

MATTHEW W. DICKIE

AN EPITAPH FROM STRATONIKEIA IN CARIA

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## An Epitaph from Stratonikeia in Caria<sup>1</sup>

1           ὁ πάντα Μούσαις Καλλίνικος ἀρμόσας,  
               ὁ καὶ παλαίστρα ποικίλα κεκασμένον  
               ἐνταῦθα κείται τερπνὸν ἐκ γενιᾶδων  
 4           ἔαρ μαρανθεῖς· βάσκανος γὰρ Ἄϊδας  
               ἐσθλοῖσι τάκων ὄμματ' ἄν τόσαν χάριν.

1 Καλλίνικος Gauthier and Rougemont, *Bull. Epigr.* 1990 no. 23, Pleket *SEG* 38. 1103 :  
 καλλίνικος *ed. princ.*       3 read γενειάδων

E. Varinlioğlu has recently published an epitaph from Stratonikeia in Caria that had lain concealed under a coat of whitewash.<sup>2</sup> M. Çetin Şahin republished it in basically the same form (*Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia* II, 2 [*IGSK* 22.2 Bonn 1990] 1328). It has now appeared in *SEG* with one significant correction (38.1103). The inscription was written on a round altar of white marble decorated with bucrania and wreaths.<sup>3</sup> Since no photograph of the altar is given, it is difficult to be certain whether the inscription is complete. The language of the epitaph, however banal its content may in fact be, is far from formulaic. This makes the interpretation of the inscription more difficult than most others of its sort. The Doric that occurs in lines 2 and 4f. introduces another puzzling element.

Varinlioğlu wrote καλλίνικος and did not recognize the proper name. In his view, the deceased is not named in the epitaph. He suggests that the name must have been given elsewhere on the monument, a supposition questioned by Ph. Gauthier and G. Rougemont (*Bull. Epigr.* 1990 no. 23). Şahin, who takes the deceased to have dedicated his life to the Muses, thinks that his name was Μουσαῖ(ο)ς. To judge from the first line of an epigram from Sinope, also in iambic trimeters, in which the name Καλλίνεικος occupies the same *sedes* in the line as the presumed adjective καλλίνικος, the deceased's name was Καλλίνικος (*GV* I 1713.1). The line has much the same structure as our line: ὁ πολλὰ πλεύσας Καλλίνεικος κύματα. That Καλλίνεικος is a proper name is made certain by the words inscribed below the epigram: Ἰούλιος Καλλίνεικος ναύκληρος ἐνθάδε κείται. The name Καλλίνεικος

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to George Huxley for reading this paper and correcting some mistakes and to Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones (henceforth H. L.-J.) for reading an earlier draft and for drawing my attention to much that I had missed.

<sup>2</sup> "Inschriften von Stratonikeia in Karien", *EA* 12 (1988) no. 28, 102-3. Varinlioğlu describes the youth as an epebe. We are not in a position to say whether he was a παῖς or ἔφηβος. Both categories are attested in Stratonikeia: *Inschr. von Stratonikeia* I-II, 1 (*IGSK* 22.1-2.1) 192.6, 202.21, 1101.10, 11, 22.

<sup>3</sup> On such cylindrical grave-altars, which appear first in the Hellenistic period, see W. Altmann, *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit* (Berlin 1905) 2-4; C.G. Yavis, *Greek Altars* (St Louis 1949) 142-154; P.M. Fraser, *Rhodian Funerary Monuments* (Oxford 1977) 25-33. The inscription is normally on the base on which the altar rested, though apparently not here.

or Καλλίνικος is common enough.<sup>4</sup> It is attested in Caria (*SEG* 17.446.2). The name occurs in Stratonikeia itself on a grave stele (II 1 [*JGSK* 22.1] 1259).

The metrical pattern of the epigram is remarkably uniform and allows only some variation in admitting a long or short *anceps* in the first foot of the first meter. The structure of the first three lines of the epigram is: a substantival participle in the nominative followed asyndetically by another such participle; both participles characterize the deceased, whose name is enclosed within the first participial group; the whole concludes with the words: ἐνταῦθα κεῖται. Such a structure is found in a number of epitaphs in verse.<sup>5</sup> Often it takes the form of a series of substantives with the article in the nominative following on each other asyndetically. The pattern occurs also in other forms of epigram (*AP* 5.273, 6.283, 7.284, 9.41), though they seem to look back to the funerary epigram. Sometimes it takes the form ὁ πρὶν---ὁ πρὶν or ἡ πάρος---ἡ πάρος---.<sup>6</sup> Where the deceased is the object of the sentence the form τὸν---τὸν occurs (*GVI* 764, 767, 815, 897, 1182, 1903, 2054). What would appear to be a further development is the use of οὗτος ὁ---οὗτος ὁ (*AP* 7.666, 9.15, 11.159, 16.89, 110; Geffcken, *Gr. Epigr.* no. 225) in epigrams below statues or works of art. The form οὗτος ὁ---ὁ--- is also found (*AP* 16.99). Geffcken thought this form of anaphora was Hellenistic in origin and cited its use in an epigram by Antipater of Thessalonica (*AP* 7.666).<sup>7</sup> The same device is found in denunciations in comedy and tragedy (Ar. *Pax* 241, *Thesm.* 392-394; Aesch. *Sept.* 571-575, *PV* 944-946; Soph. *El.* 300-302). It is also employed in a funerary epigram to characterize Hades in all his horror (*GVI* 847). Longus parodies it in the speech of a lovelorn parasite.<sup>8</sup> Fraenkel thought the form had its roots in the abusive speech of day-to-day life.<sup>9</sup> The origins of the device are unascertainable, but what is clear is that it can be used for vehement vilification or for heightened praise.

*GVI* 722.1-4 provides a parallel for the masculine nominative article in anaphora followed by a phrase that occupies the rest of an iambic trimeter:

ὁ κλεινὸς ἴνι βασιλέωσ Ἀμάζαπος,  
ὁ Μιθριδάτου βασιλέωσ κασίγνητος,  
ᾧ γαῖα πατρὶς Κασιπίας παρὰ κλήθρασ,  
Ἰβηρ Ἰβηρος ἐνθαδὶ τετάρχυται.

Parallels are not easy to find for the way in which, in the epitaph from Stratonikeia, the deceased's attainments, intellectual and physical, are described, though the attainments are in all likelihood those regularly mentioned in verse epitaphs for youths. The phrase ὁ πάντα

<sup>4</sup> The indices to *SEG* provide the following sure examples: 3.200, 7.511, 8.192, 17.342.19, 605, 20.453e, 16.1663, 17.52.26, 23.152 A ii 17, 807, 30.950, 33.1553, 36.136.14.

<sup>5</sup> ἡ --- ἡ ---: *GVI* 707, 1121, 2008; ὁ --- ὁ ---: *GVI* 483, 603, 714, 722, 1523; *SEG* 31.810.

<sup>6</sup> ὁ πρὶν---ὁ πρὶν: *AP* 5.234, 9.19, 20, 287; ἡ πάρος---ἡ πάρος---ἡ πάρος: *AP* 5.273, 9.41.

<sup>7</sup> J. Geffcken, *Griechische Epigramme* (Heidelberg 1916) 96. L. Robert, "Epigrammes satiriques de Lucilius" in *L'Epigramme grecque* (Geneva 1968) 206-208 discusses the form.

<sup>8</sup> οἴχεταιί σοι Γνάθων---ὁ μέχρι νῦν μόνης τραπέζης τῆς σῆς ἐρῶν, ὁ πρότερον ὁμνῶς ὅτι μηδέν ἐστὶν ὠραιότερον οἴνου γέροντος, ὁ κρείττους τῶν ἐφήβων τῶν ἐν Μιτυλήνῃ τοὺς σοὺς ὄψαρτυτὰς λέγων (4.16.2).

<sup>9</sup> E. Fraenkel, "Attische Scheltreihen", *Glotta* 41 (1963) 285-6. Reference owed to H. L.-J. See also G. Hutchinson on Aesch. *Sept.* 572.

Μούσαις ἀρμόσαις should in a general way mean that everything falling within the Muses' concern done by Kallinikos met with their approval. It is presumably a variation on the more common form of expression, "dear to the Muses." (*GV I* 440, 714, 985) or "pleasing to the Muses" (*GV I* 370, ?2050). Perhaps it could be rendered: "He acted harmoniously in the service of the Muses (i.e. he excelled in the literary aspects of his education)." The force of κεκαμμένος here presents no difficulty.<sup>10</sup> It is much harder to say what excelling in παλαίτρα ποικίλα will mean and what the sense of ποικίλα will be here. παλαίτρα does not generally seem to be used as an equivalent of παλαιμοσύνη or πάλη (wrestling), but of the exercises of the gymnasium.<sup>11</sup> Manilius provides what may be a parallel when he speaks of stripping off for the varied exercises of the gymnasium (*campus et in varias destringit membra palaestras* 3.630). Furthermore, there are indications that in the later Hellenistic and Roman periods wrestling was not always the most important part of the formal organized physical training that παῖδες, epebes and νέοι underwent in the gymnasium. We should not then assume it was in wrestling that Kallinikos distinguished himself. He may have stood out from his fellows in the various forms of rhythmic exercise carried on in the palaestra and may have shown that symmetry of form, healthy colouring and strength that the gymnasium sought to develop in youths and young men. In an epitaph of the 2nd century A.D. from Thyateira in Lydia a young man is beloved by the Muses and distinguished in the rhythmic exercises of the palaestra:

πρῶτα παλαστρε[ί]της, εἶτα καὶ εὐτράπελος,  
ἐν πάσαις Μούσαις πεφ[ιλ]ημένος (*GV I* 985.4-5).<sup>12</sup>

Youths cut off prematurely are regularly praised for their accomplishments in both the gymnasium and the school-room.<sup>13</sup> It is one of the stock topics of funerary epigrams for boys and youths that the deceased was snatched away as his cheeks had begun to be covered with down or just before (*GV I* 385, 648, 653, 658, 663, 780, 853, 854, 971, 1057, 1541, 1555, 1728, 1970, 1991.9, 2004.11; *SEG* 17.365, 21.849, 35.1233; cf. *Ap. Rhod. Arg.* 972-3). The topic is employed to express the special poignancy surrounding the death of a youth.<sup>14</sup> Sometimes the agent is, as here an envious force (*GV I* 971.1: ὁ βάσκανος δαίμων; *GV I* 1970.2-3: φθονερὴ Μοῖρα = βάσκανος δαίμων; *Mart.* 9.76.4-8: *invidit de tribus una*

<sup>10</sup> For κεκαμμένος and ἐκεκάστο in verse epitaphs, cf. *GV I* 283, 459, 577, 833, 1651; *SEG* 34.1290. For a discussion of this epic verb's meaning and use, see M.L. West, *Studies in Aeschylus* (Leipzig 1990) 288.

<sup>11</sup> *Eur. Andr.* 559; *Theocr.* 7.125 (with Gow's note *ad loc.*) and *AP* (Paulus Silentiarius) 5.259.5 are exceptions.

<sup>12</sup> On the honorific appellations παλαιστρίτης and εὐτράπελος, cf. *Plut. Quaest. Rom.* 274d: ἀγαπήσαντες (sc. οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀντ' ὀπλιτῶν καὶ ἱππέων ἀγαθῶν εὐτράπελοι καὶ παλαιστρίται καὶ καλοὶ λέγεσθαι).

<sup>13</sup> *GV I* 305, 440, 714, 745, 768, 945, 985, 1247, 1305; *SEG* 20.85. *GV I* 1862 is a curious variant on this theme: the deceased was not greatly loved by the Muses but was Hermes' darling. An even more elaborate variation on the theme is to be found in a funeral oration by Choricus (*Or.* 7.5), where the deceased's precocity first in letters and then in the palaestra is played on. On the topic of death before entering the gymnasium and on having just entered it, see E. Griessmair, *Das Motiv der mors immatura in den griechischen metrischen Grabinschriften, Commentationes Aenipontanae* 17 (Innsbruck 1966) 52-55.

<sup>14</sup> On the topic, see Griessmair (n. 13) 60-62.

*soror*).<sup>15</sup> μαράννειν is a pathos-laden verb used to refer to the death of the young.<sup>16</sup> It carries no suggestion that the deceased actually wasted away. The imagery seems to be that of a rose or some plant in full bloom that dies in its prime. An envious force is on occasion the subject of the verb.<sup>17</sup>

The figure of ἔαρ γενειάδων is found in an epigram of Crinagoras written for the occasion of Eucleides' cutting his first beard: τοῖσι γὰρ οὐμὸς ἔτ' ἄχνοος εὐξάτο θήκειν | τὸ πρῶτον γενύων ἠιθέοισιν ἔαρ (*AP* 6.242.2-3 = Gow-Page, *GP* 1815-6). An early Byzantine epigram by Julian of Egypt on the death of a sixteen-year old wife provides a parallel for the image of the wasting of sweet spring: φεῦ, φεῦ, ἀμετρήτων χαρίτων ἔαρ ἡδὺ μαράννει | ἀμφὶ κοῖ ὠμοφάγων χεῖμα τὸ νερτερῶν (*AP* 7.601.1-2).<sup>18</sup>

The final sentence of the epitaph presents a problem, but, whatever interpretation is put on it, the particle γὰρ makes it certain that the sentence gives the reason for Kallinikos' being snatched away in the first bloom of youth. The particle γὰρ is used remarkably infrequently in the final sentence of an epitaph to explain a premature death (*GV* I 228, 436, 591, 639, 1467). Those who have tried to make sense of the sentence hitherto do not seem to have taken sufficient account of the force of the particle. Varinlioglu renders vv. 4-5 as: *Der Neid-Dämon beim Hades macht den Guten die Augen (vor Tränen) schmelzen als die einzige Gunst*. Gauthier and Rougemont criticize Varinlioglu for capitalizing βάσκανος but accept his interpretation of the sentence: *c'est le thème classique de "l'envieux Hadès"* (βάσκανος ou φθονερός) *qui fait fondre en larmes les hommes de coeur*. Pleket gives essentially the same rendering: "Hades is jealous and makes the good people's eyes melt away when they see so much grace/beauty." If the epigram is complete, the verb ἐκτί must be supplied in the last sentence.<sup>19</sup> To judge from Varinlioglu's description of the monument, there seems no reason to suppose that a last line is missing.

If the Greek is taken in this way, the meaning ought to be something like the following: Kallinikos lies dead, the spring wasted from his cheeks, since Hades is envious and causes the eyes of good people to melt in tears at so great beauty. Erinna had addressed Hades: βάσκανος ἔσσει, Ἀΐδα (*AP* 7.712.3 [= *Epiogr. Gr.* 2.3; = 1791 Gow-Page]), and this was

<sup>15</sup> Callimachus plays with this motive of Hades' envy when, in his fictive tombstone, he claims that he ἦειπεν κρέσσονα βασκανίης | ἄχρι βίον (epigr. 21.4f. Pf. = 29.4f. Gow-Page in C.A. Faraone's reconstruction (*ZPE* 63 [1986] 53-56. Since, in his youth the Muses did not look at him with jealous eyes (?), they also did not abandon him in his age. The βασκινίη of Callimachus' rivals during his lifetime replaces, in the context of a tombstone, βάσκανος Ἀΐδης. (Here I follow L. Koenen's interpretation).

<sup>16</sup> So S. Bakir-Barthel and H. Müller, "Inschriften aus der Umgebung von Saittasi", *ZPE* 36 (1979) 190 n. 110 citing Ad. Wilhelm, *Byzantion* 6 (1931) 461 and *Anz. Ak. Wien* (1936) 58 (= *Akademieschriften* II 558).

<sup>17</sup> For the youth as a rose or plant cut off in full bloom: *GVI* 1335.3-4: αἰ[ζηò]ς νέος οὐτος, ὅς ἤκμα-  
 cen, ἀλλ' ἐμαράνθη | ὡς ῥόδον; 1555.5-6: νέ[ο]ς δ' ἐμαρήνατο δαίμων, | ἄμφω πρωθήβας ἔρνεσιν  
 εἰδομένους; for envy: Bakir-Barthel and Müller (n. 15) no. 47.16-7 (= *SEG* 29.1190): ὦ Φθόνε καὶ Μοῖραι |  
 μερόπων ἐμαράνατε κάλλος; *AP* 12.227.3-4 (Straton): ἄνθος γὰρ καὶ κάλλος ἔσον χρόνον ἐκτὶ λαχόντα |  
 ταῦτα δ' ὄμη φθονέων ἐξεμάρανε χρόνος.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *GVI* 1541.2: ἀρπάξας ε' Ἀΐδας ἀν' ἐμάραναν ἀκμάν. The parallel with Crinagoras was pointed  
 by H. L.-J.

<sup>19</sup> For the omission of the verb εἶναι particularly in the 3rd person indicative, see Kühner-Gerth II.1 40;  
 for the pattern, adjective, γὰρ, noun with εἶναι omitted, cf. Hom. *Il.* 1.80; Isocr. 1.29.

quoted by Leonidas or Meleager (*AP* 7.3.4 [Epigr. Gr. 98.4 = 2566 Gow-Page]). The role of βάκκανος Ἔιδης in such contexts is normally to snatch away, take off or separate from. φθονερός θάνατος also snatches away, while φθονερός Ἔιδης separates from and puts to rest.<sup>20</sup> Parallels exist also for the idea that Envy or Hades in his envy causes those who are left behind grief (*GV* I.736.3-4, 847.1-5). It is difficult to find exact parallels for ἐκθλοῖ weeping over the misfortune of others, though the notion that pity is only to be expected from the educated or the intelligent does occur (*Soph. El.* 145-6; *Eur. El.* 295-6, *fr.* 407 N<sup>2</sup>). Implicitly, the dead youth belonged himself to the ἐκθλοῖ. Finally, it is possible, to judge from *Eur. Or.* 134-5, to speak of someone's causing a third party such unhappiness as to make his or her eyes dissolve in tears (ὄμμα δ' ἐκτῆξουσ' ἔμοι | δακρύοις).

The rendering of the Greek given above does make sense. Kallinikos lies dead, the spring wasted from his cheeks, since Hades is envious and, therefore, causes good men to weep but it entails a minor difficulty over the great beauty (of the youth). The final sentence then is a general characterization of Hades that explains why in this particular case he has caused the death of a fair youth. But it is the loss of beauty over which the tears should be shed, but that is not what the Greek says. It could be argued that ἄν τόσαν χάριν is a brachylogy and really refers to the loss of so great beauty.<sup>21</sup>

There is, however, a different way of taking the Greek, and to this I wish to direct the attention of the reader: Kallinikos lies dead, since Hades is envious of the good, wasting his eyes away over so great beauty. He has, in other words, killed Kallinikos out of envy and that envy was provoked by Kallinikos' virtue and beauty, which tortured Hades. To the objection that Hades ought to be rejoicing over the death of Kallinikos and not still torturing himself over such beauty, the answer is that this is a general characterizing phrase explaining why Hades kills fair and virtuous young men. Construed in this fashion the sentence also has the advantage of praising the deceased explicitly as both ἐκθλόος and beautiful.

On this interpretation, ἐκθλοῖσι is a dative governed by βάκκανος. φθονεῖν and βακκαίνειν govern the dative of the person envied and the genitive of the thing that arouses the envy. The same construction is found with the adjectives βάκκανος and φθονερός. Two examples from Peek, *GV* I will suffice: 1) ὦ δαίμον φθονόλεθρε, καλῶν ἐπιβάκκανε θνηταῖς, | ὅς δύο παρθενικάς ἤρπασας εἰς Ἄϊδα (1944.3-4); 2) λε[εεν ἦ] φθονερά τ[οῖς ἀ]γαθοῖσι Τύχ[η] (899.4).

It is a commonplace that envy in general and then envious death, fate or fortune are hostile to the virtuous. Pindar in the Eighth Nemean says of φθόνος that it always fastens on the good and never vies with lesser men: ἄπτεται δ' ἐκλῶν ἀεὶ, χειρόνεσσι δ' οὐκ ἐρίζει (22).<sup>22</sup> An epitaph, now lost, from Thebes of the 4th or 3rd centuries B.C., commemorating a young man killed in battle, attributes responsibility for his death to Fortune envious of the good (*GV* I 899.4; cited above). Another epitaph, this time from Tanagra of the 2nd or 1st centuries

<sup>20</sup> βάκκανος Ἔιδης: ἤρπασε: *MAMA* VII.257a; *GV* I 971, 1941; ἦρε: *GV* I 855; ἀπενόσφισε: *GV* I 683, 949; διεξεύγισε: *MAMA* VII.263; φθονερός θάνατος or Ἔιδης: ἤρπασε: *GV* I 856; νόσφιεν: *GV* I 646; κατεκοίμικεν: *GV* I 1969.9.

<sup>21</sup> For the difficulty of ἀνά see below.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *Pi. Parth.* 1.7-8 (*fr.* 94a Sn.): πάντι δ' ἐπὶ φθόνος ἀνδρὶ κείται | ἀρετᾶς.

B.C., bids mortals have a base heart, for if they have superior thoughts, Hades envies the good: ᾧ θνατοί, κραδίην φαύλην ἔχει· ἦν δὲ νοῆτε | κρέσσονα βασκαίνει τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς Ἀίδ[η]c (GV I 636.5-6). The idea that there is a jealous force that ignores or helps the base but resents the virtuous, implicit in the epigram from Tanagra, is made explicit in two other epigrams. A fragmentary epitaph of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. from Bostra in Syria probably declares that Fortune helps the base but out of envy destroys the fair: κακ[οῖσι τ' ἐπ' ἄξει] | καλοῖς τε φθονέουσ' ὀλ[έκει βίον ἐν νεότητι] (GV I 1648.3-4), while an epigram from Odessos in Thrace bids Envy feel shame because the fair die before their fate, while he averts the suffering of the base: ᾧ Φθόν', ἐπαιδέσθητι· καλοὶ θνήσκουσι πρὸ Μυρῶν, | τῶν δὲ κακῶν αἰεὶ πένθος ἀποστρέφετε (GV I 719.5-6).<sup>23</sup> The tenor of the sentiments expressed in these epitaphs is summed up in Quintilian's feeling that the virtues, intellectual and moral, he saw in his nine-year old son were of such an order that he should have feared the thunderbolt that regularly cuts down those who bloom early and the envious force that plucks too high hopes (*iuro --- has me in illo vidisse virtutes --- ut prorsus posset hinc esse tanti fulminis metus, quod observatum fere est celerius occidere festinatam maturitatem, et esse nescio quam quae spes tantas decerpit invidiam, ne videlicet ultra quam homini datum est nostra provehantur* [Inst. 6 praef. 10]).

The words τάκων ὄμματ' ἄν τόσαν χάριν form another phrase. ἄν is presumably the preposition ἀνά with apocope before an unvoiced dental. The Doric coloring (Ἀΐδαc, τάκων and τόσαν, though not ἐκλοῖσι) the poet gives the final sentence will explain the form.<sup>24</sup> ἀνά as the equivalent of ἐπί with the dative or διά with the accusative is, to say the least, difficult. An epigram by Anyte has: νυμφίοι ἰέμενοι ἴκοντο πατρὸς δόμον, | κάλλευσ καὶ πινυτᾶτος ἀνά κλέος (AP 7.490.2-3 = GV I 1189.2-3 = Gow-Page, HE 685-6). Gow and Page in their commentary take ἀνά to mean "to, towards" (i.e. "drawn to her reputation"), but concede that ἀνά with a noun such as κλέος is strange. In such a context the preposition comes very close to meaning "because of." At Euripides' *Ion* 1455 (τίν' ἀνά χέρα δόμουc ἔβα Λοξίου;) ἀνά seems to signify "by means of", "through", though the commentators are at a loss to find a parallel for such a usage.<sup>25</sup> The key to the use of ἀνά in our epitaph may lie in the notion of extent present in the adjective τόσαν. ἀνά would then refer to the eye running all over so great beauty.

It is difficult to see how anyone in antiquity with a modest literary education would not on reading Kallinikos' epitaph have supposed that he had in front of him an instance of the commonplace that the envious waste away in the misery their own envy causes. Reminded of the association he would have taken τάκων ὄμματᾶ to mean that the sight of beauty or grace tortures Hades with envy and was part of the reason he turned on the youth and killed him.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Cf. GV I 1809.5-6: ᾧ Φθόνε, πανδαμάτωρ· καὶ γάρ σε κακῶc καταλέξω· | οὐκ αἰδῆ, τοίων (sc. ἀγαθοὶ καὶ πάντα καλοὶ) ὀλλυμένων μερόπων; Quint. Inst. 6 praef. 10; Stat. Theb. 10.385-6; Cél 1814.5-6.

<sup>24</sup> The only other Doric form in the poem is ποικίλα.

<sup>25</sup> Kühner-Gerth explain: "auf wessen Hand (getragen)" (*Grammatik* II. 1 p. 474).

<sup>26</sup> φθόνος: Men. fr. 538.6-7 Körte<sup>3</sup>; Theocr. 5.12-3, 6.26-7; AP 6.116, 11.192, 193, 347, 16.355.4; Luc. Cal. 5; Lib. Or. 25.20-1, Decl. 30.46; SEG 19.409; MAMA VI.164; invidia: Hor. Sat. 1.110-1, Ep. 1.2.57; Ov. Metam. 2.760; Stat. Theb. 2.14-5.

In other words, the author of the epitaph, if he wished to say that Hades had caused the eyes of the good to dissolve in tears, because of the close association in Greek thought between envy and wasting, normally expressed with some part of the verb *τήκειν*, picked a way of making his point likely to confuse. To make matters worse, because the eyes are the organ through which the envious see that which causes them distress,<sup>27</sup> the eyes themselves are very often imagined as wasting away in envy. Our putative reader might on seeing the words *βάσκανος Ἀΐδας...τάκων ὄμματα* recall the epigram that speaks of envy causing the eyes of the envious to waste. It says that envy, while it is most evil, does have one fine feature to it, namely, its causing the eyes and the heart of the envious to waste away (*ὁ φθόνος ἐκτὶ κάκιτος, ἔχει δὲ τι καλὸν ἐν αὐτῷ· ἡ τήκει γὰρ φθονερῶν ὄμματα κραδίην AP 11.193*).<sup>28</sup> The epigram is a variation on the commonplace theme that the one good thing about envy is that it is its own punishment.<sup>29</sup> Versions of the epigram were used in later antiquity, presumably because of the reference in it to the eyes of the envious wasting away, to ward off the Evil Eye of Envy.<sup>30</sup> Envy, conceived as a hostile force out there or in Christian thought as the Devil, is said to make its own eyes waste away. Thus Gregory the Nazianzene, after speaking of the power of Christ or of the divine love, dismisses Envy to his own fruitless and miserable devices, expressing the wish that the Envy may make his own eyes waste away (*ὁ δὲ φθόνος ὄμματα τήκει Carm. mor 2.50 PG 37.582; ὄμματα τήκοι ἢ ὁ φθόνος Carm. quae spectant ad alios 1.119-120 PG 37.1460*). Essentially the same wish is to be found in an early Byzantine apotropaic epigram from Tabai in Caria: He who understands how to build will praise, while the man whom the sight of the building distresses, it is sufficient that he alone wastes away (*εἰ κτίζειν μεμάθηκας, ἐπένεσον· εἰ δ[έ] σε λυπεῖ, ἢ ἄρκει σοι μούνῳ τηκομ[έ]νῳ τὸ βλέπειν MAMA VI.163*). Similar sentiments are expressed in a Christian inscription from Akrah in the Hauran on a block that looks as though it were a lintel: it bids the one who loves proceed on his way rejoicing, while the envious man is bidden waste away as he looks (*εἰ μὲν φιλείεις ἔρχεο γηθόμενος ἢ εἰ δὲ φθονέεις δέρκεο τεκόμενος Pal. Expl. Fund Quart. St. [1895] 51 no. 27*). Although the eyes themselves are not said to waste away in these inscriptions, wasting is nonetheless connected in them with the action of the eyes.

The notion of envy's causing the eyes to waste away is also found in prose. In the *Septuagint*, Sirach says that having to give a gift causes the grudging man's eyes to waste away: *καὶ δόσις βασκάνου ἐκτῆκει ὀφθαλμοῦς* (18.18). In the inscriptions set up by Antiochus I of Kommagene in connection with his establishing a *hierotherion* for Mithridates Kallinikos

<sup>27</sup> Lib. *Decl.* 30.24: πολλοῖς τοξεύμασιν ἐβαλλόμεν τὴν ψυχὴν διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν; Ov. *Metam.* 2.780-782: *sed videt (sc. Invidia) ingratos intabescitque videndo ἢ successus hominum carpitque et carpitur una, ἢ suppliciumque suum est*; Stat. *Silv.* 2.6.76-7: *seseque videndo ἢ torsit (sc. Rhamnusia) et invidit*.

<sup>28</sup> For envy causing the heart to waste, cf. *AP* 16.355.3-4: *ἀλλὰ μέρει πρῶτῳ σταθερῷ καὶ ἀρείονι μίμονι ἢ τὴν φθονερὴν τήκων δυσμενέων κραδίην*; for the topic of something otherwise bad having one good feature to it, cf. *AP* 5.280.7-8: *Κύπρις γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παλίγκτος, ἐν δὲ τι καλὸν ἢ ἔλλαχεν, ἐχθαίρειν τὰς σοβαρευομένας*.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *Carcinus fr.* 8 Snell; *Isoc.* 9.6; *Philem. fr.* 119 K.-A; *MAMA VI.163*; *Bas. De fid.* *PG* 31.1445, *Serm. de mor.* *PG* 32.1343; *Greg. Naz. de se ipso PG* 36.268; *Ov. Metam.* 2781-2; *Sen Dial.* 9.2.11; *Cypr. De Zel.* 7 *PL* 4.643; *Sid. Apoll.* 8.7.4; *Anth. Lat.* 636.5.

<sup>30</sup> *Lyon: IG XIV.253*; *Dokimeion (Phrygia): BCH 17 (1853) 291*; on this, see L. Robert, "Des Carpathes à la Propontide", *Dacia* 22 (1978) 326.

at Arsameia on the Nymphaios various categories of person who might harm the monument are specified, amongst them the envious man. He is characterized as concealing the hatred of his enmity and wasting his own eye away at the goods of others:

φθόνου τις ἀνάνδρου κρύπτῃ  
 μείκος ἀρνούμενης εκοραε (ἔχθραε Merkelbach)  
 ὀφθαλμόν τε τήκων ἴδιον ἐπ' ἄλ-  
 λοτρίοις ἀγαθοῖς

(lines 214-217 F. Dörner-T. Goell, *Ist. Forsch.* 23 [1963] 56).<sup>31</sup>

The characterization in Antiochus' inscription of the envious man as one who wastes his eyes away at the goods of others corresponds to the characterization of Hades in his envy wasting his eyes away at great beauty in the epitaph for Kallinikos. Gregory of Nyssa speaks of the Devil plotting more vigorously against us and wasting away with his envious eye (βακκάνω τηκόμενος ὀφθαλμῶ) when he sees the beauty of new-born man hastening to the heavenly kingdom (*In bapt.*, PG 46.597), while for John Chrysostom the eye of the envious man wasting away in pain (βακκάνου ὀφθαλμὸς ἐκτῆκεται λύπη) is an element in the damage that man does himself in his eagerness to destroy others (*Hom. LV in Ioann.*, PG 59.305).

The image of Hades' causing his eyes to waste away out of envy has no parallel known to me from pagan antiquity. It does have its counterpart in Christian descriptions of the Devil, who plays in Christian thought some of the rôles ascribed to Hades in the pagan world. In the passage just cited from Gregory of Nyssa the Devil wastes away with envious eye, while in John Chrysostom he wastes away out of envy (*Hom. XVI in Genes.*, PG 53.126).

AP 11.193, where τήκων governs both ὄμματα and κραδίην, leaves little room for doubt that if it is envy's own eyes that are at issue in the epitaph for Kallinikos, the phrase τάκων ὄμματα describes the eyes as drying up and becoming dull. They do not melt away like snow into tears as H. Dörrie in his commentary on the inscription from Kommagene supposed (*Der Königskult des Antiochos von Kommagene im Lichte neuer Inschriften-Funde* [Abh. Akad. Wiss. Gött. Phil.-Hist. Kl. nr. 60 1964] 111-2). It is true that τήκειν is used of the eyes dissolving like snow into tears, while the adjective τακερός is used in an active sense of love's eyes causing another to melt under their gaze.<sup>32</sup> This latter figure is not to be confused with τακερός in a passive sense used of someone whose eyes are moist with love ([Luc.] *Am.* 3,14).

<sup>31</sup> See H. Dörrie, *Der Königskult des Antiochos von Kommagene im Lichte neuer Inschriften-Funde*, Abh. Akad. Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl. III 60 (Göttingen 1964) 106-113). To lines 216f. cf. *CAF Adesp.* 359 (Kock iii.476) = Plut. *De curios.* 515d: τί τᾶλλότριον, ἄνθρωπε βακκανώτατε, | κακὸν ὄξυδορκεῖς, τὸ δ' ἴδιον παραβλέπεις.

<sup>32</sup> For the eyes dissolving in tears: *Od.* 19.204-209 Eur. *Or.* 134; Theocr. *Epigr.* 6.1-2; Plut. *Ant.* 53.6; *Mor.* 1101a. It is unclear whether wasting away in jealousy or dissolving in tears of frustration is at issue at Theocr. 1.87-8, 90-1. There are a number of passages (*Hom. Il.* 3.176; *Soph. El.* 283, *Ant.* 979, *GV I.878.9-10*, 1166.26) where it is difficult to decide whether dissolving in tears or wasting away as a result of the misery of weeping is meant. At *GV I.1938* ἐτάκη ὄμματα refers to the eyes of a nightingale wasted in death or dulled in death. τακερός active in meaning: *Alcm.* 3 fr. 3.ii.61-2 Davies; *Anacr.* 459 *PMG*; *Ibyc.* 287.1-2 Davies; *Philetaer.* fr. 5.1 (Kock ii.231); *AP* 9.567.3; cf. *Luc. Tox.* 15.

Dörrie also took ὀφθαλμὸν τήκων in the inscription from Kommagene to imply a reference to the Evil Eye and in particular to the notion that an efflux (ἀπόρροια) emerges from the eyes of those endowed with the Evil Eye.<sup>33</sup> The theory that a harmful efflux emerges from the eyes of those endowed with the Evil Eye goes back to Democritus (DK 68 A 77) and was certainly known in the Hellenistic period, to judge from the allusion to it by Apollonius Rhodius (*Argon.* 4.1671-2), but there is no reason to see a reference to it either in Antiochus' decree or in the epitaph from Stratonikeia. Dörrie's belief in a reference to an efflux rests on the misapprehension that the phrase ὀφθαλμὸν τήκων describes eyes dissolving in tears. It is nonetheless legitimate to see in the image of the eyes of βάσκανος Ἔδης wasting away at the sight of Kallinikos' great beauty or grace an indication that Hades was imagined to have the Evil Eye.<sup>34</sup>

χάρις aroused envy and so was thought to be especially vulnerable to the attentions of the Evil Eye. Baths are regularly praised for their χάρις in antiquity: apotropaic inscriptions protect that χάρις from the Evil Eye.<sup>35</sup> The χάρις of young and beautiful persons was naturally also thought vulnerable to the Evil Eye of Envy. Aristaenetus writes that those who saw Laïs uttered the following apotropaic prayer (ἀποτροπιάζοντες) to the gods, lest their wonder at the girl's beauty should draw the Evil Eye on her: ἀπίτω φθόνος τοῦ κάλλους, ἀπίτω βασκανία τῆς χάριτος (*Ep.* 1.1.54-5 Mazal).

For the idea that some external force may bring an end to one endowed with a χάρις that consists in both literary and athletic attainments *GV I 440*, an epitaph from Caesarea in Cappadocia, provides a parallel. The deceased says that he lies dead, the darling of Hermes and the Muses (Ἑρμῆι καὶ Μούσαις μεμελημένος ἐνθάδε κείμε 1)<sup>36</sup> and that Fate, laying hold of his χάρις of sixteen-years standing, (ἐξδεκάτην ἐτέων Μοῖρα λαβοῦσα χάριν 4) had hidden his wretched body in a foreign land.

The discussion of the epitaph's final sentence has proceeded on the assumption that the sentence is complete and ἄν is the preposition ἀνά with apocope before an unvoiced dental.

The Doric colouring of the final sentence of the epitaph does not reflect the speech of Stratonikeia, a Seleucid foundation of the 3rd century B.C. There is hardly a trace of Doric in the inscriptions of Stratonikeia.<sup>37</sup> A literary explanation is clearly in order. Kaibel long ago remarked that inscriptions for ephebes are wont to speak in Doric.<sup>38</sup> The practice is by no means confined to epitaphs for ephebes. Doric is found in grave-inscriptions for children and young women (*IG IV.802*; *GV I 846*; *ICret.* II.5.50, II.10.20). It may be that Doric was associated with the plangent tone of lamentation. At any rate, the *Epitaphium* of [Moschus] for

<sup>33</sup> "Emanation" in *Parusia: Festgabe für Johannes Hirschberger* (Frankfurt 1965) 123-4.

<sup>34</sup> J. Geffcken, "BACKANOC ΔΑΙΜΩΝ" in *Charisteria Rzach* (Reichenberg 1930) 37-8 probably goes too far in seeing in all instances of the word βάσκανος in grave-epigrams a reference to the Evil Eye.

<sup>35</sup> On the χάρις of baths, see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 4 (1948) 78-84; J. Russell, *The Mosaic Inscriptions of Anemurium* (Ergänzungsbände zu den *Tituli Asiae Minoris* nr. 13, Vienna 1987) 42-3; protection of their χάρις from the Evil Eye: Russell no. 7; *AP* 9.814; A. Beschouch, *RendLinc.* 8th ser. 23 (1968) 59-68.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *GVI* 1862.4-5: οὐ τέλεον, Μούσαις δ' οὐ μέγα φειλάμενος. | ἔζων δ' Ἑρμείῳ μεμελημένος.

<sup>37</sup> *II.2.1327.12* (an epitaph has ἀρετάν).

<sup>38</sup> Note to *Epigrammata graeca* no. 222: *solent ... epheborum tituli dorice loqui*. Cited by Griessmair (n. 13) 54 n. 3 and G. Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna I (IGSK 23.1)* 258, no. 552 without further comment.

Bion is composed in the literary Doric we find in epitaphs as to a lesser degree, is the *Epitaphium Adonidos* of Bion. The Doricism of these epitaphs amounts to little more than replacing the η of the κοινή with a long α.<sup>39</sup> By the standards of these inscriptions the prepositional form ὄν is a slightly *recherché* item and so mildly surprising.

University of Illinois at Chicago

Matthew W. Dickie

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<sup>39</sup> But *GV I 846.2-3*, an epitaph from Smyrna of the 1st century A.D. has Μοιτάων μελέδημ' ἄγαγον εἰς Ἄϊδαν Ἰγαστρὸς ἀπωσαμέναν μόρον ἔγκυον.