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THE PRIDE OF HALICARNASSUS (ZPE 124 [1999] 1–14): CORRIGENDA AND
ADDENDA

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Much of what I now have to offer is due to the assistance I have received, particularly from H. D. Jocelyn and R. Kassel, but also from C. F. L. Austin, W. Bühler, J. Diggle, G. P. Goold, and C. P. Jones, to all of whom I am most grateful; and I must thank F. Naiden for valuable research assistance.

1 Diggle reminds me of Sappho 1,26 χαλέπαν δὲ λῦσον ἐκ μερίμνων.

7 οἶ.

11 Ζεὺς.

13 οὐδ’.

15–22 (see p. 6) The fragment of Ennius (338 Ribbeck = Scenica 18 Vahlen = 347 Jocelyn) is quoted by two authorities. Not all editors have given the whole paragraph of Cicero containing the quotation, which one needs to have before one.

(1) Cicero, De Officiis 1,61: *Intelligendum est autem, quum proposita sint genera quattuor, e quibus honestas officiumque manaret, splendidissimum videri, quod animo magno elatoque humanas res despiciente factum sit. Itaque in probris maxime in promptu est, si quid tale dici potest:*

Vos enim, iuvenes, animum geritis muliebrem, illa virgo viri (Inc. fab. 210 Ribbeck: Lachmann on Lucretius 4,210 recognised the septenarius)

et si quid eiusmodi:

Salmaci, da spolia sine sudore et sanguine.

Some at least of the manuscripts used by Orelli in his first edition of 1826 have *Salmaci, da*; so did some of those used by Zumpt in his De Officiis of 1838, and *Salmaci, da* is read by all the early editors. But Baiter in the revision of Orelli brought out by him and Halm in 1861 read *Salmacida*, attributing it to Scaliger.

(2) Festus, p. 439,10: *Salmacis* (edd.: *Salmacidis* F) *nomine nympa, Caeli et Terrae filia, fertur causa fontis Halicarnasi aquae appellandae fuisse Salmacidis; quam qui bibisset vitio inpuccitiae mollesceret (mollescere? Timpanaro, Studien zur Textgeschichte und Textkritik, Festschrift Jachmann, 1959, 298–9 = Contributi di filologia e di storia della lingua Latina, 1978, 395–6) ob eam rem quod (Augustinus: que id F) eius aditus angustatus parietibus occasionem largitur iuvenibus petulantibus antecedentium puerorum puellarumque violandarum (Augustinus: vitolandarum F: vitiandarum? Timpanaro) quia non pate(t ef)fugium (Timpanaro: patet refugium Augustinus). Ennius: +Salmacidas polla+*

Corruptions like that at the end of this passage are not infrequent in Festus, our text of whom depends on a single witness, the eleventh-century codex Farnesianus F (Naples IV.A.3).

Gabriel Faernus in the notes to Augustinus’ edition of Verrius Flaccus (i.e. Festus) of 1559 (on these notes, see Anthony Grafton, Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship I: Textual Criticism and Exegesis [1983], 141, with n. 40) conjectured *Salmaci, das*; but the indicative is hardly an improvement on the imperative.

But in 1574 Scaliger reprinted Augustinus’ text of Festus, adding a commentary; on Scaliger’s Festus, see Grafton, op. cit., 134 f. Relying on an ancient glossary, printed in the edition of the Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum begun by J. Loewe and finished by G. Goetz, II (1888) Glossae Latinograecae, edd. Goetz – Gundermann p. 177,29–32, Scaliger took the word to be the neuter plural of the adjective *salmacidus*, meaning ‘salt and bitter, brackish’ (Pliny, NH 31,36; Florus, Epitome 2,20 [4,10,8]).

In his note on this passage Scaliger wrote “Videtur Festus vel Verrius in Ennio disiunctim legere, Salmaci da spolia sine sudore & sanguine. Atqui potius videbatur coniunctim. Vetus glossarium: Salmacidus: αλμυρος Salmacidum: αλμυρον (sic) Salmaci: αμφιτριτη Salmacia aqua: αλμυρον υδωρ. Ergo spolia quae incruenta sunt, καὶ ἀναμιακτεῖ, καὶ ἀκονιτεῖ parta elegantissime Salmacida, ut diluta,

non cruenta, uocat, ut anno superiore notauimus in lectionibus Ausonianis. Et si quis Ciceronis uerba in libris De Officiis consideret, ubi haec Enniana citantur, non aliter legendum esse, quam Salmacida animaduertat.” In his Ausoniarum lectionum libri duo (1573; see Grafton, *op. cit.*, 128 f.), l. 28, he had written “ita enim legendum, non disiunctim, Salmaci da spolia: hoc est victoria non virilis sed effeminata”. Here too Scaliger had appealed to his ancient glossary: “at vetus glossarium Salmacidum interpretatur ‘halmuron’. Ita apud Ennium ‘Salmacida spolia non theluka sed euthereta. Nam captura marina facilius est quam venatio’.” But ‘brackish spoils without sweat and blood’ is surely a very peculiar expression. Scaliger was surely wrong.

Salmacida is read and taken as an adjective also by Turnebus, *Adversaria* 28,39 (vol. 1, 1564, vol. 2, 1565, vol. 3, 1573), but Turnebus took the meaning to be ‘spolia sunt de mollibus et male fortibus parta’. But the adjective *Salmacidus* could hardly come from *Salmacis*.

Ursinus (Fulvio Orsini) in his *Verrius Flaccus* of 1581 or 1582, *Colonna* in the Ennius brought out by his son in 1590 and Hesselius in his revision of *Colonna* of 1707 all follow Scaliger in reading *Salmacida*. *Salmacida* stands in the text in the first edition of Ribbeck’s *Scaenicae Romanorum Poesis Fragmenta* of 1852 and the second of 1871 (Ennius 338), in the first edition of Vahlen’s *Ennianae Poesis Reliquiae* (1854) and in the second edition of 1903 (reprinted 1928) (*Scenica* 18); in the Teubner edition of C. Atzert (1st edn., 1923; 4th edn., 1963); and in the edition of P. Fedeli (1965).

Some earlier editors of *De Officiis* (Heine, 6th edn., 1885), C. F. W. Müller (1882) and lately M. Testard (1965–70) took *Salmacida* as a vocative (see his index, p. 460); so also M. Winterbottom in his edition of the *De Officiis* (1994). Andrew Dyck in his commentary on the *De Officiis*, p. 187 denies that *Salmacida* could be vocative of *Salmacides*; but cf. *Aeacida* (Ennius, *Annales* 167 Skutsch). *Salmacides* could conceivably have been used as an insulting equivalent of something like *cinaedus*, and this would suit Cicero’s expression *in probris*. But this use of *Salmacides* would be somewhat surprising; and would both Cicero and Festus have quoted an incomplete sentence?

If we read *Salmaci, da*, what does *Salmacis* mean? The words of Festus by themselves might seem to suggest that someone is praying to the nymph Salmacis to enable him to effect a sexual conquest without a struggle, so that *Salmaci, da* would make good sense. But it is easier to suppose that the word *Salmacis* had come to be applied to certain persons as a term of abuse. The decisive parallel is furnished by Philodemus, A. P. 7,222 = 26 GP = 33 Sider, 1–2 ἐνθάδε τῆς τρυφερῆς μαλακὸν ῥέθος, ἐνθάδε κεῖται Τρυγόνιον, σαβακῶν ἄνθεμα Σαλμακίδων.¹ The last phrase is rendered ‘idol of nerveless emasculates’ by Gow and Page and ‘devotee of feeble effeminates’ by Sider. ἄνθεμα properly means ‘dedication’, as at Callimachus, Ep. 14 H.E. = 5,2 Pfeiffer, and Theocritus, Ep. 2 H.E. (13,2 Gow), and it is easier for this to amount to ‘idol’ than it is for it to mean ‘devotee’, the only parallel for which Sider can offer is that of Christodorus, A. P. 2,13 f. Κεκροπίδης δ’ ἥστραπτε νοήμονος ἄνθεμα Πειθοῦς (C: ἄνθεα PPI), where Beckby (in his second edition) is surely right to prefer C’s more readily intelligible reading. In either case it seems clear that *Salmacis* is used here to mean ‘an emasculate’, so that it may well bear this meaning in the Ennian passage also.

The invocation of Salmacis in what amounts to a threat of rape may well have served Cicero as a specimen of the kind of low and earthy language which he has in mind.

Can this be a fragment of a tragedy? It may well come from a comedy; in any case the play it came from was adapted from the Greek, and this was a rendering of a Greek expression, intended for an audience to whom the associations of Salmacis were familiar.

17 ἢ ποτε.

26 For the Padasos near Miletus, C. P. Jones refers to L. Robert, *BCH* 102, 1978, 490–500 = *Documents d’Asie Mineure* (1987) 186–196.

29–30 For the fusion of the two Endymions, Jones refers to Robert, *l.c.*, 481–490 = 177–186, and O. Curty, *Les parentés légendaires entre cités grecques* (1995), 31–2, n. 15.

¹ Marcello Gigante in *ZPE* 126 (1999) 91–92 has shown that Philodemus is a writer highly relevant to this poem.

32 Austin and Jones have both suggested ὄικι]σεν, which is clearly another possibility.

39 ἐνεπρί]ζωσεν (correct also the app. crit.).

42 Austin's supplement ἔρ[γον ἐναρμό]ζει is a satisfying solution of the problem stated in ll. 3–4 of the note on l. 39 on p. 10 (see ZPE 126 [1999] 92).

48 Winfried Bühler drew my attention to the note on ὕδωρ δὲ πίνων οὐδὲν ἂν τέκοις σοφόν; see Kassel–Austin on Cratinus fr. 203. Crusius' emendation of Zenobius Athous 2,53 τοῦτο Δημήτριος Θεαιτήτου (O. Crusius, *Analecta critica ad Paroemiographos Graecos* [1883] 154: ἔτι τοῦ cod.) is now no longer 'a speculation' (Gow–Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* II 422). See now the fifth volume of Bühler, *Zenobii Athoi Proverbia* V (2,41–108), (1999), 152–3.

Alan Cameron, *Callimachus and his Critics* (1995), 189 refers to Theaetetus as 'Callimachus's friend and fellow-Cyrenean'. For the relationship between the two men, he refers (n. 21) to E. Livrea, *SIFC* 82 (1989) 24–31 (= *Κρέσσονα Βασκανίης* [1993] 65–75). But Livrea warns against the injudicious inference that Theaetetus was a Cyrenean based on the fact that he wrote one epigram about the death of the sailor Ariston and another about the fire in the house of Antagoras; his caution is justified by the new evidence.

53 Diggle corrects 'delighting' in the translation on p. 3 to 'luxuriating', for the use of ἐν referring to his note on Euripides, *Tro.* 329–30 (*Studies in the Text of Euripides* [1981], 60).

55 There should be a colon after τέκε.

P. 13: In the epigram of Herakleitos, read τετράπαλαι in l. 4 and ἀρπακτής in l. 6.

The Halicarnassus text appears at pp. 39–45 of the first volume of R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten* (1998). Merkelbach tells me that he wished to delete p. 45, on which he repeats his argument designed to show that Herakleitos was his author, but this proved impossible for technical reasons.