

## NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

### ARROWS AND ETYMOLOGY: GAETULICUS' EPITAPH FOR ARCHILOCHUS

σῆμα τόδ' Ἀρχιλόχου παραπόντιον, ὅς ποτε πικρὴν  
Μοῦσαν Ἐχιδναίῳ πρῶτος ἔβαψε χόλῳ  
αἰμάζας Ἑλίκωνα τὸν ἡμερον· οἶδε Λυκάμβης,  
μυρόμενος τρισσῶν ἄμματα θυγατέρων.  
ἤρέμα δὴ παράμειπον, ὁδοιπόρε, μή ποτε τοῦδε  
κινήσης τύμβῳ σφήκας ἐφεζομένους.<sup>1</sup>

Gaetul. *Anth. Pal.* 7.71

This epigram by Gaetulicus is one of a number preserved in the seventh book of the *Palatine Anthology* that profess to be epitaphs on the tombs of well-known poets.<sup>2</sup> With the wasp imagery of the last couplet the poet makes clear his debt to Leonidas' comparable epigram on Hipponax,<sup>3</sup> and this should come as no surprise, for Gaetulicus elsewhere shows himself to be a self-conscious follower of the earlier epigrammatist.<sup>4</sup> On the basis of style D. L. Page argues for a date within the first half of the first century C.E.<sup>5</sup>

Gaetulicus leads up to the familiar image of poet as wasp with lines that describe Archilochus' poetic activity and illustrate the effectiveness of his invective by alluding to the story of the suicide of the daughters of Lycambes.<sup>6</sup> Typical of the period, Gaetulicus celebrates Archilochus as the πρῶτος εὔρετής of ἱαμβος, as πρῶτος in line 2 suggests.<sup>7</sup> Page (*FGE*, p. 55) may well be right that this is "a conventional epigram,

1. Gaetul. *Anth. Pal.* 7.71 = 4 Page, *FGE* (also printed as Archil. test. 66 Tarditi, 22 Gerber).

2. See M. Gabathuler, *Hellenistische Epigramme auf Dichter* (Inaugural-Diss., University of Basel [Leipzig, 1937]), who limits his discussion to Hellenistic poets (Gaetulicus' epigram is mentioned in passing on p. 81, n. 126).

3. *Anth. Pal.* 7.408 = 58 Gow-Page, *HE* = Hipp. test. 16 Degani<sup>2</sup>, 9 Gerber; cf. also Philipp. *Anth. Pal.* 7.405 = 34 Gow-Page, *GP* = Hipp. test. 15 Degani<sup>2</sup>, 8 Gerber. For Archilochus as a wasp, see Callim. frag. 380.2 Pfeiffer = Archil. test. 29 Tarditi, 36 Gerber, a passage that may also have influenced Gaetulicus (see n. 26 below). In these contexts the wasp is the familiar symbol of irascibility, and anger was seen by ancient commentators as a salient feature of early ἱαμβος (e.g., Hor. *Ars P.* 79: *Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo*). On the significance of the wasp, see M. Davies and J. Kithirathamby, *Greek Insects* (New York, 1986), 75–76, and I. C. Beavis, *Insects and Other Invertebrates in Classical Antiquity* (Exeter, 1988), 193.

4. For the relationship between the two poets, see M. Gigante, *L'edera di Leonida* (Naples, 1971), 94–95; Page, *FGE*, p. 49.

5. See Page, *FGE*, pp. 49–50. It is possible that the author of our epigram is to be identified with Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus, who was executed by Gaius in 39 C.E., although, as commentators note, certainty is impossible. For his career, see C. Murison on Suet. *Galb.* 6.2 (*Suetonius: Galba, Otho, Vitellius* [Bristol, 1992], 42); for his literary interests, E. Courtney, *The Fragmentary Latin Poets* (Oxford, 1993), 345–46.

6. Gaetulicus' epigram is unusual in referring to three daughters. For a survey of the testimonia and a discussion of the evidence for the feud with Lycambes, see C. G. Brown in *A Companion to the Greek Lyric Poets*, ed. D. E. Gerber (Leiden, 1997), 50–54 (passages concerning the suicide are collected at p. 50, n. 31).

7. Cf. C. O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1971), on Hor. *Ars P.* 79; this view stands in sharp contrast to the Aristotelian position, according to which Homer developed the ἱαμβικὴ ἰδέα in the

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straightforward in vocabulary and phrasing," but the imagery deployed in the relative clause in lines 1–3 calls for comment. In the Loeb translation W. R. Paton takes πικρὴν proleptically and αἰμάξας as possessing coincidental force (= καὶ ἥμαξεν, as Page notes): "... who first made the Muse bitter dipping her in vipers' gall, staining mild Helicon with blood."<sup>8</sup> This view of the participle seems plausible, but the case for seeing πικρὴν as proleptic is less persuasive. It is far more natural to follow the word order, and take the adjective attributively with Μοῦσαν.<sup>9</sup> Commentators have typically understood πικρός as meaning "bitter," but that meaning is an extension of the word's basic meaning, "sharp,"<sup>10</sup> which is the most likely sense in the present passage, especially since the clause implicitly compares the Muse to an arrow. Πικρός is a regular epithet of δῖστος in epic (*Il.* 4.118, etc.; cf. γλωχίς, *Soph. Trach.* 681), and the adjective retains that sense when used metaphorically of what we would describe as "barbed" utterance (cf. Eur. *HF* 1288: γλώσσης πικροῖς κέντροις).<sup>11</sup> Gaetulicus describes the Muse as an already sharp weapon that Archilochus rendered deadly by dipping it in venom.

These lines reflect the characteristic subtlety of Hellenistic epigrams,<sup>12</sup> and are further enriched by a striking set of associations. "Dipping" a Muse in Echidnaean gall seems to recall Heracles' arrows, which he poisoned by dipping them in the gall of the Lernaean Hydra.<sup>13</sup> Page (ad loc.) argues that Ἐχιδναῖος does not mean "viperish," but refers more specifically to Echidna, the mythic progenitor of a monstrous brood. According to Hesiod (*Theog.* 313), the Hydra was the offspring of Echidna and Ty-

*Margites* (Poet. chap. 4). Especially close to the language of Gaetulicus' epigram are Men. *PCG* frag. 119: ὅστις ποτὲ / ὁ πρῶτος ἦν γήμας; and Dioscorides, *Anth. Pal.* 7.410.1–2 = 20 Gow-Page, *HE* (on Thespis): τραγικὴν ὃς ἀνέπλασσα πρῶτος αἰοδῶν / κομήταις. For πρῶτος or *primus* (regularly in a relative clause) in passages that concern a πρῶτος εὐρετής, see R. G. M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace "Odes" Book 1* (Oxford, 1970), on *Hor. Carm.* 1.3.12; P. Fedeli, *Properzio: Il libro terzo delle Elegie* (Bari, 1985), on *Prop.* 3.1.3; J. C. McKeown, *Ovid: "Amores,"* vol. 3 (Liverpool, 1998), on *Ov. Am.* 2.3.3 and 2.11.1–2. That πρῶτος is a stereotypical feature of passages of this sort is suggested by parodies such as Eub. *PCG* frag. 115 and Men. *PCG* frag. 119: see R. L. Hunter, *Eubulus: The Fragments* (Cambridge, 1983), on Eubulus frag. 72.1 (= *PCG* 72); and W. G. Arnott, *Alexis, The Fragments: A Commentary* (Cambridge, 1996), on Alexis frag. 27.1–2.

8. W. R. Paton, ed. and trans. *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass., 1917), 42–45. The translation that accompanies Beckby's authoritative Tusculum edition ("... der als erster seine Gesänge in Gift tötender Nattern getaucht...") is too free to be helpful (Hermann Beckby, ed. and trans. *Anthologia Graeca*, vol. 2 [Munich, 1957], 54–55).

9. So the translation in P. Waltz's Budé edition (*Anthologie grecque*, vol. 4 [Paris, 1960]): "... qui jadis, le premier, baigna son âpre muse du fiel vipérin, ensanglantant l'Helicon débonnaire"; D. E. Gerber, *Greek Iambic Poetry* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999), 51 (Archil. test. 22): "... who was first to dip a bitter Muse in Echidna's gall and to stain mild Helicon with blood." For the image of bloodying Helicon, cf. *Prop.* 3.3.42: *nec Aonium [= Helicon] tingere Marte nemus* (for the text and interpretation, in which *Marte = bellantium cruore*, cf. D. R. Shackelton Bailey, *Propertiana* [Cambridge, 1956], 141; and Fedeli, *Properzio* [n. 7 above], ad loc.).

10. See M. Treu, *Von Homer zur Lyrik*<sup>2</sup>, *Zetemata* 12 (Munich, 1968), 78 and 273.

11. The basic meaning "sharp" persists throughout antiquity, and so, for example, in the second century C.E. Longus can describe Chloe's kiss as "sharper than the sting of a bee" (1.18.1: τὸ δὲ φίλημα κέντρον μελίσσης πικρότερον).

12. For the epigrams from Archilochus and their awareness of both his poetry and the literary tradition, see J. Latacz, "Freuden der Göttin gibt's ja für junge Männer mehere . . . : Zur Kölner Epode des Archilochus (Fr. 196a W.)," *MH* 49 (1992): 11–12; E. Irwin, "Biography, Fiction, and the Archilochian *ainos*," *JHS* 118 (1998): 180–81.

13. [Apollod.] 2.5.2: τὸ δὲ σῶμα τῆς ὕδρας ἀνασχίσας τῇ χολῇ τοὺς δίστους ἔβαπεν (cf. *Hyg. Fab.* 30 Marshall). This detail is attested as early as Stesichorus (frag. S 15 ii 4–6 Davies: χολᾷ, / ὀλεσάνορος αἰολοδείρου / δδύναισιν Ὑδρας). For πάντα used of dipping arrows in the Hydra's venom, see also Eur. *HF* 1187–88: μαίνομένῃ πιτύλῃ πλαγχθεῖς / ἑκατογκεφάλου βαφαῖς ὕδρας; Zen. 6.26 (1.169 Leutsch-Schneidewin): καὶ τῇ χολῇ ταύτης [the Hydra] τοὺς δίστους βάψας, θανατηφόρους εἰργάσατο; [Apollod.], loc. cit.; *Soph. Trach.* 574 may be relevant, but both text and interpretation are uncertain (see Davies ad loc.).

phaon, but in later antiquity mythic allusions become more casual, and so Ovid can speak simply of *Lernaeae virus echidnae* (*Met.* 9.158).<sup>14</sup> In Gaetulicus' epigram the use of the rare adjective Ἐχιδναῖος not only draws attention to the traditional parentage of Heracles' opponent, but emphasizes the deadly nature of the poison, a point that also informs Ovid's descriptions. The labors of Heracles constituted a popular cycle of myths, but Gaetulicus' evocation of Heracles here almost certainly bears a special significance. We might superficially suggest that the hero is merely a convenient image for the aggressive satirist, much as Aristophanes used the imagery of Heracles the monster slayer to describe himself.<sup>15</sup> The point, however, may be far less generalized than that, for the hero's slaying of the centaur Nessus with those very poisoned arrows is the only traditional myth that is known to have been recounted in Archilochus' poetry (frags. 286–89 West<sup>2</sup>). Exactly how the Parian poet treated the myth of Heracles and in what kind of poem he did so remain mysteries.<sup>16</sup> We have considerable evidence for the prominence in his epodes of another traditional narrative type, Aesopic fables,<sup>17</sup> but it would be hazardous to make inferences concerning the function of myth in Archilochus on the basis of his use of the fable, for the two types of narrative function very differently. In early Greek poetry fable expresses παραινέσις; myth, on the other hand, typically offers a paradigm. In this light, the full implications of Gaetulicus' allusion must remain uncertain; all that can be said is that the reference to Heracles is carefully chosen and almost certainly a subtle allusion to Archilochus' poetry.

In combining the image of Archilochus' Muse as poisoned arrow with a reference to Archilochus as πρῶτος εὐρητής of the literary genre associated with him, Gaetulicus seems also to be alluding to ancient discussion of the etymology and basic significance of ἵαμβος.<sup>18</sup> The word has resisted analysis by modern scholars: no convincing etymology or explanation has been proposed, and it is very likely that the term ἵαμβος is pre-Greek in origin.<sup>19</sup> In antiquity there were a number of speculative etymologies in circulation, some attempting merely to account for the shape of the word, but other explanations were prompted by some understanding of the term.<sup>20</sup> It is now generally agreed that the familiar view of ἵαμβος as a term denoting a unit of metrical movement is secondary, perhaps the result of the influence of the musical writings of Damon,<sup>21</sup> and that consideration of the metrical form played little role in ancient etymologizing. Among ancient grammarians the most common approach taken to explain the word was through some notion of utterance. The *Etymologicum Magnum* (p. 463.29) derives the word from τὸ ἰὰν βάζειν, "to utter an ἰά," a rather uncommon noun, often rendered

14. Cf. also *Fast.* 5.405: *sanguine Centauri Lernaeae sanguis echidnae / mixtus*. That both of these Ovidian passages occur in accounts of the death of Heracles may be noteworthy.

15. *Ar. Vesp.* 1029–44 = *Pax* 751–60; see G. Mastromarco, "L'eroe e il mostro (Aristofane, *Vespe* 1029–1044)," *RFIC* 117 (1989): 410–23.

16. For some speculative discussion, see M. Steinrück, *Iambos: Studien zum Publikum einer Gattung in der frühgriechischen Literatur*, Spudasmata 79 (Hildesheim and New York, 2000), 44–47.

17. For a survey of the evidence see Brown, *Companion* (n. 6 above), 59–60 (74, for Semonides).

18. There is as yet no comprehensive treatment of the use of etymologizing in ancient poetry. It is, however, a common feature of Alexandrian and post-Alexandrian poetry. Among commentators R. L. Hunter has shown himself to be particularly alive to etymologizing (see the indexes to his *Apollonius Rhodius: "Argonautica" Book III* [Cambridge, 1989], and his *Theocritus: A Selection* [Cambridge, 1999]).

19. For discussion of the origins of ἵαμβος with reference to earlier literature, see Brown, *Companion*, 13–42; K. Lennartz, "Zum 'erweiterten' Jambusbegriff," *RhM* 143 (2000): 225–50.

20. There is a comparable tradition of popular etymology for παιάν: see I. Rutherford, *Pindar's Paeans: A Reading of the Fragments with a Survey of the Genre* (Oxford, 2001), 25–26.

21. Cf. *Pl. Resp.* 400b7 with M. L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford, 1992), 243–44. Against this sort of view Lennartz (n. 19 above) argues that metrical form is in fact central to early ἵαμβος.

"voice," but in classical literature referring more often to some high-pitched sound.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, Diomedes (*Gramm. Lat.* 1.477.6 Keil) derives ἱαμβος from τὸ ἰέναι καὶ βοᾶν, which is simply an attempt to account for the shape of the word, implausibly providing a root for both ἱαμ- and -βος.<sup>23</sup>

The *Etymologicum Magnum* also offers τὸ ἰὸν βάζειν ("to speak an arrow") as an explanation of ἱαμβος, and this seems to be an etymology that was closer to the early understanding of the meaning of the term. This proposal is offered with a gloss: ὥς τὰ βέλη βάλλειν τὰ λεγόμενα. Ovid describes Archilochean ἱαμβος in very similar terms in a passage with affinities with Gaetulicus' epigram (*Ib.* 53–54: *postmodo, si perges, in te mihi liber iambus / tincta Lycambeo sanguine tela dabit*). The image of words as weapons, moreover, is a common one in Greek poetry, and may have served to support this understanding.<sup>24</sup> The notion of utterance is here combined with the general notion of verbal abuse, the earliest attested view of the meaning of ἱαμβος.<sup>25</sup> There is a similar suggestion in a scholion to Hephaestion (p. 300.5 Consbruch), but in this case τὸ ἰὸν βάζειν is explained as λόγους μεστοὺς πικρίας λέγειν, and so it appears that ἰός was here understood somewhat differently. In Greek, ἰός ("arrow") is homonymous with ἰός ("poison"), and the scholiast here seems to take τὸ ἰὸν βάζειν as meaning "to speak poison."<sup>26</sup> By virtue of verbal similarity the arrows of ἱαμβος have been extended to become poisoned arrows, and this brings us back to Gaetulicus' epigram, in which Archilochus is presented as the Heracles of ἱαμβος, wielding his arrows against gentle Helicon, just as the poet directed the venom of his πόγος at Lycambes and his daughters.<sup>27</sup>

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22. It is used of lamentation (Aesch. *Pers.* 936; cf. also ἰαί, Soph. *TrGF* frag. 631, with Hsch. [βάρβαρον θρήνημα]); it refers to the voice of a child (oracle at Hdt. 1.85); it is used of the sound of the flute (σύριγγος ἰά, [Eur.] *Rhes.* 553). ἰά appears to be connected with ἰή, a ritual cry to Apollo, which is in turn related to ἵσσιος, a common epithet of Apollo but associated with lamentation as well (cf. Soph. *TrGF* frag. 632).

23. Cf. also Marius Victorinus (*Gramm. Lat.* 1.6.44.28 Keil), who derived ἱαμβος from ἰέναι βάδην; Diomedes (*Gramm. Lat.* 1.477.6 Keil) claimed to find the derivation from τὸ ἰέναι καὶ βοᾶν in the *Iliu Persis*, where it occurs in relation to the figure of Iambos (frag. 6 Bernabé = frag. dub. 1 Davies); but both this passage and the explanation appear to be late: see M. L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin, 1974), p. 23, n. 4. There may be an allusion to the derivation from τὸ ἰέναι καὶ βοᾶν in Jul. *Anth. Pal.* 7.69.5, where the efficacy of Archilochus' ἱαμβοί is described with a reference to the μέγα σθένος of his βοή.

24. Cf. Pind. *Ol.* 2.89–90, 9.5–12; Aesch. *Sept.* 563, *Cho.* 381, *Eum.* 676, *PV* 311, 932; Soph. *Ant.* 1084; Eur. *Alc.* 679–80, *TGF*<sup>2</sup> frag. 499; Ar. *Nub.* 943–44, *Ran.* 854–55, *Ach.* 685–86; Eup. *PCG* frag. 348; Plato Com. *PCG* frag. 69. See J. Taillardat, *Les Images d'Aristophane*<sup>2</sup> (Paris, 1965), 331; J. C. Kamerbeek, *The Plays of Sophocles: Commentaries*, vol. 1 (Leiden, 1963), on Soph. *Aj.* 834. That ἱαμβος is some sort of weapon is implicit in Hor. *Ars P.* 79 (quoted above, n. 3).

25. Cf. Aristotle's explanation of τὸ ἱαμβεῖον μέτρον: διὸ καὶ ἱαμβεῖον καλεῖται νῦν, ὅτι ἐν τῷ μέτρῳ τούτῳ ἱάμβιζον ἀλλήλους (*Poet.* 1448b31); see further Brown, *Companion*, 14–16.

26. Callimachus seems to have had this meaning of ἱαμβος in mind when writing of Archilochus (frag. 380 Pfeiffer): εἴλκυσε δὲ δριμύν τε χόλον κυνὸς ὄζυ τε κέντρον / σφηκός, ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων δ' ἰὸν ἔχει στόματος. It is striking that Callimachus here combines gall (χόλος) with a sharp point (κέντρον) not unlike that of an arrowhead. Cf. also Jul. *Anth. Pal.* 7.69.3–4: φυλάσσειο θυμὸν ἰάμβων / δριμύν πικροχόλου τικτόμενον στόματος.

27. For the venom of Archilochus' ἱαμβοί, see Callim. (preceding note); anon. *Anth. Pal.* 9.185 = anon. 32 Page, *FGE*: Ἀρχιλόχου τάδε μέτρα καὶ ἡχήμεντες ἱαμβοί, / θυμοῦ καὶ φοβερῆς ἰὸς ἐπεσβολῆς; perhaps Hor. *Epist.* 1.19.31 (alluding to Lycambes): *quem versibus oblinat atris*. In the last passage R. Mayer, *Horace "Epistles" Book I* (Cambridge, 1994), ad loc., states that *atris* means "spiteful," but *ater* is commonly used of poison (cf. *OLD*, s.v. 9), and, in light of Gaetulicus' epigram, *Epod.* 17.31–32 provides an interesting parallel: *neque atro delibutus Hercules / Nessi cruore* (the blood "was black because of contamination with the Hydra venom on Hercules' arrows," D. Mankin, *Horace: "Epodes"* [Cambridge, 1995], ad loc., although it should be noted that μέλαν αἷμα is a Homeric formula, *Il.* 4.149, etc.).

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