

## The Poetics of Editing in Meleager's *Garland*

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About 100 B.C.E. Meleager of Gadara created an anthology of Greek epigrams, including over one hundred thirty of his own poems, mostly erotic in nature. This *Στέφανος* or *Garland*, as it was called, eventually replaced the earlier poetry books from which it had been gathered and became the principal source for the transmission of Hellenistic literary epigrams.<sup>1</sup> Although Meleager's collection as a whole failed to survive the Byzantine era, much of its contents was excerpted by Constantine Cephalas in the early tenth century and placed in a compendium that formed the basis for our *Palatine Anthology*. Scholarly study of this Byzantine anthology has now dramatically improved our understanding of the structure and aesthetic arrangement of Meleager's *Garland*. The purpose of this paper is to show that the progress thus made on the anthology permits a new understanding of how Meleager's epigrammatic poetry functioned within its original context. The older view of Meleager as bombastic, sentimental, and unoriginal has been replaced in recent years with an appreciation of his ability to rework the earlier epigrammatic tradition into poems of striking originality.<sup>2</sup> While Meleager's skill at the art of variation clearly bears a connection to his talents as the editor of an aesthetically arranged anthology, scholars have been content to study his epigrams as isolated poems or in relation to one or two epigrams he varies.<sup>3</sup> In this paper I analyze a number of his poems from the perspective of their *Garland* sequence in order to show that their meaning as erotic verse, emanating from Meleager's poetic persona, is enhanced by a secondary layer of meaning, emanating from his editorial persona. When so read, Meleager's poetry takes on a dual reference to both erotic experience and the poetics of the collection.

<sup>1</sup>For general information on the date and contents of the *Garland*, see Gow and Page 1965: 1.xiv–xxvii; Cameron 1993: 19–33.

<sup>2</sup>For the older view of Meleager, see Ouvré 1894; Radinger 1895: 44–53; and, in a somewhat more positive vein, Gow and Page 1965: 2.591–93. Important reevaluations can be found in Tarán 1979; Garrison 1978: 71–93; Cox 1988; and Guidorizzi 1992: 5–12.

<sup>3</sup>But see Clack 1992: 6–7, who concludes, “The greatest injustice that can be done to Meleager is to present his poetry out of context, removed...from the environment of his *Garland*.”

Scholars have long recognized that two of Meleager's epigrams function programmatically.<sup>4</sup> The elegy that clearly served as prooemium (1 G-P = *AP* 4.1) represents the collection as a garland, in which each poet is emblemized by a flower, fruit, or plant, all interwoven into a wreath of verse. The Muse is asked to whom she brings this "all-fruited song" (πάγκαρπον ᾠοιδάν, 4.1.1) and who made this "garland of poets" (ὑμνοθετᾶν στέφανον, 4.1.2). Answering the second question first, the Muse names not only the editor Meleager but also his dedicatee Diocles; she then proceeds to list forty-seven plants, or epigrammatists, woven into the fabric of the poetic garland. After specifying a small number of earlier poets and a much larger number of Hellenistic epigrammatists, the Muse adds a general reference to some recent poets whose "newly-written shoots" (ἔρνεα νεόγραφα, 4.1.55) include the snowdrops (λευκόια, 4.1.56) of Meleager. Turning to the initial question in her final couplet, the Muse explains that she brings the garland as a gift for her friends—that is, poets—and as a common possession for "initiates"—apparently lovers of literature.<sup>5</sup> Functioning much like the front matter in modern texts, this extraordinary prooemium provides in poetic form the information about author, dedicatee, contents, and intended audience that readers now expect to find "on the margins" of a literary text. The second commonly-recognized programmatic poem (129 G-P = *AP* 12.257) stood at the end of the anthology. Spoken in the voice of the snakelike *coronis* that faithfully guards the conclusion of the collection, the epigram reiterates essential information provided by the prooemium—that it was Meleager who wove a "garland" of epigrammatists dedicated to Diocles. While author's name and title often appeared at the end of an ancient book, Meleager here cleverly manipulates this editorial convention by giving poetic voice to a mark of punctuation.<sup>6</sup> In doing so, he poeticizes editorial practice.

While these two poems betray their original function within the collection, the positions of others can only be determined on the basis of scholarly analysis of the *Palatine Anthology*. From the nineteenth century it has

<sup>4</sup>For a discussion of these epigrams in relation to Latin poems of opening and closing, see Van Sickle 1981.

<sup>5</sup>For this interpretation of "initiates," see Gow and Page 1965 *ad* 4.1.57; for the final couplet as the Muse's answer to the first question posed, see Claes 1970: 470–71, Bornmann 1973: 229.

<sup>6</sup>Bing 1988: 34 points out that the word κορωνίς means "garland" in a fragment of Stesichorus (187.3 *PMG*), so that here, by a playful twist, "the wreath crowns the wreath...which Meleager has just completed."

been recognized that sequences of epigrams by Meleagrian authors within the *Palatine Anthology* must represent extracts from the *Garland*, although with the omission of epigrams not anthologized by Cephalas or placed elsewhere in his collection. As long ago as 1895 Carl Radinger worked out Meleager's general principles of organization: he showed that the longer Meleagrian sequences are characterized by a rhythmic alternation of major authors and by the placement of copy after original, by epigram pairs, and by thematic grouping of poems.<sup>7</sup> Only more recently has additional progress been made toward reconstructing the general design of the *Garland*, a process that began with a distinction made by Franz Lenzinger between shorter and longer sequences. He demonstrated that shorter sequences of Meleagrian authors were extracts placed by Cephalas within sequences of his own arrangement, whereas the longer sequences of Meleagrian authors in Books 5, 6, 7, 9, and 12 of the *Greek Anthology* had been transposed from the *Garland* with omissions but without sequential reordering.<sup>8</sup> Building on these insights, Alan Cameron has persuasively argued that Meleager's anthology was divided by epigram type into four sections—*erotica*, *epitymbia*, *anathematica*, and *epideictica*. In all likelihood, these sections constituted separate books, that is, were written on different papyrus rolls; together they formed a multi-authored collection exceeding 4,000 lines.<sup>9</sup>

This scholarly understanding of the overall structure of the anthology now forms a basis for assessing the aesthetic interaction of Meleager's editorial and poetic practices. The great majority of Meleager's compositions are found in the amatory book, which was later segregated by Cephalas into heterosexual and homosexual sections, best preserved in two long sequences found in Books 5 and 12 of the *AP*. Sequential thematic similarities, as well as papyrological evidence, indicate conclusively that these two sections, *AP* 5.134–215 and *AP* 12.37–168, were once merged into a single book of the *Garland*.<sup>10</sup> Even though

<sup>7</sup>Radinger 1895: 100–107.

<sup>8</sup>For a summary of his analysis, see Lenzinger 1965: Tafel I.

<sup>9</sup>Cameron 1993: 24–33. In a forthcoming book on Hellenistic epigram collections, I reexamine the longer Meleagrian sequences to work out in detail the general design of the four books of the *Garland* (Gutzwiller 1998a: 276–322). This article supplements the material there by analyzing more fully the poetic implications of Meleager's design.

<sup>10</sup>Wifstrand 1926: 8–22; Gow and Page 1965: 1.xix–xx; Cameron 1993: 27–28. Wifstrand's study contains foundational work on matching the two sequences in order. He failed, however, to perceive the overall design of the amatory book, that is, its division into major cycles of epigrams, just as he missed the programmatic nature of most opening, closing, and transitional poems.

some poems have been removed to the homosexual book and other poems are probably lost, the first sixteen epigrams in Book 5, 5.134–49, show clear evidence of constituting an opening cycle of programmatic character. In the first part of this article, I examine this initial cycle, which displays a rhythm characteristic of the amatory book as a whole, as epigrams by earlier poets are followed by variations on the same theme composed by Meleager. The Meleagrian variations allow us to subdivide the cycle into brief sequences dominated by particular themes—wine (5.134–37), song (5.138–41), garlands (5.142–45), and *charis* (5.146–49)—themes that overlap in a generally erotic atmosphere suggestive of a symposium. In the second part of the article, I examine three Meleagrian epigrams that appeared at or near the end of cycles within the amatory book. These poems are marked by the presence of Meleager’s name, the metaphorical use of garlands, and reference to epigrammatic inscription. While their imagery and motifs may seem unnecessarily complex or even contrived if the epigrams are understood with reference only to erotic experience, a reading that takes account of their position in the amatory book reveals a matrix of meaning that derives from the poetics of the anthology.

The diagram below summarizes my analysis of the initial, programmatic cycle in the amatory book, which, as I will argue, consisted of what is now 5.134–49 with the addition of 12.49–51 and, less certainly, of 12.256:

### **Wine**

- 5.134 (Posidippus)
- 5.135 (anonymous)
- 12.49 (Meleager)
- 12.50 (Asclepiades)
- 12.51 (Callimachus)
- 5.136 (Meleager)
- 5.137 (Meleager)

### **Song**

- 5.138 (Dioscorides)
- 5.139 (Meleager)
- 5.140 (Meleager)
- 5.141 (Meleager)

**Garlands**

- 5.142 (anonymous)
- 5.143 (Meleager)
- 5.144 (Meleager)
- 5.145 (Asclepiades)
- 12.256 (Meleager)

**Charis**

- 5.146 (Callimachus)
- 5.147 (Meleager)
- 5.148 (Meleager)
- 5.149 (Meleager)

The opening poem in the introductory cycle is an epigram by Posidippus, in which a “Cecropian jug” is called upon to “sprinkle the dewy moisture of Bacchus” (5.134.1). While Meleager may well have extracted this epigram from a similar position in an earlier collection of Posidippus’ poetry, it clearly acquires a dual meaning through the position given it in the *Garland*. To the extent that we hear only the voice of a symposiast, we may interpret it merely as a convivial song.<sup>11</sup> But, by placing the poem at the head of his amatory section, Meleager suggests that he, in his capacity as editor, is substituting the address to a wine jug for the traditional call to a deity of inspiration.<sup>12</sup> The connection between Bacchic inspiration and amatory poetry, the subject of Meleager’s epigram book (and perhaps Posidippus’ as well), is conveyed by the second couplet where austere philosophy is rejected in favor of love: “Let Zeno, the wise swan, be silent, and Cleanthes’ Muse, and let bittersweet Eros be my topic.”<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup>For such readings, see Schott 1905: 44–45; Gow and Page 1965: 2.484; Giangrande 1968a: 167 n. 2; Fernández-Galiano 1987: 67.

<sup>12</sup>The early Byzantine epigrammatist Agathias, who compiled an anthology entitled *Cycle*, begins his epideictic book with a similar motif: σπείσατέ μοι, Μοῦσαι,...ἡδὺν ἀπὸ στομάτων Ἑλικωνίδος ὄμβρον ἀοιδῆς, “pour out for me, Muses, the sweet moisture of Heliconian song from your mouths” (9.364.1–2). For the position of this poem, see Lenzinger 1965: 17 with Tafel I.

<sup>13</sup>Cf. the epigram that apparently stood second in Strato’s *Mousa Paidike* 12.2: μὴ ζήτει δέλτοισιν ἐμαῖς Πρίαμον παρὰ βωμοῖς,...ἀλλ’ ἱλαραῖς Χαρίτεσσι μεμιγμένον ἡδὺν Ἔρωτα, καὶ Βρόμιον, “don’t look in my tablets for Priam by the altar,...but for sweet Eros mingled with the merry Graces, and for Bromius.”

There follows an anonymous epigram that also contains an address to a wine jug (5.135), and then a poem by Meleager on his girlfriend Heliodora (5.136), which combines the themes of wine and love. Wifstrand suggested long ago that a sequence of three epigrams in the homosexual book—12.49–51—was originally part of this opening sequence because of similarities in theme and language.<sup>14</sup> They most likely belong between 5.135 and 5.136. If this is correct, 12.49 rather than 5.136 becomes the first epigram by Meleager in the amatory book, a poem concerning attraction to boys:

ζωροπότηι, δύσερως, καὶ σου φλόγα τὰν φιλόπαιδα  
κοιμάσει λάθας δωροδότας Βρόμιος.  
ζωροπότηι, καὶ πλήρες ἀφυσσάμενος σκύφος οἶνας  
ἔκκρουσον στυγερὰν ἐκ κραδίας ὀδύναν. (113 G-P = AP 12.49)

Drink wine unmixed, lover, and Bromius, giving forgetfulness,  
will put to sleep your flame of boy love.  
Drink wine unmixed, and, drawing a full cup of juice,  
cast hateful care from your heart.

In an imagined symposium setting Meleager's epigram acts as a call to drown one's erotic longings with drink.<sup>15</sup> But, when placed in the opening sequence of the amatory book, it may be read with another level of meaning. The δύσερως, an erotically inclined person who takes on the role of implied reader, is encouraged, by drawing the full cup of wine offered by Meleager's erotic collection, to find relief from the torment of love in the poetry to follow. The motif of putting to sleep love's flame (κοιμάσει) appears again at the end of the amatory sequence in the Meleagrian 5.212.3 (ἐκοίμισεν) and in 5.215.2, where Meleager prays for Eros to "put to sleep" (κοίμισον) his "wakeful desire for Heliodora." While 5.215 is the final poem in the long Meleagrian sequence in Book 5, it may originally have been followed by the last poem in the long

<sup>14</sup>Wifstrand 1926: 20. Cf. Gow and Page 1965: 2.631 on AP 5.136: "closely related to 12.49–51."

<sup>15</sup>The unusual compound ζωροπότηι appears in Call. fr. 178.12, according to Ath. 11.477c and Macr. 5.21.12 (though Ath. 10.442f, 11.781d and POxy. 1362 have οἶνοπότηι, which is likely a gloss). The echo of Callimachus may be important, if scholars are right in suggesting that this fragment preserves the opening of *Aet.* 2 (see Swiderek 1951: 234 n. 18; Zetzel 1981; Fabian 1992: 137–40, 315–18; Cameron 1995: 133–40; Massimilla 1996: 145, 400; Hunter 1996: 21–22). Callimachus there rejects heavy drinking in favor of a "small kissubion" and conversation, a stance that may have been directed against the openings of earlier poetry books, perhaps those by Posidippus and Asclepiades, calling for the free flow of wine. If this line of thinking is correct, the early stages of debate between water-drinkers and wine-drinkers were apparently carried out in the introductory sections of Hellenistic poetry books.

Meleagrian sequence in Book 12—a Posidippian epigram in which the poet characterizes his poetry as an overflowing wine cup (12.168).<sup>16</sup> If we imagine what this order would imply, we have a form of ring composition linking the beginning and end of the amatory book, with the Posidippian epigrams 5.134 and 12.168, both on wine, bracketing the first and last Meleagrian poems, which in turn share the motif of sleep.<sup>17</sup>

The words ζωροπότει and κοιμάσει in Meleager's δύσερως epigram are picked up by ζωρὸν πόμα and κοιμιστάν (12.50.5–6) in the next poem in the sequence, an epigram by Asclepiades that again concerns the drowning of erotic sorrows in drink. Though we have no knowledge about editions of Asclepiades' poetry, this epigram, like the first Posidippian epigram, may have had a position of some prominence in an earlier poetry book, since it begins πῖν', Ἀσκληπιάδη, "drink, Asclepiades," the only extant epigram containing the *sphragis* of that poet's name.<sup>18</sup>

There follows an epigram by Callimachus, which begins with a call for the pouring of wine and for a toast in the name of the poet's beloved (ἔγχει καὶ πάλιν εἰπέ 'Διοκλέος,' "pour and say again, 'for Diocles,'" 12.51.1). In my speculative reconstruction of this section, the poem by Callimachus would have immediately preceded Meleager's 5.136, which varies Callimachus' first line by calling for toasts made "again, again, and again," in the name of Heliodora:

ἔγχει καὶ πάλιν εἰπέ, πάλιν πάλιν, Ἥλιοδώρας·  
εἰπέ, σὺν ἀκρήτῳ τὸ γλυκὺ μίσγ' ὄνομα.  
καὶ μοι τὸν βρεχθέντα μύροις καὶ χθιζὸν ἔόντα  
μναμόσυνον κείνας ἀμφιτίθει στέφανον.  
δακρύει φιλέραστον, ἰδοῦ, ῥόδον, οὔνεκα κείναν  
ἄλλοθι κού κόλποις ἡμετέροις ἔσορᾷ. (42 G-P = AP 5.136)

Pour and say again, again, and again, "for Heliodora."  
Say it, mingling her sweet name with pure wine.

<sup>16</sup>Cf. the conclusion of the last poem in the anacreontic corpus: φιάλην πρόπινε παισίν, φιάλην λόγων ἐραννήν "drink down a cup for boys, a lovely cup of words" (60.32–33 West), where the equation of wine and love poetry is again explicit. For a discussion of this poem as a closural piece, see Rosenmeyer 1992: 129–37.

<sup>17</sup>One further correspondence is the appearance of the drunk vs. sober motif in the anonymous 5.135.5–6 (νήφω μεθύεις...μεθυσθῶ ἐκνήφεις) and in the last line of 12.168 (νήφοντ' οἶνωθέντ').

<sup>18</sup>Scholars generally agree that a *sphragis* consists of the poet's name, commonly placed near the beginning or the end of a literary work. For a comprehensive treatment of Thgn. 19–26, the *locus classicus* on the subject, see Kranz 1961; for a recent discussion, see Johansen 1996: 14–18.

And crown me with the garland that's soaked in her scent,  
 the one from yesterday, in remembrance of her.  
 Look, a rose, the friend of lovers, weeps, because it sees  
 her not in my arms, but elsewhere.

Meleager here displays his skill at combining two of his epigrammatic predecessors. The motif of the toast taken from Callimachus' epigram is combined with the theme of drowning the sorrows of love from the epigram by Asclepiades to produce a poem of striking originality. Meleager's request that Heliadora's name be mingled with the unmixed wine suggests his desire to capture the beloved even as he attempts to obliterate his feelings for her. Calling for yesterday's garland as an adornment for today's drinking is a similar gesture, since the wreath serves as a memorial of her. But I suggest, once again, that the poem's position in the opening sequence may evoke a reading of a more programmatic nature. In a context in which wine functions as an inspiration for poetry, the request to mingle the name of Heliadora with unmixed drink foreshadows her importance as subject in the epigrams to follow. The call to crown the lover with yesterday's garland may also be construed as a call for creative inspiration as Meleager now turns to poetic exploration of a relationship that belongs to the past. Certainly in later literature crowning becomes a conventional emblem of initiation into a poetic genre.<sup>19</sup> In Meleager's anthology, the possibility of such a figurative reading is reinforced by the verbal link between this στέφανος, which serves as a memorial of Heliadora (μναμόσουνον κείνας), and the larger Στέφανος (cf. Διοκλεῖ μναμόσουνον, 4.1.3–4; ἀείμνηστον...Διοκλε

12.57.5).<sup>20</sup>

The next poem, the last in the short series on wine, is Meleager's self-variation on 5.136:

ἔγχει τὰς Πειθοῦς καὶ Κύπριδος Ἥλιοδώρας  
 καὶ πάλι τὰς αὐτὰς ἀδουλόγου Χάριτος·

<sup>19</sup>So, for instance, Anacreon passes his garland to the new anacreontic poet, who comments "and it reeked of Anacreon" (τὸ δ' ὥς' Ἀνακρέοντος, 1.13 West). See also Lucr. 1.928–30, Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.15–16.

<sup>20</sup>The phrase ἀμφιτίθει στέφανον in 5.136.4 finds an echo—ἀμφιτίθει Βακχυλίδη στεφάνους—at the end of 6.313, a prayer for poetic victory attributed to Bacchylides and the last epigram in the main Meleagrian sequence from *AP* 6. This parallel with the poem that apparently concluded Meleager's dedicatory book provides further support for a figurative reading of 5.136. See Gutzwiller 1998a: 304–5.



αὐτὰ γὰρ μί' ἐμοὶ γράφεται θεός, ἅς τὸ ποθεινόν  
οὔνομ' ἐν ἀκρήτῳ συγκεράσας πίομαι. (43 G-P = *AP* 5.137)

Pour a cup for Persuasion and Cypris, both Heliodora,  
and again for sweet-speaking Grace, who's the same.  
For she's written down as my goddess, whose beloved name  
I will drink, having stirred it into pure wine.

The triple toast to Heliodora, made “again, again, and again,” is here converted to a series of three toasts, made to three goddesses, each of whom is then identified with Heliodora. It seems a remarkable compliment, even an excessive one, if the poem is read as simply an occasional piece that eventually found its way into an anthology. But the epigram was, in all likelihood, composed for this very position in the opening sequence, to reinforce the metaphorical association of wine-drinking in the name of a beloved with the writing of erotic epigram.<sup>21</sup> My reading of Heliodora as poetic subject is encouraged by the play on the phrase ἐμοὶ γράφεται θεός, which is often translated as “she is reckoned a deity” but also denotes that she is “written” as one.<sup>22</sup> Meleager's final declaration that he will drink down her beloved name mixed into his wine becomes, then, both a powerful statement of the lover's desire to possess the beloved and a metaphorical acknowledgement that the poet has a longing to incorporate the “name” of Heliodora into his creative endeavors.<sup>23</sup> By consuming a “Heliodora” who is identified with Persuasion, Aphrodite, and a “sweet-speaking” Grace, Meleager both apotheosizes the girl who inspires his verse and also internalizes her power to seduce. He thus acquires the qualities represented by these deities for his own verse.

<sup>21</sup>Cf. the echo of ἔγχει and συγκεράσας πίομαι in *Anacreontea* 20.1–4 West: ἡδυμελὴς Ἀνακρέων, ἡδυμελὴς δὲ Σαπφώ· Πινδαρικὸν δ' ἔτι μοι μέλος συγκεράσας τις ἔγχει, “Anacreon is a sweet singer, and Sappho is a sweet singer; let someone mixing in a Pindaric song pour them in my cup.” There is also an allusion here to *AP* 12.168, where Posidippus will consume (πίομαι) a cup containing a mixture (συγκέρασον) of earlier poetry—an epigram that apparently formed part of the closure to Meleager's amatory collection. So too, the anacreontic poem 20 marked the end of the first division of the poetry book as it now stands (Rosenmeyer 1992: 138) and likely concluded an earlier, shorter collection (West 1984: xvi–xvii).

<sup>22</sup>Gow and Page 1965 *ad loc.* compare Meleager's οὐκέτι μοι Θήρων γράφεται καλός (*AP* 12.41.1) and suggest that “it may mean ‘I no longer write “Θ. καλός” on walls.’” Cf. also *scripta puella* in Prop. 2.10.8. For readings of the mistresses of Roman elegy as literary constructs, or inscribed subjects, see Wyke 1987, 1989a, 1989b and McNamee 1993.

<sup>23</sup>Cf. the interpretation of Garrison 1978: 81, who is unaware of the poem's position in the *Garland*: “He lets Heliodora into himself, he internalizes his goddess of love and beauty.” See also Cox 1988: 18–19.

The next short series of epigrams (5.138–41) makes explicit the theme of song that was implicit in the earlier series. It provides an excellent example of Meleager's technique for connecting epigrams through verbal links between successive poems and by revisiting themes from previous epigrams. In accordance with his normal practice, Meleager marks the beginning of the new series with a poem by an earlier epigrammatist. In this epigram by Dioscorides (5.138), the singer Athenion inflames the poet (ἐφλεγόμαν, "I was inflamed") by singing about the fiery destruction of Troy (ἐν πυρὶ πᾶσα Ἰλίου ἦν, "all Ilium was in flames"). There follow two epigrams about Zenophila, who arouses Meleager's desire as she sings. The first of these is connected to Dioscorides' epigram, generally, by the theme of a singing beloved and, specifically, by the final reference to the flame of love (πυρὶ φλέγομαι):

ἀδὺ μέλος, ναὶ Πᾶνα τὸν Ἀρκάδα, πηκτίδι μέλπεις,  
 Ζηνοφίλα, ναὶ Πᾶν', ἀδὺ κρέκεις τι μέλος.  
 ποῖ σε φύγω; πάντῃ με περιστρίχουσιν Ἔρωτες,  
 οὐδ' ὅσον ἀμπνεῦσαι βαιὸν ἐῷσι χρόνον.  
 ἦ γάρ μοι μορφὰ βάλλει πόθον ἢ πάλι μοῦσα  
 ἦ χάρις ἦ—τί λέγω; πάντα· πυρὶ φλέγομαι. (29 G-P = AP 5.139)

By Arcadian Pan, a sweet song you play on the lyre,  
 Zenophila; by Pan, you strike up a sweet song.  
 How am I to flee you? Everywhere Erotes surround me,  
 and scarcely even allow me time to breathe.  
 For your beauty arouses my desire, or maybe your music,  
 or your charm, or—What? It's all of you. I'm on fire.

Zenophila, who is a singer as Heliodora was not, is nonetheless, like her, praised for a triple attractiveness, here presented as beauty, musical talent, and charm.

The next epigram, a companion piece, signals its connection with its opening word (cf. ἀδὺ μέλος, 5.139.1):

ἡδυμελεῖς Μοῦσαι σὺν πηκτίδι καὶ Λόγος ἔμφρων  
 σὺν πειθοῖ καὶ Ἔρως κάλλος ὑφηνιοχῶν  
 Ζηνοφίλα, σοὶ σκῆπτρα Πόθων ἀπένειμαν, ἐπεὶ σοὶ  
 αἰ τρισσαὶ Χάριτες τρεῖς ἔδοσαν χάριτας. (30 G-P = AP 5.140)<sup>24</sup>

<sup>24</sup>In line 2 I print Graefe's suggested κάλλος ὑφηνιοχῶν, recommended by Gow and Page 1965 *ad loc.*, though not printed in their text.

The sweet-speaking Muses for lyre playing, sensible Speech  
for persuasion, and Eros as charioteer of beauty  
have granted you, Zenophila, the scepters of Desire, since  
the three Graces have given you three graces.

Zenophila's three qualities now alter, with persuasive eloquence presented as the third to musical talent and beauty, an alteration that provides a link back to the Persuasion who was one of the three goddesses identified with Heliadora. The *charis* that was one of Zenophila's three qualities in the previous epigram now becomes a more general form of charm underlying her three talents, which are bestowed by the three Graces as goddesses.<sup>25</sup> The insertion of the Charites here looks forward to the final series within the opening sequence of the amatory book, a series in which the principal theme is *charis*.

The current series on song concludes with a couplet that, again, has complex links to both what precedes and what follows. It anticipates in form the two subsequent couplets while looking back to the programmatic concerns of the initial series on wine:

ναὶ τὸν Ἔρωτα θέλω τὸ παρ' οὔασιν Ἥλιοδώρας  
φθέγμα κλύειν ἢ τᾶς Λατοίδεω κιθάρας. (44 G-P = AP 5.141)

By Eros, I would prefer to hear the voice of Heliadora  
by my ears rather than the lyre of Latoides.

In returning to the beloved who speaks but does not sing, Meleager yet maintains the theme of song through the comparison with the lyre-playing of Apollo. While other poets might call upon the god of song for poetic inspiration, Meleager, as a writer of the briefest of poetic forms, prefers a mere whisper from Heliadora. Again, there is a suggestion of divine status for the beloved as she substitutes for the god of song.

The next sequence of four epigrams (5.142–45) focuses on the theme of the garland, which carries over into the final short sequence emphasizing *charis* (5.146–49). The first of these is an anonymous epigram on a boy named Dionysius:

<sup>25</sup>The relationship between Zenophila's three qualities and the Charites who bestow them is explained by Gow and Page 1965: 2.624: "the three Graces are the original sources of the gifts, which are actually bestowed by the intermediate powers [the Muses, Logos, and Eros] appropriate to each."

τίς—ρόδον ὁ στέφανος Διονυσίου ἢ ρόδον αὐτός  
τοῦ στεφάνου; δοκέω λείπεται ὁ στέφανος. (23 G-P = AP 5.142)

Which is it? Is the garland Dionysius' rose, or is he  
a rose of the garland? The garland, I think, loses.<sup>26</sup>

Boys resemble roses in both fragrance and hue, as Philostratus later tells us in the first of his erotic epistles, a poem that repeats the conceit of this very epigram: περιθήσῃ δὲ οὐ σὺ τὰ ρόδα, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ σέ, “you will not wear the roses, but they you.”<sup>27</sup> The anonymous poem on Dionysius offers one piece of evidence that Meleager's amatory book originally contained both homosexual and heterosexual epigrams, later separated in a rather negligent manner. The Byzantine anthologist's failure to remove this poem is particularly fortunate because it makes clear that Meleager's use of the garland theme is here linked to the conceit of competition between flowers and love objects.

As Philostratus elsewhere makes clear, the beloved resembles the rose because both are quickly fading (cf. *Ep.* 4, 17, 21), a commonplace that Meleager cleverly reworks in his companion piece to the Dionysius poem:

ὁ στέφανος περὶ κρατὶ μαραίνεται Ἡλιοδώρας,  
αὕτῃ δ' ἐκλάμπει τοῦ στεφάνου στέφανος. (45 G-P = AP 5.143)

The garland withers on the head of Heliadora,  
but she gleams forth, the garland's garland.

Here the garland fades, not because it is short-lived, but in recognition of the girl's superior beauty. The theme of competition, only implicit in Meleager, is overtly expressed in another letter of Philostratus, where roses sent to a boy wither because “they could not bear to be surpassed in fame and could not endure rivalry” with the beloved (*Ep.* 9). Philostratus then compares the wilting roses to a lamp that fades before the strength of fire or to the stars that pale before the sun. So in Meleager's couplet the garland withers because Heliadora “shines forth” (ἐκλάμπει), a verb normally used of flashing light or fire; here it has been chosen as appropriate for one whose name means “the gift of the

<sup>26</sup>The meaning of the poem is debated. Waltz 1928–94 gives a translation in which the verb λείπεται is construed with the genitives Διονυσίου and στεφάνου; see the discussion by Gow and Page 1965 *ad* 1.

<sup>27</sup>Cf. also AP 5.90, 5.91. For a discussion of the order of Philostratus' epistles in various manuscripts, see Benner and Fobes 1949: 394–408. On Philostratus more generally, see Anderson 1986.

sun.”<sup>28</sup> The second epistle in Philostratus' collection of love letters seems to look back even more directly to Meleager's couplet on Heliodora: “I have sent you a garland of roses, not to honor you, but for this reason, to do a favor for the roses themselves, lest they wither.” In a clever *oppositio in imitando*, the presence of the boy now *prevents* the roses from fading. To understand how this can be, we must grasp that the garland symbolizes the epistle collection and the youth functions as the dedicatee, whose fame will endure, as flowers do not, because the author has memorialized him in a literary work. This representation of Philostratus' collection as a garland of roses is carried over from the first *Epistle*, which begins: “The roses, borne on their leaves as on wings, have hastened to come to you.” While the metaphorical equation of the collection with a rose garland clearly derives from Meleager's *Στέφανος*,<sup>29</sup> Philostratus' use of it in *Ep.* 2 is probably connected with the reading he gave Meleager's Heliodora couplet. As the garland withers before her brilliance, she shines forth as the “garland's garland,” a phrase which suggests, if the epigram is interpreted in isolation, that her timeless beauty surpasses that of short-lived flowers.<sup>30</sup> But when the couplet is read as an integral part of the opening to Meleager's amatory book (where Philostratus apparently found it), Heliodora earns the designation “the garland's garland” because, as epigrammatic subject, she adorns the collection.

The next poem in the sequence is an epigram by Meleager on Zenophila, who, as a “sweet rose of persuasion,” surpasses other flowers commonly used for garlands:

ἤδη λευκόιον θάλλει, θάλλει δὲ φίλομβρος  
 νάρκισσος, θάλλει δ' οὐρεσίφοιτα κρίνα·  
 ἤδη δ' ἡ φιλέραστος, ἐν ἄνθεσιν ὥριμον ἄνθος,  
 Ζηνοφίλα Πειθοῦς ἡδὺ τέθηλε ρόδον.  
 λειμῶνες, τί μάταια κόμαις ἔπι φαίδρα γελᾷτε;  
 ἅ γὰρ παῖς κρέσσων ἀδυπνόων στεφάνων. (31 G-P = AP 5.144)

<sup>28</sup>Cf. Meleager AP 12.59: ἀβρούς, ναὶ τὸν Ἑρωτα, τρέφει Τύρος· ἀλλὰ Μυῖσκος ἔσβεσεν ἐκλάμπας ἀστέρας ἥελιος, “Tyre nourishes delicate boys, by Eros, but that shining sun Myiscus has extinguished the stars.” Dorsey 1967: 259 rightly notes that Meleager plays on the primary meaning of μαραίνω, “quench.”

<sup>29</sup>Cf. as well Noss. AP 5.170, which was probably an introductory poem for her collection of epigrams primarily on women. There Nossis' subjects, or poems, are associated with roses, an image deriving from Sappho (55 *PLF*). See Skinner 1989, Gutzwiller 1998a: 75–79.

<sup>30</sup>For a reading of the epigram stressing that Heliodora possesses the qualities of flowers to a superlative degree, and permanently, see Callahan 1964: 2; cf. also Cox 1988: 117–19.

The snowdrop is abloom, the rain-loving narcissus blooms,  
 and blooming are the lilies that wander the mountains.  
 That lovely flower among flowers, the sweet rose of Persuasion,  
 Zenophila, dear to lovers, has bloomed as well.  
 Meadows, why do you bother to smile brightly at your foliage?  
 That girl surpasses sweet-smelling garlands.

In expanding the motif of competition between the beloved and her floral *comparandum*, Meleager creates interest by confounding tenor and vehicle. After the list of blossoms has culminated in the “flower among flowers,” the rose who is Zenophila,<sup>31</sup> the poet addresses the meadows, asking why they laugh, or gleam, proud of their tresses, or foliage. While the dual application of the words κόμη and γελάω to both human and natural objects is present in early Greek poetry, Meleager here revitalizes this traditional metaphor through his personification of the meadows. Yet the position of the epigram within the opening sequence suggests, again, that we may read the rose Zenophila as a “written” flower (cf. ἔρνεα νεόγραφα, 4.1.55), as a poetic subject. The list of four flowers is reminiscent of the list of plants representing poets in the prooemium, where lilies (κρίνα) appear first (and second as λείρια), roses third, and the narcissus fourth (4.1.5–7). The snowdrops, first in 5.144, are last in the prooemium (4.1.56), because they emblemize the epigrammatic poetry of Meleager himself. The rose, standing for Sappho in the prooemium, is here equated with Zenophila, who is φιλέραστος like the rose in 5.136. That rose, as part of the garland Meleager puts on to memorialize Heliodora, reveals its symbolic character by weeping because the girl lies in the arms of another. In such a context it is easy to find an association between the “sweet-smelling garlands” (ἄδυπνῶων στεφάνων) surpassed by Zenophila and the “sweet-speaking garland” (ἡδυεπὴς στέφανος, 4.1.58) that is Meleager’s epigram anthology.

The last poem in this short sequence on garlands is an epigram by Asclepiades (*AP* 5.145), in which a distraught lover hangs wreaths on the door of his boy love.<sup>32</sup> The connection to the previous poem on Zenophila is the confounding of nature’s phenomena with human emotion. The speaker has wet the garland with tears because the eyes of lovers are “rainy” (κάτομβρα; cf. φίλομβρος, 5.144.1). He asks the wreaths to drip “rain” (ὑετόν) on the boy’s

<sup>31</sup>Cf. Cox 1988: 121: “ρόδον is climactic because it is the flower most closely associated with love, and because of the very specific expectation generated by φιλέραστος.”

<sup>32</sup>The word αὐτόν in line 4 makes it clear that the poem concerns a boy, although Cephalas has again failed to remove the epigram to his homosexual section. See Gow and Page 1965: 2.125.

head when he opens the door, so that his yellow hair, or foliage (κόμη), will drink the lover's tears. Up to this point in the opening sequence Meleager has been careful to link each poem verbally and thematically with both the epigram that precedes and the one that follows. It is therefore odd that direct verbal or thematic similarities to the following epigram by Callimachus (5.146) are lacking. Yet the links with the preceding epigram on Zenophila show that the Asclepiades poem is not an intruder. Although in the case of other poetry books the supposition that certain poems are missing may be a sign of a flawed structural analysis, we know that *Garland* sequences were excerpted by Cephalas and that omissions of epigrams do occur. An analysis of the *Anthology* that ignored this reality would lose persuasiveness. It is therefore a justifiable hypothesis that a small number of poems have dropped out at this point, probably including one or more by Meleager.

I venture the supposition that Meleager's epigram on a garland of boy loves (12.256) originally appeared between 5.145 and 5.146. It is now found near the end of Book 12, outside of any Meleagrian sequence, where Cephalas apparently placed it because of its opening echo of the prooemium (πάγκαρπον αἰοιδάν, ...ὑμνοθετᾶν στέφανον, 4.1.1–2):

πάγκαρπόν σοι Κύπρι καθήρμοσε χειρὶ τρυγῆσας  
παίδων ἄνθος Ἔρωσ ψυχαπάτην στέφανον.  
ἐν μὲν γὰρ κρίνον ἡδὺ κατέπλεξεν Διόδωρον,  
ἐν δ' Ἀσκληπιάδην τὸ γλυκὺ λευκόιον.  
ναὶ μὴν Ἡράκλειτον ἐνέπλεκεν ὥς ἀπ' ἀκάνθης  
θεὶς ῥόδον, οἰνάνθη δ' ὥς τις ἔθαλλε Δίῳ.  
χρυσανθῇ δὲ κόμαισι κρόκον Θήρωνα συνῆψεν,  
ἐν δ' ἔβαλ' ἐρπύλλου κλωνίον Οὐλιάδην.  
ἀβροκόμην δὲ Μύσκον ἀειθαλὲς ἔρνος ἐλαίης,  
ἱμερτοῦς ἀρετῆς κλώνας, ἀπεδρέπετο.  
ὀλβίστη νήσων ἱερὰ Τύρος, ἣ τὸ μυρόπνουν  
ἄλσος ἔχει παίδων Κύπριδος ἀνθοφόρων. (78 G-P = AP 12.256)

Cyprian, Eros has culled for you boy-blossoms, all kinds,  
and fashioned a garland that deceives the soul.  
In it he has plaited the lovely lily that is Diodorus,  
and that sweet snowdrop Asclepiades.  
Yes, he has woven in Heraclitus like a rose from a thorn,  
and Dion, like a vine blossom, blooms there.  
He has attached Theron, a golden-haired crocus,  
and added a shoot of thyme, Ouliades.  
And delicate-haired Myiscus, an ever-blooming olive sprig,  
desirable plant of excellence, he has gathered there.

Most blessed of islands is holy Tyre, which has a grove,  
perfume-scented, of Cypris' flower-bearing boys.

Several features of this poem suggest that it would fit well within the introductory sequence of the amatory book, especially in the briefer sequence on the garland theme. Since we know that homosexual poems were intermingled with heterosexual ones in the *Garland*, it would be quite surprising if Meleager did not make some reference in his programmatic sequence to the male subjects of his erotic poetry; in particular, we expect mention of Myiscus, his male favorite, as Heliodora and Zenophila were his female favorites. In fact, all the boys listed in 12.256, except for Asclepiades, do appear in Meleager's extant verse, and Myiscus is here granted favored position last in the series. The identification of blooming plants with a love object looks back to 5.144 (cf. Ζηνοφίλα Πειθοῦς ἡδὺ τέθηλε ρόδον, 5.144.4, with οἰνάνθη δ' ὥς τις ἔθαλλε Δίων), where, as here, we find the lily, the snowdrop, and the rose. Yet the plaiting motif looks forward, anticipating a garland Meleager weaves for Heliodora in 5.147. What is more, the metaphorical commingling of plants and love objects, found in the Asclepiades epigram (5.145), appears in the phrase χρυσανθῇ δὲ κόμαισι κρόκον Θήρωνα, where both Theron and the crocus have yellow tresses, an association supported by ἀβροκόμην δὲ Μυῖσκον ἀιθαλὲς ἔρνος. As a final connection to this series of epigrams, we should note the theme of competition, now worked in a different direction. Myiscus, mentioned last and at greatest length, is emblemized as the olive, the plant awarded athletic victors. Since Myiscus as the poet's favorite is victor in the game of love, the olive is here called ἱμερτοῦς ἀρετῆς κλῶνας, "desirable plant of excellence." Although most scholars now reject the theory that this epigram once headed a collection of Meleager's homosexual epigrams,<sup>33</sup> its resemblance to the prooemium of the *Garland* is surely not insignificant. If we assume a place for the poem within the opening amatory sequence, it can then suggest, programmatically, that a garland of Meleager's epigrams on Tyrian boys is to be found intertwined within the larger *Garland* of epigrams by various poets.

The final short sequence combines the theme of *charis* with that of the garland (5.146–49). It opens with an epigram by Callimachus, in which a statue

<sup>33</sup>Radinger 1895: 110–12; Wifstrand 1926: 72–75; Gow and Page 1965: 2.650; Aubreton, Buffière, and Irigoin 1994: 138–39. Both Lenzinger 1965: 25–26 and Guidorizzi 1992: 126 n. 78, however, subscribe to the theory that 12.256 once headed a separate collection.



of Queen Berenice, dripping with scent, is said to have added a fourth Grace to the traditional three (τέσσαρες αἱ Χάριτες). Gow objects that the poem is “misplaced” in Book 5 from Book 9 because it is not erotic, but ecphrastic.<sup>34</sup> Yet Meleager was not so much interested in achieving editorial consistency as in producing a work of art, one that would convey meaning by arrangement as well as by content. As evidence that the Callimachus epigram occupies its original *Garland* position, we may note that the phrase μύροισι νοτεῖ (5.146.2) anticipates μυροβοστρύχου Ἑλιοδώρας in 5.147.5 and, if I am right about the position of 12.256, looks back to τὸ μυρόπνουν ἄλσος...παίδων Κύπριδος ἀνθοφόρων in that poem's final couplet. The function of placing the Berenice epigram here was to bring to the fore the theme of *charis* that had already played a subsidiary role in the opening programmatic sequence (5.137, 139, 140). By introducing three of his own epigrams on Zenophila and Heliodora (5.147–49) with Callimachus' poem on Berenice, Meleager suggests that his girlfriends deserve the same sort of divine status that Callimachus awards Berenice as the fourth Grace. We should note, as well, that *charis* as a literary quality seems to have a special significance for Meleager's own assessment of his poetic art. In a series of four self-epitaphs from the sepulchral book (7.417–19, 421), he connects his early prose works in the manner of Menippus, entitled *Charites*, with his later erotic epigrams, which he “clothed in merry graces” (ἱλαραῖς συστολίσας χάρισιν, 7.419.4).<sup>35</sup> He also claims to have “united the Muse of Eros and the Graces into one poetic talent” (Μοῦσαν Ἑρωτος καὶ Χάριτας σοφίαν εἰς μίαν ἡρμόσαο, 7.421.13–14). The quality he attributes to his erotic poetry in his self-epitaphs is, then, the same quality he attributes in this programmatic sequence to the principal women who inhabit that verse (5.137, 139, 140, 148, 149).

In the next epigram the poet weaves a garland for Heliodora, which contains the same four flowers listed in 5.144—snowdrop, narcissus, lilies, and rose—with crocus and hyacinth as well (for these, cf. 4.1.12–13):

πλέξω λευκόιον, πλέξω δ' ἀπαλὴν ἄμα μύρτοις  
 νάρκισσον, πλέξω καὶ τὰ γελῶντα κρίνα,  
 πλέξω καὶ κρόκον ἡδύν, ἐπιπλέξω δ' ὑάκινθον  
 πορφυρέην, πλέξω καὶ φιλέραστα ῥόδα,  
 ὥς ἂν ἐπὶ κροτάφοις μυροβοστρύχου Ἑλιοδώρας  
 εὐπλόκαμον χαίτην ἀνθοβολῇ στέφανος. (46 G-P = AP 5.147)

<sup>34</sup>Gow and Page 1965: 2.171; see the objection of Cameron 1993: 29–30.

<sup>35</sup>See Gutzwiller 1998b.

I will plait a snowdrop, I will plait a delicate narcissus  
 with myrtle, and I will plait laughing lilies;  
 I will plait a sweet crocus, and with them a purple hyacinth,  
 and I will plait roses that are fond of lovers,  
 So that a garland may cast down its lovely-locked tresses  
 on the temples of Heliadora with her scented hair.

Beginning with three flowers white in color, Meleager adds the golden crocus, the purple hyacinth, and the red rose, the last again called “fond of lovers.” Like the weeping rose in 5.136, this complex and colorful garland takes on a life of its own, casting down its petals, or “lovely-locked tresses,” upon the scented temples of Heliadora. Elsewhere in the *Anthology* the shedding of petals is a sign of love-longing (12.134, 12.135), but here the garland showers its wearer with blossoms in imitation of the φυλλοβολία, a traditional method of honoring a victor.<sup>36</sup> The victory theme suggested by the verb ἀνθοβολῇ looks back to the wreath’s acknowledgement of Heliadora’s superiority in 5.143 and (speculatively) to Myiscus’ crowning with the victory olive in 12.256.9–10. In setting this garland plaited for Heliadora within a larger garland plaited from the flower-songs of many epigrammatists, Meleager opens up the potential for reading Heliadora’s garland as the set of epigrams written in celebration of her, a garland that demonstrates the honor it brings its poetic subject by showering her with poetic blossoms. The final image, in which the multi-colored “tresses” (εὐπλόκαμον χαίτην) of the wreath fall upon the girl’s temples to frame her face like flowery locks, passes beyond the realm of realistic description, producing a symbolic merging of collection and subject.

The last two epigrams in the opening sequence also point to its programmatic nature:

φαμί ποτ' ἐν μύθοις τὰν εὐλαλον Ἥλιοδώραν  
 νικάσειν αὐτὰς τὰς Χάριτας χάρισιν. (47 G-P = AP 5.148)

I say that sweet-talking Heliadora will someday conquer  
 in conversation the Graces themselves with grace.

<sup>36</sup>References to showering the victor with leaves or flowers include Pi. *P.* 8.57, 9.124; B. 11.17–21; Call. fr. 260.11–14 Pf. For the motif in Pindar, see Steiner 1986: 36, 107–8; for the motif in this poem, see Cox 1988: 123. A *phyllobolia* also lies behind the compliment to a boy in Mnasalc. AP 12.138, on which see Gow and Page 1965 *ad* 1.4 G-P.

On one level, the poem is just a compliment to the poet's girlfriend, modeled on the compliment to Berenice in 5.146: Heliadora will be thought more graceful in speech than the Graces. But even Page, who seldom reads programmatically, concludes that the "phrase [έν μύθοις] and the future reference in ποτε... νικάσιν suggest that [Meleager] is predicting immortality for his poems about Heliadora."<sup>37</sup> On this reading, Heliadora is more poetic subject than living girl. Later in the amatory book Meleager repeats the phrase τήν εὐλαλον Ἑλιοδώραν, claiming that Eros himself has "molded" (ἔπλασεν, a word commonly used of fictive discourse) the sweet-talking Heliadora within the poet's own heart to become the soul of his soul (5.155). Through erotic desire, Heliadora is internalized by the poet to become the substance of his amatory discourse, and so perhaps one source of the talkativeness Meleager claims for himself in one of his self-epitaphs (λαλιόν, 7.417.9). In 5.148, then, the victory is as much the poet's as the girl's, since the charm of his verse about Heliadora—as its principal literary quality—will compete favorably with even the goddesses of charm.

The final poem returns us to Zenophila, who is now herself labeled talkative (λαλιάν) and identified with one of the Graces:

τίς μοι Ζηνοφίλαν λαλιάν παρέδειξεν ἑταίραν;  
 τίς μίαν ἐκ τρισσῶν ἤγαγέ μοι Χάριτα;  
 ἢ ῥ' ἐτύμως ἀνὴρ κεχαρισμένον ἄνυσεν ἔργον  
 δῶρα διδοὺς καὺτάν τάν Χάριν ἐν χάριτι. (32 G-P = AP 5.149)

Who has painted Zenophila, my talkative mistress?  
 Who has brought me one Grace to replace three?  
 That man has accomplished a truly graceful work,  
 giving with grace the Grace herself.

Some editors, translating παρέδειξεν as "pointed out," have assumed that the action of the unnamed man was to effect Meleager's introduction to his mistress. But Page argues that the verb here means "represent" with reference to painting and shows that the poem contains other echoes of epigrams about portraits. In particular, he notes the reference to Erinna's epigram on a portrait of Agatharchis (cf. ἐτύμως, 6.352.3) and to Nossis' epigrams on portraits of

<sup>37</sup>Gow and Page 1965 *ad* 1f. Dorsey 1967: 262 concurs, adding that "the juxtaposition of έν μύθοις and εὐλαλον gives the former phrase two meanings"—that is, future conversations in which Heliadora will engage and future conversations about her.

women (ἐτύμως, 6.353.3; cf. also χάρις, χαίρω, 9.605.3–4).<sup>38</sup> Its context in the *Garland* confirms this reading, since the epigram on a portrait of the Grace Zenophila that ends the brief sequence echoes Callimachus' epigram on a statue of the Grace Berenice with which it begins. Zenophila, then, in the final epigram in the introductory sequence, is expressly *not* a living girl, but an artistic representation, acquiring her likeness to a Charis through the *charis* of the painting in which she is depicted.

To understand more fully the poem's function as the last epigram in this opening sequence, we should note its striking structural resemblance to the initial four lines of Meleager's prooemium:

Μοῦσα φίλα, τίνι τάνδε φέρεις πάγκαρπον αἰοιδάν,  
 ἢ τίς ὁ καὶ τεύξας ὕμνοθετᾶν στέφανον;  
 ἄνυσσε μὲν Μελέαγρος, ἀριζάλω δὲ Διοκλεῖ  
 μναμόσυνον ταῦταν ἐξεπόνησε χάριν. (1.1–4 G-P = AP 4.1.1–4)

Dear Muse, to whom do you bring this all-fruited garland,  
 or rather, who made a garland of poets?  
 Meleager accomplished the deed and perfected this gift  
 as a memorial for far-famed Diocles.

In the first couplet the Muse is asked to whom (τίνι) she brings the garland and who is its maker (τίς), as in 5.149 Meleager asks who (τίς) painted his mistress and who (τίς) brought him this new Grace. In the second couplet of the prooemium, the Muse explains that Meleager “has accomplished” (ἄνυσσε) the perfected “gift” (χάριν; cf. χάριν in 4.1.57), as in 5.149 the poet explains that the painter “accomplished” (ἄνυσσε) his task, a “Grace” (Χάριν) presented free (ἐν χάριτι) as a gift (κεχαρισμένον). Not only is the similar structuring of question and answer reinforced by verbal echoes, but Meleager elucidates in 5.149 the prooemium's play on the double meaning of χάρις; the *Garland* is offered as both a “gift” and a source of literary “charm.” By echoing the prooemium in the last epigram in this introductory sequence, Meleager sets up a parallel between the portrait of Zenophila, painted by an unnamed artist, and the anthology of epigrams, created by the poet himself. The painter has presented Meleager with a work of art that provides him the subject matter for his own creative activity (suggested by the illogic of the “talkative” portrait), just as Meleager has presented a literary work (“a sweetly speaking garland,” ἡδυεπής

<sup>38</sup>Gow and Page 1965: 2.626. Page points out that Meleager uses ἐτύμως differently, to call attention to the play with the etymology of κεχαρισμένον.

στέφανος, 4.1.58) that provides a basis for the creative activity of others. These others, the primary audience for the *Garland*, are expressly designated by the Muse in the last couplet as her friends (φίλοις ἐμοῖσι, 4.1.57), meaning poets, though mere initiates (μύσταις) may share in the gift as well. The most serious readers of the *Garland*, those who vary the epigrams of others, will transform Meleager's gift into new forms of poetry, just as within the collection Meleager transforms the gift of Zenophila's portrait into verse. Zenophila, elsewhere designated a "flower among flowers" or rose of the garland, thus becomes an internal equivalent of the *Stephanos* itself.

As my analysis of this introductory erotic cycle has shown, Meleager's skillful interweaving of epigrams composed by himself and others served not only to construct a pleasing design for the *Garland* but also to create poetic meaning for his own verse. Older scholars, who found fault with Meleager for his lack of "true emotion," blamed his Syrian heritage for what was considered rhetorical sentimentalism and excessive flights of fancy.<sup>39</sup> More recently, Garrison has defended Meleager's abundant use of metaphor and fantasy by arguing that through them he conveys an internalization of erotic experience, a total and obsessive devotion to love.<sup>40</sup> Along the same lines, Cox has argued that Meleager introduces into the history of Greek love poetry the representation of the pathetic lover, rendered helpless before the force of his desires.<sup>41</sup> While these more appreciative readings of Meleager's erotic verse are long overdue, they have the limitation of continuing to treat his poems as isolated entities, without regard for their *Garland* context. When scholars focus exclusively on Meleager's persona as poet, they tend to base their interpretations on the assumption that lived reality is, or should be, the direct referent of his verse. But when we take account of Meleager's intentional placement of his poetry within an anthology, we may then choose to grant referential status to the literary context itself—that is, the particular short sequence of epigrams in which a poem is set and, more broadly, the entire collection, given cohesiveness through intricate arrangement and overarching

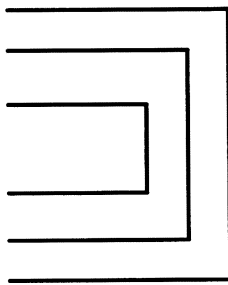
<sup>39</sup>For a summary of these views, see Gow and Page 1965: 2.591–92. Though Page praises Meleager's graceful and elegant manner of expression, he nonetheless finds the epigrammatist's ability to convey "true emotion" hampered by "the limitations imposed by convention." Revealing a strong preference for poetry that concerns only lived reality, he states: "There is not much room left for the real world on this crowded canvas of Cupids with bows and arrows, Graces and Cyprians,...torches and thunderbolts, traditional grasshoppers and mosquitoes and butterflies and dolphins" (2.592).

<sup>40</sup>Garrison 1978: 71–93.

<sup>41</sup>Cox 1988: 23–45.

metaphors. I have been arguing that at least for some of Meleager’s verse, such as the epigrams in the initial sequence of his amatory book, a dual focus on his persona as poet and as editor often allows the reader to construe the poetry in more complex and interesting ways, as simultaneously referential to the dramatized soliloquy of the lover and to the poetic collection itself. As further confirmation that such an approach to reading can provide depth of meaning as well as greater coherence, I offer here an analysis of three additional epigrams, all poems that occupied positions of transition in later sections of the amatory book.

In doing so, I draw on material presented in detail in my book on Hellenistic epigram collections. There I analyze more fully the long Meleagrian sequences in *AP* 5 and 12 in an attempt to recover the overall structure of the *Garland’s* amatory book, despite Cephalas’ (flawed) division of the heterosexual and homosexual poetry into separate books of his compendium.<sup>42</sup> Thematic parallelism between the Meleagrian sequences in the two books makes it possible to fit the epigrams from Book 12 back into their general, if not precise, location within Book 5. Once this is done, there becomes evident a structural pattern that forms a classic interlocking ring. According to my analysis, Meleager’s amatory book consisted of seven sections: an opening sequence (5.134–49, 12.49–51), a short transitional section (12.52–53), a section devoted to boys (12.54–97, with the probable addition of 12.37–44), a large section intermingling male and female love objects (5.150–91, 12.98–160, with the probable addition of 12.45–48), a section devoted to women (5.192–208, 12.161), another short transitional section (5.209–10, 12.162–65), and a concluding sequence (5.211–15, 12.166–68). The large male-female section thus forms the central core of the book and is concentrically balanced by sections devoted to either boys or women, short transitional sections, and the opening and concluding sequences:

5.134–49, 12.49–51	opening	
12.52–53	transitional	
12.54–97, 12.37–44	boys	
5.150–91, 12.98–160, 12.45–48	male/female lovers	
5.192–208, 12.161	women	
5.209–10, 12.162–65	transitional	
5.211–15, 12.166–68	conclusion	

<sup>42</sup>Gutzwiller 1998a: 282–301.

Confirming the existence of these internal divisions is the presence of recognizably programmatic or transitional epigrams at several points of opening and closing. As the natural consequence of Meleager's general procedure of placing his own variations after their models, the epigrams of earlier poets tend to open sections, while sections usually close with poetry by the editor himself. I here concentrate on three of these concluding epigrams—those ending the long mixed section, the second transitional section, and the concluding sequence.

The poem that ended the central heterosexual section (5.150–91, 12.98–160) was most likely 5.191 (rather than 12.160) because it is “sealed” with Meleager's name and because it directly recalls the metaphorical identification of the epigram collection with a garland:<sup>43</sup>

ἄστρα καὶ ἡ φιλέρωσι καλὸν φαίνουσα Σελήνη  
καὶ Νύξ καὶ κώμων σύμπλανον ὄργάνιον,  
ἄρᾳ γε τὴν φιλάσωτον ἔτ' ἐν κοίταισιν ἀθρήσω  
ἄγρυπνον λύχνῳ πόλλ' ἀποδομένην†  
ἢ τιν' ἔχει σύγκοιτον; ἐπὶ προθύροισι μαράνας  
δάκρυσιν ἐκδήσω τοὺς ἰκέτας στεφάνους  
ἐν τόδ' ἐπιγράψας, 'Κύπρι, σοὶ Μελέαγρος ὁ μύστης  
σῶν κώμων στοργᾷ σκύλα τάδ' ἐκρέμασε.' (73 G-P = AP 5.191)

Stars and Selene, who shines her lovely light on lovers,  
and Night and flute, companion of my revel,  
Will I see that wanton girl still awake in her bed,  
keeping a tearful vigilance by her lamp,  
or has she a bedmate? Withering my suppliant garlands  
with tears, I'll fasten them on her porch,  
Inscribed with this: “Meleager, initiate of your revels,  
suspends for you, Cyprian, these spoils of love.”

The epigram, “a blend of the amatory and dedicatory types,”<sup>44</sup> dramatizes the soliloquy of the poet on a *komos*, as he wonders whether his beloved will receive him and anticipates the actions he will take when excluded. In an attempt to make the poem conform more closely to lived reality, Page prints the emendation *μαρανθείς* in line 5 on the grounds that “the active *μαράνας*, governing *στεφάνους*, is obviously impossible; tears cannot wither, or dry up,

<sup>43</sup>Because an unknown number of epigrams were lost in transmission, it is safer to think of this epigram as part of a concluding sequence, but not necessarily itself standing as last originally. The same caution applies to what I call “concluding” epigrams in the other sections as well.

<sup>44</sup>Gow and Page 1965: 2.648; cf. Tarán 1979: 97–98.

a wreath.”<sup>45</sup> It is odd that he does not object as well to the lover’s improbable plan to inscribe an epigram upon the flora of his garlands. The matter looks quite different, however, if we read 5.191 figuratively as the programmatic last poem in the section. The motif of withering a wreath with tears derives from combining two epigrams found in the opening sequence of the amatory book: 5.143, in which a wreath droops in rivalry with Heliodora, and 5.145, in which wreaths wet with tears and hung on a porch rain on the head of a beloved. In a book in which various cycles of poems have already been troped as garlands, the withering of “suppliant wreaths” at the entryway to a beloved’s house is an entirely appropriate symbol for the ending of a major section within the book. What is more, these garlands are explicitly figured as a poetic context because they are “inscribed” (ἐπιγράψας) with a dedicatory epigram. This epigram within an epigram, itself written on a wreath, thus models the inscription of all the anthologized epigrams within the larger *Garland*, and thus appropriately marks the end of the longest cycle within the amatory book.

To be more speculative, I suggest that this reading of 5.191 may guide us to identify other programmatic epigrams that have been removed from their original *Garland* positions. In a poem that repeats crucial language from 5.191 (ἐπὶ προθύροισι, ἐπιγράψας, σκῦλα), Eros places in Myiscus’ entryway the trophy of Meleager’s own body, bearing an inscribed announcement of victory:

ἡγρεύθην ὁ πρόσθεν ἐγὼ ποτε τοῖς δυσέρωσι  
 κώμοις ἡθέων πολλάκις ἐγγελάσας·  
 καί μ’ ἐπὶ σοῖς ὁ πτανὸς Ἔρως προθύροισι, Μύσκε,  
 στήσεν ἐπιγράψας, ‘σκῦλ’ ἀπὸ Σωφροσύνης.’ (99 G-P = AP 12.23)

I have been caught, I who used to laugh often  
 at the passionate revels of young men.  
 But winged Eros stood me on your doorstep,  
 Myiscus, inscribed “Spoils from Restraint.”

Suggesting the beginning rather than the end of a love affair, this epigram may have appeared near the opening of the heterosexual section, among a series of epigrams linked by the theme of being caught, bound, or wounded by passion (δήσας, 12.98.1; ἡγρεύθην, 12.99.1; ἔτρωσε, 12.100.4; ἄτρωτον, 12.101.1;

<sup>45</sup>Gow and Page 1965 *ad loc.* In favor of the active form, see Giangrande 1968b: 57–58; Tarán 1979: 95.



ώγρευτής, 12.102.1).<sup>46</sup> Each of the poems from 12.98 through 12.101 concern a learned man whose self-restraint is brought low by the power of Eros; the last of these is Meleager, wounded by arrows from the eyes of Myiscus. The appearance of ἡγρεύθην as the first word in 12.99 and ώγρευτής as the first word in 12.102 strongly supports the supposition that 12.23 (ἡγρεύθην, 1) was originally part of this short sequence.<sup>47</sup> The motif of an epigram within an epigram would, then, link the opening and closing of the long heterosexual section, which would appropriately begin with the conquest of learned poets by love and end with Meleager, expressly named, dedicating “suppliant garlands” to Aphrodite as a sign of his enslavement.

Apart from epitaphs for Meleager and the two poems that open and close the *Garland*, his name occurs only in 7.476 (a lament for Heliodora), in 5.191, and in the following dedication now found outside of any Meleagrian sequence:

ἀνθεμά σοι Μελέαγρος ἔδν συμπαίστορα λύχνον,  
Κύπρι φίλη, μύστιν σὼν θέτο παννυχίδων. (11 G-P = AP 6.162)

Meleager has dedicated to you, dear Cypris, his playmate,  
a lamp, initiate of your night-long festivals.

The appearance of the words σοι Μελέαγρος, Κύπρι, and μύστιν both here and in 5.191 is a striking indication that these two poems were once associated by their *Garland* contexts. In 5.191 the suspension of “suppliant garlands” as the spoils of love marks Meleager’s total dominance by passion; in 6.162 the dedication of a lamp, the companion of lovemaking, seems to commemorate the end of his labors. The *Anthology* preserves numerous epigrams in which a craftsman marks his retirement by dedicating the tools of his trade, and 6.162 is just an erotic variant of the type. If the poem is indeed displaced from Book 5, as I suspect, it probably occurred near the end of Meleager’s amatory book, with an

<sup>46</sup>Tarán 1979: 98–101 discusses how 12.23 varies these epigrams, as well as 5.191, though without any recognition of their connection within a poetry book.

<sup>47</sup>The epigram is modeled on Leon. AP 6.293, where a handsome boy dedicates to Aphrodite as “spoils” the equipment of the Cynic Sochares (σκῦλ’ ἀπὸ Σωχάρους, 2), who has been caught (ἡγρευσεν, 6) by love. Meleager, who earlier in life wrote in the Cynic manner of Menippus (cf. Ath. 11.502c, Μελέαγρος δ’ ὁ κυνικός), represents his conversion to erotic verse as a similar “capture.” For the Cynic ambiance of 12.101, where Myiscus is said to overcome Meleager’s σκηπτροφόρος σοφία, “scepter-bearing wisdom,” see Degani 1976: 141–43. The programmatic nature of the series 12.98–101 (as the beginning of the long heterosexual section of the amatory book) is supported by Propertius’ unmistakable echo of the Meleager poem 12.101 at the opening of the *Monobiblos* (1.1.1–4).

echo back to the last poem in the central mixed section. Meleager calls himself by name in both poems, and in each he mentions an “initiate” (μύστης) of the Cyprian—himself in one and his surrogate, the lamp, in the other. In turn, these initiates into erotic experience mirror internally the initiates of the Muse designated as targeted readers of the *Garland* at the end of the proem (μύσταις, 4.1.57). As Meleager the lover is compelled by his initiation into the service of Aphrodite to engrave an epigrammatic declaration of his experience onto “suppliant garlands,” so Meleager the reader of epigrams is likewise compelled by his initiation into the service of the Muse to plait an “all-fruited garland” containing the epigrams of others and his own variations upon them. In conclusion to this central section of his amatory book, Meleager suggests, then, a parallel between his erotic and aesthetic activities, between his role as poet and as editor.

The poem that in all likelihood concluded the second transitional section (5.209–10, 12.162–65) again contains the poet’s *sphragis*, although now in the form of a riddle:

λευκανθῆς Κλεόβουλος, ὁ δ’ ἀντία τοῦδε μελίχρους  
 Σώπολις, οἱ δισσοὶ Κύπριδος ἀνθοφόροι.  
 τοῦνεκά μοι παίδων ἔπεται πόθος, οἱ γὰρ Ἔρωτες  
 πλέξιν ἐκ λευκοῦ φασὶ με καὶ μέλανος. (98 G-P = AP 12.165)<sup>48</sup>

White-flowered is Cleobulus and opposite is honey-skinned  
 Sopolis—both flower bearers of Cyprus.  
 The Erotes say I’m to plait from black and white, and  
 for that reason desire for boys follows me.

As editors generally recognize, the reference to black and white puns on Meleager’s name, which can be etymologized as a combination of *melas*, “black,” and *argos*, “white.”<sup>49</sup> The pun made here is the model for Philodemus’ later explanation of his name as a fated proclivity to desire women called Demo:

<sup>48</sup>Gow and Page 1965 print Jacobs’ emendation πλέξαι and understand με as object, but Guidorizzi 1992 and Aubreton, Buffière, and Irigoin 1992 are more likely right to prefer με as subject of the future infinitive transmitted in P: Meleager is a weaver of garlands, not a garland himself.

<sup>49</sup>See Gow and Page 1965 ad 3f.; Dorsey 1967: 360; Clack 1992: 90–91; Guidorizzi 1992: 128 n. 95; Aubreton, Buffière, and Irigoin 1994: 124 n. 6. Scholars seem not to have noticed confirmation for this etymology in the description given for the μελεαγρίς, “guinea fowl,” a black-and-white speckled bird that originated through the metamorphosis of Meleager’s sisters (see Clytus of Miletus, τὸ δὲ σῶμα ἅπαν ποικίλον, μέλανος ὄντος τοῦ

αὐταὶ που Μοῖραί με κατωνόμασαν Φιλόδημον,  
ὥς αἰεὶ Δημοῦς θερμὸς ἔχει με πόθος. (*AP* 5.115.5–6)

The Fates themselves, so it seems, named me Philodemus,  
since a hot desire for some Demo always drives me.

In a similar way, the Erotes have determined that one named “Meleager” must desire boys of both light and dark skin.<sup>50</sup> But Meleager’s epigram is more complicated than this: it contains a second pun in the word πόθος, which could mean not only “desire” but also a type of garland, or the species of flower from which it was made (*Ath.* 15.679c-d, citing Nicander of Colophon; cf. 15.680f).<sup>51</sup> Theophrastus reported (*HP* 6.8.3) that the flower called πόθος had two forms, one dark like the hyacinth and one pale or white (ἄχρoος λευκός). A garland called πόθος made from the flowers called πόθος would, one assumes, consist of blossoms both light and dark. Meleager’s πόθος is not only, then, his desire for boys, whether light or dark, but also the variegated garland he is compelled by his own name to weave from them—meaning of course the epigrammatic poetry he writes about them. It should be clearly evident that this epigram, falling right before the concluding sequence of the amatory book, makes reference back to the earlier epigrams that allude programmatically to garlands (including, prominently, the garland of Tyrian boys woven by Eros from the grove of Aphrodite, 12.256). But nowhere does there exist a clearer identification of the erotic and the aesthetic than in this pun on πόθος, which denotes both erotic desire and a plaited garland, Meleager’s pervasive metaphor for the aesthetic object he creates.

The final poem by Meleager in the concluding sequence is almost certainly 5.215, which presents simultaneously the close of love, life, and the amatory collection:

λίσσομ', Ἔρως, τὸν ἄγρυπνον ἔμοι πόθον Ἥλιοδώρας  
κοίμισον αἰδεσθεῖς μοῦσαν ἔμην ἰκέτιν.  
ναὶ γὰρ δὴ τὰ σὰ τόξα, τὰ μὴ δεδιδαγμένα βάλλειν  
ἄλλον, αἰεὶ δ' ἐπ' ἔμοι πτανὰ χέοντα βέλη,

---

χρώματος ὅλου, πτίλοις λευκοῖς καὶ πυκνοῖς διελημμένου, *apud Ath.* 14.655d-e). For additional references, see Thompson 1895: 114–15.

<sup>50</sup>For the meaning of μελίχρους here, see Theoc. 10.27–29, where a lover justifies his desire for a “honey-complexioned” (μελίχλωρον) girl on the basis that violets and hyacinths are dark but among the first flowers picked for garlands.

<sup>51</sup>See Pedzopoulos 1931: 172–73; Dorsey 1967: 358–59.

εἰ καὶ με κτείναις, λείψω φωνὴν προῖέντα  
γράμματ', "Ἐρωτος ὄρα, ξεῖνε, μαιφονίαν." (54 G-P = *AP* 5.215)<sup>52</sup>

I beg you, Eros, put to sleep my sleepless passion  
for Heliadora, respecting my suppliant Muse.  
Or else, by your bow that has learned to strike no other,  
that always casts its winged missiles against me,  
Even if you kill me, I'll leave behind writings that project  
my voice: "Observe, stranger, the murderous act of Eros."

Scholars, who have been interested in the poem as a blend of the erotic and sepulchral types,<sup>53</sup> have missed the implications of its position last in the long Meleagrian sequence from *AP* 5. The function of the epigram as a closural piece encourages the reader to interpret phrases such as ἄγρυπνος πόθος in accordance with the literary as well as the erotic code. "Wakefulness" had served as an emblem of the "labor," or πόνος, required by the Hellenistic refined style as early as Callimachus, who praised Aratus' ἄγρυπνῇ in an epigram much imitated by later poets (*AP* 9.507).<sup>54</sup> Meleager himself brings attention to the dual meaning of πόθος as both "desire" and "garland" in 12.165, which fell just before the concluding sequence in the amatory book. The position of 5.215 suggests, then, that sleep for ἄγρυπνος πόθος is to be construed as the simultaneous end to love-longing and to the poetry book, or "garland." The verb κοιμίσσον is also suggestive, recalling both 12.49 (apparently the first poem by Meleager in the book), where lovers are bidden to put to sleep (κοιμάσει) the flame of boy-love by drinking wine, and 12.98 (beginning the central heterosexual section of the book), where Posidippus represents himself as the Muses' cicada, a scholar laboring (πεπονημένη) in books, one whom πόθος attempts to "put to sleep" (κοιμίζειν) through the torture of love's fire. Now in 5.215 sleep, or cessation of desire, is the wished-for

<sup>52</sup>This epigram appears a second time in the *AP*, after 12.19, with the masculine form 'Ἡλιοδώρου and again in Planudes with the feminine form and an ascription to Posidippus. The version after 12.19 also contains a different reading in the fifth line, φωνεῦντ' ἐπὶ τύμβῳ, preferred by Gow and Page 1965; in my view, ἐπὶ τύμβῳ is just the sort of gloss a scribe would add to elucidate the obvious but implicit fact that Meleager intends the final phrase to be his epitaph.

<sup>53</sup>Gow and Page 1965: 2.637; Dorsey 1967: 274; cf. Guidorizzi 1992: 124 n. 61, who cites [Theoc.] 23.46, where the lover composes his own epitaph just before committing suicide.

<sup>54</sup>Thomas 1979: 195–205 documents the development of the topos "wakefulness" to become an attribute of both the poet and the lover; unaware of Meleager's programmatic use of the image, he finds the first conjunction of the two in Latin poetry (Cat. 50.10–17, Prop. 1.10.1–10).

result, to be granted by Eros in exchange for Meleager's "suppliant Muse," which, recalling the "suppliant garlands" (ικέτας στεφάνους) of 5.191, clearly refers to the poetry book that now ends.

The motif of sleep as the end of love anticipates, associatively, the motif of the lover's death at the end of the poem. Playing with the closural device of the self-epitaph, Meleager gives force to his request for the cessation of love by threatening to name Eros his murderer. While the phrase Ἔρωτος ὄρα, ξεῖνε, μισοφονίαν, "observe, stranger, the murderous act of Eros," imitates epitaphic form through its address to the stranger, the better version of the transmitted text—φωνὴν προϊέντα γράμματ', "writings that project my voice"—makes no mention of actual inscription. As a result, the reader is encouraged to view the epigram through a double lens, seeing Meleager in his dual role of erotic poet and editor. The writings (γράμματα) he leaves behind are easily reinterpreted as the preceding collection itself, preserving for his unknown reader (ξεῖνε) the story of Eros' cruelty. Once again, and finally, Meleager textualizes his erotic experiences, figuring the close of his book as the end of life itself.

Inscribed epigrams were designed to be read within a specific physical context, either a grave site or a dedicatory object. When in the third century epigrams were first placed in poetry books, the implied setting was no longer visually present but had to be re-created in the imagination of the reader,<sup>55</sup> because the actual physical context was now the book itself. As a result, some poetry, most likely that found at points of opening, closing, or transition, developed a secondary reference to its own literary frame. As we have seen, Posidippus' epigram calling for a bedewing with wine (5.134) and the poem bidding Asclepiades to drink away his erotic pain (12.50) probably served such functions in earlier poetry books. As one whose compositional technique is based on his skill at varying the epigrams of others, Meleager takes this process to a more advanced level. His poetry, composed from and interwoven with the poetry of others, is from the outset mediated through the lens of art. The objects of his passion, whatever may have been their lived reality, enter his poetry already dressed as vehicles for discourse. One of his primary referents becomes the literary context itself, whether it be the particular short sequence of epigrams in which a poem is set or, more broadly, the entire collection, given cohesiveness through intricate arrangement and overarching metaphors. While

<sup>55</sup>For an interesting discussion of this process, see Bing 1995.

some of Meleager's epigrams were apparently composed before he began work on the anthology,<sup>56</sup> other poems read as if they were written to occupy a predetermined place in the *Garland*. Those I have examined from the opening sequence of the amatory book and from the conclusions to sections within it are of this type. When encountered in their original *Garland* sequence, these epigrams assume a dual referentiality—to the experiences of Meleager as lover, emanating from his persona as poet, and more figuratively to the experience of reading itself, emanating from his persona as editor. In some instances, then, as when Meleager inscribes epigrams on garlands, or is compelled by the etymology of his name to weave garlands, or composes a self-epitaph as his final word to readers, the anthology itself becomes the reality to which his poetry refers. In this way, Meleager remodels the practices developed in earlier epigram books to make the intertextual tradition of epigrammatic composition the referential focus of his anthologized verse.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>56</sup>Ouvré 1894 made an attempt to assign many of Meleager's epigrams to the various periods of his life set out in his self-epitaphs (7.417–19, 421). While most of this analysis is inadequately substantiated, some of the poems allude to Tyre and so were likely composed before Meleager removed himself to Cos, where he apparently completed the *Garland*.

<sup>57</sup>Helpful suggestions for improving this paper were offered by two anonymous referees, and by David Sider and Marilyn Skinner. I am grateful as well to the Semple Classics Fund of the University of Cincinnati, which provided a grant to support research on the project.

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