

date which is here proposed for the Epicurean Treatise: between A.D. 220 and 230.

## II

This medicine may be too painful to swallow, but relief is at hand—another candidate. Two inscriptions referring to another D. can be firmly linked to the reign of Septimius Severus.

5. Heberdey/Kalinka, *op. cit.* (1897) 51 no. 70.

Ἀυτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Λουκίῳ Σεπτεμίῳ (sic) Σευήρ[ω]--- [Διογ]ένης Μάρκου Μάρκου δις τοῦ καὶ Σωσικοῦ κατεσκευάσεν τὸ βουκομιστήριον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων καὶ ἀντὶ ἀρχῆς ἐλε/οθεσίας.

When HK first published this text from the Agora, where it is inscribed on two parts of the cornice of an ornamented doorway into a narrow building fronting the Agora, they read [Διό]γνης as the name of the donor. The correct name is shown by an inscription on a tomb-cover, recorded by Kalinka in 1895 and preserved in the Vienna *Schedae* (no. 55):

6. Κατεσκευάσαν τὴν σωμα/τοθήκην ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων Ἀπολ/ώνιος Ἑρμαίου Μαγαντος / δις καὶ Διογένης Μάρκου δι[is] / τοῦ καὶ Σωσικοῦ ἑαυτοῖς / καὶ ταῖς γυναιξίν αὐτῶν ἐ/πι τωτον (sic)

Diogenes son of Marcus (bis), otherwise Sosicus, shares a tomb with Apollonius, son of Hermaius, son of Magas, and with their wives. We may suspect that they were related, since a Diogenes son of Magas (bis), son of Diogenes, turns up in the reign of Alexander Severus, when he wins the boys' pancration.<sup>20</sup> The first D. was clearly wealthy enough to make a substantial gift to his city in a prominent place.

Two generations later another D., who died young, was honoured by a statue whose base still stands *in situ* at the south-west corner of the Agora (PLATE VIIIa). The first part of the inscription on the shaft was published by Petersen and von Luschan in *Reisen in Lykien Milyas und Kibyratis* (Wien 1889), ii 179–80 no. 229:

7. [Δ]ιογένην τὸν καὶ Ἀπολ/ώνιον, υἱὸν τῶν ἀξιο/λογωτάτων Μάρκων [Ἀύ]/ρηλίῳ Ὀρθαγοριαν[οῦ] / Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ Σαρ[πη]/δόνιδος τῆς καὶ Διογε/ρείας προμοίρως τε[τε]/λευτηκότα νεανίαν ἀξι/ώματι καὶ λόγων ἀ[ρ]ε[τῆ] / διαπρέψαντα μνημῆς ἐ/νεκεν κ[αὶ] τῆς εἰς τοὺς / [γ]ονεῖς παραμυθία[ι]ς βου/λῆς καὶ δήμου κρίσει.

4: Ὀρθαγό[ρ]α [τοῦ καὶ] P.L. See PLATE VIIIa.

5–6: Σαρ[πη]/δόνιδος to be preferred to the original Σαρ/δωνίδος.<sup>21</sup>

Beneath the main inscription are four more lines of text in smaller letters, of which the original editors despaired: 'Die unten stehenden Distichen(?) scheinen unheilbar' (179). Efforts by Heberdey in 1895 and 1902 produced a sketch which remains unpublished in the Vienna *Schedae* (no. 30); further study of the stone, first by the late Professor Bean and then by myself, assisted by Professor Philip DeLacy, has established the following text, which I present here without apparatus or detailed discussion, postponing these to another occasion.

<sup>20</sup> Survey Inventory No. 1050 (=Vienna *Schedae* no. 52). This inscription will be published elsewhere.

<sup>21</sup> For another Lycian example, see IGR iii 693, from Aperlae.

[τ]ίς, πόθεν; ἔνθεν ἔφυν· γενεὴ δὲ τίς; εὐκλεές αἶμα· ἐκ προγόνων—πεύσει—τροῦνομα· Διογένης· ἔργα; λογοί· τίς ἔτεισε; πάτρη· τινὸς εἶνεκα; πάτρη[ς]· πρὸς τί; φιλαιδήμον· θῆκε τίς; οἱ τόκες·

The prematurely deceased D., otherwise Apollonius, was the son of M. Aurelius Orthagorianus and Marcia Aurelia Sarpedonis, otherwise Diogeneia. His first name is clearly derived from his mother's family, and she is likely to have been the daughter of the D. in (5) or (6). The verses below are cast in the form of a series of questions, the answers to which reveal the home, family and achievements of the deceased. The genre is well known, and has been thoroughly studied. The vocabulary is Homeric and remains standard on monuments which cover a long period of time.<sup>22</sup> The verses stress that it is the literary achievements—his *λογοί*—which are the young man's chief claim to fame, and they offer a strong contrast to the record of civic virtue or agonistic victories on most of the other statue-bases found in this part of the city.

Was it an achievement characteristic of his mother's family, or merely a commonplace? Are we faced here with a reference backwards to the intellectual achievements of a more famous member of the family, the Epicurean D.? In that case, does Diogenes son of Marcus, son of Marcus (bis) otherwise Sosicus, whose full name will have been Marcus Aurelius Diogenes = Diogenes the Epicurean? This identification would permit a date for the inscription early in the Severan period.

## III

None of these arguments can dispose of the possibility that the Epicurean D. is so far known to us only from his Treatise. The direct ancestors of Flavianus D. include three successive D.s. If a Hadrianic or Antonine date is essential to the peace of mind of our colleagues in Ancient Philosophy, then a suitable candidate can be supplied, but about him we can at present say nothing.

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<sup>22</sup> L. Robert, *Hellenica* iv 47–50, 'Epigrammes relatives à des Gouverneurs', studies an example praising another Lycian from Sidyma, Flavius Eutolmius Tatianus, which probably dates from the early fifth century A.D. The present example is unlikely to be later than 230 A.D.

## The Bird Cataractes

Mr J. K. Anderson, in his recent note 'Stymphalian and other birds',<sup>1</sup> refers to a modern account of Pelicans in Florida being injured by diving upon fish fastened to boards floating just below the surface of the water, and compares it with the statement of Dionysius (*Ixeuticon* iii 22) that the ancients took the bird named Cataractes by means of fish painted upon floating planks, upon which the birds dived. He then quotes with approval a suggestion by the referee of *JHS* that only birds which dive from the air, like Terns and Pelicans, could be caught in this way; that Terns would be too small to be worth catching; and that Cataractes in Dionysius' statement must therefore be a Pelican.

<sup>1</sup> *JHS* xcvi (1976) 146.

To this conclusion there is, however, a grave objection: ornithological authorities make it clear that only one species of Pelican feeds by diving from a height, and that that species is confined to the New World. For instance, one of them<sup>2</sup> describes the Pelican family's method of feeding thus: 'Pelicans . . . are highly gregarious, and when fishing they may sweep the shallows in line with flapping wings; or a compact party may swim quietly about . . . dipping their heads under water in unison. In one species, as will be noted later, the method of fishing is quite different'; and later he says (608): 'The New World has two species . . . [One of these] is the Brown Pelican *Pelecanus occidentalis* . . . which . . . catches fish by plunging from the wing, often from a considerable height.'<sup>3</sup> Clearly, only this species could be caught by Dionysius' method: it would not work for catching Pelicans in the Old World.

The statement that Terns are too small to be worth catching is also highly questionable. At the present day, birds smaller than Terns—Thrushes, Larks, Warblers, Finches, etc.—are regularly shot and trapped for food in Mediterranean countries, as British conservationists frequently complain.<sup>4</sup> Ancient Greeks and Romans shared this taste for small birds: Thrushes (*turdi*, κίχλαι) they regarded as a delicacy,<sup>5</sup> some Romans also ate Blackbirds and Nightingales,<sup>6</sup> and Dionysius himself describes how to capture all three species,<sup>7</sup> and a variety of other small land-birds.<sup>8</sup> At the present day, 'Terns are trapped for food . . . along most of the west coast of Africa from Senegal to Angola'.<sup>9</sup> Whether it would be possible to catch Terns by the method Dionysius describes I do not know, but there is no reason to assert that the ancients would not have thought them worth catching.

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<sup>2</sup> *A New Dictionary of Birds*, ed. by Sir A. Landsborough Thomson (London 1964) 607.

<sup>3</sup> For similar accounts see, for instance, W. B. Alexander, *Birds of the Ocean* (revised edn, London 1955) 172, 177; K. M. Bauer and U. N. Glutz von Blotzheim, *Handbuch der Vögel Mitteleuropas* 1 (Frankfurt am Main 1966) 279. With my quotation compare Dionysius' statement (*op. cit.* ii 7) that Pelicans (πελεκίνοι), when feeding, 'do not dive completely under water, but dip their necks' (J. Pollard's translation, *Birds in Greek Life* [London 1977] 75): he clearly does not believe that they dive from a height.

<sup>4</sup> See the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds magazine *Birds* iv (1972/3) 290; v 1 (1974) 8; vi 1 (1976) 35; vi 4 (1976) 34–6: on the destruction of small birds in Cyprus, France, Malta and Italy.

<sup>5</sup> See Sir D'A. W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*<sup>2</sup> (London 1936) 149 (s.v. κίχλη): J. M. C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (London 1973) 277 f. and nn. A wall-painting of food from Herculaneum includes Thrushes: see *Pompeii A.D. 79* (catalogue of exhibition at the Royal Academy, London 1976–7) item 255.

<sup>6</sup> Toynbee *op. cit.* 276 f. and nn.

<sup>7</sup> *Ix*. iii 13. For further references, from other authors, see D'A. Thompson *op. cit.* s.v. ἀηδών, κόσσυφος. A mosaic from Piazza Armerina shows two men trying to catch Thrushes (reproduced by K. Lindner, *Beiträge zu Vogelfang und Falknerei im Altertum* [Berlin 1973] 31).

<sup>8</sup> See, for instance, *Ix*. iii 2–5, on the capture of Larks (κορύδαλοι), Sparrows (στρουθοί), and other, presumably similar, birds. (On the identification of these birds see D'A. Thompson, *op. cit.*, and A. Garzya's notes in his 1963 Teubner edition of Dionysius. The small size of στρουθοί is confirmed by *Ix*. ii 16 τῶν βραχυράτων στρουθῶν κτλ.) Further references to the killing and eating of small birds are cited by Pollard *op. cit.* 104–7 (he regards Cataractes in *Ix*. iii 22 as a Tern: *op. cit.* 106).

<sup>9</sup> S. Cramp, W. R. P. Bourne and D. Saunders, *The Seabirds of Britain and Ireland* (London 1974) 145.

## Polyphemos and his Near Eastern Relations

(PLATE VIIIb)

A number of studies of the Cyclops episode of *Odyssey* ix have described modern folktales which resemble it to a varying degree.<sup>1</sup> Most writers have concluded that few of the tales actually derive from the *Odyssey*; rather they are related to it as independent variations of the same tale. Hitherto there has been no basis for conjecture about the origin of the tale, and speculation has ranged widely but inconclusively.<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps speculation is all we can ever hope for in such questions. But it may help if we can find possible references to a version of the tale earlier than Homer, and the purpose of this note is to draw attention to such a possibility.

One-eyed but otherwise human figures are found, though not often, on cylinder seals from Mesopotamia. Edith Porada describes and illustrates three examples.<sup>3</sup> The earliest of these (PLATE VIIIb) dates from around 3000 B.C., and shows the one-eyed figure nude, curly-haired and bearded, holding up two lions by the hind legs. The rest of the scene includes an enclosure of some sort, a grotesque man(?) apparently bending a stick(?), two creatures that look like sheep, and two lion-headed birds (the personified storm-cloud?).<sup>4</sup>

The second representation is from Fara (ancient Shuruppak) on a sealing of about 2600–2450 B.C. Here the cyclopic figure is one of eight assorted contesting creatures, their bodies criss-crossing each other. His body is crossed with that of a bull-man.

The third (c. 2500 B.C.) again shows contesting animals, battled by a bull-man and the cyclopic figure.

Porada is cautious in interpretation. She agrees with Frankfort that the hero-and-bull-man association may have been felt to reflect the joint exploits of Gilgamesh and Enkidu<sup>5</sup> but remarks that 'no mention is found in Mesopotamian literature to the effect that Gilgamesh was one-eyed—like the Cyclops of Odysseus'.<sup>6</sup>

Karl Oberhuber has recently argued that indeed Gilgamesh was originally a one-eyed creature, on the basis of etymological connections of his name.<sup>7</sup> He believes the title/first line of the epic (*Gilgamesh*) *ša nagba imuru* was translated and deviously Graecised to become Πολύφημος Κύκλωψ. I am not qualified to discuss his Sumerian and Akkadian linguistic arguments, and can only remark that the expression Πολύφημος Κύκλωψ is unheard of in Homer.

But whether or not the one-eyed figure of the Mesopotamian seals has anything to do with Gilgamesh, it seems a distinct possibility that he reflects a story related to those that gave rise to Polyphemos. The Cyclops adventure in

<sup>1</sup> One of the best and most recent is by J. Glenn, *TAPA* cii (1971) 133–82. Other interesting discussions are those by D. L. Page, *The Homeric Odyssey* ch. 1, and G. S. Kirk, *Myth, its Meaning and Functions* 162–71. Further references are given in Glenn's paper.

<sup>2</sup> Glenn *op. cit.* 142.

<sup>3</sup> 'Sumerian Art in Miniature', in *The Legacy of Sumer*, ed. D. Schmandt-Besserat (*Bibliotheca Mesopotamica* iv: Malibu 1976) 107–18, esp. 112–13 and 115–16 and figs 14, 16, 18.

<sup>4</sup> On this cylinder see also E. Porada, *Mesopotamian Art in Cylinder Seals of the Pierpont Morgan Collection* 16, and B. L. Goff, *Symbols of Prehistoric Mesopotamia* 69, 214 and fig. 283. I am grateful to the Pierpont Morgan Library for the photograph which appears as PLATE VIIIb and for permission to reproduce it.

<sup>5</sup> *Cylinder Seals* 62–7. Cf. also Goff *op. cit.* 241–52.

<sup>6</sup> *Mesopotamian Art in Cylinder Seals* . . . 16.

<sup>7</sup> *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft* xxi (1974) 147–53.