

At the end of the *Iliad*, in the description of Hector's burial, the phrase $\delta\epsilon\ \sigma\eta\mu\alpha\ \chi\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu$ occurs; compare $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\ \chi\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu$ in the second verse of the inscription.¹⁰ The anonymous poet, by introducing an adjective often associated specifically with the brevity and uncertainty of human life— $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ¹¹—, transforms what would otherwise have been a simple statement of fact into a poignant ending. The general sense of *IG* 4. 800 is thus:

For Praxiteles dead this memorial Wison made,
And the comrades with heavy groans heaped up this tumulus
In honor of his noble works, and their fleeting work they completed.

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10. *Il.* 24. 799, where editors print $\sigma\eta\mu\prime\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\alpha\nu$. *IG* 4. 800, our oldest witness, argues for the un-augmented form in this epic phrase. $\chi\epsilon\upsilon\prime\ \acute{\Lambda}\gamma\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\nu\nu\nu\iota\ \tau\acute{\upsilon}\mu\beta\omicron\nu$ occurs in verse-initial position at *Od.* 4. 584, where the omission of the augment is guaranteed.

11. Most famous is Pindar's $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\iota\ \tau\acute{\iota}\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \tau\acute{\iota}\ \delta\prime\ \omicron\upsilon\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \sigma\kappa\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \delta\nu\alpha\rho\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$ (*Pyth.* 8. 95–96).

OBSERVATIONS ON THE DATE OF STRATON OF SARDIS

Of the many collections of Greek epigrams attributed to individual classical poets in the Palatine and Planudean Anthologies, Straton of Sardis' $\Pi\alpha\iota\delta\iota\kappa\eta\ \text{Μοϋ}\sigma\alpha$, totaling 458 verses, is one of the largest.¹ This alone is enough to establish Straton's value; the epigram represents a genre so standardized in style and subject matter that only in the case of a substantial corpus can an individual author's handling of it be described with real confidence. But there is another reason why Straton's collection is important. This author is assumed by most scholars to have lived under Hadrian. If he did, then his collection is among the very few that survive from the second and third centuries A.D., the last two centuries of classical antiquity; indeed, in that case, it would be by far the largest of those few.² Significant internal evidence, however, suggests strongly that

1. Only six collections are larger: those of Leonidas of Tarentum (early third century B.C.: 580 vv.), Antipater of Sidon (died ca. 125 B.C.: 464 vv.), Meleager of Gadara (ca. 140–ca. 70 B.C.: 824 vv.), Antipater of Thessalonica (fl. ca. 20 B.C.–ca. A.D. 20: 650 vv.), Philip of Thessalonica (fl. ca. A.D. 40: 532 vv.), and Lucilius (fl. ca. A.D. 55–85: 523 vv.). Poems attributed to Straton include *Anth. Pal.* 11. 19, 21–22, 117, 225; 12. 1–11, 13, 15–16, 21, 175–229, 231, 234–55, 258. On the doubtful authorship of 11. 21–22 and 11. 117, see W. Clarke, "The Manuscript of Straton's *Musa Puerilis*," *GRBS* 4 (1976): 382–84, and below. *Anth. Pal.* 16. 213 is ascribed to "Meleager or Straton" in the Planudean Anthology; I accept the opinion of A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1965), p. 679, that the poem is likelier to be Meleager's.

2. Cf. A. Lesky, *A History of Greek Literature*², trans. J. Willis and C. de Heer (New York, 1966), p. 811: "The Indian summer of Greek literature under Hadrian also produced the collection of epigrams of Straton of Sardis. . . ." Scholars have long recognized that the epigram flourished in the hands of the Alexandrians and their successors, but was largely abandoned after the first century A.D. until its revival by Christian and other writers in the fourth. Why scholars have not devoted more attention to what most of them regard as de facto the last large classical effort in an important genre is itself an interesting question, perhaps answered by K. J. Dover in the preface to his *Greek Homosexuality* (London, 1978), pp. vii–viii.

Straton cannot have lived under Hadrian or at any time much after the birth of Christ.

We have a firm *terminus post quem* in the first half of the third century B.C., when Aratus of Soli wrote the *Φαινόμενα*, which Straton quotes and attributes to its author in *Anthologia Palatina* 12. 1. 1. Scholars are also in general agreement that the appearance of a ποιητῆς ἐπιγραμμάτων in Diogenes Laertius' list (before the mid-third century A.D.?) of persons named Straton establishes the *terminus ante quem*. Within these limits, only R. Keydell has recently suggested an alternative to the popular Hadrianic date. He places Straton under Nero on the grounds that (1) Martial 4. 7 and 9. 25 are imitations, respectively, of *Anthologia Palatina* 12. 191 and 12. 175, and that (2) Martial imitated poems by the Neronian epigrammatist Lucillius.³ Keydell's argument is unconvincing for two reasons. First, in alleging the relationship between Martial and Straton, he glosses over the notorious problems which the standardization of style and subject matter, so characteristic of the classical epigram, pose for the detection of influence or imitation even in very similar treatments of the same theme. Second, he offers no evidence that Straton and Lucillius were contemporaries, whatever the debt of Martial to either. Even if it be allowed that Martial is here imitating Straton, there is nothing in Keydell's presentation that forbids us to place the Greek poet one, two, or three hundred years before the Roman.

The traditional and still most widely accepted date for Straton under Hadrian is based exclusively upon *Anthologia Palatina* 11. 117, a satire ridiculing an eye doctor named Κατίτων. This person is assumed to be Artemidorus Capiton, an editor of Hippocrates under Hadrian.⁴ There is no other evidence that Straton was his, or Hadrian's, contemporary; *Anthologia Palatina* 11. 117 is also, with ten verses, the longest poem attributed to Straton,⁵ and the only one with no erotic overtones of any kind, features which have repeatedly led scholars to challenge its ascription.⁶ On the other hand, A. Cameron has recently argued, in defense of the traditional date, that we have no real reason to suppose that Straton could not have written purely satirical poetry, and that we must allow a nearly incredible coincidence if the author of *Anthologia Palatina* 11. 117 did not have in mind the physician named by Galen: for Cameron identifies the

3. "Bemerkungen zu griechischen Epigrammen," *Hermes* 80 (1952): 499–500. Keydell refers to the relationship of Martial and Lucillius as if it were beyond debate, but he has not answered the objections of L. Friedländer, *M. Valerii Martialis epigrammaton libri*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1886), p. 19, and K. Prinz, *Martial und die griechische Epigrammatik* (Vienna, 1911).

4. Galen *In Hipp. de nat. hom.* 15. 21 Kühn. The assumption by J. Geffcken (*RE* 4A [1931]: 278) that a casual reference to "western perfidy" (ἑσπερίης ἐπιτορκουσύνης) in *Anth. Pal.* 12. 250. 6 (Straton) also confirms a date in the second century A.D.—because it expresses the bitterness of the Hellenic public toward Rome—is hardly justified. If the expression refers to Italy alone (ἑσπερίος is used by a number of Greek poets to mean merely "western"; cf. *Hom. Od.* 8. 29, *Theoc.* 7. 53, *Aratus* 407, *Callim. frag.* 443, *Plut. Ant. vit.* 30) and thus to Rome, it is good to remember that Roman interference begins in the Hellenistic world with the second century B.C., immediately after the defeat of Carthage. The sentiment expressed in 12. 250. 6 thus cannot be used to confine Straton to a period over three hundred years later.

5. *Anth. Pal.* 12. 4, 8, 175, 195, 208, 211–12, 222, and 238 have eight verses each; the remaining eighty-nine poems in *Anth. Pal.* 11 and 12 have six verses or fewer.

6. See C. Jacobs, *Anthologia Graeca*, vol. 13 (Strassburg, 1794–1814), p. 955; L. Schmidt, *RE* 1 (1894): 2382; Keydell, "Bemerkungen"; V. Buchheit, *Studien zum Corpus Priapeorum*, Zetemata 28 (Munich, 1962), pp. 109–11; R. Aubreton, *Anthologie grecque*, vol. 10 (Paris, 1972), p. 115; D. L. Page, *The Epigrams of Rufinus* (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 25–27.

Hadrianic doctor with yet another Capiton mentioned by Galen, who produced medicinal compounds for the eyes.⁷ Galen himself, however, does not identify this man with Artemidorus and gives no indication of his date; there is actually no compelling reason to assume that they are the same person. Καπίτων is a transliteration of the Roman cognomen Capito, and men bearing that name began to be active in the Greek East at least as early as the mid-first century B.C., well before the reign of Hadrian.⁸ They include more than one officer and more than one official; Cameron has not proved that there was only one physician named Capiton, much less that he was the Hadrianic editor. The fact that *Anthologia Palatina* 11. 117 contains, in only five pentameters, two examples of the syllable ending the first half of the verse lengthened by position (vv. 2, 8) also suggests that the poem itself is a relatively early production. Gow and Page give statistics for this phenomenon:⁹ Theocritus *Epigrammata*, 11 instances in 48 pentameters; Asclepiades, 12 in 107 pentameters; Callimachus *Epigrammata*, 18 in 137 pentameters; Leonidas and Meleager, 68 in 702 pentameters; Philip, none in 266 pentameters. As the centuries passed, the tendency grew among epigrammatists to avoid lengthening by position at this point in the pentameter in favor of syllables consisting of or containing long vowels and diphthongs;¹⁰ lengthening by paragogic *v* was especially avoided. If 11. 117 is taken into account, Straton has 20 instances in 229 pentameters, including two examples of lengthening by paragogic *v*¹¹—proportionately fewer than Theocritus, Asclepiades, and Callimachus, but about the same as Leonidas and Meleager, and a great many more than Philip.

But the most striking internal evidence for Straton's date appears in *Anthologia Palatina* 12. 239:

Πέντ' αἰτεῖς; δέκα δώσω· εἰκοσι δ' ἀντία ἔξεις.
ἀρκεῖ σοι χρυσοῦς; ἤρκεσε καὶ Δανάη.

I have dealt elsewhere with the problematical meaning here of ἀντία and with the complaint of some scholars that the epigram as a whole is obscure.¹² It is, in fact, no more than another variation on the commonplace that love now costs money (cf. 12. 6, 212, 214, 219, 237, 250, all by Straton). The use in this context of Danae (for whom gold and sexual entry were synonymous) is itself hardly unique (cf. *Anth. Pal.* 5. 30–31 [Antipater], 5. 33–34 [Parmenion]). On the other hand, Straton occasionally likes to give his epigrams a touch of the αἰνύμα,¹³ and the connections in 12. 239 are not immediately apparent. Thus, "You

7. Galen *In Hipp. de nat. hom.* 12. 731–32 Kühn; A. Cameron, "Strato and Rufinus," *CQ* 32 (1982): 168–71.

8. See, e.g., Philo *Leg.* 30; Joseph. *BJ* 2. 14. 7; Plut. *Ant. vit.* 36; see also W. Page and G. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, vol. 3. 1 (Braunschweig, 1911), pp. 618–19.

9. *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip and Some Contemporary Epigrams*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1968), pp. xli–ii, n. 3.

10. See P. Maas, *Greek Metre*, trans. H. Lloyd-Jones (Oxford, 1962), pp. 16–17.

11. *Anth. Pal.* 12. 188. 2, 210. 2; 12. 8. 2, 16. 4, 185. 4, 197. 2, 204. 2, 214. 2, 220. 2, 223. 2, 228. 4, 229. 4, 229. 6, 244. 2, 246. 4, 247. 2, 247. 6, 251. 4; 11. 117. 2, 117. 8.

12. W. Clarke, "Problems in Straton's Παιδικὴ Μοῦσα," *AJP* 99 (1978): 433–41.

13. Cf. *Anth. Pal.* 12. 187 (and Clarke, "Problems," pp. 433–37), 197, 199, 204, 206–7, 215, 225, 229, 238, 255.

demand five? I'll give you ten; no, instead you shall have twenty." Five, ten, and twenty what? The explanation appears abruptly in the question, "Is gold enough for you?"—for, as all editors comment, twenty drachmas = the gold stater. The poet is negotiating with a prostitute who asks for five drachmas, and he inflates the price sarcastically.¹⁴ The poem is thus a minor "trick" epigram; its solution, however, depends upon the assumption that readers will be familiar with a common exchange rate of twenty to one between silver and gold coins of Greek denomination. But when, precisely, did this exchange rate between these coins obtain in the Greco-Roman world in general and in Asia Minor in particular?

The rate of exchange in Asia Minor from the time of Croesus and the Achaemenids to the time of Alexander and his successors before the Romans was twenty silver coins (Asian sigloi or Greek drachmas) to one gold stater.¹⁵ The rate of exchange, on the other hand, between the Imperial Roman silver denarius and the gold aureus was twenty-five to one, at least until the third century A.D., and this rate was maintained and enforced regardless of fluctuations in the weight and percentage of real silver in the denarius.¹⁶ Straton thus cannot be referring to the denarius and aureus in *Anthologia Palatina* 12. 239. It is true that certain coins in traditional Greek denominations continued to be minted under and by the Roman government in many provinces of the Empire.¹⁷ What is known about this coinage, however, casts serious doubt on the assumption that residents of Sardis living under Roman control could routinely have exchanged any twenty silver coins for any gold one. The facts are these:

(1) Only the lesser currencies—copper and bronze—were certainly produced and circulated in the provinces during the Imperial period under local monetary arrangements that predated Roman control.¹⁸

(2) Silver currencies minted in traditional Greek denominations in the provinces were soon produced so as to maintain a fixed relationship to the Roman denarius; in this way they could be tarified as the denarius was. One of the

14. Sardis had a spectacular reputation for prostitution throughout antiquity; cf. Hdt. 1. 93 (and S. Pembroke, "Women in Charge," *JWI* 30 [1967]: 1–35); Strab. 11. 14. 16, 12. 3. 36 (cf. 8. 6. 20), 13. 4. 7; Ath. 12. 515D–F.

15. See A. Bellinger, *Essays on the Coinage of Alexander the Great*, *ANS Numismatic Studies* 11 (1963): 30–31.

16. See L. West, *Gold and Silver Coin Standards in the Roman Empire* (New York, 1941), p. 6. An important measure adopted by Diocletian in his efforts to solve the monetary crisis of the third century was the production of a good silver coin, the *argenteus*, in place of the discredited denarius; this coin, too, was apparently designed to exchange with the aureus at a rate of twenty-five to one (*ibid.*, pp. 186–87).

17. See M. Grant, *Roman Imperial Money* (New York, 1954), pp. 87–97.

18. See A. Bellinger, "Greek Mints Under the Roman Empire," *Essays in Roman Coinage Presented to Harold Mattingly* (Oxford, 1956), pp. 137–48. Sardis itself was the site of almost continuous minting operations, in its own name after 133 B.C., from the time of Croesus until the mid-third century A.D. (when bronze coinage in local denominations was ended by the Imperial government); excavation in Sardis has yielded, along with many others, large numbers of bronze coins actually produced there. Under no circumstances, however, can the formula of *Anth. Pal.* 12. 239 refer to bronze coins; and for the period limited by Straton's *terminus ante quem*, few silver or gold coins of any type have come to light in Sardis, and none certainly minted there: a gold stater and silver obol from Lydia (sixth century B.C.), a silver fraction from Miletus (sixth–fifth centuries B.C.), a Persian silver siglos (fifth–fourth centuries B.C.), four Macedonian drachmas (fourth–third centuries B.C.), a silver tetradrachma of Achaëus in Syria (220–214 B.C.), a cistophorus of Antony (39 B.C.), and 14 denarii from Tiberius (A.D. 14–37) through Elagabalus (A.D. 218–22). See T. V. Buttrey et al., *Greek, Roman, and Islamic Coins from Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981).

best-known examples of this policy, as it happens, is the silver tetradrachma or "cistophorus," the chief coinage of Asia Minor for about two centuries before Augustus, adopted by the Romans as the standard coin for the province in 133 B.C. At least from the time of Claudius through the time of Hadrian, the weight of the cistophorus in Asia was carefully maintained at about 158 grams, or the exact equivalent of three denarii; the Asiatic drachma was thus standardized as the equivalent of three-fourths of a denarius.¹⁹

(3) The Roman government, whether Republican or Imperial, typically did not allow the production of any gold coin whatever in areas under its control, other than official coins in Roman denominations.²⁰ Exceptions after the middle of the first century B.C. are very rare—for example, the coinage allowed to the kings of Cimmerian Bosphorus, which was in any case primarily electrum. There is no evidence for the circulation in Asia of any gold coin other than the aureus during the Imperial period.

It may be objected at this point that Imperial exchange rates were perhaps one thing in Rome, but another in distant provinces, where the government might have neither the will nor the means to replace time-honored financial conventions with those of the conqueror. It is true that the Romans themselves were well aware of the power of familiar monetary practices in the lands they took over. Thus in the beginning they allowed the continued coinage of silver in traditional denominations, rather than attempt to supplant them at once with the foreign denarius. But they were just as determined to create a more or less uniform system of currency;²¹ and above all, they rightly desired to create as uniform a system of taxation as possible. Thus the policies adopted early in the Imperial period to standardize the relationship between the denarius and the various provincial Greek silver coins come as no surprise. In the Roman provinces, all business, all wealth lay under the shadow of Imperial taxation. But regulation and control could not stop there. The government knew perfectly well that, in its provinces, taxation was only one feature of economic reality, inevitably and inextricably affected by all the others. The degree of Imperial regulation of money in a number of its functions is well illustrated, in fact, by a provincial inscription from Asia Minor itself, recording a decree given in person by Hadrian on one of his visits to Pergamum.²² In it, the emperor condemns local money-changers for collecting an extra as beyond the legal rate from small merchants in the exchange of asses for denarii; he also requires those who buy food in volume at prices fixed officially to pay for it in bronze coinage "so as to preserve for the city the revenue from the exchange" which the merchants must make in order to obtain denarii. West comments: "This inscription re-affirms the exchange rate of the imperial denarius by the local bank: purchase at 17 asses,

19. Grant, *Roman Imperial Money*, pp. 20–24; H. Seaby, *Roman Coins and Their Values* (London, 1954), p. 8; A. Woodward, "The Cistophoric Series and Its Place in the Roman Coinage," *Essays in Roman Coinage*, pp. 149–73; B. Head et al., *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks* (London, 1959), p. 69.

20. See Seaby, *Roman Coins*, p. 8; G. Hill, *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* (London, 1899), pp. 11–12, 85–87; M. Grant, "The Pattern of Official Coinage in the Early Roman Principate," *Essays in Roman Coinage*, pp. 96–112.

21. See Grant, *Roman Imperial Money*, pp. 32–33, 37.

22. *OGIS* 2. 484; see West, *Gold and Silver Coin Standards*, pp. 93–94.

sale at 18 asses, thus giving a profit of 6% on each denarius handled. Hadrian seems to have decided that buyers must offer bronze when purchasing those classes of foodstuffs, the price of which had been fixed by the market masters, thus increasing the business of the money-changers."²³ This is not the decree of an emperor who is ready to allow local economic phenomena to operate in violation of government policy.²⁴

Not the least significant feature of this inscription is its reference throughout to coins in Roman denominations alone. We cannot argue that Straton, under Hadrian, is referring in *Anihologia Palatina* 12. 239 to Hellenistic coins produced three centuries or so earlier but still circulating and allowed by Rome to maintain their old relationship—or even that he is referring to Imperial Greek coins so circulating; for the role played by Greek coins, Hellenistic or Imperial, in the daily economy of the Eastern provinces was not large. Indeed, it grew smaller as the years passed and the denarius replaced the traditional Greek denominations as the chief silver coin of money transactions, a process that was completed before Hadrian's own time. That this should occur is hardly surprising: the denarius was the single most important coin in the Roman system of currency,²⁵ and Rome itself was the single most important force in all social, political, and economic life in the Mediterranean world for many centuries. The process can already be seen in the first century A.D., when reference is frequently made to the value of Greek coins in relation to the denarius. For example, a papyrus of A.D. 72–73 reports that the Jewish poll tax of two denarii can be paid with eight drachmas and two obols.²⁶ An inscription of A.D. 74 from Cibyra in Lycia records a donation made in Rhodian drachmas, but adds that this drachma is worth only ten asses while the denarius is worth sixteen.²⁷ Less than fifty years later, the inscriptions which report the gifts of C. Vibius Salutaris to Ephesus in A.D. 103–4, under Trajan, are recorded in both Greek and Latin; in Latin the amounts are given in sesterces, while in Greek they are given in denarii with no reference to a Greek denomination at all.²⁸ Inscriptions of this type from the East and dated to the reign of Hadrian abound. Gifts are recorded of 1,500 denarii in Thyatira,²⁹ of 264,179 denarii in Aphrodisias,³⁰ of 600,000 denarii in Lycia.³¹ Various taxes—for example, customs dues at Palmyra³²—are recorded

23. *Gold and Silver Coin Standards*, p. 94.

24. Beside its obvious political authority, the Roman government also exercised power over provincial economic conditions by virtue of being itself an important employer and customer in its own provinces.

25. See West, *Gold and Silver Coin Standards*, p. 6: "While the aureus was the head of the monetary system, the denarius, which was the chief silver coin, was of far greater practical importance." Aurei and denarii were issued in Asia Minor as early as ca. 19 B.C.: see Grant, *Roman Imperial Money*, p. 39.

26. U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1912), p. 61. Certain taxes in the East were already payable in denarii alone; cf. *IGRR* 3. 1056, suggesting that Nero's general Corbulo had reenacted an older provision requiring customs dues at Palmyra to be paid in denarii.

27. *CIG* 4380; *IGRR* 4. 915. West, *Gold and Silver Coin Standards*, p. 67, comments, "This low valuation of the Rhodian drachma may indicate an effort to force these old silver coins out of circulation."

28. *CIL* 3. 14195. 4–7; *ILS* 7193–94.

29. *IGRR* 4. 1281; cf. 1275.

30. B. Laum, *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike* (Leipzig, 1914), p. 102.

31. *IGRR* 3. 739.

32. *IGRR* 3. 1056; above, n. 26.

as payable in denarii without the option of payment in Greek denominations. Furthermore, the evidence of such inscriptions as these, including the decree of Hadrian discussed above, is substantiated by the remarkably meager remains of Imperial silver coins in Greek denominations uncovered by archaeologists throughout western Asia Minor in particular.³³ Summarizing the implications of the finds there, Woodward observes that, as early as the middle of the first century A.D., the need "for small change in silver in western Asia Minor . . . was met under the Flavian emperors partly by denarii from the mint of Ephesus but much more completely by those from the Roman mint"; and he adds that the inscription of Hadrian from Pergamum "leaves us in no doubt that in his reign the ordinary denarii from the mint of Rome represented the smaller silver currency in circulation."³⁴ With the establishment of Roman authority, in short, the antique stater with its Achaemenid rate of exchange no longer governed the value of such drachmas, Hellenistic or Imperial, as still circulated in Sardis; those coins were governed, and soon replaced, by the denarius, itself governed by the Roman aureus. Under these conditions, the equivalence upon which the whole point of *Anthologia Palatina* 12. 239 turns could not make sense.

Straton is not an archaizing poet. He is quite capable of employing hoary references from myth and from high literature produced by his predecessors, but the real furniture of his work belongs to the city and the neighborhoods in which he and his readers lived, as a thorough reading of his verse makes only too clear. In any case, when classical poets return to an earlier era to find material or a style, it is not the arcana of commerce and finance that they bring back with them. No tradition can be found in the history of the epigram, or anywhere else, for the riddling use of antique exchange rates. It was certainly not a literary commonplace, early or late; and few Hadrianic readers, though they might recognize a line lifted from Aratus, can have known much more about exact money values in the second or first century B.C. than readers now know of such values in the sixteenth century A.D. The use in *Anthologia Palatina* 12. 239 of Hellenistic exchange rates between Greek coins is a typical example of Straton's reliance on the ordinary phenomena of his own time to furnish his poetry, and it therefore establishes his latest date well before the second century A.D. and probably before the birth of Christ.³⁵

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33. See above, n. 18, and Woodward, "The Cistophoric Series," pp. 172-73.

34. "The Cistophoric Series," p. 173.

35. I am grateful to the anonymous referees of *CP* for many constructive suggestions.

CICERO *PRO MURENA* 29: THE ORATOR AS *CITHAROEDUS*, THE VERSATILE ARTIST

In the *Pro Murena*, Cicero asserts that the military glory of his client was one of the important factors that moved the voters to elect Murena consul in 63 rather than Servius Sulpicius, a rival candidate who was prosecuting Murena for