

EΙΣΙ ΤΡΙΧΕΣ: AN EROTIC MOTIF IN THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY

IN Book xii of the *Greek Anthology* many of the old motifs of erotic poetry are applied to the love of boys. Among these motifs a form of the *carpe diem* calls our attention. Youth and the beloved's charms are there granted a very short span: the growth of hair marks the end of a boy's attraction.¹ Of this basic idea we find numerous variations in over thirty epigrams, Hellenistic and late, not unlike those on the more general motif of fleeting youth. We shall group the poems and interpret them according to the variations of this motif.

I

The boy is now willing to love when it is too late: the hairs have come. The lover, whether by threats, warnings, or vaunts that it has happened, implicitly rejects the advances of the young man.

Ia. Our first epigram (Asclep. 46 = *A.P.* xii 36)² is headed 'Ἀσκληπιάδου Ἀδραμυττήνου. If by Asclepiades of Samos it would be chronologically the first in our list. Yet the ascription is far from certain,³ and the choice of the epigram as our starting point is, therefore, arbitrary.

νῦν αἰτεῖς ὅτε λεπτός ὑπὸ κροτάφοισιν ἴουλος
ἔρπει καὶ μηροῖς ὄξυς ἔπεστι χνόος.
εἶτα λέγεις, 'ἦδιον ἐμοὶ τόδε.' καὶ τίς ἂν εἴποι
κρεῖσσονας αὐχμηρὰς ἀσταχύων καλάμας;

Now you offer yourself, when the tender bloom is advancing under your temples and there is a prickly down on your thighs. And then you say, 'I prefer this'. But who would say that the dry stubble is better than the eared corn?

The poem is very symmetrically built, νῦν αἰτεῖς at the beginning of line 1 being echoed by εἶτα λέγεις at the beginning of 3 and then by ἂν εἴποι at the end, and λεπτός . . . ἴουλος in 1 contrasted by ὄξυς . . . χνόος in 2. αἰτεῖς certainly means 'want to be courted' rather than αἰτεῖς μισθόν (Jacobs)—the rest of the epigram clarifies the erotic connotations of the verb. The motif is established from the start with the almost formulaic ὑπὸ κροτάφοισιν ἴουλος.⁴ ἴουλος is particularly pointed in an epigram ending with a metaphor of ears of corn because of its second meaning of 'cornsheaf'.⁵ ἀσταχύων of course stands for the boy's beauty before adolescence and

¹ D. L. Page, *The epigrams of Rufinus* (Cambridge 1978) lists the hair motif as one of the variations on the theme of the revenge of the passing years on a proud boy (cf. preface to 7, p. 78, and 10, p. 81). The appearance of the beard is considered sometimes an enhancement of a boy's beauty (e.g. *Od.* x 278–9; *Il.* xxiv 347–8; *Pl. Prot.* 309a–b; *Xen. Symp.* iv 23; *Lucian Alex.* 6, *Am.* 10; *Sen. Ep.* 95. 24; *Philostr. Ep.* 15, and *Ep.* 13), sometimes the end of his attraction, e.g. Bion of Borysthenes *fr.* 55 and 56, ed. J. F. Kindstrand (Uppsala 1976) 126; *Gnomologium Vaticanum*, ed. L. Sternbach ii (Berlin 1963), 262; *Hor. Carm.* iv 10; *Catul.* 33.7–8; *Tib.* i 8.31–2; and G. Luck, 'Kids and wolves (an interpretation of Callimachus, *fr.* 202.69–70 Pf.)', *CQ* ix (1959) 34–7. See also in general *RE* xi. 1 (1921) s.v. 'Knabenliebe' 897–906 (Kroll); K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (London/Cambridge, Mass. 1978) 184–203.

² For epigrams included in A. S. F. Gow and D. L.

Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams or The Garland of Philip I* give both the Gow–Page number and that in *A.P.* Unless otherwise stated I print Gow–Page's text for the epigrams they have edited, Beckby's for the later ones, and Paton's translations except for those epigrams translated by Gow–Page.

³ The ethnic Ἀδραμυττήνου (corrected from Ἀδραμυτίνου) is not attached to any other epigram by Asclepiades of Samos, who had no known connection with Adramyttium. The epigram may therefore be the work of an otherwise unknown namesake (cf. Gow–Page *ad loc.*). It is generally similar to the probably dependent Anon. *A.P.* xii 182, on a related motif.

⁴ Cf. *Od.* xi 319, ὑπὸ κ.; *Antip. Thess. A.P.* vi 198, ὑπὸ κ.; *Theoc. Id.* 15.85, ἀπὸ κ. (see Gow *ad loc.*, Headlam on Herodas i 92).

⁵ Cf. Demeter's name Ἰουλώ, Semus in *Ath.* xiv 618d (*PMG* 849).

seems to be making the point of *θέρος* in Philip 59.6 (see *Ie* below) or Strato *A.P.* xii 215.⁶ The enjambement of *ἔρπει* in line 2 figures, as it were, the suddenness of the growth of hair. *μηροῖς*, prominent in its projected position, leaves clearly established the parts of the body ravaged by adolescence: face and legs, a leitmotiv in these epigrams.⁷

The second couplet brings in the point of the epigram. The sense depends upon whether one takes *τις* as an interrogative or, with Jacobs and Brunck, as an indefinite pronoun. The latter leaves open the possibility that a shaggy boy may be attractive.⁸ The general tone, however, and especially the ironic end, seem to preclude this sense. The vegetal metaphor in the last line is an elaboration of the commoner one of faded youth as a withered flower:⁹ it takes us back to line 1 with its introduction of the motif in so far as it plays with the second meaning of *ῥουλος* (=corn-sheaf) there. The motif is clear from the beginning: even *τόδε* in line 3 obviously means 'the growth of hair in adolescence', which, the boy claims, is more pleasant than his previous condition. We shall see that other poets of the *Anthology* deal with this motif in more obscure and allusive manner.

Ib. In the same section of Book xii we find a distich by Alcaeus of Messene, Alcaeus 7 = *A.P.* xii 29:

Πρώταρχος καλός ἐστι καὶ οὐ θέλει· ἀλλὰ θελήσει
ὑστερον, ἢ δ' ὠρη λαμπάδ' ἔχουσα τρέχει.

Protarchus is fair and does not wish it, but later he will, and his youth races on holding a torch.

Irony and point are most remarkable here, conveyed mainly by the elliptical *θέλει* and *θελήσει*, full of suggestion, and by the original metaphor where the passing of time is represented as a runner who holds a torch and hands it on to the next runner¹⁰—a boy whose beauty fades away and is, as it were, passed on to a younger successor. The prominent position of *ὑστερον* in enjambement in line 2 emphasizes the main idea—the notion of 'too late'.

Two facts call our attention. First, the epigram deals not, like Asclepiades', with the moment when Protarchus discovers only too late that he is willing to love, but with the time when he still refuses to do so. It is outside the narrative of the events and in the poet's comment that, in a hypothetical future, the motif is brought in. Second, only the context in *A.P.* suggests that the lines have to do with the growth of hair, for this is not mentioned. Such is also the case with Thymocles 1 = *A.P.* xii 32, where moreover there is no boy's name (like Protarchus in Alcaeus), which makes even the location in Book xii—let alone in this section—a matter of interpretation. Yet the problem is more complicated in the case of Alcaeus, for in Sylloge S another distich is attached to it as a second couplet, which is also separately transmitted in Book xi (53) and in *A.Pl.*:

τὸ ῥόδον ἀκμάζει βαιὸν χρόνον, ἦν δὲ παρέλθη
ζητῶν εὐρήσεις οὐ ῥόδον ἀλλὰ βάτον.

⁶ For the *θέρος* image cf. Pind. *fr.* 123.1 Snell, *δρέπεσθαι*.

⁷ For *μηρός* cf. Dioscor. 10 = *A.P.* xii 37 and Lida Tarán, *The art of variation in the Hellenistic epigram* (Leiden 1979) 40–3; Asclep. 20 = *A.P.* xii 161 and Ludwig, *Fond. Hardt* xiv (1968) 328–32; Soph. *fr.* 320 Nauck²; Aesch. *fr.* 135, 136 Nauck²; Dover (n. 1) 70 and 197–8; Phanias 1 (*Ilc* below).

⁸ Cf. n. 1; Strato *A.P.* xii 10 (*Va* below) and 178 (*Vb*); Aelian *VH* x 18; Pollux ii 10.

⁹ Cf., in the epigrams dealing with this motif, Anon. 12 (*VIa* below); Anon. *A.P.* xi 53, below and p. 105;

Philip 59 (both metaphors; cf. *Ie* below for line 6 as a variation of our line 4); Strato *A.P.* xii 195, n. 77 below; and Rufin. *A.P.* v 28 (*If*). For *στάχυς* (here with prothetic *a metri gratia*) cf. Mel. 1 = *A.P.* iv 1.34 of Bacchylides' poems, and Flaccus 11 (n. 84 below). Rhianus 4 = *A.P.* xii 121.4, perhaps influenced by the poet of Asclep. 46, blends the conceit of the old lover as *αὐτηρὴ ἀνθερίκη* with that of the fire of love.

¹⁰ Cf. Gow–Page *ad loc.* for a complete discussion of the type of race involved. For the torch of life cf. Pl. *Leg.* 776b; Lucr. ii 79. For the motif of line 1 cf. already Sappho *fr.* 1.22–4 LP.

The rose blooms for a little season, and when that goes by thou shalt find, if thou seekest, no rose, but a briar.

These lines, with *βάτον* as metaphor for hair and *ρόδον* for the smooth, beardless cheek, would definitely fit Alcaeus' epigram to the context in *A.P.*, where it is followed by Alcaeus 8 = *A.P.* xii 30,¹¹ clearly dealing with the hair motif. It may have been precisely the motif of Alcaeus 8 that motivated the addition of the anonymous second couplet, which 'seems a considerable enfeeblement of the sentiment'¹² of Alcaeus 7. Perhaps what makes the two distichs look forced when put together is that each of them has a different, fully developed metaphor about the fleetness of youth: one is enough in such a short poem about such a well-known topic, and the second one weakens, as it were, the originality of the first.¹³ The anonymous couplet, however, must refer to the growth of hair, for a rose of course does not *become* a bramble with time. What the author means is that cheeks (soft and pink as roses) become prickly (like brambles) with the appearance of a beard, and this metaphor rather needs a specific reference to a boy like the one in Alcaeus 7.¹⁴ In any case, it should be said that the change of *τὸ* to *καί*, appearing in Sylloge S in the four line epigram, is worse than unnecessary: the second metaphor being longer and more detailed than that of the race and having a conditional sentence, the mere apposition of the two distichs is much more pointed and expressive.

1c. The key words of the motif open our next epigram, Automedon 10 = *A.P.* xi 326:

πώγων καὶ λάσιαι μηρῶν τρίχες, ὡς ταχὺ πάντα
ὁ χρόνος ἀλλάσσει· Κόννιχε, τοῦτ' ἐγένου;
οὐκ ἔλεγον ἄμῃ πάντα βαρὺς θέλε μηδὲ βάνουσος
εἶναι· καὶ κάλλους εἰσὶ τινες Νεμέσεις·
ἦλθες ἔσω μάνδρης, ὑπερήφανε. νῦν ὅτι βούλει
οἶδαμεν· ἀλλ' ἐξῆν καὶ τότε ἔχειν σε φρένας.

Beard and shaggy thigh-hairs, how quickly Time changes all things. Is this, Connichus, what you have come to? Did I not tell you, 'Seek not to be so harsh and rude in all ways; even beauty has its Nemesis'? Proud fellow, you have come within the fold. That you want it now, we know; you might have had as much sense in those days.

Addressed like the two previous pieces to a boy grown shaggy, this one is much longer and in a satirical vein apparent from the beginning, where an invocation to beard and legs' hair is mock-seriously coupled to a meditation on the ravages of time.¹⁵ Humor is especially conveyed in the first couplet because the statement *ὡς ταχὺ πάντα ὁ χρόνος ἀλλάσσει* and the question *τοῦτ' ἐγένου*; would normally be used in a confrontation with old age; the initial vocative *πώγων καὶ . . . τρίχες* destroys the possible anticlimax by warning us from the start that only adolescence is meant, that is, only the 'old age' of the *erōmenos*.

The second couplet contains, in a reported speech belonging to the past, the variation of the *carpe diem* motif as warning about the growth of hair.¹⁶ The plural wittily suggests that *Νεμέσεις* = hairs. The conceit is taken from Meleager, who refers to 'Nemesis that grows on the

¹¹ *IIa* below.

¹² Gow–Page, who, however, feel that the context of Alc. 7 (with a majority of the epigrams dealing with the growth of hair) is perhaps an argument in favor of the addition of the anonymous couplet.

¹³ It could be argued that this accumulation of metaphors is not unusual. Yet the two instances where Alcaeus can be said to have used them are not very similar to ours. In Alc. 6 = *A.P.* v 10 *τί πλέον, εἰ θεὸς ἄνδρα καταφλέγει* (3) and *τί . . . ἀπ' ἐμῆς ἄθλον ἔχει κεφαλῆς*; (3–4) are in a way reinforcements of *τί γὰρ βαρὺς οὐκ ἐπὶ θῆρας / ὄρνυται* (1–2), and in Alc. 8 *τῆς*

ἀμετακλήτου φρόντισον ἡλικίης (4) is after all a repetition of the idea of lines 1–2; yet in both cases we find more a variation and an expansion of the idea first expressed than a mere accumulation such as Alc. 7 plus the anonymous distich would present.

¹⁴ Cf. Rufin. *A.P.* v 28.6 (see *I f* below).

¹⁵ Cf. *λάσιος*, for *λάσιαι* here, in Flaccus 11 (n. 84 below).

¹⁶ Cf. especially Anon. 32 (*IIb* below); Diocles 4 (*IIe*); Anon. *A.P.* xi 51 (*IIh*); Phanias 1 (*IIc*); Mel. 90 (*II d*); Fronto *A.P.* xii 174 (*II f*). For *οὐκ ἔλεγον* cf. Page (n. 1) on Rufinus 7 = *A.P.* v 21.1, with references.

buttocks'.¹⁷ Meleager uses the singular, but his meaning is made clear by *ἐν γλουτοῖς φυομένη*. The thought is more allusive and metaphorical in Automedon, and his sense of 'retribution' is reinforced by the expegetic genitive *κάλλους*—hair, the retribution that will come and spoil initial beauty.

In the last couplet *ἦλθες ἔσω μάνδρης*, 'you have come within the fold', suggested to Jacobs the conceit in which the lover is compared to a he-goat and the beloved to a kid.¹⁸ For Gow–Page this interpretation reads too much into the line, which most likely means 'you have become tame' (Paton). A *μάνδρα* or fold is an animal pen for any purpose. It is not restricted to he-goats, and the words need not mean 'you are like a he-goat' any more than 'you are like a kid' or another domestic animal. Yet in this context *μάνδρα* gains point if it refers to he-goats—which must have been constrained in some way when they became of an age to mate but were not wanted for mating—whereas she-goats and kids could be allowed to roam.

The last line and a half sum up the content of the epigram and put forward this variation of the motif: 'Now you are willing to love¹⁹ when it is too late'. The plural *οἶδαμεν* seems to emphasize that not only the speaker but everyone else will now decline Connichus' advances.²⁰ The epigram, which started playfully with an address to beard and hairs, ends with a sarcastic note that suggests the resentment of a rejected lover.

Id. Nemesis recurs in another variation of the motif but not in the blunt metaphor that speaks of it as hair. In Flaccus 10 = *A.P.* xii 12:

ἄρτι γενειάζων ὁ καλὸς καὶ στερρὸς ἐρασταῖς
παιδὸς ἐρᾷ Λάδων· σύντομος ἢ Νέμεις.

Just as his beard begins to grow, Ladon, that beauty so harsh to lovers, is in love with a boy. Nemesis makes short work.

Nemesis punishes Ladon, a fastidious boy, by making him fall in love with another one just as he—Ladon—begins to have a beard. Like Alcaeus 7, this is set in the third person, not addressed to the boy. The distich begins with words that announce the motif.²¹ It is concise and pointed, with the first hemistich of the pentameter occupied by the kernel of the motif and the second by the ironic point. The brevity of the distich is meant to mirror the suddenness of the ironic *volte-face*. Hence the use of *σύντομος*, appropriate for the brevity of a poem but not so much for the swiftness of Nemesis. The epigram is, in its compactness, the opposite of the following piece.

Ie. Philip 59 = *A.P.* xi 36:

ἦνίκα μὲν καλὸς ἦς, Ἀρχέστρατε, κάμφι παρειαῖς
οἴνωπαῖς ψυχὰς ἔφλεγες ἠϊθέων,
ἡμετέρης φιλίας οὐδεὶς λόγος, ἀλλὰ μετ' ἄλλων
παίζων τὴν ἀκμὴν ὡς ῥόδον ἠφάνισας.
ὡς δ' ἐπιπερκάζεις μιαρῆ τριχί, νῦν φίλον ἔλκων
τὴν καλάμην δωρῆ δοῦς ἑτέροις τὸ θέρος.

When you were handsome, Archestratus, and your wine-red cheeks inflamed the soul of young men, then friendship with me was of no account; you played with others and threw away your youthful

¹⁷ Cf. Mel. 90.4 (*Id* below), and Strato's variation in *A.P.* xii 229 (*IIIb*). Agathias *A.P.* v 273.7 calls 'old age' a Nemesis. Cf. also Philostr. *Ep.* 14. On Nemesis in general cf. Anon. 16 = *A.P.* xii 140, Mel. 96 = *A.P.* xii 141. Sappho 5 App. (108) LP makes a different statement, although we wonder how her poem continued.

¹⁸ Cf. IV below.

¹⁹ N.B. the prominent position of *νῦν*, after a bucolic diaeresis echoing the one in line 1, answered by *καὶ τότε*

in the last line. Gow–Page observe that *στι* is more pointed in this epigram than *ὄ τι*—indeed all along it has been clear enough what the speaker refers to.

²⁰ Better this than to consider *οἶδαμεν* a faded plural for singular—compare *ἔλεγον* at the beginning of line 3.

²¹ They stress the passage from *erōmenos* to *erastēs* stage. The same words occur in Theoc. *Id.* 11.9, applied to the young Polyphemus. Cf. also Xen. *Cyr.* iv 6.5 and Kaibel, *Ep. Gr.* 100, 345.

beauty as it were a rose. Now that you are darkening with loathsome hair, you drag me to be your friend; you give me the straw, having given the harvest to others.

The first two couplets are devoted to the past and the last one to the present situation. Unlike what we found in the other epigrams, here the speaker does not say that it is too late; he does not reject the advances of the shaggy boy but complains that he is only now dragged into an affair: perhaps he will accept the relationship as a second best. Philip describes faded youth by the vegetal metaphors that appeared in our previous epigrams. τὴν ἀκμὴν ὡς ῥόδον ἠφάνισας in line 4 is a compressed expression for τὴν ἀκμὴν ἠφάνισας + ἡ ἀκμὴ ὡς ῥόδον ἠφανίσθη.²² ὡς δὲ at the beginning of line 5 introduces the change of situation. It is contrasted to ἦνίκα μὲν in 1 just as νῦν φίλον ἔλκων (5) is contrasted to ἀλλὰ μετ' ἄλλων (3) in the same position after a bucolic diaeresis. ἐπιπερκάζεις is a vineyard metaphor, but his darkening is not with a healthy sheen but with foul hair.²³ Here the metaphor of ears of corn for the faded youth seems taken from Asclep. 46.4, κρείσσονας αὐχμηρὰς ἀσταχύων καλάμας, and itself influenced Flaccus 11.²⁴ The epigram has a melancholy air about it, perhaps because the speaker does not, like all others, openly reject the boy's advances. The general tone suggests a lover's lament rather than irony and wit.

If. Rufinus *A.P.* v 28:²⁵

νῦν μοι 'χαίρε' λέγεις, ὅτε σου τὸ πρόσωπον ἀπῆλθεν
 κεῖνο, τὸ τῆς λύγδου, βάσκανε, λειότερον·
 νῦν μοι προσπαίζεις, ὅτε τὰς τρίχας ἠφάνικάς σου,
 τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς σοβαροῖς αὐχέσι πλαζομένας.
 μηκέτι μοι, μετέωρε, προσέρχεο, μηδὲ συνάντα·
 ἀντὶ ῥόδου γὰρ ἐγὼ τὴν βάτον οὐ δέχομαι.

Now, you so chary of your favours, you bid me good-day, when the more than marble smoothness of your cheeks is gone; now you dally with me, when you have done away with the ringlets that tossed on your haughty neck. Come not near me, meet me not, scorner! I don't accept a bramble for a rose.

The initial words point to several epigrams, especially Diocles 4,²⁶ which is based entirely on this metaphor of bidding (or not bidding) someone 'χαίρε'. In most of these epigrams, says Page, 'the change is related to the growth of unwanted hair, in Rufinus to the cutting of long hair on passing from boyhood to manhood'. Yet the cutting of the locks seems to be the secondary idea of the epigram, subordinated to, and inserted between, the two metaphors which in couplets 1 and 3 refer to the growth of hair.²⁷ For, as Page himself explains, ἀπῆλθεν . . . τὸ τῆς λύγδου . . . λειότερον means in effect 'your cheeks are now hairy'²⁸ and ἀντὶ ῥόδου . . . βάτον οὐ δέχομαι means 'I don't accept a shaggy boy for a hairless one'.²⁹ Indeed although hair is for the first time not expressly mentioned, the opening words suggest a variation of this motif: it is the aspect 'now yes, formerly not' that receives the greatest emphasis, the three hexameters opening with νῦν μοι, νῦν μοι (reinforced in each case by a ὅτε clause), and μηκέτι μοι. Finally, the name of the boy is not given—a common omission—but the context, especially the reference to the cutting of the locks, the metaphors of lines 2 and 6, and the vocatives βάσκανε and μετέωρε make it plain that the epigram is not addressed to a woman and is misplaced in *A.P.* v.

²² Cf. Gow–Page *ad loc.*, who quote Philostr. *Ep.* 17, φθονερός γὰρ ὁ χρόνος καὶ τὴν ἀνθους ὤραν ἀφανίζει καὶ τὴν κάλλους ἀκμὴν ἀπάγει.

²³ Cf. R. G. M. Nisbet–M. E. Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* ii 5.12.

²⁴ Cf. n. 84 below.

²⁵ Cf. Page (n. 1) *ad loc.* for a detailed philological commentary. For a new discussion of Rufinus' dates cf. A. Cameron, 'Strato and Rufinus', *CQ* xxxii (1982)

162–73.

²⁶ Cf. *Ile* below, Strato *A.P.* xii 186.2 (IIg), and Rufin. *A.P.* v 92.1–2, κῆν ποτε 'χαίρε' εἶπω, ταῖς σοβαραῖς δφρύσιν ἠσπάσατο.

²⁷ Just as in Hor. *Carm.* iv 10.2–5.

²⁸ Cf. Page (n. 1) *ad loc.* on λειότερον in this sense.

²⁹ Cf. Anon. *A.P.* xi 53, where a rose is contraposed to a βάτον, pp. 91–2 above and n. 105.

II

The lover gives a warning about the brevity of life applied to the growth of hair. Here we find several Hellenistic pieces from Meleager's *Garland*.

IIa. Alcaeus 8 = *A.P.* xii 30:³⁰

ἡ κνήμη, Νίκανδρε, δασύνεται· ἀλλὰ φυλάξαι,
μή σε καὶ ἡ πυγὴ ταῦτὸ παθοῦσα λάθῃ
καὶ γνώσῃ φιλέοντος ὄση σπάνις. ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν
τῆς ἀμετακλήτου φρόντισον ἡλικίης.

Your leg, Nicander, is getting hairy, but take care lest the same happens to your buttocks and lest you know how rare lovers are. But even now reflect that youth is irrevocable.

The warning appears prominently placed after a brief setting forth of the motif: your leg—*κνήμη* used for the first time in our epigrams—is getting hairy. It is introduced by *ἀλλὰ* as in Anon. 32.3, Phanias 1.5, and Meleager 90.3, and after a bucolic diaeresis as in Anon. 32.³¹ The sense changes slightly depending on the punctuation of line 2. Most editors print a stop after *λάθῃ* and take *γνώσῃ* as a future indicative; yet *καὶ* at the beginning of 3 and the rhythm of the two verses support Gow–Page's view that *γνώσῃ* must be an aorist subjunctive dependent on *μή* and parallel with *λάθῃ*.³² Finally, the name of the boy, although common, may have been chosen for the sake of the pun—*Νίκανδρος*, 'subduer of men' is especially pointed in this case: he may himself be 'subdued' by the *ἀμετάκλητος ἡλικία*.

IIb. A *Νίκανδρος* is also the subject of Anon. 32 = *A.P.* xii 39:

ἐσβέσθη Νίκανδρος, ἀπέπτατο πᾶν ἀπὸ χροιῆς
ἄνθος, καὶ χαρίτων λοιπὸν ἔτ' οὐδ' ὄνομα,
ὄν πρὶν ἐν ἀθανάτοις ἐνομιζόμεν. ἀλλὰ φρονεῖτε
μηδὲν ὑπὲρ θνητούς, ὦ νέοι· εἰσὶ τρίχες.

Nicander's light is out. All the bloom has left his complexion, and not even the name of charm survives, Nicander, whom once we counted among the immortals. But, ye young men, let not your thoughts mount higher than beseems a mortal; there are such things as hairs.

The epigram wittily blends the sepulchral and amatory styles, a technique used by Meleager.³³ It starts as a lament over the loss of Nicander. Although the vocabulary has erotic connotations—*ἐσβέσθη*, besides the metaphorical meaning 'died',³⁴ evokes the fire of love³⁵ and both *ἄνθος* and *χαρίτων* suggest beauty—it brings foremost to the reader's mind the idea of death. This is very striking at the beginning: *ἐσβέσθη Νίκανδρος* suggests that the boy has died. It decreases somewhat in the rest of line 1 and the beginning of 2. There, although death seems still the principal idea, the words refer to physical charm. And it culminates after a striking crescendo at the end of line 2, where *οὐδ' ὄνομα* recalls numerous funerary inscriptions,³⁶ and in line 3. There the author plays with the double meaning of *ἐν ἀθανάτοις*, erotic and sepulchral: 'ageless', i.e. that could not grow hairy, and 'among the immortals', i.e. that could not die.³⁷

³⁰ In this case I alter Paton's translation because my text differs slightly from his: see below and n. 32.

³¹ IIb, c, d.

³² It is worth noticing, however, that Strato in his imitation, *A.P.* xii 186 (IIg) has an ostensible future, *ἐπιγνώσῃ*. Thus he probably understood Alcaeus' *γνώσῃ* as future—so Paton, who translates 'Then shall you know how rare lovers are.'

³³ Cf. A. Wifstrand, *Studien zur griechischen Anthologie*, Lunds Universitets Årsskrift. N. F. Avd. i Bd 23.3 (Lund 1926) 46–7 on Mel. 90 (II d below) and Lida Tarán (n. 7) 168.

³⁴ Cf. Simon. *A.P.* vii 20 of Sophocles, and Antiphilus *A.P.* ix 178 of a city.

³⁵ Cf. Lida Tarán (n. 7) 79, 94 n. 119; Callim. 9 = *A.P.* xii 139; Anon. 11 = *A.P.* xii 79; Mel. 17 = *A.P.* xii 80; Diodorus *A.P.* v 122; Headlam on Herodas i 38; Gow on Theoc. *Idd.* 3.17 and 11.51.

³⁶ Cf. *αὐτὸ λέλειπτ' ὄνομα* in Asclep. 31 = *A.P.* vii 500; Lida Tarán (n. 7) 133–5.

³⁷ Gow–Page *ad loc.* say 'ἐν ἀ. = i.e. ageless' but here fail to see the play with the funerary connotations which they do see in the related poem, Mel. 90 (II d).

The warning comes at the end of 3, introduced by *ἀλλά* and after a bucolic diaeresis as in Alcaeus 8.^{37a} It is to the very last suitable to the funerary context and could be taken for a *memento mori* in funerary epigrams.³⁸ Only these final words after the bucolic diaeresis give the real point, telling us that a special sort of death was involved, that of the boy's erotic charms. The influence of Alcaeus 8 over this epigram (or *vice versa*) is striking: same general motif, same variation of the general motif (warning), same name of the *erōmenos* plus similarities of wording and arrangement³⁹ (the main difference being that Alcaeus seems to believe Nicander can still be an *erōmenos* for some time, *cf.* line 2), and the play with the funerary style. One could perhaps conjecture that the author of the anonymous epigram was also Alcaeus.⁴⁰

IIc. Related to our two previous pieces is Phantias 1 = *A.P.* xii 31:

ναὶ Θέμιν, ἀκρήτου καὶ τὸ σκύφος ᾧ σεσάλευμαι,
 Πάμφιλε, βαιὸς ἔχει τὸν σὸν ἔρωτα χρόνος.
 ἦδη γὰρ καὶ μηρὸς ὑπὸ τρίχα, καὶ γένυς ἦβᾶ,
 καὶ Πόθος εἰς ἑτέρην λοιπὸν ἄγει μανίην.
 ἀλλ' ὅτε <σοι> σπινθῆρος ἔτ' ἴχνια βαιὰ λέλειπται
 φειδωλὴν ἀπόθου. Καιρὸς Ἐρωτι φίλος.

By Themis and the bowl of wine that made me totter, thy love, Pamphilus, has but a little time to last. Already thy thigh has hair on it and thy cheeks are downy, and Desire leads thee henceforth to another kind of passion. But now that some little vestiges of the spark are still left thee, put away thy parsimony. Opportunity is the friend of love.

The passing of time is suggested in almost every line: *βαιὸς χρόνος* in 2 is followed in 3, 4, and 5 by *ἦδη*, *λοιπὸν*, *ὅτε*, *ἔτι*, all of them as it were picked up in *καιρὸς* at the end.⁴¹ It is indeed the *carpe diem* motif put in terms of the growth of hair, which is given prominence by the repetition of *καί* in 3–4 before each of the key elements of the motif.⁴²

The opening *ναί* + invocation is not infrequent in the *Greek Anthology*.⁴³ The invocation to Themis⁴⁴ is toned down and deprived of serious connotations by that to the cup of wine, which establishes a banquet as the dramatic setting for the epigram. The occasion seems fictitious and the name of the beloved ironic in the context—a boy called 'everyone's friend' need not be exhorted to be generous of his favors.

Unlike the author of Anon. 32, Phantias, with Alcaeus in Alc. 8, believes that the boy deserves to be courted despite the signs of manhood in his body.⁴⁵ The influence of Alcaeus 8 is more obvious in another respect also. Like him Phantias addresses the epigram and the warning to the boy, not to young men in general (*cf.* Anon. 32.4), and his mock-*gnōmē* *Καιρὸς Ἐρωτι φίλος* looks very much akin to Alcaeus' *φιλέοντος ὄση σπάνις* (3). The warning, again introduced by *ἀλλά*, has been moved to the beginning of line 5 and is more elaborate, less

^{37a} In line 4 there is an allusion to the topos of Soph. fr. 590 (Pearson) = *θηητὰ φρονεῖν χρὴ θνητὴν φύσιν*. *Cf.* Pearson for parallels.

³⁸ *Cf.* Gow–Page on Mel. 90 (IId with n. 49 below), R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin epitaphs* (Urbana 1962) 256–8. *εἰσὶ τρίχες* is actually a parody of the *gnōmai* frequent in epitaphs. *Cf.* J. Labarbe, *Fond. Hardt* xiv (1968) 351 ff., 360 ff.

³⁹ *Cf.* *ἀλλὰ φύλαξαι* and *ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν* ~ *ἀλλὰ φρονεῖτε ἢ κνήμη*, *Νικάνδρε* ~ *ἐσβέσθη Νικάνδρος* (same metrical scheme, same place in the line).

⁴⁰ Another Nicander (*erōmenos* or confidant?) appears in Anon. 31 = *A.P.* xii 160. *Cf.* Gow–Page *ad loc.*, who also consider the possibility that both anonymous poems are by the same author. Anon. 31, although erotic, is not based on our motif.

⁴¹ N.B. *Καιρὸς Ἐρωτι φίλος* echoes *τὸν σὸν ἔρωτα*

χρόνος in sound—the meaning of the final adage is of course also very close to that of line 2.

⁴² For *μηρὸς* *cf.* n. 7 above.

⁴³ *Cf.* Mel. 44 = *A.P.* v 141, 63 = *A.P.* v 154, 23 = *A.P.* v 197, 7 = *A.P.* v 179; Agathias *A.P.* vii 596.

⁴⁴ Gow–Page seem right in saying that Themis is probably used 'to recommend the advice given to Pamphilus', *cf.* their quotations of *θ. εὐβουλος*, Pind. O. 13.8, *al.*; *θ. ὀρθόβουλος*, Aesch. PV 18; *θ. πινυτή*, Bacchyl. 14.55 Jebb. But Themis is also the mother of the Horai, one of whose functions is to preside over the cycle of vegetation—N.B. their names Thallo, Auxo, Carpo, which evoke growing and blooming.

⁴⁵ Thus Anon. 32.2, *ἔτ' οὐδ' ὄνομα* (IId above) but Alc. 8.1–2, *φύλαξαι μὴ* and 3–4, *ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν . . . φρόντισον* (IIa).

epigrammatic than the one in the models.⁴⁶ Indeed there seems to be a crescendo in elaboration in the three poems—from *χροιῆς ἄνθος* in Anon. 32 to *κνήμη* and the *πυργή* of Alcaeus 8, which in Phantias become *μηρός* and *γένυς*, but are followed by a novelty in line 4, the notion that puberty changes an *erōmenos* into an *erastēs*.⁴⁷ Phantias' epigram is less compact and is expanded to three couplets. Yet in the last line the author seems to wish to recover, as it were, the epigrammatic brevity and point of his models: he ends with a nominal construction at the most prominent place, and the personification of *Καιρός* and *Ἔρως* emphasize the aphoristic character of the phrase.⁴⁸

Ild. I now turn to Meleager 90 = A.P. xii 33, more closely related to Anon. 32:

ἦν καλὸς Ἡράκλειτος ὅτ' ἦν ποτε· νῦν δὲ παρ' ἦβην
 κηρύσσει πόλεμον δέρρις ὀπισθοβάταις.
 ἀλλά, Πολυξενίδη, τὰδ' ὄρων μὴ γαῦρα φρυάσσου·
 ἔστι καὶ ἐν γλουτοῖς φυομένη Νέμεσις.

Heraclitus was fair, when there was a Heraclitus, but now that his prime is past, a screen of hide declares war on those who would scale the fortress. But, son of Polyxenus, seeing this, be not insolently haughty. Nemesis grows also on the buttocks.

The funerary and erotic styles are blended, as in Anon. 32, from the first line. Up to the bucolic diaeresis we have a formula of sepulchral epigrams, for which Meleager is indebted to Tymnes.⁴⁹ Yet *καλός*⁵⁰ announces the erotic admixture, which is taken up after the bucolic diaeresis, especially with *ἦβην*, and is developed in the second line. The tone follows a similar development: solemn in line 1 up to *νῦν δέ*, it becomes openly ironic and even humorous with the obscenity at the end of the distich, where Meleager introduces a third type of language, that of war, for his metaphor of love:⁵¹ *δέρρις*⁵² stands of course for 'hair' and *ὀπισθοβάταις* for *παιδερασταίς*.

The warning headed by *ἀλλά* comes, as in Phantias 1, at the beginning of the last distich. (Meleager, however, follows Alcaeus 8 and Anon. 32 in the number of lines.) It is not addressed, as in Alcaeus and Phantias, to the boy who grows hairy, but, like Anon. 32 (*cf. ᾧ νέοι*), to someone else who should profit from the experience. It reintroduces the funerary style:⁵³ line 3 parodies the common address to the wayfarer in the form of a *memento mori*.⁵⁴ Yet in funerary epigrams it is the corpse itself that is supposed to talk to the reader. In Meleager the poetic 'I' seems to be the speaker, and the epigram is addressed to someone in particular, presumably an *erōmenos*.⁵⁵ The tone of the warning in line 3 is again high-sounding after the humorous fall of 2, but only to prepare for the final point, bordering on the obscene: the hairs will come, and not only to your cheeks, as a punishment for being difficult and haughty. Yet the word 'hair' does not occur in the epigram. *δέρρις*, the first metaphor for it in line 2, becomes *Νέμεσις* in the mock funerary *gnōmē* of the end.⁵⁶ 'Retribution' is not uncommonly invoked in erotic

⁴⁶ For *φειδωλὴν ἀπόθου cf. φείδη παρθενίης* in Asclep. 2 = A.P. v 85, an epigram based on the *carpe diem* motif.

⁴⁷ Cf. Dover (n. 1) 86.

⁴⁸ For the personification of *καιρός cf. Pind. P. 4.286, καιρός πρὸς ἀνθρώπων βραχὺ μέτρον ἔχει*, Posidippus 19 = A.Pl. 275, and Sauer in Roscher's *Lexikon* s.v.

⁴⁹ Tymnes 5 = A.P. vii 211.3, *Ταῦρον μιν καλέεσκον ὅτ' ἦν ἔτι, νῦν δὲ τὸ κείνου*. Cf. Wifstrand (n. 33) 46–7 and Gow–Page *ad loc.*

⁵⁰ Cf. Lida Tarán (n. 7) 21, 51 n. 96, and chs. 1 and 2 *passim*.

⁵¹ For love-war metaphors cf. Lida Tarán (n. 7) 71 and n. 61. Cf. also, for a possible influence, Fronto A.P. xii 174 (II f).

⁵² 'Screens of skin or hide, hung before fortifications to deaden the enemy's missiles', LSJ.

⁵³ Cf. especially *τὰδ' ὄρων*, a common funerary conceit: Lattimore (n. 38) 256–7; Theodoridas 18 = A.Pl. 132.1; Leonidas 77 = A.P. vii 472.9, *ἄνερ, ἴδ' ὡς . . .*; Antip. Sid. 55 = A.P. vii 498.7, *ἴδ' ὡς . . .*

⁵⁴ Cf. Lattimore (n. 38) 230.

⁵⁵ *Πολυξενίδης* is the patronymic of *Πολύξενος*, 'he who receives many guests'. There may be irony in the choice of the name, conveyed by the elements *πολύ-* and *ξεν-*: *Πολύξενος* was, of course, impossible for metrical reasons.

⁵⁶ Cf. Labarbe (n. 38). I give a literal translation of this line instead of Paton's periphrasis 'It is not only on the cheeks that Nemesis grows'.

epigrams⁵⁷ as a desired punishment for the difficult beloved. Yet Meleager's bold use of it as a metaphor for hair, made clear by *ἐν γλουτοῖς φυομένη*, is original and was later imitated by Strato in his related epigram.⁵⁸

The four previous epigrams are closely related to one another. Yet the line of influence is sharply cut after Meleager 90, although the following compositions still belong to our second group of the warning about the coming of hair.

Πε. Diocles 4 = *A.P.* xii 35:

*Χαῖρε ποτ' οὐκ εἶποντα προσεῖπέ τις· ἄλλ' ὁ περισσός
κάλλει νῦν Δάμων οὐδὲ τὸ χαῖρε λέγει.
ἤξει τις τούτου χρόνος ἔκδικος, εἶτα δασυνθείς
ἄρξει χαῖρε λέγειν οὐκ ἀποκρινομένοις.'*

One day a man spoke to a boy who would not say 'good morning': 'So our great beauty Damon will not even say "good morning" now. A time shall come to punish him for this; then, grown all bushy, he will begin to say "good morning" to those who will not reply.'

The epigram blends the motif of the warning with that of our first group, 'now you are willing when it is too late', transplanted to a future hypothetical situation that is part of the warning. Both motifs appear in the second couplet, the first introducing the narrative which is the peculiar form of this epigram.⁵⁹ The structure is remarkable for the different layers of ring composition: (i) within the first couplet, which starts with *χαῖρε . . . οὐκ εἶποντα* and ends with *οὐδὲ χαῖρε λέγει*; (ii) within the whole poem, in two different levels, (a) *προσεῖπέ τις* (line 1) echoed by *ἄρξει χαῖρε λέγειν* (4), and (b) *οὐκ εἶποντα* (2) echoed by *οὐκ ἀποκρινομένοις* (4). Thus line 4 is the mirror image of 1 up to the bucolic diaeresis. The emphasis on time (*ποτ'*, *νῦν*, *εἶτα*) points to the secondary motif, that of our first group—'now you are willing when it is too late'. The principal motif, the warning, receives prominence from the two bucolic diaereses in the hexameters: after these diaereses we find what represents the two stages in the boy's life, beauty and ugliness, the two essential conceits: *ἀλλ' ὁ περισσός* / *κάλλει* and *εἶτα δασυνθείς*.⁶⁰

Πf. Fronto, an epigrammatist of Imperial times not included in Philip's *Garland*,⁶¹ also combined the erotic motif with another one, this time not sepulchral but somewhat close to it—the motif of war. Fronto *A.P.* xii 174:

*μέχρι τίνος πολεμῆς μ', ὦ φίλτατε Κύρε; τί ποιεῖς;
τὸν σὸν Καμβύσην οὐκ ἐλεεῖς; λέγε μοι.
μὴ γίνου Μῆδος· Σάκας γὰρ ἔση μετὰ μικρόν,
καί σε ποιήσουσιν αἱ τρίχες Ἀστυάγην.*

How long wilt thou resist me, dearest Cyrus? What art thou doing? Dost thou not pity thy Cambyses? tell me. Become not a Mede, for soon thou shalt be Sakas and the hairs will make thee Astyages.

Perhaps the starting point of the idea was Meleager's 'a screen of hide declares war. . .'⁶² but in addition Fronto goes farther back in time in his search for a model. The opening words recall

⁵⁷ Cf. Anon. 16 = *A.P.* xii 140; Anon. 31 = *A.P.* xii 160; Anon. 39 = *A.P.* vi 283; Mel. 96 = *A.P.* xii 141.

⁵⁸ Cf. Strato *A.P.* xii 229 (IIIb). *φυομένη* Meleager may have borrowed from Anon. 12 (VIa).

⁵⁹ For this story-telling style cf. e.g. Automedon 11 = *A.P.* xii 34. For *ἀλλ'* in line 1 (which Gow–Page find 'not natural to begin alleged speech') cf. *Od.* iv 472. Here *ἀλλά* sets the present, when Damon does not greet the speaker, against the past, when he did.

⁶⁰ *δασυνθείς* is probably influenced by *δασύνεται* in Alc. 8.1 (IIa).

⁶¹ Beckby identifies him with M. Cornelius Fronto (c. 100–176 AD), Jacobs with a rhetor of the time of Severus. Page, *Further Greek epigrams* (Oxford 1981) 115 calls him undatable, following Reitzenstein in *RE* vii (1912) 112.

⁶² Cf. Mel. 90.2 (II d). Cf. also Mel. 90.3, *μὴ γαῦρα φρυάσσου* with Fronto line 3, *μὴ γίνου Μῆδος*. The model blends the funerary and erotic motifs; Fronto, the martial and erotic. The association of love and war is of course common; cf. e.g. Mel. 8 = *A.P.* v 180, Macedonius the Consul *A.P.* v 238, 'arrows', etc.

an elegy by Callinus (transmitted in Stob. iv 10.12) which begins *μέχρις τεῦ κατάκεισθε* in an effort to persuade the youth of Ephesus to go to war.⁶³ Callinus' complaint is that the young men do *not* go to war, Fronto's, in a reversal of his model's point, that the youth he addresses *does* wage war against him, that is, does not yield to his advances. Just as in Callinus—and even more so—the dactylic rhythm stresses the martial atmosphere and the proper names (Cyrus, Cambyses, the Medes, etc.) add to this effect by recalling the characters of Persian affairs. These names are chosen for the sake of the pun. Thus the lover, normally older, is called Cambyses, like Cyrus' father, but the name also suggests *κάμνω* = 'to get tired', while Cyrus evokes 'master' (*τὸ κύρος*).⁶⁴ In other words: 'Master, take pity upon me who am growing tired'. The twofold metaphor continues in the second couplet. 'Do not become a *Μῆδος*', alluding to the time Cyrus spent with the Medes,⁶⁵ suggests *μὴ δός*, one who does not yield to erotic pursuit.⁶⁶ In Xenophon Sakas is Cambyses' handsome cup-bearer. Yet on hearing *Σάκας* we make the association with *σάκ(κ)ος*, 'coarse beard', and the line gets a second meaning 'you will soon have a beard'.⁶⁷ Finally, in the last verse Astyages, the name of Cyrus' maternal grandfather, also suggests *α*-privative + *στύω* 'to have an erection', i.e. to be impotent.⁶⁸ What are then the meanings, superficial and underlying, of this last line? 'The hairs will make you an Astyages', i.e. 'an old man' is obvious enough. Beckby, not very explicit, refers the reader to his comments on *A.P.* xii 4, where he quotes passages dealing with the appropriate and inappropriate ages of boys for love. 'Hairs will make you an Astyages' must then mean for him 'will make *you* impotent', i.e. an *erōmenos* who, despite being a grown, bearded young man, keeps acting as *erōmenos*, not as *erastēs*, because of impotence. It is implied, of course, that this is unattractive and to be avoided.⁶⁹ But Beckby adds: 'Andere deuten = beim Anblick impotent machend'. 'Andere' surely means Jacobs¹, where we read '*Ἀστυάγην* paedicones appellat pilosum et deformem, quod ad ejus adspectum non arrigunt'. This interpretation, better than Beckby's, is supported by the ending *-άγης* in Astyages, which evokes *ἄγειν* and therefore suggests the meaning 'leading (*sc.* others) to impotence'.⁷⁰

Thus the epigram becomes clear: it is an exhortation to a youth to be an *erōmenos* before it is too late because age has made him unattractive. It is formally distinct from the four epigrams that we have studied before but still it has close parallels with them.⁷¹

IIg. We shall now see how Strato draws on all these pieces to compose his own variation. Strato *A.P.* xii 186:

*ἄχρι τίνος ταύτην τὴν ὀφρῦα τὴν ὑπέροπτον
Μέντορ, τηρήσεις, μηδὲ τὸ χαίρε λέγων,*

⁶³ On this elegy cf. T. Hudson-Williams, *Early Greek elegy* (London 1926) 70 ff., who quotes Paul. Sil. *A.P.* v 226.1, . . . *τέο μέχρις* and 221.1, *μέχρι τίνος*, both also with the present tense. For puns with mythological names cf. also Rufin. *A.P.* v 103, Marc. Arg. *A.P.* v 63, Palladas *A.P.* v 71.

⁶⁴ For *τὸ κύρος* = 'one invested with authority' cf. Pl. *Leg.* 700c, and *A.P.* xii 28, quoted in n. 70.

⁶⁵ Cf. Xen. *Cyr.* i 3.8.

⁶⁶ Cf. Marc. Arg. *A.P.* v 63 and n. 70.

⁶⁷ N.B. the double pun on the word *σάκος* in Ar. *Lys.* 1001 ὕσσακος. Cf. M. Golden, *CQ* xxxii (1982) 467–8 with references. In our poem I prefer to keep Sakas rather than to translate it 'Scythian' with Paton.

⁶⁸ The text has *καὶ σε ποιήσουσιν αἱ τρίχες Ἀστυάγην*. Paton prints *ταὶ τρίχες* probably in order to avoid the short vowel at the caesura (cf. Jacobs², who reports Hermann's and Passow's emendations *καὶ δέ σε ποιήσουσ' αἱ. τρ.* and *καὶ ποιήσουσιν σ' αἱ τρ.*). This is not necessary: the license—short syllable at the caesura—is not uncommon in Lucian (e.g. *A.P.* xi 431.2, 435.2,

ix 120.2) and already in Lucillius (cf. Jacobs² on Lucian *A.P.* xi 410.6). Cf. Lucillius *A.P.* xi 87.4, 140.4, 142.4, 171.8 (that line only in Aldina 2), 185.2, 311.2, 389.6 etc.

⁶⁹ Cf. Dover (n. 1) 86, 87; Strato *A.P.* xii 228, 255.

⁷⁰ Cf. also on Lucillius *A.P.* xi 216 (IVb below). Such puns are not uncommon: cf. Marc. Arg. *A.P.* v 63, where (Aetolian) = beggar (from *αἰτέω*), and *Μῆδος* (Mede) = *μὴ δός* (with Keydell, *Hermes* lxxx [1952] 497); Strato *A.P.* xii 11, *λίην Ἀστυάναξ γέγονα*, where *Ἀστυάναξ* clearly = impotent (from *α* + *στύω*); Numenius of Tarsus *A.P.* xii 28, *Κῦρος κύριός ἐστι τί μοι μέλει εἰ παρὰ γράμμα*;

⁷¹ Thus, the relation to Mel. 90.2–3 pointed out above; the probable influence of Phantias 1.2, *βαιοὺς ἔχει τὸν σὸν ἔρωτα χρόνος* on the more condensed *μετὰ μικρόν* (Fronto line 3); the warning addressed to the *erōmenos* as in Phantias 1, Mel. 90, Alc. 8 (also Diocles 4) and not to young men in general as in Anon. 32; the *τρίχες* directly mentioned as in Phantias 1.3 and Anon. 32.4 (not metaphorically as in the other epigrams).

ὥς μέλλων αἰῶνα μένειν νέος, ἢ διὰ παντὸς
 ὀρχεῖσθαι πυρίχην; καὶ τὸ τέλος πρόβλεπε.
 ἦξει σοι πώγων, κακὸν ἔσχατον, ἀλλὰ μέγιστον·
 καὶ τότε ἐπιγνώση τί σπάνις ἐστὶ φίλων.

How long, Mentor, shalt thou maintain this arrogant brow, not even bidding 'good day', as if thou shouldst keep young for all time or tread for ever the pyrrhic dance? Look forward and consider thy end too. Thy beard will come, the last of evils but the greatest, and then thou shalt know what scarcity of friends is.

The first words recall Fronto's *μέχρι τίνος*, and the spirit of that epigram; the basic conceit 'boy's disdain = war', is also picked up in *ὀρχεῖσθαι πυρίχην* in line 4.⁷² Time is stressed from the beginning and recurs (as in nearly all our previous epigrams) in almost every line (*αἰῶνα, διὰ παντός, τότε*). The boy's disdain is represented by *τὴν ὀφρύα τὴν ὑπέροπτον*.⁷³ The end of the first couplet repeats the main conceit in Diocles 4, *χαίρε λέγειν* or *μὴ λέγειν*. Line 5 is reminiscent of Diocles 4.3: not only does Strato set out with *ἦξει* but the rhythm of the lines is the same, with the two initial spondees followed by two dactyls and then bucolic diaeresis. *ἀλλά* after that diaeresis⁷⁴ does not introduce, as it often does, the warning against future old age.⁷⁵ But Strato has replaced Diocles' *χρόνος* with the effect of *χρόνος*, that is, the *πώγων* with which Automedon 10 started out. Finally, another influence on line 6: in Strato's *καὶ τότε ἐπιγνώση τί σπάνις ἐστὶ φίλων* (the verb is in the future) we recognize Alcaeus 8.3 *καὶ γνώση φιλέοντος ὅση σπάνις*—probably⁷⁶ an aorist subjunctive dependent on *μὴ* but perhaps interpreted by Strato as a future like *φύλαξαι* in line 1.

IIIh. To conclude this group⁷⁷ we shall consider an anonymous distich which elaborates on the motif of the warning without mentioning the growth of hair. The latter is only discovered in the interpretation of the metaphorical pentameter. Anonymous *A.P.* xi 51:

Τῆς ὥρας ἀπόλαυε· παρακμάζει ταχὺ πάντα·
 ἐν θέρος ἐξ ἐρίφου τρηχὺν ἔθηκε τράγον.

Enjoy the season of thy prime: all things soon decline: one summer turns a kid into a shaggy he-goat.

Only *ὦρα* occurs in our previous epigrams (*θέρος* appeared in Philip 59 but with a different sense). The remaining vocabulary is new for us but constant in another group of epigrams—we will see later that kids and he-goats are common metaphors for young boys and for adolescents.⁷⁸ Here however a literal interpretation of line 2 is possible, though improbable: kid and he-goat would be used as another example of the passing of time, without erotic connotations. Yet the erotic intention seems clear. It is a *carpe diem* exhortation for a boy before he becomes a grown man.⁷⁹

⁷² *πυρίχη*: a war dance performed by youths in armor. *πυρίχην βλέπειν* seems to have been proverbial. Cf. Ar. *Av.* 1169; Leutsch-Schneidewin, *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* ii, Mantissae Proverbiorum ii 75 (Göttingen 1851). Also proverbial is 'looking to τέλος': cf. Hdt. i 32, Leutsch-Schneidewin i 315 no. 51 with n.; ii 773 no. 96.

⁷³ *ὀφρύς* itself may mean 'solemnity, majesty' (Antip. Sid. 66 = *A.P.* vii 409) and is often associated with the arrogance of the *erōtēnoi*. Cf. Mel. 103 = *A.P.* xii 101.3-4; Dioscor. 13 = *A.P.* xii 42.3; Rufin. *A.P.* v 92.1-2 (33 Page), where Jacobs¹ believes Rufinus to be dependent on our epigram by Strato for *χαίρε' εἴπω*; and Rufin. *A.P.* v 28 (If above).

⁷⁴ Just as the *ἀλλά* in Philip 59.3 (Ie above);

Automedon 10.6 (Ic); and Diocles 4.1 (IIe).

⁷⁵ Cf. e.g. Alc. 7.1 (Ib); Alc. 8.1, 3 (IIa); Anon. 32.3 (IIb); Mel. 90.3 (II d).

⁷⁶ Cf. IIa above.

⁷⁷ Strato *A.P.* xii 195, which includes a warning about the coming of hair, seems unrelated to our previous pieces except for the recurrence of words and conceits associated with the motif.

⁷⁸ Cf. IV below.

⁷⁹ The epigram is transmitted by Planudes, whose prudery is well known. Yet we cannot argue that if he transmitted it he did not understand the erotic connotation: Planudes, e.g., also copied Rufin. *A.P.* v 28 (If), which is unequivocally erotic.

III

'I no longer want him: now he has hair' is the leitmotiv in our third group. We find here mainly late pieces, but the first is by Meleager and—as often with him—is also related to other epigrams dealing with other motifs.

IIIa. Meleager 94 = *A.P.* xii 41:

οὐκέτι μοι Θήρων γράφεται καλός, οὐδ' ὁ πυραυγής
πρὶν ποτε, νῦν δ' ἤδη δαλὸς Ἀπολλόδοτος.
στέργω θήλυν ἔρωτα· δασυτρώγων δὲ πίεσμα
λασταύρων μελέτω ποιμέσιν αἰγοβάταις.

I do not count Thero fair any longer, nor Apollodotus, once gleaming like fire, but now already a burnt-out torch. I care for the love of women. Let it be for goat-mounting herds to press in their arms hairy minions.

The accumulation of temporal adverbs in the first couplet suggests the relationship with the epigrams analyzed earlier.⁸⁰ The poem is embedded in the motif of quitting one type of love for another.⁸¹ Meleager, clearly indebted to some pieces which develop that motif,⁸² blends it with that of the growth of hair. His innovation here (not pointed out by Gow–Page) is that he does not prefer heterosexual to homosexual love *per se* but because his *erōmenos* has become hairy, and in this he is followed in the sixth century AD by Eratosthenes Scholasticus.⁸³

Before dealing with the remaining poem of this group we must refer to a sequence of four epigrams in which the speaker has promised Apollo a sacrificial offering if the boy Polemon returns from his trip as beardless as he left. His expectations are disappointed: therefore, he says, let Polemon perform the sacrifice if he will.⁸⁴ The motif blends the very old one of the *propemptikon*⁸⁵ with that of sacrificial offerings of cocks, birds, etc. by young males at important stages in their growth.⁸⁶ The poems are such close variations on the same theme that it suffices to mention them without analyzing them in depth.

IIIb. More interesting is Strato *A.P.* xii 229:

ὡς ἀγαθὴ θεὸς ἐστι, δι' ἣν ὑπὸ κόλπον, Ἄλεξι,
πτύομεν, ὑστερόπουν ἀζόμενοι Νέμεσιν.
ἦν σὺ μετερχομένην οὐκ ἔβλεπες, ἀλλ' ἐνόμιζες
ἔξειν τὸ φθονερὸν κάλλος ἀειχρόνιον.
νῦν δὲ τὸ μὲν διόλωλεν· ἐλήλυθε δ' ἡ τριχάλεπτος
δαίμων· χοί θέραπες νῦν σε παρερχόμεθα.

⁸⁰ Cf. in them all νῦν, ὅτε, εἶτα, ἤδη, πρὶν, ποτέ, etc.

⁸¹ Preferences vary. Heterosexual, cf. Mel. 9 = *A.P.* v 208; Rufin. *A.P.* v 19; Agathias *A.P.* x 68. Homosexual, cf. Mel. 18 = *A.P.* xii 86; Asclep. 37 = *A.P.* xii 17. Gow–Page, in the preface to the commentary on Mel. 94 = *A.P.* xii 41, mistakenly ascribe *A.P.* xii 17 to Strato. The epigram, although coming after two Stratonian ones, is anonymous in *A.P.* Gow–Page's mistake is all the more conspicuous because in the same book they ascribe the epigram to Asclepiades, following one of the suggestions of App. B.-V., as Asclep. 37. Marc. Arg. *A.P.* v 116 recommends women, but with a witty proviso perhaps inspired by Dioscor. 7 = *A.P.* v 54.5–6. See also in general Anon. 20 = *A.P.* xii 87 and Anon. 8 = *A.P.* xii 145; Strato *A.P.* xii 7.

⁸² Cf. his beginning οὐκέτι μοι and Asclep. 37.1, οὐ μοι θήλυς ἔρωσ . . . ; πυρσοί, at the end of 'Ascle-

piades'' line, probably suggested Meleager's πυραυγής in the same place; cf. also ἀσβέστω . . . ἀνθρακιῇ there and ἐσβέσθη Νίκανδρος in Anon. 32 (IIb) for the metaphor of fire (extinguished) in Meleager; Mel. 9 = *A.P.* v 208, οὐ μοι παιδομανής . . . ; Rufin. *A.P.* v 19 οὐκέτι παιδομανής . . .

⁸³ Cf. *A.P.* v 277 and n. 111.

⁸⁴ Laurea 3 = *A.P.* xii 24; Flaccus 11 = *A.P.* xii 25; 12 = *A.P.* xii 26; 13 = *A.P.* xii 27. See Gow–Page's discussion of the authorship (perhaps all by Flaccus).

⁸⁵ Although *propemptika* are more concerned with the trip itself than with the return, note the use of σώως and πέμπειν in all four epigrams. Cf. also e.g. Sappho fr. 5 LP.

⁸⁶ Cf. Theodoridas 1 = *A.P.* vi 155; Callim. 25 = *A.P.* vi 149.

What a good goddess is that Nemesis, to avert whom, dreading her as she treadeth behind us, we spit in our bosom! Thou didst not see her at thy heels, but didst think that for ever thou shouldst possess thy grudging beauty. Now it has perished utterly; the very wrathful goddess has come, and we, thy servants, now pass thee by.

The vocabulary reminds us of the other epigrams: Nemesis (*cf.* Automedon 10, Flaccus 10, Meleager 90), the adverbs of time (*cf.* also ἀειχρόνιον), the element τριχά- in line 5, and ἀλλ' after a bucolic diaeresis in 3. The content looks like a follow-up of the warning expressed in the epigrams of our second group: several elements of this warning appear now set in the past.⁸⁷ As Meleager 90 warns the beloved about the existence of the goddess Nemesis, Strato begins by praising that goddess, whom Alexis overlooked. Just as Strato in *A.P.* xii 186 told Mentor that he acted as if he would be forever young, he now says ἐνόμιζες / ἔξειν . . . κάλλους ἀειχρόνιον.⁸⁸ Finally, the Nemesis of the first couplet, which in Automedon 10 and Meleager 90 equals in effect 'hairs', is now, in lines 5–6, called τριχάλεπτος δαίμων, from τρίς + χαλεπτός (= χαλεπός)—τριχάλεπτος through *parēchēsis*—that is, 'three times difficult or annoying', but perhaps also with a pun on τρίχα. The poem differs from the related pieces of this group in that it is addressed to the youth Alexis and has a general tone of *blasé* detachment, but it certainly belongs more to this than to another category.⁸⁹

IV

The three epigrams in our fourth group are based on a motif which compares the beloved to a kid and the lover to the wolf that pursues it. The idea is a natural development of the proverbial enmity between lambs and wolves.⁹⁰ Two passages in Homer present interesting scholia:

On *Il.* xxii 263 οὐδὲ λύκοι καὶ ἄρνες ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχουσιν we read: Schol. B: οὕτως φιλοῦσι λύκοι τοὺς ἄρνας ὡς φιλέουσι νέον ἔρασταί [φιλέουσιν ἀντερασταί cod.: em. Haupt.]; Schol. (v): ἄρνα φιλοῦσι λύκοι νέον ὡς φιλέουσιν ἔρασταί [τὴν ἐρωμένην add. cod.: del. Haupt tamqu. add. a scriba intell. ἄρνα . . . νέον], iv 294 Dindorf, ii 596 Bekker; *Schol. Townl.* <ὡς λύκοι> ἄρνα, φιλοῦσιν ἔρασταί, ii 390 Maass.

On *Il.* i 209 ἄμφω ὁμῶς θυμῷ φιλέουσά τε κηδομένη τε: Schol. A, B: οὐ πᾶς δὲ ὁ φιλῶν κήδεται, ὡς λύκοι ἄρνα, i 34, iii 41 Dindorf. And in Plato, *Phdr.* 241d we read: ὡς λύκοι ἄρνας ἀγαπῶσιν, ὡς παῖδα φιλοῦσιν ἔρασταί.⁹¹

The epigrams are late, first and second centuries AD. Surprisingly enough the old motif is not a favourite one with the early epigrammatists.⁹² We have already considered one of the pieces⁹³ because it has an implicit warning and fits therefore into group II.

IVa. Let us now turn to Strato *A.P.* xii 250:

νυκτερινὴν ἐπίκωμος ἰὼν μεταδόρπιον ὄρην
ἄρνα λύκος θυρέτροις εὖρον ἐφέσταότα,

⁸⁷ *Cf.* especially the direct discourse—warning in the past—in Automedon 10.3–4 (Ic above).

⁸⁸ For ἔβλεπες in line 3 *cf.* Strato *A.P.* xii 186.4, καὶ τὸ τέλος πρόβλεπε (IIg above).

⁸⁹ Line 5, ἐλήλυθε δ' ἡ τριχάλεπτος relates it especially to group VI, 'They have come'. *Cf.* particularly Strato *A.P.* xii 176 (VIb), ἤλυθον ἄς ἔλεγον and Cameron (n. 25) 166–7 for the relation between this epigram and Rufin. *A.P.* v 21.

⁹⁰ *Cf.* the passages quoted in *Corpus Paroem. Gr.* i (n. 72) 269 on Diogenean v 96; and the metaphorical use of hound and lion for the lover and fawn for the beloved:

Dover (n. 1) 58 with n. 33, 87; Theognis 949, 1278 c; Rhianus 5 = *A.P.* xii 146.

⁹¹ The scholion to this passage (*Scholia Platonica*, ed. Greene, 78) quotes *Il.* xxii 262–3 and adds: 'ἡ παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν ἐρωτικῶς ἐχόντων'. Hermias (ed. P. Couvreur, 61) also says 'ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀμηρικοῦ παρῶδηται' and quotes *Il.* xxii 262–3. *Cf.* also Aristaenetos, *Ep.* ii 20.26 ff., ed. O. Mazal (Stuttgart 1971): ὡς γὰρ λύκοι τοὺς ἄρνας ἀγαπῶσιν, οὕτως τὰ γυναῖκα ποθοῦσιν οἱ νέοι, καὶ λυκοφιλία τούτων ὁ πόθος.

⁹² *Cf.* Luck (n. 1).

⁹³ Anon. *A.P.* xi 51 (IIIh above).

υἶόν Ἀριστοδίκου τοῦ γείτονος· ὄν περιπλεχθεὶς
 ἐξεφίλουν ὄρκους πολλὰ χαριζόμενος.
 νῦν δ' αὐτῷ τί φέρων δωρήσομαι; οὔτ' ἀπάτης γὰρ
 ἄξιος, Ἐσπερίης οὔτ' ἐπιорκοσύνης.

Going out in revel at night after supper, I, the wolf, found a lamb standing at the door, the son of my neighbour Aristodicus, and throwing my arms round him I kissed him to my heart's content, promising on my oath many gifts. And now what present shall I bring to him? He does not deserve cheating or Italian perfidy.

Set against the background of the *kōmos*, the motif is presented at the beginning of the first pentameter in the sharply juxtaposed words ἄρνα λύκος. Aside from the basic idea there is no formal relation with the other epigrams. An exception is, to a certain extent, νῦν δ' at the beginning of line 5: though playing a different role altogether, it recalls, and perhaps alludes to, the same words setting past loveliness against present beard in the related pieces.

IVb. A similar case, although with a few more verbal borrowings, appears in Lucillius *A.P.* xi 216:⁹⁴

τὸν φιλόπαιδα Κράτιππον ἀκούσατε· θαῦμα γὰρ ὑμῖν
 καινὸν ἀπαγγέλλω· πλὴν μεγάλοι Νεμέσεις.
 τὸν φιλόπαιδα Κράτιππον ἀνεύρομεν ἄλλο γένος τι
 τῶν ἑτεροζήλων. ἤλπισα τοῦτ' ἂν ἐγώ;
 ἤλπισα τοῦτο, Κράτιππε· μανήσομαι εἰ, λύκος εἶναι
 πᾶσι λέγων, ἐφάνης ἐξαπίνης ἔριφος;

Hear about Cratippus, the lover of boys. It is a new marvel I have to tell you, but great goddesses are the Avengers. We discovered that Cratippus, the lover of boys, belongs now to another variety of those who have the other taste. Would I ever have expected this? I expected it, Cratippus. Shall I go mad because, while you told everyone you were a wolf, you suddenly turned out to be a kid?

This poem, written from the heterosexual standpoint (*cf.* ἑτεροζήλων, 4), deals with a homosexual who acts as a kid, that is, a *pathicus* or *erōmenos*, although from his age one would expect him to be the aggressive partner or wolf. This situation was considered shameful and abnormal,⁹⁵ and it is here the 'new wonder' more wonderful than his taste for men in the first place. Hair is not mentioned, except in so far as Cratippus is called a λύκος. There is, however, one more reason to deal with the poem here: the likelihood that the plural μεγάλοι Νεμέσεις in line 2 suggests 'hairs' as in *Automedon* 10.4.⁹⁶ The nemesis consisting in hairs would then be the result of having refused a lover at the time when Cratippus was still a hairless 'kid'. Hence, the same situation as *Fronto A.P.* xii 174,⁹⁷ who urged Cyrus to yield, warning him that hairs would soon make him cut the oxymoronic figure of an adult *erōmenos* because of impotence. Thus in Lucillius' epigram it seems likely that Νεμέσεις gives us a clue for interpreting the main motif—*new marvel* about Cratippus—in the light of a secondary motif: the appearance of hair as a punishment for earlier resistance.

V

Two epigrams by Strato reverse the point of all the preceding ones.⁹⁸ The poet protests to

⁹⁴ Paton's translation is unsatisfactory here. I take ἀκούσατε as imperative (especially in view of γάρ), καινόν as *new* (not *great* marvel), and ἑτεροζήλων as 'those who have the other taste'.

⁹⁵ Cf. nn. 47 and 69 and e.g. *Martial* xi 45.

⁹⁶ *Ic* above. The singular Nemesis also means hair in *Mel.* 90 (*IId*). Cf. also *Strato A.P.* xii 229 (*IIIb*), where the 'goddess Nemesis' of the first lines becomes ἡ

τριχάλεπτος δαίμων towards the end. The authors of the Budé edition fail to see this ('Némésis, fille de la Nuit, est la Vengeance divine; le pluriel semble prouver que c'est ici le nom commun . . .').

⁹⁷ *IIf* above.

⁹⁸ Cf. Lida Tarán (n. 7) 165 with references for this reversal of the model's motif.

love his friend even after puberty has brought physical change. One is reminded of Plato, *Alc.* 131d, where Socrates tells Alcibiades that he still loves him (when others forsake him on account of his age) because it is the soul, not the body, that he is in love with. To be sure Strato says nothing about the soul, and his references to the beloved are anything but ‘platonic’. Yet the underlying meaning is that it is the whole person of his friend that the poet loves, despite the physical changes brought by time.

Va. Formally, Strato *A.P.* xii 10 is very close to its models:

εἰ καὶ σοὶ τριχόφοιτος ἐπεσκίρτησεν ἴουλος,
καὶ τρυφερὰ κροτάφων ξανθοφυεῖς ἔλικες,
οὐδ’ οὕτω φεύγω τὸν ἐρώμενον· ἀλλὰ τὸ κάλλος
τοῦτου, κἄν πώγων, κἄν τρίχες, ἡμέτερον.

Even though the invading down and the delicate auburn curls of thy temples have leapt upon thee, that does not make me shun my beloved, but his beauty is mine, even if there be a beard and hairs.

We recognize the vocabulary: ἴουλος, πώγων, τρίχες, ἀλλά after a bucolic diaeresis, κάλλος.⁹⁹ It is a case of reversal of the motif of the model: love is so strong that it has survived the usually fatal growth of hair. This, whether serious or satiric,¹⁰⁰ surprises because it contradicts both the poetic motif and the real-life disapproval of sexual liaisons between grown men. But the climax of the epigram comes with ἡμέτερον at the end, especially pointed after the two references to hair: the beauty of the beloved, says the poet, is *mine* even if hairy (that is, I possess him), for I have to fear no rivals for his charms. Thus the final point erases the satirical connotations of the beginning by showing us not a lover who boasts of almost metaphysical love, but a practical one who sees and exploits the advantages of the situation.

Vb. Strato *A.P.* xii 178:

ἔξεφλέγην, ὅτε Θεῦδις ἐλάμπετο παισὶν ἐν ἄλλοις,
οἶον ἐπαντέλλων ἀστράσιν ἡέλιος.
τοῦνεκ’ ἔτι φλέγομαι καὶ νῦν, ὅτε νυκτὶ λαχνοῦται·
δυόμενος γάρ, ὅμως ἡλιός ἐστιν ἔτι.

I caught fire when Theudis shone among the other boys, like the sun that rises on the stars. Therefore I am still burning now, when the down of night overtakes him, for though he be setting, yet he is still the sun.

Just one word, λαχνοῦται, refers to the growth of hair, and it is a new word for us: the only formal kinship with the previous epigrams appears in the adverbs of time, present in nearly every line. The conceit of the beloved outshining his peers as the sun outshines the other stars seems taken from a distich by Meleager, who himself is influenced by much older models.¹⁰¹ Strato sets out from that conceit and expands it to include the hair motif. Thus Theudis, although setting, is still a sun when he ‘is downy at night’, where νυκτί points doubly to the time when this ‘sun’ sets and to the dark color of the young man’s down. The epigram starts out seriously,

⁹⁹ Emendation of σοὶ in line 1 to οὐδ’ εἰ καὶ τριχόφοιτος . . . (Brunck) because this should be a general maxim or ‘alias v. 4 non dixisset τοῦτου’, or emendation in line 4 of τοῦτου to τοῦτο (Jacobs²) does not seem necessary. Such anacoloutha—from a personal address (σοὶ) to a general statement (οὐδ’ . . . φεύγω τὸν ἐρώμενον· ἀλλὰ τὸ κάλλος / τοῦτου)—are not uncommon and this one sounds natural enough. For a possible influence of this epigram on Rufinus cf. Cameron (n. 25) 167–8.

¹⁰⁰ In the manner of other epigrams where the lover claims to prefer old women: cf. Paul. Sil. *A.P.* v 258; Anon. *A.P.* v 304; Asclep. 41 = *A.P.* vii 217 with

Gow–Page *ad loc.* and Ludwig, *GRBS* iv (1963) 63. Strato’s statement resembles that of Anon. *A.P.* v 26.3–4, ἦ βὰ γε ταύταις / θριξὶ συνοικήσει καὶ πολιήσιν Ἔρωσ.

¹⁰¹ Mel. 100 = *A.P.* xii 59, Ἀβρούς, ναὶ τὸν Ἔρωτα, τρέφει Τύρος· ἀλλὰ Μυῖσκος / ἔσβεσεν ἐκλάμψας ἀστέρας ἡέλιος. For Meleager’s models cf. passages cited by Gow–Page *ad loc.*, especially Alc. 11 = *A.P.* vii 1.8 and Leonidas 30 = *A.P.* ix 24 of Homer, and Polystratus 2 = *A.P.* vii 297.1 of Corinth. Also cf. Lucr. iii 1043 of Epicurus; and Sappho *fr.* 96.7–9 LP, especially in view of δυόμενος in Strato’s line 4.

even pompously, but a notable *decrecendo* begins with the second hexameter. At the end of it *λαχνοῦται* introduces a satiric note which, as in our previous epigram, arouses incredulity: the loveliness of young beardless boys was too widespread a topos for this innovation to look serious. And so *λαχνοῦται*, despite Strato's protest *ἔτι φλέγομαι*, actually tells us that Theudis used to be beautiful but now is nothing but a hairy, setting sun.

VI

The young man is no longer a boy: 'the hairs have come'.

VIa. A Hellenistic Anonymous stands out for its originality, Anon. 12 = *A.P.* xii 40:

μη' κδύσης, ἄνθρωπε, τὸ χλαίνιον, ἀλλὰ θεώρει
 οὕτως ἀκρολίθου καμὲ τρόπον ξοάνου.
 γυμνὴν Ἀντιφίλου ζητῶν χάριν, ὡς ἐπ' ἀκάνθαις
 εὐρήσεις ῥοδέαν φυομένην κάλυκα.

Take not off my cloak, Sir, but look on me too in this way, as on a wooden statue with extremities of marble. If you wish to see the naked beauty of Antiphilus you will find the rosebud growing as if on thorns.

The epigram is transmitted in a plainly Hellenistic context in *A.P.* It combines an originality of content and formal kinship with other poems we have analyzed. It is original in that Antiphilus himself proclaims his inferiority, urging people (*ἄνθρωπε*) to look on him as one would look on a wooden statue with only the extremities made of marble. The idea is the opposite of what we find in epigrams referring to boys whose overall beauty is impaired by ungraceful feet.¹⁰² The language parodies that of inscriptions addressing the passer-by on funerary or other statues.¹⁰³ In the second couplet we recognize several familiar elements—although *ἀλλὰ θεώρει* after the bucolic diaeresis has already warned us of possible echoes. The rose appeared in Philip 59, Rufinus *A.P.* v 28, and Strato *A.P.* xii 195.¹⁰⁴ It was the central conceit in the anonymous distich attached to Alcaeus 7 in Sylloge S, *A.P.* xi 53.¹⁰⁵ The resemblance between that distich and Anon. 12 is striking. Both are addressed to mute interlocutors, *ζητῶν εὐρήσεις* appears in both and with the same intention, *ῥόδον* there is now *ῥοδέαν κάλυκα*. Our rose now does not 'become' a *βάτον*, as in *A.P.* xi 53, but is *ὡς ἐπ' ἀκάνθαις φυομένην*, which in turn probably influenced Meleager's *ἐν γλουτοῖς φυομένη Νέμεσις*.¹⁰⁶ The question naturally arises whether Anon. 12 borrowed from *A.P.* xi 53, the couplet attached to Alcaeus 7 (in which case that couplet must be older than Anon. 12 and at least Hellenistic), or whether *A.P.* xi 53 was influenced by Anon. 12 and may therefore be either Hellenistic or later. It is as often impossible to do more than guess. However it may have been, the relationship of *A.P.* xi 53 to the Hellenistic Anon. 12 adds perhaps an argument in favor of the antiquity of the former and its consequent connexion with Alcaeus 7.

VIb. Anon. 12 has influenced Strato *A.P.* xii 176:

στυγνὸς δὴ τί, Μένιππε, κατεσκεπάσαι μέχρι πέζης,
 ὁ πρὶν ἐπ' ἰγνύης λῶπος ἀνελκόμενος;
 ἢ τί κάτω κύψας με παρέδραμες, οὐδὲ προσειπῶν;
 οἶδα τί με κρύπτεις· ἤλυθον ἄς ἔλεγον.

¹⁰² Cf. Anon. 33 = *A.P.* xii 96; Antipater 65 = *A.P.* xii 97.

¹⁰³ Cf. Lida Tarán (n. 7) ch. 4; Leonidas 83 = *A.Pl.* 236; 84 = *A.Pl.* 261, etc.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Ie, If and n. 77 above. Rufinus' epigram has the opposition *ῥόδον/βάτον* of Anon. *A.P.* xi 53.

¹⁰⁵ Anon. *A.P.* xi 53, pp. 91–2 above. Gow–Page do

not include this couplet in *Hellenistic epigrams* or *Garland of Philip*, although they do not exclude altogether its possible addition to Alc. 7. Cf. n. 12.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. IId and n. 58. In St Basil of Caesarea *De Paradiso* iii 4 (P.G. 30.65A) the rose among thorns is a symbol of how joy and sadness are mixed in temporal life. Cf. R. C. McCail, *Byzantion* xli (1971) 219 n. 3.

Why are you draped down to your ankles in that melancholy fashion, Menippus, you who used to tuck up your dress to your thighs? Or why do you pass me by with downcast eyes and without a word? I know what you are hiding from me. They have come, those things I told you would come.

From the advice 'do not lift my cloak' in Anon. 12 Strato turns to 'I know why you do not lift your cloak'. The reason, of course, is the same: 'the hairs have come'. The *τρίχες* themselves are not mentioned but are easily supplied for *ἄς* in the last line. Indeed only the adverb of time *πρίν* in the first pentameter formally relates the epigram to its predecessors. An exception is perhaps *ἔλεγον* in line 4 (*cf.* Automedon 10. 3, *οὐκ ἔλεγον ἄμῃ πάντα βαρὺς θέλε . . .*) in as much as Strato's poem also implies a previous warning (about the coming of hair). The motif is clear from the beginning, surely at least after the picture of the bashful youth in line 3. The final point makes it clearer but does not surprise the reader.¹⁰⁷

VIc. Strato *A.P.* xii 191 concludes this group:

οὐκ ἐχθὲς παῖς ἦσθα; καὶ οὐδ' ὄναρ οὗτος ὁ πῶγων
ἤλυθε· πᾶς ἀνέβη τοῦτο τὸ δαιμόνιον,
καὶ τριχὶ πάντ' ἐκάλυψε τὰ πρίν καλά; φεῦ, τί τὸ θαῦμα;
ἐχθὲς Τρωΐλος ὦν, πῶς ἐγένου Πρίαμος;

Wast thou not yesterday a boy, and we had never even dreamt of this beard coming? How did this accursed thing spring up, covering with hair all that was so pretty before? Heavens! what a marvel! Yesterday you were Troilus and today you become Priam?

The formal debt to predecessors is obvious at first sight: adverbs of time (*ἐχθές*, *πρίν*); *πῶγων*; *τριχί*; *τὰ . . . καλά*; and *θαῦμα*. Most of these terms were generally used, but *θαῦμα* calls our attention to Lucillius *A.P.* xi 216 (IVb), *θαῦμα γὰρ ὑμῖν καινὸν ἀπαγγέλλω*, and the similar style of the last couplet, where Lucillius, like Strato here, addresses the young man in a conversational tone. The direct, colloquial style suggests a *παίγνιον* allegedly delivered at a banquet and is very reminiscent of the epigram in which Callimachus questions a fellow banqueter about his sad looks.¹⁰⁸ *πῶγων* in 1 and *τριχί* in 3 clarify Strato's meaning. The mythological names in 4 are on the surface metaphors for 'young' and 'old', but perhaps they add point through puns of sound and meaning: *Τρωΐλος*, 'the wounder', the seductive youth, has become *Πρίαμος*, 'the buyer' who must pay for love.

A few more pieces can be quoted which develop miscellaneous themes centered around this motif.¹⁰⁹ Along with the different groups studied above they bear additional evidence of the propensity of most poets in the *Greek Anthology* to borrow from earlier models. In all cases it is interesting to observe the different techniques of variation and/or imitation¹¹⁰ and to point out the close borrowings or the original traits. This taste for variation is particularly remarkable when ancient epigrammatists write about love, for they clearly prefer to draw their inspiration from a chain of traditional motifs rather than to rely on the personal experience which they must

¹⁰⁷ Unlike, e.g., *εἰσὶ τρίχες* at the end of Anon. 32, which could, as far as the first three lines are concerned, be taken for a funerary epigram. See IIb above.

¹⁰⁸ Callim. 12 = *A.P.* xii 71; see Gow–Page *ad loc.* and Ludwig (n. 7) 313 ff. For *οὐδ' ὄναρ* in Strato *A.P.* xii 191.1 *cf.* Callim. 63 = *A.P.* v 23 and Lida Tarán (n. 7) 90 n. 105. The authorship of this epigram is discussed at 89 ff. I should like to add to that discussion that Callim. 6 = *A.P.* xii 230 is inserted in the middle of a long late sequence headed *τοῦ αὐτοῦ* (Strato), just as Callim. 63 comes after a long sequence headed *τοῦ αὐτοῦ* (Rufinus). Yet no one doubts the authorship of Callim. 6. On 'authenticity of subject' *cf.* Cameron (n. 25) 168–9 about *A.P.* xi 117, Strato's only non-pederastic epigram.

¹⁰⁹ Strato *A.P.* xii 204, 205, 220; Eratosth. Schol. *A.P.* v 277 with p. 101 above and n. 111.

¹¹⁰ I have here used these terms in the same way as in *Art of variation* (n. 7): *cf.* the 'Introduction' there with my definitions of motif, theme, and conceit. Once it is clear that these terms are given a conventional use for the sake of convenience it becomes pointless to engage in a theoretical debate about them as does Marion Lausberg, *Gnomon* liv (1982) 504–9. My book was not intended as a theoretical study of variation in the whole corpus of the Hellenistic epigrams, and I remain sceptical about such a theoretical study as Lausberg seems to have in mind.

have all had in such an area of life. Thus the erotic world of Strato is pretty much the same as that of third century Alexandria—after over 400 years. The line of influence is cut short after late Antiquity, and the motif does not seem to appear (probably because of the change in morals) either in the *Cycle of Agathias*¹¹¹ or in Latin or vernacular poems of the Renaissance.¹¹² To the reader of the *Greek Anthology*, however, it provides a refreshing note where, in the best cases, poetic artistry is at the service of saucy wit.¹¹³

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¹¹¹ Cf. Eratosth. Schol. *A.P.* v 277. Agathias' condemnation of homosexuality echoes the government policy under Justinian. Cf. McCail (n. 106) 212–13, 215–16 with n. 1, 259; and Axel Mattson, *Untersuchungen zur Epigrammsammlung des Agathias* (Lund 1942) 57–8.

¹¹² No instance of the motif is recorded in J. Hutton,

The Greek Anthology in France and in the Latin writers of the Netherlands to the year 1800 (Ithaca 1946) or *The Greek Anthology in Italy to the year 1800* (N.Y./London, 1935).

¹¹³ I am grateful to Alan Cameron for reading the manuscript of this article and making useful suggestions.