

SIGNE ISAGER

THE PRIDE OF HALIKARNASSOS

Editio princeps of an inscription from Salmakis

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# THE PRIDE OF HALIKARNASSOS

## Editio princeps of an inscription from Salmakis

### Introduction

Halikarnassos never played a major role for long in the works of the great historians of antiquity. Still it had qualities which aroused the interest of learned Romans such as Pliny the Elder and Vitruvius. The newly-found inscription to be published here unexpectedly tells us what the Halikarnassians themselves considered to be their own greatest merits. This inscription takes us a large step forward in our knowledge of ancient Halikarnassos as a cultural centre and contributes also to our understanding of the ancient world outside Halikarnassos.

The finding of the large inscription on the remains of an ancient wall still *in situ* at the promontory Kaplan Kalesi, also known as Salmakis, was reported to the Bodrum Museum of Underwater Archaeology in the summer of 1995. A preliminary examination was undertaken by the museum in collaboration with the Danish Halikarnassos Expedition to which the publication of the inscription was entrusted. In 1996, examinations were continued and a squeeze in silicone was made by Benni Berg.\*

A preliminary presentation of the inscription was printed in the *Preatti del XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina, Roma, 18–24 settembre 1997*, 211–219. Since then it has been discussed in a public lecture at The Danish Institute at Athens and at the *Nordic Seminar on Ancient History at Göteborg*, 21st–24th June 1998. I am grateful for the offer by ZPE to publish this important inscription quickly albeit with many riddles still unsolved. A forthcoming volume of *Halikarnassian Studies* will include a more thorough treatment of the text as well as a study by Poul Pedersen on the buildings and the town plan of Hellenistic Halikarnassos in the light of the text of this inscription and of other recent findings<sup>1</sup>.

### The Stone

#### The inscription with an epigraphic commentary

The inscription was cut in two columns on blue limestone with white veins. The stone was originally worked with a tooth-chisel like the other stones of the same course. As preparation for the inscription an area 104 cm wide and covering the full height of the stone was smoothed. Traces of the tooth-chisel are still visible where the smoothed area is not covered by letters.

The inscribed stone is, with its 133.4 cm, the widest stone in the course. The three stones to the right are 103 cm each. The height of the stone is 51.2 cm. The height of the inscribed area is 43.8 cm.

The left margin of column I is 19 cm, and there are 19 cm from the end of the longest line of column II to the right edge of the stone. There are 47 cm from the left edge of column I to the left edge of column II. The upper margin is 4 cm, the lower margin 3 cm. There are 3–4 mm between the lines. The letter-height is 1 cm.

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<sup>1</sup> *Halikarnassian Studies*, Odense University Press.



## column I

- 1 ENNEPEMOISXOINITIΦΙΛΟΝΤΙΘΑΣΕ[- - - - -]  
 ΚΥΠΡΙΜΥΡΟΠΝΕΥΣΤΩΝΕΜΠΕΛΑΤΕΪΡΑΠ<sup>2</sup>Ο[..  
 ΤΗΣΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΣΟΥΤΙΤΟΤΙΜΙΟΝΟΥΓ<sup>3</sup>ΑΡΕΓΩΓΕ  
 ΕΚΛΥΟΝΗΤΙΘΡΟΕΙΓΑΥΡΑΦΡΥΑΣΣΟΜΕΝΗ
- 5 ΓΗΓΕΝΕΩΝΜΕΓΑΛΑΥΧΟΝΕΤΕΚΝΩΣΕΣΤΑΧΥΝΑΝΔΡ[..  
 ΑΚΡΑΙΟΥΠΑΡΕΔΡΟΝΚΥΔΑΛΙΜΟΙΟΔΙΟΣ  
 ΟΙΠΡΩΤΟΙΚΟΙΛΗΝΥΠΟΔΕΙΡΑΔΑΘΕΝΤΟΝΕΟΓΝΟΝ  
 ΠΑΙΔΑΡΕΗΣΚΡΥΦΙΟΝΖΗΝΑΤΙΤΑΛΛΟΜΕΝΟΙ  
 ΓΑΙΗΣΑΜΦΑΔΥΤΟΙΣΙΝΟΤΕΚΡΟΝΟΣΑΓΚΥΛΟΜΗΤΗΣ
- 10 ΟΥΚΕΦΘΗΛΑΙΜΩΙΘΕΣΘΑΙΥΠΟΒΡΥΧΙΟΝ  
 ΖΕΥΣΔΕΠΑΤΗΡ <sup>3</sup>ΓΗΣΥΙΑΣΑΓΑΚΛΕΑΣΟΡΓΕΙΩΝΑΣ  
 ΘΗΚΕΝΟΙΑΡΡΗΤΩΝΠΡΟΣΠΟΛΟΙΕΙΣΙΔΟΜΩΝ  
 ΟΥΔΑΧΑΡΙΝΜΟΧΘΟΙΟΠΑΡΑΙΔΙΟΣΕ[.]ΧΟΝΑΜΟΙΒΗΝ  
 ΕΡΓΩΝΑΝΤΑΓΑΘΩΝΕΣΘΑΚΟΜΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΙ
- 15 ΤΟΝΤΕΡΑΤΟΝΜΑΚΑΡΕΣΣΙΝΑΕΙΔΟΜΕΝΟΝΠΑΡΑΧΕΥΜΑ  
 ΣΑΛΜΑΚΙΔΟΣΓΛΥΚΕΡΟΝΝΑΣΣΑΜΕΝΗΣΚΟΠΕΛΟΝ  
 ΝΥΜΦΗΣΙΜΕΡΤΟΝΚΑΤΕΧΕΙΔΟΜΟΝΗΠΟΤΕΚΟΥΡΟΝ  
 ΗΜΕΤΕΡΟΝΤΕΡΠΝΑΙΣΔΕΞΑΜΕΝΗΠΑΛΑΜΑΙΣ  
 ΕΡΜΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΟΝΘΡΕΨΕΠΑΝΕΞΟΧΟΝΟΣΓΑΜΟΝΕΥΡΕΝ
- 20 ΑΝΔΡΑΣΙΚΑΙΛΕΧΕΑΠΡΩΤΟΣΕΔΗΣΕΝΟΜΩΙ  
 ΑΥΤΗΤΕΣΤΑΓΟΝΩΝΙΕΡΟΙΣΥΠΟΝΑΜΑΣΙΝΑΝΤΡΟΥ  
 ΠΡΗΥΝΕΙΦΩΤΩΝΑΓΡΙΟΕΝΤΑΝΟΟΝ  
 ΠΑΛΛΑΣΤΕΠΤΕΡΟΕΝΤΟΣΕΠΗΕΡΙΟΝΔΑΜΑΤΗΡΑ  
 ΠΗΓΑΣΟΥΟΙΚΙΣΤΗΝΕΣΘΛΟΝΕΠΗΓΑΓΕΤΟ
- 25 ΕΝΘΟΤΕΔΗΣΤΕΨΑΣΑΜΕΤΙΧΝΕΣΙΒΕΛΛΕΡΟΦΟΝΤΕΩ  
 ΠΗΔΑΣΙΔΟΣΓΑΙΗΣΤΕΡΜΟΝΑΣΙΔΡΥΕΤΑΙ  
 ΝΑΙΜΗΝΚΑΙΚΡΑΝΑΟΙΟΜΕΓΑΣΘΕΝΟΣΕΚΤΙΣΑΡΙΣΤΟΥΣ  
 ΚΕΚΡΟΠΙΔΑΣΙΕΡΗΣΕΝΧΘΟΝΙΣΑΛΜΑΚΙΔΟΣ  
 ΕΝΔΥΜΙΩΝΤΑΙΧΜΗΙΒΑΣΙΛΗΙΔΙΚΥΔΙΜΟΣΗΡΩΣ
- 30 ΛΕΚΤΟΥΣΕΚΓΑΙΗΣΑΠΙΔΟΣΗΓΑΓΕΤΟ

<sup>2</sup> Of the supposed *pi* only the bottom of the right serif is distinct, the left is barely visible.

<sup>3</sup> The letter was originally a *tau*. I follow Merkelbach's suggestion and read *gamma*, for the left part of its vertical is not so clear. Probably the cutter tried to erase it without doing too much damage to the appearance of the stone. The reader would see it as a *gamma*, when colour was finally applied to the letters.



## column II

[-----]Ω<sup>4</sup>ΝΙΟΣΥΙΟΣ  
 [-----]ΣΕΝΑΝΘΕΑΔΑΣ  
 [-----]ΝΘΥΟΣΙΣΑΚΟΡΥΣΘΕΙΣ  
 [-----]ΩΝΕΘΕΤΟ  
 35 [-----]ΦΟΙΒΗΙΟΣΙΝΙΣ  
 [-----]ΟΚΤΙΣΙΗΝ  
 [-----]Χ<sup>5</sup>ΘΟΝΟΣΗΓΑΡΙΑΔΝΗΝ  
 [-----]ΠΑΙΔΕΛΙΠΕΝ  
 [-----]ΖΩΣΕΝΑΠΟΙΚΟΝ  
 40 [-----]Γ<sup>6</sup>ΑΛΛΟΜΕΝΟΣ  
 [-----]ΑΙΣΤΕ[-----]ΝΗΝΧΕΡΙΔΩΡΙΚΟΝΑΥΤΗΝ  
 ΕΡ[-----]ΖΕΙΦΟΙΒΟΥΕΦΗΜΟΣΥΝΑΙΣ  
 ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΝΤΟΝΠΙΕΖΟΝΕΝΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙΣΙΝΟΜΗΡΟΝ  
 ΗΡΟΣΕΝΑΝΔΡΩΝΟΣΘΡΕΨΕΚΛΥΤΗΝΔΥΝΑΜΙΝ  
 45 ΕΣΠΕΙΡΕΝΠΑΝΥΑΣΣΙΝΕΠΩΝΑΡΙΣΗΜΟΝΑΝΑΚΤΑ  
 ΙΛΙΑΚΩΝΚΥΠΡΙΑΝΤΙΚΤΕΝΑΟΙΔΟΘΕΤΗΝ  
 ΗΔΕΤΟΝΕΜΜΟΥΣΑΙΣΙΜΕΝΕΣΘΕΑΚΕΔΝΟΝΑΝΗΚΕΝ  
 ΗΔΕΘΕΑΙΤΗΤΟΥΠΝΕΥΜΕΛΟΧΕΥΣΙΕΡΟΝ  
 ΚΩΜΙΚΟΝΥΜΝΟΘΕΤΗΝΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΝΥΙΑΤΕΚΝΟΥΤΑΙ  
 50 ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΝΤΡΑΓΙΚΩΝΙΑΡΙΝΕΤΕΥΞΕΠΕΩΝ  
 ΔΜΩΑΔΙΩΝΥΣΟΥΦΑΝΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΕΣΧΕΝΑΟΙΔΟΝ  
 ΚΕΚΡΟΠΙΔΩΝΙΕΡΟΙΣΑΒΡΟΝΕΝΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΙΣ  
 ΝΟΣΣΟΝΕΝΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙΣΙΧΡΟΝΩΝΣΗΜΑΝΤΟΡΑΤΕΥΞΕΝ  
 ΤΙΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΝΠΙΝΥΤΟΝΓΕΙΝΑΤΑΟΙΔΟΘΕΤΗΝ  
 55 ΑΛΛΟΥΣΤΕΞΕΣΘΛΩΝΕΣΘΛΟΥΣΤΕΚΕΜΥΡΙΟΣΑΙΩΝ  
 ΟΥΤΕΛΕΣΕΙΔΟΞΗΣΠΕΙΡΑΤΑΠΙΑΝΤΕΝΕΠΕΙΝ  
 ΠΟΛΛΑΜΕΝΕΝΧΕΡΣΩΙΚΑΜΕΝΑΓΛΑΑΠΟΛΛΑΔΕΠΟΝΤΩΙ  
 ΕΣΘΛΑΣΥΝΕΛΛΗΝΩΝΗΓΕΜΟΣΙΝΦΕΡΕΤΑΙ  
 ΕΥΣΕΒΕΩΝΠΙΑΝΤΙΜΟΝΕΧΕΙΓΕΡΑΣΕΝΤΑΓΑΘΟΙΣΙΝ  
 60 ΕΡΓΟΙΣΚΥΔΙΣΤΩΝΑΝΤΕΧΕΤΑΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΝ

<sup>4</sup> There seem to be traces of the right serif and the right side of the circle.

<sup>5</sup> The ends of both serifs in the right-hand side of the *chi* are visible.

<sup>6</sup> The right serif of this letter is visible. It might belong to a *tau* as well.

The letters are broad, regular and very professionally cut. The inscription was obviously meant to be admired as a beautiful wall-decoration. A mis-stroke occurred in line 2 where the cutter started out with a *lambda* after *pi* in ἐμπελάτειρα. The appearance is saved successfully, though. There are a few cases where it is hard to see if we have a casual extra stroke or an attempt to embellish the inscription further as in line seven, where the omikron of ΥΠΟ has a serif-like feature at the bottom to the left. Possibly the horizontal of *eta* was lengthened to its right for embellishment and for a closer connection between the letters in ΑΓΚΥΛΟΜΗΤΗΣ, line nine. There are a few other similar occurrences in the inscription and this is a feature which might – if intentional – point to a later date. The letter-form of the inscription generally suggests to me a dating around the mid or late second century BC:

A has a sharply broken cross-bar.

E: The central horizontal is slightly shorter than the other two.

Z consists of two horizontals connected by a vertical.

Θ: Its central point was cut with a triangular tool and points directly upwards.

M: Its verticals are parallel or now and then widening a little towards the bottom of the letter-space.

N: Its verticals are parallel and the second vertical reaches the bottom of the letter-space.

Ξ consists of three horizontals. The central horizontal is short.

Π has the horizontal extending beyond both verticals and its second vertical is shorter than the first.<sup>7</sup>

Σ: As a rule its horizontals are parallel. Some widen a little.

Φ: Its vertical keeps within the letter-space as do P and Υ.

Ω is the most characteristic letter – the circle is closed; as a rule it is smaller than O and Θ and it has very strongly marked serifs<sup>8</sup>. The letter hangs from the top of the letter-space.

#### Transcription

##### column I

- 1 Ἐννεπέ μοι, Σχοινῖτι, φίλον τιθάσε[υμα φέρουσα]  
 Κύπρι, μυροπνεύστων ἐμπελάτειρα πο[...],  
 τῆς Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ τί τὸ τίμιον; οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ γε  
 ἔκλυον ἢ τί θροεῖ γαῦρα φρυασσομένη;
- 5 Γηγενέων μέγαλαυχον ἐτέκνωσε στάχυν ἀνδρ[ῶν]  
 Ἀκράϊον πάρεδρον κυδαλίμοιο Διός,  
 οἱ πρότωι κοίλῃν ὑπὸ δειράδα θέντο νεογνὸν  
 παῖδα Ῥέης κρύφιον Ζῆν' ἀτιταλλόμενοι  
 Γαίης ἀμφ' ἀδύτοισιν, ὅτε Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης
- 10 οὐκ ἔφθη λαιμῶι θέσθαι ὑποβρύχιον.  
 Ζεὺς δὲ πατὴρ Γῆς υἱας ἀγακλέας ὀργειῶνας  
 θῆκεν, οἱ ἀρρήτων πρόσπολοί εἰσι δόμων.  
 οὐδ' ἄχαριν μόχθοιο παρὰ Διὸς ἔ[σ]χον ἀμοιβὴν  
 ἔργων ἀντ' ἀγαθῶν ἐσθλὰ κομιζόμενοι.
- 15 τὸν τ' ἐρατὸν μακάρεσσιν ἀειδόμενον παρὰ χεῦμα

<sup>7</sup> A combination of these features with the features of the *alpha* may, on Paros and perhaps on Andros, suggest distinctly second-century BC texts, Reger, G. (1994), The Political History of the Kyklades, *Historia* 43, 37.

<sup>8</sup> Parallels can be seen at Delphi, *FD* III 1 150 and III 3 146 both dated to the mid or second half of the second century BC, Bourguet in *FD* and *BCH* 35, 1911, 18–23. The hymns to Apollo, dated to 128 BC, have similar letters, but the *alpha* has a straight cross-bar, *CID* I plates. In the Kerameikos of Athens, compare the dedication to Artemis, *IG* II/III<sup>2</sup> 4695. For an inscription with many similarities but with a different *omega*, see the letter of Antiochos III to a governor at Daphne, 189 BC, in Welles (1974, 1934), *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period*, no. 44 and Plate VIII. Berges, D. (1986), *Hellenistische Rundaltäre Kleinasiens*, Katalog no. 31. Abb. 75, dated by means of relative chronology to the first quarter of the first century BC.



- Σαλμακίδος γλυκερὸν νασσαμένη σκόπελον  
 νύμφης ἱμερτὸν κατέχει δόμον, ἥ ποτε κοῦρον  
 ἡμέτερον τερπναῖς δεξαμένη παλάμαις  
 Ἑρμαφρόδιτον θρέψε πανέξοχον, ὃς γάμον εὗρεν  
 20 ἀνδράσι καὶ λέχεα πρῶτος ἔδησε νόμῳ  
 αὐτὴ τε σταγόνων ἱεροῖς ὑπὸ νάμασιν ἄντρου  
 πρηύνει φῶτων ἀγριόεντα νόον  
 Παλλὰς τε περόεντος ἐπηέριον δαματῆρα  
 Πηγάσου οἰκιστὴν ἐσθλὸν ἐπηγάγετο  
 25 ἔνθ' ὅτε δὴ στείψασα μετ' ἵχνεσι Βελλεροφόντεω  
 Πηδασίδος γαίης τέρμονας ἰδρύεται  
 ναὶ μὴν καὶ Κραναοῖο μέγα σθένος ἔκτισ' ἀρίστους  
 Κεκροπίδας ἱερῆς ἐν χθονὶ Σαλμακίδος  
 Ἐνδυμίων τ' αἰχμῇ βασιληίδι κύδιμος ἦρως  
 30 λεκτοὺς ἐκ γαίης Ἄπιδος ἡγάγετο

## column II

- 31 [-----Ποσιδ]ώνιος υἱὸς  
 [-----]σεν Ἀνθεάδας  
 [-----Ῥαδαμά]νθος ἴσα κορυσθεῖς  
 [-----]ων ἔθετο  
 35 [-----] Φοιβήιος ἱνίς  
 [-----]οκτισίην  
 [-----]χθονὸς ἦγ' Ἀριάδνην  
 [-----]παῖδ' ἔλιπεν  
 [-----]ζωσεν ἄποικον  
 40 [-----]α]γαλλόμενος  
 [-----]αι στε[φά]νην χερὶ Δωρικὸν αὐτὴν  
 ἐρ[-----]ι]ζει Φοίβου ἐφημοσύνας  
 Ἡρόδοτον τὸν πεζὸν ἐν ἱστορίαισιν Ὀμηρον  
 ἦροσεν, Ἄνδρωνος θρέψε κλυτὴν δύναμιν,  
 45 ἔσπειρεν Πανύασιν ἐπὼν ἀρίσημον ἄνακτα,  
 Ἰλιακῶν Κυπρίαν τίκτεν ἀοιδοθέτην,  
 ἠδὲ τὸν ἐμ Μούσαισι Μενεσθέα κεδνὸν ἀνῆκεν,  
 ἠδὲ Θεαιτήτου πνεῦμ' ἐλόχευσ' ἱερόν,  
 κωμικὸν ὕμνοθέτην Διονύσιον υἱὰ τεκνοῦται,  
 50 Ζηνόδοτον τραγικῶν ἴδριν ἔτευξ' ἐπέων,  
 δμῶα Διωνύσου Φανόστρατον ἔσχεν ἀοιδόν,  
 Κεκροπιδῶν ἱεροῖς ἄβρον ἐνὶ στεφάνοις,  
 Νόσσον ἐν ἱστορίαισι χρόνων σημάτων τεῦξεν  
 Τιμοκράτην πινυτὸν γείνατ' ἀοιδοθέτην  
 55 ἄλλους τ' ἐξ ἐσθλῶν ἐσθλοὺς τέκε' μυρίος αἰῶν  
 οὐ τελέσει δόξης πείρατα πάντ' ἐνέπειν,  
 πολλὰ μὲν ἐν χέρσῳ κάμεν ἀγλαά, πολλὰ δὲ πόντῳ  
 ἐσθλὰ σὺν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμόσιν φέρεται  
 εὐσεβέων πάντιμον ἔχει γέρας, ἐν τ' ἀγαθοῖσιν  
 60 ἔργοις κυδίστων ἀντέχεται στεφάνων.

## Translation – An Attempt

## column I

- 1 Tell me, Schoinítis, you [provider of] cherished balm,  
 Kypris, who brings near the myrrh-breathing [- - - -]  
 What is so honourable about Halikarnassos? I for my part  
 never heard of it. What is she proudly boasting of?
- 5 She brought forth a grand crop of Earth-born men,  
 assistants of mighty Zeus of the Height.  
 It was they who first under a hollowed crest placed Zeus, newborn,  
 the son of Rhea, so that he was hidden, and who fostered him  
 in the innermost recesses of Earth, when Kronos crooked of counsel,  
 10 was too late to place him far down in his throat.  
 Father Zeus made the sons of Earth famous ritual attendants  
 who guard the secret dwelling  
 Nor was the reward they got in return for their toil one of ingratitude:  
 They received good things for their good deeds:
- 15 Having settled the lovely promontory sung of as dear to the immortals  
 by the sweet stream of Salmakis, she (Halikarnassos) controls  
 the beautiful dwelling of the nymph who once received  
 our boy, Hermaphroditos, in her kindly arms  
 and bred him to become an extraordinary man, who invented matrimony  
 20 for mankind and was the first to fasten the matrimonial bed by law.  
 She in her turn under the sacred streams dripping in  
 the cave tempers the savage minds of men.  
 And Pallas brought hither riding through the air the tamer  
 of the winged Pegasos, a good colonizer,  
 25 where she, treading the footsteps of Bellerophontes,  
 places the boundaries of the land of Pedasa.  
 Indeed the mighty force of Kranaos also installed the best among the  
 Kekropidai, in the ground of holy Salmakis.  
 The valiant hero, Endymion with his regal spear  
 30 led chosen men from Apis' land

## column II

- Posid]on's son,  
 the Antheadai  
 equipped like [Rhadamanthys  
 put  
 35 son of Phoibos  
 foundation  
 led Ariadne from the land of . . .  
 left a child  
 away from home
- 40 - - - - -  
 - with the hand - - Doric -  
 - - on Phoibos' command  
 she sowed Herodotos, the Homer of history in prose,  
 reared the famous art of Andron,

- 45 made Panyassis shoot forth to command the epic so outstandingly  
and gave birth to Kyprias who composed the Iliaka.  
She also brought forth Menestheus loved by the Muses  
and delivered the divine inspiration of Theaitetos.  
The writer of comedy Dionysios she bears as her son  
50 and she produced Zenodotos, the expert writer of tragedies.  
She had the singer Phanostratos, the servant of Dionysos,  
gleaming in the sacred crowns of the Kekropidai.  
And she produced Nossos a leading chronologist in history  
She made Timokrates a wise poet  
55 and bore other good men to succeed the good; the unending future  
will never finish enumerating all the proofs of her fame:  
Many glorious things she achieved on land  
and she carries off many good things at sea with the leaders of the Hellenes.  
Halikarnassos has had an all-honourable gift in reward for her pious acts, and  
60 when it comes to goodly deeds she lays claim to the most honoured crowns.

## A Few Clarifying Remarks

Ad lines 1–2.

A parallel way to address the goddess Aphrodite is found in Kallimachos' epigram V, coll. Budé

Κόγχος ἐγώ, Ζεφυρίτι, παλαιότερον ἄλλὰ σὺ νῦν με,

Κύπρι, Σεληναίης ἄνθεμα πρῶτον ἔχεις,

The goddess addressed in Kallimachos' poem has her temple at Zephyrion, a promontory east of Alexandria. She is at the same time Arsinoe Philadelphia (Cahen *ad locum*).<sup>9</sup>

ad 1. Σχοινίτις: a hitherto unattested epithet of Aphrodite. Lycophron has Σχοινῆδι, dat. of Σχοινίς, *Alexandra* 832.<sup>10</sup> The epithet might refer directly to rushes, cf. schol. and paraphrase to *Alexandra* 832 connecting it with the Samian Aphrodite who according to Alexis of Samos (539 *FGrH* 1) was called the Aphrodite ἐν Καλάμοις or ἐν Ἑλεῖ. But perhaps more likely it might refer to one of several localities, named Schoineus or Schoinos.<sup>11</sup> This would be parallel to Lycophrons naming Aphrodite at Cyprus the Zerinthian Morpho after the Aphrodite called Morpho in Sparta and Zerinthos in Thrace where Aphrodite had her cult too<sup>12</sup>. Lloyd-Jones has suggested to me that the title Σχοινίτις might come from the Schoinos near Anthedon in Boiothia which, like Halikarnassos, was founded by Anthes from Troizen (see below). The cult title could also allude to Egypt, Isis and the delta of the Nile, as suggested by Inge Nielsen.

ad 2. μυρόπνευστος: cf. μυρόπνοος. For the choice of words compare Meleagros, *AP* 12.256<sup>13</sup>.

ἐμπελάτειρα: The expression is not common, i.e. I only know of two examples: The first Euphorion of Chalkis 9.11, a fragment of Ἄραϊ or Ποτηριοκλέπτῃς. The two lines 11–12 have a construction rather similar to lines 1–2 in the Halikarnassian poem:

Ταινारीη λοχίησι γυναικῶν ἐμπελάτειρα

Ἄρτεμις ὠδίνεσσιν ἐφ' ταλάωρι μετάσποι.

<sup>9</sup> Cahen *ad locum*. Cf. also the first two lines of the Homeric hymn to Aphrodite. There it is the muse who is addressed in the first line.

<sup>10</sup> Verse 832 is not among the verses suspected to be later interpolations by West, S. (1984), Lycophron italicised, *JHS* 104, 127–151. For the discussion of the date and character of *Alexandra* see also Fraser, P. M. (1979), Lycophron on Cyprus, *Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus*, 328–343.

<sup>11</sup> Pirenne – Delforge (1994), *L'Aphrodite grecque*. Kernos Supplement 4, 296.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem* 326 note 88, Fraser, P. M. (1979), 333 and note 5.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. also Meleager's proimion to the crown, *AP* 4.1.

The other example is Kallimachos, fr. 527 (Pfeiffer), a rather short fragment, both the meaning and the wording of which is much debated.

τοὺς αὐτῷ σκοτίους ἔμπελάτειρα +καὶ ἔτεκε γυνή+

The *Et. gen. B.* (= *Et. M.* p. 336) says ἔμπελάτειρα: ἡ ἑταίρα. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔμπελάζειν πᾶσι, but it is quite impossible that this should be the meaning of the word either in the fragment of Euphorion or in the present poem.

The last word of line 2 may have been πο[τῶν], streams, cf. Theokritos 13.46, Lykophron, *Alexandra* 149 (Καρικῶν ποτῶν), 189, 425, 489, 1012. This would stress the special characteristics of the area where the inscription is located. Another likely possibility is πό[θων], as suggested to me by Merkelbach followed by Lloyd-Jones.

ad 4. Cf. μὴ γὰρ αὖρα φρυάσσου, *AP* 12.33, Meleager.

ad 6. Lloyd-Jones suggests that πάρεδρον should be understood literally and indicates a sanctuary for the *Kouretes* near the temple of Zeus Akraios.

ad 9. on ἀγκυλομήτης see West on Hesiod, *Theog.* 18

ad 11. A loan from Antimachos fr. 57 Wyss and West = 78 Matthews +γενεᾷ Καρβάνους θῆκεν ἀγακλέας ὀργειῶνας. The new poem helps us to show why Wyss was right to prefer ἀγακλέας, the reading of Photius, to ἄβακλέας, the reading of the *Suda*, as observed by Lloyd-Jones.

ad 12. ἄρρητος might mean impossible to describe, instead of forbidden to be described. For the *Kouretes* being called δαίμονας ἢ προσπόλους θεῶν, see Strabo 10.3.7.

ad 15–16. The enumerative use of τε in 15, 21, 23, 29 and maybe 31 supports the assumption that we have here a list of what Halikarnassos received in return from the gods. There was probably another τε in line 41 to commence the part on Halikarnassian authors, see K. A. Garbrah (1993), On the enumerative use of τε, *ZPE* 96, 191–210.

ad 16. Salmakis is the name of a water nymph. Her spring was called after her and a district bore the name Salmakis at least as early as the 5th century BC, as we know from an inscription on the sale of real property belonging to the gods, Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>346</sup>, ca. 400 BC. It is a compelling assumption that this district included the peninsula. Under the Lygdamian rule in the mid fifth century BC there was an official distinction between Salmakians and Halikarnassians in the *sylogos* of Halikarnassos.<sup>14</sup> This distinction is to my knowledge not met with in later texts.

ad 22. ναὶ μὴν καὶ is used by Meleager *AP.* 4.1.43 and 47; 12.63.3. Besides 4.3.82 and *Epideiktika* 316.3 and 336.5

ad 26. Pedasa was the name of one of the Lelegian cities or κῶμαι on the Myndian peninsula affected by Maussollos' synoikism in the mid fourth century. Probably it lay at modern Giök Callar<sup>15</sup> = Gökçeler. Strabo knew the χώρα of Pedasa under the name Pedasis, but at his time the city was no longer inhabited, 13.1.59. Herodotos tells about Pedasa's priestess of Athena that she used to grow a long beard when danger threatened Pedasa or the people living around it, 1.175.

ad 30. The land of Apis is probably Peloponnesos, cf. Aischylos *Supplices* 262, Theokritos, 24.183, Apollodoros, *Bibl.* 2.1.1. But the Hellenistic audience is led to think of Egypt as well, see below.

ad 31. Ἄνθης τ' ἐκ Τροιζῆνος ἰὼν Ποσιδ]ώνιος υἱός is the reading suggested by Lloyd-Jones who finds the supplement Ποσιδώνιος difficult to avoid even if short *iota* in Ποσιδώνιος seems not to be attested so far, though it is in Ποσιδήιος. On Anthes, son of Poseidon and Alkyone, see below.

ad 33. It is not certain but very likely that Rhadamanthys should be supplied. He is not unexpected in a text concerning the colonization of Karia. He might be mentioned by comparison, because somebody gave laws as just or was as good a judge; but he might also be mentioned in his own right. Rhadamanthys is judge of people from Asia Minor in the underworld, Plat. *Gorgias* 524d–e, and cf. line

<sup>14</sup> Meiggs and Lewis (1969), *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* 32.

<sup>15</sup> *JHS* 16, 1896, 201–210. For further references Laumonier, A. (1958), *Les cultes indigènes en Carie*, 608.

37, which mentions Ariadne, also unfortunately without much context. Also, Aristotle is reported to have contended, that Rhadamanthys was the teacher of Herakles, schol. to Theokritos 13.9.

ad 35. Φοιβήιος ἴνις: Φοίβου . . . ἴνις is used in Kallimachos *Ait.* 4.63 about the son of Phoibos and Melia after whom the island Keos received its name. But there are other candidates for this title. It might e.g. be Linos who educated Herakles according to Theokritos 24.105–106. Maussollos is another possibility.

ad 40. ἀπιταλλόμενος is a possibility. The iteration would detract some force from line 8, though so I prefer ἀγαλλόμενος.

For lines 43–56 see below, The catalogue of authors.

ad 55. μυρίος αἰών: The author is about to conclude the poem, and his way of doing this resembles the epigram written by Dioskourides for Thespis, the inventor of tragedy (*AP* 7.410). Dioskourides wrote his epigrams around the end of the third century BC.<sup>16</sup>

ad 57. ἐν χέρσῳ – πόντῳ: for this combination see also apart from Theokritos 17.75–76 e.g. the description of the isles of the blessed in Pindar *Ol.* 2.80–84.

### Analysis

The inscription is a poem of 60 lines in elegiac verse. The unity of the poem cannot be doubted even if vv. 31–42 are badly damaged.

It seems to be composed of the following parts:

- 1–4        Address to Aphrodite  
            The question
- 5–54      Narrative – the answer to the question
- 55–60     Summary and moral

The narrative contains the following elements

- 5–10       The reason, the *aition*, why Halikarnassos is loved by the gods, the Halikarnassians' good deeds towards the gods
- 11–54      Their reward
  - 11–14      Introduction
  - 15–22      Salmakis and Hermaphroditos – civilizing forces
  - 23–40      *Ktis(e)is*:
    - 23–28      Pallas brings a colonizer,  
                 Kranaos the best among Kekropidai
    - 29–30      Endymion brings men from Apis' land
    - 31–        The Antheadai from Troizen  
                 Maussollos' synoikism?
  - 41–54      A catalogue of famous authors from Halikarnassos.

### Aphrodite – The Invocation

It is a sheer wind-fall that this inscription beautiful in itself and rich in information as well as in riddles has been preserved *in situ*. The goddess invoked is Aphrodite and she must be supposed to be within normal hearing distance, for it is known from *inter alia* Vitruvius that a temple for Aphrodite and

<sup>16</sup> For the history of the word αἰών see Zuntz, G. (1989), Aion, Gott des Römerreiches, *Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie*, 11–30.

Hermes could be seen in his times “in cornu . . . summo dextro” (8.50.6–7) which would – seen in Vitruvius’ perspective – be somewhere on the promontory where the inscription was found.

Aphrodite is worshipped in Halikarnassos without indication of a special cult title by the *agoranomoi* of Halikarnassos in a fourth century BC inscription now in the British Museum (*GIBM* 901), and with an altar which she shares with the Charites and the Erotes<sup>17</sup>. *Anathemata* for Aphrodite are referred to in a catalogue of *anathemata tes Athenas*<sup>18</sup>. A dedication by a merchant to Aphrodite found near the sea may be for Aphrodite Euploia<sup>19</sup>.

As it will become clear, it is important to compare the cities referred to directly or indirectly in this poem. Troizen and Athens play major roles in the poem and in fact the Halikarnassians themselves erected a temple for Aphrodite Akraia or Askraia at Troizen, Paus. 2.32.6. In Troizen Theseus, who was born there, is said to have built a shrine for Aphrodite Nymphia when he married Helena, Paus. 2.32.7.

### The Reason why Halikarnassos is Loved by the Gods

Aphrodite’s answer to the question must come as a surprise to most modern readers. We have never heard that Zeus was born in Halikarnassos and that it were autochthonous Halikarnassians who saved the life of the newborn from his father Kronos, who was determined to swallow him just as he had swallowed every previous child born to him by Rhea till then. But it is well known that more than one city claimed the honour. “It is impossible even for a man who puts his soul into it to enumerate all who claim that Zeus was born and reared by them”, says Pausanias in the second century AD reporting the version of the Messenians without any self-commitment<sup>20</sup>. Also, it appears from Theokritos that it was very common to start a poem with Zeus.<sup>21</sup> Still there is a reason for telling the story in this particular poem, and I shall try to consider that issue below while leaving aside the discussion of the implications for the history of religion for now. Suffice it here to say that two dedications, one from Halikarnassos and another found at Myndos but dedicated by Halikarnassians, were addressed to Zeus Akraios<sup>22</sup>.

### Salmakis and Hermaphroditos

It seems that the main reward from father Zeus to the Halikarnassians was the cave where the nymph Salmakis lived with the son of Aphrodite and Hermes.

Salmakis made thrive the young man she once took in her arms and accordingly Hermaphroditos developed into an extraordinary man, who benefitted mankind by discovering marriage, and by “binding the marriage-bed by law”. This is probably the only known instance where Hermaphroditos is explicitly connected with the invention of lawful marriage<sup>23</sup>. Salmakis for her part tames the wild temper of men by means of the water dripping in the cave.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. J. et L. Robert (1955), in *Mélanges Isidore Lévy*, 568–572 = Op. min. V 464–468.

<sup>18</sup> *ZPE* 20 1976, 21–22, no. 4.

<sup>19</sup> Laumonier, A. (1958), *Les cultes indigènes en Carie*, 625–626 ad *JHS* XVI, 1896, 217 no. 5.

<sup>20</sup> Πάντας μὲν οὖν καταριθμήσασθαι καὶ προθυμηθέντι ἄπορον, ὅπόσαι θέλουσιν γενέσθαι καὶ τραφήναι παρὰ σφίσι Δία, Paus. 4.33.1.

<sup>21</sup> See below, Context – Karian.

<sup>22</sup> Le Bas/Waddington 501, *Classical Review* (1907), 21, 47–48 (Paton). The possible identity between Zeus Akraios and Zeus Askraios is discussed by Laumonier, who also speculates on Aphrodite’s place in that connection, Laumonier (1958), *Les cultes indigènes en Carie*, 628–635.

<sup>23</sup> But see the chapter on ‘Feste mit Beziehung auf die Doppelgeschlechtigkeit’ in Nilsson, M. P. (1906), *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung, mit Ausschliessung der attischen*, Leipzig, 369–374 where festivals for bisexual gods like Leukippos and ditos are interpreted as marriage festivals. Lloyd-Jones calls my attention to Alkiphron 2,35 Schepers (1905) which has been used by scholars not emending the text as indicating that Hermaphroditos was a god of marriage, see O. Jessen in *RE* 8 (1912), 717.

A much more detailed story about Salmakis and Hermaphroditos has long been known. It is told by Ovid in the fourth book of his *Metamorphoses* 285–388.

The boy Hermaphroditos who had inherited the best features from both his father and his mother was raised by Naiads in the caves of mount Ida. He was 15 years old when he left Ida to see the world. Ovid does not tell us where the mountain lay but Hermaphroditos reaches Halikarnassos. Ovid gives a very lively description of how the nymph Salmakis falls in love with the much too young and unprepared boy. When Hermaphroditos' protests make Salmakis feign retreat and the boy believes that he is alone again he dives into the irresistible waters of Salmakis. But that is just what the nymph has waited for. She holds him fast despite his violent resistance. When the two finally come out of the water as one person of neither sex, Hermaphroditos calls his parents now in a feminine voice and implores them to let the same terrible thing happen to every man who gets in touch with the waters of Salmakis (384–387).

*quisquis in hos fontes vir venerit, exeat inde  
semivir et tactis subito mollescat in undis.  
motus uterque parens nati rata verba biformis  
fecit et incesto fontem medicamine tinxit*

The very fact that the story of Ovid is so well told and has got so many details is seducing. It tends to get the status of *the* story<sup>24</sup>. In fact the generally negative trend of the tradition vented by Ovid was probably prevalent in Augustan times. Festus adds that the Halikarnassians for the same reason as that given by Ovid have narrowed the entrance to the spring with walls.

Vitruvius too had heard the warning against drinking of the waters of Salmakis. In fact it is told all over the world, he says. That is why he personally goes out of his way to refute these negative rumours (2.7.11–12):

*In cornu autem summo dextro Veneris et Mercuri fanum ad ipsum Salmacidis fontem. 12. Is autem falsa opinione putatur venerio morbo implicare eos, qui ex eo biberint. Sed haec opinio quare per orbem terrae falso rumore sit pervagata, non pigebit exponere. Non enim quod dicitur molles et inpudicos ex ea aqua fieri id potest esse, sed est eius fontis potestas perlucida saporque egregius. Cum autem Melas et Areuanias ab Argis et Troezenae coloniam communem eo loci deduxerunt, barbaros Caras et Lelegas eiecerunt. Hi autem ad montes fugati inter se congregantes discurrebant et ibi latrocinia facientes crudeliter eos vastabant. Postea de colonis unus ad eum fontem propter bonitatem aquae questus causa tabernam omnibus copiis instruxit eamque exercendo eos barbaros allectabat. Ita singillatim decurrentes et ad coetus convenientes e duro feroque more commutati in Graecorum consuetudinem et suavitatem sua voluntate reducebantur. Ergo ea causa non inpudico morbi vitio, sed humanitatis dulcitudine mollitis animis barbarorum eam famam est adepti.*

Vitruvius does not mention Hermaphroditos explicitly (although he may refer to him indirectly perhaps by hinting at a postulated venereal disease). The water has according to him exactly the effect described in our poem. It civilizes the barbarian mind. Vitruvius tells a story of how the Greeks came from Troizen as colonists and expelled the native Karians and Lelegians – and how one of the colonists exploited the savoury waters for commercial purposes to the effect that the barbarian mind of the natives was “softened”, to be understood as “civilized”<sup>25</sup>. The positive tone of the Halikarnassian poem is quite in accordance with Vitruvius.<sup>26</sup>

A myth which has much in common with that of Salmakis and Hermaphroditos is told by Apollonios Rhodios about the young Argonaut Hylas, dragged underwater by a nymph at Chios. In the

<sup>24</sup> It does not seem irrelevant to notice that the Idaic mountain is regarded as the place where Hermaphroditos was fostered. Note also that the *praeteritio* preceding the story of Hermaphroditos and Salmakis concerns Jove as a baby. Kelmis is one of the Idaioi Daktyloi.

<sup>25</sup> For *mollescere* in this sense cf. Thollard, P. (1987), *Barbare et civilisation chez Strabon*, 8, with reference to Lucretius 5.1014.

<sup>26</sup> Strabo does not believe in the Ovidian version either, 14.2.16.

Martin P. Nilsson lecture at the Swedish Institute at Athens in 1997, Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood lectured on the myths concerning Hylas and stressed the importance of the fact that it was a nymph who dragged the young man down. The nymph is bound to her special locality and the young man will be bound to that same locality ever after. Because of this, she continued, the narration of such a myth is often placed before the colonization myth of that same locality<sup>27</sup>.

And the colonization (or colonizations) of the indigenous Halikarnassians by the Greeks is in fact the topic of the next long passage of the poem from Salmakis.

### The Colonizers

Colonization or foundation myths were generally created to legitimize physical and political claims and the present text is no exception. The poem seems to tell about at least three different expeditions of newcomers.

Athena brought the first colonizer riding on Pegasos through the air to Halikarnassos (23). She established the boundaries for the Pedasian land following the footsteps of Bellerophontes (24). This is not the story we are used to hearing but it underlines the main theme of this poem, the stress put on civilization. There seem to be at least two and probably three strata in the account of Athena's doings. We are to think of the Athena of Athens, as underlined by the mention of Kranaos and the Kekropidai in the next line. It is well known about Athens that it became the kingdom of Theseus, the hero of synoikism par excellence who, incidentally, was born in Troizen. The use of the word "the Pedasian land" reminds the audience and readers of the Pedasian Athena, the indigenous goddess who had her temple in Pedasa. At the same time the word probably recalls the Halikarnassian synoikist, Maussollos, and his synoikism of the villages on the Myndian peninsula at Halikarnassos.

Pegasos is found on coins from Halikarnassos as early as the 5th and 4th centuries and again in the first century BC.<sup>28</sup> Yet, there was no literary evidence until now to connect him with its colonization.

It seems likely that the thoughts of the audience and readers would not stop at Halikarnassos. They would follow the footsteps of Bellerophontes further to Lykia and to Bargylia, both places which are more frequently connected with his name.

The poem says that Endymion with his kingly lance brought chosen men from Apis' land, i.e. the Peloponnesos<sup>29</sup>. When Endymion is connected with Asia Minor in mythology the issue was hitherto not that of bringing more colonists to Halikarnassos. His name is connected with the Latmos mountain and that is where the thoughts of the audience, the reader, would fly as well. They would be reminded of the fact that this area was part of the Halikarnassos of Maussolos.

So it is not due to lack of knowledge or inaccuracy that names like Bellerophontes and Endymion have a prominent place in this history of Halikarnassos. The use of these names is meant to make the audience think of the extended Halikarnassos of Karia as first defined by the Hekatomnids<sup>30</sup>.

The following lines (31– at least 32) are very damaged, but they must refer to a version of the only hitherto known story about the colonization of Halikarnassos by Anthes or his descendants, since line 32 ends with the mentioning of the Antheadai. Anthes was the son of Poseidon and Alkyone. Once he was king of what later came to be called Troizen, but at the arrival of the Pelopids at Troizen and Pittheos he left his Argolid kingdom and set sail for Asia Minor. There he founded Halikarnassos. This

<sup>27</sup> The text of Vitruvius is also at the same time a colonization myth.

<sup>28</sup> *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals*. Danish National Museum, Copenhagen 1947, Caria I Plate 8.336 (Rev. Head of goat!) and 337 (Rev. Lyre; on either side laurel branch). Athena is found on second century coins. A thorough study of Halikarnassian coins is still due.

<sup>29</sup> See above ad line 30 and below on Context – Alexandrian.

<sup>30</sup> Perhaps we need more help than did the author's contemporaries. It is natural for Strabo, who probably wrote not more and possibly less than a century later, to introduce Halikarnassos to his readers as τὸ βασιλείον τῶν τῆς Καρίας δυναστῶν, 14.2.16.



is the account given by Strabo 8.374. Pausanias has a slightly different version but the end result is the same, namely that the Halikarnassians could and once in a while did proudly call themselves Anthedai, thereby referring to their ancestors who came from Troizen<sup>31</sup>. Anthes had brought the cult of his father Poseidon with him and his descendants continued to function as the god's priests. The Halikarnassians kept a list of these priests – which they decided to rewrite around the same time as the poem from Salmakis was cut in the wall<sup>32</sup>.

I cannot be sure that Radamanthys is mentioned in line 33. But if so, he might be referred to as a model of lawgiving and synoikism. The role of Ariadne (37) is not as yet clear either.<sup>33</sup>

There might be a more direct reference to Maussollos in the damaged part of the inscription. To Strabo there were two things worth mentioning in Halikarnassos, the Maussolleion and the fountain called Salmakis<sup>34</sup>. He does not describe the Maussolleion, but we know from Pliny the Elder<sup>35</sup> and Vitruvius<sup>36</sup> as well as from what has been found of the monument itself that the sculptural language of the Maussolleion was well in keeping with the poem from Salmakis. A prominent position was reserved for the hero of Attic synoikism, Theseus, and it has been suggested long ago by Kristian Jeppesen<sup>37</sup> that Theseus should in this connection remind the spectator of Maussollos and of his great deeds as regards Hellenization and synoikism. The *Phoibeios inis* in line 35 might well be Maussollos, son of the Sun.

#### The Catalogue of Halikarnassian Authors

The poem continues with a catalogue of authors (lines 43–54) who are also to be considered part of the *amoibe*, which Zeus gave Halikarnassos in return for her favours.

It seems that the list is fairly chronological and within the chronological frame determined by genre. This is in keeping with the fashion of the Hellenistic period. All the authors mentioned belong to the Classical and the Hellenistic period.

The catalogue enumerates and characterizes authors who are already known to have been citizens of Halikarnassos, but it holds surprises for the modern reader.

The list starts in the 5th century with *Herodotos*, here called the Homer of prose. That feels natural to us, since his *Historiai* on The Persian Wars made him the indisputably most famous Halikarnassian author until today.

*Andron* is next in line. Like Herodotos he was a historian and it is well-known that he was a Halikarnassian. Andron was the author of *Συγγενικά* or *Συγγένεια* in eight books<sup>38</sup>.

Following him comes *Panyassis*, characterized as a master of epic. Panyassis is perhaps known today mostly because of his relationship to Herodotos, whose uncle or nephew he was, but in Hellenistic times he was greatly admired for his now lost epic about Heracles, the *Herakleia*.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Thus the Augustan grammarian Habron ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν παρωνύμων, as cited by Stephanus Gramm. 34, Aelius Herodianus 871.

<sup>32</sup> Wilhelm (1908), *JÖAI* 11, no. 5.

<sup>33</sup> See below on Context – Alexandrian. Ariadne is of course closely connected with the cult of Aphrodite on Cyprus as well as with legends concerning Theseus.

<sup>34</sup> Strabo 14.2.16.

<sup>35</sup> 36.30–31.

<sup>36</sup> 7, praef. 12–13.

<sup>37</sup> Jeppesen (1976), *Naturens verden*, 41 *sqq.*, *Ist. Mitt.* XXVII/XXVIII 1977, and independently by Hornblower in 1976, see Hornblower, S. (1982), *Mausolus*, 253 note 243.

<sup>38</sup> *FGrH* I, 10 and *FHG* II 349. *SEG* ad no. 975.

<sup>39</sup> Matthews, V. J. (1974), *Panyassis of Halikarnassos*.

Herodotos, Andron, and Panyassis have been treated together at least once more in a late Hellenistic epigram,<sup>40</sup> cut into a stone which was found serving as a threshold in a Rhodian house. The stone has been broken on top and accordingly the first hexameter-line is totally missing. The left side of the rest is worn but there is no doubt that the epigram is a eulogy of those three persons or rather – and much like our epigram – it is a eulogy of Halikarnassos as a cultural centre:

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 λάινο[ν Ἀ]σσυρίη [χῶμ]α Σεμι[ρά]μιος  
 ἀλλ' Ἀνδρῶνα οὐκ ἔσχε Νίνου πόλις, οὐδὲ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς  
 ῥιζοφύης Μουσέων πτόρθος ἐνετρέφετο  
 [κού] μῆν Ἡροδότου γλύκιον στόμα καὶ Πανύασσιν  
 ἡ[δυ]επῇ Βαβυλῶν ἔτρεφεν ὠγυγίη,  
 ἀλλ' Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ κραναὸν πέδον. ὦν διὰ μολπὰς  
 κλειτὸν ἐν Ἑλλήνων ἄστεσι κῦδος ἔχει  
 -----

‘Assyria (has) the stone-mound of Semiramis.  
 But the city of Ninus did not bring forth an Andron, neither did  
 such offspring of the Muses shoot from the ground among the Indians.  
 Primeval Babylon did not nourish a mouth like that of Herodotos’ which is even sweeter, nor  
 Panyassis with his sweet words, but the rugged earth of  
 Halikarnassos did. Through their songs  
 does she enjoy a renown among the cities of the Hellenes.’

It is obvious that the metaphoric language of this poem is close to the Salmakis-poem. The letter-forms too are very similar in the two inscriptions.<sup>41</sup> In fact it is not impossible that they have a common author.

The author of Das Literaten-Epigramm is not known. Hiller v. Gaertringen suggested that it might be Antipater from Sidon because the first partly readable line might be identical with and at least has much in common with the second line of one of his poems, *AP* 7.748.<sup>42</sup> Antipater wrote about 130 BC and the letter-form would allow such a suggestion. The same goes for the content of both poems. Many epigrams written by Antipater have been preserved in *Anthologia Palatina* books VI and VII and they are often written in memory of illustrious poets who died many years before. Antipater is a man of a varied vocabulary and I cannot say that I found immediate resemblances to the Salmakis-epigram in the language of his known poems.<sup>43</sup> Also he seems, as a rule, to write in Doric while the Halikarnassian poems are both written in Ionic/epic.

*Kyprias* is the next author mentioned and the work by him here praised is the *Iliaka*. This is interesting for it seems to support a statement hitherto not given much credence, but found in Athenaios as a casual remark. The slaves have just brought wreaths and perfume for the *deipnosophistai*, and this sparks off a conversation on the topics, of why do men wreath themselves and which flowers and other plants are used for wreaths in different places and at different occasions. At a certain moment one of the

<sup>40</sup> *IG* XII 1, 145, see now *SEG* 36 no. 975, the text as emended by Ebert, J. (1986), *Philologus* 130, 37–43. For a photo of the whole block see *ZPE* 31, 1978, Taf. XIII.

<sup>41</sup> It is not possible to see on the photograph in Ebert 1986 how the *theta* looks in Das Literaten-Epigramm. The *omega* seems a little more moderate in its design than in the Salmakis-inscription, but it is hard to tell.

<sup>42</sup> Ebert 1986, 43 with note 24. Ebert regards the question of the author unsolved.

<sup>43</sup> The beginning of our poem resembles a bit the first two lines of *AP* 7.426: Εἰπὲ, λέον, φθιμένοιο τίνος τάφον ἀμφιβέβηκας, / βουφάγε; Τίς τῶς σᾶς ἄξιος ἦν ἀρετᾶς.

Antipater often uses Homer as his measure, cf. our line 42.

participants informs his companions at the table that “flowers used in wreaths are mentioned by the author of the *Kypria*, Hegesias or Stasinos”, and he continues:

Δημοδάμας γὰρ ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς ἢ Μιλήσιος ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀλικαρνασσοῦ Κυπρία  
Ἀλικαρνασσέως αὐτὰ εἶναι ποιήματα.<sup>44</sup>

For Demodamas from Halikarnassos or Miletos says in his book on Halikarnassos that the *Kypria* was written by Kyprias from Halikarnassos.

This casual remark which is followed by a “be that as it may” contains two pieces of information relevant to us:

- a. Demodamas wrote a history of Halikarnassos.
- b. He there ascribed the *Kypria* to an author called Kyprias from Halikarnassos.

The epigram from Salmakis brings forth for the second time in the preserved ancient literature the name of Kyprias the poet. In our text he is praised as the author not of the *Kypria* but of another cyclic poem, the *Iliaka*. I understand this as referring to the so-called *Minor Iliad*.

The passage from Athenaios cited above reflects a lively discussion which went on throughout antiquity about who wrote each cyclic epic. Herodotos protested against the thought that the author of the *Kypria* should be Homer himself (2.117). Aristotle in his turn gave no names but he seems to have believed that the *Kypria* and the *Minor Iliad* had the same author. In his *Poetics* 1459b he writes

... οἷον ὁ τὰ Κύπρια ποιήσας καὶ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα.

Most translators of that passage hold that Aristotle chose to leave out an article after καὶ and thought of two different authors of the *Kypria* and the *Iliaka* respectively.<sup>45</sup> This is possible. But the text of our inscription in fact gives support to the more natural interpretation: Aristotle and other intellectuals in Classical and Hellenistic Greece thought that the *Kypria* and the *Iliaka* had the same author. One candidate for the authorship was Kyprias from Halikarnassos<sup>46</sup>.

Our poet might have had Demodamas as one of his sources when writing about Halikarnassos' glorious past. Next to nothing is preserved of the work of Demodamas from Halikarnassos or Miletos, but he wrote around 300 BC.<sup>47</sup>

*Menestheus* is described as a man beloved of the muses. He might well be the writer of comedies, registered in an Athenian list of victors in the dramatic performances of the *Lenaia*. Several fragments of the list are preserved from the walls of a monument, possibly the Dionysos-theatre itself. The name of Menestheus is placed in a sequence commemorating victories from the end of the fourth and through the first half of the third centuries.<sup>48</sup>

*Theaitetos* was a contemporary of Kallimachos who wrote the following epigram to his memory<sup>49</sup>:

Ἦλθε Θεαίτητος καθαρὴν ὁδὸν εἰ δ' ἐπὶ κισσόν  
τὸν τεὸν οὐχ αὐτῇ, Βάκχε, κέλευθος ἄγει,  
ἄλλων μὲν κήρυκες ἐπὶ βραχὺν οὖνομα καιρόν  
φθένξονται, κείνου δ' Ἑλλάς ἀεὶ σοφίην.

<sup>44</sup> Athen. *Deip.* 15 682 e. cf. *FGH* II 444.

<sup>45</sup> Hegesias and Stasinos. The new Loeb-translation by Stephen Halliwell (1995) has the straightforward translation, *the author*, while W. Hamilton Fyfe (1982/1932) has *the authors*.

<sup>46</sup> Among the works about Cyprus was a *Κυπρίων πολιτεία* by Aristotle, 526–27 Rose, cf. *FGrH* nos. 751–758 and *P.Oxy* 2688.

<sup>47</sup> *FGrH* III B 428. He is known from Pliny *NH* 1.6; 6.49. He was general in the service of Seleukos I and Antiochos I, cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Antissa.

<sup>48</sup> Peppas-Delmousou (1977), Zu den Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen, *MDAI (A)* 92, 231, col VI.15 in her rearrangement of the fragments. *IG* II 2 170.4. Wilhelm (1906/1965), *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Athen*, 94 and 162, *RE* s.v. Menestheus no. 9.

<sup>49</sup> Kallimachos, Epigram 7.

It has been suggested – without any evidence – that Theaitetos might well be a Kyrenian like Kallimachos himself<sup>50</sup>, but thanks to the epigram from Salmakis we are now able to establish that Theaitetos was a Halikarnassian. Several of the epigrams in *Anthologia Palatina* are ascribed to him, among which is the following, commemorating eighty persons who got caught in a fire:<sup>51</sup>

Χείματος οἰνωθέντα τὸν Ἀνταγόρεω μέγαν οἶκον  
ἐκ νυκτῶν ἔλαθεν πῦρ ὑπονειμῶμενον  
ὀγδώκοντα δ' ἀριθμὸν ἐλεύθεροι ἄμμιγα δούλοις  
τῆς ἐχθρῆς ταύτης πυρκαϊῆς ἔτυχον.  
Οὐκ εἶχον διελεῖν προσκηδέες ὅστεα χωρίς  
ξυνὴ δ' ἦν κάλπις, ξυνὰ δὲ τὰ κτέρεια  
εἷς καὶ τύμβος ἀνέστη ἀτὰρ τὸν ἕκαστον ἐκείνων  
οἶδε καὶ ἐν τέφρῃ ρηιδίως Αἴδης.

*Dionysios* is a very common name. But we have to look for a writer of comedy and then the possibilities known to me shrink to one, a contemporary of Biottos writing in the second century BC.<sup>52</sup> Like the above mentioned Menestheus *Dionysios* is listed as a victor in the Athenians' lists and while Menestheus was listed for one victory *Dionysios* is registered as the victor in two competitions. A statue of a dramatist by the name of *Dionysios* once stood in the theatre of *Dionysos*. Today only its base is left but the statue might conceivably have belonged to *Dionysios* of Halikarnassos.<sup>53</sup>

*Zenodotos* is probably the poet cited by Stobaeus as the author of the following iambic trimetres thought to be from a tragedy:<sup>54</sup>

κηρύσσεται <γάρ> ἀρετὴ. Κακὸς ἀνὴρ  
σιγηλὸν ἔσχε ζῶν τε καὶ θανὼν βίον<sup>55</sup>.

This poet might, as suggested by Schnell, be identical with the *Zenodotos* who won as a writer of satyr plays in a contest at Teos arranged for Attalos.<sup>56</sup> And if this Attalos is Attalos II we have a dating for *Zenodotos* to the mid second century BC.

The *Phanostratos* who is described in the epigram as a slave of *Dionysos* was a celebrated writer of tragedies. He won the competition in this genre at the *Lenaia* in 307/6 as we can see from an inscription carefully cut in the architrave of a building and announcing its dedication by the agonothetes Xeinis of Sphettos (Fig xx).<sup>57</sup> Part of the building with the inscription on its architrave is restored and can be seen today facing north in the sacred precinct of the theatre of *Dionysos* in Athens. So our poet's description of *Phanostratos* as beaming in the sacred crowns of the *Kekropidai* is evidently justified.

The Halikarnassians were so proud of *Phanostratos* that they erected a statue of him on the Acropolis in Athens. Its base was located by archaeologists above the slope of the the odeon of Herodes Atticus and has been moved to a place near the south west corner of the Acropolis. It bears the inscription<sup>58</sup>

Φανόστρατον Ἡρακλείδου  
ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσέων  
ἀνέθηκεν.

<sup>50</sup> E.g. Fraser (1972), I, 592–93 with hesitation. Waltz in the Budé edition Tome III p. 192 with no hesitation.

<sup>51</sup> 7.444. The others are 6.357; 7.499 and 727, cf. *RE* s.v. Theaitetos no. 4.

<sup>52</sup> Peppas-Delmousou (1977), 231, col VIII. *IG* II 2 185.4. *RE* s.v. *Dionysios* no. 106.

<sup>53</sup> For these statues ranging from rather unknown authors to Menander, Sophokles and Euripides see Pausanias 1.21.4.

<sup>54</sup> Stobaeus, *Flor* 2.12. Nauch, *TGF* p.831 = Schnell, *TrGF* no. 215.

<sup>55</sup> For it is virtue which is heralded. Being a bad man he had a silent life while alive as well as after his death.

<sup>56</sup> Le Bas III 93. Only two letters of the name were legible, Z[...]Δ[.....]

<sup>57</sup> *IG* II 2 3073 line 3.

<sup>58</sup> For the lettertype cf. the inscription on the trapeza of Philoxenos, the grave of the Messenians at Kerameikos.

Phanostratos had a name on Delos, too. He was declared *proxenos* of the Delians for his positive attitude or deeds towards the sanctuary and the Delians themselves as we learn from a stele of marble now at the museum at Delos (*IG XI 528*):

- [ἔδο]ξε[ν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι]  
 [δήμ]ωι Ἀχ[αῖος Φανοδίκου?]  
 εἶπε]ν ἐπειδὴ [Φανόστρατος]  
 [ἦρα]κλείδου Ἀ[λικαρνασσεὺς]  
 5 [ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐ[στι περὶ τὸ ἱερ–]  
 ὄν καὶ τὸν δῆμ[ον τὸν Δηλί–]  
 [ω]ν δεδόχθαι [τῶι δῆμωι εἶναι Φ–]  
 ἀνόστρατον πρόξενον [Δηλίων κ–]  
 αὶ αὐτόγ καὶ ἐκγόνους καὶ [εἶν–]  
 10 αὶ (αὐτοῖς) ἀτέλειαν καὶ γῆς καὶ οἰκία[ς ἔγκ–]  
 τῆσιν καὶ προεδρίαν καὶ πρόσο[δον π–]  
 ρὸς τῇμ βουλῇν πρῶ[τοις] μετὰ [τα ἰ–]  
 [ερ]ὰ καὶ [τάλλα ὅσαπερ τοῖς ἀλ[λ–]  
 [οι]ς προξένοι[ς κ]αὶ εὐεργέταις  
 15 [τοῦ ἱεροῦ [καὶ το]ῦ δήμου τοῦ Δη–]  
 [λίων]ν δέδ[στα]ι ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψή–]  
 [φισμ]α τόδ[ε τῇ]μ μὲμ βουλῇν εἰς  
 [τὸ β]ουλευτήριον, τοὺς δὲ ἱερο–]  
 [ποιο]ὺς εἰς τὸ ἱερόν.

No author by the name of *Nossos* is known to me from other literary sources and the name is not to be found in *RE* at all.<sup>59</sup> Still the following epigram from Halikarnassos and dating “*Il fere saeculi*” might be his work.<sup>60</sup> At least it seems that the dedicator Nossos has been crowned with laurel and shows his gratitude to Apollo by dedicating a statue of the god’s sister Artemis as a young girl.

Νόσσος Μυρμιδόνοσ κούραν Διὸς ἄνθετο παῖδα  
 Ἄρτεμιν εὐόλβωι τῶιδε παρὰ προπύλωι,  
 Φοῖβωι Ἀγνιεῖ τάνδε νέμων χάριν, οὗ περὶ κρατ[ῖ]  
 δάφνας εὐσάμους κλῶνας ἀναστέφεται.  
 ἀλλὰ σὺν οἱ τιμᾶς [μέρος ἄλλο τι πέμπ'] ἐπὶ τῶιδε,  
 ὦ ἄ[να], τᾶ[ι] μεγάλα[ι ταύται] ἐπ' εὐσεβία<sup>61</sup>.

As the last and probably the youngest author in the catalogue comes *Timokrates*. No poet of that name is as yet known to me<sup>62</sup>.

The catalogue as interpreted seems to point to a date for the epigram not earlier than the third and probably – if Dionysios is correctly identified – not earlier than the second century BC. It must be borne in mind that the poem might conceivably have been written earlier than its inscription on the wall.

<sup>59</sup> A son of Nossos is mentioned as the *stephanephoros* and as father of the *stephanephoros* respectively in two fragments of what is possibly a list of priestesses for Artemis found in Myndos, Paton in *BCH* 12, 1888, 278–279.

<sup>60</sup> Kaibel, G. (1965/1878), *Epigrammata Graeca*, 786. I have not seen the stone nor a reproduction of the inscription in any form.

<sup>61</sup> Boeckh in *CIG* 2661 supplements the last two lines  
 ἄλλας τοι τιμὰς ἐπιθήσων, Φοῖβ' ἐπὶ τῶδε  
 ὦς, ἄ[ρα] τᾶ μεγάλα[τέρη] ἐπ' εὐσεβία

<sup>62</sup> An author named Timokrates wrote a biography of Dion, who might conceivably be the Syracusan friend of Plato's. This Timokrates is cited by Diogenes Laertios as a source for information about Zenon (333(?) – 261 (?)), which provides us with a *terminus post quem*, DL 7.2. But unfortunately we have no indication that he was a poet as well as being a prose writer.

## Summary and moral

The author has come to his summary. The poem started with a question and the answer has been given. This is what the Halikarnassians rightfully boast of. Everybody can see that the Halikarnassians are beloved by the gods. They are, in Menander's words, θεοφιλεῖς<sup>63</sup>. Now the listener and the reader know why.

## Context – Alexandrian

The poem is very Hellenistic in its approach to history. It has some of the ingredients of a hymn – which would then be a hymn to Halikarnassos<sup>64</sup> – while the real addressee might be a Ptolemaios as in Kallimachos' hymn to Delos.

Also, it contains a question to which most of the poem could be regarded as the *aition*.

The catalogue of authors reflects the interest shown by scholars and authors in the Greek and especially the Alexandrian world of the third century. The *Pinakes* of Kallimachos may well be the direct source of the catalogue, just as Kallimachos may have written a *ktisis* about Halikarnassos used by our author. There are other candidates (Philostephanos for one) to the title as source for the author. Finally the author might have had local knowledge already or have achieved it from those who commissioned the poem.

What are the elements that make one think of a Ptolemaios as the real addressee of the poem? To begin with, the end and the general tone of the text seems to emphasize a welcome, albeit inevitable, foreign, i.e. Greek influence, not least in the summary verse 57–58 where the sense of force is also felt.

The talk about Endymion coming with kingly lance from the land of Apis seems a riddle. But if we think of Endymion as the poem wants us to as a young general<sup>65</sup>, who came to Asia from Apis' land – which might mean Egypt as well as the Peloponnesos, then perhaps that is just the figure with whom a Ptolemaios would like to identify himself – or rather his (fore)father, Ptolemaios Soter.

Very centrally placed in the poem is the story about Salmakis and Hermaphroditos, only the story we get here is as demonstrated above not the one we know from the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid 4.285–388.<sup>66</sup> The Hermaphroditos of the Halikarnassian poem seems to have remained himself in the physical sense of the word. But he invented lawful wedlock. From the poems written to Ptolemaios Philadelphos by Kallimachos and Theokritos we know that they judged an emphasis of happy and lawful matrimony between sister and brother, Hera and Zeus, would be welcome at court<sup>67</sup>. I think that some of the same tones might be caught by a Ptolemaic ear when listening to this story about Salmakis and Hermaphroditos.

<sup>63</sup> When writing or talking about the *theophilotes* of a city one should demonstrate that either the most or the greatest of the gods have honoured the city by either the first or the most or the most important honorable gifts, Menander, *Peri epideiktikon* III.

<sup>64</sup> Verse 3: τί τὸ τίμιον, cf. vv. 55–56 and Theokritos 17.11–12. Further parallels between the two poems: In Theokritos 17 the baby reared by the locals is Ptolemaios, vv. 59–60, in the Halikarnassian poem it is Zeus., vv. 7–8. In both cases the island or town can expect a reward, Theokr. 17.67 – comparing with the way Delos was honoured by Apollo, cf. Kallimachos. Theokr. 17.65 is parallel to the Halikarnassian poem v. 18 about Salmakis receiving Hermaphroditos. Theokr. 17.75–76, . . . πολὺς δὲ οἱ ὄλβος ὅπαδεῖ/ πολλὰς δὲ κρατέει γαίᾱς, πολλὰς δὲ θαλάσσας, Zeus being the subject, seem parallel to the Halikarnassian poem vv. 57–58, compare the verses about the riches of the Ptolemies, especially vv. 110–111. Theokr. vv. 122, cf. The Halikarnassian Poem v. 25. For hymns to Hellenistic cities cf. Chaniotis, A. (1988), *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften*, especially 375–377.

<sup>65</sup> The expression βασιλῆϊδι ἀχμηῇ recalls the way, Agamemnon is described in the *Iliad* 3.178–179. Ptolemaios is ἀχμητῆς in Theokritos 17.56.

<sup>66</sup> Vitruvius' description of Salmakis, 2.8.11–12 is much more in line, see below.

<sup>67</sup> Cairns, F. (1972), *Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry*, on Theokritos 17.

Ariadne is mentioned in the poem. I have not been able to discover as yet why she is there, but it is a fact that she was held in high esteem in the Alexandria of the Ptolemies<sup>68</sup>.

Finally Aphrodite is the addressee of the poem. This goddess is often identified with Arsinoe and has a temple at the promontory called Zephyrion near Alexandria. Zephyrion is the name of the island just opposite Salmakis, only in Halikarnassos it is in all probability Apollo who resides at Zephyrion.

If the poem was meant as a praise not only of Halikarnassos but also of the Ptolemies, a date in the third century would recommend itself *a priori*. None of the authors identified with certainty in the catalogue wrote later than the third century. But there are four, Dionysios, Zenodotos, Nossos and Timokrates who have not yet been placed in time with certainty<sup>69</sup>.

The letters on the other hand are as we have seen probably mid or late second century. The question is whether there is anything else in the poem pointing to a later date.

### Context – Karian

In the verses where Aphrodite explains what the Halikarnassians did to earn the goodwill of the gods, she begins – to us rather surprisingly – with the birth of Zeus at Halikarnassos. The fact that she begins with the birth of Zeus would have surprised no one at the time. All authors did, as we gather from Theokritos, who – keeping an ironic distance – does the same in his enkomion to Ptolemaios thus citing Aratos' introductory line to his *Phainomena*.

In fact the narrative of the poem seems comparable to the story told by the frieze adorning the temple of Hekate at Lagina. The east side of the frieze shows the birth of Zeus<sup>70</sup>. Hekate acts as midwife and is handing Kronos a stone to swallow instead of his newborn son, Zeus. Zeus for his part is flanked by Nymphs and Titanids feeding and cherishing him while local Dryads and Naiads close the sides of the frieze. Behind the central scene three Corybants Labrandos, Panamaros, and Spalaxos are dancing and clanging their shields to drown the baby's crying. Laumonier's comments on the frieze "On reconnaîtra facilement dans cette tentative d'annexion l'œuvre des poètes locaux et du clergé toujours soucieux d'exploiter au profit de leur patrie les mythes et légendes plus ou moins populaires, et au besoin d'en inventer pour la propagande", p. 349 with the significant note 5 "Annexion d'autant plus légitime que Zeus était le dieu carien par excellence, le dieu indigène." We see the same attempt in the Halikarnassian poem from Salmakis. Furthermore the letters of this inscription point to the same dating as the frieze which, according to Schober, ought to be dated to the time immediately after the revolt of Aristonikos was quelled, in 129 BC.

The parallel between frieze and inscription seems to continue. The northern part illustrates the conclusion by sacrifice and oath of a pact between an Amazone – representing, according to Schober, Asia Minor – and a warrior clad in Greek armament. Schober thinks that the warrior represents Pergamon and thereby Rome. The pact means mutual *charis*, *philia* and *symmachia*.<sup>71</sup> Perhaps we have here a self-portrait of the Karians<sup>72</sup>: This is what we are – strong, proud, untamed natives who were conquered or colonized by the Greeks, a deed for which we are eternally grateful since they brought

<sup>68</sup> And in the Cyprus of Aphrodite.

<sup>69</sup> If we regard the catalogue as fairly (but demonstrably not quite) chronological, Nossos and Timokrates are the two who may have written later than the third century. But see on Zenodotos.

<sup>70</sup> I give the interpretation of Schober, A. (1933), *Der Fries des Hekateions von Lagina*.

<sup>71</sup> It is probably too farfetched to regard the leaders of the Hellenes, v. 58, as the Romans.

<sup>72</sup> To the west is shown the gigantomachia and to the south the frieze shows a married couple, according to Schober Zeus and Hera, throning. The other figures are interpreted as town-gods and goddesses and Hekate is thought to have been standing in the midst. The Karian Pantheon is Schober's interpretation.

civilization, just like the water of Salmakis and the laws of Hermaphroditos about marriage, as accounted for in the poem<sup>73</sup>. We are the right mixture. No one can beat us.

Schober's dating of the temple frieze is based on intrinsic evidence and on epigraphic material and is supported by the fact that cult activity was intensified in other cities of the area as well, cities who had been active in quelling the revolt of Aristonikos<sup>74</sup>. In Bargylia, Artemis Kyndias had appeared and saved the city. In Miletos, Artemis Leukophryene had appeared on some occasion in the third century and thus saved the Milesians. Following an oracle, they instituted a festival in her honour which was celebrated for the first time in 221/0. Its rules were revised and inscribed on the western ante in the southern stoa at the Agora. Their inscription is dated to after 129<sup>75</sup>. It is generally assumed that Halikarnassos participated actively on the Roman side in the fighting against Aristonikos (133–128) which is in itself probable, even if the assumption rests on a rather weak foundation.<sup>76</sup>

So this inscription might seem to fit into more than one not necessarily exclusive historical context. It would help to know the author.

#### The author

The author might very well be the same person who wrote Das Literaten-Epigramm cited above and dated after the letter-form to around the second century BC. I have found no compelling reasons to identify that author with Antipater of Sidon.

Merkelbach is of the opinion that both poems should be ascribed to the famous Halikarnassian author Herakleitos who is missing in the catalogue of authors<sup>77</sup>. Herakleitos was a friend of Kallimachos' who wrote an epigram for his funeral, *AP* 7.80. So, Herakleitos died before 240 BC. We would then have to exclude some of the identifications suggested for the authors of the catalogue. Only one epigram ascribed to Herakleitos has survived, *AP* 7.465, a very beautiful poem for a Knidian woman who took one of her twins with her into the grave while the other stayed alive with her husband.

Ἄ κόνις ἀρτίσκαπτος, ἐπὶ στάλας δὲ μετώπων  
σεύονται φύλλων ἡμιθαλεῖς στέφανοι  
γράμμα διακρίναντες, ὁδοιπόρε, πέτρον ἴδωμεν  
λευρὰ περιστέλλειν ὅστέα φατὶ τίνος. –  
"Ξεῖν', Ἀρετημιάς εἰμι πάτρα Κνίδος: Εὐφρονος ἦλθον  
εἰς λέχος ὠδίνων οὐκ ἄμορος γενόμεν  
δισσὰ δ' ὁμοῦ τίκτουσα, τὸ μὲν λίπον ἀνδρὶ ποδηγὸν  
γῆρως ὃν δ' ἀπάγω μναμόσυνον πόσιος

This epigram is written in Doric which is not the case with the epigram from Salmakis. But the dialect might be explained by the fact that the woman who died was from Dorian Knidos. If the poem from Salmakis was written by Herakleitos he did not see it cut on the wall. I do not think that the letter-forms allow that.

<sup>73</sup> An inscription in the Bodrum Museum of Underwater Archaeology records the dedication of a sanctuary and an *agalma* of Hekate Lagina by the priest of Phosphoros. I am grateful for the permission of the director, Oğuz Alpözen, to draw attention to this, as far as I know, unpublished inscription which has letters very similar to the inscription here published. Cf. the inscription discussed by Laumonier, A., (1958), *Les cultes indigènes en Carie*, 624 note 5.

<sup>74</sup> The cronicle of Lindos from 99, Laumonier 1958, 357 with note 5.

<sup>75</sup> *IMagnesia* 100a and b; Sokolowski, *LSAM* no. 33.

<sup>76</sup> *CIG* 2521, considered to be Halikarnassian by Wilhelm in *JÖAI* 11, 1908, 69–70.

<sup>77</sup> I am grateful to Merkelbach for sending me his preliminary manuscript on the subject. It will be part of *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten I*, forthcoming.



There is a strong contrast in quality between the first part of the poem and the part beginning with the catalogue of authors. This could mean that the poem had two authors as suggested to me by Simon Laursen who sees many likenesses to Meleager in the best part of it.

The unevenness might also be due to the author being “an estimable but hardly very distinguished local poet”, as Lloyd-Jones has suggested. He points to the poet’s borrowing line 11 from Antimachos just like the author of Das Literaten-Epigramm borrowed a line from Antipater of Sidon. He agrees that the poem might well be written by the same author as Das Literaten-Epigramm, and thinks that the inscription as well as the poem belong to the late second or rather the first century BC.

I hope to have demonstrated that the author was well versed in Hellenistic literature in general and certainly familiar with Theokritos’ 17th idyll when writing the epigram for Halikarnassos. Probably he liked the *Alexandra* ascribed to Lykophron. The *Alexandra* gives the clue that enables us to understand the cult title Schoinitis in the first line. Its author or authors love strange words and in fact its vocabulary seems close to the poem from Salmakis.<sup>78</sup> As already mentioned, there is no general agreement on the unity or the authorship of the *Alexandra*, but so far no one has dated the whole or part of it later than the first half of the second century BC.

Further analysis is required before the question of who wrote the poem presented here can be solved. The dating of the inscription to the mid or late second century BC seems fairly secure. An earlier date is out of the question.

The Danish Institute at Athens

Signe Isager

Hinweis der Redaktion:

Im folgenden Band der *ZPE* wird ein Aufsatz von Sir Hugh Lloyd-Jones über dieses Gedicht erscheinen. Wir bitten, eventuelle weitere Stellungnahmen dazu erst einzusenden, wenn der Beitrag von Sir Hugh veröffentlicht ist.

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<sup>78</sup> In this respect there is no difference between the passages suspected by analysts to be interpolations and the rest of the poem. Perhaps they are just both very Hellenistic.