).

3 Τιμοκλήης: the repetition of the name is found also in *Ep.* 39. The word, though this time in the pentameter, occupies a similar position.

κόραι: the name is often used for Nymphs and cf. also comm. on *Ep.* 5, l.4.

3-4 ὁ καπεύς / κάπων ἐκ τούτων: the parechesis and the *figura etymologica* (καπεύς is a *hapax*) make the line remarkable and possibly try to convey the idea of Timocles as a person of lowly status; for a similar effect, cf. Γρίπων ὁ γριπεύς in *Ep.* 66*.

ῶρια δωροφορεῖ: the adj. should mean 'in season' as in *Od.* 9.131 and Theocr. 15.112. For the transitive use of the verb, cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 675, and cf. also Archimelus *SH* 202.16, καὶ νάσοις καρπὸν πίωνα δωροφορῶν (of the ship *Syracusia* of Hiero II). The idea is that the Nymphs would also benefit from watering the garden, since Timocles assiduously makes seasonal offers for them. The choice of words might aim at a sound play (ῶρια δωροφορεῖ).

Epigram 26: Micalion the woodsman consecrates a Herm

Υλοφόρου τῶγαλμα, ὁδοιπόρε, Μικαλίωνος,
Ἐρμῆς· ἀλλ' ἴδε τὸν κρήγυον ὑλοφόρον,
ὡς ἐξ οἰζυρῆς ἠπίστατο δωροδοκῆσαι
ἐργασίης· αἰὲν δ' ὠγαθός ἐστ' ἀγαθός.

*This statue of Hermes, wayfarer, is a gift of Micalion
The woodsman. But look at this worthy woodsman,
How he managed to give gifts even from his miserable
Livelihood: the good man is always good.*

A.P. 9.335 P^B [CPI] Λεωνίδου [C] Ταραντίνου εἰς ἄγαλμα Ἐρμοῦ

1 τῶγάλμαθ' P Μικαλλίωνος P : Μικαλ- P1 2 Ἐρμῆς Jacobs : Ἐρμῆς δ'
P1 | ἀ λίδετον P : δ' ἀλλ ἴδε τὸν P1 3 ἠπίστατο P1 : ἠπίστασο P

This epigram reproduces a fictitious inscription on a Herm, dedicated by the woodsman Micalion, who is proud to have produced such an offering despite his humble profession: after all, he says, *the good man is always good*, as if to say that the devotion is what counts (and the devout man will always do his best according to the available resources).¹⁶⁹ We know from different sources that Herms had different functions:¹⁷⁰ they marked the entrance of houses (Thuc. 6.27.1, cf. also Parker 1996:81-3), city limits (if we are to believe Paus., e.g. 2.38.7) and private borders (as the epigrams of *AP* testify). Furthermore, judging by the epigrams, owners of gardens left fruit and shepherds left milk by the herms for the passers-by¹⁷¹ (presumably in order to dissuade them from plundering their property). In addition to this, the Herms could be placed at crossroads (cf. Rückert 1998:222). We should then imagine Micalion placing the Herm at the border of his property, or perhaps near a crossroads by his property. The humble nature of the

¹⁶⁹ In a similar way, Hor. C. 3.23 ll. 17-20 *Immunis aram si tetigit manus / non sumptuosa blandior hostia / mollivov aversos Penatis / farre pio et saliente mica.*

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Lullies (1931), Rückert (1998).

¹⁷¹ For both customs, cf. Suidas s.v. Ἐρμαῖον (ε3030): τὸ ἀπροσδόκητον κέρδος. ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς τιθεμένων ἀπαρχῶν, ἃς οἱ ὁδοιπόροι κατεσθίουσιν. ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν σωρῶν τῶν λίθων, αἱ τῶ Ἐρμῆ ἀνέκειντο.

statue may consist of the material:¹⁷² it would be plausible for a woodsman to carve such a figure out of wood. The epigram resembles Leon.*Ep.* 39 GP (= *AP* 6.355), in which a mother dedicates a portrait of her son to Dionysus specifying that the object is of poor quality, and justifying this with her own poverty (cf. there). However, the use of the word δωροδοκῆσαι seems to imply that Mikalion is expecting something in return from Hermes, even if the gift is poor, thus possibly shedding a different light on this kind of offering. Leonidas also has a joking epigram on a double herm of Hermes/Heracles (*Ep.* 27*), and herms enjoyed some popularity in Hellenistic poetry, when one considers that they are the speaking voices of Call. *Ia.* 7 and 9.

¹⁷² As already suggested by Waltz (*ad loc.*).

1-2: the structure of the first couplet is symmetrical: it opens and closes with the same word, while the first line closes with the name of the dedicant and the second line opens with the name of the god.

1 Ὑλοφόρου: the word is very rare: it is attested only as the title of a 424 BC comedy by Aristomenes (Ὑλοφόροι, of which we have no fragments: cf. Test. 4a K.-A.) and in Plb. 3.55.9, who uses it to describe a piece of land along with δενδροφόρος; Ar. *Ach.* 272, however, has ὕληφόρον.

τῶγαλμα: P's reading τῶγάλμαθ' was probably introduced to avoid hiatus (and, as Hermann noted, would have to be changed in τὰγ- at any rate), but the correction is plainly wrong as it would certainly not make sense to have two statues. Besides, hiatus at a feminine caesura, though not elsewhere in Leonidas, is common in Theocritus (cf. Gow 1952.2:134 on Theocr. 7.8). It seems natural that the statue is of Hermes, as the Corrector already thought (C: εἰς ἄγαλμα Ἑρμοῦ). Not all commentators are comfortable with the construction: if this interpretation is correct, one has (with GP) to interpret *Hermes [i.e. the Herm] is a gift of Micalion* (with ἄγαλμα equivalent to ἀνάθημα, cf. IG I³ 64.21, 430-20 BC, τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα); alternatively *the (votive) statue is (a gift) of Micalion the woodsman, a Herm.*

ὁδοιπόρε: an address to passers-by is very common in epigrams, especially sepulchral ones (e.g. anonymous *AP* 7.2b, Alcaeus of Messene *AP* 7.247 and 7.205, and a tomb-inscription is imitated in Theocr. 23.47). The address makes sense if the statue is placed at crossroads or at least on the border of Micalion's land (cf. below).

Μικαλίωνος: the name in this form is attested in inscriptions, though not abundantly (12 occurrences in *LGPN*), but some editors prefer to emend to Μικκαλίων given that the oscillation is common in names with this stem. The form with the double κ is attested only twice in inscriptions, as well as in Demosthenes 32.11. Interestingly, Call. *Ep.* 26 Pf. = 47 GP (= *AP* 7.460) features a Μικύλος, described as poor but honest. One wonders if the name is chosen, just like Μίκιθος in Leon. *Ep.* 39 GP (= *AP* 6.355), to play on a contrast between little/big (cf. commentary there).

2 Ἐρμῆς: it is likely that the word refers to ἄγαλμα, meaning a statue of Hermes, i.e. a Herm. An alternative reading is that the statue is of Micalion, and Ἐρμῆς is a nominative for a vocative, but this is very unlikely. The Herm will be placed at a crossroads, a custom attested also by other epigrams (Anyte *AP* 9.314 = 17 GP and anonymous *AP* 10.12).

ἴδε: Meineke thought that this was addressed to Hermes, which is very unlikely; equally unlikely is Jacobs's suggestion that we read it as an unaugmented aorist indicative with Hermes as a subject. It is perfectly natural to read it as addressed to the wayfarer mentioned at l.1. For ὁράω followed by a clause, cf. LSJ s.v. II c (e.g. [Aesch.] *PV* 92 ἴδεσθέ μ', οἷα πρὸς θεῶν πάσχω θεός).

τὸν κρήγυον: the word is a *hapax* in Homer (*Il.* 1.106 μάντι κακῶν, οὐ πῶ ποτέ μοι τὸ κρήγυον εἶπες), whose meaning was disputed in antiquity: some scholia and lexicographers interpret it as *good*, and some as *true*. The second meaning seems to be wrong and to have its origin in an alternative reading of the Homeric passage. The word is used in both senses by Hellenistic poets: in the first sense, *good*, by e.g. Herod. 4.46 (cf. Headlam 1922 *ad loc.*), 6.39, Damagetus *AP* 7.355 = 8 GP and Phoen.F 6.4 Powell, and in the latter sense of *true* by e.g. [Theocr.] 20.19); κ[ρ]άγυον in Cerc.F 7.14 Powell (= 3.10 Lomiento) is more ambiguous (cf. Lomiento *ad loc.*). Given the occurrence in Archil. F 24.5, and in choliambic in Call. F 193.30 Pf., Herodas and Phoenix, Sens (2011:205) suggests that the word might originally have been 'a feature of the Ionic vernacular' (but cf. already Schwyzer 1922:18-21); he also plausibly suggests that Hellenistic poets played on the literary debate around this word, a very common technique in Hellenistic literature. Leonidas himself seems to use the word in both senses: here meaning *good* and in *Ep.* 10 GP (= *AP* 7.648) meaning *true*. On the history of the word, cf. Degani (1998:12-13). The article before the caesura is never found before Hellenistic times, and even then is usually preceded by prepositions (cf. West 1982:158), e.g. Call. *AP* 12.149 (= *Ep.* 45 Pf. = 10 GP), 1.4 and Asclep. *AP* 12.162 = 23 GP, l. 4 but it is notably frequent in Leonidas (*Ep.* 40 l.4, *Ep.* 41* l.4, *Ep.* 52* l.4, *Ep.* 56* l. ll. 4, 6). Cf. Introduction 1.5.1 for Homeric

hapax legomena.

3 ἐξ οἰζυρῆς ... ἐργασίης: the adjective is associated in archaic poetry with the miserable condition of human life (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 13.569; in Hes. *Op.* 639 it is used of Askra) and this use is picked up by Hellenistic poets: Call. *Hec.* F 298 = 115 Hollis (referring to mortals), *Hymn* 2.24 (referring to Niobe turned into a weeping rock), Theocr. *Id.* 10.1, and A.R. 4.1630, where as here it is used of manual labour, there of the toils of ploughmen (...ὅς τ'ἀνέπασσεν οἰζυροῦς ἀροτῆρας). The adj. also recurs in Leon. *Ep.* 63, l.1.

δωροδοκῆσαι: the verb always technically means *to give gifts*, and therefore most of the time *to bribe* (e.g. Hdt 6.72.1, Plat. *Resp.* 9.590a). Modern lexica do consider this instance, along with Strato (*AP* 12.204 = 45 Floridi, Τυδείδης Γλαῦκον ἔδωροδόκει), as an attestation of a neutral sense of the verb, i.e. *to give gifts*; however, it is possible that in both cases at least a hint at the original connotation remains (so thinks Floridi 2014² *ad loc.* of Strato's epigram).

4 αἰὲν δ' ὠγαθός ἐστ' ἀγαθός: the last line is the moral and the ultimate point of the epigram. It seems to draw on the locution ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, which is extremely common in inscriptional dedications. The point is that the dedication is valuable as long as the one who makes it is good and devout (but cf. above), but also that the good man finds a way to express his devotion regardless of his poverty. For a similar message, cf. *Ep.* 39.

Epigram 47: Teleson the shepherd dedicates implements to Pan

Τοῦτο χμαιοβοβάτα Τελέσων αἰγώνυχι Πανὶ
τὸ σκύλος ἀγρείης τεῖνε κατὰ πλατάνου
καὶ τὰν ῥαιβόκρανον ἐυστόρθυγα κορύναν,
ἃ πάρος αἰμωποὺς ἐστυφέλιξε λύκους,
γαυλοὺς τε γλαγοπήγας ἀγωγαῖόν τε κυνάγχαν 5
καὶ τὰν εὐρίνων λαιμοπέδαν σκυλάκων.

*For the goat-mounter, goat-footed Pan, Teleson
stretched out this hide on a wild plane,
Along with this well-pointed shepherd's staff, with a crooked head,
With which he used to strike bloody-eyed wolves,
And the bowls for curdling milk, his dog-leash
And the collar of his keen-scented hounds.*

A.P. 6.35 ἀνάθημα Τελέσωνος τῷ Πανὶ Λεωνίδου Π^A Λεωνίδου
Suid. s.vv. ἀγρεία ἀοιδή (2), ῥαοιβός (3), αἰμωπούς (4), γαυλός (5 γ. τ. γλ.),
ἀγωγαῖος (ἀ.τ.κ.), λαιμοπέδη (6)

2 σκύτος Suid. | ἀγρείης PIP^{pc} : ἀγρείης Suid. P^{ac}
4 ἃ PPI Suid. v.l. : αἰ Suid. v.l. 5 γαυλοὺς CPI Suid. : γλαυγούς P |
ἀγωγαῖον Lascaris : ἀγωγαῖ- PPI Suid.
6 τὰν Suid. : τῶν PPI | λαιμοπέδαν CPI Suid. : -δων P

A rustic named Teleson dedicates several objects to Pan, described with colourful epithets: the skin of an animal (a wolf, or maybe a lion: cf. commentary), a staff or club with which he used to ward off wolves, bowls to curdle the milk and two items related to his hounds, most likely a leash and a collar.

The implication seems to be that Teleson is 'retiring' from his apparently adventurous career as a shepherd, and, as customary, dedicating the tools of his job. Since the items are predominantly related to hunting, they are understandably dedicated to Pan; the milk bowls are the odd one out, but they are not entirely out of place as a rustic offering, and the idea might also be that of more ordinary activities carried out by Teleson between his fights with threatening dangers. As in *Epp.* 48 and 49, the solemn style imbued with Homeric language and references

(possibly mediated by Apollonius Rhodius, cf. commentary) contribute to characterising Teleson as a pastoral hero of sorts.

1 χιμαιροβάτα: the word does not occur elsewhere, but it seems to be modelled on αἰγιβάτης (of he-goats in Pi. F 201, Philip of Thessalonica AP 6.99; referring to Pan in Nicarchus AP 6.31 = 4 GP, Theocritus AP 9.433 = Ep. 21 GP; but cf. also αἰγοβάτης in Meleager AP 12.41 = 94 GP, of goatherds). Editors oscillate between the meaning of *goat-mounter* and *goat-footed*: however, the latter would not only create an unwanted repetition with the nearby αἰγώνυξ, but it would also be incompatible with the use made by Meleager (the shepherds cannot be *goat-footed*; they can only be *goat-mounters*). Pan having intercourse with goats appears since 5th cent. BC iconography e.g. in the famous statue group found in Herculaneum (Pan 258 in LIMC Suppl. VIII.2), and is explained by the conception of Pan as an incarnation of a he-goat (cf. Borgeaud 1988:67-68).

Τελέσων: the name is well attested in inscriptions, even if this is the only literary occurrence, along with Zonas AP 6.106, who is clearly borrowing from Leonidas (because his Teleson is called λυκορραίστης).

αἰγώνυχι: *hapax* which seems to be a variation on αἰγιπόδης, similar to χιμαιροβάτης with αἰγιβάτης, but anonymous AP 16.258 has αἰγόνυξ for Pan. Αἰγιπόδης occurs twice in the *H. Hymn Pan* (l. 2, 1.37), along with Nicarchus AP 9.330 = 1 GP and Paulus Silentiarius AP 6.57, though the latter is probably looking at Leonidas. Several epithets of Pan refer to his goat-shaped feet, e.g. τραγόπουν AP 16.232 'Simonides' = 5 FGE repeated in Nicodemus AP 6.315, Hdt 2.46 τραγοσκελέα, Ar. Ran. 230 κεροβάτας (but cf. Dover 1993 *ad loc.*). For pastoral elements in compounds, cf. Introduction 1.5.3, Neologisms.

Πανί: Pan is the pastoral god *par excellence*. The origin and the development of his cult are much debated, but through time he came to be the god of shepherds, herds, nature, hunting and fishing, and pastoral music (for an overview, cf. Borgeaud

1983).

2 τὸ σκύλος: with the exception of F 6.1 Bernabé of the *Meropis*, whose date is debated, the word is only found in Hellenistic poetry: [Theocr.] *Id.* 25.142 uses it for the skin of the Nemean lion, perhaps like Call. F 677 Pf. = 60a Harder = 274 Mass., then it is found in Lyk. 1316 (Schneider's correction for ms' σκύτος), Phalaec. *AP* 6.165 l. 2, while in Nic. *Ther.* 422 and *Alex.* 270 it is used for the outer husks of nuts (cf. Hesych. σ1173 s.v. σκύλος: δέρμα, κώδιον. οἱ δὲ ῥάκος. καὶ τριβώνιον, ἢ δέρμα ἄρκου). GP believe it to be the skin of a wolf in light of l.4, but the parallel with [Theocr.] and Call. as well as Leonidas *Epp.* 48 and 49 might also point to a lion (but cf. comm. on *Ep.* 48). Animal skins can be a rustic garment (Hes. *Op.* 543-6 recommend them against the cold, and Lycidas wears a goatskin in Theocr. 7.16), but the hide of larger animals is mostly worn by heroes, e.g. Agamemnon's lion skin in *Il.* 10.23-24, Paris' leopard skin in *Il.* 3.17, and of course that of the Nemean lion (somewhat different is Amycus' lion skin in Theocr. 22.52). The effect will be that of comparing Teleson to a 'pastoral hero', with parallels in other dedications by shepherds in L.

ἀγρείης ... κατὰ πλατάνου: Suidas (α350) glosses the adjective as ἀγροικικός. There is no need to make an effort to identify a precise species (as Waltz did) as ἄγριος referred to trees can just mean *wild*.

3 καὶ τὰν ῥαιβόκρανον ἐυστόρθυγα κορύναν: the next part of the gift is a *club* or *staff*. The first adj. is a *hapax* and presumably means *with a crooked head*, like the one carried by Lycidas in Theocr. 7.18-19 (ῥουκᾶν...κορύναν): this might be identified with a λαγωβόλον, the shepherd's crooked staff which can be used as a weapon, also carried by Pan and occasionally offered to him (as in Leon. *Epp.* 4 and 50, see commentary there). The second adj. only appears here and Crinagoras *AP* 6.232 = 42 GP, where it refers to Priapus (right after the mention of Πανὶ φιλοσκίπωνι), and might also have an obscene *double-entendre* (cf. Ypsilanti 2018:429). The meaning could be *well-pointed*, since στόρθυγξ denotes anything

with a pointed end. Coupled with a lion's skin, the club might also strengthen a heroic parallel with Heracles: his club is called κορύνη at [Theocr.] 25.63 (cf. also Theseus the 'Club-bearer' at Plut. *Thes.* 8.1). As for the prosody of κορύνη, though the *v* is always short in Homer and A.R., it is long elsewhere, e.g. Theocr. *Id.* 25.63, Arat. 639 (cf. Gow on Theocr. 7.19): cf. Introduction 1.6.1, Prosody. The expression taken altogether strikes the reader with its peculiarity.

4 αἰμωπούς: the adjective is first found here, though Euripides frequently uses αἱματωπός, which seems to indicate *with blood-shot eyes*, whether due to monstrosity (of the Erinyes in *Andr.* 978, *Or.* 256, of a δράκων in F 870 Kannicht) or to madness (*HF* 933), or in a literal sense in the case of Oedipus' blinding in *Ph.* 870. In Hom. *Il.* 16.155-63 the Myrmidons are compared to ravening wolves whose jaws are dripping with blood after the killing of a stag, while in *Il.* 16.351-5 the Danaans are compared to wolves who assault the herds of the shepherds. This characterisation of wild wolves contributes to the dramatic overtones of Teleson's enterprises.

ἔστυφέλιξε: cfr A.R. 2.115 Ἴφιτον ἀζαλέη κορύνη στυφέλιξεν ἐλάσσας, of Aretus attacking Iphitus with a club: shortly afterwards (2.123-9) the Bebrycians are compared to wolves breaking into the folds and attacking the sheep, and the Argonauts repel them like shepherds with the help of 'keen-scented hounds': cf. l. 6 of this epigram.

5 γαυλούς τε γλαγοπήγας ἀγωγαῖόν τε κυνάγχαν: the line presents a prominent alliteration of the velar sound (γ).

γαυλούς τε γλαγοπήγας: bowls for curdling milk. The adjective is a *hapax*, possibly Leonidas' own invention and it will mean *for curdling milk*; the first part of the compound uses the Homeric form γλάγος (= γάλα), which Leonidas does systematically: cf. comm. on *Ep.* 80, l. 4. GP point out that Teleson curdles the milk in the same way as Polyphemus in *Od.* 9.223 (γαυλοί τε σκαφίδες τε, τετυγμένα, τοῖς ἐνάμελγεν). This element of the dedication is enclosed between elements

which evoke more action and danger, possibly alluding to more usual activities for a shepherd.

ἀγωγαῖόν τε κυνάγχαν: it should mean *leash for leading dogs*, where the adjective is a *hapax* (Lascaris's restoration of the transmitted ἀγωγαῖον being universally accepted). Rhianus *AP* 6.34 = 6 GP, a dedication to Pan of various objects perhaps influenced by this epigram, features an ἐπαυχένιον τε κυνάκταν, κυνάκταν being the emendation made by the Corrector to the certainly erroneous reading of P καὶ νακτάν, but editors tend to accept Alberti's emendation κυνάγχαν based on this Leonidean parallel. As GP say (on Rhianus 6.3) correcting Leonidas to κυνάκταν on the basis of Rhianus is less attractive, as ἐπαυχένιον suits a collar better than a leash and in Leonidas we already have a collar (λαιμοπέδην), and it is therefore attractive to understand κυνάγχαν as a leash.

6 εὐρίνων... σκυλάκων: the adj. is first attested in tragedy, Aesch. *Ag.* 1093, Soph. *Aj.* 8 (in both cases referring to a hound) and therefore elevates the tone of the expression; another interesting parallel occurs in A. R. 2.125 (for which see above). A dubious case is Nicander F 98 Gow, Ἄρτεμις εὐρίνων ἔσμὸν ἄγει <σκυλάκων>, where σκυλάκων is a supplement based on the entry of EM which preserves the fragment, s.v. εὐρίνων κυνῶν καὶ σκυλάκων; the same entry points out that Xenophon recommends that hunters choose keen-scented dogs (*Cyn.* 4.6). **λαιμοπέδαν:** this should be a *collar*, based on the context and Suidas λ189 λαιμοπέδη: δι' ἧς δεσμεῖται ὁ κύων. The only other occurrences of the word (Antipater of Thessalonica, *AP* 6.109.8 and Archias *AP* 6.16.4) do not help as they seem to imply the meaning of *snare to catch birds* (as explained by Suidas δ253).

Epigram 48: Eualkes the Cretan dedicates the spoils of a marauding animal that he has killed

Τὸν νομῖν καὶ ἔπαυλα βοῶν καὶ βώτορας ἄνδρας
σινόμενον κλαγγάν τ' οὐχὶ τρέσαντα κυνῶν
Εὐάλκης ὁ Κρητῆς ἐπινύκτια μῆλα νομεύων
πέφνε καὶ ἐκ ταύτης ἐκρέμασεν πίτυος.

*The beast which used to ravage pastures, cattle sheds and herdsmen,
Never fearing the baying of dogs,
Eualkes the Cretan slew, while grazing his herds at night,
And hung it on this pine.*

A.P. 6.262 (caret Pl) Λεωνίδα Suid. s.v. Βώτορες (om. v. 3)

1 νομῖν P Suid. : μονῖν sive μονιόν Salmasius : ποιμνην Hecker : τάν τε νομῖν
Meineke 3 νομεύων C : -εὐειν P 4 ταύτης P Suid. : ταύτας Suid. v.l.

Eualkes the Cretan dedicates the skin of a beast who used to ravage fields and flocks. As in *Ep.* 47, the solemn style and references to epic language seem to cast Eualkes in a heroic light. His fight with the beast recalls Homeric similes featuring wild animals which also devastate fields and livestock (cf. commentary and introductory note to *Ep.* 49). Many editors have wanted to identify the unnamed beast, some of them by altering the text, and most take it to be a wolf. The ambiguity, however, might be deliberate: one might of course think of a lion or a wolf (cf. *Epp.* 47 and 49), but the reader might also associate the story with that of the Calydonian boar (Hom. *Il.* 9.538-80), which is said to have devastated the crops and all those who tried to oppose him before Meleager and other heroes. Not naming the beast would actually add to the dramatic effect, and as Geffcken noted it will also mimic inscriptional dedications where an explicit mention of the object is not needed. We might also wonder if the mention of the Cretan ethnicity of Eualkes sheds a different light on the whole poem: is this just a boast from someone whose countrymen are famously known to be liars?

1 Τὸν νομίην: the first words of the poem introduce the animal killed by the shepherd without actually specifying what kind of animal that is. The second word, νομίην, has been doubted by some editors, who wanted to make the mention of the animal explicit: μονίην or μονιόν (Salmasius), which would stand for μονόλυκον (cf Suidas s.v. Μονιός = μ1221: ἄγριος ὕς. ὁ μεμονωμένος· ἢ ὁ μονόλυκος), attested in *AP* 7.289 ad Luc. *Ep. Sat.* 34; other suggestions are τὸν ποιίμνην (Hecker) and τάν τε νομίην (Meineke), while Jacobs wanted to replace κυνῶν in l. 2 with λύκον. If we retain the text as it has been transmitted, τὸν goes with σινόμενον (l.2) and refers to the animal in a more allusive way. We should then take νομίην as a neologism for νομίη (γῆ) with Geffcken and GP, and the late imperial *GDRK* 32 has at l.61 [ὡς δ]ὲ λέων νομίη ἐπὶ φορβάδι θυμὸν ἀλυ[ίω]ν...; the allusiveness would be paralleled by *Ep.* 47 (see there).

βώτορας ἄνδρας: borrowed from Homer (*Il.* 12.302, *Od.* 14.102, *Od.* 17.200). The *Iliad* passage is very relevant here: Sarpedon is about to attack the Trojans and he is compared to a lion attacking the flocks, which does not care about the shepherds guarding the sheep with dogs and spears (σὺν κυσὶ καὶ δούρεσσι φυλάσσοντας περὶ μῆλα): it either seizes a sheep or is hit by a javelin thrown by a swift hand (θοῆς χειρός), and note that in Leon. *Ep.* 49 the lion is killed with a spear by the shepherd. This could suggest that the beast concerned here is a lion, but cf. introduction to the epigram. For Homeric lion similes, cf. Introduction 1.5.1, Epic language and diction.

2 σινόμενον: the devastation of land (but cf. above on l.1) and cowsheds and the killing of men recalls the episode of the Calydonian boar as narrated in the 'Tattoo elegy', col. ii, ll.17-18 σίνετο μὲν [σίτ]ον, σίνετο δὲ σταφυλάς, / πολλοὺς δὲ σκ[ύλ]ακας; the dedication of the head, hide and feet of a boar most likely features in Leon. *Ep.* 51 (see there).

κλαγγάν: the word indicates *any sharp sound* (LSJ), but, with reference to dogs, *barking* must be intended: Xen. *Cyn.* 4.5, 6.17 has κλαγγή καὶ ὕλαγμός (of dogs) and Diod. Sic. 17.92.3 ὁ δὲ κύων οὔτε κλαγγὴν οὔτε μυγμὸν προέμενος; also κλαγγαίνω in Aesch. *Eum.* 131 and κλαγγέω in *AP* 9.432, ascribed to Theocritus,

refer to hounds.

3 Εὐάλκης: the name is not unusual, along with the variant Εὐάλκος, and it belongs to the category of Greek names which are compounds of ἀλκή, *strength*, in their initial part (e.g. Αλκιδάμας) or ending (e.g. Μνασάλκης). As GP point out, here the name is particularly appropriate for the situation (Εὐάλκης, *good in strength*).

ὁ Κρής: Leonidas has other three epigrams on Cretans (*Epp.* 4, 12*, 16). One wonders if the reputation of the Cretans as liars might play a role in how we are to read the epigram: the reader might be inclined to think that Eualkes is exaggerating his bravery with an unbelievable story.

ἐπινύκτια μῆλα: *grazing the nocturnal flocks* for *grazing his flocks at night* seems to be a hypallage, unparalleled if not for Aesch. *Sept.* 381 μεσημβριναῖς κλαγγαῖσιν ὡς δράκων βοᾶ, [Theocr.] 8.16 τὰ δὲ μῆλα ποθέσπερα πάντ' ἀριθμεῦντι (even if Gow *ad loc.* takes ποθέσπερα as adverbial), and Asclepiades (?) *AP* 9.64.1 = 45 GP ποιμαίνοντα μεσημβρινὰ μῆλα, who might have borrowed the expression from here; cf. also Theocr. 16.93 σκνιφαῖον... ὀδίταν, but such use of that adj. is much commoner (cf. Gow *ad loc.*). In the Homeric passage *Il.* 15.324-5, a simile compares the flight of the Greeks before Apollo on the battlefield with the sheep fleeing from two beasts attacking them at night, when the shepherd is absent. The setting of the scene at night might imply that there was no one around to witness the deed – which leaves ample ground for the boasting of Eualkes.

4 πέφνε: the verb itself is not very common, occurring abundantly in Homer (26 in the *Iliad*, 19 in the *Odyssey*), a couple of times in Hesiod (F 43a, plus [Sc.] 65), then in Pindar (*O.* 2.42, 10.27-28, 10.46, 13.90, *P.* 11.37, *I.* 6.31) and Sophocles (*Aj.* 901, *El.* 487, *OT* 1497). It is reused, doubtless with the Homeric model in mind, by Hellenistic poets: A.R. (1.1044, 1.1213, 1.1305, 2.112, 2.798, 3.1180), [Theocr.] 25.181, Call. *Hymn* 2.92. The unaugmented form is rare: it occurs only three times in Homer (*Il.* 13.363, *Od.* 11.453, *Od.* 21.29), where the norm is with the augment, then

once in Bacchylides (*Ep.* 8.13) and a few times in Pindar (e.g. *O.* 10.27, *P.* 11.37, *I.* 6.31). The fact that some of these occurrences deal with heroic killings (the Chimaira in *Pi.* *O.* 13.90, the Gorgon in *Pi.* *O.* 10.46, the Nemean lion killed by Heracles in Theocr., the lion killed by Cyrene in Call.) points to a perception of the verb as epic and related to heroic deeds: this chimes with the presentation of Eualkes as a hero (cf. introductory note).

ἐκ ταύτης ἐκρέμασεν πίτυος: in Longus 2.31.3 Daphnis and Chloe hang the hide and the horns of goats on a pine as an offering to Pan, and the offering is labelled as ποιμενικὸν ἀνάθημα ποιμενικῷ θεῷ. Also, in the well-known myth of Apollo and Marsyas, the flayed satyr's skin is hung up on a pine tree (Luc. *Pod.* 315, ps. *Apoll. Bibl.* 1.24, Nic. *Alex.* 301-4); from Imperial literature onwards, the god's link to the pine is explained by the myth of the Nymph Pitys chased by Pan (cf. comm. on *Ep.* 3). It is perfectly plausible, then, that here too the offering is made to Pan: cf. the dedication of an animal skin (wolf or lion) in Leon. *Ep.* 47.

Epigram 49: Sosus the cowherd dedicates the spoils of a marauding lion

Πυρσῶ τοῦτο λέοντος ἀποφλοιώσατο δέρμα 1
 Σῶσος ὁ βουπάμων, δουρὶ φονευσάμενος
 ἄρτι καταβρύκοντα τὸν εὐθηλήμονα μόσχον·
 οὐδ' ἴκετ' ἐκ μάνδρας αὐτίς ἐπὶ ξύλοχον,
 μοσχείω δ' ἀπέτισεν ὁ θῆρ ἀνθ' αἵματος αἶμα 5
 βληθεῖς· ἀχθεινὰν δ' εἶδε βοοκτασίαν.

*Sosus, rich in cattle, stripped off this hide of a tawny lion,
 After killing it with a spear,
 Just as it was devouring the young calf:
 And it did not return from the fold to the thicket,
 But the beast, pierced, repaid to the calf blood for blood:
 It encountered much grief for its slaughter of cattle.*

A.P. 6.263 τοῦ αὐτοῦ [sc. Λεωνίδα] Pl A sine lemmate Antipatri lxiv coniunctum Suid. s.vv. βρύκοντα (3), ξύλοχος (4), ἀπέτισεν (5), ἀχθεινή (6); Zon. s.v. ἀχθεινή (6) omisso βληθεῖς

1 πυρσῶ Mein. : πυρσῶ P - οὔ Pl | ἀποφλοιώσατο Pl^{ac} (ἀπεφ- Pl^{pc}) : ἀπωφλοιώσατο P 2 βουπάμων Valckenaer : βουπαλίων PPl
 3 καταβρύκοντα Suid. v.l. : -βρύοντα Suid. v.l. : -βρύχοντα PPl | εὐθ. μόσχ. om. Pl
 4 μάνδρας Pl^{pc} : μάνδρης PPl^{ac}Suid. | αὐτίς Pl : αὐθίς PSuid. | ξύλοχον P Suid.: ξυλόχους Pl 5 μοσχείω Mein. : -είω P : -είου Pl. : -ίω Suid.v.l.
 6 οἶδε Suid. v.l. | βοοκτασίαν PPl Suid. : βουκτ- Zon.

The cowherd Sosus dedicates the skin of a lion which he killed after he found it devouring one of his calves. The poem is a variation on a similar theme to *Epp.* 47 and 48, with an added dramatic component in the narrative, i.e. Sosus catching the beast as it was devouring an animal. While a lion might be implied in the other epigrams, the reference here is explicit. Lions are frequently featured in Homeric similes, especially in the *Iliad*¹⁷³ and among these, most cases present lions killing

¹⁷³ For the Homeric similes in general, cf. Fränkel (1921); for the lion similes, cf. Lonsdale (1990) and Hutchinson (2017:161-2).

flocks: *Il.* 5.554, Crethon and Orsilochus are compared to two lions which bring havoc to cattle, sheep and farmsteads until they are themselves killed by Aeneas; *Il.* 10.485, Diomedes is compared to a lion against unguarded flocks of goats or sheep; 11.548, Ajax is compared to a lion driven away by dogs and shepherds, who throw spears at him; 12.302, Sarpedon is like a mountain lion seeking prey among the flocks, even if shepherds and dogs guard them, and he either seizes one or is hit by a spear; 13.198, the two Ajaxes are like lions seizing sheep escaping the guarding hounds; 15.324-5, Apollo and Hector are like wild lions which drive the flocks into confusion at night when the herdsman is not around; *Il.* 17.61, Menelaus is compared to a mountain lion who seizes the fattest heifer, while the herdsmen and hounds clamour but are too afraid of him to do anything; *Il.* 18.161, the two Ajaxes are like shepherds who cannot drive away a tawny lion while he is devouring his prey (the lion is Hector in this case).

As Gutzwiller noted (1991:26) the Homeric hero's counterpart is usually the lion, and though this is not the only comparison available (the phrase ποιμήν λαῶν implicitly compares heroes to shepherds, and in *Il.* 2.474-77 the heroes lining up the warriors are compared to shepherds) Leonidas seems to be reversing the narrative strongly. The result is a heroization of a common person (cf. Gutzwiller 1998:97), but one also has to consider that the idea of a cowherd actually killing a lion is clearly fictitious (in the presence of the lion, if nothing else). The reader is left to wonder, then, if a description of implausible deeds with grandiloquent language might also contain some irony on Leonidas' part.

1 Πυρσῶ τοῦτο λέοντος: the adj. denotes a yellow-reddish colour, i.e. that of the flame, often used for hair and animals, and *tawny* lions in particular: cf. Aristot. *GA* 785b17 λέοντες πυρροὶ πάντες, Aesch. *F* 110 Radt πυρροκόρσου λέοντος Eur. *HF* 359-3 πρῶτον μὲν Διὸς ἄλσος / ἠρήμωσε λέοντος, / πυρσῶ δ' ἀμφεκαλύφθη / ξανθὸν κρατ' ἐπινωτίσας / δεινοῦχάσματι θηρός; note

the Doric form of the genitive. Contrary to L.'s practice in *Epp.* 47 and 48, the beast is here explicitly mentioned.

ἀποφλοιώσατο: first occurrence of the word, which is to be found later only in Nonn. *D.* 14.380, and is derived from φλοιός (*tree bark*). It might aim at giving the idea of a tough, resistant skin in order to stress the difficulty of the slaying, cf. *SH* 903 A.20 σκύλος ἄλκιμον.

2 Σῶσος: the name is not so common in literary texts but widely attested in inscriptions (more than 200 occurrences in *LGPN*); the choice is apt given that he 'saved' his cattle.

βουπάμων: only here and in Leon. *Ep.* 75. It may be formed, as GP reasonably suggest, after the Homeric *hapax* πολυπάμων (*Il.* 4.433, cf. Introduction 1.5.1): Homeric scholia and lexicographers point out that in Doric κτήματα are called πάμματα (which also feature in personal names such as Κλεοπάμων or Ἀριστοπάμων). It gives an epic character to Sosus.

δουρὶ φονευσάμενος: the weapon used by Sosus is more appropriate to a warrior than a herdsman, making his heroization clear.

3 καταβρύκοντα: the verb is quite crude, similarly to ἀπέβροξεν in Leon. *Ep.* 65 l.8, and according to Sens (2020:100) 'perhaps with colloquial resonance (...) given its initial appearance in Hipponax (F 26a.1) and its frequent use in comedy'.

τὸν εὐθηλήμονα μόσχον: the adjective appears only here, whereas εὐθαλής is the norm.

4 ἐκ μάνδρας: rarely found before Hellenistic times (e.g. Soph. F 659), when it appears occasionally in poetry (Theocr. 4.61, Call. *Hymn* 6.105 as well as in Artemidorus *AP* 9.205) and more often in prose.

ἐπὶ ξύλοχον: as noted by Sens (2020:100), the word features in Homeric similes denoting the den of beasts, but there they usually emerge from this den, whereas Leonidas is reversing the direction of the movement, which fits the general reversal of the theme well (cf. introductory note).

5 ἀνθ' αἵματος αἶμα: the idea of Sosus seeking revenge on a destructive beast is grand, and the locution sounds tragic: cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1110-1 ... προτείνει δὲ χεῖρ ἐκ / χερὸς ὀρέγματα, *Ch.* 312-3 ἀντὶ δὲ πληγῆς φονίας φονίαν / πληγὴν τινέτω, 400-2 ἀλλὰ νόμος μὴν φονίας σταγόνας / χυμένας εἰς πέδον ἄλλο προσαιτεῖν / αἶμα (...), Eur. *Ph.* 937-9 χθῶν δ' ἀντὶ καρποῦ καρπὸν ἀντὶ θ' αἵματος / αἶμ' ἦν λάβη βρότειον, ἔζετ' εὐμενῆ / γῆν ...; cf. Introduction 1.5.2, Tragic diction.

6 ἀχθεινὰν δ' εἶδε βοοκτασίαν: the substantive appears only here and at A.R. 4.1724 (Homer has ἀνδροκτασία several times), then in Antip. Sid. *AP* 6.115 1.8 (hence Greg. Naz. *AP* 8.217 1.4 and presumably σοοκτασία in Mel. *AP* 7.421 1.12). In general, the language of tragedy is evoked: cf Eur. *Med.* 1388 πικρὰς τελευτὰς τῶν ἐμῶν γάμων ἰδῶν, Eur. *Ba.* 357 ...πικρὰν βᾶκχευσιν ἐν Θήβαις ἰδῶν (and some paratragic or comic counterparts in Eur. *Cycl.* 589 οἴμοι· πικρότατον οἶνον ὄψομαι τάχα, Ar. *Av.* 1468 πικρὰν τάχ' ὄψει στρεψοδικοπανουργίαν); ἀχθεινός is used twice by Eur. (*Hipp.* 94, *Hec.* 1240). Cf Introduction 1.5.2, Tragic diction.

Epigram 53: Goatherds spared by a lion dedicate a representation of the scene to Zeus

Χειμερίην διὰ νύκτα χαλαζήεντά τε συρμόν 1
 καὶ νιφετόν φεύγων καὶ κρυόεντα πάγον
 μουνολέων καὶ δὴ κεκακωμένος ἀθρόα γυῖα
 ἦλθε φιλοκρήμων ἀύλιν ἐς αἰγινόμων.
 οἱ δ' οὐκ ἀμφ' αἰγῶν μεμελημένοι, ἀλλὰ περὶ σφέων, 5
 εἶατο σωτήρα Ζῆν' ἐπικεκλόμενοι.
 χεῖμα δὲ † θῆρ μείνας θῆρ νύκτιος † οὔτε τιν' ἀνδρῶν
 οὔτε βοτῶν βλάψας, οἴχετ' ἀπαυλόσυνος·
 οἱ δὲ πάθης ἔργον τόδ' ἐυγραφὲς ἀκρολοφῖται
 Ζανὶ παρ' εὐπρέμῳ τᾶδ' ἀνέθεντο δρυϊ. 10

*On a winter night, running away from the sweeping hail
 And snow and biting frost,
 A solitary lion, afflicted in all its limbs,
 Came to the shelter of some goatherds, who frequent steep rocks.
 They, not fearing for their goats, but rather for themselves,
 Sat there invoking Zeus the Saviour.
 But the beast of the night, after waiting for the storm to pass,
 And hurting not one single man nor animal, went away from the shelter:
 The mountaineers dedicated this well-painted depiction of the event
 To Zeus on this thickly-trunked oak.*

A.P. 6.221 Λεωνίδου P^B ἄδηλον Suid. s.v. ἔπαυλις (7 οὔτε -8)

3 ἀθρόα PPI : ἄ. C 4 αἰγινόμων P : αἰγο- PI 6 εἶατο PPI : εἶ. C

7 δὲ θῆρ P : δὲ δὴ PI | θῆρ νύκτιος PPI : διανύκτιος Brunck

8 βοτῶν PI : βροτῶν P Suid. : βροντῶν Suid v.l.

| οἴχετ' PSuid. : ὄχετ' PI | ἀπαυλόσυνος PI : ἐπ- PSuid. : ἐπ' ἄλλο σίνος Maas

9 οἱ Jacobs : εὔ PPI δὲ πάθης ἔργον P : δὲ παθόντες ἄγαλμα PI : δ' ἀπαθεῖς

ἔργον Stadtmüller. | τόδ' ἐυγραφὲς P : τόδε δ' εὐ. C : τόδ' ἐύγ- PI | ἀκρολοφῖται

PI : -φείται P : -φίτα Schneider 10 Ζηνὶ Stadtmüller | τᾶδ' PI : τῶδ' P

A lion seeks shelter in the dwelling of some goatherds during a storm: the men pray to Zeus in fear, and when the beast leaves without doing any harm they dedicate a picture of the episode to Zeus.

This epigram is placed in a series of poems in a Meleagrian context dealing with the same story: a Γάλλος, i.e. a priest of Cybele, encounters a lion in the wilderness and scares him away by playing the sacred cymbals of the goddess (on the series, cf. Gow 1960, Bonsignore 2013, Fantuzzi 2019). The series includes the following epigrams: *AP* 6.217 by 'Simonides' (uncertain date), 6.218 by Alcaeus of Messene (3rd/2nd century BC), 6.219 by Antipater of Sidon (2nd century BC), 6.220 by Dioscorides (late 3rd century BC), 6.221 i.e. the present epigram by Leonidas, 6.237 by Antistius (maybe 1st century AD). As GP suggest (1965:25), it is possible that the Γάλλος-epigrams were inspired by (or composed for) a painting, and as in Leonidas' case the poem by Alcaeus does mention the offering of a painting. A passage by Varro (*Sat. Men.* F 364 Astbury) probably hints at such a depiction: *non uidisti simulacrum leonis ad Idam eo loco ubi quondam subito eum cum uidissent quadrupedem Galli tympanis adeo fecerunt mansuem ut tractarent manibus?* Furthermore, the lion occurs significantly in Catullus' *Attis* (63) and P. Fedeli (1981:256) accepts the hypothesis of Wilamowitz, according to whom Callimachus told the same story in a lost passage of his works.

The story of Leonidas' epigram is similar in structure, i.e. someone praying to the gods when faced with a wild beast and being spared, and the fact that 'Simonides' starts with the same word might point to a deliberate imitation or at any rate indicate that the author recognised the same story in it (so Bonsignore 2013:73). It is also true that theme has the ring of a folktale and parallels are not lacking. Pliny the Elder (*NH* 8.21) tells two similar stories about lions. In the first, Mentor, a native of Syracuse, is scared by a wild lion in Syria before finding out that the beast had a splinter stuck in its paw; he relieved the animal's pain and, says Pliny, a picture at Syracuse commemorated the event. Similarly, Elpis, a native of Samos,

encounters a lion in Africa which opens its mouth as if it were hungry, so he prays to Liber for help. Soon he finds out that the beast had a bone stuck in his teeth and helps it. In the end Elpis finds a temple of Liber which the Greeks called *χεχηνότος Διονύσου* (*of the open-mouthed Dionysus*). In a similar way, Leonidas' lion suffers because of the cold, but the goatherds do not notice that: once he has stayed the night, he calmly goes away. Readers might have their doubts whether or not that was Zeus' intervention, but so thought the goatherds.

1 Χειμερίην διὰ νύκτα: the same word, and similar phrasing, is found in l.1 of 'Simonides' *AP* 6.217 =2 GP (= 42 FGE = 116S Sider), *χειμερίην νιφετοῖο κατήλυσιν ἦνικ' ἀλύξας*. It is likely that one is imitating the other, but chronological uncertainty makes it hard to determine which is the model (cf. introduction to the epigram).

συρμόν: glossed by Suidas (σ1668) 'τοῦ νιφετοῦ ἢ φορά'.

2 καὶ νιφετόν: cf. Hom. *Il.* 10.6-7 ἦ ἐχάλαζαν / ἦ νιφετόν. These lines are likely to be the model for Antip. Sid. *AP* 7.8 = 10 GP, ll. 4-5 οὐχὶ χάλαζαν, / οὐ νιφετῶν συρμούς.

κρουόντα πάγον: cf. Alcaeus F 286a l.3 [κρ]ύερος πάγος. The adj. (and the same is true of κρουερός) is relatively rare and used in epic and lyric either metaphorically (e.g. used of φόβος, πόλεμος/Ares) or applied to places like Tartarus ([Hes.] *Sc.* 255), while in later usage it is also used in a literal sense, e.g. of the sea in A.R. 1.918, 2.628.

3 μουνολέων: *hapax*, cf. αἰνόμεων in [Theocr.] 25.168 (for the Nemean lion), and especially μονόλυκος and equivalent expressions: according to several sources (cf. Kidd 1997 and Martin 2002 on Arat. 1224), this should be a large wolf (Ael. *NA* 7.47), more keen on eating men than when in a pack (Arist. *HA* 594a 30), but in Aratus (1224) the word is used for a lonely wolf looking for shelter among men while

sensing a storm coming, a passage which closely resembles our epigram and might be the model for Leonidas: Il.1124-8 καὶ λύκος ὀππότε μακρὰ μονόλυκος ὠρύηται, / ἢ ὄγ' ἀροτρῶν ὀλίγον πεφυλαγμένος ἀνδρῶν / ἔργα κατέρχηται, σκέπαος χατέοντι ἐοικώς, / ἐγγύθεν ἀνθρώπων, ἵνα οἱ λέχος αὐτόθεν εἴη, / τρὶς περιτελλομένης ἠοῦς χειμῶνα δοκεύειν. It is true, as GP say, that the point is slightly less appropriate for a lion than for a wolf as the former does not hunt in packs, but the figure of solitary lions will have been familiar to the reader through Homeric similes (cf. introduction to *Ep.* 49) and cf. also Luc. *Sat.* 34 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ὁμοίως ἡδύ, οἶμαι, μόνον ἐμπίπλασθαι, ὥσπερ τοὺς λέοντάς φασι καὶ τοὺς μονιούς τῶν λύκων κτλ.

καὶ δῆ: equivalent to ἤδη, cf. e.g. Theocr. 5.83, Call. *Hymn* 2.3, A.R. 1.1161, and denoting vividness, especially while introducing a character (Denniston 1954: 250-1), i.e. *and here comes a lion...*

κεκακωμένος ἀθρόα γυῖα: presumably *aching in all its limbs* [*sc.* from the cold], though the expression ἀθρόα γυῖα is peculiar, and Geffcken's suggestion of taking the adj. adverbially is attractive (*pace* GP); the implication might also be that pain made the beast more irritable and dangerous.

4 φιλοκρήμων: *who frequent steep rocks, harpax* and possibly Leonidas' own invention (cf. *Ep.* 37 φιλόλιχνος, *Ep.* 41* φιλόεργος, *Ep.* 43 φιλέρως).

αἰγινόμων: the substantive only here and again in Leon. *Ep.* 82, where ὠγινόμοι = οἱ αἰγινόμοι, and stands of course for the more common αἰπόλοι. The adjectival form αἰγινόμος occurs, in addition to Leon. *Ep.* 80 GP, in Nic. *Alex.* 39. For the first part of the compound, cf. the note on αἰγώνυχι in *Ep.* 47; cf. also αἰγινόμευς in Leon. *Ep.* 80 with commentary.

6 εἶατο: Homeric form, equivalent to ἐκαθέζοντο (cf. *scholia vet. Hom. Il.* 3.149), occurring four times in the *Iliad* (*Il.* 7.61, 10.182, 18.523, 19.255) and thrice in the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 3.8, 8.512, 20.106). It is also employed by Call. *Hymn* 4.61-62 (δύω δέ οἱ

εἶατο φρουροί / γαῖαν ἐποπτεύοντες κτλ.).

σωτῆρα Ζῆν' ἐπικεκλόμενοι: the epithet is exclusive to Zeus in Archaic times, but though in Classical times there is evidence of the invocation of the god at the third libation (e.g. Aesch. *Suppl.* 26 Ζεὺς σωτήρ τρίτος, cf. Cook 1925.2: 1123-5 for ample documentation) the cult of Zeus Soter is not securely attested before the late 5th century BC (Ar. *Thesm.* 1009 is the oldest example, but it features frequently in comedy, cf. Arnott on Alexis F 234.1-2), when the stoa of Zeus Eleutherios in Athens was also built, which hosted a statue of Zeus Eleutherios/Soter (cf. Parker 1996: 238-41 on these matters). Attestations become more frequent afterwards and Zeus Soter is invoked in situations of great danger and need (as Aristides in his *orat.* 43 Behr 'εἰς Δία' later put it, καὶ πᾶσι καιροῖς βοηθῶν σωτήρ [sc. κέκληται]): cf. Roscher IV.1262-71 s.v. Soter (Zeus), Dornseiff (1927: 1212-3), Schwabl (1978: 1056-7). Besides, the concept of a divine saviour figure was vivid in Hellenistic times through the ruler cult, and many rulers adopted or were granted the title of Soter at various points. The appeal to Zeus might be made further appropriate by the stormy weather.

7 †θῆρ μείνας θῆρ νύκτιος†: the text is troubled, and many editors have tried to emend it. The epanalepsis itself is not unparalleled in Hellenistic poetry (cf. Call. *Hymn* 5.40-1 ὄχετ' ἔχων, Κρεῖιον δ' εἰς ὄρος ὠκίσσατο, / Κρεῖιον ὄρος, Theocr. 9.1-2 Βουκολιάζεο, Δάφνι· τὸ δ' ὠδᾶς ἄρχεο πρᾶτος, / ὠδᾶς ἄρχεο, Δάφνι, Alex. Aetol./Automedon AP 7.534.4-5 Κοίλης ἔμπορος ἐκ Συρίας, / ἔμπορος, ὦ Κλεόνικε), a feature which might be imitating Homeric repetitions (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 20.371-2, cf. Gow on Theocr. 9.1-2 and Bulloch on Call. *Hymn* 5.40). The problem, however, as GP pointed out, is that that νύκτιος (*hapax*) must mean that the lion spent the night in the shelter, while this phrasing would imply that lions are nocturnal beasts. For this reason, Brunck would like to read διανύκτιος (another *hapax*), which would fit the meaning required, and was later accepted by Page

(1975). Beckby, on the other hand, accepts P1's reading *χειῖμα δὲ δὴ μείνας θῆρ νύκτιος*. For the meaning of *μένω* as to *wait for something to end*, see e.g. Hesiod *Op.* 651-2 ἢ ποτ' Ἀχαιοὶ / μείναντες χειμῶνα. White (1985:120-1) defended *νύκτιος* by referring to a Homeric simile where a lion hunts by night (Il. 11.172-4) and a statement by Ael. (*NA* 5.39) who comments on that passage by saying that lions attack cattle-sheds at night, which she thinks enough to define the lion as *nocturnal*.

8 ἀπαυλόσυνος: not attested elsewhere, just like P's and Suidas' reading *ἐπαυλόσυνος*, and it should mean *away from the αὐλῖς* (cf. l.4). The somewhat odd formation of this neologism has led the editors to suggest different emendations, *ἀπαυλος ὄρος* or *ὁ πουλύσινος* (Lobeck), *ἐπ' ἄλλο σίνος* (Maas) i.e. 'to do damage elsewhere', which all seem unsatisfactory. Cf. Introduction 1.5.3, Neologisms for problems in Leonidas' neologisms.

οἱ δὲ πάθης ἔργον τόδ' εὐγραφές: οἱ is Jacob's correction, accepted by the majority of editors, of the mss' *εὐ*, which does not make sense in light of the adj. *εὐγραφῆς*. The phrase *πάθης ἔργον* will mean *a representation of the event* (GP), with a rare objective genitive in this sense (GP compare Strab. 8.381 *γραφὴν τοῦ Διονύσου*), and this oddity prompted Stadtmüller's emendation *οἱ δ' ἀπαθεις τόδ' εὐγραφεὶς ἀκρολοφῖται*, i.e. *the mountaineers, unharmed, dedicated this work*. The adj. *εὐγραφῆς* occurs here for the first time, and though in Paulus Silentarius (*AP* 6.65 *εὐγραφέος τέχνης* and 6.66 *εὐγραφέων καλάμων*, dedications of writing instruments) it refers to *good writing*, the sense of *well-painted* implied here is not hard to understand. The phrase marks an *aprosdoketon* of sorts for the reader, who expected until this point just to read a story and then turns out to have been engaging with the ekphrasis of a painting.

9 ἀκρολοφῖται: if retained, it appears as a noun only here and in the anonymous *AP* 16.256 and it will be equivalent to *φιλοκρήμων* of line 4; J.G. Schneider proposed to read the dative *ἀκρολοφῖτα*, to be interpreted as an epithet of Zeus,

comparable to ἀκροαῖος or κορυφαῖος (which Page 1975 later accepted).

10 Ζανί: one could think of emending to Ζηνί to match Ζήν(α) in l. 6, while Schneider unnecessarily proposed Πανί. On the matter of dialectal form, cf. Introduction 1.5.4, Dialect.

εὐπρόμνω τᾶδ'... δοῦϊ: P has τῶδε, and even though δοῦς is masculine in the Peloponnese according to *schol. Ar. Nub.* 402 and its gender is ambiguous in *Nic. Alex.* 448 (cf. Gow 1951:97), it might be preferable to retain the feminine. The oak is an appropriate place for a dedication to Zeus as the tree was famously sacred to him and played a fundamental role in his oracle at Dodona (cf. Parke 1967: 20-33).

Epigram 80: Prayer to Hermes by a rustic man

Εὐμάραθον προῦνα καὶ εὐσκάνδικα λελογχῶς,
Ἑρμῆ, καὶ ταύταν, ἄ φίλος, αἰγίβοσιν
καὶ λαχανηλόγῳ ἔσσο καὶ αἰγινομηῖ προσηνῆς·
ἔξεις καὶ λαχάνων καὶ γλάγεος μερίδα.

*To you who hold this high ground rich in fennel and chervil,
O dear Hermes, and this goat-pasture,
Be kind to both the gatherer of herbs and the goatherd:
You will have a share in both the herbs and the milk.*

A.P. 9.318 (caret Pl) [C] Λεωνίδου

Εἰς Ἑρμοῦ ἄγαλμα ἰστάμενον ἐπὶ τινος προῦνος [sic]· παραινετικὸν ἢ εὐκτικόν

1 προῦνα Brunck : προῖνα P 2 ἄ φίλος Salmasius : ἄφιλος P

An unnamed rustic prays to Hermes in a pastoral setting.

The epigram is a prayer to Hermes, possibly accompanying the dedication of a Herm, but if so it is left unsaid, contrary to the poet's practice in *Ep.* 81. It is likely that two different people are concerned, i.e. a goatherd *and* a herb-gatherer. At any rate, the choice of words in the first line points towards cultivated herbs, though of a very humble kind, so possibly the scenery envisaged is someone's vegetable garden. This would be in line with the other epigrams by Leonidas concerning Herms and those concerning Priapus, which stress this aspect of safeguarding the borders of a property. Although Hermes is associated occasionally with the fertility and well-being of the flock (cf. commentary on *Ep.* 81, l.1), the implication here is that he should act as a guardian in the form of Herm, which is also appropriate to one of his many cult aspects, i.e. as the god of theft and thieves. The reward promised to the god is, as usual, to give in return the fruits made possible by such protection, i.e. herbs gathered from the patch of land and milk from the goats. The logic of the prayer is the same as in *Ep.* 6: if the god is

kind to the people praying, they will keep bringing him offerings. As often, the structure is pervaded by symmetry: fennel and chervil, herb-gatherer, herbs on one side, goat-pasture, goatherd, and milk on the other.

1 Εὐμάραθον: *hapax*, meaning *rich in fennel*. The plant called μάραθος (*Foeniculum vulgare*) had some uses in ancient cuisine as food and as an aromatic substance (cf. e.g. Alexis F 132 Arnott with comm.), as well as some medical employments (Detienne 1977:107-10), but it also seems to have been extremely common and therefore considered a humble food to judge from Python (TrGF 91 Snell) F 1.12-14 ὅτε μὲν ἔφασκον δοῦλον ἐκτῆσθαι βίον, / ἱκανὸν ἐδείπνουν· νῦν δὲ τὸν χέδροπα μόνον / καὶ τὸν μάραθον ἔσθουσι, πυρούς δ' οὐ μάλα; it is also often mentioned as attracting snakes and being useful for antidotes by Nicander (*Th.* 33, 391, 596, 893, F 71).

πρωῶνα: Homer and the *Homeric Hymns* have the form πρωῶν, which was later employed by imperial epigrammatists (cf. Ypsilanti 2018:435 on Crinagoras *AP* 6.253 = 43 GP, which has πρέονος). This form occurs only in [Hes.] *Sc.* 437 before being revived by Hellenistic poets, i.e. Call. *Hymn* 3.52, 3.196, Nic. *Al.* 104, *Th.* 218, Lyk. 769, 1069.

εὐσκάνδικα: similarly to the first adjective of 1.1, it is a *hapax*. The σκάνδιξ (*Scandix Pecten-Veneris*, strictly speaking 'shepherd's-needle', a plant related to our garden chervil) was considered a worthless vegetable, as testified by several authors: it is mentioned in one of the many jokes by Aristophanes on the mother of Euripides as a vegetable-seller (*Ach.* 478-80), Andocides (F 3 Dilts-Murphy) mentions eating λάχανα καὶ σκάνδικας as a critical condition to which the Athenians were reduced when Pericles ordered that they stay in the city in wartime, and Lucian mentions it among simple plants and radishes (*Lex.* 2 ἐγὼ δὲ περιελθὼν τὰ ἀρώματα σκόροδά τε εὔρον ἐν αὐτοῖς πεφυκότα καὶ γηπαττάλους τινὰς ἀνορούξας καὶ τῶν σκανδίκων καὶ βρακάνων λαχανευσάμενος). Interestingly, according to Theophr. *HP* 7.7 the σκάνδιξ was

also called σκανδικώδη or τραγοπώγον, i.e. *goat-beard*, which might suggest a good grazing ground for goats as mentioned in l. 2.

2 Ἑρμῆ ... ἄ φίλος: the mention of Hermes suggests that the speaker is addressing a Herm, as made explicit in the analogous situation of *Ep.* 81. On the role of Herms in marking landscapes and the pastoral world, cf. introductory note on Leon. *Ep.* 26. The word order of this line is quite unusual, but the position of ἄ φίλος is paralleled by Leon. *Epp.* 82.2, 42.2, 22.2 (cf. commentary on *Ep.* 82.2). The interjection ἄ is often used with adjectives (more often of negative connotation, a common one being δειλός, as in Leon. *Ep.* 72.1).

καὶ ταύταν... αἰγίβοσιν: αἰγίβοσις is a *hapax* meaning *place of pasture*; cf. also αἰγιβότης in *Ep.* 3 GP, and for a similar kind of compound αἰγινόμος in *ep.* 53 GP and *Ep.* 82 GP (and also in Erucius *AP* 7.397) and later at l.3 in this poem αἰγινομεύς. It might ultimately be a variation on the Homeric αἰγίβοτος, an epithet of Ithaca (*Od.* 4.606, 13.246, on both occasions used in the context of a pastoral description of Ithaca). For pastoral components in Leonidas compounds, cf. Introduction 1.5.1, Epic language and diction.

3 καὶ λαχανηλόγω: a *hapax* which must define a humble profession, cf. the insult in Ar. *Thesm.* 387 λαχανοπωλητρία for the mother of Euripides (see above on εὐσκάνδικα) which stands for the most common word λαχανόπωλις/λαχανοπώλης (cf. Austin-Olson on Ar. *Thesm.* 387). The word λάχανα denotes various potherbs which were employed in Greek cuisine, though an excessive consumption of them was considered a mark of poverty (cf. Olson-Sens on *Matro F* 1.14 for evidence). Here the word aims at denoting the dedicant as humble.

καὶ αἰγινομηῆ: the form also occurs in Nic. *Al.* 39, and cf. above; αἰγινομεύς is found in Opp. *Hal.* 4.313. Though offerings by more than one person feature frequently in Leonidas, the person is probably only one here.

ἔσσο... προσηνής: to request the benevolence of a god is customary in such prayers, followed immediately by a promise. The epic form of the imperative is

not too common in epigram: cf. Ypsilanti (2018:344) on Crinagoras *AP* 10.24.1 (34 GP).

4 καὶ λαχάνων καὶ γλάγεος: the form γλάγος (= γάλα) occurs in Hom. (*Il.* 2.471, *Il.* 16.643), Pi. F 106 Sn.-M. and is reused by Nicander (frequently, e.g. *Al.* 139), Moschus, *Epitaphium Bionis* 1.33 (μάλων οὐκ ἔρρευσεν καλὸν γλάγος, οὐ μέλισσιμβλων), and then in Erucius *AP* 9.237 (dedication to Pan) and 9.384 (poem on the Roman months). Notably, Leonidas also employs it in derived forms, i.e. the compound γλαγοπήξ in *Ep.* 47 GP, εὐγλαγῆς in Leon. *Ep.* 82 GP and γλαγερός in *Ep.* 97 GP, with commentary. The promise is to 'give back' herbs and milk to Hermes if he (in the form of the Herm) protects this garden.

Epigram 81: Morychus sets up a Herm to guard his flocks

Τᾶν αἰγῶν ὁ νομεύς Μόρυχος τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Ἑρμᾶν
ἔστασ' αἰπολίῳν εὐδόκιμον φύλακα·
ἀλλὰ μοι αἶ τ' ἄν' ὄρη χλωρᾶς κεκορεσμένοι ὕλας,
τοῦ γ' ἀρπακτῆρος μὴ τι μέλεσθε λύκου.

The goatherd Morychus set up this Herm

As a reputable guardian to watch over the herds:

Now all you who take your fill of green grass on the mountains,

Do not have any concern about the rapacious wolf.

A.Plan. (PI^A) 190 εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν [sc. Ἑρμᾶν] Λεωνίδα caret P

1 Μόρυχος Dindorf : Μόριχος Pl 3 ἀλλὰ μόλοιτ' ἄν' ὄρη Jacobs : μόλοιτ' ἄν Waltz
| post ὕλας interpunxit Waltz 4 τοῦ δ' ἀρπ. Jacobs : τοῦ γ' ἀρπ. Pl^{pc} : τὸν Pl^{ac}
| μὴ τι Pl : μῆτι Waltz

The goatherd Morychus sets up a Herm to guard his flock.

Similarly to other epigrams by Leonidas, a rustic is concerned with the safety of his property and specifically with wolves attacking the herds, which notably feature in the series of dedications by shepherds who killed wild beasts threatening their flocks (*Epp.* 47.4, 48.1 with comm.). As in *Ep.* 81, the epigram gains in meaning from the ambiguity of Hermes, who is occasionally depicted as protector of herds, but is also the god of thieves and famously stole the cattle from Apollo in the mythical narrative of the *Homeric Hymn* dedicated to him. The poem then constitutes a variation on the theme of the dangers of pastoral life and the concerns of shepherds: alongside epigrams depicting shepherds as pastoral heroes with high-resounding vocabulary, here is an epigram showing alternative ways to deal with threats in the countryside.

1 Τᾶν αἰγῶν: editors have alternatively taken this to refer to νομεύς, i.e. *goatherd* (GP) or to τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, i.e. *as a guardian of goats* (so the Budé editors), which is

maybe preferable.

Μόρυχος: the mss have Μόριχος, a name not attested elsewhere. It might be preferable to emend to Μόρυχος, which is attested in literary sources and a few inscriptions (2 from Attica, plus 3 dubious cases, all from the end of the 5th cent. BC), just like the similar names Μορυχίδα and Μορυχίδη, and ι for υ is a trivial phonetic mistake.

2 ἔστασ': to be read as ἔστασε rather than ἔστασα.

1-2 τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ... αἰπολίων εὐδόκιμον: Hermes is mentioned as ἐπίσκοπος of shepherds in Hes. F 217.2-3 M.-W. (= P. Oxy. 28.2489), Ἐρμῆι Μαιάδος υἱεὶ ... ἐπίσκοπος ἡδὲ νομήων. Though the role is more often associated with Apollo (cf. Williams on Call. *Hymn* 2.47), Hermes is often depicted as a pastoral deity: cf. e.g. Hes. *Th.* 444 ἐσθλή δ' ἐν σταθμοῖσι σὺν Ἐρμῆι ληίδ' ἀέξειν, *H. Hymn Herm.* 571 πᾶσι δ' ἐπὶ προβάτοισιν ἀνάσσειν κύδιμον Ἐρμῆν; his cult titles of e.g. ἐπιμήλιος (at Coronea according to Paus. 9.34.3) and νόμιος (*Ar. Thesm.* 977 Ἐρμῆι τε νόμιον ἄντομαι); and his depiction with livestock in vase paintings and coins of the Classical age (cf. now Thomas 2020:49 n.79). Given the narrative of *Homeric Hymn* to Hermes, there is some irony to the fact that he who once famously stole herds from Apollo is now set up as a guardian of herds: he is after all also the god of theft, and therefore he might be εὐδόκιμος as a guardian.

3 ἀλλά μοι αἶ τ' ἀν' ὄρη χλωρᾶς κεκορεσμένοι ὕλας: the transmitted text is problematic and usually retained with scepticism by editors. If unchanged, one should interpret αἶ ... κεκορεσμένοι as a vocative, and μοι as an 'ethical dative', though a form of εἰμί should be supplied: *you* [sc. goats] *who graze on grass in these mountains, do not worry about the rapacious wolf.* Jacobs suggested emending to ἀλλὰ μολοιτ' ἀν' ὄρη χλωρᾶς κεκορεσμένοι ὕλας, *but do feed on the grass in these*

mountains, and Aubreton-Buffière accepted this with ἄν instead of ἄν(ά). Here ὕλη should denote *brushwood, undergrowth* rather than the more common *forest* (cf. *LSJ* s.v. ὕλη, I).

4 τοῦ γ' ἀρπακτῆρος...λύκου: one could contemplate reading δ' instead of γ'. The word ἄ. is taken from Hom. *Il.* 24.262 ἀρνῶν ἠδ' ἐρίφων ἐπιδήμιοι ἀρπακτῆρες, when Priam is complaining that all his bravest sons died and he is left with the ones who can only steal livestock like bandits. The expression then sheds a bad light on prospective thieves, or actual wolves, who would only steal livestock when the shepherd is absent. For a similar expression, cf. also Call. *Ia.* 12, F 202 Pf. l. 70 (improved text in Kerkhecker 1999:238) καὶ ἐρίφοις χαίρωσιν ἀρπαγ[ε]ς λύκοι. The word is found again in Lyk. 147 referring to wolves (δοιῶ μὲν ἀρπακτῆρας ἀγᾶσει λύκους), and he might be thinking of Leonidas. Beasts and possibly wolves preying on livestock feature in *Epp.* 47, 48, 49 (cf. introduction to *Ep.* 47), an example of variation within the Leonidean corpus.

Epigram 82: Dedication of a bronze goat to Hermes

Ἐιγινόμοι Σώτων καὶ Σίμαλος, οἱ πολύαιγοι,
οἷα βαθυσχίνων, ἃ ξένε †παρολκίδαν†,
Ἐρμᾶ τυρευτῆρι καὶ εὐγλαγι τὸν χιμάραρχον
χάλκεον εὐπώγων' ὧδ' ἀνέθεντο τράγον.

*The goatherds Soton and Simalus, rich in goats,
Since, stranger, ... thick with mastic shrubs,
Dedicated here to Hermes giver of cheese and goo
milk, this bronze, bearded goat, the leader of the
flock.*

A.P. 9.744 (caret Pl) εἰς τράγον χαλκοῦν Λεωνίδου
2 ἃ ξένε Meineke : αξενε P : ὧ ξένε Jacobs | παρολκίδαν P : πάρ λοφιᾶν
Geffcken 4 εὐπώγων' Jacobs : -γον P

Two wealthy goatherds dedicate a bronze statue of the leader of their flock to Hermes.

Varying other dedication patterns by Leonidas, this epigram deals with a dedication made out of gratitude: it is implied in the phrasing that the two men, Soton and Simalus, see the root of their being πολύαιγοι in Hermes' benevolence. Judging by the parallel of the other epigrams, we might have to imagine Hermes' role as that of a guardian in the form of a Herm, in front of which the bronze statue is dedicated. As elsewhere, the vocabulary is high-sounding (πολύαιγοι, βαθυσχίνων, εὐγλαγι: see commentary below) and glorifies two simple goatherds. The reader identifies with the passer-by who is supposed to read the inscription placed at the Herm at some crossroads or at the border of the goatherds' property.

1 Ἐιγινόμοι: cf. Theocr. 1.80 ὠπόλοι.

Σώτων: some editors suggested changing the reading to Σῶσος (as in Leon. *Ep.* 49 GP), which is more widely attested, but this is not necessary given that Σώτων has at least 30 epigraphic attestations, mostly Hellenistic.

Σίμαλος: mostly attested in inscriptions (e.g. *SEG* XVIII 36 B, 235, Athens, end of 4th cent. BC), apart from Anacreon *PMG* 387 Σίμαλον εἶδον ἐν χορῶι πηκτίδ'

ἔχοντα καλήν (for other dubious attestations, cf. Bernsdorff 2020:573 there).

οἱ πολύαιγοι: it will mean *rich in goats*: elsewhere only attested in Claud. Ptol. *Geogr.* 3.15.28 as the name of an island, but it will be modelled on the Homeric adjectives πολυβούτης, πολύμηλος, πολύρρη used for people and places (cf. *LFGreep* s.vv.), just as in Leon. *Ep.* 49 GP βουπάμων is modelled on the Homeric πολυπάμων (cf. Introduction 1.5.1, Epic language and diction).

2 βαθυσχίνων: only here and Babrius 46.2 (where, however, it is a correction by some editors for βαθύσχοινος of the mss). Similar in meaning and formation to the epic βαθύσχοινος (Hom. *Il.* 4.383, *H. Hymn Art.* 3), but cf. also βαθύδενδρος (adesp. *PMG* 91), βαθυλήϊος (Hom. *Il.* 18.550, which is disputed, though then employed by A.R. 1.830). The σχῖνος, or μαστίχα (*Pistacia Lentiscus*, Theophr. *HP* 9.1.2), a shrub whose gum was harvested and chewed in antiquity, is mentioned as trodden on by goats in Eupolis Αἴγες F 13 Olson, Theocr. 5.129 and Babrius 3.2.

ἄ ξένε: Meineke defended the text and Geffcken noted how this structure is found elsewhere in the same sedes of the pentameter in Leonidas (*Epp.* 80.2, 42.2, 22.4), possibly with precedents like Theognis 1138 in mind (...Χάριτες τ' , ὦ φίλε, γῆν ἔλιπον), and then more frequently in later epigrammatists (cf. Geffcken *ad loc.*).

†παρολκίδαν†: the text is corrupt and some editors think that it might hide the prep. παρ(ά) followed by a gen. plural. Suggestions have been many: πὰρ λοφιᾶν (Geffcken, appealing to the address of Pan as λοφιῆτα in Agathias *AP* 6.79), i.e. *upon coming back from hills rich in mastic*, ἐπ' Ἀρκασιδᾶν (*sic*, Hecker) i.e. *from Arcadia rich in mastic*, ῥαχάδων (Jacobs) i.e. *wooden ridges rich in mastic*. GP are not convinced by any of these, but they are keen on a proper name, possibly indicating a temple where the dedication is made, though in that case it would be hard to think of an explanation for the οἶα, which is likely to have introduced the reasons for the wealth of Sosus and Simalus, unless it is meant that a prosperous pasture can nourish many goats.

3 Ἑρμᾶ: it will mean 'to Hermes' in the form of a Herm, which can be encountered by the stranger/passer-by mentioned earlier. For Hermes as guardian of flocks, cf. commentary on *Ep.* 81.

τυρευτήρι: *hapax*, cf. also the *hapax* σαγενευτήρ in Leon. *Ep.* 2 (cf. Fraenkel 1910:133-5). For this type of nouns, cf. Introduction 1.5.3, Neologisms.

εὐγλαγι: Nicander has εὐγλαγῆς (*Th.* 617 εὐγλαγέας τιθυμάλλους), while Lycophron has εὐγλαγος (l. 307 εὐγλαγον θάλος), both of which might be based on the Homeric περιγλαγῆς (*Il.* 16.642, referring to πέλλας, wooden vessel for milk), but cf. now Pellettieri (2021:63-4) on the matter; Q. S. 13.260 εὐγλαγέων ἀπὸ μαζῶν, on the other hand, may well be based on Leonidas. Leonidas regularly uses the epic form γλάγος for γάλα: cf. comm. on *Ep.* 80. It should be pointed out that (though this is based on the observation on modern animals) goats yield much more milk than cows and sheep, cf. Virg. *Georg.* 3.308 *largi copia lactis* (on these aspects cf. White 1970:313-6).

τὸν χιμάραρχον: *hapax*. The word ἄρχος as the second part of compounds is extremely productive, cf. Chantraine (1968:120), Buck-Petersen (1970:686-7). Longus (2.31.2) has ἀγελάρχης, which elsewhere is only used metaphorically (cf. Bowie 2019 *ad loc.*).

4 χάλκεον ... τράγον: we have many examples of ancient statues of goats with various degrees of realism (for images cf. Richter (1930), figs. 120-135), as well as literary testimonies, e.g. a statue of Aphrodite Πάνδημος on a bronze goat by Skopas mentioned by Pausanias (6.25.1).

εὐπώγων': apart from Posidipp. *Ep.* 15 AB, where it refers to a barbed snake, εὐπώγων usually refers to goats as in Leon. *Ep.* 32* or e.g. Herod. 8.17, Nonn. *D.* 19.61.

Epigram 97: dedication to Pan, Dionysus and the Nymphs by Biton

Ἀγρονόμῳ τάδε Πανὶ καὶ εὐαστῆρι Λυαίῳ 1
πρέσβυς καὶ Νύμφαις Ἀρκὰς ἔθηκε Βίτων·
Πανὶ μὲν ἀρτίτοκον χίμαρον συμπαίστορα μητρός,
κισσοῦ δὲ Βρομίῳ κλῶνα πολυπλανέος,
Νύμφαις δε σκιερῆς εὐποίκιλον ἄνθος ὀπώρης 5
φύλλα τε πεπταμένων αἵματόεντα ῥόδων·
ἀνθ' ὧν εὐυδροῖν, Νύμφαι, τόδε δῶμα γέροντος
αὔξετε, Πάν, γλαγερόν, Βάκχε, πολυστάφυλον.

*To Pan, dweller in the country, and to the Deliverer who cries euoi,
And to the Nymphs, the old Biton dedicated the following:
To Pan this new-born goat, playmate of its mother,
To Bromios a branch of far-straying ivy,
And to the Nymphs the variegated flower of shady autumn
And the blood-coloured petals of fully-opened roses:
In return for these things, Nymphs, make this old man's house
Well-watered, Pan, make it full of milk, Bacchus, make it full of grapes.*

A.P. 6.154 Λεωνίδα Ταραντίνου, οἱ δὲ Γαιτουλικοῦ, P^A Λεωνίδου;
Sud. s.vv. εὐαστήρ [1-2], συμπαίστορα [3], κισσύβιον [4]

3 μητρός P1 : ματρός P Sud. 8 γλυκερόν C^{supr.}

An old man makes various offerings to Dionysus, Pan, and the Nymphs.

As Geffcken noted, the epigram is another example of variation in the dedication pattern by Leonidas: whereas elsewhere three people make offerings to a single god, here a single individual addresses three divine entities. Each of them receives something specific: ivy for Dionysus, a goat for Pan, and flowers for the Nymphs. The poet plays on the order of the deities: Pan, Dionysus, Nymphs, Pan, Dionysus, Nymphs, and then Nymphs, Pan, Dionysus. The variation is also displayed in the

invocation of Dionysus with three different cult titles (Lyeus, Bromius, Bacchus) and the poet's usual linguistic invention is displayed in the adjectives which accompany the prayer in the last two lines.

1 Ἀγρονόμω: the adjective commonly refers to entities which dwell in the wilderness, e.g. Hom. *Od.* 6.106 (Nymphs), Aesch. *Ag.* 142 (θηρῶν), and in Nonn. *D.* 17.69 it refers to Pan, perhaps with an eye on Leonidas as elsewhere. **εὐαστήρι:** it means *who cries euai*, the ritual cry of the Dionysiac devotees, cf. one of the Suidas' entries, quoting the beginning of this epigram (ε3378: ἐπίθετον Διονύσου. Παρὰ τὸ εὐοῖ ἐνθουσιαστικόν). The adjective is found only here, in Orph. *H.* 30.1, 31.2 and Marc. Arg. *AP* 9.246, but Dionysus is called εὐαστῆς θεός in Ath. Mitt. 27.94 (Pergamum, 2nd cent. BC), and the word denotes someone celebrating a Bacchanal elsewhere (e.g. Orph. *H.* 54.5): cf. Fraenkel (1910:136).

Λυαίω: *the deliverer*, an epithet of Dionysus which is more common in Imperial and later literature, e.g. *Anacreont.* 12.9, Nonn. *D.* 9.18 (but Timotheus *Pers.* 121 calls Cybele κακῶν λυαία, and some editors print Λυαία), explained by ancient sources with reference to Dionysus *who frees*, scil. the tongue or the limbs (from λύειν, cf. *Et. M.* 193.18), and analogous to another epithet, Λύσιος; borrowed in Latin *Lyaeus*: cf. Bierl (2018:274).

2 πρέσβυς ... Βίτων: the old age of the dedicator features in several dedicatory epigrams. The name Βίτων is reasonably common in literature and inscriptions (e.g. IG II² 10959, Athens, mid-4th cent. BC). Cf. Menander's old Knemon, whose only company is Pan and the Nymphs (*Dysk.* 11, 37).

Ἀρκάς: the Arcadian origin of the devotee is to be connected with the importance of this region to the cult of Pan, which presumably originated here before being introduced to Athens and spreading to the rest of Greece: cf. Borgeaud (1988:23-44), Parker (1996:163-8).

3 ἀρτίτοκον: both this word and the oxytone variant with active meaning are not

found before Imperial and later authors and this would be the earliest occurrence. **χίμαρον:** it denotes a very young goat, less than a year old (as is the case for χίμαιρα, possibly from χεῖμα/χειμών, *one winter old*, cf Lat. *bimus*, cf. Beekes s.vv.). **συμπαίστορα μητρός:** *playmate of its mother*. The first word is rare (before, only found in Xen. *Cyr.* 1.3.14 with a v.l. συμπαίκτηρα; then Mel. *AP* 6.162 συμπαίστωρ, with a double entendre based on the erotic connotations of the verb). Since συμπαίζω never takes the genitive but rather the acc. or the dative, when it is not absolute, we should take μητρός as a subjective genitive and not as governed by σύν.

4 κισσοῦ δὲ ... κλῶνα πολυπλανέος: the association of ivy with Dionysus is very frequent in myth and iconography and might be a primitive aspect of his cult, linked to his vegetative power and vitality and possibly to birth and re-birth (cf. Kerényi 1977, Dodds 1960²:77, Jeanmaire 1951:12-18, 372-390): Maenads are depicted with ivy from very early on, and according to Pausanias (1.31.6) Dionysus was worshipped as Κισσός, *Ivy-lord* at Acharnae. The adjective πολυπλανής gives the idea of the creeping habit of the plant, but might also allude to a god who was known in myth to have travelled widely.

Βρομίω: a very common epithet of Dionysus (e.g. Eur. *Ba.* 66) linked to the root βρέμ-, and connected to his aspects of 'Roarer' in his animal forms, as well as earthquakes, thunder (cf. Diod. Sic. 4.5.1 connecting it to βρόμος), loud ecstatic celebrations, and roaring musical instruments (cf. Dodds: 1960:74).

5 σκιερῆς εὐποίκιλον ἄνθος ὀπώρας: the word ὀπώρα denotes the latter part of the summer (after the rise of Sirius, i.e. from late July to September) and in postclassical Greek *autumn* strictly speaking. The adj. σκιερός and the appeal to Dionysus for a good harvest in l.8 point towards this period, i.e. the end of the warmest part of the summer. The colourful flower (εὐποίκιλον being a *hapax*: cf. Introduction 1.5.3, Neologisms for this type) does not need to indicate any particular plant (and cf. Alcaeus F 397 τερένας ἄνθος ὀπώρας), and roses are

mentioned immediately afterwards, but Geffcken (*ad loc.*) points out that the narcissus still blooms in autumn (cf. Virg. *Georg.* 4.122) and the mythical Narcissus is in some sources the son of a Nymph and is connected to Nymphs (cf. Larson 2001:68-9).

6 φύλλα τε πεπταμένων αίματόεντα ῥόδων: petals of red roses are offered (for φύλλα denoting petals rather than leaves cf. e.g. Theocr. 9.3 with Gow *ad loc.*) The adj. αίματόεις is used most of the time for actual blood rather than *blood-coloured* (Soph. *Ant.* 528 is a borderline case, since it refers to the blushing face of a woman – and Geffcken wanted to read the same sense here), but there might be an ominous allusion to blood behind it: flowers are associated with blood in some aetiological myths (e.g. P.Oxy. 69.4711, fr. 1, l.5, cf. Hutchinson 2008:213 with the Ovidian examples quoted there) and the implication of l.3 is that the goat will be sacrificed to Pan (for a similarly ominous image of the sacrifice of a new-born goat cf. Hor. *C.* 3.13.6-8 ... *nam gelidos inficiet tibi / rubro sanguine rivos / lascivi suboles gregis*).

7 εὐδρον: *well-watered*, rather than *with beautiful water* (which seems to be the meaning when referring to rivers). The adj. is originally found in Archaic and Classical lyric (P. *Pi.* 1.79, B. 10.119; v.l. in Hes. *F* 128.2 M.-W., [Eur.] *Rhes.* 927) and is much used in Hellenistic poetry ([Theocr.] 25.182, Call. *Hec.* 260.8 Pf.= 69.8 Hollis, *Hymn* 1.20, Nic. *Alex.* 622; cf. also *Pae. Delph.* 5-6, *F* 1 l.5 Powell). Nymphs are invoked by a gardener and asked to irrigate his piece of land in Leon. *Ep.* 6 (where see commentary on l.1).

τόδε δῶμα γέροντος: the stress on the old age of Biton, already mentioned in the opening of the poem, might imply that the aged man is not as strong as before and therefore appeals to the gods for the abundance of his estate; one might also read some irony on Leonidas' part, since there is a *topos*, especially in comedy, of old women being very fond of wine (cf. introduction to *Ep.* 68).

8 γλαγερόν: the word occurs only here and in Opp. *Cyn.* 1.200, 1.332, but Leonidas uses the Homeric γλάγος (= γάλα) in other compounds (cf. comm. on

Ep. 80).

Βάκχε: a name of Dionysus in poetry (cf. Bierl 2018:256-7), which was also used for his worshippers who ritually identified with the god (cf. Dodds 1960: xii-xiii).

πολυστάφυλον: epic (*Il.* 2.507, 2.537, *H. Hymn. Dion.* 26.11, Hes. F 70 M.-W.) and rare (occurring again only in *Soph. Ant.* 1133 before many times in imperial poetry). It can be contrasted with the frequent depictions of poverty by Leonidas marked by *hara x legomena* such as ὀλιγησίπυος (*Errp.* 36, 41), ὀλιγαῦλαξ and ὀλιγόξυλος (*Ep.* 87*).

Epigram 3: Dedication to Hermes and Pan from Neoptolemus

Αὔλια καὶ Νυμφέων ἱερός πάγος αἶθ' ὑπὸ πέτρῃ 1
πίδακες ἢ θ' ὕδασιν γειτονέουσα πίτυς
καὶ σύ, τετραγλῶχιν μηλοσσόε Μαιάδος Ἑρμᾶ,
ὅς τε τὸν αἰγιβότην, Πάν, κατέχεις σκόπελον,
ἴλαοι τὰ ψαιστὰ τό τε σκύφος ἔμπλεον οἴνης 5
δέξασθ', Αἰακίδεω δῶρα Νεοπτολέμου.

*Caves and sacred hill of the Nymphs, and springs
Coming out from beneath the rock, you pine neighbour of the waters,
You, four-sided Herm, son of Maia, protector of the sheep,
And you, Pan, who protects the cliff on which goats tread,
Accept these cakes and this cup full of wine propitiously,
gifts from Neoptolemus son of Aeacus.*

A.P. 6.334 Λεωνίδα, iterumque post 9.328 [C] Λεωνίδα Ταραντίνου ἀνάθημα ἐπὶ
θυσιά Πύρρου Νεοπτολέμου υἱοῦ Ἀχιλλεως [P1^A] Λεωνίδου τοῖς ἀγρόταις θεοῖς
Suid. s. vv. πάγοι (1 s.), Μαῖα (3), γλωχίνας (3)

1 νύμφων Suid. 3 τετραγλῶχιν P1: πέτραι γλωχίν P¹: πέτρα γλο.χίν P²
Suid. 4 αἰγιβόταν Suid. 5 τό P1: ὅ τε P: τε om. P² ἔμπλεος C¹

The epigram is another dedication to pastoral deities, at least one of which apparently is addressed in image-form. The distinctive trait of the poem is the person making the dedication, Neoptolemus, which has caused disagreement among scholars (cf. commentary). If a member of the royal family of Epirus is meant, as is likely, we are left to wonder what are the implications. The most immediate thought is that this person wanted to be portrayed as both a pious and a humble man: this will have worked especially in the context of similar dedications. Ironically, the vocabulary is simpler and less grand than that employed for dedications of ordinary shepherds and rustics, thus enacting the opposite process of portraying a royal figure as a humble person. The name of the devotee is reserved effectively for the last line and there is nothing anticipating his identity for the reader; what is more, until the penultimate line we do not even

realise that we are reading a dedication, since the first four lines are *de facto* a pastoral address. The wider implications of a poem by Leonidas featuring an Aeacid Neoptolemus are hard to grasp (cf. Introduction), but we get the sense that the poet was employed in some sort of propaganda celebrating the Aeacids.

1 Αὔλια: as GP point out, the word can mean both *fold* and *cave*, but it is hard to tell since Nymphs are occasionally associated with both (Phryn. 27, 3 Borries mentions both Nymphs ἀντριάδες and ἐπιμηλίδες): cf. also Theodoridas AP 6.224 = 5 GP and Anyte AP 291 = 3 GP.

καὶ Νυμφέων: for Nymphs, cf. comm. on Ep. 5.

ἱερός πάγος: already in Hes. *Th.* 130 the Nymphs are said to inhabit the hills (...Νυμφέων, αἱ ναίουσιν ἀν' οὔρεα βησσήεντα) and they are frequently mentioned in this setting (e.g. Theocr. 7.92). It will refer to a rustic shrine in the countryside.

2 πίδακες: an epic word found only once in Hom. *Il.* 16.285 (though the compound πολυπίδαξ is the traditional epithet of Mount Ida in epic): apart from Eur. *Andr.* 285, it is mostly revived in Hellenistic poetry (A.R. 4.1394, 1451, 1456, Call. *Hymn* 2.112, and Theocr. 7.142, which describes bucolic scenery sacred to the Nymphs).

ἢ θ' ὕδασι γειτονέουσα πίτυς: the πίτυς, which indicated several species of *Pinus* genus, was sacred to various deities including Pan and this was at the centre of a late aetiology found from Imperial authors onwards for which Pitys was a Nymph that escaped Pan by transforming into a tree (cf. the riddle at l. 4 of the *Syrinx*, Longus 1.27.2, 2.7.6, 2.393, Luc. *Dial. Deor.* 2.4, Nonnus *D.* 42.259-64; cf. also Prop. 1.18.20 *Arcadio pinus amica deo*). The pine tree features in the rustic dedications of Leonidas *Epp.* 48, 96 (cf. comm. there), and is found in the opening bucolic scene in Theocr. 1.1.

3 τετραγλώχιν: the word is a *hapax*, but several compounds of γλωχίν exist (e.g.

the Homeric *τριγλώχης*, re-employed also by e.g. A.R. 4.310). The word *γλωχίν* or *γλωχίς* usually means *end* [of the yoke-strap], *barb* [of an arrow] or simply *extremity* (and in Call. *Ait.* F 1.36 *τριγλώχης* denotes Sicily, cf. Harder *ad loc.*). However, according to Heron *Def.* 15.1.6 (οὕτω γοῦν γλωχίνας ἐκάλουν οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι τὰς γωνίας) the Pythagoreans used the word to indicate an angle. The use of the word to denote a Herm is unusual, but Thucydides 6.27.1 does call a Herm *τετράγωνος ἐργασία*; cf. Preller-Robert (1986.1:401). For the treatment of *muta cum liquida*, cf. Introduction 1.6.1, Prosody.

μηλοσσόε: *hapax*. As for the formation, Leonidas will be looking at the Homeric *λαοσσόος*, which acted as a model for e.g. A.R. 1.570 *νηροσσόος*, but the meaning of the Homeric word was disputed by grammarians (cf. Ardizzoni 1967 on A.R. 1.570), and Hellenistic authors seemed to have interpreted the Homeric word as a compound of *σώζω* rather than *σεύω*, *stir*, *arouse* (as shown by *schol.* A.R. 1.570), whereas Phillips (1972:325) notes that the use in Leonidas might be deliberately ambiguous, i.e. meaning that ‘Hermes not only protects the flocks, but also arouses them’. For the sense, cf. the compounds *μηλοσκόπος* in *H. Hymn Pan* 11 (though that has a passive meaning), and later Theaetetus Scholasticus *API* 233 has *μηλοφύλαξ*. For Herms and Hermes as guardian of the flocks, cf. Leon. *Ep.* 81 ll.1- 2 *Τᾶν αἰγῶν ὁ νομεὺς Μόρυχος τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Ἑρμᾶν / ἔστασ’ αἰπολίων εὐδόκιμον φύλακα* with commentary there. Zonas *AP* 9.226 has *μελισσοσόος* for Pan, which might be looking to Leonidas.

Μαιάδος Ἑρμᾶ: the descent of Hermes from Maia is well-established since ancient times (e.g. *H.Hymn Herm.* 1, Hipponax F 32). The same phrase recurs in Hermocreon *AP* 16.11 = 1 GP.

4 αἰγίβότην: *hapax*, possibly varying the Homeric epithet for Ithaca *αἰγίβοτον*, similarly to *αἰγίβοσις* in Leon. *Ep.* 80: see commentary there and on *Ep.* 53. For goatson pasture-land, cf. Leon. *Ep.* 80 (*AP* 9.318).

5 τὰ ψαιστὰ: the *ψαιστός*, or *ψαιστόν*, was a kind of cake made of ground barley,

oil and honey (*Schol. Ar. Plut.* 137 ψαιστόν: ἔστιν ἄλευρον ἐλαίῳ δεδευμένον), usually dipped in honey, wine, or water before being burnt as an offering to the gods (cf. *Ar. Plut.* 659-663, Herod. 4.92 with Headlam-Knox for extensive sources). From the context in which they are usually mentioned they seem to be a very humble kind of offering.

τό τε σκύφος ἔμπλεον οἴνης: the σκύφος is a cup which is sometimes found in rustic contexts, cf. Eumaeus' cup in Hom. *Od.* 14.112-3, σκύφον ... οἴνου ἐνίπλειον which will have in fact been Leonidas' model: it was so also for Theocr. 1.143 and (possibly through Theocritus) for the Evander's *scyphus* in Virg. *Aen.* 8.278 (cf. Wills 1987). Leonidas's phrase might have been the model for Nic. *Alex.* 162 δέπας ἔμπλεον οἴνης.

6 Αἰκίδεω ... Νεοπτολέμου: the mention of an Aeacid Neoptolemus has understandably caused much debate among commentators. Starting from Susemihl, many scholars have accepted the identification of this character with Neoptolemus, son of Alexander of Epirus and Cleopatra (the sister of Alexander the Great), king of Epirus on several occasions between 317 and 290, when Pyrrhus had him killed (*Plut. Pyrrh.* 2-5). Even though we cannot be absolutely sure of the identification, GP's sceptical attitude (cf. *ad loc.*) is unwarranted and at least some connection with the royal house of Epirus seems likely: cf. Introduction, 1.4.1 Leonidas and Pyrrhus. If the epigram stood among similar rustic dedications in the collection, the mention of the royal figure at the end must have come as a surprise to the reader.

2.1.6 Dedications by hunters

In this section, we have grouped dedicatory epigrams by hunters *stricto sensu*, somewhat artificially, but with the aim of separating them from e.g. shepherds who happen to hunt wild animals (*Epp.* 47, 48, 49 from the previous section). This group includes also *Ep.* 29, which somewhat like *Ep.* 6 is not technically a dedication but rather an epideictic encouragement from Pan to a hunter (with the possibility that it was inscribed on an object or a shrine, if we want to take it as a genuine dedication or as reproducing one). It might be a coincidence that most of the epigrams by Leonidas that have a direct transmission beyond the *Greek Anthology*¹⁷⁴ belong to this subgenre, but there is no doubt that *Ep.* 46 (triple dedication by hunter, fowler and fisherman) was greatly appreciated in antiquity, not only because it was copied with an accompanying fresco in the House of Epigrams in Pompeii, but also because it inspired as many as 14 imitation-poems by later epigrammatists (cf. Introduction, 1.4.5 with bibliography). Therefore, it is perfectly possible that this was one of the themes for which Leonidas was well known and appreciated. Some of the pieces share a striking taste for numbers and games of symmetry, i.e. left/right in *Ep.* 4, the double-peaked mountain combined with two types of hunt in *Ep.* 29, the tripartite pattern of *Ep.* 46 (a taste shared by other epigrams of Leonidas: cf. *Ep.* 42)

¹⁷⁴ Be it epigraphic or papyrological, for which cf. the Introduction 1.3.2, Papyri. An exception is *Ep.* 24, on an entirely different theme, the first line of which is also transmitted by O. Wilcken II 1488 (cf. Introduction).

Epigram 4: the Cretan Therimachus dedicates throwing-sticks to Pan in Arcadia

ὁ Κρήης Θηρίμαχος τὰ λαγωβόλα Πανὶ Λυκαίῳ 1
ταῦτα πρὸς Ἀρκαδικοῖς ἐκρέμασε σκοπέλοις.
ἀλλὰ σὺ Θηριμάχῳ δῶρων χάριν, ἀγρότα δαῖμον,
χεῖρα κατιθύνοισ τοξότιν ἐν πολέμῳ,
ἔν τε συναγκείαισι παρίστασο δεξιτερῆφι, 5
πρῶτα διδοῦς ἄγρης δῶρα καὶ ἀντιπάλων.

*The Cretan Therimachus hung up these throwing-sticks
In the Arcadian peaks to Lycean Pan.
But for Therimachus, in return for his gifts, hunter god,
May you guide his bow hand in battle,
And in the valleys stand by his right hand,
Giving him the first prizes in the hunt and from his adversaries.*

A.P. 6.188, P1^A [PPI] Λεωνίδα [P] Ταραντίνου

1 Θηρίμ- CPI : Θηρόμ- P 3 δαῖμον CPI : -μων P 5 ἐν ταῖς ἀγκείαισι P :
ἐντεαν ἀγκαίησι C^{marg} δεξιτερῆφι Jacobs: -ρησι PPI 6 ἄγρης CPI : -ρας? P
δῶρα PPI : πρῶτα Jacobs : δοῦρα Waltz dub. καὶ Jacobs : κατ' PPI

Therimachus the Cretan dedicates his *lagobola* to Pan praying for success in the hunt and in battle.

The interpretation given by GP, i.e. that Therimachus, after a life of hunting, is now going to war and prays to Pan that he may be equally successful, is perfectly plausible; less so that of Celotto (2015), who argues that this is a genuine dedication by a young Cretan who has just completed his *paideia* consisting in hunting in the wilderness before becoming a mercenary archer in Arcadia. It might not be necessary to think of a specific occasion for this dedication, which is presupposed by both of these readings; and it is not be clear would he dedicate his *lagobolon* as well. The usual symmetry is sought, as ll. 4-6 refer to war, hunt, hunt, war in a chiasmus, and as in *Ep.* 29 (see there) there is a certain pleasure in a play on the double, thistime in the double role of Pan.

1 Θηρίμαχος: the name, attested also in myth (e.g. Apollod. 2.70), occurs a few times in inscriptions (5 in *LPGN*, e.g. IG XII (9) 246 A, Euboea, 4th/3rd cent. BC). However, the sense is that the name here is conveniently chosen for a hunter.

τὰ λαγωβόλα ... ταῦτα: the λαγωβόλον is a crooked throwing-stick (properly for use against hares, as the name suggests) carried by shepherds, cf. e.g. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 14.2.2 ῥόπαλον ἐκ θατέρου τῶν ἄκρων ἐπικάμπιον, οἷα φέρουσι βουκόλοι καὶ νομεῖς, οἱ μὲν καλαύροπας οἱ δὲ λαγωβόλα καλοῦντες (for these sticks as throwable, see Agis *AP* 6.142, a dedication of πτηνὰ λαγωβόλα to Apollo). It is also carried by Pan according to some representations (coins, cf. Figure 11) and literary sources (e.g. anonymous *AP* 16.258, description of a statue of Pan with a λαγώβολον). Theocritus mentions it twice: 4.49 (Corydon) and 7.128 (where it is given by Lycidas to Simichidas as a gift from the Muses); Theocritus *AP* 6.177 = *Ep.* 2 GP is an offering of a λαγώβολον dedicated to Pan by Daphnis. Thus it is a well-recognised symbol of rusticity and of pastoral activity that Therimachus is dedicating to the god. Cf. also Leon. *Ep.* 47, l. 3.

Πανὶ Λυκαίῳ: the epithet derives from Mount Lykaion, which was an extremely important place for the worship of Pan (cf. Borgeaud 1988: 36-7, 62-4), since it was believed to be the god's birthplace (according to *H. Hymn Pan* ll. 30-31 καὶ ῥ' ὁ γ' ἐς Ἀρκαδίην πολυπίδακα, μητέρα μήλων / ἐξίκετ', ἔνθα τέ οἱ τέμενος Κυλληνίου ἐστίν). Literary sources (Pausanias 8.38.5 describing a sanctuary of Pan on that mountain) as well as inscriptions testify that the priest of Pan was as important as the priest of Zeus Lykaios (besides, the two deities figure on either side of the coins of the Arcadian league: cf. Figure 11). The epithet is particularly popular in Latin poetry, e.g. *Ov. Fast.* 2.424 *Faunus in Arcadia templa Lycaeus habet*, *Verg. Aen.* 8.344 *Parrhasio dictum Panos de more Lycaeii*.

2 πρὸς Ἀρκαδικοῖς σκοπέλοις: the term σκόπελος might suggest a sacred space rather than a temple.

3 ἀλλὰ σὺ Θηριμάχῳ δῶρων χάριν: the usual *do ut des* dynamic of dedications. The δῶρον is effectively repeated in the last line, if the reading is sound (cf. below).
ἀγρότα δαῖμον: the expression is found again at Leon. *Ep.* 46 GP, a dedication to Pan from a hunter, a fowler and a fisherman.

4 χεῖρα κατιθύνεις τοξότιν ἐν πολέμῳ: the god guiding the hand which sets the weapon into flight will remind us of Homeric scenes such as *Il.* 5.290 (Diomedes's javelin guided by Athena, βέλος δ' ἴθυνεν Ἀθήνη), and cf. also Aesch. *TrGF* 200 Radt Ἀγρεὺς δ' Ἀπόλλων ὀρθὸν ἰθύνοι βέλος (and in general the context of the quotation in Plut. *Amat.* 757d). Pan's link to war goes back to his legendary appearance before the battle of Marathon recalled by Hdt 6.105, which lies behind the introduction of the cult of the god to Athens (before which he was a local Arcadian deity: cf. Borgeaud 1988:133-162, Parker 1996: 163-8). His martial aspect resurfaces occasionally, e.g. Val. Fl. 3.46 *Pan nemorum bellique potens* and the episode told in Sil. Ital. 13.314-47 (cf. Hutchinson 2013:341-2). It will be of some relevance that Cretans, including Cretan mercenaries, were renowned archers from Classical times (cf. Snodgrass 1998:80-84).

5 ἐν τε συναγκείαισι: Suidas (σ1421 Adler) defines a συνάγκεια as a σύνδενδρος τόπος; cf. also commentary on Leon. *Ep.* 29 l.2.

δεξιτερῆφι: correction by Jacobs for the mss' δεξιτερῆσι. The word is exclusively Homeric, to be found only at line end (*Il.* 24.284, *Od.* 15.148) and λάβε δεξιτερῆφι (*Od.* 19.480); epicising compounds in -φι are nowhere to be found in extant epigrams (it is disputed in anonymous *AP* 14.4), though they feature elsewhere in Hellenistic poetry (e.g. βυήφι in Call. *Hymn* 3.77, [Theocr.] 25.138).

6 πρῶτα διδούς ἄγρης δῶρα καὶ ἀντιπάλων: the mss read δῶρα κατ' ἀντιπάλων, which has triggered several emendations: most editors accept Jacobs' καί, but the expression δῶρα ἀντιπάλων caused discomfort in many. The least invasive correction is by Waltz (δοῦρα), while Jacobs proposed ...ἄγρης, πρῶτα

καὶ ἀντιπάλων on the basis of Antip. Sid. *AP* 6.118 = 49 *GP* II. 5-6 ...ἀ δὲ φέροιο / ἄκρα λύρας, ὁ δ' ἔχοι πρῶτα κυναγεσίας, and for this repetition one could also compare Leon. *Ep.* 12* *GP* I. 2, ...ἄκρα μάχας, ἄκρα λινοστασία, referring to the achievements of Pratalidas the Cretan both in war and hunting. Geffcken and Beckby defend δῶρα ἀντιπάλων, both understanding it as prizes won from the enemy. For δῶρα in the context of the hunt (though next to a lacuna) cf. *Ep.* 51, l. 2.



Figure 11: Reverse of a silver stater of the Arcadian League (363/2 BC) representing Pan on the rocks with a *lagobolon* and a *syrinx* (source: [Wikimedia Commons](#)).

Epigram 29: Pan encourages a huntsman

Εὐάγρει, λαγόθηρα, καὶ εἰ πετεεινὰ διώκων
ἰξευτῆς ἦκεις τοῦθ' ὑπὸ δισσὸν ὄρος,
κάμῃ τὸν ὑληωρὸν ἀπὸ κρημνοῖο βόασον
Πᾶνα· συναγρεύω καὶ κυσὶ καὶ καλάμοις.

*Good hunting to you, hare-chaser, even if you come as a birdlimer
Chasing winged creatures at the foot of this two-peaked mountain;
From a cliff, too, call on me, the watcher of woods,
Pan: I join the hunt with both hounds and reeds.*

A.P. 9.337 [C] Λεωνίδου Ταραντίνου ἐπὶ ἰξευτῇ παρὰ τοῦ Πανός caret P1
1 λαγόθηρα Ap. B. : -γηρα P 3 ὑληωρὸν Salm. : ὑλειω- P
4 συναγρεύω Jacobs : -αγεύω P

Pan encourages a huntsman in his activity.

The epigram does not have a dedicatory frame, and it could be imagined as an inscription for a statue of Pan or for a painting (cf. introduction to *Ep.* 46), or as an entirely epideictic poem. It displays a typical Leonidean taste for symmetry and reduplication in the double structure pervading the piece. The poem is imitated by Erucius (*AP* 9.824) and Satyrus (*AP* 10.11) and most notably it is translated in Prop. 3.13.43-6:

*Et leporem, quicumque venis, venaberis, hospes,
Et si forte meo tramite quaeris, avem:
et me Pana tibi comitem de rupe vocato,
sive petes calamo praemia, sive cane.*

Though Propertius elsewhere shows echoes of Hellenistic epigrams, this is the only case of direct translation in his corpus.¹⁷⁵ Elegy 3.13 is a lament on the corruption and greed of the poet's age, contrasted with a simpler time when lovers were content with simple gifts and the gods used to communicate with the human world every day (cf. Fedeli 1985: 436-7). The epigram is used as an example of a god, Pan, speaking to human-kind in a simpler past where men and women were in communion with nature and the gods (ll. 41-42, *dique deaeque omnes, quibus est tutela per agros, / praebebant vestri verba benigna foci*). Together with the presence of *Ep.* 46 in the 'House of Epigrams' in Pompeii, this strengthens the impression that Leonidas was much appreciated in the Roman world for the landscapes emerging from his epigrams (cf. Introduction).

1 Εὐάγρει: besides here, the verb appears only in Phanias *AP* 6.304 = 6 GP, and Julianus *AP* 6.12 (followed by the accusatives ἡέρα, γαῖαν, ὕδωρ), and Athen. 7.297e (quoting Antig. Caryst. = F 56a Dorandi, though it is hard to tell if the wording is the original). Classical Greek knows the adj. εὐαγρος (Soph. *OC* 1088), which is also used by Leonidas in *Ep.* 19; cf. εὐαγρία (e.g. Luc. *Cataplus* 5, Plb. 8.29.6) and εὐαγρῆς in Imperial authors (e.g. Oppian). Cf. *Ep.* 20.

λαγόθηρα: according to Hsch. λ59 (λαγοθήρας· ἀετοῦ εἶδος) it is a kind of eagle, but the sense here requires *hare hunter*, for which cf. the verb λαγοθηρέω in Ar. *Lys.* 789 (with *scholia ad loc.* ἐλαγοθήρα: ἐκυνηγέται, λαγούς ἐθήρα). It must be remembered that one of the attributes of Pan is the λαγωβόλον, which is originally the stick for catching hares (cf. commentary on *Ep.* 4, l.1). Hare-hunting was very developed and Xen. devotes most of *Cyn.* 5 to it (cf. also Hull 1964: 59-75).

καὶ εἰ πετεεινὰ διώκων: 'if you also happen to hunt for fowl', which is equivalent to addressing a fowler (GP). This spelling of π. is only found here and in Meleager

¹⁷⁵ Hollis (2006) quotes the case of Prop. 1.1.1-4, whose model is Mel. *AP* 12.101 = 103 GP, and Prop. 2.9.37-40, whose model is Posidippus *AP* 12.45 = 5 GP; this practice is not isolated in Augustan poetry, cf. e.g. Hor. *Sat.* 1.2 paraphrasing Call. *Ep.* 31 Pf. = *AP* 12.102 at ll. 105-108 and Philodem. *Ep.* 22 GP = *AP* 5.126 at ll. 120-2 (and criticising Philodem. *AP* 5.132 at ll. 92-3).

AP 9.363.22, and the usual poetic form is πετεηνός (vs. the regular πετεινός, πετηνός, and πτηνός): the neut. plural is regularly used to denote birds. One wonders if the sense is also that birds are harder to catch, and the expression sounds vaguely proverbial.

2 ἰξευτής: the word for *fowler* is not attested before Hellenistic times (e.g. Bion F 13.1, Lyk. 105) and derives from ἰξός, *birdlime*, which was put at the end of a rod (the κάλαμος mentioned in l. 4) and stuck together with other rods to reach the bird. It was considered a humble profession, cf. Plato *Leg.* 7.823e-24a μηδ' αὖ πτηνῶν θήρας αἰμύλος ἔρως οὐ σφόδρα ἐλευθέριος ἐπέλθοι τινὶ νέων (cf. Reed on Bion F 13.1). This type of hunting was also very developed and to it was devoted a three-book work by Dionysius Periegetes, only preserved in a later epitome, the *Ixeuticon*.

τοῦθ' ὑπὸ δισσὸν ὄρος: the precise description led GP to think that the epigram refers to a specific place, or at least a specific representation of a place. It is reasonable to suppose that Mount Lykaion is alluded to, a place of worship of Pan and his mythical birthplace (cf. comm. on *Ep.* 4 where Pan is addressed as Λυκαῖος), since it has two peaks (modern Stefani and Diaforti) and the plateau between the two hosted sacred buildings where the Lykeia festivals took place (cf. Paus. 8.38.5 with Moggi-Osanna *ad loc.* and in general *BNP* s.v. Lycaeum). Propertius' translation has *meo tramite* and Serv. *ad Verg. Georg.* 1.108 says *tramites...sunt convalles, quae de lateribus utrimque perviae limitant montes, quae solent etiam saltus nuncupari*. At any rate, the 'double' also plays with the double nature of the hunt (hare/fowl), stated in l.1 and reiterated in l.4.

3 κὰμὲ ... Πᾶνα: as in other epigrams, the speaking voice of the poem is not revealed until the last line.

τὸν ὑληωρόν: the adj. is found only in A.R. 1.1227 referring to Nymphs (where the scholium *ad loc.* explains it as αἱ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι διατρίβουσαι) and Suidas, s.v. ὑληωροί (v97), possibly a fragment of Callimachus (F 373 Pf. = 152 Hollis), apparently referring to woodsmen (cf. also Hollis on F 52); Arist. *Pol.* 1321b 30 has

ύλωρός = *ranger*. It seems here to retain the literal meaning of *watcher of the woods*.

ἀπὸ κρημνοῖο βόασον: GP think of a 'jutting rock in the woods'.

4 συναγρεύω: the verb is not attested elsewhere until Nonnus. Pan assures the hunter that he will assist him whether he is going to hunt for hares or birds.

καὶ κυσὶ καὶ καλάμοις: this refers of course to the two types of hunter described in symmetry (the dogs helping with hare-hunting and the rods necessary for bird-catching). The verse presents a strong alliteration of κ.

Epigram 46: Dedication to Pan of nets by a fowler, a hunter and a fisherman

Οἱ τρισσοὶ τοὶ ταῦτα τὰ δίκτυα θῆκαν ὄμαιμοι, 1
ἀγρότα Πάν, ἄλλης ἄλλος ἀπ' ἀγρεσίης,
ᾧν ἀπὸ μὲν πτανῶν Πίγρης τάδε, ταῦτα δὲ Δᾶμις
τετραπόδων, Κλείτωρ δ' ὁ τρίτος εἰναλίων.
ἀνθ' ᾧν τῷ μὲν πέμπε δι' ἠέρος εὖστοχον ἄγρην, 5
τῷ δὲ διὰ δρυμῶν, τῷ δὲ δι' ἠίωνων.

*The three brothers dedicated these nets
To you, Pan the hunter, each from a different type of
hunting, Pigres these from the birds, these ones Damis
From the beasts, and Cleitor the third, from the sea.
In return for these things, grant successful hunting in the air to the first,
In the thickets to the second, and on the shores to the third.*

A.P. 6.13 εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν [sc. Πᾶνα] Λεωνίδου, et in nova pag. [C] τῷ Πανὶ παρὰ
τρῶν ἀλιέων ἀδελφῶν Π^A εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ Λεωνίδου

Suid. s.vv. Ὀμαιμος (1), ἀγρεσία (1s.)

1 τὰ CPI Suid. om. P. 3 πτηνῶν PI | Πίγρης CPI : -ρις P
4 εἰναλίων CPI : ἐν- P 5 εὖστοχον CPI : - ος P

Three brothers offer hunting equipment to Pan asking for a successful hunt.

The epigram exhibits the usual Leonidean taste for symmetry and the multiplication of subjects and objects, in this case brought to an extreme. Whereas in e.g. *Ep.* 29 the hunter chases both hares and birds, here the different hunting territories are rigidly divided among three brothers. The enumeration of the spheres of influence of Pan divided by natural elements, i.e. air, woods, forest, implicitly recognizes his power over all wild animals, along with the ability of the hunters, provided that the god is on their side. The epigram has been found in one of the wall-paintings of the 'House of Epigrams' in Pompeii, accompanied by a painting and its *incipit* is found on an ostrakon (cf. Introduction 1.3.3, Epigraphic evidence). This attests to the great popularity of the poem, which is one of the

most imitated among later epigrammatists, a fact which might strike us as surprising given its simplicity (cf. Introduction, 1.4.5 Leonidas and his reception in Antiquity (including Latin poetry)).

1 Οἱ τρισσοί... ὄμαιμοι: Leonidas has other instances of siblings making dedications, e.g. the sisters in *Epp.* 41, 42.

ταῦτα τὰ δίκτυα: while nets are appropriate for hunting land-creatures and fish, they are slightly less suitable for fowl and a broader sense should probably be understood, i.e. *traps, snares*.

2 ἀγρότα Πάν: the adjective is applied to Pan also in Leon. *Ep.* 4, where see commentary.

ἄλλης ἄλλος ἀπ' ἀγρεσίης: *each from a different type of hunting*. The word ἀγρεσία (= ἄγρα) is a *hapax* (Call. *Ait.* F 23.20 Pf.= 23.22 Harder has ἀυταγρεσίης, but it has a completely different meaning, 'by free choice', from the disputed Homeric *hapax* ἀυτάγρετος, cf. Harder *ad loc.*).

3 ὦν ἀπὸ μὲν πτανῶν Πίγρης τάδε: the first brother is a fowler.

4: ταῦτα δὲ Δᾶμις τετραπόδων: the word τ. as a noun is more common in poetry than the adj. τετράπους or the substantivated form τετράπουν, which are more prosaic (e.g. Ar. *Nub.* 659, [Eur.] *Rhes.* 211). The name Damis is quite well attested in inscriptions (ca. 50 in *LPGN*, e.g. IG V (2) 549, 4, Arcadia, end of 4th cent. BC).

Κλείτωρ δ' ὁ τρίτος εἰναλίων: compared to the other two, the name Kleitor has fewer epigraphic attestations (4 in total in *LPGN*, two Hellenistic and two Imperial) but it occurs in mythology and is the name of a city in Arcadia (Hansen-Nielsen n.276). The word εἰνάλιος (usually ἐνάλιος) is poetic and most often used as an adjective, but it is a noun here and in later poetry, e.g. Oppian.

5 δι' ἠέρος: the expression is Homeric (*Il.* 14.289 ἦ τότ' ἐν Ἴδη / μακροτάτη πεφουῖα δι' ἠέρος αἰθέρ' ἴκανεν) and recurs very often in the same metrical *sedes*

in A.R. (e.g. 2.933, 2.1034 of birds flying through the air), as well as in Call. *Ait.* F 110.55. The use of the words by Hellenistic poets suggest that they are indifferent to the Homeric distinction between ἀήρ and αἰθήρ (cf. Harder on Call. *Ait.* F 110.7).

εὖστοχον ἄγρην: the adj. εὖστοχος means *with good aim* and therefore *hitting the mark*, i.e. a *successful hunt*, and is used in this sense in Opp. *H.* 3.280 αἰεὶ δ', εὖτ' ἐθέλησθα, παρέσσεται εὖστοχος ἄγρη; cf. the substantive in e.g. Call. *Hymn* 3.217 καὶ ἐκ κνηλασίην τε καὶ εὖστοχίην ἐδίδαξας.

ἄ τῶ δὲ διὰ δρυμῶν: Hom. has a formulaic *hemiepes* διὰ δρυμὰ πυκνὰ καὶ ὕλην (*Il.* 11.118 *al.*); the word δ. is mostly poetic and not very common, though it appears a few times in Theocr. (e.g. 1.117 οὐκέτ' ἀνὰ δρυμῶς, οὐκ ἄλσεα. χαῖρ', Ἀρέθουσα...), and at [Theocr.] 20.36 it almost seems a bucolic key word. Cf. also the fragment of Leonidas in P.Oxy. 4.662 (cf. Introduction). The plural has short upsilonas regularly in Hom.

τῶ δὲ δι' ἠϊόνων: though in Hom. ἠϊών denotes the sea-shore, in later Greek and esp. in the plural it refers to the shores of any body of water, including rivers and lakes (*LSJ* s.v., II).

Epigram 50: Sosippus the hunter dedicates his tools to Hermes upon retiring

ἀστεμφῆ ποδάγρην καὶ δούνακας †ἀντυκτῆρας†
καὶ λίνα καὶ γυρὸν τοῦτο λαγωοβόλον,
ἰοδόκην καὶ τοῦτον ἐπ' ὄρτυγι τετρανθέντα
αὐλόν, καὶ πλωτῶν εὐπλεκῆς ἀμφίβολον
Ἑρμείη Σώσιππος, ἐπεὶ παρενήξατο τὸ πλεῦν
ἥβης, ἐκ γήρωσ δ' ἀδρανίη δέδεταί.

*This relentless trap and these... reeds
And these nets and this curved stick for hares,
This quiver and this pierced quail-caller,
And this well-woven net for fish
Sosippus has dedicated to Hermes, after swimming to the end of the voyage
Of youth, and in a state of weakness as a result of old age.*

A.P. 6.296 (caret P1) Λεωνίδου ; Suid. s.vv. ἀστεμφέα (1), τετρανθέντα (3-4 αὐλ.),
ἀδρανές (5 ἐπεὶ - 6 ἀδρ.)

1 ἀντυκτῆρας PSuid : ἀντεκτῆρας Sud. v.l. ἀντιστῆρας Gow
4 αὐλόν CSuid. : -λῶν P 5 τὸ CSuid. : om. P

Sosippus the hunter dedicates his implements to Hermes upon reaching old age.

The protagonist is apparently a hunter who dedicated himself to different kinds of chase, in a situation which mirrors that of *Ep.* 46 (three brothers pursuing three different types of hunting). The last line implies that the dedication happens upon his retirement and the address to Hermes might be motivated by the transitional nature of the moment (cf. Lavalley 1995). The epigram displays an inventiveness in nouns and adjectives which is common to other Leonidean dedications.

1 ἀστεμφῆ: the word literally means unmoved, but *firm, unmovable* is to be understood, as in Opp. *Hal.* 1.417 (of ζυγόν), 2.84 (of δεσμός).

ποδάγρη: a specific kind of snare described at length by Pollux 5.32 ἡ δὲ ποδάγρα ἴσταται μὲν ἐλάφοις καὶ σὺσιν ἔστιν ὅτε, καλοῖτο δ' ἂν καὶ ποδοστράβη, which Xen. *Cyr.* 1.6.28 suggests using for deer. One wonders if the word at the beginning of the poem is supposed to mislead the reader, who could think of the homonymous disease, gout, before proceeding further into the poem.

δούνακας † ἀντυκτῆρας† : the δόναξ is a type of reed and can denote different objects made from it, i.e. the shaft of an arrow, a pipe, a fishing rod, all suitable to this context. The textual issue of the adjective makes the choice hard and editors have proposed different solutions: ἀνθεκτῆρας meaning *adhesive [reeds]* (Reiske), ἀντυκτῆρας meaning *round rods* (Zacher), ἀμπυκτῆρας ? (Bernhardy), αἰθυκτῆρας meaning *swift rods* (Salmasius), ἀνδυκτῆρας meaning *mousetraps* (Lobeck followed by Dübner), ἀντιστῆρας meaning *supporting rods* (GP). The choice is further complicated by the fact that equipment for all types of prey (hares, fowl, fish) is already mentioned later. The form in δου- (found also in Leon. *Ep.* 66* 1.9) is first found in Leonidas, which seems to have influenced δώνακι in [Theocr.] 20.29 and later epigrammatists following L., and has been variously explained (on metrical grounds by Schulze 1892:205 and with the influence of Homeric Δουλίχιον and οὔνομα by Geffcken ad loc.).

2 λίνα: *nets*, which can be of various kinds (for terrestrial animals, birds and fish).

γυρὸν τοῦτο λαγωβόλον: the curved stick (cf. ῥαιβόκρανον in Leon. *Ep.* 47) used to catch hares and an attribute of Pan, for which cf. comm. on *Ep.* 4 l.1. The spelling λαγωβόλον does not occur elsewhere (but cf. Introduction 1.6.1, Prosody).

3 ἰοδόκη: Hom. knows the adjective ἰοδόκος (*holding arrows*), usually applied to

φαρέτρη, but the substantive form occurs in Hellenistic poetry (e.g. A.R. 2.679, Posidipp. *AP* 12.45 = 5 GP = 135 AB) and is common in Imperial authors (Oppian, Quintus, Nonnus); the model might also have been the Homeric ἱστοδόκη, but Phillips (1972:249-51) thinks that Leonidas is influenced by Apollonius' technique of variation of Homeric diction.

3-4 τοῦτον ἐπ' ὄρτυγι τετρασθέντα / αὐλόν: *this pierced aulos for quails*, generally understood by editors as a *quail-caller*, though as GP note there is no mention of such a device among the tricks used to lure birds in Antiquity (mirrors and scarecrows of sorts are mentioned, cf. Thompson 1936:216, Arnott 2007:162). The sense of ἐπί will be that the call is used ultimately *against* the bird. Quail (*Coturnix coturnix*) seems to have been very common in antiquity and it was hunted as food (cf. Epicharmus F 42.2 K.-A.) or domesticated as a pet (e.g. Glaucus *AP* 12.44): cf. Arnott (2007) s.v. ortyx. As Geffcken noted, the expression is paralleled by Leon. *Ep.* 52* 1. 3 ἐπ' ἰχθύσι τεχνασθέντα.

καὶ πλωτῶν εὐπλεκῆς ἀμφίβολον: εὐπλεκῆς is a rare epic word, like its cognate and equivalent εὐπλεκτος, used for chariot-boards (δίφρα) or tassels of shields (θύσανοι), thus imbuing the instrument with an epic tone. The word ἀμφίβολος is usually an adj. (and so it is used in Leon. *Ep.* 35, applied to κάμακες, cf. there); it is a noun only here and Eur. *Tr.* 537 κλωστοῦ δ' ἀμφιβάλοις λίνιοι; and it seems to be equivalent to ἀμφίβληστρον (GP), a *casting-net*, something *thrown around* the prey. The word πλωτός is used of aquatic animals, both water-birds and fish, and some editors understand it to refer here to birds and regard Sosippus as a fowler, but the word refers to fish in Antipater *AP* 6.14 (= 1 GP), an imitation of Leonidas' *Ep.* 46, it is likely that Leonidas is just pursuing symmetry as in *Ep.* 46, and fowl, game, and fish are envisaged in a triple dedication.

5 Ἑρμείη: the reason why Hermes is the recipient of Sosippus' address is not entirely straightforward. The last couplet might suggest that he is invoked with the thought of youth, as he is sometimes the protector of young boys (cf. the comm. on

the dedication of toys by Philocles in *Ep.* 45); on the other hand, Hermes shows a good deal of overlap in Greek belief and cult with Pan (whose father he was in some of the many genealogies of the Arkadian god), for which cf. Borgeaud (1988:55, 66-67); the latter is the god of hunting *par excellence* and invoked as such in other epigrams by Leonidas.

Σώσιππος: not an uncommon name (ca. 90 occurrences in *LGP*N, mostly from the 4th cent. BC onwards).

5-6 ἐπεὶ παρενήξατο τὸ πλεῦν / ἤβης: the image of life as a journey is not uncommon, including in Leonidas (*Epp.* 10, 60, 67), and similar is e.g. the notion of a race (cf. Vérilhac 1982.2:381-2); the sea of troubles is also found (cf. Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 469-70), but the preposition of the compound word is what remains puzzling. GP think that it might allude to the image of a ship rather than a swimmer, but the choice of verb is bizarre and the same can be said of τὸ πλεῦν ἤβης.

ἐκ γήρωσ δ' ἀδρανίη δέδετα: The word ἀδρανία is Hellenistic (Call. *F dub.* 730 Pfeiff. of unknown context, A.R. 2.199-201 of the old Phineus ...τρέμε δ' ἄψευα νισομένοιο / ἀδρανίη γήραι τε πίνω δε οἱ αὐσταλέως χρώς / ἔσκληκει, ῥίνοι δὲ σὺν ὄστέα μούνον ἔεργον, Nic. *Th.* 248, 745 of the weakness of knees as a result of poisoning), and then found in Imperial poetry (Oppian, Quintus, Nonnus). This passage is probably the model for Macedonius Consul *AP* 6.73 = 20 GP, 1.8 γήραος ἀδρανίην (at the end of a dedication). GP understand δέδετα as 'hangs' (as a dedication, comparing Phantias 2 GP = *AP* 6.294, δεθείς); but it might interesting with Lavalley (1995) to read it as is *captured by weakness*, with an ironic view of the hunter being 'captured' by old age at the end of his career, but it would then be hard to explain the dative Ἐρμεῖη.

Epigram 51 (P. Oxy. 4.662): Glenis dedicate trophies of the hunt (?) to Pan and the Nymphs

Ἀκρωρίτα Πανὶ καὶ ἐνπη [.] Νύμφαις
 [Γ]λῆνις ὁ συνγείτων δῶρα [.]ης
 ταύτην τε προτομὰν καὶ δ[.]ησ[. . .]ι
 βύρσαν καὶ ῥοθίους τούσ[δ'ἀνέθηκε] πρόδας.
 Πὰν ὦ καὶ Νύμφαι, τὸν δ[. ἀγ]ρευτῆρα
 Γλῆνιν ἀεξήσαιθ' αἰεδ [.]ς.

Λεωνίδου

2 Γλημῖς pap. | sive σ[υαγρεσί]ης Hunt 4 sive δὲ καθᾶψε Hunt
 5 ὦ Πὰν Powell | νυμοι pap. δ[εξιὸν Beazley 6 αἰὲν Hunt
 Ὄνα<σι>φάνευς Hunt

Glenis, a hunter, dedicates hunting trophies to Pan and the Nymphs.

The state of the text makes some details hard to grasp, but the general picture is clear, and some inferences can be made from Antipater's imitation which follows the epigram in the papyrus (cf. Introduction). Glenis, possibly the son of a certain Onasiphanes if Antipater is using the same name as Leonidas, is dedicating the skin, the head and the hooves of a boar to Pan and the Nymphs, and asks something in return (possibly to preserve his luck in the hunt). The damaged state of the text makes it hard to appreciate poetic features such as potentially colourful adjectives that will have fallen in the lacunae. Nonetheless, it is possible to observe some common patterns like the symmetrical repetition of Pan and the Nymphs and the multiplication of elements in the trophies of the hunt; glimpses of verbal invention also remain.

1 Ἀκρωρίτα Πανί: the epithet is found only here and in the imitation by Antipater in the same papyrus (= 48 GP), but the spelling with εἰ is attested in Steph. Byz. as the name of the mountain range of Ἀκρώρεια and as a cult-title of Dionysus (Ἀκρώρεια, ἄκρον ὄρους, ἐν ᾧ οἱ οἰκοῦντες Ἀκρωρεῖται. Οὕτω δὲ παρὰ Σικωνίοις ἐτιμᾶτο [ὁ Διόνυσος]. Ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ παρὰ μὲν Σικωνίοις Ἀκρωρείτης, παρὰ δὲ Μεταποντίοις Ἐρίφιος). If not an otherwise unknown epithet linked to specific place of cult, it should be taken as a descriptive adjective in the sense of *haunter of mountain ridges*. Pan's link with the mountains is well established, cf. e.g. Eur. *IT* 1126 οὐρεῖος Πάν, Soph. *OT* 1099 Πανὸς ὄρεσσιβάτα πατρὸς (cf. Borgeaud 1988:58-60 esp. n.125).

ενπη [.] Νύμφαις: the traces after pi have been interpreted since the *editio princeps* as uncertain traces of an alpha, but upon closer inspection they are clearly a heta (Figure 12). Grenfell and Hunt reasonably suggested some adj. ending in -ισι (like the ἀντροῖσι of Antipater's imitation), though suspecting some corruption, since space is tight for the sequence required by metre (υυ _ υ). Elsewhere we find epithets like πηγᾶιαι for the Nymphs, and therefore GP suggested ἐμπαγαῖσι, which should be read ἐμπηγαῖσι; alternatively, one could read ἐν πηγῆσι (for the form, cf. Call. *Hymn* 2.88, A.R. 1.117) though it would not scan, or πηγᾶισι (Eur. *IT*1192).

Figure 12: detail of the first line of *Ep.* 51 on P. Oxy. 4.662 (my photograph, © British Library Board, Papyrus 1533)



2 [Γ]ληνις: the supplement is certain, comparing line 6 and the same name used in Antipater's imitation, and shows a mistaken spelling of μ for ν. The name is not attested anywhere else and recurs only in Apollonides *AP* 7.693, but Leonidas has a woman named Γληνις in *Ep.* 41* and a Γληνος is attested by two late Imperial inscriptions (cf. *LGPN*).

ὁ συγγείτων: this is the only occurrence of the word as a noun: it is used as an adjective in Eur. *Suppl.* 386 συγγείτον' οἰκῶν γαῖαν.

δῶρα . [. . . .]ης: either the killed animal was not mentioned, which is not impossible (cf. *Epp.* 47 and 48), or it could be implied in the missing word, for which Grenfell and Hunt suggested συναγρεσίης (cf. δῶρα συναγρεσίης in Rhianus *AP* 6.34 = 6 GP, a dedication to Pan which seems to be influenced by Leonidas), and a boar is the object of Antipater's imitation, or κυναγεσίης (cf. δῶρα κυναγεσίης in Zosimus of Thasos, *AP* 6.183, votive epigram which imitates Leon. *Ep.* 46).

3 ταύτην τε προτομάν: the scribe made a mistake in the α of the first word and corrected it, then apparently adding a τ above to make it clearer. The προτομή is the head and face of a decapitated animal (*LSJ I*), though the word is rare in poetry (Anyte *AP* 7.215 of the dolphin-shaped prow of a ship, Lucillius *AP* 11.212 of the head of a dog, Antiphilus *AP* 16.147 of the head of the Gorgon). For the head of the hunted animal as a trophy of the chase, cf. e.g. the head of the 'lion' flaunted by Agave in Eur. *Ba.* 1168-94.

καὶ δ[.]ησ[. . .]ι: GP think that the end of the line contained a qualification applied to βύρσαν from the following line. It might have been something stressing its tough nature, implying the difficulty of the killing and subsequent flaying (cf. βριαρᾶς ...βύρσας of a mighty bull dedicated in Antipat. *AP* 6.115 = 47 GP, and the skinning of the Nemean lion by Heracles in [Theocr.] 25.271-9).

4 βύρσαν: indicates the skin of the dead animal.

καὶ ῥοθίους τοῦσ[δ'ἀνεθήκε] πόδας: the reading is uncertain. It is likely that the gap contained the verb of dedication, and Grenfell and Hunt suggested ἀνέθηκε, or καθᾶψε based on the above-mentioned Rhianus 6 GP κάπρου τούσδε καθᾶψε πόδας. The adjective ῥοθίος usually means *dashing, rushing* of waves breaking on the shore or oars on the water; Antip. Sid. *AP* 10.2 uses it of a ship, and in Joseph. *B.J.* 6.2.8 it is used of a horse galloping at great speed.

5 Πᾶν ᾧ καὶ Νύμφαι: The position of ᾧ is odd and Powell suggested a transposition, but Pindar provides parallels (*O.* 8.1-2 Μᾶτερ ᾧ χρυσοστεφάνων | ἀέθλων, Ὀλυμπία..., *P.* 2.1 μεγαλόπολιες ᾧ Συράκοσαι, *P.* 8.1 Δίκας ᾧ μεγιστόπολι θύγατερ) and cf. Kambylis (1964:183-8). For the association of Pan and the nymphs, cf. Borgeaud (1988:107-8).

τὸν δ[.] ἀγ]ρευτήρα: Grenfell and Hunt suggested θηρευτήρα or ἀγρευτήρα.

6 ἀεξήσαιθ' αἰεδ [.] ς: Grenfell and Hunt suggested *exempli gratia* αἰὲν ἄγραισι καλαῖς, and they also compare *AP* 6.158 αὖξετε δ' αἰεὶ Πὰν ἀγέλην, Νύμφαι πίδακα, Βάκχε γάνος (Sabinus Grammaticus, a poem which is imitating Leon. *Ep.* 97). Page suggested υἰόν for αἰεδ: Antipater's epigram does end with κοῦρος Ὀναφανε . ς and one would expect the name to be the same as in Leonidas. However, we must assume a mistake of some sort if we want to fit in αἰὲν Ὀνα<σι>φάνευς.

Figure 13: *Ep.* 51 on P.Oxy. 4.662 (detail of Figure 1 above).



epigram 96: Cleolaus hangs the horns of a stag on a pine

Τὰν ἔλαφον Κλεόλαος ὑπὸ κναμοῖσι λοχήσας
ἔκτανε Μαιάνδρου πὰρ τριέλικτον ὕδωρ
θηκτῶ σαυρωτῆρι, τὰ δ' ὀκτάριζα μετώπων
φράγμαθ' ὑπέρ κραναὰν ἄλος ἔπαξε πίτυν.

Cleolaus killed this hind after lying in ambush beneath the slopes
By the thrice-twisting water of the Meander,
With his sharp spear, and he fixed the eight-rooted
Defence of its forehead as an ornament on a rock-like pine.

A.P. 6.110 ἀνάθημα Κλεολάου Λεωνίδα, οἱ δὲ Μνασάλκου et [C marg.]
Μνασάλκου [PI^A] Λεωνίδου οἱ δὲ Μνασάλκου Suid. s.vv. Μαίανδρος (2),
σαυρωτῆρσι (2s. ἔκτ. Θ. Σαυρ.), φράγματα (3 τὰ- 4)

1 Κλεόλαος CPI : -όβουλος P 3 ὀκτάριζα PSuid.
4 ἄλος Jacobs : ἄλος PSuid. : ἄλλος PI

Cleolaus kills a stag near the river Maeander and hangs its antlers on a pine tree.

In a similar way to the epigrams with dedications by shepherds, here too the killing of an animal (this time not even a dangerous one) is made solemn through stylistic features. Cleolaus, with a unusually military weapon, kills a hind whose horns are described as the *eight-rooted defence of its forehead*, no doubt meant to exaggerate the risk that the huntsman faced while attacking the animal. Part of the animal is hung as an offering on a tree, possibly to Pan as in *Ep.* 47. Traces of this epigram have been identified on a wall-painting in the Roman city of Suasa (Figure 6), thus contributing to the picture of the popularity of Leonidas in the Roman world (cf. Introduction 1.4.5 Leonidas and his reception in Antiquity (including Latin poetry). The context is lacking, but it is not hard to imagine an accompanying depiction as in the case of the 'House of Epigrams' in Pompeii.

1 **Τὰν ἔλαφον**: hinds cannot of course have antlers, but Leonidas is following the Greek poetic tradition (Ael. *NA* 7.35 ὅσοι λέγουσι θῆλυν ἔλαφον τὰ κέρατα οὐ φύειν, οὐκ αἰδοῦνται τοὺς τοῦ ἐναντίου μάρτυρας; he then quotes examples of

horned hinds from poets, e.g. Anacreon F 51, Pi. O. 3.29, Soph. F 89, Eur. F 857 and F 740), and according to Aristotle, who points out the impossibility (*Poet.* 1460b 31, also found in *schol.* Pi. O. 3.52), such a description was also common in art. At *Od.* 10.158-72, Odysseus encounters a lonely stag and kills it to feed his crew, and the killing is described in a similar way to deaths of warriors from the *Iliad* (Heubeck-Hoekstra 1989:53); the scene is later imitated at Virg. *Aen.* 1.187-94.

ὑπὸ κναμοῖσι: κναμός denotes the shoulder of a mountain.

2 Μαιάνδρου πὰρ τριέλικτον ὕδωρ: the course of the Meander was so curved that it gave origin to the word *meander*, a notion picked up very frequently in Latin poetry (cf. Ovid *Met.* 8.162 with Bömer); cf. Leon. *Ep.* 40, l.4 with commentary. The adjective sometimes means literally thrice-coiled (as in its first occurrence, Hdt. 6.77.2, where it is referred to a snake, but as *v.l.*) but τρι- as a prefix can convey just *very*, e.g. Meleager *AP* 12.57 τριπανοῦργος, and cf. its use in Arat. 816. For a similar adj. cf. Leonidas' compound τριπόνητος in *Ep.* 40.

3 Θηκτῶ σαυρωτήρι: the adjective is mainly tragic (only once in Aesch. *Sept.* 944 and nine times in Euripides before postclassical authors): cf. Introduction 1.5.2, Tragic diction. According to Suidas, it should mean ἠκονημένον, i.e. *sharpened* as for a specific purpose. Σαυρωτήρ (or οὐρίαχος, στύραξ) is the spike at the bottom of the spear which could be used to stick the spear in the ground when not in use or as an alternative weapon (cf. *schol.* Thuc. 2.4.3., Suidas ο 949, σ1160). It is an unusual piece of equipment for a hunter, and it might be chosen to glorify the protagonist like the spear of the shepherd in Leon. *Ep.* 49.

ὀκτάροζα: *hapax*, presumably meaning that the antlers had 8 points.

4 φράγμαθ': generally φράγμα is used in the specific military sense of *defence*, *barrier*: more peculiar uses are Aristot. *De an.* 421^b29 referring to the eyelids as defence of the eyes and Aristot. *PA* 679a 6 referring to the ink of the sepia, but the impression is again the epicisation of a hunting episode. The whole expression has the form of a kenning, which is often used for animals (cf. Wær 1951:38-44, though

this one is not included in her list of Leonidean kennings at 106-108).

ὕπερ κροναῶν ... πίτυν: the adjective κροναῶς usually refers in Homer and later poetry to places (esp. Ithaca); in Oppian *H.* 5.396 it refers to the shell of a turtle and in *H.* 4.364 to a fishing-rod. GP suggest that here it could mean *gnarled*, and Geffcken compared the usage in Ar. F 560 (of nettles) but the usual meaning perhaps may be retained, as *rock-like*, since it is compatible with the texture of pine bark: the play might consist in the juxtaposition of the texture of the antlers and the tree bark (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.190 *cornibus arboreis*). The pine could imply that the dedication is to Pan, as in other epigrams: cf. commentary on Leon. *Epp.* 96 and 3.

ἄλος: Doric form of ἤλος, which is a nail-head, sometimes in the sense of ornament: the implication might be that the antlers were stuck directly into the tree bark.

2.1.7 *Priapea* (83, 84, 85)

These three epigrams belong to a Planudean section of *Priapea* (236-243), which in turn are part of a group of 37 poems from the *Anthology* which constitute the Greek *Priapea* (prospectus in Parker 1988:3). Leonidas' epigrams seem to be the oldest among this group, together with Hedylus *AP* 6.292 = 1 GP and two epigrams ascribed to Theocritus (*AP* 9.338 and 9.437). The cult of this god seems to have begun in Asia Minor, specifically in the Hellespontine region and Lampsacus in particular, from which it spread into the wider Greek world during Hellenistic times, when mentions of the god appear in inscriptions (e.g. *IG* 12.3.421), though the oldest mention of the god in the Greek speaking world comes from a comedy entitled *Πρίαπος* by the Middle-Comedy author Xenarchus (cf. Kassel-Austin *PGC* VII, Xenarchus, T 1). We also know that the 3rd century BC obscene author Sotades wrote a *Πρίαπος* (Suidas σ871 = 5 Powell), though we do not know much about it. A larger (and more coherent) body of evidence comes from the so-called *carmina Priapea*, a collection of roman poems characterised by a salacious tone, whose authorship and date are debated, though a 1st cent. date AD is considered plausible.¹⁷⁶

As Parker (1988:3-9) outlined, all the *Priapea* poems (i.e. the Greek and Latin ones) fall into four categories: a) dedicatory b) texts where Priapus is a harbour god c) poems where Priapus is set as a watchman d) poems mainly concerned with the god's sensuality and erotic connotations. The three epigrams by Leonidas fall into categories b and c, and they must have been much appreciated in antiquity, since *Ep.* 83 was translated in one of the Latin poems and *Ep.* 85 was quoted more than once by Cicero (cf. Introduction and comm. below). The poems give an insight into a scopic and more salacious side of Leonidas' production, of which there are

¹⁷⁶ To this evidence, two fragments of Catullus should be added (FF 1, 2).

otherwise only glimpses, e.g. *Ep.* 68 the drunkard Maronis and the epigrams ridiculing some Cynics. The fact that *Epp.* 83 and 84 are absent from P leaves us to wonder whether this kind of poem was more abundant in Leonidas' production.

Epigram 83: Priapus warns a thief

Αὐτοῦ ἐφ' αἰμασιαῖσι τὸν ἀγρυπνοῦντα Πρίηπον
ἔστησεν λαχάνων Δεινομένης φύλακα·
ἀλλ' ὡς ἐντέταμαι, φῶρ, ἔμβλεπε. 'τοῦτο' δ' ἐρωτᾶς
'τῶν ὀλίγων λαχάνων εἴνεκα;' τῶν ὀλίγων.

*Here on these border walls Deinomenes stood me up, Priapus,
As the watchful guardian of the greens:
But look, thief, at how aroused I am. You ask,
"All that only for the sake of a few greens?" For these few indeed.*

A. Plan. (P1^A) 236 εἰς ἄγαλμα Πριήπου Λεωνίδου, οἱ δὲ Περίτου (caret P)

Priapus guards a garden and threatens thieves.

The epigram is the first in the Planudean section of *Priapea* (236-243). Like other epigrams by L., it is concerned with a private garden, though this time the emphasis is not on the owner or on the threat posed by wild animals but rather on the threat made against thieves. The poem plays with a contrast between big and small: the small quantity of greens guarded by the god, and therefore the magnitude of potential theft, vs. the dimensions of the erect phallus and the consequent punishment with which Priapus threatens the thief.

This poem is the one with the closest parallel in the Latin *Priapea*: c. 24 of that group is a rough translation of it:

*Hic me custodem fecundi vilicus horti
mandati curam iussit habere loci.
Fur habeas poenam licet indignere 'feram' que
'propter olus' dicas 'hoc ego?' propter olus.*

This contributes to our view of the reception of Leonidas in Roman poetry (for which, cf. Introduction).

1 ἐφ' αἶμασιαῖσι: the word denotes dry walls made of stones found on the ground, as already in Hom. *Od.* 18.359 αἶμασιάς τε λέγων (for which the scholia have οἰκοδομῶν ἐκ συλλέκτων λίθων). The wall is a good spot to have a view as a watchman: cf. the boy guarding a vineyard from the wall in Theocr. 1.45-8 τυτθὸν δ' ὅσσον ἄπωθεν ἀλιτρώτοιο γέροντος / περκναῖσι σταφυλαῖσι καλὸν βέβριθεν ἀλωά, / τὰν ὀλίγος τις κῶρος ἐφ' αἶμασιαῖσι φυλάσσει / ἦμενος.

τὸν ἀγρυπνοῦντα: ἀγρυπνέω means *to lie awake*, whether for sleeplessness (as in e.g. Theocr. 10.10) or watchfulness, as here.

Πρήπιον: The form Πρήπιος (instead of Πρίαπος) occurs in Theocr. 1.21, Mosch. 3.27 and Theocr. *Ep.* 3 GP (on other occasions the reading is uncertain): cf. Rossi (2001:151 n56).

2 ἔστησεν ... φύλακα: for the concept and the word order, cf. *Ep.* 81 (Morychus setting up a Herm as a guardian of the flocks), l. 2, ἔστασ' αἰπολίων εὐδόκιμον φύλακα.

λαχάνων: for λάχανα as garden herbs or vegetables, as opposed to wild herbs, cf. commentary on Leon. *Ep.* 80.

Δεινομένης: a relatively common name (50 occurrences in *LGPN*), but it is also famously the name of the forefather of the Deinomenid tyrants of Sicily and one wonders if, in the scenario of a fictitious dedication, Leonidas might have chosen a grand name for his rustic (cf. Crethon in *Ep.* 75, where see commentary).

3 ἀλλ' ὡς ἐντέταμαι, φῶρ, ἔμβλεπε: the erect phallus was Priapus' most distinctive feature as god of fertility. For this sense of ἐντείνω, cf. Aristot. *Probl.* 879a11 διὰ τί οἱ ἀφροδισιάζοντες καὶ οὐρητιῶντες ἐντείνουσιν,, Diod. Sic. 1.88.3 τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτῶν [sc. Πανῶν καὶ Σατύρων] ἀναθέναι τοὺς πλείστους ... ἐντεταμένας, and also Hesych. (ο1175) Ὁρθάνης· τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν Πρίαπόν ἐστι θεῶν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐντεταμένον ἔχων τὸ αἰδοῖον.

3-4 τοῦτο' δ' ἐρωτάς / τῶν ὀλίγων λαχάνων εἵνεκα; the addressee of this line is quite ambiguous, as the question could be posed to the thief as well as the

reader, who in a way enters the garden just as much as the thief does.

τῶν ὀλίγων: the sense of the punch line should lie in the contrast between the small entity of the herbs and the garden and the excessive reaction of the statue of Priapus, or more pointedly the excessive size of the phallus. In Perses *AP* 9.334 (= 8 GP), Tychon (a minor deity sometimes identified with Priapus) is called ὀλίγον θεόν and there too the poem plays on the contrast between the great power of this small god in his garden-domain.

Epigram 84: on a figure of Priapus placed at a road junction

ἀμφοτέραις παρ' ὁδοῖσι φύλαξ ἕστηκα Πρίαπος
ἰθυτενὲς μηρῶν ὀρθιάσας ῥόπαλον,
εἶσατο γὰρ πιστόν με Θεόκριτος. ἀλλ' ἀποτηλοῦ,
φῶρ, ἴθι, μὴ κλαύσης τὴν φλέβα δεξάμενος.

*I, Priapus, stand as a guardian between these two roads,
With my club standing up straight from my thighs,
Because Theocritus set me here as a faithful servant. But stay away,
You thief, so that you will not cry as you receive my vein.*

A. Plan. (P^B) 261 Λεωνίδου (caret P)
3 εἶσατο Jacobs : εἶσατο P1

Priapus at a road junction threatens thieves.

Like *Ep.* 83, this epigram features a statue of Priapus guarding something, probably a private property, similarly to Herms (cf. introduction to *Ep.* 26). The phrasing makes the god a less reputable (though not less fearful) counterpart of the Herms guarding the flocks from e.g. *Ep.* 81. The direct address to the thief in the second person plays on the identification of the addressee with the reader, who is virtually approaching the garden that Priapus is guarding.

1 ἀμφοτέραις παρ' ὁδοῖσι: concerning the position of Priapus at crossroads, Parker (1988:7) says 'as with herms of Mercury, statues of Priapus were placed at crossroads or road forks, his erect member combining the function of pointer for the wayfarer and warning for the marauder' and then quotes this epigram as an example.

φύλαξ ἕστηκα Πρίαπος: cf. commentary on *Ep.* 83.

2 ἰθυτενὲς... ῥόπαλον: the erect phallus. For this use of ῥόπαλον, cf. Nicarchus *AP* 9.330 = 1 *GP*, where it is used as a *double entendre* as it refers both to Pan's *lagobolon* and the phallus; cf. also the coinage ῥοπαλισμός at Ar. *Lys.* 553. The word κορύνη is used in an analogous way in Nic. *Al.* 409, Automedon *AP* 5.129; cf. also Hesych. (ϱ449) ῥόπτρον· ῥόπαλον. ἢ τὸ ἐπικαταπίπτον τῆς παγίδος καὶ

συλλαμβάνων. καὶ τὸ ἐπίσπαστρον τῆς θύρας· ἔνιοι κρῖκον. καὶ τὸ αἰδοῖον. The adj. is quite prosaic and does not appear in poetry except for here and the later Damocharides *AP* 6.65 and Philip *AP* 16.261. The verb ὀρθιάζω seems here to be used as an equivalent of ὀρθόω, which is unparalleled.

3 εἶσατο γὰρ πιστόν με: for the concept, cf. *Epp.* 81, 83. As GP note, the use of πιστός reminds one of the description of the Persian chorus at Aesch. *Pers.* 2 (where see Garvie for further documentation), but that would be very unusual; alternatively, one could read it as a neut. subst. (cf. *LSJ* III), i.e. *Theocritus put me here as a safeguard.*

Θεόκριτος: the name is common, but though relative chronology is uncertain (cf. Introduction) one cannot help but wonder if there is an allusion to Theocritus the poet (and Priapus features in 1.21, 81 as well as in *Epp.* 3-4, whose authenticity however is very dubious, cf. Rossi 2001); cf. also GP on Call. *AP* 12.230 = 52 Pf. = 6 GP.

ἀλλ' ἀποτηλοῦ: the adv. occurs once in Hom (*Od.* 9.117, with the phrase reprised in the anonymous *AP* 14.66) and once at *H. Hymn Cer.* 344, before being reprised threetimes by A.R. (2.192, which has ἀλλ' ἀποτηλοῦ at the end of the hexameter, 4.1092, 4.1174). For the address with ἀλλά in a similar context, cf. *Ep.* 81.

4 φῶρ: cf. comm. on *Ep.* 83.

μὴ κλαύσης τὴν φλέβα δεξάμενος: very common threat in the *Carmina Priapea* (cf. e.g. 11, 15, 25, 28). The word φλέψ stands for phallus, as in Xenarchus F 1 K.-A., P.Lond.Lit. 77 F 2.7 = *TGrF Adesp.* 667a (εὐτόνω φλεβί.), Alcaeus of Messene *AP* 6.218 = 21.1 GP, Philip *AP* 6.94 = 14 GP (in which a Gallus dedicates a λυσιφλεβῆ σάγαρον, i.e. the dagger with which he performed castration); cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.33 *nam simul ac venas inflavit taetra libido*, *Pers.* 6.72 *cum morosa vago singultiet inguine vena*, as noted by Henderson (1991²:124 with n.91). A similar image comes in νεῦρον (Plat. *Com.* F 173.19) and equally *nervum* (e.g. *Carm. Priapea* 63.14). The crudeness of the threat somewhat resembles Theocr. 5.41-2.

Epigram 85: Priapus announces to mariners the return of the sailing season

ὁ πλόος ὥραϊος, καὶ γὰρ λαλαγεῦσα χελιδῶν
ἦδη μέμβλωκεν χῶ χαρίεις Ζέφυρος,
λειμῶνες δ' ἀνθεῦσι, σεσίγηκεν δὲ θάλασσα
κύμασι καὶ τρήχει πνεύματι βρασσομένη.

ἀγκύρας ἀνέλοιο καὶ ἐκλύσαιο γύαια, 5
ναυτίλε, καὶ πλώοις πᾶσαν ἐφείς ὀθόνην·
ταῦθ' ὁ Πρίηπος ἐγὼν ἐπιτέλλομαι, ὁ λιμενίτης,
ᾧνθρωφ', ὡς πλώοις πᾶσαν ἐπ' ἐμπορίην.

*It is sailing season: indeed, the chattering swallow
Has now arrived, as has pleasant Zephyrus,
The meadows bloom, the sea has become silent
From its seething with waves and rough winds.
Weigh the anchors and release the stern-cables,
Sailor, and voyage with full sail:
I, Priapus, god of the harbours, command this,
Man, so that you may voyage for every kind of trade.*

A.PI. 10.1, P1A [PPI] Λεωνίδου; Syll. S

1 ἐκλύσαιο P1 7 λιμενίτας P 8 ᾧνθρωφ' P1 fort. πλώης

The epigram is an early attestation of one of the other roles of Priapus, i.e. a harbour-god (cf. Herter 1932:215-20), an aspect that is later absent from the Latin *Priapea*. It does so by starting with a description of spring, which coincides with the sailing season, and revealing the identity of the speaker only in l. 7, which will have surprised the reader (Cairns 2016:406). The elements used to describe spring, namely the swallow, Zephyrus and the flowers, are traditional, but verbatim correspondences attest the reading of this epigram by Cicero (cf. commentary below) who alludes to it twice, if not three times. The description also closely resembles Virg. *G.* 4.305-7 *hoc geritur Zephyris primum impellentibus undas, / ante novis rubeant quam prata coloribus, ante / garrula quam tignis nidum suspendat hirundo* (and Hor. *Carm.* 4.12.1-4, which might however be alluding to Virgil, cf. Thomas on Virg. *loc. cit.*) and more vaguely Hor. *Sat.* 1.7.12-13 ... *te, dulcis amice, reviset / cum Zephyris, si concedes, et hirundine prima*. This seems to confirm the reception of

Leonidas as a poet of landscapes and vignettes in the Roman world, for which cf. Introduction. The poem might also be read as a light-hearted reversal of the long series that Leonidas dedicates to shipwrecks, where the roaring sea, disastrous sailing, and more ominous sea-birds feature, to be contrasted with the gentle breeze of Zephyrus, the silence of the sea and the chattering swallow.

1 ὁ πλόος ὠραῖος: the sailing season coincided roughly with summer, as already prescribed by Hes. *Op.* 630 αὐτὸς δ' ὠραῖον μίμνειν πλόον εἰς ὃν κεν ἔλθη and *Op.* 663-5 ἤματα πεντήκοντα μετὰ τροπᾶς ἠελίου, / ἐς τέλος ἐλθόντος θέρεος, καματώδεος ὥρης, / ὠραῖος πέλεται θνητοῖς πλόος κτλ. (with West *ad loc.*): cf. Morton (2001:255-8). The expression is quoted, without the name of the author, by Cic. *Att.* 9.7.5 *egregie probo fore ut, dum aliud agamus, ὁ πλόος ὠραῖος obrepat:*

Shackleton Bailey (*ad loc.*) says that this might be looking at Hes. *Op.* 630, but Leonidas' next word shows that Cicero had read this epigram.

λαλαγεῦσα: Theocr. uses it twice, for birds (5.48) and cicadas (7.139), the first application also in anonymous *AP* 8.129. The swallow is traditionally λάλος (cf. e.g. Ar. *Ra.* 679, Arr. *An.* 1.25.8, and also Virg. *G.* 4.307 *garrula . . . hirundo*) and Theophrastus' 'chatterer' is said to be τῶν χελιδόνων...λαλίστερος (7.7, with Diggle *ad loc.*). The exact word λαλαγεῦσα is quoted (again without the name of the author) by Cic. *Att.* 9.18.3 *inde expecto equidem λαλαγεῦσαν illam tuam, Att.* 10.2 *λαλαγεῦσα iam adest et animus ardet.* Artemidorus (2.66) says that the swallow is silent in winter, and together with it also the sea, the land and men (χειμῶνος χελιδῶν οὔτε ἵπταται οὔτε φθέγγεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ ἡ θάλασσα κατὰ τὴν ὥραν ταύτην ἀργαί εἰσι καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ζῶα καταδύεται καὶ οὐδὲν πράττει· ὅταν δὲ τὸ ἔαρ παραβάλη, πρώτη πρόεισιν, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, ὑποδεικνύουσα τῶν ἔργων ἕκαστα).

χελιδῶν: the return of swallows (the word actually denoted different migrating birds, cf. Arnott and Thompson s.v. chelidon) was famously associated with

spring-time, cf. Hes. *Op.* 568-9 τὸν δὲ μέτ' ὀρθογῶν Πανδιονίς ὦρτο χελιδῶν / ἐς φάος ἀνθρώποις, ἔαρος νέον ἴσταμένοιο, Stesichorus *PMG* 211 = 174 Davies-Finglass ... ὄκα ἦρος / ὦραι κηλαδῆ χελιδῶν, Simonides *PMG* 597 = F 307 Poltera ἄγγελε κλυτὰ ἔαρος ἀδυόδμου / κυανέα χελιδοῖ, and was celebrated in Rhodes by children singing the χελιδόνισμα (*PMG* 848.1-2 ἦλθ' ἦλθε χελιδῶν / καλὰς ὦρας ἄγουσα); cf. also the proverb μία χελιδῶν ἔαρ οὐ ποιεῖ quoted by Aristotle (*EN* 1.7 1098a18, apparently already in Cratinus = F 35 K.-A.) and Ael. *NA* 1.52 χελιδῶν δὲ ἄρα τῆς ὦρας τῆς ἀρίστης ὑποσημαίνει τὴν ἐπιδημίαν.

2 ἦδη μέμβλωκεν χῶ χαρίεις Ζέφυρος: Zephyrus, the West wind, was considered favourable to men (Hes. *Th.* 870-1 νόσφι Νότου Βορέω τε καὶ ἀργέστεω Ζεφύροιο / οἳ γε μὲν ἐκ θεόφιν γενεή, θνητοῖς μέγ' ὄνειαρ, Pi. *N.* 7.29 εὐθυπνόου Ζεφύρου), often mentioned as blowing in spring, cf. e.g. Posidipp. *Ep.* 110 AB εἶαρος ἢ Ζεφύρου, *schol.* T Hom. *Il.* 9.5 Ζέφυρος· ὁ τὰ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν φέρων· ἔαρος γὰρ ἄρχεται πνεῖν, Philostr. *Imag.* 2.17 τοῦ ἦρος, ὅτε Ζέφυρος ἰλαρὰν ἐργάζεται θάλατταν προσπνέων τῆς ἑαυτοῦ αὔρας and Theophr. *Vent.* 38, 40, 43; as a sign of spring together with the swallow it is mentioned in Opp. *H.* 3.244 ... εἰαρινοῦ ζεφύρου πρωτάγγελος ὄρνις, Nonn. *D.* 2.133 εἰαρινοῖο φίλη Ζεφύροιο χελιδῶν. Apparently, the Athenians had an altar to Zephyrus (Paus. 1.37.2) and in Hellenistic times Arsinoe II, the sister-wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, was worshipped as Arsinoe Zephyritis, whose shrine was much celebrated by Hellenistic poets (cf. Floridi 2020 on Hedylus 4 GP, Harder on Call. *Ait.* F 110.52). The form μέμβλωκεν is epic, and besides [Eur.] *Rhes.* 629 is reprised only by Call. *Ait.* F 178.7 and *Hec.* F 403.1 Pf. = 46 Hollis (and quoted by lexicographers).

3 λειμῶνες δ' ἀνθεῦσι: flowers are naturally the most immediate manifestation of spring, cf. e.g. Hom. *Il.* 2.89 ἀνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσιν, Hes. *Th.* 279 ἐν μαλακῶ λειμῶνι καὶ ἀνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσιν, Sapph. F 2.9-11 V. ἐν δὲ λείμων ἱππόβοτος τέθαλε | ττωπ... (.) ιριννοισ† ἀνθεσιν, αἰ <δ'> ἄηται | μέλλιχα πνέοισιν... , as well as a classic feature of the *locus amoenus*.

σεσίγηκεν δὲ θάλασσα: as stated immediately afterwards, the sea in the rest of

the year is usually described as rough due to winds and storms, which makes the silence of a calm sea even more distinctive, cf. e.g. Eur. *IA* 9-11 οὐκουν φθόγγος γ' οὐτ' ὀρνίθων / οὔτε θαλάσσης· σιγαὶ δ' ἀνέμων / τόνδε κατ' Εὐριπον ἔχουσιν.

4 κύμασι καὶ τρήχει πνεύματι βρασσομένη: the part. must be meant as *which used to*, unless one constructs the verb on analogy of *παύειν*, which takes a participle. The verb *βράσσω*, when referred to the sea, can either mean *to toss violently* (as in Theodoridas *AP* 6.222 = 4 GP) or *to seethe, to be stirred*, as in A.R. 2.322-3 (ὔδωρ, of the water around the Symplegades) or Opp. *H.* 2.637, 3.465 (βρασσομένη...θάλασσα, which however might be reprising Leonidas). The roaring sea features, by contrast, in Leonidas' epigrams for shipwrecks, *Ep.* 15.1 GP ἠχήεσσα θάλασσα, *Ep.* 63.1 GP τετρηχυῖα θάλασσα (cf. commentary there).

5 ἀγκύρας ἀνέλοιο καὶ ἐκλύσαιο γύαια: elegantly arranged in a chiasmus. The word *γύαια* is a *hapax*, explained by Hesychius (γ967) as ἀπόγεια σχοινία, προμνήσια, ἐπίγυα; thus it should denote the ropes which secure the stern to the shore.

6 ναυτίλε, καὶ πλώοις πᾶσαν ἐφέεις ὀθόνην: ναυτίλος for ναύτης is rarer and mostly poetic (e.g. Soph. *Aj.* 1146); for the address in the vocative, cf. Call. *AP* 7.272 = *Ep.* 18 Pf. = 38 GP, Posidipp. 39 AB and similar remarks in epigrams for shipwrecks, including in Leonidas, e.g. *Ep.* 15. For ἐφέεις commentators usually compare A.R. 2.934 ταρσὸν ἐφέεις πνοιῇ φέρεται ταχύς. The unusual word ὀθόνη, which in early Greek denotes fine clothes, is also used for sails here and then in later authors (Meleager *AP* 12.53.8 = 66 GP, Thyillus *AP* 10.5.2 = 3 FGE (a poem that is imitating Leonidas), Luc. *J.Tr.* 46, *VH* 2.37, and as GP point out [Dem.] 47.20 has ὀθόνια in a nautical context (cf. also Plb. 5.89.2).

7 ταῦθ'ὁ Πρίηπος ἐγὼν ἐπιτέλλομαι, ὁ λιμενίτης: the command with the demonstrative pronoun is high-sounding and has an epic tone (cf. e.g. Hom. *Il.* 19.192 σοὶ δ' αὐτῶ τόδ' ἐγὼν ἐπιτέλλομαι ἠδὲ κελεύω). As for the quantity of the second ὁ, the lengthening of a short syllable before a liquid consonant (ρ, or more rarely λ) is found in Homer, and more rarely in later poetry, e.g. Antimachus F 57.1 Wyss = 68.1 Matthews and on a few occasions in Hellenistic hexameter, e.g. Call. *Ait.* F. 67.11 Pf./Harder = 166 Massimilla (borrowed in [Theocr.] 25.167., *Hymn* 3.47, 4.293 and in Leonidas again in *Ep.* 11.8, but cf. comm. there): cf. Introduction 1.6.1, Prosody. The adj. λιμενίτης is found only here and in Antiphilus *AP* 10.17 = 11 GP, which might depend on Leonidas (but Artemis is called λιμενίτις in Apollonides *AP* 6.105). For Priapus as god of harbours and sailing, cf. introduction to this epigram; on the form of the name, cf. comm. on *Ep.* 84.

8 ὤνθρωφ': the allocution is a favourite of Leonidas, found also in *Erpp.* 10, 33, 37, 102*.

ὡς πλώοις πᾶσαν ἐπ'ἐμπορίην: GP suspected πλώοις πᾶσαν, thinking that it might have been copied erroneously from 1.6, though they recognize that the optative is common in these circumstances (cf. Gow on Theocr. 10.45), and there is no need to change the text; ἐμπορίη is not a particularly poetic word, though it is found in Hes. *Op.* 646, the context of which (advice against seafaring for profit) might be reversed here, and in Theogn. 1166.

2.2 Sepulchral epigrams

2.2.1 Epitaphs for seamen

“Phlebas the Phoenician, a fortnight dead,
Forgot the cry of gulls, and the deep sea swell
And the profit and loss.

A current under sea
Picked his bones in whispers. As he rose and fell
He passed the stages of his age and youth
Entering the whirlpool.

Gentile or Jew
O you who turn the wheel and look to windward,
Consider Phlebas, who was once handsome and tall as you”

T.S. Eliot, *The Waste Land: IV, Death by Water* (1922).

I have included in this section a series of epigrams for people who died at sea, mostly from shipwrecks. Danger at sea has of course populated Greek literature since the time of the Odysseus’ misfortunes across the sea and Hesiod’s warnings on the dangers of seafaring. This reflects the reality of the Greeks having only the ships themselves as technological aid in seafaring.¹⁷⁷ Everything else that could work to their advantage, e.g. the wind or the constellations, could also lead to disasters (the wind rising or the constellations not being always visible).¹⁷⁸ One of the biggest concerns regarding a death at sea is the impossibility of a burial: this ritual need was satisfied by the erection of cenotaphs, which are always seen as a sort of ‘half-tombs’, deemed better than no burial at all but definitely felt not to be as satisfying as actual tombs. The archaeological evidence for cenotaphs for shipwrecked people is scarce, but the theme lent itself to the inventive of

¹⁷⁷ For a history of Greek ship building, cf. Casson (1971: 43-140).

¹⁷⁸ Cf. the detailed treatment of Morton (2001) and Corvisier (2008), esp. pp. 94-107 (‘les dangers de la navigation’) and pp. 310-337 (‘mourir ou souffrir de la mer’).

epigrammatists. As J.S. Bruss noted when treating this aspect, Hellenistic literary epigrams 'will exploit these possibilities by turning convention into conceit, factual narrative into patent fantasy, and rhetorical appropriateness into rhetorical impossibility, among other developments (Bruss 2005: 96).

The series of epigrams on shipwrecks contained in the *Greek Anthology* is by far the most developed and varied group of poems on this theme.¹⁷⁹ M. Campetella (1995), in his general review of this epigrammatic theme, listed and partially analysed the more common themes and tropes of the shipwreck. First, the victims of the shipwreck are usually sailors or merchants; secondly, the description of the shipwreck might be the focus of the epigram or might be functional to moralizing maxims on the dangers of the sea or to the condemnation of greed. The realism in the description of the death can vary on a scale from very few details (e.g. in Posidippus, cf. below) to imaginative or macabre vignettes (e.g. Leonidas or Antipater). But deeper insight into this epigrammatic subgenre was given by the emergence of the New Posidippus.

One of the sections of the Milan Posidippus Papyrus is entitled *ναυαγικά*, which contains six epigrams (89-94 AB) on shipwrecks; only one of this kind by him was already known (*AP* 7.267 = 15 *GP* = 132 AB). Now, this section raises many issues, and one wonders especially why a section on shipwrecks was clearly distinguished from another marked as *ἐπιτύμβια* when the former should be a sub-category of the latter.¹⁸⁰ Unfortunately, it is impossible to say if such a

¹⁷⁹ They are contained mostly in book 7, but also in books 9 and 11. 'Meleagrian' authors whose epigrams on these theme survive are, beside Leonidas, 'Simonides', Perses, Damagetus, Phalaecus, Euphorion, Nicarchus, Nicaenetus, Pancrates, Posidippus, Theodoridas, Asclepiades of Samos, Alcaeus of Messene, Antipater of Sidon and Theaetetus, while later authors who composed on this theme are Philip of Thessalonica, Antipater of Thessalonica, Statyllius Flaccus, Zosimus of Thasos, Theon of Alexandria, Julius Leonidas, Carpyllides, Aemilianus of Nicaea, Lucillius and Bianor. It is striking that in the Meleagrian sections on shipwrecks (*AP* 7.494-506 and 7.650-654) Meleager himself is notably absent, though as usual this may be due to chance.

¹⁸⁰ Gutzwiller (2004:159), (2005b, esp. 290-2) suggested that in this case a thematic arrangement prevailed and so the emphasis on the common theme of the shipwrecks justified the stand-alone category of *ναυαγικά*

category existed in an alleged *libellus* (self-edited) by Posidippus, and it might have been created *ad hoc* for the Milan collection. At any rate, we confront the undeniable fact that Posidippus wrote at least seven (six in the papyrus plus one from *AP*) epigrams on shipwrecks.¹⁸¹

Given the number of epigrams by Leonidas on the theme of the shipwreck, one then wonders if they were part of a dedicated section in the original collection of his poems.¹⁸² As for the themes and characteristics of this group of epigrams in the two authors, a couple of significant differences stand out: in Posidippus there are no moralizing statements (such as curses on ships and seafaring or disapproval for the avidity of sailors) and there is no ‘macabre realism’, insofar as Posidippus does not elaborate on the details of deaths and bodies.¹⁸³

As far as the themes of Leonidas’ group is concerned, a few characteristics stand out. First, a sophisticated engagement with literary models relevant to the theme, i.e. Homer and Hesiod (for which cf. the Introduction and commentary on the single epigrams). Secondly, the epigrams show very well Leonidas’ ability to play with the expectations of the readers¹⁸⁴ and with variations on a theme. Leonidas seems to be compiling a catalogue of the possibilities of shipwrecks, ranging from the most common (a drowned person whose body is lost at sea) through the exception (Promachus from *Ep.* 14 whose body is returned to the shore by the tide) up until the unbelievable (the sea-monster story of *Ep.* 65). The

¹⁸¹ Cf. now, however, the title $\nu\alpha\upsilon\tau\iota\kappa\alpha$ in fr. f 4 of P.Stras. P. gr. 2340 (3rd cent. BC, possibly the earliest surviving epigram anthology on papyrus) in the recent edition by Floridi-Maltomini (2019), though as the editors say at pp. 267-8 the content of the epigrams from this section is bound to remain speculative, in so far as they could have been related to ships but not necessarily shipwrecks.

¹⁸² The Milan Posidippus of course only proves that a section of *nauagika* did exist in some collection (or in one specific collection, at any rate): it does not tell us whether such a section belonged originally to a complete edition of Posidippus, or of Leonidas in the same way.

¹⁸³ Cf. Di Nino (2010) who undertakes a detailed treatment of the theme and comparisons with Leonidas and Callimachus (94 AB and Callimachus 58 GP, for example, are probably linked: cf. Bruss 2005:159-61). More detailed similarities with Posidippus will be noted in the commentary. It is striking that De Stefani (2005), a tentative comparison between Posidippus and Leonidas, does not even mention that the two poets both have a significant series on shipwrecks (one would have expected that especially at pp. 173-177, ‘soggetti comuni’).

¹⁸⁴ Both Bruss (2005) in general and Guidorizzi (1977) with regards to *Ep.* 20 have insisted on this subversion of conventions of the genre and the expectations of the reader.

coronation of this game of variation is *Ep.* 20, which makes specific allusion to other shipwreck epigrams (cf. introduction and comm. there). The variation within the shipwreck subgroup, which we can observe thanks to the abundance of this type of poem in Leonidas, should make us aware of the dynamics of internal variation which are often neglected in scholarship at the expense of 'the art of variation' in epigrammatic series by different authors. The ultimate impression that the reader gets from this group is that of a grim view of what happens at sea: all sorts of danger are possible, some even as incredible as sea-monsters devouring half of the body of a sailor. Against this background, the rarer occasions when circumstances are luckier (Promachus' body being found by his family or Theris dying quietly in his home) derive their strength precisely from their exceptionality and from their deviation from the pessimistic norm.

Epigram 14: epitaph for Promachus, a shipwrecked sailor

Μήτε μακροῦ θαρσέων ναυτίλλεο μήτε βαθείη 1
νηί· κρατεῖ παντός δούρατος εἷς ἄνεμος.
ᾠλεσε καὶ Πρόμαχον πνοῆ μία, κύμα δὲ ναύτας
ἀθρόον ἐς κοίλην ἐστυφέλιξεν ἄλα.
οὐ μὴν οἱ δαίμων πάντη κακός· ἀλλ' ἐνὶ γαίη 5
πατρίδι καὶ τύμβου καὶ κτερέων ἔλαχεν
κηδεμόνων ἐν χερσίν, ἐπεὶ τρηχεῖα θάλασσα
νεκρὸν πεπταμένους θῆκεν ἐπ' αἰγιαλούς.

Do not trust in the length nor in the depth

Of your ship when you travel by sea: one wind masters all keels.

And it was one blast of wind that destroyed Promachus, and a huge wave

Smote the sailors into the hollow sea.

But his fate was not entirely ruinous, and in his own

Land he got both a tomb and a funeral

At the hands of his own people, after the harsh sea

Set down his body on the open shores.

A.P. 7.665 (caret Pl) [C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ [*scil.* Ταραντ.] Λεωνίδου

1 ναυτίλλεο apogr. : ναυτίλεο P | βραχεῖη Reiske 3 μία Brunck : ἅμα P | δὲ
ναύτας C : δ' ἐν αὐτὰ P 6 ἔλαχεν Reiske : ἔλαχε App. B.R.G. : -χες P

7 ἐπεὶ apogr. : ἐπι P

The structure of the epigram is as follows: a sententious start (do not trust any kind of ship); instantiating of the maxim (Promachus' shipwreck); an unexpected turn of a tragic event (burial in his fatherland), with final explanation (the arrival of the body on the shore, which allowed the burial). The pivotal point is of course the unexpected circumstance of the finding of the body, which mitigates in a way the tragedy of the shipwreck: this will have constituted a surprise for the readers, especially in the context of many epigrams on shipwrecks. The placement of the surprise element is also clever, since the poet first describes the fortuitous circumstance and only then specifies how it came to happen.

The central point, somewhat paradoxical, is that though in misfortune Promachus

did not have an entirely bad fate. He was buried in his fatherland and by his loved ones (to be contrasted with other among Leonidas' shipwrecked sailors, cf. below).

1-2 Μήτε μακρῆ θαρσέων ναυτίλλεο μήτε βαθείη / νηί· κρατεῖ παντός δούρατος εἷς ἄνεμος: a solemn and gnomic start, this admonition with Hesiodic reminiscences foreshadows trouble at sea and captures the reader's attention.

1-2 Μήτε μακρῆ θαρσέων ναυτίλλεο μήτε βαθείη / νηί: the two adjectives have disturbed editors to the point of inducing them to suggest corrections. It is indeed odd to mention large and deep ships unless one wants to understand them (as Geffcken does) as warships (the usual connotation of μακροί in Hdt. and Thuc. as well as later historians) as opposed to cargo ships (GP quote as the only parallel for this, Pherecr. F 143: βαθείας κύλικας ὥσπερ ὀλκάδας | οἰναγωγούς). GP would have preferred a contrast between small and large ships, as in Hesiod *Op.* 643 νῆ' ὀλίγην αἰνεῖν μεγάλη δ' ἐνὶ φορτία θέσθαι, which motivated Waltz's unmetrical correction μικρῆ and Reiske's βραχείη. Ultimately, the two features maybe should be understood as a reason to trust such a ship.

κρατεῖ παντός δούρατος εἷς ἄνεμος: the contrast is of course between *one single* wind and *every* ship. The term δοῦρα (epic for δόρυ) denotes the keel and it often stands alone metonymically for ship in tragedy (e.g. Aesch. *Ag.* 1618, Eur. *Hel.* 1611) and afterwards in Hellenistic poets (A.R. 2.1111).

3-4 ὤλεσε καὶ Πρόμαχον πνοιῆ μία, κῦμα δὲ ναύτας/ ἀθρόον ἐς κοίλην ἐστυφέλιξεν ἄλα: the couplet joins the gnomic maxim with the specific fate of Promachus, narrowing the focus of the epigram.

3 ὤλεσε καὶ Πρόμαχον πνοιῆ μία: Geffcken tried strenuously to defend P's reading ἄμα on the grounds that Promachus sank with his crew and ship. The majority of editors have accepted Brunck's μία, which corresponds precisely to the εἷς ἄνεμος of 1.2 (and as GP note, explains the καί). The name Promachus is not uncommon, and it is also the name of a Boeotian warrior from the *Iliad* (14.476).

κύμα δὲ ναύτας: this is C's correction to P's reading δ' ἐν αὐτὰ, which is accepted by almost all editors. Paton's correction κύμα δ' ἐν αὐτῶς would be attractive, insofar as it would connect *one* wind, *one* blast, and *one* wave, but ἐστυφέλιξεν still needs an object. One wonders whether the ending originally read ναύταν (and only Promachus would be meant), as the scribes often levelled down Doric forms (cf. Introduction).

4 ἀθρόον ἐς κοίλην ἐστυφέλιξεν ἄλα: the adj. κοῖλος traditionally refers to ships from Homer onwards. To use it for the sea is original (but paralleled by A.R. 2.594-5 ἢ δ' ἄφαρ ὥστε κυλίνδρω ἐπέτρεχε κύματι λάβρω / προπροκαταῖγδην κοίλης ἄλός), presumably attempting to convey the idea of the gap formed by the rise of a huge wave, but one might take it as used predicatively.

5-8: the focus of the narration is narrowed down even more, going from the general tone of the opening maxim, through Promachus' misfortune at sea, and then into the specific focus on his body and burial. The succession of events (burial and the discovery of his body on the open shore) is inverted, thus building more tension.

5 οὐ μὴν οἱ δαίμων πάντη κακός: the δαίμων as responsible for someone's demise is frequent in inscribed epitaphs (Lattimore 1942:148-149 has a discrete repertoire of epigraphic instances). For the concept in general, including tragedy, cf. Burkert (1985:179-81).

ἀλλ' ἐνὶ γαίῃ πατρίδι: to die in his own fatherland was the silver lining of Promachus' tragic end, given that death away from home (and its consequences, i.e. absence of burial or burial carried out by strangers and not by the family: cf. general section) is a cause of distress and recurs in epitaphs. The location is not specified.

6-7 καὶ τύμβου καὶ κτερέων ἔλαχεν / κηδεμόνων ἐν χερσίν: to be buried is an essential component of the Greek attitude towards death, which guaranteed a series of social demands, which are better satisfied if the funeral is carried out by the

family of the deceased. There is an emphasis on the materiality of the body in the specification of ἐν χερσίν. The word κτέρεα is Homeric and revived by Hellenistic authors (e.g. A.R. 2.71).

7 ἐπεὶ τρηχεῖα θάλασσα: the adjective is used of the sea at Hdt. 7.33 and of the ocean in [Aesch.] *PV* 1048; it recurs in Leon. *Ep.* 62 for the squall of the wind and in Asclepiades 7.284 = 30 GP it is used for the sea (and cf. Sens 2011 *ad loc.* for other parallels); Leon. *Ep.* 63 has τετρηχυῖα θάλασσα.

8 νεκρὸν πεπταμένους θῆκεν ἐπ' αἰγιαλούς: the *open shore* (as opposed to a rocky shore, cf. GP), though one would have expected 'open sea' (cf. Arat. 288 πεπταμένω πελάγει), and the adjective reverses this expectation and at the same time suggests a peaceful deposition of the Promachus' body (it could have been cast out on rocks and therefore further troubled).

Epigram 15: epitaph for the cenotaph of Timares, a shipwrecked sailor

Ἠχήεσσα θάλασσα, τί τὸν Τιμάρεος οὕτως 1
πλώοντ' οὐ πολλῇ νηὶ Τελευταγόρην
ἄγρια χειμήνασα καταπρηνώσαο πόντῳ
σὺν φόρτῳ, λάβρον κύμ' ἐπιχευαμένη;
χῶ μὲν που καύηξιν ἢ ἰχθυβόροις λαρίδεσσιν 5
τεθρήνητ' ἄπνους εὐρεῖ ἐν αἰγιαλῶ·
Τιμάρης δὲ κενὸν τέκνου κεκλαυμένον ἄθρῶν
τύμβον δακρῦει παῖδα Τελευταγόρην.

*Roaring sea, why did you thus send Teleutagoras, son of Timares,
Headlong into the deep with his cargo,
He who was not sailing in a large ship,
As you rose in an angry storm, casting a furious wave onto him?
And, lifeless, somewhere on the broad shore,
He has been bewailed by the terns or fish-eating seagulls;
While Timares, looking upon the tomb devoid of his son, And
filled with tears, cries for his child Teleutagoras.*

A.P. 7.652 [C] Λεωνίδου Ταραντίνου εἰς ναυηγὸν Τελευταγόρην τὸν Τιμάρεως υἱὸν P^B Λεωνίδου

1 ἠχήεσσα P1: Καχ...εσσα (supra lac. αναχί add. et del. J) P οὔτος P : οὕτως P1
2 et 8 Τελεσταγόρην P1 5 ἢ P1. : om. P | ἰχθυφόροις P
6 ἐν P1 : ἐπ' Hecker 7 κενεὸν P

It is not entirely clear who is the speaking voice of the epigram: if one thinks, with Cairns (2016 *ad loc.*), that the epigram was commissioned by Timares, then the father is the one uttering the lament and in that case the story of Teleutagoras is told from his perspective. The epigram is clearly divided into two halves: the first addresses the sea and recounts the death of Teleutagoras; the second comments on the present condition. The latter part is built around a contrast between the position of Teleutagoras, bewailed by the seabirds somewhere on the shore, and the position of his cenotaph, where on the contrary his father is prevented from mourning him properly (given that the body is absent). Hopkinson (*ad loc.*) remarks that three out of four hexameters begin with a spondee, and that every pentameter has the maximum number of long syllables allowed; this is supposed to give the poem a

lugubrious tone (but for Leonidas' predilection for spondees, cf. Introduction 1.6.3, Elegiacs)

1 Ἠχήεσσα θάλασσα: reprised from Hom. *Il.* 1.157 οὔρεά τε σκίοεντα θάλασσά τε ἠχήεσσα (which recurs also in Archil. F 122). Cf. the opening of Leonidas, *Ep.* 63 (Τετρηχυῖα θάλασσα...) with comm. there.

τί τὸν Τιμάρεος οὔτως: the name is rare, just like the name of the son, with few recorded occurrences. Bruss (2005:122) wants to read it as a speaking name, but this might be excessive (but cf. next note on Teleutagoras).

2 πλώοντ' οὐ πολλῇ νηὶ Τελευταγόρην: the remark on the small ship can be compared with Leonidas 14 (cf. there). As for the name, P's Τελευταγόρης has a few more epigraphic attestations than P1's reading Τελεσταγόρην, but Cairns' observations (2016:271) on the provenance of these do not take into account how random the onomastic evidence is; Bruss (2005:122) wants to interpret it as a speaking name (his death, τέλος/τελεύω arrived when he was travelling for trade, ἀγοράζω).

3 ἄγρια χειμήνασα: the adj. as adverbial must be taken adverbially rather than having Teleutagoras as the object of the verb.

καταπρηνώσαο: the compound verb is a *hapax*, very similar to καταπρηνίζω (Nic. *Th.* 284, and several times in Nonn., e.g. *D.* 4.395), while the simple verb is more common.

πόντω: the dative is not the most obvious choice but not to the point of warranting emendation (e.g. Meineke πόντου).

4 σὺν φόρτῳ: the word denotes cargo, and unequivocally qualifies Teleutagoras as a merchant or at least someone who happened to be travelling for commercial reasons at the time of his shipwreck. One could read a moralizing connotation in the note, but in Leon. *Ep.* 16 Timares is drowned by Cretan pirates despite travelling without cargo (οὐκ εὐπίονι φόρτῳ seems an intentional specification:

cf. above, general remarks).

λάβρον κῦμ' ἐπιχευαμένη: cf. Hom. *Il.* 15.624-625, ἐν δ' ἔπεσ' ὡς ὅτε κῦμα θοῆ ἐν νηϊ πέσησι / λάβρον ὑπαὶ νεφέων ἀνεμοτρεφές, which the poet must have had in mind, and which is followed by a simile reprised by Leonidas in *Ep.* 48.

5 χὼ μὲν που: the indefinite location of the body is the most tragic element of the story, preventing Timares from mourning at the actual tomb of his son. It is a feature which is paralleled in some of the epigrams of Posidippus' *nauagika* series (cf. above).

καύηξιν ἢ ἰχθυβόροις λαρίδεσσιν: the καύηξ is a kind of sea-bird, sometimes distinguished from the *laros* (as here) and sometimes identified with it (cf. Thompson 1936 s.v. κῆϋξ, Arnott 2007 s.v. *laros*); the significance of this bird will be in the myth of Ceyx, but birds in general (including seabirds) are widely associated with funerary lament in Greek literature (cf. Nelson 2019 for the link of bird imagery with funerary elegy; one should add that mourning birds occur in Mosch. 3.9-18, 37-44, as well as in a series of inscribed epitaphs variously dated, including seabirds such as halcyons and *laroi* as well as Sirens, for which cf. Hutchinson 2013:320). The adj. ἰχθυβόρος is a *hapax* and according to Cairns (2016 *ad locum*) might allude to the possibility of the birds preying on Teleutagoras' corpse, which is a *topos*, but also notably features in *Od.* 24.290-291 (Laertes' fear that Odysseus lies unburied and devoured by fish or seabirds) and the *laros* is also said to prey on stranded dolphins by Aelian (*NA* 15.23); cf. also Athen. 7.283c; this would add a macabre note to the epigram. Dion. Perieg. *Ix.* 2.5 reports a legend according to which λάροι are metamorphosed sailors, but he quotes it to explain why they are benevolent to men. Among the different spellings of the word (καύαξ, καύηξ, καύης, κῆξ, κῆϋξ), this one seems to be shared by Leonidas, Callimachus, Antimachus, Euphorion and Lykophron, cf. Arnott 2007:86-87 s.v. *kauex*.

The ἦ is only present in Pl, but it is not hard to explain its omission in P due to the Byzantine pronunciation (in Hedylyus 9.3 GP θεξ μόνον ἦ ζώνην <ἦ> ἐνώτιον ἦ τι

τοιοῦτον it might have been omitted for the same reason and Musurus restored it): the short scansion of the word resulting from *correptio epica* (necessary for the verse to work) is anomalous but not impossible, cf. Theocr. 18.30, 22.11, and some later epigrams, e.g. Crinagoras *AP* 9.419.1. Alternatively, as G. Hutchinson suggests to me, ἦ might be a conjecture and the ν was added to καύηξι after the loss of καὶ to bridge hiatus; in metre and perhaps sense καὶ would be easier.

6 τεθρήνητ': elision of an -αι verb ending is common in Sapph. and Alc. and not rare in Hellenistic poetry: cf. Pfeiffer on Call. *F* 535, Sens on Asclep. 8.3 GP οἴχομ'. The seabirds singing Teleutagoras' dirge is certainly the most original feature of the epigram (but cf. above). The tense would suggest that the lamentation is over (i.e. the birds have sung his *threnos*) and is opposed to the last couplet where the father's cry is to be intended as continuous as he visits the tomb.

ἄπνους: it usually has a meteorological meaning, but here and in other Hellenistic instances means *lifeless*: Diosc. *Ep.* 26.1 GP, 41.1, Call. *Ep.* 5 Pf. = 14 GP, A.R. 4.1403 (in the uncontracted form), and as Livrea (1973) on A.R. notes, the word appears in this sense also in *IGUR* III 1255 (= *GVI* 731 = *IG* 14.1787), an epitaph from Rome of the 2nd/3rd cent. AD; [Theocr.] 25.271 has ἄπνευστος in the same meaning (cf. Galán Vioque on Diosc. 26.1).

εὐρεῖ ἐν αἰγιαλῶ: similarly to the expression πεπταμένους αἰγιαλούς of *Ep.* 14, the adjective εὐρῶς might want to stress a plain and sandy shore as opposed to rocky one, but in this instance it also seems to be a variation of the Homeric collocation ἐ. πόντος.

7 Τιμάρης δὲ κενὸν τέκνου κεκλαυμένον ἄθρῶν: the participle κεκλαυμένον has been questioned on metrical grounds and as redundant in meaning, but GP convincingly dismissed both objections (cf. *ad loc.*): it has an adjectival value and refers to the moment when the tomb was erected (whereas δακρῶει refers to each time Timares visits the tomb of his son).

8 τύμβον δακρῶει παῖδα Τελευταγόρην: the name of Teleutagoras closes the

poem, being again in the same position as in l.2 and closely following the name of Timares as in ll. 1-2. One might notice that at the end of the epigram the two names are positioned at the opposite extremes of the couplet, maybe to convey the physical and emotional distance implied by the cenotaph.

Epigram 16: on the tomb of Timolytus, drowned by Cretan pirates

Αἰεὶ ληισταὶ καὶ ἀλιφθόροι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι 1
Κρηῆτες. τίς Κρητῶν οἶδε δικαιοσύνην;
ὥς καὶ ἐμὲ πλώοντα σὺν οὐκ εὐπίονι φόρτῳ
Κρηταιεῖς ὤσαν Τιμόλυτον καθ' ἄλός
δεῖλαιον. κήγῳ μὲν ἀλιζώοις λαρίδεσσι 5
κέκλαυμαι, τύμβῳ δ' οὐχ ὑπο Τιμόλυτος.

*Always pirates and harmful at sea and never just Are
the Cretans. Who among the Cretans knows justice?
And so the Cretans even plunged me, unhappy Timolytus,
Into the sea, when I was sailing with no rich cargo.
I am bewailed by the marine gulls,
And Timolytus is not in this tomb.*

A.P. 7.654 [C] Λεωνίδα Ταραντίνου [J] εἰς Τιμόλυτόν τινα ὑπὸ Κρητῶν ληστῶν
σὺν τῇ ἰδίᾳ νηὶ διαφθαρέντα Pl^B Λεωνίδου

2 Κρηταίης (ex -αίως) Pl 4 καθ' ἄλός Pl : καθ' αἴδου C : καθά δ οὐ? P
6 ὑπο [scil. ὑπεστι] Plan. : ὑπὸ P

The poem is structured similarly to *Ep.* 14: a general maxim (the Cretans are liars and scoundrels) is followed by an exemplification (so happened to Timolytus), then the present condition of the body and the cenotaph. The last part is quite odd: the speaking voice seems to be the deceased Timolytus, who is lost somewhere on a shore (judging on the remark about the seabirds), but at the same time a point is made about the cenotaph. A second level of irony, probably designed to escape Timolytus' understanding, is that his cenotaph is a liar (cf. *Ep.* 62) just as much as the Cretans; and that, despite the Cretans' infamous reputation, the three judges of the underworld are Cretan (Minos, Aeacus and Radamanthus). The specification that his cargo was not heavy (σὺν οὐκ εὐπίονι φόρτῳ) will have different implications: it aims at qualifying the Cretans as ruthless people who killed him despite the fact that the loot was not significant, but also might have some more

general bearing on advice around seafaring, as it seems to imply that not even traveling with a light cargo is a guarantee of safety (cf. introduction to this section).

1 Αἰεὶ ληισταὶ καὶ ἀλιφθόροι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι: the infamous reputation of Cretans is a commonplace in Greek thought: the earliest evidence is Epimenides F 1 Κρηῆτες αἰεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί and the notion became proverbial judging by Suidas κ2407 Κρητίζειν: τὸ ψεύδεσθαι. Ἰδομενεὺς γὰρ ἐπιτραπείς τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων χαλκὸν διανεῖμαι τὸν ἄριστον αὐτῷ ἐξείλετο. καὶ ἕτερα παροιμία· Κρητίζειν πρὸς Κρηῆτας. ἐπειδὴ ψεῦσται καὶ ἀπατεῶνές εἰσι; cf. Callimachus *Hymn* 1.8 (with McLennan) and Gaetulicus *AP* 7.275.5-6 ...τί θαῦμα, Κρηῆτες ὅπου ψεῦσται καὶ Διὸς ἔστι τάφος;. For the ferocity of Cretans, cf. Plb. 28.14-1-4 and the passages collected at Wallbank on Plb 4.53.5. The adj. ἀλιφθόροι is a *hapax*, paralleled by Theon *AP* 9.41 ἀλιφθοορίη, *death at sea*.

2 Κρηῆτες: the subject is postponed to the second line, building on the expectations that the reader will have built in 1.1.

τίς Κρητῶν οἶδε δικαιοσύνην: the line sounds quite ironic if one thinks of the famous Cretan afterlife judges, Minos, Aeacus and Rhadamanthus, as the reader might have naturally done; and Leon. *Ep.* 12* has Pratalidas the Cretan asking the Cretan judges from the Underworld to welcome him as a compatriot. The resentment of Timolytus for his wretched fate almost diminishes his common sense.

3 ὡς καὶ ἐμὲ πλώοντα σὺν οὐκ εὐπίονι φόρτῳ: the light cargo should have not been appealing to the Cretan pirates (for the opposite situation, cf. Leon. *Ep.* 15), which irritates Timolytus even more. It seems that Leonidas wants to show that no matter the risks taken, a shipwreck is always a possible scenario. The adj. εὐπίων is a *hapax* and one of the many adj. in εὐ- coined by Leonidas.

4 Κρηταιεῖς ὥσαν Τιμόλυτον καθ' ἄλός: as GP note, the phrasing might suggest that the Cretans made sure that Timolytus drowned (cf. e.g. Eur. *Cycl.* 448 πετρῶν

ᾶσαι κάτα): this would add to their characterisation as unjust and not content with theft alone. On the form Κρηταιεῖς, cf. Schneider (1870.1:239) on Call. *Hymn* 3.205.

5 δείλαιον: *vox tragica*, revived by Hellenistic poets: cf. Introduction 1.5.2, Tragic diction.

5-6 κήγῶ μὲν ἀλιζώοις λαρίδεσσι κέκλαυμαι: for seabirds and lamentation, cf. comm. on *Ep.* 15. The adj. ἀλιζώος only recurs in Pancrates *SH* 600.2, where it refers to fishermen (πορκῆες).

τύμβῳ δ' οὐχ ὑπο Τιμόλυτος: the point might be made that the tomb, being a cenotaph, is a liar (a point made in Leon. *Ep.* 62) and so deceitful just as much as the Cretans.

Epigram 20: epitaph for Theris the fisherman who died of old age in his hut

Θῆριν τὸν τριγέροντα, τὸν εὐάγων ἀπὸ κύρτων
ζῶντα, τὸν αἰθυίης πλείονα νηξάμενον,
ἰχθυσιληιστῆρα, σαγηνέα, χηραμοδύτην,
οὐχὶ πολυσκάλμου πλώτορα ναυτιλίας,
ἔμπης οὐτ' Ἀρκτοῦρος ἀπώλεσεν, οὔτε καταιγὶς 5
ἤλασε τὰς πολλὰς τῶν ἐτέων δεκάδας·
ἀλλ' ἔθαν' ἐν καλύβῃ σχοινίτιδι, λύχνος ὅποια,
τῷ μακρῷ σβεσθεὶς ἐν χρόνῳ αὐτόματος.
σῆμα δὲ τοῦτ' οὐ παῖδες ἐφήρμωσαν οὐδ' ὁμόλεκτρος,
ἀλλὰ συνεργατίνης ἰχθυβόλων θίασος. 10

*Theris the old man, who lived off his lucky
Fish-traps, who swam more than a seagull,
A preyer on fishes, net-armed, a creeper into holes,
Not a sailor in many-oared ships,
Was, nonetheless, not ruined by Arcturus, nor did a blast of wind
Smite his many decades:
But he died in a hut made of rushes, like a lamp,
Going out spontaneously after long time.
This tomb was not set up by his children or wife,
But by the confraternity of the fishermen, his fellow-workmen.*

A.P. 7.295 P1^A [CPI] Λεωνίδα [C] Ταραντίνου

2 αἰθυίης P1 : αἰθύης P 7 ἔθαν' ἐν Steph. : ἔθανεν PPI

9 τοῦτ' οὐ Jacobs : τούτου C : τῷ του P : τῷδ οὐ P1 παῖδες CPI : -δὸς P

As Guidorizzi's article argued extensively (1977), this poem is made up of a series of negations of *topoi* of shipwreck-epigrams and oppositions distributed across the two halves of the epigram: ll. 1-8 describing the life of Theris, a life by and on the sea, and his loneliness; ll. 9-10 describing his death and burial, taking place on the mainland, at the hands of many people – his fellow fishermen. The deviation, argues Guidorizzi, goes against the norm in socio-economic (Theris sailing and diving alone), literary (the *topos* of dying in a shipwreck), and religious (burial at the hands of the family) terms. On a similar note, Bruss (2005:100) underlines how the subversive character of Theris' epigram is the insight into the underwater world, which usually remains dark and unfathomable.

To these persuasive readings, one must add Gutzwiller's notes on the characterization of Theris as a hero in his daily tasks of fishing, which agrees with Leonidas' treatment of shepherds (cf. *Ep.* 19). The solidarity shown by the *thiasos* is also to be paralleled with the request by Cleitagoras, who addresses his fellow-shepherds asking for rustic offerings on his grave (*Ep.* 19). A final level could consist in reading the epigram as an opposition/variation not only with regards to the *topoi* of the genre and the subject, but also to Leonidas' other epigrams: Theris' epitaph seems to be the counterpart to the rest of the series on the shipwrecks, as if the poet was explicitly producing variations in his own production (cf. Introduction to this group of epigrams above).

1 Θῆριν: cf. the name of the carpenter in Leon. *Ep.* 7.

τὸν τριγέροντα: a rare word, used in Aesch. *Ch.* 314 for a μῦθος and in some epigrams for people (and once for wine). Athen. 10.433b attaches it to Nestor, which agrees with Suidas s.v. τριγέρων (τ960): τρεῖς γενεὰς βιούς· τουτέστι ἐνενηκοντούτης. Νέστωρ ἐν Πύλῳ ἠγαθήη τύμβον ἔχει τριγέρων.

τὸν εὐάγρων ἀπὸ κύρτων: the adjective, beside Soph. *O.C.* 1088, is only found in epigram and possibly always in imitation of Leonidas (Maecius, Zosimus, Crinagoras, Rhianus), but cf. comm. on εὐάγρει in *Ep.* 29, l.1.

κύρτον: fish-trap, 'made on the principle of a lobster-pot or eel-basket with a funnel-shaped entrance' (Gow 1952 *ad* [Theocr.] 21.11, who quotes ancient evidence for its shape and function, to which should be added Aristot. *HA* 7.603a7).

2 τὸν αἰθυίης πλείονα νηξάμενον: the αἰθυία is a seabird often mentioned as diving in the water (e.g. Hom. *Od.* 5.352-3, Posidippus 23.1 AB) and whose identification is much debated (gulls, shearwaters, cormorants have been variously proposed: cf. Arnott 2007 s.v. *aithyia*). Birds are mentioned elsewhere in epitaphs for shipwrecked sailors (cf. comm. on καύηξιν ἢ ἰχθυβόροις λαρίδεσσιν in *Ep.* 15.), but this specific instance is paralleled by Call. *AP* 7.277 = *Ep.* 50 GP ἤσυχον αἰθυίη δ'ἴσα θαλασσοπορεῖ (referring to the restless Leontichus). The thought is closely paralleled by the speech of the man from Icus in Call. *F* 178.33.34 Pf./Harder (= 89.33 Massimilla), ἀλλ' ἐμὸς αἰὼν / κύμασιν αἰθυίης μᾶλλον ἐσφκίσατο (cf. Harder and Massimilla *ad loc.* for other parallels, as well as Kidd on Arat. 296 κολυμβίσιν αἰθυίησι).

3 ἰχθυσιληιστήρα: *hapax*, questioned by Schneider who suggested ἰχθυοληιστήρα (cf. ἰχθυοθηρητήρ in Apollonides *AP* 7.702, ἰχθυοθηρευτής in Manilius *AP* 4.243), but defended by GP on the ground of ὕδασιςτεγής (*AP* 6.90, Philip of Thessalonica). The compound is epic in its formation, both in the form ἰχθύσι and the Homeric ληϊστήρ (Phillips 1972: 316).

σαγηνέα: a fisherman armed with a σαγήνη (*seine*), also called σαγηνευτής; Leon.

Ep. 2 has the *hapax* σαγηνευθήρ.

χηραμοδύτης: he who creeps into the χηραμοί, which according to Hesychius (χ410) are οἱ φωλεοὶ τῶν θηρίων, καὶ αἱ καταδύσεις, σπήλαια, καὶ πέτραι κοῖλαι. Elsewhere, compounds in -δύτης have a short υ, but GP invoke *Lyc.* 634 σισυρονοδύτης with a long υ as a parallel.

4 οὐχὶ πολυσκάλμου πλώτορα ναυτιλίας: the adj. is a *hapax*. The σκαλμός is strictly the *tholepin*, the holder to which the oar is fastened (Casson 1971:86, 151 n.49). The noun ναυτιλία is usually abstract, but here a *many-oared ship* could be meant: this would agree with what is said about small and large ships in Leonidas *Erp.* 14 and 15. Lastly, πλώτωρ is another *hapax* but seems to be a variation on the common πλωτήρ.

5 ἔμπης οὐτ' Ἄρκτουρος ἀπώλεσεν: for Arcturus, cf. comm. on *Ep.* 64.

οὔτε καταιγίς: for the word, cf. Leon. *Ep.* 62.

6 ἤλασε τὰς πολλὰς τῶν ἐτέων δεκάδας: this line has troubled editors, but not GP, who, like Stadtmüller, take ἤλασε as *smote*, invoking the parallel of A.R. 2.815- 6 ἔνθα δ' Ἀβαντιάδην πεπρωμένη ἤλασε μοῖρα/ Ἰδομονα, or Bruss (2005:98 n.3), who takes Θῆριν as the object of the verb and τὰς πολλὰς τῶν ἐτέων δεκάδας as an accusative of temporal duration. Attempts to change the text have consisted in replacing the verb with ἔκλασε (Reitzenstein), ἤνυσε (again Stadtmüller) or, on a different note, ἤρπασε (Gärtner 2007:41-2 who tried to introduce a contrast: the storm could not deprive Theris of his decades). For the expression of time, cf. the significant parallel of Call. *Ait.* F 1.6 τῶν δ' ἐτέων ἢ δεκάς οὐκ ὀλίγη (cf. Massimilla 1996 *ad loc.* for similar expressions, including some later passages in epigrams, e.g. Philod. *AP* 5.12, Lucillius *AP* 9.55).

7 ἀλλ' ἔθαν' ἐν καλύβῃ σχοινίτιδι: the adj. is a *hapax*, but Σχοινίτις as a epithet of Aphrodite is found in the first line of the so-called 'Pride of Halicarnassus' (*SGO* I 12/01/02), 1st cent. BC epigraphic poem (cf. the note on l.1 in the *editio princeps* by Isager (1998:10), and Gallé Cejudo (2021:789-801) for the vast

bibliography on the poem); Lyk. 832 has Σχοινηῆδι (dative of Σχοινηίς). For a description of the humble huts of fishermen, cf. [Theocr.] 21.6-18. For the word καλύβη, cf. comm. on *Ep.* 36.

λύχνος ὅποια: the effective image conveys the idea of a slow, natural death. Guidorizzi (1977) sees in the simile a veiled hint to the myth of Meleager (his death linked to the destiny of the magic ember) as well as a removal of the λύχνος from its typical context of erotic epigrams. For the image, Geffcken *ad loc.* recalls Cic. *De Sen.* 71 *Itaque adulescentes mihi mori sic videntur, ut cum aquae multitudine flammae vis opprimitur, senes autem sic, ut cum sua sponte nulla adhibita vi consumptus ignis exstinguitur.*

8 τῷ μακρῷ σβεσθεῖς ἐν χρόνῳ αὐτόματος: the use of the verb (for which cf. Eur. F 971 διοπετής ὅπως | ἀστήρ ἀπέσβη) suggests a continuation of the simile.

9 σῆμα δὲ τοῦτ' οὐ παῖδες ἐφήρμοσαν οὐδ' ὁμόλεκτρος: this will mean either that Theris did not have a wife and children (more likely) or that they were absent at the time of his death. The word ὁμόλεκτρος is normally used as an adjective, but its usage as noun is attested in inscriptions (e.g. *IG* 12(5).307 from Paros, *Ath.Mitt.* 49.117 from Argos).

10 ἀλλὰ συνεργατίνης ἰχθυβόλων θίασος: the adjective συνεργατίνης is a *hapax*. The whole expression will denote the fraternity or ensemble of his fellow-fishermen, though the specific nature of such association is not clear: θίασος usually means an association with a socio-religious character, but in inscriptions sometimes is accompanied by ethnic adjectives and there is some scanty evidence for burials by professional groups, i.e. *IG* XIII 87 (Salamis, late 3rd BC) [τῶν τεχν]ιτῶν ὁ θίασος, *SEG* 55.1311 (Lydia? 239 AD) θίασος τῶν μουσικῶν: Morris 1992:186-187 deals with some group burials in Rhodes from the 3rd cent. BC, some of which suggest burial by an association of professionals (*koina*), 'but even these were mostly resident aliens, who might not have had a wide network of kin around them' (cf. in inscriptions the formulation θίασος plus the genitive of an ethnic). For epigraphic attestations (not of funerary type) of guild-like people of the same

profession from the late Hellenistic and Imperial age (cf. 'fishermen' and 'fishery workers' in Harland 2014's index). In Bern. *I. Métr.* 13 (= Santin 2009 n.2), 1st cent. BC/1st cent. AD, there is a possible reference to soldiers honouring a deceased comrad in arms (cf. Santin 2009:200-1). Up until the last line, Theris has been presented as a solitary hero, but now the element of respect and solidarity from his fellow fishermen is introduced.

Epigram 60: a drowned man advises against sailing

Εἶη ποντοπόρῳ πλόος οὖριος· ὄν δ' ἄρ' ἀήτης,
ὡς ἐμέ, τοῖς Ἄιδεω προσπελάσῃ λιμέσι,
μεμφέσθω μὴ λαῖτμα κακόξενον, ἀλλ' ἔο τόλμαν,
ὅστις ἀφ' ἡμετέρου πείσματ' ἔλυσε τάφου.

*May the voyage be good for the man who travels by sea:
If a blast of wind drives him near to the harbours of Hades, as it did to me,
Let him not blame the inhospitable depths, but his temerity,
Whoever has untied his cables from my tomb.*

A.P. 7.264, P1^A [CPI] Λεωνίδου

1 ὄν Hecker : ἦν PPI | ἀήτης P : ἀϋτης P1 2 λιμέσιν C

An unnamed shipwrecked sailor speaks from his grave to wish a safe journey by sea, while at the same time declaring that anyone who dies at sea has only himself to blame. The epigram is quite different from the rest of the series in Leonidas and opens with a good wish, not uncommon in inscribed epitaphs (cf. Lattimore 1942:235-6). After this opening, however, the poem takes a different turn and describes a more sinister scenario. The last line, especially when compared with *Ep.* 61 which is quite similar, seems to contain almost a curse: it is not hard to find curses against people who disrespect or desecrate tombs, but on a more metaphorical level it will also mean that it would be foolish of anyone to sail at sea after reading of the deceased's fate in his epitaph. *Ep.* 61 is a very similar poem for a certain Diocles, who marvels at – or is outraged by – the courage of whoever sails from his tomb.

1 Εἶη ποντοπόρῳ πλόος οὖριος: the adj. ποντοπόρος is Homeric; both in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* it always refers to ships, so L. is using it differently. For πλόος οὖριος, cf. e.g. Soph. *Phil.* 780, Eur. *IA* 1596.

ὄν δ' ἄρ' ἀήτης: the spelling of the word ἀήτης is the Homeric one, and it occurs in *Il.* 15.626, a passage which might be alluded to in Leonidas 15 (cf. *ad loc.*).

2 ὡς ἐμέ: the “like me”, “so happened to me” pattern is the same as in other epigrams on shipwrecks (cf. above).

τοῖς Αἰδεῶ προσπελάση λιμέσι: the haven of Hades recalls Soph. *Ant.* 1284 Αἰδου λιμήν and recurs in Leon. *Ep.* 67*; similar expressions such as “Acherusian shore” are common, but λιμήν in these contexts gains more value when related to shipwrecks, whose victims see Hades literally as their final haven.

3 μεμφέσθω μὴ λαῖτμα κακόξενον: the adjective is unparalleled if not for Lykophron’s κακόξενος (l.1286), which describes the Euxine Sea, previously known as ἄξενος; both Leonidas and Lykophron might be varying A. *PV* 726 ἐχθρόξενος ναύτησι, referring to Salmydessos (Hornblower 2015 *ad loc.*).

ἀλλ’ ἔο τόλμαν: the audacity of sailing in ships might have generic Hesiodic reminiscences (cf. above).

4 ὅστις ἀφ’ ἡμετέρου πείσματ’ ἔλυσε τάφου: the expression is quite cryptic. Tombs of shipwrecked sailors were often placed next to the shore (cf. above) and it is natural to assume that if placed in a harbour it could be used as mooring pole. The expression might be a curse of sorts on anyone who dares to set sail from the tomb: the winds might carry them towards the harbours of Hades rather than to safe shores. The same image appears in *Ep.* 61. Curses are not extremely common in Greek funerary inscriptions: cf. Robert (1978).

Epigram 61: the drowned Diocles curses sailors

Ναυηγοῦ τάφος εἰμι Διοκλέος· οἱ δ' ἀνάγονται,
φεῦ τόλμης, ἀπ' ἐμοῦ πείσματα λυσάμενοι.

I am the tomb of the shipwrecked Diocles: and some people- what temerity! - loosen the cables to sail from my tomb!

A.P. 7.266, P^A [CPI] Λεωνίδου

1 οἱ δ P : οἱ δ' CPI 2 ἐμεῦ Beckby

Cf. introduction to *Ep.* 60.

1 ἀνάγονται: in the middle form it can be a *terminus technicus* for 'setting sail'.

2 τόλμης: cf. *Ep.* 60.

ἀπ' ἐμεῦ πείσματα λυσάμενοι: it will be the same curse meant in *Ep.* 60.

Epigram 62: epitaph for Callaeschrus, shipwrecked sailor

Εὐρου με τρηχεῖα καὶ αἰπήεσσα καταγίς 1
καὶ νύξ καὶ δνοφερῆς κύματα πανδυσίης
ἔβλαψ' Ὠρίωνος· ἀπώλισθον δὲ βίοιο
Κάλλαισχος, Λιβυκοῦ μέσσα θέων πελάγευς.
κάγῳ μὲν πόντῳ δινεύμενος ἰχθύσι κύρμα 5
οἴχημαι· ψεύστης δ' οὗτος ἔπεστι λίθος.

*The rough and violent squall of Eurus
And the night and the waves of Orion's dark setting
Hit me: I slipped away from life,
I, Callaeschrus, travelling over the middle of the Libyan sea.
And I am ruined, whirled by the sea, prey to the
Fish: this stone standing here is a liar.*

A.P. 7.273, P^A [CPI] Λεωνίδου

1 αἰπή- CPI : ἠίπη- P 2 καὶ alterum om. P πανδυσίης CPI : πανσυδίας
P
3 ἀπώλισθον CPI : -θεν P 4 θέων CPI : πλέων P 6 οἴχευμαι P
ἔπεστι CPI : ὕπ- P

This poem, like many of Leonidas', has a narrative structure. A cumulation of factors (Eurus' blast, the darkness of the night, the unfavourable moment of the year) contributed to Callaeschrus' demise. The speaker loathes his own fate, being prey to the fish, denounces the tombstone as a liar. (cf. Timolytus in the last line of Ep. 16). However, the mention of his travel in the Libyan sea together with the Homeric allusion implied by l. 5 (cf. below) probably conveys to the reader the impression that Callaeschrus was somehow punished for something, possibly his greed that led him to travel even in such a dangerous time of the year. The poem is likely to be modelled on Perses 4 GP, as signalled by the parallel of Εὐρου...καταγίδες, and L.'s line 2 could be seen as an expansion of Perses' χειμέροιαι (Bruss 2005:120), though the dating of Perses is far from certain and as usual caution is due.

1 Εὐρου: Eurus is the East wind, or in some sources specifically the South-East wind, and one of the four cardinal winds of the system dating back to the Homeric poems.

τρηχεῖα: see Leon. *Ep.* 14; see also Sens (2011) on Asclepiades *AP* 7.284 = 30 GP, l.1.
καὶ αἰπήεσσα: *hapax* from Homer (*Il.* 22.87) and then reprised once by A.R. (2.721) and three times by Quintus Smyrnaeus, always referring to islands or rocks and meaning *steep* (the logic possibly being that the waves are steep?); GP suggest that Leonidas might have been influenced by the collocation of αἰπύς with nouns such as ὄλεθρος (*Il.* 6.57) or θάνατος (*Pi. O.* 10.42).

καταιγίς: the word denotes a strong blast of wind (Suidas k890: ἐπιφορὰ ἀνέμου σφοδροῦ, [Aristot.] *De mundo* 4.395a 6-7 τῶν γε μὴν βιαίων πνευμάτων καταιγίς μὲν ἐστι πνεῦμα ἄνωθεν τύπτον ἐξαίφνης); cf. also A.R. 1.1203 θοῇ ἀνέμοιο κατᾶϊξ, 3.1376 ἀνέμοιο κατάικες and βορέαιο κατᾶϊξ in Call. *Hymn* 3.114 (with Adorjáni 2020 *ad loc.* on the various forms of the noun) and Call. *Hec.* 18.15 Hollis with comm.

2 καὶ νύξ: in Hom. *Od.* 5.291-4, Poseidon, upon seeing Odysseus approaching the land of the Phaeacians, gathers the winds and the clouds which cover the sky, so that night descends (ὀρώρει δ' οὐρανόθεν νύξ). The tension is built by the accumulation of the signals of the storm.

2-3 καὶ δνοφερῆς κύματα πανδυσίης / ἔβλαψ' Ὠρίωνος: the noun πανδυσία in poetry occurs only here and in Nicaenetus *AP* 7.502 = 2 GP (and Marcus Argentarius *AP* 7.395 who is imitating Leonidas), but rather than a neologism it seems to be a proper noun according to *schol.* Hes. *Op.* 616: τοῦτο δὲ, ἐπεὶ [*scil.* αἱ Πλειάδες] προδύνουσι, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὁ Ὠρίων διώκειν αὐτὰς δοκῶν, καὶ οἱ γε ναυτικοὶ Πανδυσίαν καλοῦσι τοῦτον τὸν καιρόν. The period referred to is the morning setting of Orion, extending from the beginning of November to early December (cf. Gow on Theocr. 7.53). The association of Orion with bad weather is attested *inter alia* by Arat. 309-10 ὁ δὲ δύεται ἠῶθι πρὸ / ἀθρόος Ὠρίων and Hor.

C. 1.28.21-22 *me quoque devexi rapidus comes Orionis / Illyricis Notus obruit undis*. The adj. is usually applied to the night (e.g. Hom. *Od.* 13.269, Hes. *Th.* 107, Soph. *El.* 91), but here to the setting of the constellation, perhaps by hypallage (though GP suggest a possible meaning of *gloominess/ill-omened*): in CEG 526.8 (4th cent. BC, Pyraeus), an epitaph for a shipwrecked person, it is used of the sea. Ὠρίων must be scanned with a long ι like sometimes in Homer (cf. Introduction 1.6.1, Prosody for this phenomenon).

3 ἀπώλισθον δὲ βίοιο: this metaphorical use of ὀλισθάνω is paralleled only by GVI 974 = IGUR III 1228 (Rome, 1st/2nd cent.) μήπω γευσάμενος ἥβης ὤλισθον ἐς Ἄιδου and Apollonides AP 7.233 1.3 ὠλίσθανε τέρμα τ' ἄφυκτον; it seems to be reprised by Prop. 3.7.7 (cf. below on l. 5).

4 Κάλλαισχος: not an unusual name (ca. 50 epigraphic occurrences in LGPN, many of them from the 4th and 3rd century BC.).

Λιβυκοῦ μέσσα θέων πελάγους: an unusual expression, paralleled by Automedon (1st c. BC/AD) AP 10.23 μέσσα θέει πελάγη. The mention of travel through the Libyan Sea makes the reader think that Callaeschrus was a merchant.

5 κὰγὼ μὲν πόντῳ δινεύμενος ἰχθύσι κύρμα: the end of the verse reprises a Homeric line, *Od.* 15.480 καὶ τὴν μὲν φώκησι καὶ ἰχθύσι κύρμα γενέσθαι and this is hardly a coincidence: it is the episode of the deceitful Phoenician woman who robbed Eumeus' family palace and is struck by Artemis and then thrown overboard by the sailors. The allusion would strengthen the impression that there is a hint at a punishment for Callaeschrus' greed (the probable motive of his seafaring). Leonidas' use of the expression is translated in Prop. 3.7.8 (*piscibus esca*): 'the whole poem is like a huge expansion of an epigram in the class ναυαγικά' (Hutchinson (2008:104-5). That Propertius is imitating Leonidas rather than Hom. is proved by the context and by l. 7, *primo miser excidit aevo*, which exactly translates ἀπώλισθον δὲ βίοιο of Leonidas l. 3; cf. further Thomas (2004) and Heyworth/Morwood (2011) *ad loc.*

6 οἴχημαι· ψεύστης δ' οὗτος ἔπεστι λίθος: for the empty tomb, cf. Leon. *Ep.* 16, l.6: here, however, the concept of the stone as a liar is more explicit (on this particular aspect, cf. Bruss 2005:103). Sens (2011:212) notes that, similarly to Asclepiades 31.4 GP, the expression could be meant in two ways, i.e. “the stone is a liar” both in the sense that the deceased is not present in the tomb and because the epigram was never inscribed on a λίθος at all’.

Epigram 63: epitaph for Philleus, drowned at sea

Τετρηχυῖα θάλασσα, τί μ' οὐκ οἰζυρὰ παθόντα
τηλόσ' ἀπὸ ψιλῆς ἔπτυσας ἠϊόνος,
ὡς σεῦ μηδ' Αἶδαο κακὴν ἐπιειμένος ἀχλὺν
Φιλλεύς Ἀμφιμένευσ ἄσσον ἐγειτόνεον;

*Roaring sea, why did you not spit me out further
From the edge of the open shore, me who suffered miserably,
So that not even when wrapped in the evil mist of Hades
Might I, Philleus, son of Amphimenes, have to be near to you?*

A.P. 7.283 Λεωνίδου, Π1Β τοῦ αὐτοῦ [scil. Λεων.]

1 Τετρηχυῖα C P1 : -αν P 2 ψηλῆς P 3 ὡς σεῦ P1 : ὄσσευ P : ὠσσευ C

Philleus' epitaph is composed of a single phrase running over two couplets: its sole content consists of the victim's tirade against the sea for casting his body so close to it on the shore. The reader will find it amusing that Philleus does not complain about his death, but rather about his closeness to the sea, and the epigram has almost an amusing tone. The language is epicising and as often it aims at glorifying an ordinary death.

1 Τετρηχυῖα θάλασσα: the first word can be understood either as an intransitive perfect of *ταράσσω* (cf. Homer) or as a perfect of *τρήχω* (A.R. 3.1393 *τετρηχότα βῶλον* seems to show confusion between the two). It will then mean *rough* or *agitated*.

οἰζυρὰ παθόντα: for the adj. (*miserable*), cf. *Ep.* 26 with comm. The implication is that Philleus thinks himself already to have suffered enough without this further offence.

2 τηλόσ': the adverb occurs rarely in archaic poetry (three times in Hom., twice in the *Homeric Hymns* and is taken up by epic imitators (e.g. A.R., Quintus); the cognate *τήλοθι* is much more common (cf. *schol.* Hom. *Il.* 4.455a ἄμεινον δὲ τὸ 'τηλόθι').

ἀπὸ ψιλῆς ... ἠϊόνος: cf. Posidippus 19.12 ἐκ πόντου ψιλὴν μὴ φέρε' ἐπ' ἠϊόνα (Poseidon casting up a rock from the sea), 93.4 ἄπληκτον ψιλὴν ἔκθεες ἐπ' ἠϊόνα (Poseidon casting up the corpse of a shipwreck sailor). It is hard to tell if there is a link between the two authors in these passages, but they may all bear a generic echo of Hom. *Il.* 23.59-61 ὄθι κύματ' ἐπ' ἠϊόνος κλύζεσκον (Achilles mourning Patroclus on the shore) and *Od.* 5.156 ἠϊόνεσσι καθίζων (Odysseus weeping by the shore).

ἔπτυσας: the verb is often used (simple or in compounds) for waves casting things up upon the shore, e.g. Theocr. 15.133 κύματ' ἐπ' αἰόνι πτύοντα (without obj.), Hom. *Il.* 4.426 ἀποπτύει δ' ἄλὸς ἄχνην, Theodoridas *Ep.* 5, σκολιὸς δ' ἐξέπτυσε πορθμός (of a shell cast on the shore).

3 μηδ' Αἶδαο κακὴν ἐπιειμένος ἀχλὺν: in epic, ἀχλύς is a mist/darkness which is cast upon the eyes interrupting the vision (e.g. the gods blinding someone, Hom. *Il.* 20.321), most of the time associated with death (cf. *LFGreep*, s.v. ἀχλύς, coll. 1764-1765). Since it stands for death, the *iunctura* with Hades is comprehensible, and the second half of the verse seems reminiscent of Theoclymenus' vision of the death of the suitors (*Od.* 20.356-7 *ἰεμένων Ἑρεβόσδε ὑπὸ ζόφον· ἥελιος δὲ / οὐρανοῦ ἐξαπόλωλε, κακὴ δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν ἀχλύς*); a general meaning of 'death' will also make l. 4 less bizarre, cf. below.

4 Φιλλεύς: the name only in Ditt. Syll.³ 238 a ii.12, but names in Φιλλ- are very common; it would be also possible to read Φυλλεύς.

Ἀμφιμένεος: equally rare (only 3 occurrences in *LGPN*).

σεῦ... ἄσσον ἐγειτόνεον: the point seems to be that being dead is unpleasant enough without being so close to the sea which brought Philleus to death. There would be a certain synaesthetic feeling in the suggestion that despite the ἀχλύς the deceased can still *hear* the sea and the Homeric word will maybe denote a general deprivation of the senses in the darkness of death. The remark *per se* is quite paradoxical and as in epigram 16 the speaker's bitterness overpowers his common sense, as the sea could not have cast him anywhere other than the shore.

Epigram 64: Dialogue with the tomb of Phinton, a shipwrecked sailor

Ἀρχαίης ὦ θινὸς ἐπεστηλωμένον ἄχθος,
εἶποις, ὄντιν' ἔχεις ἢ τίνοσ ἢ ποδαπόν. —
„Φίντων' Ἑρμιονῆα Βαθυκλέος, ὃν πολὺ κῦμα
ᾤλεσεν, Ἀρκτούρου λαίλαπι χρησάμενον.“

*O you set up as a burden upon the old shore,
Tell me whom you hold, whose son he is, and from where.
"Phinton of Hermione, son of Bathycles, whom a great wave
Destroyed when he suffered Arcturus' storm".*

A.P. 7.503, P1^A [CPI] Λεωνίδα [J] εἰς Φίντωνα τὸν Ἑρμιονέα, υἱὸν Βαθυκλέους,
ναηγόν

1 ἀρχαίης C. : ἀρχίας P : ἀκταίης Jacobs : Ἀργείης Meineke
2 ποδαπόν P1 : ποδαπός P 3 Φίντων' CPI : Φίντων P

Phinton's epigram can be considered a variation on the shipwreck theme on the smallest scale. Dialogue epigrams are usually longer than 4 lines (cf. introduction to *Ep.* 70), whereas this poem is only composed of two couplets: the first contains the address to the tomb, with the usual questions about the identity of the deceased, whereas the second couplet contains the direct speech in response and the story of Phinton. The tone is quite pompous and elevated, which might be meant to convey a certain contrast with the private, and short, story of Phinton.

1 Ἀρχαίης ὦ θινός: the adjective troubled editors, inducing some corrections (e.g. Jacobs' ἀκταίης, later accepted by Page 1975). The only ways to make sense of it without changing it would perhaps be to see the spot as a famous landmark (as Meineke's correction Ἀργείης would point to). The Hom. word θίς and the whole formulation, especially placed at the opening, certainly gives a pompous tone (and perhaps a hint of irony). On the postposition of ὦ, cf. comm. on *Ep.* 50.

ἐπεστηλωμένον: the only occurrence of the compounded form of στηλόω (or σταλόω), which means to erect a στήλη, which can be compared to Amyntas 2 *FGE* (imitation of Leon. *Ep.* 70) τίς δὲ τάφον στάλωσε.

ἄχθος: a burden, not only physical but also metaphorical, cf. the Homeric formula ἄχθος ἀρούρης (*Il.* 18.104, *Od.* 20.379), and e.g. [Hes.] *Sc.* 400 χάσμα καὶ ἄχθος, Soph. *El.* 120 λύπης ἄχθος, and therefore very appropriate for a tomb.

2 εἵποις, ὄντιν' ἔχεις ἢ τίνος ἢ ποδαπόν: the standard questions of the passer-by to the grave (cf. e.g. Leon. *Ep.* 70), here succinctly gathered in a single line.

3 Φίντων: the name is mostly attested in the Peloponnese and Magna Graecia, which would account for the Doric substitution of ν for λ in the original form Φίλτων (GP).

Ἐρμιονῆα: coastal city in Argolis.

Βαθυκλέος: rare name (ca. 30 occurrences in *LGPN*) but notably it is the name of one of the Myrmidons in Hom. *Il.* 16.594, and the Arcadian man of Call. *Ia.* F 191.32 Pf.

ὄν πολὺ κῦμα: waves are explicitly mentioned in the shipwrecks of *Epp.* 14, 15, 62.

4 ὤλεσεν: cf. *Ep.* 14 on the shipwreck of Promachus.

Ἄρκτουρου: the expression will indicate the evening setting of Arcturus, which takes place at the end of October (cf. Kidd 1997 on Arat. 91-5, 585, and on the dates especially cf. Nisbet-Rudd on Hor. *C.* 3.1.27). That this period might be dangerous for sailing is suggested by Dem. 35.10, where a contract specifies that a cargo must leave 'after the rise of Arcturus' (cf. the information from passages collected in

Meijer-Nijf 1992), and by Aratus' observation (300-4) that sailors should not trust the night after November; the mention in *Ep.* 20, l. 5 (ἔμπης οὐτ' Ἀρκτοῦρος ἀπώλεσεν, cf. comm. *ad loc.*) and in other epigrams for shipwrecks (e.g. Alcaeus 15 GP, Perses 9 GP) show that it is becoming a *topos*, echoed in e.g. Plaut. *Rud.* 70-1 *nam Arcturus signum sum omnium acerrimum: / vehemens sum exoriens, quom occido vehementior.*

λαίλαπι: epic word that seems specifically to indicate storms happening at sea, cf. Suidas (λ183) λαῖλαψ: μετ' ἀνέμων ὄμβρος, καὶ σκότος. ὁ δὲ οἶά τις λαῖλαψ ἐπιθαλάττιος ἢ ῥαγδαῖος σκηπτὸς ἐξαπιναίως ἐπεφοίτησε. In Hom. it is used for Zephyrus and Notus raising storms (e.g. *Il.* 4.278, 11.306) or warriors compared to them (e.g. *Il.* 11.747), and notably of the storm which causes the shipwreck of Odysseus' companions at *Od.* 12.408; but apart from a few Archaic and Classical occurrences (Aesch. *Suppl.* 33 and Sem. F 1.15) it seems to be revived only in Hellenistic times (e.g. Arat. 760, Cercidas F 2.9 Lomiento, and in Hellenistic and Imperial epigrams in the shipwreck series) and then in later poetry (e.g. Opp. *Cyn.* 4.173).

χρησάμενον: for the verb used with storms etc., cf. with Geffcken Antiphon 5.21 ἐτύχομεν δὲ χειμῶνι τινι χρησάμενοι, Eur. *IA* 88 ἤμεσθ' ἀπλοῖα χρώμενοι κατ' Αὐλίδα.

Epigram 65: Epitaph for Tharsys, half-eaten by a sea-monster

Κῆν γῆ καὶ πόντῳ κεκρῦμμεθα· τοῦτο περισσόν 1
ἐκ Μοιρῶν Θάρσυς Χαρμίδου ἠνύσατο.
ἦ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀγκύρης ἔνοχον βάρος εἰς ἄλα δύνων
Ἴόνιον θ' ὑγρὸν κῦμα κατερχόμενος,
τὴν μὲν ἔσωσ', αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰτροπος ἐκ βυθοῦ ἕρρων, 5
ἤδη καὶ ναύταις χεῖρας ὀρεγνύμενος,
ἔβρωθην· τοῖόν μοι ἐπ' ἄγριον εὖ μέγα κῆτος
ἦλθεν, ἀπέβροξεν δ' ἄχρῖς ἐπ' ὀμφαλίου.
Χῆμισυ μὲν ναῦται ψυχρὸν βάρος ἐξ ἁλὸς ἡμῶν
ἦραντ'. ἡμισυ δὲ πρίστις ἀπεκλάσατο· 10
ἦόνι δ' ἐν ταύτῃ κακὰ λείψανα Θάρσυος, ὦνεο,
ἔκρουσαν· πάτρην δ' οὐ πάλιν ἰκόμεθα.

*I am buried both on land and at sea: Tharsys, son of Charmides
Fulfilled this extraordinary fate from the Moirae.
For, indeed, with an eye on the entangled weight of an anchor, diving into
the sea and descending into the wet Ionian wave,
I rescued it, but I myself, on turning back and coming up from the depths,
Already reaching out my hands to the sailors,
Was eaten: such a fierce and large monster came towards
Me, and bit off as far as the navel.
The sailors recovered half of me, a cold weight, from the
Sea, but the saw-fish broke off the other half:
On this beach they buried the wretched remains of Tharsys,
man, and I never returned to my fatherland.*

A.P. 7.506 Λεωνίδα [C] εἰς Θρασύν τινα υἱὸν Χαρμίδου ὃν χαλάσαντα τὴν
ἀγκυραν κύων θαλάττιος καταβέβρωκε πλήν ὅτι τὸ ἡμισυ αὐτοῦ λαβόντες οἱ
ναῦται ἔθαψαν P1^B Λεωνίδου

1 καὶ π. P | κεκρῦμμεθα C P1 : -ραμ- P 2 θρασὺς P |
ἠνύσατο P P1 : ἠνυσάμην Huet 4 Ἴόνιον P1 : ῥόν- P : ῥών- C
7 εὖ μέγα Schaefer : εὐμέγα Reiske : ἐσμέγα P : ἐς μέγα P1 8 ἀπέβροξεν C : -ριξ-
P : -βροξ- P1 | ἄχρῖς C : ἀχριδ' P 11 Θάρσυος P1 : Θράσυος P

The epigram has been reasonably classified as a flight of fancy, due to the fact that no such large fish or whale could have been (or could now be) found in the Ionian Sea. It is also true that Leonidas might be elaborating on a real-life incident, such as those reported by Oppian (*Hal.* 5.665-674) and Pliny the Elder (*NH* 9.70), who tell the story of sponge-cutters being assaulted by sea-creatures and receiving help (often in vain) from their comrades. The narrative technique, as often in Leonidas, is clever and well-constructed: at first (ll.1-2) the exceptional fate of Tharsys is announced, engaging the curiosity of the reader; then the story is told, with a very neat caesura in the middle marked by the verb ἐβρώθην. The two halves of the poem are balanced by the symmetrical βάρος of the anchor stuck on the seabed and that of Tharsys, recovered by the crew. In fact, the epigram seems to revolve around this movement of going up and down the surface of the water: the anchor sinking, then re-emerging thanks to Tharsys who dived in his turn, then the ascent of both of them building a tension which dramatically erupts with the sharp bite of the monster. The last couplet completes the symmetry in ring-composition.

1 Κῆν γῆ καὶ πόντῳ: the pairing is traditional (either in this form or with *θάλασσα*) but the statement is surprising, as Leonidas' other burials of sailors have been described as taking place on the land *or* in the sea, thus intriguing the reader from the very opening. Bruss (2005:145) thinks that L. is directly subverting Homer *Od.* 24.290-2 (Laertes' fear that Odysseus is dead and either being eaten by the fish in the sea *or* by birds on the shore).

κεκρούμμεθα: the plural is not uncommon, but might also hint at the unusual fate of Tharsys as described below (the two halves of the body being torn apart).

τοῦτο περισσόν: *extraordinary* [fate] (cf. e.g. Eur. *Hipp.* 437, *Suppl.* 791, of sufferings).

2 ἐκ Μοιρέων: the *Moirai* are often invoked in literary and inscribed epitaphs (for a limited sample, cf. Lattimore 1942:150-151, 159). The formulation with the verb *ἀνύω* might have an ironic nuance (*thanks to the Moirai*).

Θάρσυσ: not elsewhere but to be preferred to the manuscripts' reading *Θράσυσ* which is unmetrical. Since the epigram is clearly fictitious, or at least a fantasy based on some real-life accident, one wonders if a fictitious name is chosen *ad hoc* with a play on Tharsys' audacity.

Χαρμίδου: the name is fairly common, with more than a hundred occurrences in *LGPN*.

ἠνύσατο: GP welcomed Huet's suggestion of emending into the 1st person on the ground of the other verbs of the epigram and the presence of the name of Tharsys in line 2, but the 3rd person is not unusual (cf. the type *here lies X...*): The change, therefore, does not seem necessary. GP also argue for a meaning of *achieved by the will of*, 'for *ἀνύειν* means, or may be translated, *obtain* (e.g. Theocr. 5.144, 18.17) it is always of something desired or aimed at', but *ἀνύω* can mean *obtain* or *accomplish* also with negative connotations (e.g. Soph. *Tr.* 886 sqq. *πῶς ἐμήσατο/πρὸς θανάτῳ θάνατον/ἠνύσασα κτλ.*); alternatively, one could read an ironic tone in the phrase.

ἤ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀγκύρης ἔνοχον βάρος: presumably meaning that the sailor tried to recover an anchor which got stuck in the seabed.

εἰς ἄλλα δύνων: possibly varying the Homeric line ending εἰς ἄλλα δῖαν (mostly applied to sailing ships).

3 Ἴονιόν θ' ὑγρὸν κῦμα: waves are thus qualified in Theocr. 7.53, 22.167 and Eur. *IA* 948, varying traditional expressions which use the adjective of the sea (e.g. Pi. *O.* 7.69 ἀλὸς ὑγρᾶς), which seem to go back ultimately to the Homeric ὑγρὸν ὕδωρ of *Od.* 4.458 (cf. Friis Johansen-Whittle on Aesch. *Suppl.* 258-9 ὑγρᾶς θαλάσσης); cf. Call. *AP* 7.272 = 18 Pf. = 38 GP, 1.3 ἐν ὑγρῇ = ἐν πόντῳ, which GP (*ad loc.*) take as modelled on Hom. *Il.* 24.341 ἡμὲν ἐφ' ὑγρῆν / ἠδ' ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν (but cf. Blaydes on Ar. *Vesp.* 678). The Ionian Sea places the fictitious events somewhere between Magna Graecia and the Western Coast of the Greek peninsula.

κατερχόμενος: the construction with the accusative is rare but not impossible (cf. Ar. *F* 149 καὶ τίς 'νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας' ἔτλη κατελθεῖν, which is paratragedy of Eur. *Hec.* 1).

4 τὴν μὲν ἔσωσ': *it I saved.* The construction builds up dramatic tension and prepares the ground for a twist in the story.

αὐτὸς δὲ μετάρτροπος: the turning point of the epigram, stressed by the adjective μετάρτροπος, which usually refers to a change of winds (e.g. Eur. *El.* 1147 μετάρτροποι πνέουσιν αὔραι δόμων, Ar. *Pax* 945 μετάρτροπος αὔρα), but used metaphorically in Aesch. *Pers.* 942-3 (δαίμων γὰρ ὄδ' αὔ / μετάρτροπος ἐπ' ἐμοί) and here literally refers to Tharsys turning back again towards the surface of the water.

ἐκ βυθοῦ: the depths of the sea, cf. e.g. Theocr. 22.17 ἐκ βυθοῦ ἔλκετε νῆας.

ἔρρων: one might welcome GP's suggestion that the verb here might mean moving with difficulty, something like Hom. *Il.* 18.421 (of Hephaestus limping, for which *Schol.*T have ἔρρων ἐπαχθῶς διὰ τὴν χόλωσιν βαδίζων: cf. Rutherford 2019 *ad loc.*).

5 ἤδη καὶ ναύταις χεῖρας ὀρεγνύμενος: a detail which adds to the dramatic tone of the situation. The middle of ὀρέγνυμι might be modelled after Hom. *Il.* 24.506 ἀνδρὸς παιδοφόνοιο ποτὶ στόμα χεῖρ' ὀρέγεσθαι and seems to be reprised in Moschus 2.112 χεῖρας ὀρεγνυμένη, but the Homeric scene that L. must have in mind is Odysseus' companions stretching their hands in despair while being caught by Scylla (*Od.* 12.257, χεῖρας ἐμοὶ ὀρέγοντας ἐν αἰνῇ δηϊοτήτι) with a variation on the model (Tharsys is the one asking for help from the rest of the crew).

6 ἐβρώθην: the verb usually means *eat, devour*, though in Gal. 14.246 it means *bite*; it belongs to a colloquial register and it is quite crude. The placing of the word right in middle of the epigram is very effective, cutting the poem in half just as Tharsys' body was cut in half by the monster (besides, it is not very common in epigrams to have an enjambement between different distichs: cf. Introduction, 1.6 Metre).

τοιῶν μοι ἐπ' ἄγριον εὖ μέγα: the ὕστερον πρότερον contributes to the dramatic tension of the narration and conveys insight into Tharsys' terror: he did not see the monster coming. The expression εὖ μέγα gives an epic tone.

κῆτος: a fairly generic word that in Greek designates different kinds of sea creatures, from seals (Hom. *Od.* 4.446) to dolphins (Mosch. 2.116), but mostly large ones (Hom. *Od.* 12.96-97 δελφῖνάς τε κύνας τε καὶ εἴ ποθι μεῖζον ἔλησι / κῆτος) such as tunnies (Archestr. F 35.3 Olson-Sens) and whales: Aristotle uses the word in a specialized sense to denote sea-creatures that have no gills but blowholes, i.e. what we classify as Cetaceans (*HA* 6.12 566b Δελφίς δὲ καὶ φάλαινα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κήτη, ὅσα μὴ ἔχει βράγχια ἀλλὰ φουσητήρα...'), but the word also denotes sea-monsters in general (e.g. Opp. *H.* 1.48): cf. Thompson 1947 s.v. κῆτος for a full account of evidence. The less generic word *πίστις* is used later at l. 10 (though still vague).

7 ἀπέβροξεν: this is C's correction of P' ἀπέβριξεν, which is clearly wrong, whereas P1's reading ἀπέβροξεν is plausible (cf. Leon. *Ep.* 49 καταβρούκειν, of the beast devouring Sosus' cattle); cf. its use in Lyk. 742 (the waves swallowing

sailors) and A.R. 2.271 (the harpies eating).

δ' ἄχρῖς ἐπ' ὀμφαλίου: the diminutive form occurs only here, in Nic. *Alex.* 596 and in Arat. 207, 214, where Kidd (1997) *ad loc.* notes that it is metrically convenient rather than implying an actual diminutive.

8 χῆμις μὲν ναῦται ψυχρὸν βάρος ἐξ ἄλῶς ἡμῶν: visibly recalls 1.3 with the βάρος. The adj. adds vividness to the description.

9 ἦρανθ' ἡμις δέ: the two halves of the pentameter correspond to the two halves of Tharsys' corpse.

πρίστις: sometimes in the form *πρηστις*, the word is supposed to denote the sawfish and it is mentioned by Ael. *HA* 9.49 as one of the largest among κήτη. Both in Greek and Latin sources descriptions of such animals are so exaggerated that they cannot be taken seriously (e.g. Plin. *NH* 9.4 *pristes ducenum cubitorum*, cf. Thompson 1947 s.v. *πρίστις*).

10 ἦόνι δ' ἐν ταύτῃ κακὰ λείψανα Θάρσυος: Here too the macabre detail contributes to the general tone of the epigram. The mention of the name in the penultimate line creates a symmetry with its first appearance in l. 2.

ὦνεο: the address is frequently employed by Leonidas (*Epp.* 10, 18, 19, 74, 77, 91).

12 ἔκρουσαν· πάτρην δ' οὐ πάλιν ἰκόμεθα: the choice of the plural creates a ring-composition with 1.1 and accentuates the sorrow of the dead. The pain of not being buried in the fatherland is almost 'doubled' by the strange fate of Tharsys.

2.2.2 Epitaphs for mothers and children

In this group we have included firstly two epigrams for women who died in childbirth (*Epp.* 69, 70), which are the funerary counterpart of dedications for successful labour (*Epp.* 1, 38). When compared to the dedications, these stand out as less elaborate. *Ep.* 69 shows again some taste for enumeration, while *Ep.* 70, a dialogue-epigram, despite being a very sober poem, enjoyed some success in antiquity, inspiring imitations and influencing inscribed epigrams (cf. commentary and Introduction 1.3.3, Epigraphic evidence. As the presence of the refrain (cf. Introduction 1.5.5, Structure of the epigrams) indicates, *Ep.* 71 (lament of Anticles' mother on her deceased son), resembles a funerary lament rather than a funerary inscription, with some tragic reminiscences too. It is interesting to note how, when compared to many other of Leonidas' epigrams, these three poems give very little background on their protagonists: it is of course hard to tell whether this poetic choice aims at focusing mainly on the theme of death or at complying with the tendencies of inscribed epigram, regardless of what the real destination of the epigrams was.

Epigram 69: Epitaph for the four daughters of Aristodicus who died in childbirth

Αὔτα Τιμόκλει', αὔτα Φιλώ, αὔτα Ἀριστώ,
αὔτα Τιμαιθώ, παῖδες Ἀριστοδίκου,
παῖσαι ὑπ' ὠδίνος πεφονευμέναι· αἷς ἔπι τοῦτο
σᾶμα πατήρ στάσας κάτθαν' Ἀριστόδικος.

*Here is Timoclea, here Philo, here Aristo,
Here Timaetho, the daughters of Aristodicus,
All of them slain by childbirth: their father
Aristodicus built this monument for them, and then died.*

A.P. 7.463 P1^A [CPL] Λεωνίδα

[J] εἰς τὰς Ἀριστοδίκου θυγατέρας ἐν ταῖς ὠδίσι τελευτησάσας, et ad v.3
Λεωνίδου ὅτι αἱ τέσσαρες θυγατέρες Ἀριστοδίκου δυστοκήσασαι ἔθανον
P1^A Λεωνίδου.

1-2 αὔτα [quater] Reiske : αὐτὰ PPl | 3 ἔπι Plan. : ἐπι P | τοῦτο Pl : τούτῳ P^{pc} :
τουτο P^{ac}

The epigram is minimalist: its first half consists only of the names of the women who died in childbirth, whereas the second distich encapsulates in a short format the rest of the story, which gives a picture almost of a family curse. Contrarily to L.'s practice in other epigrams, e.g. *Ep.* 71, there are no pathetic tones. The poem seems to imitate closely more simple exemplars of inscribed epigrams: possibly those composed for soldiers who died in battle might be operating as a model, of which these women who died in childbirth could constitute a reversal. Despite the simple nature, however, the last line with the death of the father is bound to come as a surprise to the reader.

1-2 *Αὐτὰ Τιμόκλει', αὐτὰ Φιλῶ, αὐτὰ Ἀριστῶ, / αὐτὰ Τιμαιθῶ, παῖδες Ἀριστοδίκου:* the way in which the names are arranged is not casual: Τιμόκλει' makes a pair with Τιμαιθῶ, as Ἀριστῶ does with Ἀριστόδικος, organising the couplet in a neat pattern.

1 *Τιμόκλει':* the name has ca. 21 occurrences in *LGPN*, mostly from the 4th century BC onwards.

Φιλῶ: ca. 31 occurrences in *LGPN*.

Ἀριστῶ: ca. 88 occurrences in *LGPN*.

2 *Τιμαιθῶ:* never attested, while the masculine form form Τίμαιθος has few occurrences (8 in *LGPN*). The use of the hypocoristic forms (Philo, Aristo, Timaetho) might contribute to a sense of affection of the father towards his daughters who died before their time.

Ἀριστοδίκου: a common name, with 84 occurrences in *LGPN*.

3 *πᾶσαι ὑπ' ὠδίνος πεφονευμένα:* as GP note, the verb is not used generally for death by natural causes and seems to imply a personification of ὠδίνες, somewhat like in Bern. *I. Métr.* 30, now = *CPI* 65 (Alexandria, probably early Hellenistic date)
II.3-4 ...ὠδίνες παῖδα Πολυκράτεος / ἤγαγον εἰς Αἴδην Ἀγαθόκλεαν κτλ.

4 *Ἀριστόδικος:* Criscuolo (2003:347) describes the effects of the placing of the name at the end of the poem as poignant, almost 'as heavy as marble'.

Epigram 70: Dialogue between Prexo, a woman who died in childbirth, and a passer-by

Τίς τίνας εὔσα, γύναι, Παρίην ὑπὸ κίονα κειῖσαι; —
„Πρηξὼ Καλλιτέλεως.“ — Καὶ ποδαπή; — „Σαμίη.“ —
Τίς δέ σε καὶ κτερεῖξε; — „Θεόκριτος, ᾧ με γονῆες
ἐξέδοσαν.“ — Ἐνήσκεις δ’ ἐκ τίνας; — „Ἐκ τοκετοῦ.“ —
Εὔσα πόσων ἐτέων; — „Δύο κείκοσιν.“ — Ἡ ῥά γ’ ἄτεκνος; — 5
„Οὐκ, ἀλλὰ τριετῆ Καλλιτέλην ἔλιπον.“ —
Ζῶοι σοι κεινός γε καὶ ἐς βαθὺ γῆρας ἴκοιτο. —
„Καὶ σοί, ξεῖνε, πόροι πάντα Τύχη τὰ καλά.“

*Who are you and whose daughter are you, woman, lying beneath the
column of Parian marble?*

‘Prexo, daughter of Calliteles’ – From which country? ‘Samos’.

Who laid you to rest? ‘Theocritus, to whom my parents

Gave me in marriage’ – And how did you die? ‘In childbirth’

.At what age? ‘Twenty-two’ – So you were childless?

‘No, I left my three-year old Calliteles’. May he

live and reach a good old age –

‘And to you, stranger, may Fortune bring all good things’.

A.P. 7.163, P1A [CPI] Λεωνίδου; P.Oxy. 662 (versuum termini)

[J] εἰς Πρηξὼ τὴν Σαμίαν [C] κατὰ πεῦσιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν

1 οὔσα CPI^{ac} 2 Καλλιτέλεως CPI : -λους P 3 με γεγονες vel τεγωνες

par. 5 οὔσα P | κείκοσιν CPI : -σι P

7 ζῶοι CPI : -οις P τύχη PPI : [τύχ]η par.

This epigram is certainly one of the most original within the extant Leonidean corpus, because of its dialogic form combined with the theme. Barrio Vega¹⁸⁵ has outlined a brief history of the dialogic form in Greek epigram: this format appears relatively late, when the epigram had already established itself in its literary form (beyond the inscriptional one) and especially in the funerary and votive sub-genres; it seems to originate from the conflation of two kinds of funerary epigram, (1) those in which the dead person or the tomb addresses the passer-by, giving personal information (family, age, circumstances of death), (2) the opposite case of the passer-by's questions to the tomb. Such conflation was possibly influenced by other literary genres, namely drama (New Comedy) and philosophical dialogues (e.g. Timon of Phlius). The already original choice of the dialogue between the deceased and the passer-by is further accentuated by the choice of breaking up the verses into multiple lines of *antilabe*, contrarily to the norm (e.g. Leonidas *Ep.* 24*), which certainly contributes to the liveliness of the poem.

The epigram is also, as far as we are aware, the object of the imitation in the sequence *AP* 7.163-164-165 (the others by Antipater of Sidon and Archias), to which one should add the imitation by Amyntas in *P.Oxy.* 4.662 (cf. comm. on Leon. *Ep.* 51): a detailed discussion on the variation of this theme, together with inscribed epigrams directly influenced by this series, can be found in Garulli (2012:116-134). The theme of the epigram, death in childbirth, is to be contrasted with the votive epigrams for successful childbirth (*Epp.* 1, 38).

¹⁸⁵ Barrio Vega (1989).

1 Τίς τίνος εὔσα, γύναι: a standard question for the grave.

Παρίην ὑπὸ κίονα: GP think that L. is referring to both a relief and the columns supporting it, made of Parian marble. As noted by Geffcken, it was probably imitated by *IG XII,5 306* (Paros, 1st cent. AD) l. 1 τίς σε, γύναι, Παρίην ὑπὸ βώλακα θήκατο;

2 Πρηξώ: not very common (only one other occurrence besides this one in *IG XII* (9) 136 + *XII Suppl.* p. 176, 4th/3rd cent. BC), even if it might stand for a name beginning in Πραξ-, which are numerous.

Καλλιτέλευς: ca. 80 occurrences in *LGPN*.

—**Καὶ ποδαπή;** —, „**Σαμίη**“: the fact that the epigram only has Ionic forms might reflect an aim to reproduce Prexo’s native dialect (Coughlan 2020b:623).

3 τίς δέ σε καὶ κτερεῖξαι: the verb κτερεῖζω is Homeric, occurring only four times (*Il.* 23.646, *Il.* 24.657, *Od.* 1.291, *Od.* 2.222 always for burials of heroes); it is also reprised by Call. *Hymn* 6.101, and A.R. 2.857, 2.859 (the burial of two of the Argonauts, Tiphys and Canthus) and it is likely that the intention is to give a solemn tone to Prexo’s burial.

Θεόκριτος: the name also appears in Leon. *Ep.* 84.

3-4 ᾧ με γονῆες / ἐξέδοσαν: the contract of marriage was first arranged by the father of the woman and the prospective groom, though Xen. *Oec.* 7.10 and [Arist.] *Oec.* 3.81 F 184 Rose seem to imply that also the mother had a say in the matter (Demand 1994:11, with n.62).

Θνήσκεις δ’ ἐκ τίνος: the present here must stand for a past tense, which is found elsewhere when it conveys a sense of enduring effect and especially with verbs of *being born* and *dying*, as in e.g. Aesch. *Ch.* 327, Pi. *Ol.* 9.35, and in epigram e.g. Meleager *AP* 7.207 = 65 GP (cf. K.-G. 2.1.137, Denniston 1939 on Eur. *El.* 1045, Battezzato 2018 on Eur. *Hec.* 695).

ἐκ τοκετοῦ: death in childbirth was relatively common in pre-modern cultures (cf. Demand 1994:71-86 on ancient Greece); cf. Leonidas *Epp.* 1, 38, dedications for

successful childbirth, with introductory notes. One might also observe that the endings of line 3 and 4 present a contrast between γονῆες / τοκετοῦ.

ἦ ῥά γ' ἄτεκνος: since the evidence suggest that most Greek women used to get married at around 15 years old, and start bearing children soon afterwards (cf. Demand 1994:11-18), the question might be interpreted as a doubt for the survival of the child rather than a belief that Prexo had not yet had any children.

6 οὐκ, ἀλλὰ τριετῆ Καλλιτέλην ἔλιπον: the name of the child is relatively common (ca. 80 occurrences in *LGPN*). It is immediately evident that he has been named after his maternal grandfather, whereas the usual custom was to use the name of the paternal grandfather (as shown by *Ar. Nub.* 65 and *Dem.* 43.74). The accusative in -ην for names ending in -ης (e.g. Σώκρατης) is more common compared to the alternative -η (which is used in Antipater's variation of this epigram, *AP* 7.165 = 21 *GP*): on the form of such names cf. *K.-G.* 1.1.512.

7 ζῶοι σοι κεῖνός γε καὶ ἐς βαθὺ γῆρας ἴκοιτο: the wish for the living son to live long and reach old age is traditional. Homer has γῆρας οὐδὸν ἰκέσθαι (*Od.* 23.212), οὐδ' ἴκετο γῆρας οὐδόν (*Od.* 15.246) and Hesiod has ὀλοὸν δ' ἐπὶ γῆρας ἴκηται (*Th.* 604), possibly varied by *A.R.* 1.684 στυγερόν ποτὶ γῆρας ἴκησθε, and Peek *GVI* 1983.10 (Syria, 3rd cent. AD)...ὄν βαθὺ γῆρας ἔλοι τέκνα τε γηθόμενον; cf. the very similar phrasing in *P. Ryland* 1.17, anonymous *epithalamium*, 1.6 ...καὶ ἐς βαθὺ γῆρας ἰκέσθ[αι] (4 cent. AD?).

8 „καὶ σοί, ξεῖνε, πόροι πάντα Τύχη τὰ καλά“: for similar good wishes from the deceased towards the passer-by, cf. Peek *GVI* 1214-22, and with Τύχη e.g. *GVI* 266.3 (epitaph from Syria, 3rd-2nd cent. BC) Τύχη δ' ὄλβια πάντα πόροι τεκέεσσι καὶ αὐτῶ, *GVI* 1870.13-14 (dialogue epitaph from Phrygia, 1st cent. BC) ... καὶ σόν, ὄδεῖτα, εὐδῖον εὐθύνοι πάντα Τύχη βίοτον, which seems to be inspired by Antipater's imitation of Leonidas (21 *GP*), ll.9-10.

Epigram 71: Epitaph for the young Anticles spoken by his mother

Ἄ δειλ' Ἀντίκλεις, δειλὴ δ' ἐγὼ ἢ τὸν ἐν ἡβῆς 1
ἀκμῇ καὶ μῦνον παῖδα πυρῳσαμένη,
ὀκτωκαιδεκέτης ὃς ἀπώλεο, τέκνον· ἐγὼ δὲ
ὀρφάνιον κλαίω γῆρας ὀδυρομένη.
βαίην εἰς Ἄϊδος σκιερὸν δόμον· οὔτε μοι ἡὼς 5
ἤδεῖ' οὔτ' ἀκτὶς ὠκέος ἡελίου.
Ἄ δειλ' Ἀντίκλεις μεμορημένε, πένθεος εἷης
ιητὴρ ζωῆς ἔκ με κομισσάμενος.

*O miserable Anticles, and miserable me who
Laid my only son on the pyre in the peak of his youth, You
who died when eighteen, child: and I, bereaved, Weep for
my old age, lamenting.
I wish I could go to the shady house of Hades: to me neither dawn
Nor the swift ray of light is sweet.
O miserable Anticles, who fulfilled your destiny, be the healer
Of my pain by taking me from life with you.*

A.P. 7.466, P^B [CPI] Λεωνίδα

[J] εἰς Ἀντικλῆν υἱὸν χήρας μονογενῆ ὀκτωκαιδεκέτη τελευτήσαντα.

1 τὸν CPI : τιν' P ἡβῆς CPI^{pc} : -ῆι PPI^{ac} 3 ἀπώλετο P 5 βαίνειν P1
6 ἡελίου CPI : -ίοιο P 7 εἷης PPI : εἷη van Herwerden
8 ζώην P1 | μ' εἰς. P^{pc} : εὔγε P1 : ἔκ με Salm. | κομισσάμενος P1 : κεκομησάμενος
P^{ac} : μηκομισσάμενος P^{pc} (μη suprascriptum)

In the general consensus on Leonidas' mediocrity in earlier scholarship, this poem constitutes an exception even for his detractors. Geffcken praises Jacobs' definition of this piece as *veri affectus plenum carmen* and GP openly say 'for once L.'s lines show emotion, and the poem is much above his average'. Criscuolo and Casadio (cf. below) suggested more than one intertextual reference to earlier poetry (Homer, Mimnermus, tragic poetry) and a thorough analysis reveals the epigram to be full of pathos.

While the theme of the epigram, the *mors immatura* and the sorrow of a parent who has to bury her own child, is common in inscriptional epitaphs¹⁸⁶ - and the expression of his age points in this direction - some other elements are more original. It is striking indeed that the mother of Anticles, though mourning *her* miserable condition, never says her name. The second element is the reversal of some *topoi*, namely the sweetness of the light of the sun, and possibly the obscurity of Hades which might be described as a shady and almost pleasant place of rest in the mother's present condition. On the whole, the poem constantly balances Anticles' unhappy fate and his mother's condition: a) poor Anticles b) poor mother, who has to bury her son; a) the son died in the prime of his youth, at eighteen b) she is bereaved and cries, cursing her old age, and she would like to go to Hades - the sun is not pleasant anymore; a) poor Anticles b) wish to be cured.

¹⁸⁶ cf. Lattimore (1942) under the sections "The Untimely Dead" and "Children Buried by Parents".

1 Ἄ δειλ' Ἀντίκλεις: the opening presents a solemn and tragic tone with epic reminiscences, as noted by Criscuolo (2003), e.g. Hom. *Il.* 11. 441 ἄ δειλ' ἧ μάλα δὴ σε κιχάνεται αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος, *Od.* 20.351 ἄ δειλοί, τί κακὸν τόδε πάσχετε. The name Ἀντίκλεις seems to be rare in inscriptions (with only two dubious occurrences in Boeotia).

δειλὴ δ' ἐγώ: here starts the contrast between the condition of the mother and the deceased son that runs through the whole poem. The repetition of the adjective contributes to the pathos.

1-2 ἐν ἡβῆς / ἀκμῇ: a tragic expression, cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 10-11 καὶ τὸν ἐλλείποντ' ἔτι ἡβῆς ἀκμαῖας καὶ τὸν ἔξηβον χρόνῳ, Soph., F 314.280 παιδὸς εἰς ἡβῆς ἀκμῆν, Soph. *OT* 741 τίνα δ' ἀκμῆν ἡβῆς ἔχων (with Finglass 2018 *ad loc.* for similar expressions with βίος), Eur. *Alc.* 316 ἡβῆς ἐν ἀκμῇ: cf. Introduction 1.5.2, Tragic diction. The concept of young people snatched away by Fate and similar in the prime of their youth is a *topos* in the inscriptions for *paides aoroi* (cf. Vérilhac 1982).

καὶ μῶνον παῖδα: of course the fact that Anticles was an only child aggravates the grief of his mother, cf. Eur. *Andr.* 1083 παῖς μόνου παιδὸς μόνος.

πυρρῶσαμένη: Casadio (1988-89:7) suggested that there might be a Homeric reminiscence of Achilles mourning Patroclus in *Il.* 23.222-225 ὡς δὲ πατήρ οὐ παιδὸς ὀδύρεται ὅστέα καίων/ νυμφίου, ὅς τε θανῶν δειλοὺς ἀκάχησε τοκῆας, / ὡς Ἀχιλεὺς ἐτάροιο ὀδύρετο ὅστέα καίων, / ἐρπύζων παρὰ πυρκαϊῆν ἀδινὰ στεναχίζων.

3 ὀκτωκαιδεκέτης ὃς ἀπώλεο, τέκνον: the age of the deceased son recurs often in inscribed epitaphs and prose inscriptions.

ἐγὼ δὲ: it recalls the δειλὴ δ' ἐγώ of line 1.

4 ὀρφάνιον: the adjective is rare, and equivalent to the epic ὀρφανικός/ὀρφανός, which are already quite rare (ὀρφανικός only three times in the *Iliad*, 6.432, 11.394, 22.490, but it is found in several metrical inscriptions, e.g. GVI 844.6 (Paros, end of 2nd BC?); ὀρφανός in Hom. *Od.* 20.68, Hes. *Op.* 330 and

hence reprised in A.R. 4.1063 and in inscriptions, e.g. *GVI* 982.1).

κλαίω γῆρας ὀδυρομένη: the *iunctura* of the two verbs recurs three times in Homer, i.e. *Il.* 24.48 ἀλλ' ἦτοι κλαύσας καὶ ὀδυράμενος μεθέηκε (of a man who lost a brother or a son), *Od.* 8.577 εἶπε δ' ὅ τι κλαίεις καὶ ὀδύρεαι..., *Od.* 10.454 κλαῖον ὀδυρόμενοι, and then in oratory (e.g. *Andoc. De Myster.* 48, *Din. In Dem.* 109). According to Casadio (1988-89) κλαίω would point to Hom. καίω and ὀδυρομένη to ὀδύρεται (the former being a stretch); *Theogn.* 1132 has κλαίω δ' ἀργαλέον γῆρας. Children are expected to take care of their parents as they grow old and therefore reaching old age alone is another unnatural consequence of a child's untimely death.

5 βαίην εἰς Ἄϊδος σκιερὸν δόμον: the house of Hades is frequently mentioned in Homer in various forms, e.g. the formulaic line ending δόμον Ἄϊδος εἶσω, e.g. *Il.* 3.322 (and the line somewhat resembles *Il.* 24.246 ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδεῖν βαίην δόμον Ἄϊδος εἶσω). Darkness is a concept frequently associated with it, but the adjective σκιερός, in the wake of its Homeric and Hesiodic use, is often associated with shady trees and woods (cf. *LfgreE*, Sullivan s.v.): in light of the following statement about the sun, it is possible that here the adjective has almost a positive nuance, i.e. Hades is a shady refuge from the light of the sun, now unbearable for Anticles' mother; the adj. has a more varied connotation in sepulchral inscriptions, but for a positive sense cf. *GVI* 1719.6 (Thrace, 1st-2nd cent. BC) σκιεροῖς θαλάμοις.

5-6 οὔτε μοι ἤως / ἤδει' οὔτ' ἀκτὶς ὠκέος ἠελίου: this might be seen as a reversal of the tragic *topos* of the light of the sun as a salvation in dark times (cf. Griffith 1999 on *Soph. Ant.* 100 ἀκτὶς ἀελίου). As GP and Criscuolo (2003) note, ἀκτὶς ὠκέος ἠελίου will be reminiscent of Mimnermus, F 11a West ὠκέος Ἡελίοιο ἀκτῖνες; one could also observe that Mimnermus in F 1 West describes the man deprived of the joys of Aphrodite because of his old age as οὐδ' ἀγῆας προσορῶν τέρεται ἠελίου (l.8).

7 ἄ δειλ' Ἀντίκλεις μεμορημένε: the participle is a rarer form of the more common μεμορμένος, from μείρομαι (elsewhere in Hellenistic poetry A.R. 1.646 and 973 has μεμόρηται and μεμόρητο, Nic. Al. 229 μεμορημένον, Lyk. 430 μεμορμένον): GP take δειλ' as n. pl., and so the whole expression as *O Anticles, unhappily fated*. The refrain contributes to the dramatic tones; one could compare Bern. I. Métr. 86 (2nd cent. AD).

7-8 πένθεος εἴης / ἰητήρ: this is paralleled by the tragic idea of death as healer of evils cf. e.g. Aesch. F 255 Radt ὦ θάνατε παιῶν, μὴ ἀτιμάσης μολεῖν / μόνος <γάρ> εἶ σὺ τῶν ἀνηκέστων κακῶν/ιατρός, ἄλγος δ οὐδὲν ἄπτεται νεκροῦ, Soph. F 698 Radt ἀλλ ἔσθ' ὁ θάνατος λοῖσθος ἰατρός νόσων, Eur. Hipp. 1373 καί μοι θάνατος παιᾶν ἔλθοι and Eur. Hclid. 595-6 τὸ γὰρ θανεῖν / κακῶν μέγιστον φάρμακον νομίζεται (outside of tragedy, but maybe in a paratragic context, Diphil. F 88.3 K.-A.). The idea is in turn part of an even more common idea in Greek thought of death as a relief from evils, e.g. Aesch. Suppl. 802-3 τὸ γὰρ θανεῖν ἐλευθεροῦται φιλαϊάκτων κακῶν (with cf. Friis Johansen-Whittle 1980 *ad loc.*). The originality of the formulation lies in the fact that Anticles is actually the healer (though because he is asked to bring his mother to the underworld with him).

ζωῆς ἔκ με κομισσάμενος: the last line expresses the actual wish of the mother, to be taken with Anticles into the House of Hades. The line might play on the technical sense of the verb κομίζω, which can mean to carry out a corpse for burial (cf. Eur. Andr. 1264). Jacobs recalled the parallel of Eur. Tr. 587-90 (Hecuba and Andromache wishing that the deceased Hector could come and take them with him).

2.2.3 Epitaphs for poets

In the poetical quarter, I found there were poets who had no monuments, and monuments which had no poets.

- Joseph Addison, *Thoughts in Westminster Abbey*, 1711.¹⁸⁷

Much has been said on the importance of the literary past in Hellenistic literature, from its germ in the Aristotelian and Academic interest in the preservation of Greek literary heritage, to its heyday in Hellenistic scholarship as well as Hellenistic literature,¹⁸⁸ given the pivotal figure of the *poeta philologus* or *poeta doctus*. Pieces such as the longest extant fragment of Hermesianax' *Leontion* (F 3 Lightfoot/Gallé Cejudo) show the blurred borders between literary and antiquarian interest and poetic creation,¹⁸⁹ which are even more evident in Alexander Aetolus' Μοῦσαι, probably an elegiac catalogue poem on poets and their works.¹⁹⁰ All the major Hellenistic poets draw in creative ways on the literary past: in this regard, epigrammatists are no exception.¹⁹¹

Epigrams engage with the poets of the past in many ways, but especially developing a specific subgenre of 'poems on poets'. As has been pointed out,¹⁹² these poems usually follow two patterns, i.e. either a fictitious epitaph meant for the tomb of a poet or a fictitious inscription to accompany the statue of a poet. All of Leonidas' epigrams for poets fit into the former pattern, except for *Ep.* 30 (on Homer), which might fit the latter or just be epideictic, and *Epp.* 31 and 90, which are on statues of Anacreon. We do not know of course if Leonidas composed more of this kind, nor if such poems constituted a specific section. We can however try to

¹⁸⁷ I borrow this quotation from Höschele (2018:200).

¹⁸⁸ To name just some works on this topic, cf. Pfeiffer (1968: 87-151), Bing (1988: 50-91), Cameron (1995: 24-70), Barbantani (2010).

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Lightfoot (2009:148-53) and now Gallé Cejudo (2021:173-83).

¹⁹⁰ Cf. Magnelli (1999:21-3), Lightfoot (2009:102-3), Gallé Cejudo (2021:293-8).

¹⁹¹ Alexander Aetolus himself, like Leonidas, wrote an epigram on Alcman, i.e. *AP* 7.709 (= *Ep.* 1 GP = F 8 Magnelli = 2 Lightfoot = 7 Gallé Cejudo).

¹⁹² cf. Rosen (2007: 159).

point out some of Leonidas' intentions as well as strategies in building this 'poets' corner'.

The most evident strategy employed is to celebrate the poets by using their own words. This is most evident in the case of the epitaph for Erinna and that for Pindar, or a Homeric glossa employed in *Ep.* 30, but our fragmentary knowledge of Alcman and Hipponax, for example, makes it hard to estimate the extent of this strategy; in the same way, the lack of contextual knowledge for poets such as Tellen hinders our understanding of the implications of such praises. While some epigrams are more succinct (such as the one for Tellen), several are highly original (e.g. the one for Alcman). From a quantitative point of view, the epigrams for poets (both the epitaphs and the epideictic ones) constitute a significant amount of the extant production of Leonidas and we might wonder if they were arranged in a dedicated section of a poetry book. Lastly, the emphasis placed by these epigrams on the everlasting power of the work of these poets implicitly resonates with the same theme as stated in Leonidas' self-epitaph, which seems to be putting Leonidas on a similar level to that of the great poets of the past.

Epigram 9: Epitaph for Tellen, author of farces

Τελλῆνος ὄδε τύμβος· ἔχω δ' ὑποβωλέα πρέσβυν
τῆνον τὸν πρῶτον γνόντα γελοιομελεῖν.

*This is the tomb of Tellen: I hold under the ground that
Old man who first discovered how to compose comic songs.*

A.P. 7.719 (caret Pl) [C] Λεωνίδα Ταραντίνου [J] εἰς Τέλλην<α> τὸν γελοιοποιεῖν
πρῶτον ἄρξαντα

1 Τελλῆνος Stadtmüller auctore Herodiano : Τέλληνος P | ὄδε P : μὲν ὁ
Meineke |

ὑποβωλέα Boissonade : ὑπὸ βώλεω P : ὑπὸ βώλω Reiske : ὑπὸ βώλακι Beckby

The epitaph commemorates a certain Tellen who invented some sort of comic song, unfortunately very obscure for us who know so little about such genres other than Attic comedy. It is safe to assume that he is the same character as the flute-player mentioned by Plutarch (*Reg. et imp. apophth.* 193F) and by Zenobius, who speaks of his σκωπτικά and *paignia* χάριν ἔχοντα πλείστην καὶ σκώμματα κομψότατα (cf. below). We cannot infer much given the scarcity of the sources, but it is worth remembering that Rhinthon, for whom Nossis wrote an epitaph, 10 GP = AP 7.414, was active at Tarentum (cf. Favi 2017: 69-72).

1 Τελλῆνος: the name Τελλῆν has few epigraphic occurrences (4 in *LGPN*), including a 4th/3rd century BC inscription from Tarentum (cf. Favi 2014 on the name and its possible value at Tarentum). It must be identified with a flute-player who lived in the time of Epaminondas, mentioned in an anecdote in Plutarch (*Reg. et imp. apophth.* 193f) which qualifies him as a bad poet and contemporary of or possibly slightly younger than Antigenidas (for whom cf. commentary on Leon. *Ep.* 43), while the testimony of Zenobius and Dicaearchus also records his poetic activity and some form of poetic innovation (cf. below): (Zen. 1.45 Ἄειδε τὰ Τελλῆνος: ἐπὶ

τῶν σκωπτικῶν τίθεται ἡ παροιμία. Τέλλην γὰρ ἀύλητῆς ἐγένετο καὶ μελῶν ποιητῆς, παίγνιά τε κατέλιπεν εὐρυθμότατα καὶ χάριν ἔχοντα πλείστην καὶ σκώμματα κομψότατα, 2.15 ἄειδε τὰ Τελλῆνος· οὗτος ὁ Τέλλην ἐγένετο ἀύλητῆς καὶ μελῶν ἀνυποτάκτων ποιητῆς. Μέμνηται αὐτοῦ Δικαίαρχος ὁ Μεσσήνιος [= F 103 Wehrli]). The accentuation of the name depends on a passage by Herodian (1.15.13-18 Lentz, Τὰ εἰς λην λήγοντα ὀξύνεται βαλλήν οὕτως ὁ βασιλεύς, Τελλήν, Ὡλήν, σωλήν, κωλήν, στελήν. σεσημειῶται τὸ Ἑλλην βαρυνόμενον. Τὰ εἰς ἡν ἀπλαῖ ἔχοντα δεδιπλασιασμένον σύμφωνον ὀξύνεται ἐσσήν, ὀσσήν, Τελλήν, βαλλήν πλὴν τοῦ Ἑλλην καὶ ὁ ἦρωσ καὶ τὸ ἔθνος κτλ.).

ὄδε τύμβος· the reading of P, which requires artificial lengthening of the syllable in the second arsis, troubled some editors (e.g. Meineke who wants to emend to μὲν ὁ, Waltz who tentatively suggested τόδε): the phenomenon, however, is extremely common in Hellenistic and Imperial poetry (cf. the inventory in Rzach 1882:307-432 and esp. 399-414 for -ος/-ον lengthened in arsis).

ἔχω: for such changes of person, cf. Leon. *Ep.* 65.

δ' ὑποβωλέα: P's reading ὑπὸ βώλεω has been variously emended: βώλω (Waltz), βώλακι (Reiske followed by Geffcken and Beckby), and ὑποβωλέα is Boissonade's conjecture, accepted by GP. Leonidas has 15 occurrences of spondees in the fifth foot: cf. Introduction, 1.6. Metre, Table 11).

πρέσβυν: GP think that L. is implying that Tellen belonged to an earlier generation, and Meineke took it as meaning *perantiquum poetam*, but there might be more to the adjective, like an idea of reverence for an old poet, cf. Call. *Hymn* 4.304 Λυκίοιο γέροντος, Virg. *Ecl.* 6.70 *Ascraeo...seni* (Hesiod) or in a similar way Hor. *Sat.* 2.1.34 calling Lucilius *pater*; besides, Leon. *Ep.* 31* describes a portrait of old Anacreon (πρέσβυν Ανακρείοντα) with the implication that he is quite lively for his old age, which seems to be an innovation of Leonidas vs. actual representations of Anacreon (cf. GP *ad loc.*), and if Tellen invented some sort of farce one must remember that the 'old man' was also a recurring mask of comedy.

2 γνόντα: for the verb γιγνώσκω meaning *learn how to, come to know*, cf. e.g. Aesch. *Sept.* 652 ...σὺ δ' αὐτὸς γνῶθι ναυκληρεῖν πάτραν.

γελοιομελεῖν: *hapaax*, which qualifies Tellen as the πρῶτος εὐρετής of some kind of farce: for speculation on the technical sense, see introduction. Zenobius, quoted above, mentions, μέλη, σκώμματα and παίγνια. The way A. Körte (1935) interprets this testimony is that the novelty which Tellen is responsible for «ist die Verwendung lyrischer Versmaße für Spottgedichte», though this is all speculative due to our scanty knowledge of genres like ἰλαροδία, λυσιφοδία, μαγαφοδία, σιμφοδία (cf. Favi 2017:72-6).

Epigram 57: Epitaph for Alcman

Τὸν χαρίεντ' Ἀλκμᾶνα, τὸν ὑμνητῆρ' ὑμεναίων
κύκνον, τὸν Μουσέων ἄξια μελψάμενον,
τύμβος ἔχει, Σπάρτας μεγάλην χάριν, ἔνθ' ὃ γε λοῖσθον
ἄχθος ἀπορρίψας οἴχεται εἰς Αἴδαν.

*Graceful Alcman, the swan-singer of wedding songs,
Who sang things worthy of the Muses,
Is held by this tomb, the great delight of Sparta, where at last,
having thrown off his burden, he went to Hades.*

A.P. 7.19 P1^A [PPI] Λεωνίδου; Sud. s.vv. ὑμεναίων [1-2], κύκνος [2], λοῖσθος [3
εἶθ' 4]

2 Μουσέων Meineke : -σῶν PPI Suid. 3 ἔνθ' Jacobs : εἶθ PPI
| λοῖσθον Massimo : γε λοῖσθος PSuid : γε λύσθος C : γε Λυδός P1 :
γ' ἔλυσθ' ἐν vel γ' ἄνοιστον Waltz, post hunc v. lacunam posuit Geffcken
4 οἴχεται PISuid : οἴχεται P Αἴδαν CSuid : Αἴδαν P : Αἴδην P1

The epitaph is placed within the tradition of epigrams for poets of the lyric canon¹⁹³ and it takes the form of a fictitious epitaph for a real monument (which according to Pausanias was a local monument of Sparta). The textual problems at the end of l. 3 have led several editors to a different reading of the text and some wanted to see in it a stance by Leonidas on the controversy surrounding Alcman's birthplace, which is featured in Antipater's epigram which precedes this in *AP* (7.18), and his potential ex-slave status. The proposed reading for l. 3 (cf. comm. below) might allow us to give a subtler interpretation of the text, according to which Alcman is depicted as a swan who can finally rid himself of the burden of old age when dying, with some potential intertextual markers to Alcman's own poetry.

1 Τὸν χαρίεντ' Ἀλκμᾶνα: the adj. is very frequent in Homer, and suitable for poets in general (cf. Dion. Hal. *Comp. Verb.* 15.45 οἱ χαριέστατοι ποιητῶν), and used also in other Hellenistic epigrams for poets (cf. Barbantani 1993:89); cf. also

¹⁹³ On which cf. Barbantani (1993).

Alcman *PMGF* 27 = 84 Calame Μῶσ' ἄγε Καλλιόπα, θύγατερ Διός, | ἄρχ' ἔρατῶν φεπέων, ἐπιδ' ἴμερον | ὕμνῳ καὶ χαρίεντα τίθη χορόν which uses the word and also mentions the Muse and the *hymnos*. Alcman was one of the poets of the so-called Lyric canon (see Hadjimichael 2019, esp. 29-30 for Alcman) and it seems that Aristophanes of Byzantium edited his texts, and we have traces of exegesis of his poetry via papyri (cf. Hadjimichael 2019:234 n.61 and *CLGP* I.1 Fasc.2.1, Alcman); there is also ample testimony for later treatises titled Περὶ Ἀλκιᾶνος *vel. sim.* (Calame Test. 41-43).

τὸν ὕμνητῆρ' ὕμεναίων: the noun ὕμνητῆρ is found only here and Opp. *Hal.* 3.7 (but cf. ὕμνητής i.e. *singer of praise*), and must not be understood *stricto sensu*, just as ὕμνόπολος is used by Leonidas for Homer (*Ep.* 30) and Erinna (*Ep.* 98*); note also that Antipater Thess. *AP* 7.18, an imitation of this poem, uses it for Alcman. The word has most likely been chosen to produce an alliteration with ὕμεναίων. The word ὕμεναίος can denote two different songs, one sung as the bride was accompanied to the house of her husband and the other sung by girls outside the marriage-chamber, and terminology changed over time (cf. Robbins in *BNP* s.v. *hymenaios*). We know that the Alexandrian edition of Alcman included *Partheneia*, but we do not know anything more about wedding songs; Calame (1983: xxiii, Test. 8) thinks that Leonidas' reference might derive from the numerous feminine names and allusions to weddings in extant fragments (e.g. FF 3, 150), and Gabathuler (1937:69) too thinks of a mistake on Leonidas' part. One wonders, however, if this is due simply to our partial knowledge of Alcman's production: *PMG* 107 πολλαλέγων ὄνυμ' ἀνδρί, γυναικὶ δὲ Πασιχάρηα, for example, might well come from a wedding-song (as first suggested by Nissen 1936), and Haslam on P.Oxy. 45.3209 fr. 4.3 wonders if γαμ [could be restored to γαμβρός (with a consequent hypothesis that Alcman's sixth book might have contained epithalamia like Sappho's ninth book of the Alexandrian edition).

2 κύκνον: the swan is very early on associated with poetry in Greek literature (*H.*

Hymn. Apoll. 21.1-2), and poets were often associated with this bird: Eur. *HF* 691-3 παιᾶνας δ' ἐπὶ σοῖς μελάθοροις | κύκνος ὡς γέρων ἀοιδὸς | πολιᾶν ἐκ γενύων | κελαδήσω, Anacreon is called the swan of Teos in Antip. Sid. *AP* 7.30, Pindar is called the *Dircaeum* ... *cycnum* by Hor. *C.* 4.2.25 (for more examples, cf. Thompson 1936 s.v. κύκνος). This is presumably because the voice of swans was celebrated as melodious in antiquity, and consequently the bird was considered sacred to Apollo (cf. Call. *Hymn* 4.349-54); since the last couplet describes Alcman's death, Leonidas might also be thinking of the 'swan's song' legend widely attested in antiquity (cf. Arnott 2007:123). Sweet bird-sounds implicitly or explicitly compared to poetry feature also in Alcman's extant fragments, cf. his songs arranged in imitation of the sound of partridges (*PMGF* 39 = 91 Calame φέπη τὰδε καὶ μέλος Ἀλκμᾶν | εὔρε γεγλωσσαμένην | κακκαβίδων ὄπα συνθέμενος), the sound of birds in *PMGF* 40 = 140 Calame φοῖδα δ' ὀρνίχων νόμωσ | παντῶν, the sweet voice of the women-halcyons in *PMGF* 90 = 26 Calame, and the swan in *PMGF* 1.100-1 = 3.100-1 Calame (φθέγγεται ... κύκνος).

τὸν Μουσῶν ἄξια μελψάμενον: for the mention of the Muses in the praise of a poet, cf. Leon. *Ep.* 30 for Homer and Leonidas' self-epitaph in *Ep.* 93; the Muses appear in many of Alcman's fragments (*PMGF* 5 col. ii l. 27, 8.9, 14 a1, 28, 31, 46, 59b).

3 τύμβος ἔχει Σπάρτας μεγάλην χάριν: Alcman would be considered the pride of Sparta, if one accepts the opinion that the poet was born there (which is disputed, cf. below) and Paus. 3.15.2 testifies that Spartans in his days still showed the poet's tomb. The birthplace of Alcman was a matter of dispute in antiquity as shown by Suidas s.v. Ἀλκμᾶν (α1249), quoting Crates (F 82 Broggiato with comm. *ad loc.*), and cf. *PMGF* Alcman. TA1-9 and Antip. Thess. *AP* 7.18 who deliberately alludes to the controversy: according to some sources he was actually a slave from Lydia who gained freedom at Sparta (cf. Heraclid. Pont. *Pol.* 2 = T 14 Calame). Regardless of the credibility of this information, his poetic activity is securely

located in Sparta and full of local cult elements.

ἔνθ' ὃ γε λοῖσθον: a highly troubled passage, the reading of which significantly changes the interpretation of the whole epigram. Most editors agree with Jacobs' correction ἔνθ' vs. εἴθ' transmitted by the mss, but opinions differ on the last part of the line. Some editors accept Planudes' reading Λυδός, with which the lines would read 'Sparta, where the Lydian man got rid of his burden (*scil.* slavery, cf. below) and died', which would allude to the debate on the origin of Alcman mentioned above, but it seems that Planudes was just borrowing the words from the preceding epigram by Antipater, l.5 εἴθ' ὃ γε Λυδός. The reading from P, λοῖσθος (which has been corrected by C into the meaningless λύσθος), could only be retained if taken as predicatively referred to Alcman (who should be supplied as the subject), i.e. *at last*, but that might be a stretch. Alternatively, one could read λοῖσθον ἄχθος, i.e. getting rid of the last burden, meaning his body (cf. next note).

4 ἄχθος ἀπορρίψας: some editors interpreted it as the burden of slavery, comparing δουλοσύνας ἄχθος from Ariston 1.6 GP (Carrington 1962:174 'Leonidas...seems to think that if Alcman was a Lydian he retained till death some portion of slavery'), but it is more likely that the burden refers either to the body, which is often regarded as a burden for the earth (cf. Achilles at *Il.* 18.104 who feels like an ἐτώσιον ἄχθος ἀρούρης and Eur. *Rhes.* 379, with Fantuzzi 2020 *ad loc.* for more parallels) or to that of old age, cf. e.g. Eur. *HF* 638-40 τὸ δὲ γῆρας ἄχθος | βαρύτερον Αἴτνας σκοπέλων | ἐπὶ κρατὶ κεῖται which possibly influenced Call. *Ait.* 1.35, where old age is a βάρος of which the poet-cicada wishes to rid himself (cf. Harder and Massimilla *ad loc.*); cf. also Posidipp. 60 AB, l. 5 βαρύγηρος. The underlying implication here might be that the Alcman-swan can soar after he has freed himself of the burden of his presumably old and weary body, an image somewhat implied by Alcman *PMGF* 90 = 26 Calame and cf. the context of this quotation, Antig. Caryst. *Mir.* 23 φησὶν γὰρ ἀσθενῆς ὦν διὰ τὸ γῆρας κτλ.; it might not be a coincidence that in Call. *Ia.* 2, according to Dieg. VI

22-26, the swan asked the gods to take old age away from him (μέχρι κατὰ λύσιν γήρως ἐπρέσβευσεν ὁ κύκνος πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς...), cf. Harder 2012:80-81.

οἴχεται εἰς Αἶδαν: the expression recalls Hom. *Il.* 22.213 ὄχετο δ' εἰς Αἴδαο, imitated by Theocr. *Ep.* 6.3 ...οἴχετ' ἐς Αἶδαν, Posidipp. 33.8 AB ὄχετο ... εἰς Αἶδεω.

Epigram 58: epitaph for Hipponax

Ἀτρέμα τὸν τύμβον παραμείβετε, μὴ τὸν ἐν ὕπνῳ 1
πικρὸν ἐγείρητε σφῆκ' ἀναπαυόμενον.
ἄρτι γὰρ Ἴππώνακτος ὁ καὶ τοκεῶνε βαῦξας
ἄρτι κεκοίμηται θυμὸς ἐν ἡσυχίῃ.
ἀλλὰ προμηθήσασθε· τὰ γὰρ πεπτρωμένα κείνου 5
ῥήματα πημαίνειν οἶδε καὶ εἰν Αἴδη.

*Walk quietly by this tomb, so as not to wake up
The bitter wasp who lies resting in sleep.
For only just has the spirit of Hipponax, who even barked
At his parents, been laid to rest in tranquillity.
But be careful: even in Hades his burning words
know how to do harm.*

A.P. 7.408, P^A [CPI] Λεωνίδα [J] ἕτερον εἰς Ἴππώνακτα τὸν τῶν ἰάμβων
ποιητὴν· ἦν δ' οὗτος Ἐφέσιος

2 ἀναπαυόμενον CPI : -νοι P 3 τοκεῶνε βαῦξας Headlam : τοκέων εἶα P :
βαύξας (sic) add. C : τοκέων ἔο βαύξας P1 : τῆδε γὰρ Gow : κερτομέοντα
βαῦξας Stadtmüller [in app.] 6 πημαίνειν P^{P1}^{pc} : ποιμ.- P^{1ac}

The epigram is one of the fictitious epitaphs for Hipponax (possibly the earliest) in the *Anthology*. The poet was still very popular in Hellenistic literature and erudition, judging both from editions and exegesis on him and from the engagement of Hellenistic poets with him (one only needs to think of Callimachus: cf. comm. on l. 3), two elements known to be closely connected in Hellenistic literary culture (abundant evidence is gathered and discussed at length by Degani 1973, 1984, 1995).

The other epigrams on the theme are Theocr. *AP* 13.3, Alcaeus of Messene *AP* 7.536, and Philip of Thessalonica *AP* 7.405. Those by Alcaeus and Philip contain the same message as Leonidas (do not disturb the tomb of Hipponax, who could harm the passer-by even from death); Theocritus' epigram is slightly different,

distinguishing good passers-by who have nothing to fear from bad passers-by who could easily become the targets of the dead poet. As Rosen (2007) pointed out, the epigrams seem to miss the essential characteristic of ancient iambus: the invectives of Archilochus and Hipponax are not addressed to just any person (like the random passer-by) but to specific targets and in response to specific attacks. Even if this might be due to the wish of effectively representing the violent character of the iambographers, Rosen says, this might also be explained by a more nuanced reading of the poems. The epigrams would be 'actually intended to mock the person reading the inscription, implying playfully that he should flee the tomb because Hipponax will surely find something morally reprehensible about him'.¹⁹⁴ This would help us to go beyond the readings which have seen Leonidas either as sympathising with Hipponax (Gigante 1971:107) or as criticizing the iambographer as a reckless person who dares to insult his own parents (Degani 1973: 92-93).

¹⁹⁴ Rossi (2001:295-303) thinks that the epigram by Theocritus is correcting the others by making the distinction between 'legitimate' and 'illegitimate' targets; she also recalls, like Rosen, the connections with the epigrams on misanthropes.

1 μὴ τὸν ἐν ὕπνῳ: for the sleep of death, cf. Call. *AP* 7.451 = *Ep.* 9 Pf. = 41 GP and in general Lattimore (1942:164). It might be more natural to think of a dog's sleep than a wasp's, which might reinforce the impression that L. is conflating the image with that of l. 3 (cf. below).

2 πικρὸν... σφῆκ': the wasp is the aggressive animal *par excellence*, as shown by Aristophanes' play of the same name, and Artemidorus (2.22) says that it is a bad omen and signifies *πονηροὺς ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας*. For the iambographer as a wasp, cf. Call. F 380 Pf. εἴλκυσε δὲ δριμύν τε χόλον κυνὸς ὀξύ τε κέντρον / σφηκός, ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων δ' ἰὸν ἔχει στόματος (referred to Archilochus), which Pfeiffer thought to be Leonidas' model (cf. his apparatus for more later echoes). Note also the ant in Archil. F 23.15-6 τὸ]ν δ' ἐχθρὸν ἐχθαίρειν τε [κα]ὶ κακο[/ μύ]ρηξ, which makes one wonder whether the comparison of Hipponax with a wasp or a dog might not have been taken from the poet himself in some passage now lost to us; less directly relevant is the Hom. *Il.* 16.259-265 (a wasp nest along the road disturbed by children or wayfarers) recalled by GP. The adj. *πικρός* works on different levels: if one thinks of the human referent, it implies *hateful, vindictive* (and it is a recurrent theme in Greek thought to be so towards one's enemy, e.g. Sol.F 13.5 εἶναι δὲ γλυκὺν ὧδε φίλοις, ἐχθροῖσι δὲ πικρόν), but it also refers literally to the sharp pain of the wasp's sting (Long. 1.18 τὸ δὲ φίλημα κέντρον μελίττης πικρότερον, *schol. Ar. Plut.* 561 ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ζῶον πικρόν ἐστι σφόδρα); cf. Degani (2002:178-84).

ἐγείρητε ἀναπαυόμενον: the participle refers to the wasp (cf. Gärtner 2007: 44-45).

3 ἄρτι: the anaphora of this word has troubled GP, who were not convinced by the parallels pointed out by Geffcken (ad loc.) and suspected a displacement.

γὰρ Ἰππώνακτος ὁ καὶ: Hipponax was much appreciated by Hellenistic scholars and poets, which is testified on one hand by traces of scholarship in works such as the *Περὶ Ἰππώνακτος* of Hermippus of Smyrna and commentaries on papyrus, and

on the other hand by the deep appreciation and engagement with him shown by Callimachus' *Iambi*, the first of which features Hipponax back from the dead (and strikingly named in the first line), Herodas (cf. Cazzato 2015), and choliambic poetry (cf. Degani 1973:88-104).

τοκεῶνε βαῦξας: the text has been variously emended. The problem with the paradosis is that the verb βαύζω, when not intransitive, takes the accusative (cf. Headlam-Knox on Herod. 6.13) and it is therefore incompatible with τοκέων. Many emendations have been proposed but they do not take into account that the verb is always trisyllabic (it could be disyllabic in Lyc. 1453, but the reading is not certain). For these reasons, Headlam (1901) proposed here and at Meleager *AP* 7.79 = 121 GP (an epitaph for Heraclitus which might be borrowing from Leonidas) to restore a dual form of τοκέων, possibly attested in Heraclit. F 74 and Call. F 191.72: it might not be a coincidence that the former is an Ionic writer and the latter passage is a from an iambus featuring Hipponax and Hipponactean references, and the word might have appeared in Hipponax himself. It is true, as commentators have said, that we have no sign, either from the extant fragments or from biographical accounts, that Hipponax attacked his parents in his poetry, but the *argumentum ex silentio* is particularly dangerous with Greek lyric and iambus; besides, as Rosen (2007) has shown, epigrammatists enjoyed being creative in the epigrams for Archilochus and Hipponax, and the detail might indeed have been invented by Leonidas as a way of implying that the poet did not spare anyone in his attacks. P. Oxy. 73.4952, F 2.9 (commentary on Archilochus) might allude to Archilochus reproaching his own mother (though it is very speculative due to the fragmentary state of the papyrus).

4 ἄρτι κεκοίμηται θυμὸς ἐν ἡσυχίῃ: the mention of the θυμὸς conveys restlessness and animosity (cf. Archil. F 128.1, with martial overtones).

5 ἀλλὰ προμηθήσασθε: after the initial warning and the idea that Hipponax has just now gone to sleep, there follow new warnings.

τὰ γὰρ πεπυρωμένα κείνου: the image is bold, as the verb is usually applied to people rather than words, though a series of idiomatic expressions with πῦρ can refer to something terrible and hurtful (cf. *LSJ* s.v. II).

6 ῥήματα πημαίνειν οἶδε καὶ εἰν Ἄϊδη: the verb π. is epic (cf. also the reprisal in Archil. F 26.5). The expression εἰν Ἄϊδη must be understood as [*even*] from *Hades*, where Hipponax now resides (cf. Theocr. 1.108).

Epigram 93: Epitaph for Leonidas

Πολλὸν ἀπ' Ἰταλῆς κείμαι χθονὸς ἔκ τε Τάραντος 1
πάτρης, τοῦτο δέ μοι πικρότερον θανάτου.
τοιούτος πλανίων ἄβιος βίος· ἀλλά με Μοῦσαι
ἔστερξαν, λυγρῶν δ' ἀντὶ μελιχρὸν ἔχω.
οὔνομα δ' οὐκ ἤμυσε Λεωνίδου· αὐτὰ με δῶρα 5
κηρύσσει Μουσέων πάντας ἐπ' ἡελίους.

*Far from the Italian land I lie, and from Tarentum,
My homeland, and this is bitterer than death to me.
Such is the life of wanderers – no life at all: but the Muses
Loved me, and instead of sorrows I have sweetness.
The name of Leonidas has not sunk into obscurity: the very gifts
Of the Muses herald it for all time.*

A.P. 7.715 [C]. τοῦ αὐτοῦ [sc. Λ.Τ.] P^A s.a.n., P^B Λεωνίδου
4 λυγρῶν P^{Bpc}: λυγρὸν P^A P^{Bac} | μελιχρὸν P^P: μελιχρῶν C

This epigram has played a pivotal role in the interpretation of Leonidas from both biographical and literary points of view. It is in fact considered, besides the ethnonym Ταραντίνου, the only evidence that the poet was actually born in Tarentum, and that he spent a portion of his life (or at least the latter part of it) away from there.

It has been argued that the epigram must be spurious since Leonidas could have not known the place of his death in advance, and that if the author is someone else it will suffice to think that they knew that Leonidas did not die in Tarentum,¹⁹⁵ but these arguments have rightly been dismissed as weak:¹⁹⁶ it is perfectly possible that Leonidas could imagine himself dying far from Tarentum, whether this actually happened or not. Furthermore, the style and content of the epigram are perfectly

¹⁹⁵ Geffcken (1896:12), Geffcken (1922: 2022), Waltz (1941: 157 n.29), 'cette épigramme a dû être rédigée par un ami ou un admirateur du poète, pour figurer en tête ou à la fin d'un recueil des ses vers'.

¹⁹⁶ Wilamowitz (1924: 139-40) Pasquali (1920:322), 'non vi sono ragioni per giudicare spurio l'epigramma; lo stile è quello degli autentici: Leonida lo avrà scritto nei suoi ultimi anni, quando prevedeva che non avrebbe più riveduto la patria', Gow-Page (1965.2: 390-391), who are more sceptical about the arguments against authenticity than convinced of those in favour, and Gutzwiller (1998:108).

compatible with the epigrams whose ascription is undoubted. In addition to this, a strong argument is the composition of self-epitaphs by Nossis (7.718), Callimachus (7.525) and then Meleager (7.417, 7.418, 7.419).

It is likely that the epigram will have occupied a relevant place in the Leonidean collection, possibly at the very end.¹⁹⁷ Gutzwiller links it with epigrams 33 and 37, where Leonidas talks about his humble conditions of life: the three epigrams together would contribute to the idea of a Leonidas who, after a life of wandering, settled down and embraced a simple life (not presuming to read the poems as pure autobiography, that is, but as part of the construction of his literary persona). Gutzwiller's point touches on an important issue related to the alleged cynic sympathies and influences visible in Leonidas. Greek culture from its beginnings expressed aversion towards the condition of wandering and distance from one's native land (cf. Montiglio 2005), as in *πλαγκτοσύνης δ' οὐκ ἔστι κακώτερον ἄλλο βροτοῖσιν* (*Od.* 15.343). Though there were positive wanderer-figures, such as sages, historians and discoverers, at the same time a condemnation of wandering and travel runs through ancient Greek culture. However, Diogenes and the Cynic philosophers marked a turning point in this conception.¹⁹⁸ Aelian, in fact, reports that 'Diogenes of Sinope regularly said of himself that he suffered and endured to the full the curses of tragedy, for he was «a wanderer without a home, deprived of his native land, a beggar, ill-dressed, living from one day to the next» [TrGF adesp. 284]. Yet he took no less pride in these facts than Alexander in his rule over the world, at the time when he had captured India and returned to Babylon' (*VH* 3.29). The Cynics subsequently took pride in homeless wandering.

¹⁹⁷ So firstly Wilamowitz (1940.1: 140), Gabathuler (1937: 67-68), Gutzwiller (1998: 108).

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Montiglio (2005:180-203).

This attitude does not seem to be the one expressed by Leonidas in this epigram, but it resonates with the remark of epigram 33: “don’t wander, my man, leading a vagrant life [περιπλάνιον βίον]/roaming from one land to another” (ll. 1-2). Epigram 37 (exhortation to the mice to leave Leonidas’ poor hut) seems to hint that Leonidas at some point settled down; however, the present epigram seems to imply that his life has been marked by the suffering of endless wandering, and that being far from his homeland (and dying far from there) would be more bitter than death. The ultimate consolation is the gift of the Muses, i.e. his poetry and possibly the fame he achieved thanks to it. The epigram, therefore, should be read not only as Leonidas’ self-epitaph but also as his literary testament.

1 Πολλὸν ἀπ’ Ἰταλίας ... χθονὸς: the term Ἰταλία, originally denoting only the kingdom of Italus, king of the Oenotrians, came to indicate a larger territory and by the 4th century BC it included the territory of the Italiote league (cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.73.4), which included Tarentum.

κεῖμαι: in epitaphs the first person is normally used by an object or a speaking tomb; here, however, it is the poet himself who is the speaking persona.

ἐκ τε Τάραντος: the only mention of Tarentum in Leonidas’ epigrams.

πάτρης: effective enjambement stressing the concept of separation. The word, together with Leonidas’ ethnonym, is the main evidence for his provenance.

2 τοῦτο δέ μοι πικρότερον θανάτου: a common motif, cf. e.g. Eur. *Phoen.* 388 τί τὸστέρεσθαι πατρίδος; ἢ κακὸν μέγα;, much developed in the representations of exile in Latin literature, cf. Ennius’ *Medea* scen. 231 *mihi maerores, illi luctum, exitium illi, exilium mihi* and the recurring comparison between exile and death in Cicero and Ovid (cf. Gaertner 2007: 159 with *nn.*).

3 τοιοῦτος πλανίων ἄβιος βίος: it follows on from the concept of line 2, but going from the specific case of Leonidas to a general maxim. Πλάνιος is a *hapax*, but cf.

περιπλάνιος in Leon. *Ep.* 33 and πλάνης (though an uncertain reading) in Leon. *Ep.* 36. (cf. comm. there), both epigrams in which the concept of wandering also plays a part (cf. commentary there and introduction to this epigram). As for ἄβιος, leaving aside the isolated instance where it means *wealthy* in Antiph. F 43 (with intensive α-), it usually connotes either *unbearable* (privative α- and βίος = *life*, therefore equivalent to the much more common ἀβίωτος) or *destitute, poor* (privative α- and βίος = *substance*), both of which are suitable here (Plat. *Leg.* 873c is an exception and there it seems to mean *not to be lived with* or *not to be survived*), though *unbearable* might be more poignant in this context. GP note that it is not clear if the predicative is τοιοῦτος or ἄβιος (*such is a wanderer's life, ἄβιος* or *such a wandering life is ἄβιος*), though that does not significantly change the sense; cf. also in *Ep.* 25*, 1.2 ἄχαριν χάριτα.

3-4 ἀλλά με Μοῦσαι / ἔστερξαν: the aor. does not have a gnomic value as in Ar. *Ran.* 229 ἐμὲ γὰρ ἔστερξαν ... Μοῦσαι, but it commonly stands for a present or imperfect with verbs of affection (cf. Gow on Theocr. 7.60), e.g. Call. F 1.30 θύρουβον δ' οὐκ ἐφίλησαν ὄνων, Pi. N. 5.44 μείς τ' ἐπιχώριος, ὄν φίλησ' Ἀπόλλων. The mention of the Muses linked to the poet is traditional and reiterated by Leonidas in *Ep.* 57 (epitaph for Alcman) and *Ep.* 30 (on Homer).

λυγρῶν δ' ἀντὶ μελιχρὸν ἔχω: the preposition ἀντί will here mean *instead* rather than *in exchange for* (cf. in Phrasikleia's kore inscription, IG I³ 1260, 1.3 ἀντὶ γάμο). The adj. μελιχρός is often used of poetry (e.g. Call. F. 1.15, Call. *Ep.* 19 Pf. = 46 GP) and poets (e.g. of Anacreon in Hermesianax F 7.51 Powell; cf. also Hedyllus *Epp.* 5 and 6 GP, cf. Floridi 2020:117-8) and is part of the common image of honey/bees for poetry/poets (also employed by Leonidas for Erinna in *Ep.* 98*), on which cf. Waszink (1974) and Williams (1978) on Call. *Hymn* 2.110.

5 οὖνομα δ' οὐκ ἤμυσε Λεωνίδου: the verb is epic and rarely found after Hom. and Hes. (e.g. Soph. F 864) but is revived occasionally in Hellenistic poetry (A.R. 2.582, Nic. *Alex.* 453, F 74.35) always in the meaning of *sink* or *bow down*, whereas

here it essentially means *perish* as in Philip of Thessalonica *AP* 9.262.4 and Antip. *AP* 7.498. As in Asclepiades *AP* 7.11 = 28 GP on Erinna, the mention of the ὄνομα refers to the fame secured by poetry, and the noun could stand for fame since Classical times, but at the same time it might play with the literal aspect of the name of the deceased which was inscribed on the tombstone (cf. also Asclep. *Ep.* 32 GP = *AP* 7.500 with Sens *ad loc.*, Call. *AP* 7.272 = 18 Pf. = 38 GP). The idea of poetic immortality is a well-established *topos* since Archaic lyric, cf. e.g. Sappho F 55 V. Coughlan (2020b) suggested that the Ionic form of the name is deliberately used to mark distance and displacement with respect to the poet's homeland (cf. Introduction, 1.5 Dialect).

5-6 ἀντά με δῶρα... Μουσέων: the gift of the Muses is a well-established phrase, cf. Alcman *PMGF* 59 τοῦτο φαδειᾶν ἔδειξε Μωσᾶν δῶρον, Archil. F 1.2 καὶ Μουσέων ἐρατὸν δῶρον ἐπιστάμενος, Theogn. 249-250 ἀλλὰ σε πέμψει ἀγλαὰ Μουσάων δῶρα ἰοστεφάνων, Theocr. 1.9 αἶκα ταὶ Μοῖσαι τὰν οἶδα δῶρον ἄγωνται etc.; Antipater *AP* 7.14 = 11 GP δῶρα Ἑλικωνιάδων (Sappho's poetry) might be borrowing from here. For the idea, cf. Ovid *Trist.* 4.10.115-22.

6 κηρύσσει Μουσέων πάντας ἐπ' ἡελίους: for a similar concept in a funerary context, cf. Call. *AP* 9.565 = *Ep.* 8 Pf. = 58 GP ll.3-4 ἄλλων μὲν κήρυκες ἐπὶ βραχὺν οὐνομα καιρόν/ φθέγγονται, κείνου δ' Ἑλλάς ἀεὶ σοφίην. For the sun as a metonym of years passing, cf. Call. *Hec.* F 74.13 Hollis.

Epigram 30: on Homer

Ἄστρα μὲν ἠμαύρωσε καὶ ἱερὰ κύκλα σελήνης
ἄξονα δινήσας ἔμπυρος ἠέλιος·
ὑμνοπόλους δ' ἀγελῆδὸν ἀπημάλδυνεν Ὅμηρος
λαμπρότατον Μουσέων φέγγος ἀνασχόμενος.

*The burning sun, whirling its chariot-axle,
Obscures the stars and the sacred circles of the moon:
Likewise Homer, holding up the brightest light of the Muses,
Plunges all the poets together into darkness.*

A.P. 9.24, P1^A [CPI] Λεωνίδα Ταραντίνου [J] εἰς Ὅμηρον τὴν ποιητὴν· θαυμάσιον ἐπίγραμμα Syll. E18

2 ἔμπυρον Meineke : -ος PPI Μουσέων Meineke : -σῶν PPI Syll.

Homer enjoyed an uninterrupted popularity in Greek literature¹⁹⁹ and the Hellenistic period was an important part of this, since he was at the same time adopted as a poetic model and as an object of learned discussions by the scholar-poet. Leonidas' epigram seems to exemplify this double tendency, encapsulating in the praise of the poet a learned *glossa* from the *Iliad* (ἀγελῆδόν); his debt to Homer is shown through allusions and stylistic features in many of Leonidas' epigrams (cf. Introduction, 1.5.1 Epic language and diction). The theme of the epigram might be customary, but the imagery employed is highly original.

¹⁹⁹ A recent treatment is Hunter (2018).

1 Ἴαστρα μὲν ... καὶ ἱερά κύκλα σελήνης: the word κύκλος in the singular denotes the *disk* or *orb* of the sun or moon, while in the plural it usually refers to the *revolutions* or *cycles* (mostly accompanied by a number as a time expression), but in Moschus *Eur.* 88 κύκλα σελήνης refers to the halves of the crescent moon and in Nonn. *D.* 22.353, 38.34 the same expression denotes the orb of the moon. The adj. ἱερός will be more surprising if we understand *cycles*, but in either case it will be referring to the moon itself in hypallage, cf. e.g. Corinna F 37.9 ἱερὸν φάος σελάνας. Both the sun and the moon are classic terms of comparison as they outshine all the surrounding sky (Hom. *Od.* 24.148 ἠελίῳ ἐναλίγκιον ἢ ἐ σελήνῃ), the sun making everything else invisible (cf. Simonides *PMG* 605 μόνος ἄλιος ἐν οὐρανῶ) and the moon being significantly brighter than the stars (cf. Sappho F 34 V.), but the sun stands out in this respect (cf. Pi. *O.* 1.5-6 μηκέθ' ἄλιου σκόπει ἄλλο θαλπνότερον ἐν ἀμέρῳ φαεννὸν ἄστρον ἐρήμας δι' αἰθέρος) which brings the praise of Homer to an extreme.

ἡμαύρωσε: not a common verb (once in Theognis, twice in Hesiod and in Aeschylus). The aorist will have a gnomic value.

2 ἄξονα: intended as a synecdoche for the whole chariot, as in Posidippus 74.2 AB ἄξονι Θεσσαλικῶ and, though there are no other parallels, ἄντυξ is used for the whole chariot in several places from Sophocles to Callimachus (cf. Guichard 2004:78). The image of the chariot of the sun is absent from the Homeric poems (where Eos has a chariot instead) but is first found in the *Homeric Hymns* (*Dem.* 63, *Herm.* 69, *Athen* 14, *Hel.* 9, 15) and then in Mimn. F 12.3.109 and became increasingly popular later, including in Classical vase-paintings (cf. Helios 2-112 in *LIMC* V.2); cf. also Call. *Hec.* 74.11-12 Hollis.

δινήσας: Skiadas (1965:81) thinks that the expression depends on A.R. 3.309-10 ...ἐν ἄρμασιν Ἥελίοιο / δινεύσας, but it is not so peculiar as to invite postulating an imitation.

ἔμπυρος: only here referring to the sun, but the idea is traditional, cf. Simonides 262.4 Poltera, Aesch. *Prom.* 22, Soph. *OT* 1425-6 etc.; the horses of the chariot of the sun breathe fire in Pi. *O.* 7.71 (πῦρ πνεόντων ἀρχὸς ἵππων) and have fire-related names in myth (Aethon, Eous, Phlegon, and Pyrois).

ἠέλιος: placed symmetrically at the end like the moon in l.1 and Homer in l.3. The form is the epic one and the only one used by Hom. (except in *Od.* 8.271, which is later).

3 ὕμνοπόλους: as in Leon. *Ep.* 98*, it will simply stand for *poets* (cf. Antip. Thess. *AP* 7.18 of Alcman).

ἀγεληδόν: *all together*, Homeric *hapax* (*Il.* 16.160) re-employed by Hellenistic poets (e.g. A.R. 1.1050, 4.934, Theocr. 16.92, Arat. 1005, also in the plural and used adverbially at 965, 1079).

ἀπημάλδυνεν: the first occurrence of the compounded form of this verb (next in Q. S. 8.209 and Nonnus); the simple verb in the sense of ἀφανίζω is Homeric and is revived by Hellenistic poets (Theocr. 16.59, Arat. 864, cf. Livrea on A.R. 4.112).

4 λαμπρότατον Μουσέων φέγγος: Homer is described in the same way in Antip. Sidon. *AP* 7.6 = 9 GP. The mss have Μουσῶν, which Meineke suggested emending, comparing it with Leon. *Ep.* 5 (Νυμφέων) and *Ep.* 65 (Μοιρέων). The expression is reprised by a Hellenistic inscription from Pergamon, which seems to have in mind both Leonidas and Antipater's imitation: IvP I 203 τόσσογ γὰρ ἐπὶ χθονὶ φέγγος ἔλαμψε | Μουσάων (Skiadas 1965:82).

2.2.4 Epitaphs for other humble people

In this section we have grouped range of poems which are not too uniform in their formal characteristics, which are quite varied (ranging from actual epitaphs to pieces like *Ep. 10*, the 'deathbed speech' of a certain Aristocrates), but the common denominator of which is their focus on humble figures. This Spoon River-like gallery of people such as Maronis the old drunkard and Platthis the old weaver contains some of the most characteristic pieces by Leonidas.²⁰⁰ There is considerable range both in style and in intention. The iambic epitaph for Maronis (*Ep. 68*) is a piece filled with irony and comic traits (cf. comm. there) and not aimed at sparking any compassion in the reader, who might conversely be keen on sympathising with poor Platthis (*Ep. 72*), who kept weaving until her death in old age, or the rustic Cleitagoras (*Ep. 19*), who asks his fellow-shepherds to honour his tomb. The irony from the dedications by the 'heroic shepherds' is somewhat echoed in the epitaph for Crethon, a once-rich land-owner who compares his former riches to that of Gyges. There is much originality to be found in these poems, both in themselves and in how they interplay with each other, possibly in a very sophisticated way, if my reading of *Epp. 10* and *11* (both for a certain Aristocrates) as companion pieces is not mistaken (cf. introduction to *Ep. 11*).

²⁰⁰ I have included the two epigrams on Aristocrates in this section even though he is not technically a 'humble figure'.

Epigram 10: Deathbed speech of Aristocrates

Ἐσθλὸς Ἀριστοκράτης, ὅτ' ἀπέπλεεν εἰς Ἀχέροντα, 1
εἶπ' ὀλιγοχροῖνης ἀψάμενος κεφαλῆς·
„Παίδων τις μνήσαιτο καὶ ἐδνώσαιτο γυναῖκα,
εἰ καὶ μιν δάκνοι δυσβίωτος πενίη·
ζωὴν στυλώσαιτο· κακὸς δ' ἄστυλος ἰδέσθαι 5
οἴκος, ὃ δ' ἄν λῶστος τ' ἀνέρος ἐσχαρεῶν
εὐκίων φαίνοιτο καὶ ἐν πολυκαεῖ ὄγκῳ
† ἐνστῆ† ἀυγάζων δαλὸν ἐπεσχάριον.“
ἦδει Ἀριστοκράτης τὸ κρήγυον· ἀλλὰ γυναικῶν,
ὦνθροπ', ἤχθαιρεν τὴν ἀλιτοφροσύνην.

*Good Aristocrates, as he was sailing off to Acheron,
Touching his short-lived head said:
'Let every man have thought for children and marry a woman,
Even if life-ruining poverty should bite him.
Let him sustain his life with pillars: a house without columns
Is ill to see, but what seems best for a man is a well-pillared
Hearth and gazing on the hearth's
Ember in a richly-burning pile of logs.'
Aristocrates knew what was good: but,
my fellow, he despised the wicked mind of
women.*

A. P. 7.648 [C] Λεωνίδα Ταραντίνου [J] εἰς ἀριστοκράτην τινὰ μισογύνην
ἄτεκνον τελευτήσαντα διὰ τὸ μὴ γῆμαι et ad v. 9 εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμοίως
Pl A Λεωνίδου

4 δυσβίωστος C (?) 5 στυλήσαιτο P | ἰδέσθω P
6 ἄν Casaub. : αὖ PPl | τ' ἀνέρος PPl : τ' ἀνέρος Brunck
ἐνστῆ Pl : ἐν στῆ P 10 ὦνθροπ' Brunck : ἄν- PPl | ἀλισωφροσύνην P

This epigram is centred around the deathbed speech of a certain Aristocrates, framed by two distichs which act as an introduction and an epilogue, the latter resulting in a surprise for the reader, but also as a bitter reflection on Aristocrates' fate. The centre of the poem, Aristocrates' discourse, stands out as a piece of wisdom dispensed by a presumably old man about to die. As often, before reaching the last couplet the reader is deceived: the traditional rhetoric of a man beloved by his wife and children will induce the reader to think that Aristocrates has lived a happy life with his family, and it is only at the conclusion that we learn of his solitary end. The last distich then sheds a different light on his entire speech, which is not some wisdom born of experience but rather a regret on his deathbed. In a way, the reasons for his refusal to marry are not unusual: misogyny is a widespread attitude in Greek culture, which surfaces frequently in sententious passages from literature (cf. below).

The name Aristocrates features again in *Ep.* 11, which is a more conventional epitaph praising the deceased. There is a series of parallels between the two epigrams which might suggest that they actually refer to the same person, thus qualifying the epigrams as 'companion pieces' and giving them a different interpretation when they are read alongside each other (cf. introduction to *Ep.* 11).

1 Ἔσθλός Ἀριστοκράτης: the adj. has a wide semantic spectrum, ranging from *good/noble* to *fortunate*. In the context of this poem, it will aim at connoting Aristocrates as a noble character from the start, an impression reinforced by the description of *Ep.* 11 if it deals with the same person (cf. introduction); the name is also widely attested.

ὄτ' ἀπέπλεεν εἰς Ἀχέροντα: the river Acheron is associated with the Underworld since Hom., and from the 5th century BC (e.g. Soph. *Ant.* 812) the word can already stand for the Underworld as here and e.g. Theocr. 12.19 ἀνέξοδον εἰς Ἀχέροντα, Call. F 191.35 Pf. = *Ia* 1.35 (cf. Sens on Asclepiades 2 GP l. 3), even if here the verb retains the sailing imagery. An analogous expression in a similar context is found in Posidip. 60 AB, l.2.

2 εἶπ' ὀλιγοχρονίης ἀψάμενος κεφαλῆς: the adj. alludes indirectly to the well-established *topos* of the brevity of human life (and esp. of youth, cf. e.g. its use in Theognis 1020-1 ἀλλ' ὀλιγοχρόνιον γίνεται ὡσπερ ὄναρ / ἦβη τιμήεσσα). Tearing hair is a typical gesture of grief and despair, cf. e.g. Hom. *Il.* 10.15, 22.77-8, *Od.* 10.567, Soph. *Aj.* 633-4 (with Finglass *ad loc.*), Call. *Hymn* 6.96, Men. *Dysc.* 673-4, Verg. *Aen.* 4.590 (cf. Alexiou 2002 in the index s.v. 'hair, tearing of'). For the gesture cf. possibly Aesch. *Ch.* 427, but there it expresses uncontrollable grief. Note that *Ep.* 11 also mentions Aristocrates' κεφαλή in l. 2.

3 παίδων: the ὕστερον πρότερον of children mentioned before a spouse might betray Aristocrates' misogyny as displayed in the final couplet.

ἐδνώσαιτο: this rare verb occurs in Homer only once (*Od.* 2.53 Ἰκαρίου, ὅς κ' αὐτὸς ἐεδνώσαιτο θύγατρα) and ancient scholars debated whether it meant *bride-price* or *dowry*: Cairns (2016: 430-2) has suggested that Leonidas is here taking a stance on the meaning of the word by using it in the same metrical *sedes* and by replacing θύγατρα of the model with γυναιῖκα, so that no ambiguity is left and *bride-price* must be intended.

4 εἰ καί μιν δάκνοι δυσβίωτος πενίη· hardship and worries, physical or

emotional, are often said to *bite* a man's θυμός (e.g. Hes. *Th.* 567, with West *ad loc.*, Soph. *Tr.* 1117-8), φρήν (e.g. Eur. *Alc.* 1100), ψυχή (e.g. Eur. *Med.* 110, Soph. *Ant.* 317). For poverty, cf. Men. *F* 2 Sandbach τὸ κουφότατόν σε τῶν κακῶν πάντων δάκνει, / πενία. For L.'s ambiguous presentation of poverty, cf. introduction to *Epp.* 33, 36, 37. The adj. δυσβίωτος is a *hapax*: for the concept, cf. *Ep.* 93, ἄβιος βίος with commentary there.

5-6 ζῶην στυλώσαιτο· κακὸς δ' ἄστυλος ιδέσθαι / οἶκος: the asyndeton is found often in short sentences (cf. Hutchinson 1985 on Aesch. *Sept.* 340ff.), but it might also echo the style of collections of maxims, cf. e.g. *Or. Sib.* 3.736. The technical verb στυλώ starts the first metaphor of this section, i.e. a spouse and children as pillars of a house. The word ἄστυλος is attested as a personal name, but never as an adj. elsewhere. The image of children the as pillars of the house is tragic (Geffcken *ad loc.*): cf. Eur. *IT* 57 στῦλοι γὰρ οἴκων παῖδές εἰσιν ἄρσενες and Jason talking about his future sons supporting Medea's children as ἔρμα δώμασιν in Eur. *Med.* 597), and in Aesch. *Ag.* 897-8 the husband is ὑψηλῆς στέγης / στῦλον ποδήρη. Cf. also for the concept Ps. 144:12, *that our sons may be as plants grown up in their youth; that our daughters may be as corner stones, polished after the similitude of a palace.*

6-8 ὁ δ' ἂν λῶστος τ' ἀνέρος ἐσχαρεῶν / εὐκίων φαίνοιτο καὶ ἐν πολυκαίει ὄγκῳ / † ἐνστῆ † ἀυγάζων δαλὸν ἐπεσχάριον: these lines have been much emended and none of the proposed solutions is fully satisfactory; however, though the syntax and the imagery remains odd, the general sense is clear. After saying that a life/home without children is as shameful to see as a house without pillars, Aristocrates goes on to say that, on the contrary, what seems best is a hearth surrounded by pillars; a related metaphor is then introduced and though the state of the text makes it uncertain it is clear that it is related to the same concept.

The first half of the sentence does not seem to pose many problems and the phrasing might become more natural with the simple emendation of αὖ into ἂν

(as Beckby and Waltz did), though Meineke and Geffcken wanted to emend λῶστος: the former proposed γ'άνερος ἐσχαρεών / σύσκιος ὦν φαίνοιτο καὶ εἰ πολυκαεὶ ὄγκῳ / ἐνστῆ λυγάζων δαλὸν ἐπεσχάριον (*contra vel. splendidissimus focus, etiamsi lignis abundet, obscurus manet si titionem occultat, i.e. nisi ignis in eo lucat*), while the latter οἶκος, ὁ δ' αὖ λιτὸς τάνερος ἐσχαρεών / εὐκίων φαίνοιτο καὶ ἄν πολυκαεὶ ὄγκῳ / ἐνστῆ αὐγάζων δαλὸν ἐπεσχάριον. The second part of the sentence is admittedly more problematic. The greatest obstacle is that it is hard to understand what ἐνίστημι is doing here, hence some proposals of emendation, e.g. ἐμπρέποι (Paton), εὖ ἦστ' (Waltz). The general underlying idea, at any rate, could be to watch the rich fire burn in one's hearth: what is unclear is how that does connect with the previous sentence.

ἐσχαρεών: used for ἐσχάρα in Theocr. 24.48 and later in Q.S. and Nonnus. It stands metonymically for the house, given the following adjective.

7 **εὐκίων:** found before only in Eur. *Ion* 185 (but cf. εὐστυλος in Eur. *IT* 128) and then later in Nonn. (*Par.* 10.79) and some Byzantine poetry (Paul. Sil. *Descr. S. Soph.* 672, anonymous *AP* 9.697).

ἐν πολυκαεὶ ὄγκῳ: the adj. is a *hapax*, but Leonidas has πυρκαϊῆς in *Ep.* 44 (cf. apparatus there). Editors oscillate between interpreting ὄγκος as *pile* (*sc.* of logs) or *dignity*, but the former seems more natural with the adjective.

8 † ἐνστῆ †: probably the most problematic word of the passage, spelled as two words in P and as two in one. As GP noted, there is no way of finding a meaning of ἐνίστημι that suits this context and one wonders if there is a corruption masking some adjective in εὐ- to be applied to the subject of the sentence, or another noun in parallel with ἐσχαρεών.

αὐγάζων δαλὸν ἐπεσχάριον: the verb αὐγάζω usually means to see clearly (literally or metaphorically), as in Leon. *Ep.* 43.6, but since it occasionally means to illuminate (cf. *LSJ* II) some editors thought it might refer to the ember shining light into the room. The δαλὸν ἐπεσχάριον (the adj. is a *hapax*) will refer to the ember buried in the hearth. The sense of the metaphor is not entirely clear: perhaps

the children are meant to be the fire that kindles the life of a family. There might be a correspondance between many pillars and many logs of wood.

9 ἦδει Ἀριστοκράτης τὸ κρήγγυον: for the adj., cf. commentary on *Ep.* 26.

10 ὦνθρωπ': a very common apostrophe in Leonidas' poetry (cf. epigrams 33, 37, 85, 102).

ἤχθαιρεν τὴν ἀλιτοφροσύνην: the word ἀ. is not found elsewhere (cf. Introduction, 1.5.2 Neologisms) and compounds in ἀλιτο- are rare: Pi. *O.* 10.6 has ἀλιτόξενος and much later Maiistas 56 ἀλιτροόνος, while the few others attested, e.g. ἀλιτόκαρπον, are mainly quoted by lexicographers. Expressions of misogyny are common in Greek thought and some famous instances are Hes. *Th.* 610-12, Hes. *Op.* 702-5, Semonides F 7, Eur. *Hipp.* 616-68; cf. also the passages on the subject gathered by Stob. 4.22.28; cf. also Ovid *Met.* 10.243-6. On misogyny and critiques of marriage in the Greek and Roman world, cf. Watson & Watson (2014:26-35).

Epigram 11: epitaph for Aristocrates

Ἡρίον, οἶον νυκτὶ καταφθιμένοιο καλύπτεις 1
ὄστέον, οἶην, γαῖ', ἀμφέχανες κεφαλὴν,
πολλὸν μὲν ξανθαῖσιν ἀρεσκομένου Χαρίτεσσι,
πολλὸν δ' ἐν μνήμῃ πᾶσιν Ἀριστοκράτευσ.
ἦδει Ἀριστοκράτης καὶ μείλιχα δημολογῆσαι, 5
στρεβλὴν οὐκ ὄφρὺν ἐσθλὸς ἐφελκόμενος·
ἦδει καὶ Βάκχοιο παρὰ κρητῆρος ἄδηριν
ἰθῦναι κοινήν εὐκύλικα λαλιήν·
ἦδει καὶ ξείνοισι καὶ ἐνδήμοισι προσηνέα
ἔρδειν. γαῖ' ἐρατῆ, τοῖον ἔχεις φθίμενον. 10

*Tomb, what a type of man was the deceased whose bones you hide
With your night! Earth, what a head you have swallowed!
Very pleasing was he to the fair-haired Graces,
Very pleasing in the memory of everyone was Aristocrates.
Aristocrates knew how to converse sweetly,
A good man, never causing a brow to frown:
He knew how to steer the general convivial conversation
Next to the crater of Bacchus without much effort.
He knew how to be kind to strangers and compatriots:
Beloved earth, such is the deceased you hold.*

A.P. 7.440 [C] Λεωνίδα Ταραντίνου [J] εἰς Ἀριστοκράτην σῶφρονά τινα καὶ κόσμιον ἄνδρα P^B Λεωνίδου

2 οἶαν P^I | γαῖ' C : γᾶ P^I : γὰρ P | ἀμφέχανες C P^I : ἀμφ' ἔχον ἐς P
3 πολλὸν C : -ῶν? P : -αῖς P^I | ἀρεσκομένου Jacobs : -όμενον P : -νην P^I
4 πολλὸν P P^I : -λῶν C | δ' ἐν μ. Scal. 6 ἰθὺν ἐκείνην P | εὐκυλίκεν P
| λαλιήν P^I P^c : λασίην P P^I P^{ac} 9 κέν ξείνοισι P | καὶ C P^I : κ' P | ἐνδάμοισι P
10 ἔρδειν P^I | γᾶ ἐρατῆ C : ἐρατῆ P : -ὰ P^I | ἔχεις C P^I P^{ac} : ἔχει P : ἔχοις P^I P^c

The main question raised by the epigram is the identity of this Aristocrates with that of *Ep.* 10, which some (like Geffcken) have denied, while others cautiously accepted (GP). One clue that might help is the possible intertextual link in the first distich of each epigram where the κεφαλή of Aristocrates is mentioned; depending on the reading of 1.6 of *Ep.* 11, ἐσθλός might also feature in both pieces.

In light of this and the content of the two poems it might be tempting to read the two as ‘companion pieces’ according to the definition of Kirstein (2000:114) of ‘those epigrams, which are not only linked by mood, theme, genre and verbal expression but also require each other in order to be fully appreciated and understood, and in which their intertextual dependence is either mutual or at least one-sided’. Although the epigrams would still be intelligible when read separately, they might gain a different meaning when read alongside one another. The epitaph (*Ep.* 11) is high praise of Aristocrates, but it does not contain any mention of wife or children as sometimes happens in sepulchral epigrams; only when reading *Ep.* 10 does one learn that Aristocrates died alone because of his refusal to marry a woman and father children.

1 Ἡρόιον: Homeric *hapax* used for the tomb of Patroclus at *Il.* 23.126, scarcely attested in pre-Hellenistic Greek but widely revived in Hellenistic poetry (e.g. A.R. 1.1165, 2.658, Theocr. 2.13, 16.75, Call. *Ait.* 43.4, *Hec.* F 79 Hollis, Call F 254.7 Pf. *incertae sedis*, Alex. Aetol. F 3.33 Magnelli and in epigram e.g. Asclepiades *AP* 7.500 = 31 GP, Erinn. *AP* 7.710; Lyc. 370, Euph. F 91 Powell call a cenotaph κενηρίον). It provides a grand opening for the epigram.

οἶον νυκτὶ καταφθιμένοιο καλύπτεις: the *iunctura* of νύξ and καλύπτω is Homeric and in *Il.* 5.310 (...ἀμφὶ δὲ ὄσσε κελαινὴ νύξ ἐκάλυψε) it is a metaphor for death.

2 ὀστέον: given the κεφαλήν of this line one might think of *skull*, as in Antip. Sid.

23 GP, rather than *bones* with singular for plural (GP).

οἶν, γαῖ', ἀμφέχανες κεφαλὴν: The reference to the κεφαλὴ might be an intertextual pointer to *Ep.* 10, where Aristocrates touches his head before uttering his deathbed speech (cf. introduction to both epigrams). For the verb, cf. *Ep.* 45 (τοὺς δ' ὁ μέλας ἀμφέχανεν θάνατος) with commentary.

3 πολλὸν μὲν ξανθαῖσιν ἀρεσκομένου Χαρίτεσσι: the epithet is possibly reprised from *Pi. N.* 5.53 ξανθαῖς Χάρισσιν.

4 πολλὸν δ' ἐν μνήμῃ παῖσιν Ἀριστοκράτους: most editors have changed the first part of the text to have a more natural phrasing, but it is easier with GP to retain P's reading (*post corr.*) and supply ἀρεσκομένου for sense also in this line. As often, the mention of the name of the deceased is delayed. For the identity of Aristocrates, cf. introduction to this epigram.

5 ἦδει Ἀριστοκράτης καὶ μείλιχα δημολογῆσαι: the verb δ. is a *hapax* (but cf. *Ar. Vesp.* 342 Δημολογοκλέων and *Plato Soph.* 268B δημολογικός) and it seems to imply some public role of Aristocrates, which might be confirmed by what it is said in l. 9. Metaphors of honey for eloquence are a *topos*, cf. e.g. the Homeric formula μελιχίοις ἐπέεσσι, *Hes. Th.* 84 τοῦ δ' ἔπε' ἐκ στόματος ῥεῖ μείλιχα.

6-7: these lines are absent in P (possibly due to *saut du même au même*) and only present in Planudes, whom some editors, starting from Salmasius, have believed to be responsible for an interpolation.

6 στρεβλὴν οὐκ ὀφρὺν ἐσθλὸς ἐφελκόμενος: the meaning of this line has been much debated. Several passages have been invoked to support an interpretation of *frowning*, *scowling*, or arrogant expressions conveyed with the eyes, i.e. *Alciph.* 4.7 Sch. σεμνός τις ἐγένου καὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς ὑπὲρ τοὺς κροτάφους ἐπῆρας, *Ar. Nub.* 582 τὰς ὀφρῦς συνάγειν as a sign of passion, *Themist. Or.* 7.90b συννεφής, τὰς ὀφρῦς ἐφελκόμενος τὴν σιωπὴν ὡς τι σεμνὸν. The adj. ἐσθλός features in *Ep.* 10, but it is hard to understand here: many editors think it is corrupted and Stadtmüller suggests reading ἰλλός, *squinting*; the only way GP find to defend this is to think

that the frowning is that of Aristocrates' audience (and cf. Hom. *Od.* 16.294 αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος).

7 ἦδει καὶ Βάκχοιο παρὰ κρητῆρος: it indicates a sympotic context. For the expression, cf. Eur. *IA* 1061, Lyk. 271 (which, however, is reminiscent of a specific model, Hom. *Od.* 23.73-5).

ἄδηριν: the word only occurs elsewhere in *SH* 982.11 (= *FGE* Anon. 163, poem on the battle of Actium, for which cf. Barbantani (2017)).

8 ἰθῦναι κοινήν: P's reading ἰθὺν ἐκείνην is clearly corrupt and editors are divided in emending it to κείνην (Jacobs, Meineke, Dübner, Paton, Beckby) or κοινήν (Waltz, GP, Pontani). The latter reading would imply that Aristocrates steered the *general* conversation of the symposium (as opposed to the public speeches of l.5) away from controversy.

εὐκύλικα: The adj. is a *hapax*, maybe L's neologism: for the lengthening of the last syllable in arsis before lambda, and for the accent, cf. GP *ad loc.* (though it is still striking to find it in a non epicising context such as that of λαλίην, but the word is used in a more neutre sense: cf. below). For Leonidas' adjectives in ἐυ-, cf. Introduction, 1.5.2 Neologisms.

λαλίην: there is no need to interpret the word as *frivolous chatter* (as implied by e.g. Theophr. *Ch.* 7) since in other texts it implies more serious conversations (e.g. Plb. 32.9.4 as literary discussion). Besides, it is in the interest of the praise to say just that Aristocrates could lead *any* kind of conversation.

9 ἦδει καὶ ξείνοισι καὶ ἐνδήμοισι: possibly reminiscent of Hes. *Op.* 225 (οἱ δὲ δίκας ξείνοισι καὶ ἐνδήμοισι διδοῦσιν), but cf. also the praise of Pi. *P.* 3.71-2 προὔς ἄστοις, οὐ φθονέων ἀγαθοῖς, | ξείνοισι δὲ θαυμαστὸς πατήρ; cf. also Theognis 793-4 for the contrast between the two terms (μήτε τινὰ ξείνων δηλεύμενος ἔργμασι λυγροῖς / μήτε τιν' ἐνδήμων, ἀλλὰ δίκαιος ἐών...). The verb ἦδει, repeated throughout this epigram, also features at the end of *Ep.* 10, which might be another intertextual pointer (cf. introduction). For this verb at the beginning of

hexameter, cf. e.g. Hom. *Il.* 7.240-1 and with didactic emphasis Nic. *Th.* 805, 811. The line inspired GVI 677 (Ephesus, 3rd-2nd century BC), ll. 5-6. ἀστ]οῖς καὶ ξείνοισι προσηνέας, ἐσθλὰ μὲν εἰπεῖν, / ἐσθλὰ δὲ καὶ ῥέξαι πάντα ἐπισταμένους.

προσηνέα: the synalephe of -εα in the last syllable of the hexameter is quite rare, but found in Hesiod (*Op.* 647, *Th.* 510, 511, 941), *H. Hymn. Diosc.* 3, and in Hellenistic hexameter in Theocr. 17.53.

10 ἔρδειν: The dative with ἔρδω is unusual but GP invoke as parallels Hom. *Il.* 14.261 (ἄζετο γὰρ μὴ Νυκτὶ θοῆ ἀποθύμια ἔρδοι) and *Od.* 14.289 (... ὅς δὴ πολλὰ κάκ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐώργει).

γαῖ' ἐρατή: the adj. is odd and seems to imply a conflation of γῆ as earth and as (father)land (cf. πόλιν ἐρατὴν *H. Hom. Ap.* 467), with the notion that Aristocrates died in his own town or country (*contra* GP who speculate that it might refer to 'the particular plot of ground which covers Aristocrates and therefore inspires affection'). For the noun, cf. Coughlan (2020b) and Introduction 1.5.4, Dialect.

τοῖον ἔχεις φθίμενον: Geffcken compared Bern. *I. Métr.* (early Imperial?) 16, 1.3ῶ χθῶν ἀμμοφανής, οἶον δέμας ἀμφικαλύπτεις.

Epigram 19: Cleitagoras asks shepherds for offerings at his tomb

Ποιμένες, οἱ ταύτην ὄρεος ῥάχιν οἰοπολεῖτε 1
αἶγας κευείρους ἐμβοτέοντες οἷς,
Κλειταγόρη, πρὸς Γῆς, ὀλίγην χάριν, ἀλλὰ προσηνῆ
τίνοιτε χθονίης εἵνεκα Φερσεφόνης.
βληχήσαιντ' οἷές μοι, ἐπ' ἀξέστοιο δὲ ποιμῆν 5
πέτρης συρίζοι προῆα βοσκομέναις·
εἶαρι δὲ πρώτῳ λειμώνιον ἄνθος ἀμέρξας
χωρίτης στεφῆτω τύμβον ἐμὸν στεφάνῳ,
καί τις ἀπ' εὐάρνοιο καταχραίνοιτο γάλακτι 10
οἷός ἀμολγαῖον μαστὸν ἀνασχόμενος,
κρηπιδ' ὑγραίνων ἐπιτύμβιον. εἰσὶ θανόντων,
εἰσὶν ἀμοιβαῖαι κὰν φθιμένοις χάριτες.

*You shepherds, who wander alone on this mountain ridge,
Pasturing your goats and fleecy sheep,
By the Earth, do Cleitagoras a little favour, but a kind one,
For the sake of chthonic Persephone.
May the sheep bleat for me, may the shepherd from this rough
Rock pipe a gentle tune as to them as they graze:
At the beginning of spring, may a villager, gathering
Meadow-flowers, garland my tomb with a wreath of them,
And may someone sprinkle upon it the milk of a sheep
With good lambs, holding up its teat full of milk,
And moistening the base of the tomb. There are ways,
There are ways for the deceased to return favours even in death.*

A.P. 7.657 [C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ Λεωνίδου [sc. Ταραντίνου]

[J] εἰς Κλειταγόρου τινὸς τάφον παρὰ τινα ἀκρόρειαν κειμένου ἐν ἧ ποιμένες
μετὰ προβάτων διατρίβουσι. [C] νομίζω δὲ ὅτι ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κεῖται ταῦτα P1^A
Λεωνίδου

2 κευείρους Salm. : κεύηρ- P : κευμάλους P1 | ἐμβοτέοντες Scal. : ἐμβατ- PPI
4 τίνοιτε JPI : -νυτε P 6 βοσκομέναις P 7 ἀμέρξας Scal. : -έρσας PPI
9 ἀπεύαρνοιο P | γάλακτος P1 10 οἷός P1^{pc} : οἷος PPI^{ac} | ἀνασχόμενος P
12 ἀμοιβαῖαι CPI : αἶοι P | χάριτες CPI : -τος P

Like other epigrams by Leonidas, this poem drops the fictional frame and although it is an utterance from the deceased it does not reproduce the formal aspects of an epitaph, but rather resembles a ‘pastoral lamentation’ and its length, which is higher than Leonidas’ average, ‘perhaps marks its affiliation with bucolic poetry’ (Sens 2020:87); another bucolic marker is the ‘pathetic fallacy’ expressed in the middle of the poem.

The *pointe* is a classic *do ut des* uttered by the deceased: in exchange for rustic offerings on his tomb (which might be a recurring ritual, cf. commentary below), he can provide some sort of unspecified compensation, alluded to in a cryptic way. One element of novelty is the absence of any expression of grief, pain or regret: the request for an offering does imply a *need* on the part of the deceased (some kind of attention or at least the wish not to be forgotten), but it does so only implicitly and the core of the epigram is rather the painting of an almost idyllic scene. An element which instead recurs elsewhere in Leonidas is the importance of a small act or offering despite its humble nature (ὀλίγην χάρις, ἀλλὰ προσηνῆ) together with a vague sense of companionship in the same profession as shown by the fisherman Theris whose tomb was built by the *thiasos* of fellow fishermen (for which cf. introduction and commentary to *Ep.* 20).

1 οιοπολείτε: the verb only occurs in Eur. *Cycl.* 74, but the adj. οιοπόλος is already Homeric and means *wandering lonely* (from οἶος + πέλομαι, though ancient pseudo-etymology linked it to οἶες, cf. *schol. D ad Hom. Il.* 14.473, Coray on *Il.* 19.473, *Lfgre* s.v. οιοπόλος I). Such solitary shepherds somewhat recall the ἀκρολοφῖται from Leon. *Ep.* 53.

2 κευείρους: from εἶρος or ἔριον (cf. *LSJ*). This is the Ionic form, whereas the Attic is εὔερος (cf. Phryn. 122).

ἐμβοτέοντες: *hapax*, emended by Jacobs and others to ἐμβατεύειν on the basis of Lyc. 642 and Nic. *Th.* 147 but defended by GP with the parallel of adj. ending in -βοτος and the simple verb βοτέω (Nic. *Ther.* 394).

οἶς: there might be a play on the (wrong) etymology of οιοπολέω used above.

3 Κλειταγόρη: a scarcely attested name (6 occurrences in *LGPN*).

πρὸς Γῆς: Earth must be taken as a reference to the chthonian underworld, cf. l. 4. Though not with this phrasing, similar invocations to Earth occur elsewhere, e.g. Aesch. *Pers.* 629, 640, *Ch.* 399, Eur. *Ion* 1440, *Alc.* 237, which feature various associations of Γῆ with Hermes, Persephone or chthonian powers.

ὀλίγην χάριν, ἀλλὰ προσηνῆ: a small but meaningful gesture, resonating with some of L.'s dedications by humble people. For the idea, cf. e.g. Hom. *Od.* 6.208 (= 14.589) δόσις δ'ὀλίγη τε φίλη τε, Theocr. 28.24-5 ἧ μεγάλη χάρις / δώρω σὺν ὀλίγῳ (though of uncertain meaning). The insistence on the ὀλίγος is a recurring theme in

other epigrams of Leonidas, *Epp.* 18, 36, 41, 87 (cf. Piacenza 2010: esp. 81-83).

4 τίνετε χθονίης εἵνεκα Φερσεφόνης: for chthonian Persephone, cf. above on l. 3. The form beginning in Φ- features in poetic language (e.g. Pindar, Simonides, tragedy) alternating with Περσεφάσσα or Περσεφόνη, as well as in the dialect of Thessaly (cf. Beekes s.v.).

5 βληχῆσαιντ' οἰές μοι: possibly as a sign of happiness and prosperity and a

marker of bucolic scenery, as in Theocr. 16.90-3 αἰ δ' ἀνάριθμοι / μῆλων χιλιάδες
βοτάνᾳ διαπιανθειῖσαι / ἄμ πεδίον βληχῶντο, βόες δ' ἀγεληδὸν ἐς αὐλιν /
ἐρχόμεναι σκνιφαῖον ἐπισπεύδοιεν ὀδίταν, or as a form of lamentation.

5-6 ἐπ' ἀξέστοιο...πέτρης: besides Soph. F 322 with unknown referent, the adj. is
found only in Soph. OC 19 οὗ κῶλα κάμψον τοῦδ' ἐπ' ἀξέστου πέτρου, which L.
will have in mind, given the πέτρῃ; cf. also Eur. Alc. 575-7 δοχμῶν διὰ κλειτύων
| βοσκήμασι σοῖσι συρίζων | ποιμνίτας ὑμεναίους, before numerous scenes in
Theocritus.

6 συρίζοι πρηέα: *ripe gently*, cf. τὴν φωνὴν πραοτέραν ποιοῦνται Xen. Symp.1.10
(GP).

7 λειμώνιον ἄνθος: collective singular, *flowers from meadows*. For the expression,
cf. Theocr. 18.30 λειμώνια φύλλα, Aesch. F 374 ἄνθεα λειμώνια and the adj. also
in Aesch. Ag. 560, Soph. Aj. 601, A.R. 4.977.

ἀμέρξας: the mss. have ἀμέρσας (aor. of ἀμέρδω), but starting from Scaliger
editors correct to ἀμέρξας (from ἀμέργω): a similar confusion is shown in Mosch.
2.32 ἢ ὀπότ' ἐκ λειμῶνος εὐπνοᾶ λείρι' ἀμέργοι (ἀμέργοι Meineke : ἀμέρσοι mss)
and Nic. Th. 686 ποταμοῦ παρὰ χεῖλος ἄμερξεν (ἄμερξεν Sch. : ἄμερσεν mss).

8 χωρίτης: most scholars understand it as *rustic person, countryman* but GP also
suggest simply *local* (cf. e.g. Aesch. Eum. 1035).

στεφέτω τύμβον ἐμὸν στεφάνω: the custom of decorating tombs with flowers is
attested in literature (e.g. Aesch. Pers. 618), and in decorations from Attic vases (cf.
Garland 2001²:171), and features also in inscribed epigrams (some examples in
Lattimore 1942:129, e.g. IG I³ 1329, a Hellenistic epitaph from the Peiraeus,
Ἄνθεμίδος τόδε σῆμα· κύκλω στεφανοῦσ<ι>ν ἑταῖροι / μνημείων ἀρετῆς
οὔνεκα καὶ φιλίας), sometimes also as a recurring offering, (cf. Rohde 1925:162-
74, esp. n. 40).

9 ἀπ' εὐάροιο: the adj. only here, in Crates F 4 Broggiato and Myrinus AP 6.108,

where it is used of a shepherd (*sc.* 'who possesses good lambs') and not of a sheep. **καταχραίνονται γάλακτι:** the libations poured on the tombs of the dead regularly included milk, honey, water, wine and oil (cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 610-9, *Ch.* 91-2, Eur. *Or.* 114-5), and shepherds offer libations of milk in e.g. Theocr. 1.143-4 and at the funeral of Dorkon in Long. 1.31 (but cf. Bowie *ad loc.* who thinks that the passage is influenced by Leonidas).

10 ἀμολγαῖον: the word is a glossa from Hes. *Op.* 590 (μάζα ἄ., cf. West *ad loc.*) whose meaning was debated in antiquity, complicated by the Homeric formula νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ (*in the thick of the night?*) which was equally controversial. It is clear that, at least for Leonidas, the connection is with ἀμέλω, whether this is meant as a critical stance on the matter or not (Phillips 1972:12-15).

μαστόν: here *udder/teat* instead of *breast*, as in Eur. *Cycl.* 55, 207, Call. *Hymn* 1.48 and Arat. 163 with a personification of the animal (Sens 2020 *ad loc.*).

11 κρηπίδ' ... ἐπιτύμβιον: κρηπίς is usually the base of any building or monument, and for a tomb cf. Eur. *Hel.* 547 τύμβου ἔπι κρηπίδα, Geminus *AP* 7.73 καὶ τύμβῳ κρηπίδα περιγράφει Περσικὸν Ἄρη / καὶ Ξέρξην, Lyk. 882-3 τυμβείαν θ' ὕπερ / κρηπίδ', *CEG* I 819.6 (Laconia, 4th cent. BC?) κρηπίδ' ἐστεφάνωσ[ε].

12 εἰσὶν ἀμοιβαῖαι κὰν φθιμένοις χάριτες: cf. already in Mantiklos' dedication (*CEG* I 326, early 7th cent. BC) χαρίφειταν ἀμοιβ[άν], then *Od.* 3.58 Χαρίεσσαν ἀμοιβήν and A.R. 3.82 χάρις ἀμοιβαίη; cf. also in inscriptions e.g. *IK* Perge 23, *TAM* IV I 132. For the repetition of the verb to be in emphatic affirmations, cf. e.g. Eur. *IT* 721-2 ἀλλ' ἔστιν, ἔστιν ἢ λίαν δυσπραξία | λίαν διδοῦσα μεταβολάς, ὅταν τύχη.

Epigram 68: Epitaph for Maronis, an old drunkard

Μαρωνίς ἢ φίλοινος, ἢ πίθων σποδός, 1
ἐνταῦθα κεῖται γρηύς, ἧς ὑπὲρ τάφου
γνωστὸν πρόκειται πᾶσιν Ἀττικὴ κύλιξ.
στένει δὲ καὶ γᾶς νέρθεν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ τέκνων
οὐδ' ἀνδρός, οὐς ἔλειπεν ἐνδεεῖς βίου, 5
ἐν δ' ἀντὶ πάντων, οὐνεχ' ἢ κύλιξ κενή.

*Old Maronis, the wine-lover, the emptier of jars,
Lies here, on whose tomb stands,
Recognisable to all, an Attic kylix.
She groans under the earth, not for her children
Nor for her husband, whom she left in poverty,
But instead of all this only for one thing, that the kylix is empty.*

A.P. 7.455 [C] Λεωνίδου [J] εἰς Μαρωνίδα τὴν μέθυσσον
iteravit C in marg. iuxta Antip. XXXVII (εἰς Μ. Λεωνίδου) P^A Λεωνίδου

3 γνωστή P^I 4 γῆς P^I | ὑπὲρ γε P^a 5 οὐδ' P^a : οὐκ P^BP^I
| ἔλειπεν P : λέλοιπεν P^I

This iambic epitaph is one of the most famous by Leonidas. It is formally built around two halves, the first presenting the situation (the deceased, the tomb, the *kylix*) and the second expressing the *aprosdoketon* (Maronis' main regret, which is however anticipated by ἢ πίθων σποδός in l.1), neatly marked by the placing of the *kylix* at the end of lines 3 and 6. The trope of a drunk old woman comes from comedy (cf. Austin-Olson on Ar. *Thesm.* 630 and the passages collected in Arnott 1996:504) and we know through Roman copies a famous Hellenistic statue of the so-called Old Drunkard (Pliny *NH* 36.32: cf. Figure 14). The choice of the metre suits the comic theme and might be a marker of the literary nature of the epitaph, which is also suggested by the name of the woman (cf. below), though there is plenty of evidence for famous drunkards in antiquity (cf. e.g. Ael. *VH* 2.41)

and the theme is perfectly plausible.

Figure 14: statue of the so-called 'Old Drunkard', Roman copy (100-200 AD) of a Hellenistic original (Rome, Musei Capitolini; source of the image: [Wikimedia Commons](#)).



1 Μαρωνίς: if not that of a real person, the name must have been inspired by Maron (GP), who gives to Odysseus twelve jars full of remarkable wine in Hom. *Od.* 9.196-211, and who is also mentioned in Eur. *Cycl.* 141.

φίλοινος: that women would be particularly prone to alcoholism is a common belief in Greek culture, testified by e.g. Athenaeus who quotes several passages from comedy (cf. Galán Vioque 2001: 355-357 for a detailed account).

ἡ πίθων σποδός: the word σποδός means *ashes* (of wood or of the dead) but what is meant here is not clear. Suidas quotes its occurrence in Antipater/anonymous *AP* 6.291 (Βάκχου κυλικῶν σποδός), but without explanation. Most translators understand *drier of jars*, others (e.g. *LSJ*) suggested *absorber*, which all seem to appeal to σβέννυσθαι, which can mean dry up, though there is no etymological link with σποδός. Sens (2020:95) thinks of ‘the ash of (a person who consumed) barrels of wine’. The verb σποδέω and its compounds seem to mean destroy, which can be explained etymologically as ‘réduire en poudre’ (Chantraine 1968:1040), so we could understand that it was ‘what is left of the wine jars’, possibly with a very subtle point that anticipates the final *pointe* (she used to drink from jars, now all that is left of her is a jar on her tomb), and ‘all that is left of’ was suggested hesitantly by GP. Nonetheless, none of these solutions is completely satisfactory and the word might be corrupt, though the word is the same in Antipater.

3 γνωστόν: Planudes seems to have emended with a *lectio facillior* (γνωστή). The neuter should be understood as referring to the Attic kylix, *a thing recognizable to all*, and therefore does not need correction; cf. Bern. *I. Métr.* 35, 1.6.

πρόκειται πᾶσιν Ἀττικὴ κύλιξ: the *kylix* was the most common drinking vessel along with the *kantharos*, though the term was used by the Greeks in a more generic way than the typology indicated today by the word.

4 στένει: governs both ὑπέρ + gen. and the accusative ἐν (with variation).

καὶ γὰρ νέρθεν: a tragic phrase, cf. Aesch. *Ch.* 40, Eur. *Hec.* 791: cf. Introduction 1.5.2, Tragic diction. As Dawson (1950) suggests, the expression might play on the

ambiguity with the storage of jars beneath the earth.

4-5 οὐχ ὑπὲρ τέκνων / οὐδ' ἀνδρός οὐς ἔλειπεν ἐνδεεῖς βίου: the main regret of deceased parents in epitaphs usually concerns the people that they left behind. The irony of Maronis' fate is that not only does she not care about her loved ones, she actually left them in poverty.

6 ἐν δ' ἀντὶ πάντων, οὐνεχ' ἡ κύλιξ κενή: the *kylix* from line 3 is mentioned again in the second half of the verse, with careful symmetry, this time as the *pointe* of the poem. As Sens (2020:95) suggests, this might imply that her family is too poor to leave her any offerings. Given the custom of offering libations to the dead, one could also think of a sort of punishment for the woman and there might be some irony implied.

Epigram 72: Epitaph for Platthis, an old weaver

Ἐσπέριον κήϳον ἀπώσατο πολλάκις ὕπνον 1
ἢ γρηϋς πενίην Πλατθίς ἀμυνομένη·
καί τι πρὸς ἡλακάτην καὶ τὸν συνέριθον ἄτρακτον
ἦεισεν πολιοῦ γήραος ἀγχίθυρος
καί τι παριστίδιος δινευμένη ἄχρῖς ἐπ' ἠοῦς 5
κεῖνον Ἀθηναίης σὺν Χάρισιν δόλιχον,
ἢ ῥικνὴ ῥικνοῦ περὶ γούνατος ἄρκιον ἰστῶ
χειρὶ στρογγύλλουσ' ἱμερόεσσα κρόκην.
ὀγδωκονταέτις δ' Ἀχερούσιον ἠϋγάσεν ὕδωρ
ἢ καλὰ καλῶς Πλατθίς ὕφηνάμενη. 10

*Often old Platthis pushed away her evening and
Morning sleep, keeping poverty at bay:
And on the cusp of white old age she used to sing
Some song to her distaff and spindle, the co-worker,
And at the loom, right up until dawn, she whirled
That long course of Athena with the Graces,
Or, wrinkled, lovely as she was, twirled enough thread for the loom
With her hand on her wrinkled knee.
At the age of eighty, Platthis, who used to weave beautiful things
Beautifully, gazed upon the Acherusian water.*

A.P. 7. 726 [C] Λεωνίδα [J] εἰς γραῦν Πλατθίδα τὴν φιλάγρυστον et ad v. 7
tamquam init. alter. epigr. [C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ Λεωνίδου [J] εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν Πλατθίδα
τὴν ὀγδοηκοντοῦτιν caret Pl

1 κήϳον apogr. μή- P | ἀπώσατο Ap. B. : ἀνω- P 4 ἀγχίθυρος Hecker : -ον P
5 δινευμένη apogr. : δειν- P | ἐπ' Ap. B. : ἀπ' P
6 σὺν Ap. B. : τὸν P 7 ῥικνὴ P : ῥικνῆ Jacobs 8 στρογγύλλουσ' Reiske : -
υλάουσ' P | ἱμερόεσσα Ap. B. : ἠ μερ- P

The epigram is much quoted by modern scholars, mostly because of its emphasis on a humble figure and on manual work. It is one of those sepulchral epigrams which do not try hard to imitate an inscription: the sepulchral character indeed comes almost as a surprise in the last couplet. This *aprosdoketon* element is introduced with care after a focus on Platthis' intent labour: just as she never ceased her work, from dusk to dawn, in the same way she is depicted gazing her eyes on the shores of Acheron almost without realising it, with a gentle transition, having lived her life as an athlete runs the long δόλιχος.

1 Ἐσπέριον κήρων: the idea is that Platthis worked ceaselessly from dusk to dawn, as confirmed by l. 5; cf. the hetaerae playing the flute until dawn in *Ep.* 43. **ἀπώσατο ... ὕπνον:** the same expression in e.g. Theocr. 21.21 (for equivalent expressions with other verbs, cf. Headlam-Knox on Herod. 7.7).

2 ἡ γρηῦς πενήνη ... ἀμυνομένη: cf. the woman in the simile of Hom. *Il.* 12.433-5 (435 ... ἵνα παισὶν ἀεικέα μισθὸν ἄρηται).

Πλατθίς: a rare name, of unknown etymology, attested in a few epigraphic occurrences (10 in *LGPN*).

3 τὸν συνέριθον ἄτρακτον: the adj., already Homeric (*Od.* 6.32), refers to workers but in Hellenistic times especially to weavers, possibly due to a paronymy with ἔριον (cf. *LSJ*, Chantraine s.v.) and cf. also the distaff in Theocr. 28.1-2 Γλαύκας, ὦ φιλέριθ' ἀλακάτα, δῶρον Ἀθανάας/γύναιξιν νόος οἰκωφελίας αἴσιν ἐπάβολος. It can be taken as referring to Platthis or to the distaff and given Leonidas' habit of personifying inanimate objects it could be meant as referring to the spindle, *fellow weaver*.

4 ἤειπεν: There is evidence for specific working songs from the Greek world, e.g. those listed by Athen. 14.618d-9a, who also mentions a spinners' song and a weavers' song, and in some passages we have a glimpse of the practice of singing or telling of mythical episodes while working at the loom (Theocr. 24.77, Eur. *Ion* 294-200, 507-8) which would have the functions of alleviating the effort and the monotony of labour and also of transmitting traditional stories (cf. Karanika 2014:180-1).

πολιοῦ γήραος: traditional, e.g. Theogn. 1.173, Pi. *I.* 6.14

ἀγχίθυρος: the word can be occasionally found in this figurative sense of *next to*, *near*, e.g. Sext. Emp. *Math.* 11.121, Philostr. *VS* 2.613.

5 παριστίδιος: *hapax*.

ἐπ' ἠούς: generally accepted, (*pace* GP, who emend to ἠούς on the grounds that it is impossible to have the genitive when ἄχρως reinforces a preposition like in this case.

6 κείνον ... δόλιχον: δ. is one of the types of race, but it is used metaphorically for life in Epicrates F 3.18 ἐπεὶ δὲ δόλιχον τοῖς ἔτεσιν ἤδη τρέχει, Peek GVI 945 (2nd cent.), 1331 (2nd cent. AD).

Ἀθηναίης σὺν Χάρισιν: cf. Leon. *Ep.* 43.

7 ἢ ῥικνὴ ῥικνοῦ περὶ γούνατος: between spinning and weaving, an intermediary step was the unravelling and the distension of the yarn on the knees. Jacobs, followed by Waltz, Beckby, Paton, emends to ῥικνῆ (χειρὶ). For such repetitions of adjectives, cf. Leon. *Ep.* 39.

8 στρογγύλλουσ': Reiske's correction, accepted by all editors, of P's στρογγυλάουσ'.

ἰμερόεσσα: a somewhat striking word, especially if one retains ῥικνὴ. It has been variously justified. Waltz connected this to the allusion to Χάριτες above and cf. also Geffcken *ad loc.*; one could also recall epigrams for courtesans who are praised as beautiful despite their old age (and this shares a similarity with epigrams for retirements: cf. introduction).

9 δ' Ἀχερούσιον ... ὕδωρ: the noun is generic, in contrast to more common mentions of the Acherusian *river, lake, or swamp*; cf. comm. on *Ep.* 10, l.1.

ἠῦγασεν: cf. the ending of *Ep.* 43

10 ἢ καλὰ καλῶς: changed by Geffcken to καλὴ καλῶς (accepted by Paton and Waltz) to avoid an alleged tautology, but defended by GP.

Πλατθίς ὑφήναμένη: the name of the woman followed by the participle repeats the structure of line 2. Leonidas employs this kind of ring-composition elsewhere too, e.g. with the name of Aristocrates in *Ep.* 10.

Epigram 75: Epitaph for the once rich Crethon

Αὐτὰ ἐπὶ Κρήθωνος ἐγὼ λίθος, οὖνομα κείνου 1
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, 5
φεῦ, γαίης ὅσσης ὅσον ἔχει μόριον.

I am the tombstone of Crethon, displaying his name:

But Crethon is ashes under the ground,

He who once vied with Gyges in wealth, he who was formerly

Rich in cattle, he who was formerly prosperous in herds of goats,

He who was formerly – but why should I say more? He was deemed most happy

By all, but alas, how little of so much land is his portion now.

A.P. 7.740 [C] Λεωνίδα [J] εἰς Κρήθωνά [sic] τινὰ πλουσιώτατον καὶ τῷ Γύγη παρῖσεύμενον

1 ἐπὶ P1 : ἐπεὶ P 2 ἐγχθόνιος Kaibel : ἐν χθονὶ οἷς P : ἐν χθονίοις P1 |
σποδιά P1 : σποδιάν P 4 βουπάμων P1 5 μυθεῦμ' ἔτι; P1 : μυθεῦμαι; ὁ π.
P 6 γαίης ὅσσης P : οὗτος γαίης P1

This funerary poem has two levels of play: the first one is the contrast between the condition of wealth and fame in the world of the living as opposed to annihilation in the underworld, the second one is the subtle irony of the narrating voice in describing this man as rich in cattle as if he were on the same level as king Gyges: there is some underlying irony in the description of Crethon's wealth as if it were on the same level of that of an oriental king, and one is reminded of the bucolic boast of the Cyclops from Theocr. 11 who brags about his 'thousand head of cattle' (l.34). Despite the veiled irony, there is no reason to doubt the underlying moral of the epigram, i.e. a reflection on the vanity of human possessions, which certainly chimes with ideas of frugality shown elsewhere by Leonidas.

1 Αὐτὰ: if retained, the text must be understood as οὗτος; some editors disagree, changing it to αὐτά (Meineke, followed by GP).

ἐπὶ Κρήθωνος: the name of a Messenian prince in Hom. *Il.* 5.542, doubtless chosen to evoke the grandeur of an epic character.

ἐγὼ λίθος: tombstone.

1-2 οὖνομα κείνου / δηλοῦσα: editors are divided on the interpretation of κείνου, and so read either *making famous his name* or *[the tombstone] covering that famous Crethon and showing his name*.

ἐγχθόνιος: Kaibel's correction from Pl's ἐν χθονίοις, accepted by all editors (cf. GVI 2006.4 ὅστέα καὶ σποδιῇ κειμένη ἐνχθόνιος).

σποδιά: cf. Leon. *Ep.* 68.1, where, however, it poses serious interpretative problems.

3 ὁ πρὶν καὶ Γύγη παρισεύμενος ὄλβον: the first of a series of phrases praising and lamenting the lost fortunes of Crethon. Gyges was king of Lydia in the first half of the 7th century BC (the traditional dating is 687-652 BC) who was regarded as a symbol of oriental wealth as far back as Archilochus F 19 (οὐ μοι τὰ Γύγεω τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει κτλ., cf. Swift 2019 *ad loc.*). It might be relevant that Gyges' tomb, mentioned by Hipponax (F 7.3 Degani = 42.3 West σῆμα Γύγεω), was considered an important monument (cf. also Nic. *Th.* 633). On the prosody of the name, cf. Magnelli (1999:241-39) on Alex. Aet. 8 (*AP* 7.709 = 1 GP). The εὔ in παρισεύμενος is unusual, as it is usually found only in Ionic forms, e.g. in Herodotus, and this would seem the only instance in epigrammatic poetry. For the motif of lost glory with the pattern of πρὶν...νῦν *vel. sim.*, cf. Archias *AP* 9.19 and anonymous *AP* 9.20 which are related to each other.

4 βουπάμων: only here and in Leon. *Ep.* 49, where see commentary.

πλούσιος αἰπολίοις: in Hom. αἰπόλια are often mentioned in lists which demonstrate the a person's wealth.

5 μυθεῦμ': for elision of verb endings, cf. comm. on *Ep.* 14.6.

πᾶσι μακαρτός: the only occurrence of the adj. (= μακαριστός) in this form.

Not uncommon in epitaphs, cf. e.g. Peek *GVI* 630 ἐς Ἄϊδα κατέβα πᾶσιν μακαριστὸς ιδέσθαι.

6 φεῦ, γαίης ὅσσης ὅσσον ἔχει μόριον: for this use of the pronouns, GP recall 'Plato' *AP* 7.268 τόσσον ἄγος τόσσου κέρδεος ἀράμενος; cf. Lat. *quantus*. Cf. Fehling (1969:230-1) for this type of repetition.

2.3 Miscellaneous epigrams

2.3.1 Epigrams on Leonidas and poverty

In this overtly eclectic section I have grouped three poems of different nature on a formal level (*Ep.* 33 being an epideictic exhortation, *Ep.* 36 a dedication, *Ep.* 37 an invective) which, however, all give an insight into Leonidas' viewpoint and ultimately constitute all the evidence that can be used to study his poetic persona (together with his self-epitaph, *Ep.* 93, which we have included in the epitaphs for poets).²⁰¹ What emerges from all of them is the picture of a vagrant and humble poet, whose material conditions oscillate between voluntary frugality of which he seems almost proud (*Ep.* 33, *Ep.* 37 esp. l. 4) and a destitution that he tries to escape (the ἐχθρῆς...πενίης of *Ep.* 36.7-8 from which he hopes the 'Lathrian goddess' will rescue him). That the author would mention himself in his epigrams is paralleled by Leonidas' contemporaries Hedylus (5 GP), Asclepiades (16 GP), and Callimachus (21), but the striking feature for Leonidas is this alignment between his own self-characterisation and that of the many humble people who populate his epigrams. It is alluring to think with K. Gutzwiller²⁰² that these epigrams might have been originally placed in prominent position in an epigram book, though this is bound to remain a hypothesis

²⁰¹ I have excluded from this group *Ep.* 92*, the only erotic epigram in the corpus, the speaking persona of which is presumably Leonidas, even though he is not mentioned explicitly.

²⁰² Gutzwiller (1998:109-10).

Epigram 33: Exhortation not to roam and to be content with a frugal life

Μὴ φθείρου, ὦνθρωπε, περιπλάνιον βίον ἔλκων, 1
ἄλλην ἐξ ἄλλης εἰς χθόν' ἀλινδόμενος,
μὴ φθείρου· κενεὴ σε περιστέξαιτο καλιή,
ἦν θάλποι μικκὸν πῦρ ἀνακαιόμενον,
εἰ καὶ σοι λιτὴ γε καὶ οὐκ εὐάλφитος εἶη 5
φυστὴ ἐνὶ γρώνη μασσομένη παλάμαις,
ἦ καὶ σοι γλήχων ἦ καὶ θύμον ἦ καὶ ὁ πικρὸς
ἀδυμιγῆς εἶη χόνδρος ἐποψίδιος.

*Do not wear yourself out, my fellow, dragging out a
vagrant life, roaming from one land to another,
Do not wear yourself out: may a bare hut shelter
you, one which is warmed by a small burning fire,
Even if you have a simple cake, not high-quality,
Kneaded with your hands in a hole,
Or if you have pennyroyal or thyme, or even if bitter
Salt is your sweetness to season your food.*

A.P. 7.736 (caret Pl) [C] Λεωνίδα Ταραντίνου [J]. παραινετικὸν εἰς τὸ μὴ
μεταβαίνειν ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον, ἀλλ' ἀρκεῖσθαι ἐν ὀλίγοις Suid. s.v.
φυστὴ μάζα (6)

3 φθείρου κενεή Ap. B. : φθείρ' ἐν κενεῇ P | περιστέξαιτο Mein. : -στέψ- P
5 λιτὴ P : λειτὴ Beckby 7 εἰ Τουρ : η P

The epigram is an exhortation and has been misplaced in among the funerary compositions of book 7, possibly, as Waltz suggested, due to a careless reading of the expression μὴ φθείρευ. It bears striking resemblances or points of contact with other epigrams by Leonidas: the wandering (*Ep.* 97), a simple dwelling (*Ep.* 37), a modest house warmed by a hearth (*Ep.* 11), simple cakes (*Epp.* 3, 36), salt (*Ep.* 37). When compared to Leonidas' self-epitaph (*Ep.* 97), one is led to think that this exhortation comes from Leonidas' own experience or at least from the literary image he builds for himself. For a metapoetic reading of the epigram, cf. Nardone (2017).

1 Μὴ φθείρευ: the usual interpretation is *do not wear yourself out* but GP suggested it might be best taken as referring to wanderings, cf. e.g. Eur. *Hel.* 774 πόσον χρόνον πόντου 'πὶ νώτοις ἄλιον ἐφθείρου πλάνον;, *El.* 234 οὐχ ἔνα νομίζων φθείρεται πόλεως νόμον; Gigante (1971:146 n.47) also recalls the value of φθείρου as a form of swearing (*Ar. Ach.* 460, *Pl.* 598, 610).

ὄνθρωπε: often used in Leonidas' poetry (cf. *Epp.* 10, 37, 85, 102).

περιπλάνιον: *harax*, though [Plut.]*Reg. et imp. apophth.* 1001d has περιπλανή; for the concept, cf. πλάνιος in Leon. *Ep.* 93 (also a *harax*) and πλάνη in *ep.* 36 (even if the text is troubled: cf. comm. *ad loc.*)

βίον ἔλκων: cf. Eur. *Or.* 207 βίοτον ἔ., *Ph.* 1535 ζόαν ἔ., *drag out a weary life* (LSJ), as well as A.R. 2.221 ...γῆρας ἀμήρυτον ἐς τέλος ἔλκω.

2 ἄλλην ἐξ ἄλλης εἰς χθόν' ἀλινδόμενος: ἀλίνδω is a later form of ἀλινδέω (Nicander has both, *Th.* 156 ἀλινδόμενοι, 204 ἀλινδηθεῖς). The verb seems to have the meaning both of *to roam* and *to be tossed around* and either would suit this context, though in light of line 1 the former might be more apt.

3 μὴ φθείρευ: elsewhere in Leonidas the repetition conveys pathos (*Ep.* 70),

whereas here it might rather aim at reproducing the style of exhortation and diatribe.

κενεή σε περιστέξαιτο: the mss have *περιστέψαιτο*, which could be acceptable, but most editors have accepted Meineke's correction *περιστέξαιτο*.

καλιή: the word means either a humble hut or a granary in Hesiod (*Op.* 503, 301, 307, 374) and the ambiguity seems to be retained in A.R. 1.170, 4.1095; here, however, it must mean a hut and a significant parallel is Hecale's hut in F 80.4 Hollis = 263.4 Pfeiffer, *φιλοξείνοιο καλιῆς*; similarly, Leonidas' dwelling is described as a humble *καλύβη* in *Ep.* 37 (cf. comm. there).

4 ἦν θάλποι μικκὸν πῦρ ἀνακαιόμενον: the concept being that a humble house is sufficient even if heated by a small fire, for which cf. Aristocrates' speech in Leon. *Ep.* 10 (though a very problematic passage, cf. comm. *ad loc.*). As for the adj. *μικκός*, it might have been perceived as a Doric form in antiquity, but it may rather be a form of everyday language and possibly derived from child-speech (as argued extensively by Dettori 2016:138).

5 εἰ καὶ σοι λειπή γε: cf. *Ep.* 37, 1.7. The following lines list simple foods which resemble those often mentioned as consumed by humble people and frugal philosophers, cf. e.g. Luc. *Tim.* 56 οἷσθα γὰρ ὡς μᾶζα μὲν ἐμοὶ δεῖπνον ἱκανόν, ὄψον δὲ ἥδιστον θύμον ἢ κάρδαμον ἢ εἰ ποτε τρυφῶην, ὀλίγον τῶν ἀλῶν (cf. Tomassi 2011 *ad loc.*).

καὶ οὐκ εὐάλφίτος εἶη: the adj. is not found elsewhere and it will mean something like *consisting of fine meal*.

6 φυστή: shorter form of *φυστή μᾶζα*, a simple cake made with wine (*Schol. Ar. Vesp.* 610) or honey (*Et. M.* s.v. *φύστα*) which required little effort (*Athen.* 3.114e *τὴν μὴ ἄγαν τετριμμένην*) and was regarded as a simple food.

ἐνὶ γρόνῃ μασσομένη παλάμαις: the adjective indicates hollowness and here it is usually taken to mean *kneading-trough*, but GP think it might mean a hole (cf. Nic. *Th.* 794), referring to a degree of poverty so acute that someone has to knead

the flour 'with his hands in a hole in the ground or in a rock' (scil. in a hollowed rock).

7 ἢ καὶ σοὶ γλήχων: Ionic form of βλήχων (Herodian s.v.), *pennyroyal* (*Mentha pulegium*, a plant in the mint family), but according to some lexicographers it is also the Attic name for marjoran or oregano.

ἢ καὶ θύμον: thyme was a simple condiment and θύμον φαγεῖν was a by-word for a humble lifestyle (cf. e.g. Ar. F 10.2-3 K.-A.; ample documentation in Blaydes on Ar. *Plut.* 253).

7-8 καὶ ὁ πικρὸς / ἀδυμιγῆς εἴη χόνδρος: the word χ. denotes the coarseness of something, most of the time of salt, which was sold in χόνδροι (chunks or blocks) and then ground into λεπτοὶ ἄλες which were used in cooking, alone or mixed with herbs (e.g. thyme, cumin, cardamom). Ar. F 158.2 εἰς ὄξος ἐμβαπτόμενος ἢ ξηροὺς ἄλας seems to imply that it could be used alone as a dip for food (and salt is listed as one of ἡδύσματα by Pollux when quoting this fragment), though it might be part of an exaggeration required by the joke; Call. *AP* 6.301 (= *Ep.* 47 Pf. = 28 GP) features a man who escaped debt by eating only bread with salt ἄλα λιτὸν ἐπέσθων: cf. GP and D'Alessio *ad loc.*). The adj. ἄ. is a *hapax* and its interpretation has been much debated: GP take it as *tasty*, meaning that salt, even if πικρὸς, gives flavour to food; Solitario (2015:24) interprets it as *sweetly mixed*, i.e. *mixed in the right measure*; Gigante (1971: 145 n. 54) thinks that what is meant is that salt, even if bitter and without added flavours, will be sufficient as long as there is food to go with it (ἐποψίδιος); Gullo (2019), in the framework of a very detailed lexical analysis, proposes 'gruel' made sweet with 'milk or by being mixed with honey or wine' (p.67) which is possible, though her approach might be slightly hyperrationalistic. The sense, in any case, seems to be that even salt alone will be a sufficient condiment for someone who is content with a simple lifestyle: cf. *Ep.* 37 with comm. there.

ἐποψίδιος: *hapax*, to be taken predicatively.

Epigram 36: Leonidas makes offerings to a goddess to escape poverty

Λαθρίη, ἐκ πλάνης ταύτην χάριν ἔκ τε πενέστω 1
κῆξ ὀλιγησιπύου δέξο Λεωνίδεω,
ψαιστά τε πιήεντα καὶ εὐθήσαυρον ἐλαίην
καὶ τοῦτο χλωρὸν σῦκον ἀποκράδιον
κευοίνου σταφυλῆς ἔχ' ἀποσπάδα πεντάρρωγον, 5
πότνια, καὶ σπονδῆν τήνδ' ὑποπυθμίδιον.
ἦν δέ με χῶς ἐκ νόσου ἀνειούσω, ὧδε καὶ ἐχθρῆς
ἐκ πενίης ῥύση, δέξο χιμαιροθύτην.

*Lathrian goddess, accept this offering from the wanderer,
The poor, the flourless Leonidas,
These rich barley-cakes, carefully-stored olives
And this green fig plucked from a tree,
And also accept this five-fruited grape-bunch from a prosperous vine,
Mistress, and libations from the bottom of the vessel.
But if, just as you saved me from disease, you will pull me
Out of hateful poverty, you will have a goat as a sacrifice.*

A.P. 6.300 (caret Pl) Λεωνίδου; Sud. s.vv. πιήεντα, ψαιστά [3], ὑποπυθμίδιον [5], ἀνειούσω [7-8]

1 Λαφρίη Reiske ἐκ πλανίου vel ἔκ τε πλάνου Meineke
2 ὀλιγησιπύου Reiske : ὀλίγης σιπύου P 3 ἔλαιον Sud.
4 -κράδιον Salmasius : -κρίδιον P 5 -ρρωγον Suid.
7 μέ γ', ὡς Toup ἐχθρῆς Jacobs : -ρῶν P : -ρᾶς Sud. 8 χιμαιρ- C : χαιμ- P

This dedication, whose precise addressee is not entirely clear, has attracted much scholarly attention. K. Gutzwiller (1998:109-10) has argued that it was the poem which opened Leonidas' poetry book, to be paralleled by whoever placed Theocr. *Ep.* 5 GP (*AP* 6.336) at the beginning of Theocritus' epigrams; she also thinks that the Lathrian goddess of l. 1 (see comm. below) is Aphrodite, whom also Asclepiades and Nossis invoked at the beginning of their collections, and following Geffcken's hypothesis that the sickness mentioned in l. 7 is a love sickness (compatible with Cynic tenets on love). The idea, though attractive, must remain speculative. Much more likely is the other suggestion by Gutzwiller, i.e. that the objects of the dedication might stand metapoetically for the simple subjects of Leonidas' poetry, which is also a possibility for *Ep.* 37 (see there).

1 Λαθροίη: a much debated epithet. Wilamowitz and Reiske wanted to alter the text to Λαφροίη/Λαφροία (an epithet attested for Artemis, e.g. Paus. 4.31.7), before the word turned up in a new fragment of Antimachus (Pap. Mil. Vogl. I 17, 33-36, Antimachus F 182 Wyss = 107 Matthews, the interpretation of which is quite problematic: cf. Matthews 1996:278-281, Cazzaniga 1967) and has been retained by editors ever since, though with a disagreement on its interpretation. GP take it as referring to Aphrodite, based on the imitations of the epigram by Gaetulicus and Longus (*AP* 6.190, 191) and on Geffcken's suggestion that the νοῦσος of l. 7 might allude to love-sickness; Gutzwiller (1998:109-11) elaborated further on this, stating that such an attitude towards love would be compatible with cynic motifs and the only erotic epigram we have by Leonidas, i.e. *Ep.* 92*, and also recalling Eubulus F 67.8 λαθραίαν Κύπριν (which, however, is alluding to Eur. *Cret.* F 82.7 Austin τοῦμόν λαθραίαν ἐμπολωμένη Κύπριν: cf. Austin's apparatus and Hunter 1983 on Eubulus), which would be explained as a *furtive* Aphrodite,

though GP do not mean it as a cult epithet. On the other hand, scholars of Antimachus (cf. Matthews 1996:278) have argued in different ways for referring the epithet to Artemis (and Arena 1978 even argued for a linguistic and cultic equivalence of Λαθρία-Λαφρία), mainly recalling similarities in the offerings to Artemis mentioned in Antimachus (λόγια meant as simple cakes) and the goat, then pushing the argument further and equating this Artemis to a propylaia goddess, whom Leonidas is addressing in the hope of being welcomed in a new city (Alexandria?). This last part of the argument seems far-fetched, but it must be said that even if Geffcken's suggestion is attractive, explanation is required as to why Leonidas would ask Aphrodite to rescue him from poverty.

ἐκ πλάνης: this must refer to Leonidas as a wanderer, but the word is a *hapax* and the text has been doubted and variously emended. Proposals fall into the categories of a noun referring to Leonidas (πλάνου Meineke, accepted by Pontani), an adjective (πλανίου Meineke, πλάνιος Wilamowitz, accepted by Waltz and Beckby) or an abstract noun (σπανίης Hermann, πλανίης *scil.* πλάνης Geffcken). GP are unhappy with all of the above and opt for a *crux*. Cf. *Ep.* 33.1 περιπλάνιον, *Ep.* 93.3 πλανίων, *Ep.* 97.4 πολυπλανέος (though this last is used differently and is attested elsewhere).

ταύτην χάριν: Gutzwiller (1998:109) notes that the expression is used in Meleager's proem (1 GP) in exactly the same position.

ἔκ τε πενέστεω: for Leonidas' poverty, cf. *Epp.* 33, 37.

2 κῆξ ὀλιγησιπύου δέξο: the adj. is a *hapax* featuring only here and in Leon. *Ep.* 41* (εὐσιπύος ἐξ ὀλιγησιπύων); the concept also resonates with the σιπύη mentioned in *Ep.* 37 (where see comm.).

Λεωνίδεω: one of only three mentions of Leonidas in his own epigrams, along with *Epp.* 93, 37. If one accepts Gutzwiller's hypothesis on the position of this poem in the collection (cf. Introduction), this might act as an initial σφραγίς. For the mention of a poet's own name, cf. in epigram Hedylus 5 GP, Asclep. *AP* 12.5 = 16 GP.

3 ψαιστά: cf. comm. on *Ep.* 3.

τε πιήεντα: the form, equivalent to *πίων*, is unique to Leonidas: cf. the Leonidean forms *ώκήεις* (*Ep.* 8) and *δουλιχόεις* (*Ep.* 52*).

καὶ εὐθήσαυρον ἐλαίην: the adj. is unique to Leonidas, meaning *well-stored, treasured*. Olives came in different varieties, depending on whether one added flavourings or treated them in different ways (cf. Dalby 2003:238). Here, presumably, they are meant as a simple offering, but L. presents himself as so poor that he jealously treasured even a few olives, which makes the offering all the more special.

4 καὶ τοῦτο χλωρὸν σῦκον ἀποκράδιον: the word *σ.* is both the generic word for fig and the sub-species of cultivated fig among the different varieties mentioned by sources. The adj. *ἀ.* is a *hapax*: the word *κράδη* means branch, very often of fig-trees, and GP suggest like *culled*, based on Nic. *Al.* 319 *ὀπόεντας ἀποκραδίσειας ἐρινούς* and Gaeticus' version *εὐφυλλον σῦκον ἀπ' ἀκρεμόνων*. The sense might be that of carefully picking a particularly good fig, or possibly the first one from the tree as an *ἀπαρχή* and therefore a special offering; cf. also Leon. *Ep.* 102*, an invitation to a fruit-lover to pick a fig from a tree. It might be intended as a mark of poverty and simplicity: many proverbs (not only in Greece) build on the fact that the fig is a reasonably common fruit and therefore not particularly valuable, so e.g. Phoenix F 6.6-7 Powell *οἶ δ' οὔτε σῦκα, φασίν, οὔτ' ἐρινὰ εὔντες / πλουτοῦσι*, and in Call. *Ia.* 1 F 191.93 Pf. *χλωρὰ σῦκα* might be a marker of poverty (cf. Kerkhecker 1999:95) since apparently Hipponax (F 167 W.) and Arch. (F 250 W.) used *συκοτραγίδης* (*son of a fig-eater*) as an insult *διὰ τὸ εὐτελές, φασί, τοῦ βρώματος* (Eust. in Hom. *Od.* 17.455).

5 κεϋοίνου: the adj. is used often by Strabo for places *which produce good wine* (and so in Hermesianax F 7.55 it is applied to Lesbos), and the same will be meant here applied to a good vineyard.

σταφυλῆς ἔχ' ἀποσπάδα πεντάρωγον: This is the earliest attestation of the

word ἀποσπάς, which is found subsequently in Nonnus and later literature. The adj. is another *hapax*, and Suidas quotes it as πεντάροραγας (cf. also Diodorus AP 6.22.3 πυκνόροραγα, Philip AP 9.561 ὀμφακόροραγας *post correcturam* in P) but Gaetulicus' imitation has εὐρώγεα and Simias AP 7.22 φιλορορώξ, which suggest that P's text is sound.

6 πότνια, καὶ σπονδὴν τήνδ' ὑποπυθμίδιον: the appellation is not particularly helpful for identifying the goddess, as it can be applied variously to Athena, Aphrodite, Artemis and Hera. The adj. is another *hapax* (coined presumably from the dubious reading ὑποπυθμῆνες in Hom. *Il.* 11.635: cf. Phillips 1972:330-2 and Introduction 1.5.1, Epic language and diction) and stresses the poverty of Leonidas, who is sacrificing the last remnants of the liquid (oil, wine, honey) to the goddess.

7 ἦν δέ με χῶς ἐκ νόσου: it has been suggested by Geffcken and elaborated on by Gutzwiller (cf. above) that this νόσος can refer to love, for which there would not be a lack of parallels: e.g. Eur. *Hipp.* 765-77 ἐρώτων... Ἀφροδίτας νόσω, Eur. F 400 1.2 ὅσον νόσημα τήν Κύπριν κεκτήμεθα, Soph. *Tr.* 490 and F 149, as the fever of Cydippe in Call. F 75.17, and Theocr. 30.2 ᾤαι τῷ χαλέπω καινομόρω τῷδε νοσήματος; actual disease could of course be meant too.

ἀνειρῶσω: the medical sense is unparalleled, but Suidas glosses it as ἀνεγκύσω (maybe to be understood as *lift someone up*), and the uncompounded ἐρύω with ἐκ and gen. is attested as *set free from* (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 5.109 ὄφρα μοι ἐξ ὤμοιο ἐρύσσης πικρὸν οἶστόν); therefore the usage is not too odd.

7-8 ἐχθρῆς / ἐκ πενίης ῥύση: cf. above and introduction.

χμαιοθύτην: *hapax*, though προβατοθύτης occurs in a late documentary papyrus (PKlein. Form. 326) and βουθύτης is attested as a nickname of Pythagoras by Proclus (*in prim. Eucl.* P.426 Friedlein). More relevantly, μηλοθύτης is attested (*Ba.* 7.39, Eur. *IT* 1116) but it refers to a spot *where a sheep is sacrificed*. It is generally understood as *you will receive me (Leonidas) slaying a goat for you*.

Epigram 37: Leonidas chases mice out of his hut

Φεύγεθ' ὑπέκ καλύβης, σκότιοι μύες· οὔτι πενιχρῆ 1
μῦς σιπύη βόσκειν οἶδε Λεωνίδεω.
αὐτάρκης ὁ πρέσβυς ἔχειν ἄλα καὶ δύο κρῖμνα·
ἐκ πατέρων ταύτην ἠνέσαμεν βιοτήν.
τῶ τί μεταλλεύεις τοῦτον μυχόν, ᾧ φιλόλιχνε, 5
οὐδ' ἀποδειπνιδίου γευόμενος σκυβάλου;
σπεύδων εἰς ἄλλους οἴκους ἴθι (τὰμὰ δὲ λειτά),
ᾧν ἄπο πλειοτέρην οἶσεαι ἀρμαλιήν.

*Get away from my hut, you mice who love the dark: the poor
Cupboard of Leonidas can never feed mice.
The old man is sufficiently supplied with salt and two coarse loaves:
We have learned contentment with this way of life from our fathers.
So why do you dig away in that corner, you greedy eater,
Since you will not even get a taste of the leftover scraps of my dinner?
Be gone, and hasten to other houses – for here there are only simple things –
From which you will find more food to carry off.*

A.P. 6.302 Λεωνίδου P^B Λεωνίδου Suid. s.vv. σκότιος (1 s.), κρῖμνον
(3), ἠνέσαμεν (4), μεταλλεύει (5), σκυβαλίζεται (6s.), ἀρμαλιὰ (8)

2 μῦς σιπύη P Suid. : μυσπιπή P : μοί, σιπύη C 3 ἔχειν P P I : ἔχων Suid.
5 τῶν τι Suid. | φιλόλιχνε P 6 ἀποδειπνιδίου C P I Suid. : -δειπνίου P
| γευσόμενος P I 7 λειτά P : λιτά C P I

Another very famous epigram by Leonidas, in which the poet chases mice out of his poor hut. Like *Ep.* 33, this epigram bears some points of contact with other Leonidean passages (the salt in *Ep.* 33, the hut from *Ep.* 20). Ariston's imitation of this poem (1 GP = AP 6.303) suggests that a metapoetic reading was implied: the mice can be understood as readers of the poet who will not find lavish banquets in Leonidas' poetry but only simple food (Piacenza 2010:88-90 tries to push this further and sees the mice as opponents of the poet who might steal his themes). The mouse imagery, as suggested by some close parallels (cf. comm. below) might be indebted to the episode of Molorchus and the mice from Callimachus' *Aitia*. The epigram has also traditionally been read in cynic terms, because of the word αὐτάρκης and an

episode involving Diogenes the Cynic and mice (D.L. 6.40, Plut. *De prof. virt.* 77f) but Gigante (1971:58-60) reasonably brought to the fore the potential role of proverbial Spartan frugality.

1 Φεύγεθ’: Gigante (1971:59) has drawn attention to older remarks about the similarity of this expression to apotropaic formulas, like φεύγετε from imperial *aporoimai* (and the same for σπεύδων ἴθι at l.7) or φεῦγε φεύγετε in imprecations against illness and diseases, which could qualify this expression as belonging to a low/popular stylistic register.

ὑπέκ καλύβης: the same word denotes the rustic hut of the fishermen in [Theocr.] 21 and is used for the humble dwelling of the fisherman Theris in Leon. *Ep.* 20 (cf. comm. *ad loc.*), and seems now to be an improved reading of the previous καλυρ in Call. *Ait.* F 54d, l.8 Harder (Parsons: forthcoming article, who thinks that this detail together with the mice strengthens the possibility that Leonidas might be imitating Callimachus, on which cf. Introduction); cf. also the καλιή in *Ep.* 33, l.3 with comm. there. The form ὑπέκ (found before a consonant) is epic and relatively rare, and used also in Leon. *Epp.* 66, 74.

σκότιοι μύες: GP suggest *furtive* rather than *living in the dark*, but it might just refer to the animals crawling in the dark parts of the hut.

1-2 οὔτι πενιχρῆ /... σιπύη: the address to the mice resembles that by Molorchus in Call. *Ait.* F 177 Pfeiffer (= 54c Harder = 149 Massimilla), ll. 12-14 “ὄχληροί, τί τό[δ]’ αὔ γείτονες ἡμέ[τ]ερον / ἦκατ’ ἀποκναίσοντες, ἐπεὶ μάλα [γ’] οὔτι φέρο[ισθε]; / ξ]εῖνοις κωκυμούς ἐπλασεν ὕμμε θεός”.

σιπύη: the word denotes a storage basket used for dry food such as cereals or bread (cf. Hsch. σ711 σιπύη· σιτηρὸν ἀγγεῖον, ἀρτοθήκη) and features frequently in Old Comedy (e.g. Ar. *Plut.* 805, *Eq.* 1296, Eup. F 302 K.-A.) as well as more generally in passages having to do with poverty and humble figures, Call. *Hec.* F

35.1 Hollis = 251 Pf., *Ait.* F 137b 9 Harder = *SH* 239.9; cf. the adj. ὀλιγησιπύος in Leon. *Epp.* 36, 41.

βόσκειν οἶδε Λεωνίδεω: one of the only three mentions of Leonidas in his own epigrams, along with *Epp.* 97, 36.

3 ἀντάρκης ὁ πρέσβυς ἔχειν: some editors prefer Suidas' ἔχων on the ground that ἀ. plus infinitive means *to be able to* 'whereas the required sense is *self-supporting if he possesses...*' (GP).

ἄλα καὶ δύο κριῖνα: GP prefer to interpret κριῖνα as *a couple of crumbs* rather than *loaves*. For salt as a simple condiment, cf. the comm. on *Ep.* 33, ll. 7-8.

4 ἐκ πατέρων: probably referring to the proverbial frugality of his Spartan ancestors, the founders of Tarentum (Gigante 1971:58-60).

ταύτην ἠνέσαμεν βιοτήν: *to content oneself with*, cf. Eur. *Alc.* 1, Aesch. *Suppl.* 902, 1070.

5 τῷ τί μεταλλεύεις τοῦτον μυχόν: the verb most often connotes *mining*, but *searching* (*scil.* *this house* or *this corner*) *for food* or *burrowing* seems the most likely meaning here, also in light of Nic. *Th.* 672 (cf. Overduin *ad loc.*).

ῶ φιλόλιχνε: *hapax*, reprised by Phantias in his imitation *AP* 6.295 = 3 GP. GP compare the names of mice in the *Batrachomyomachia* such as Leichenor (202), Leichomye (29) and Leichopinax (100), Cf. Hosty 2020 *ad locc.*, but cf. also Babr. 60 λίχνος ... μῦς, Orp. *Hal.* 2.156 λίχνοισι μύεσσιν.

6 οὐδ' ἀποδειπνιδίου γευόμενος σκυβάλου; the adj. is a *hapax*. Cf. Call. *Hymn* 6.115 αἰτιζῶν ἀκόλως τε καὶ ἔκβολα λύματα δαιτός; the word σκύβαλον is quite unusual and not poetic.

7 σπεύδων εἰς ἄλλους οἴκους ἴθι: cf. l. 1. The verb might allude to the swiftness of the mice, somewhat like the scene in Hor. *Sat.* 2.6.112-3.

(τάμα δὲ λειτά): for the last word, cf. Leon. *Epp.* 39, 87 and Introduction, Leonidas and Cynicism.

8 ὦν ἄπο πλειοτέρην οἴσει ἀρμαλιήν: the word ἀ. means supplies, Hes. *Op.*

560, 767, also in the technical sense of rations (and found elsewhere in Hellenistic poetry at A.R. 1.393, Theocr. 16.35).

3. Appendix: List of the epigrams ascribed to Leonidas and *comparatio numerorum*

AP	GP	Geff.	Lemmata	Other sources
6.202	1	46	Λεωνίδου [C] Ταραντίνου	Suidas (1-2); caret Pl
6.211	2	41	Λεωνίδου Ταραντίνου	Suidas (4-5); caret Pl
6.334	3	53	Λεωνίδα [C] Λεωνίδα Ταραντίνου [PI ^A]Λεωνίδου	Suidas (1-2, 3, 3-4)
6.188	4	71	[PPI] Λεωνίδα [P] Ταραντίνου	
9.236	5	54	[C] Λεωνίδου Ταραντίνου	caret Pl
9.329	6	55	[C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ [sc. Λ.Τ.]	caret Pl
6.204	7*	82	[PPI] Λεωνίδου [C] Ταραντίνου	Suidas (1, 2, 3-4)
6.205	8*	83	Λεωνίδου [C] Ταραντίνου	Suidas (1-2, 5, 5-6, 7); caret Pl
7.719	9	23	[C] Λεωνίδου Ταραντίνου	caret Pl
7.648	10	92	[CPI] Λεωνίδα [C] Ταραντίνου	
7.440	11	43	[CPI] Λεωνίδα [C] Ταραντίνου	
7.448	12*	36	[C] Λεωνίδα Ταραντίνου	caret Pl
7.449	13*	37	cum XXII coniunctum	caret Pl
7.665	14	9	[C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ [sc. Ταραντ.] Λεωνίδου	caret Pl
7.652	15	4	[CPI] Λεωνίδου [C] Ταραντίνου	
7.654	16	5	[CPI] Λεωνίδα [C] Ταραντίνου	
7.655	17*	16	[C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ [sc. Λ.Τ.], PI ^B Λεωνίδου	
7.656	18*	12	[C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ Λεωνίδου [sc. Λ.Τ.] PI ^A Λεωνίδου	
7.657	19	59	[C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ Λεωνίδου [sc. Λ.Τ.] PI ^A Λεωνίδου	
7.295	20	85	[CPI] Λεωνίδα [C] Ταραντίνου	
7.198	21*	51	[CPI] Λεωνίδου [C] Ταραντίνου	Suid. (1-2, 5)
7.422	22*	35	[CPI] Λεωνίδα [C] Ταραντίνου	
16.182	23*	29	[PIΣπ] Λεωνίδου [PI] Ταραντίνου, Syll. S. s.a.n.	Σπ
9.320	24*	20	[PPI] Λεωνίδου [P] Ταραντίνου	O. Wilcken II 1488 (1)
9.322	25*	18	[PPI] Λεωνίδου [P] Ταραντίνου	
9.355	26	67	[CPI] Λεωνίδου [C] Ταραντίνου	
9.316	27*	57	[CPI] Λεωνίδου [C] Ταραντίνου	
9.179	28*	30	[CPI] Λεωνίδα [C] Ταραντίνου	
9.337	29	58	[C] Λεωνίδου Ταραντίνου	caret Pl
9.24	30	21	[CPI] Λεωνίδα Ταραντίνου	Syll. E 18
16.306	31*	42	Λεωνίδου Ταραντίνου	
9.99	32*	61	[CPI] Λεωνίδου Ταραντίνου	
7.736	33	91	[C] Λεωνίδου Ταραντίνου	Suid. (6); caret Pl
6.129	34	1	[PPI] Λεωνίδου	Suid. (1-2)
6.131	35	2	Λεωνίδα, PI ^A τοῦ αὐτοῦ [sc. Λεων.]	Suid. (1-4, 4)

6.300	36	90	Λεωνίδου	Suid. (3, 5, 7-8); caret Pl
6.302	37	95	[PPI] Λεωνίδου	Suid. (1-2, 3, 4, 5, 6-7, 8)
6.200	38	45	Λεωνίδου	caret Pl
6.355	39	68	Λεωνίδα	Suid. (1-2); caret Pl
6.286	40	74	[PPI] Λεωνίδου	Suid. (1-2)
6.288	41*	75	Λεωνίδου	Suid (3-5, 5-7, 10); caret Pl
6.289	42*	78	τοῦ αὐτοῦ [sc. Λεων.]	caret Pl
5.206	43	77	Λεωνίδου	caret Pl
6.281	44	38	Λεωνίδου	caret Pl
6.309	45	79	PI ^A Λεωνίδου	
6.13	46	73	[PPI] Λεωνίδου	Suid. (1, 1-2); Pompeii; O. Wilcken II 1488 (1)
6.35	47	80	[PPI] Λεωνίδου	Suid. (2, 3, 4, 5, 5, 6)
6.262	48	66	Λεωνίδα	Suid.; caret Pl
6.263	49	64	τοῦ αὐτοῦ [sc. Λεων.], PI ^A s.a.n. cum Antip. Sid. LXIV coniunctum	Suid. (3, 4, 5, 6)
6.296	50	81	Λεωνίδου	Suid. (1, 3-4, 5-6); caret Pl
—	51	—	Λεωνίδου	P.Oxy. 662
6.4	52*	84	[PPI] Λεωνίδου	Syll. E 50
6.221	53	65	Λεωνίδου, PI ^B ἄδηλον	Suid. (7-8)
6.293	54*	33	Λεωνίδου	Suid (1-2); caret Pl
6.298	55*	88	Λεωνίδα	caret Pl
6.305	56*	89	Λεωνίδου	Suid. (5-6, 6, 6); caret Pl
7.19	57	25	[PPI] Λεωνίδου	Suid. (1-2, 2, 3-4)
7.408	58	40	[CPI] Λεωνίδα	
7.67	59*	94	[PPI] Λεωνίδου	Suid. (1, 3-4, 3-4, 5, 7-8)
7.264	60	8	[CPI] Λεωνίδου	
7.266	61	7	[CPI] Λεωνίδου	
7.273	62	6	[CPI] Λεωνίδου	
7.283	63	3	Λεωνίδου, PI ^B τοῦ αὐτοῦ [sc. Λεων.]	
7.503	64	10	[CPI] Λεωνίδα	
7.506	65	87	[PPI] Λεωνίδα	
7.504	66*	86	[CPI] τοῦ αὐτοῦ [sc. Λεων.]	
7.452	67*	15	[C] Λεωνίδου, PI ^A τοῦ αὐτοῦ [sc. Λεων.]	
7.455	68	34	[CPI] Λεωνίδου	
7.463	69	13	[CPI] Λεωνίδα	
7.163	70	11	[CPI] Λεωνίδου	P.Oxy. 662
7.466	71	14	[CPI] Λεωνίδα	
7.726	72	76	[C] Λεωνίδα	caret Pl
7.478	73*	31	[CPI] Λεωνίδου	
7.480	74*	32	[CPI] Λεωνίδα	
7.740	75	17	[CPI] Λεωνίδα	
7.472b	76*	98	[C] Λεωνίδα	
7.472	77*	97	PI ^B vv. 1-6 tantum, cum LXXXVI coniuncti, s.a.n.; [C] Λεωνίδα	

7-731	78*	93	[C] Λεωνίδου	caret Pl
—	79*	96	Λεωνίδα	Stob.4.52.28
9.318	80	70	[C] Λεωνίδου	caret Pl
16.190	81	47	Λεωνίδα	
9.744	82	60	Λεωνίδου	caret Pl
16.236	83	49	Λεωνίδου, οί δὲ Περίτου	
16.261	84	48	Λεωνίδου	
10.1	85	50	[PPI] Λεωνίδου	Syll. S.
16.230	86*	56	Λεωνίδου	Syll. S.
6.226	87*	69	Λεωνίδα	Suid. (1-2, 2, 3, 3-4); caret Pl
9.719	88*	27	[PPI] Λεωνίδου	
16.206	89*	26	Λεωνίδου	
16.307	90*	28	Λεωνίδου, Σπ τοῦ αὐτοῦ [sc. Λεων.]	Σπ
6.120	91*	52	[PPI] Λεωνίδα	Suid. (1-2, 3, 4, 5-6, 6)
5-188	92*	19	[PPI] Λεωνίδου	Suid. (3-4)
7.715	93	—	[C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ [sc. Λ.Τ.], PIA s.a.n., PIB Λεωνίδου	
6.44	94*	99	ἄδηλον τίνος, οί δὲ Λεωνίδου Ταραντίνου, PIA Λεωνίδου	Suid. (2-3, 3-4, 5-6)
6.130	95	—	s.a.n., PIA τοῦ αὐτοῦ [sc. Λεων.]	Paus. 1.13.2, Plut. Pyrrh. 26, Diod. Sic. 22.11 (s.a.n.)
6.110	96	63	[PPI] Λεωνίδα, οί δὲ Μνασάλκου [C marg.] Μνασάλκου	Suid. (2, 2-3, 3-4); Suasa
6.154	97	72	Λεωνίδα Ταραντίνου, οί δὲ Γαιτουλικοῦ, PIA Λεωνίδου	Suid. (1-2, 3, 4)
7.13	98*	24	Λεωνίδου, οί δὲ Μελεάγρου, PIA Λεωνίδου	
7.35	99*	22	Λεωνίδου, denique post 7.516 [C] Πλάτωνος, PIA Λεωνίδου	Plut. Mor. 1030 s.a.n. (1)
7.316	100*	39	[C] Λεωνίδα ἢ Ἀντιπάτρου, PIA Λεωνίδου	vita Platonis 2.52 W. (1-2)
9.25	101*	44	[C] τοῦ αὐτοῦ [sc. Λ.Τ.], PIA Ἀντιπάτρου,	
9.563	102*	62	[C] Λεωνίδα, PIA Φιλίππου	
16.171	103*	—	Λεωνίδου	

4. Abbreviations and Bibliography

Abbreviations

- Bern. *I.Métr.* Bernand, É. (1969). *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine. Recherches sur la poésie épigrammatique des Grecs en Égypte.* «Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon», 98. Paris.
- Beekes Beekes, R.S.P. (2010), with the assistance of L. van Beek, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek* (2 vols), Leiden.
- BNP *Brill's New Pauly*, edited by H. Cancik and H. Schneider (Antiquity) and M.Landfester (Classical Tradition), English translation edited by C.F. Salazar (Antiquity) and F. G. Gentry (Classical Tradition), <https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/brill-s-new-pauly>
- CEG Hansen, P.A., *Carmina epigraphica Graeca saeculorum VIII-V a.Chr.n.* (CEG 1, 1983, Berlin, New York); *Carmina epigraphica Graeca saeculi IV a.Chr. n.* (CEG 2, 1989, Berlin, New York).
- CGLP Bastianini, G., Haslam, M., Maehler, H., Montanari, F., Römer, C., Stroppa, M., Önchen, M.. (2004 -). *Commentaria et lexica Graeca in papyris reperta.* Leipzig.
- CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (1863-1959). Berlin.
- FGE Page, D.L. (1981). *Further Greek Epigrams. Epigrams before A.D. 50 from the Greek Anthology and Other Sources not Included in Hellenistic Epigrams or The Garland of Philip* (revised and prepared for publication by R.D. Dawe and J. Diggle). Cambridge.
- GDRK Heitsch, E. (1963). *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit.* Göttingen.
- GP Gow, A. S. F., & Page, D. L. (1965). *The Greek anthology. Hellenistic epigrams.* Cambridge.
- GVI Peek, W. (1955). *Griechische Vers-Inschriften I, Grab-Epigramme.* Berlin.
- IG *Inscriptiones Graecae* (1873 -). Berlin.
- IGUR Moretti, L. (1968-1990). *Inscriptiones graecae urbis Romae.* 4 vols. in 5 parts. Rome.
- IK Perge Şahin, Sencer. *Die Inschriften von Perge.* 2 vols. «Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien», 54 and 61. Bonn 1999, 2004. Nos. 1-279, 280-560.

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- K.-G. Kühner, R., rev. Gerth, B. (1898). *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, 2 vols. In 2 parts (Hanover; Leipzig).
- LDAB Leuven Database of Ancient Books
<<http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/>>
- LFGREp Snell, B. (ed.) (1955-2010). *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*. Göttingen.
- LGPN *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (1987–2018). (I: The Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica, ed. by P.M. Fraser-E. Matthews; II: Attica, ed. by M.G. Osborne-S.G. Byrne; III.A: The Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily and Magna Graecia, ed. by P.M. Fraser-E. Matthews; III.B: Central Greece, ed. by P.M. Fraser-E. Matthews; IV: Macedonia, Thrace, Northern Regions of the Black Sea, ed. by P.M. Fraser-E. Matthews, ass. editor R.W.V. Catling; V.A Coastal Asia Minor: Pontos to Ionia, ed. by T. Corsten, ass. editors R.W.V. Catling-M. Riel; V.B Coastal Asia Minor: Caria to Cilicia, ed. by J.-S. Balzat-R.W.V. Catling-É. Chiricat-F. Marchand, ass. editor T. Corsten); V.C Inland Asia Minor, ed. by J.-S. Balzat-R.W.V. Catling-E. Chiricat-T. Corsten. Oxford.
- LIMC *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (1981–1999). I–VIII. Zürich-München.
- LSJ Liddell H.G., Scott R. (revised and augmented throughout by Sir H.S. Jones with the assistance of R. McKenzie) 1940⁹. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford.
- M.-W. Merkelbach, R., & West, M. L. (1967). *Fragmenta Hesiodica*. Oxford.
- PMG Page, D.L. (1962). *Poetae melici Graeci*. Oxford.
- PMGF Davies, M. (1991). *Poetarum melicorum Graecorum fragmenta, I: Alcman Stesichorus Ibycus*. Oxford.
- RE Wissowa, G., Kroll, W., Mittelhaus, K., Ziegler, K. (1893-1978). *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. I–XXIV, I/A–X/A, Suppl. I–XV, Stuttgart (I–Suppl. XII), München (Suppl. XIII–XV).
- SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (1923 -). Leiden.
- SGO Merkelbach, R., Stauber, J. (1998-2004). *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten*. Stuttgart.
- SH Parsons, P. J., & Lloyd-Jones, H. (1983). *Supplementum Hellenisticum*. Berlin-New York.

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- TAM V *Tituli Asiae Minoris, V. Tituli Lydiae linguis Graeca et Latina conscripti*, ed. Peter Herrmann. 2 vols. Vienna 1981 and 1989. Vol. 1, nos. 1-825, *Regio septentrionalis, ad orientem vergens*.
- TM Trismegistos, www.trismegistos.org.
- TrGF *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, I (R. Kannicht-B. Snell, 1986², 1971¹), II (R. Kannicht-Snell, 1981), III (S. Radt, 2009², 1971¹), IV (S. Radt, 1999², 1977¹), V.1-2 (R. Kannicht, 2004). Göttingen.

Names of journals are abbreviated according to the standards of *L'Année Philologique*. Abbreviations of ancient authors follow the Oxford Latin Dictionary and *LSJ*, with few exceptions (e.g. Aesch. = Aeschylus, *AP* = *Anthologia Palatina*).

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