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THE PRIDE OF HALICARNASSUS

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In ZPE 123 (1998) 1–23 Dr. S. Isager published an inscription of great interest from Halicarnassus. With great kindness she had sent me a copy of the inscription some time before, and I had sent her a letter in return. In her publication she had made some use of the contents of my letter, but none the less I have judged it to be worth while to publish it. I am grateful to C. P. Jones, R. Kassel and R. Merkelbach for their assistance.

ἔννεπέ μοι, Σχοινίτι, φίλον τιθάσε[υμα μεριμνῶν,
 Κύπρι, μυροπνεύστων ἐμπελάτειρα Πό[θων,
 τῆς Ἀλικαρνάσσου τί τὸ τίμιον; οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε
 4 ἔκλυον· ἢ τί θροεῖ γαῦρα φρυασσομένη; ἔ
 Ἐγγενέων μεγάλαυχον ἐτέκνωσε στάχυν ἀνδρ[ῶν
 Ἀκραίου πάρεδρον κυδαλίμοιο Διός,
 οἱ πρῶτοι κοίλην ὑπὸ δειράδα θέντο νεογνὸν
 8 παῖδα Ῥέης κρύφιον Ζῆν' ἀτιταλλόμενοι
 Γαίης ἀμφ' ἀδύτοισιν, ὅτε Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης
 οὐκ ἔφθη λαιμῶι θέσθαι ὑποβρύχιον.
 Ζεῦς δὲ πατὴρ Γῆς υἱας ἀγακλέας ὀργειῶνας
 12 θῆκεν, οἱ ἀρρήτων πρόσπολοι εἰσι δόμων.
 οὐδ' ἄχαριν μόχθοιο παραὶ Διὸς ἔ[σ]χον ἀμοιβήν,
 ἔργων ἀντ' ἀγαθῶν ἐσθλὰ κομιζόμενοι.
 τόν τ' ἐρατὸν μακάρεσσιν ἀειδόμενον παρὰ χεῦμα
 16 Σαλμακίδος γλυκερὸν νασσαμένη σκόπελον
 νύμφης ἱμερτὸν κατέχει δόμον, ἢ ποτὲ κοῦρον
 ἡμέτερον τερπναῖς δεξαμένη παλάμαις
 Ἐρμαφορόδιτον θρέψε πανέξοχον, ὃς γάμον εὔρεν
 20 ἀνδράσι καὶ λέχεα πρῶτος ἔδησε νόμωι,
 αὐτὴ τε σταγόνων ἱεροῖς ὑπὸ νάμασιν ἄντρου
 πρηύνει φώτων ἀγριόεντα νόον.
 Παλλάς τε πτερόεντος ἐπηέριον δαματῆρα
 24 Πηγάσου οἰκιστὴν ἐσθλὸν ἐπηγάγετο
 ἔνθ' ὅτε δὴ στείγασα μετ' ἵχνεσι Βελλεροφόντεω
 Πηδασίδος γαίης τέρμονας ἰδρύεται.
 ναὶ μὴν καὶ Κραναοῖο μέγα σθένος ἔκτισ' ἀρίστους
 28 Κεκροπίδας ἱερῆς ἐν χθονὶ Σαλμακίδος.
 Ἐνδυμίων τ' αἰχμητὴ βασιληίδι κύδιμος ἦρωσ
 λεκτοὺς ἐκ γαίης Ἄπιδος ἠγάγετο.
 [Ἄνθησ τ' ἐκ Τροιζήνων ἰὼν Ποσιδ]ώνιος υἱός
 32]σεν Ἀνθεάδας
]νθος ἴσα κορυσθεῖς
]ων ἔθετο
] Φοιβήιος ἴνις
 36 νε]οκτισίην
 ἀπὸ] χθονὸς ἦγ' Ἀριάδνην
] παῖδ' ἔλιπεν
 ἐνιρρί]ζωσεν ἄποικον

40 ἀτι]ταλλόμενος
]αι στε[φά]νην χειρὶ Δωρικὸν αὐτὴν
 ἐρ[ἴ]ζει Φοίβου ἐφημοσύναις.
 Ἡρόδοτον τὸν πεζὸν ἐν ἱστορίαισιν Ὅμηρον,
 44 ἦροσεν, Ἄνδρωνος θρέψε κλυτὴν δύναμιν,
 ἔσπειρεν Πανύασσιν ἐπὼν ἀρίσημον ἄνακτα,
 Ἴλιακῶν Κυπρίαν τίκτεν ἀοιδοθέτην.
 ἦδε τὸν ἐμ Μούσαισι Μενεσθέα κεδνὸν ἀνῆκεν,
 48 ἦδε Θεαιτήτου πνεῦμ' ἐλόχευσ' ἱερόν,
 κωμικὸν ὕμνοθέτην Διονύσιον υἷα τεκνοῦται,
 Ζηνόδοτον τραγικῶν ἴδριν ἔτευξ' ἐπέων,
 δμῶα Διωνύσου Φανόστρατον ἔσχεν ἀοιδὸν
 52 Κεκροπιδῶν ἱεροῖς ἀβρὸν ἐνὶ στεφάνοις,
 Νόσσον ἐν ἱστορίαισι χρόνων σημάντορα τεῦξεν,
 Τιμοκράτην πινυτὸν γείνατ' ἀοιδοθέτην.
 ἄλλους τ' ἐξ ἐσθλῶν ἐσθλοὺς τέκε μυρῖος αἰῶν
 56 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 '

1 τιθάσε[υμα μεριμνῶν Ll.-J. 2 suppl. Merkelbach 31 suppl. Ll.-J. 37 ἀπὸ] χθονός? Ll.-J. 39 ἐνιρρί]ζωσεν Ll.-J. cetera suppl. Isager.

„Tell me, Schoinitis, dear tamer of our cares, you, Kypris, who bring close to us Desires scented with myrrh, what is it that brings honour to Halicarnassus? For I have never been told this. What words does she utter when she proudly boasts?“

„She brought forth an illustrious crop of earth-born men, to lodge beside mighty Zeus of the Height, who first in secret placed the new-born child of Rhea, Zeus, beneath the hollow ridge, caring for him, in the shrine of Gaia, when Kronos of the crooked counsels had failed to get him into the depths beneath his throat in time. And Zeus made the sons of Ge his honoured priests, who care for his awesome house. Nor was the reward they got from Zeus one of ingratitude, for they got good things in return for their good deeds.

And Halicarnassus settled the delightful hill beside the stream of Salmakis, sung of as dear to the immortals, and her domain includes the desirable home of the nymph, she who once received our child in her kindly arms and reared Hermaphroditos the all-excellent, he who invented marriage and was first to bind together wedded couples by his law, and she herself beneath the holy waters in the cave that she pours forth makes gentle the savage minds of men.

And Pallas brought the tamer of Pegasus, moving in the sky, to be a noble settler, after the time when she trod in the tracks of Bellerophontes and fixed the boundaries of the land of Pedasos.

Yes, indeed, the mighty strength of Kranaos settled noble sons of Kekrops in the land of holy Salmakis. And the valiant hero Endymion with his regal spear brought choice men from the land of Apis.

[And Anthes,] Poseidon's son, [came from Troizen] was father of the Antheadai rising up fiercely placed the offspring of Phoebus the new foundation brought Ariadne from the land of left the child planted as a settler caring for with . . . hand placed that same crown by the command of Phoebus.

She brought forth Herodotos, the prose Homer in the realm of history; she nourished the renowned power of Andron, she was the mother of Panyassis, the glorious lord of verse, she gave birth to Kyprias, the poet of the tale of Ilium. It is she who brought up Menestheus, excelling in the realm of the Muses, she who gave birth to the holy spirit of Theaitetos, she who was mother of Dionysios, the poet of comedy, she who created Zenodotos, skilful in tragic verses, she who made the servant of Dionysos, Phanstratos, a poet delighting in the sacred garlands of the sons of Kekrops, who made Nossos an indicator of time in his histories, who gave birth to Timokrates, the accomplished poet. And she bore other noble sons of noble fathers; Time the infinite shall never cease to tell of the deeds by which they won their fame. She has done many glorious deeds on land, and at sea has won many a noble prize with the commanders of the Greeks. The guerdon of the righteous, that brings all honours, is hers, and by means of her noble doings she lays claim to the most glorious of garlands.“

1 f. The address to the goddess, with the cult-title followed in the next line by Κύπρι, recalls Callimachus, Epigr. 5,1–2 Pfeiffer = 14 H.–E., 1009–1010:

Κόγχος ἐγώ, Ζεφυρίτι, πάλαι τέρας· ἀλλὰ σὺ νῦν με,
Κύπρι, Σεληναίης ἄνθεμα πρῶτον ἔχεις.

See the authoritative treatment of ‘Dialogue mit Statuen’ by R. Kassel, (ZPE 51, 1983, 1–12 = Kl. Schr., 1991, 140–153). At 151 f., pointing to an epigram found, of all places, at Halicarnassus (P. A. Hansen, Carmina Epigraphica Graeca Saeculorum VIII–V a. Chr. n., no. 429), together with two other texts, Kassel shows that the dialogue form of epigram originated as early as the fifth century, but became common only during the Hellenistic period. Did the building on whose wall the poem was incised contain a statue of Aphrodite? Since it stands on the promontory on the western side of the bay, now known as Kaplan Kalesi, the ancient Salmacis, this seems very likely.

The temple of Aphrodite and Hermes stood on a hill close to the fountain of Salmacis (see Alfred Laumonier, Les cultes indigènes en Carie, 1958, 625–6, and cf. note on 15 f. below). We know from Pausanias 2,32,6 that the Halicarnassians built for the Trozenians a temple of Aphrodite Akraia, which surely indicates that Aphrodite Akraia was important at Halicarnassus; see A. B. Cook, Zeus II 2 (1925), 872.

Merkelbach suggested the supplement τιθασε[ύτρι] Ἐρώτων] which gives excellent sense, and if φίλων were on the stone his supplement would seem certain. Aphrodite is ματέρ’ Ἐρώτων as early as Pindar (fr. 122,4), and Ἐρωτες in the plural are frequently found in Hellenistic literature and art; for example, they are mentioned four times in the fragments of the very poor poem preserved in the Papyrus Chicaginensis (Powell, Coll. Alex., p. 82 f.). The mater saeva Cupidinum (Horace, Carm. 1,19,1 and 4,1,5) is sometimes represented as disciplining them; see LIMC III 1, p. 884, no. 417 (Eros punished by Aphrodite). But the stone has φίλον, and the supplement seems to rest on the assumption that a noun in -μα cannot denote an active personal agent, a view which is not supported by the study of the nouns in -μα listed by Ernst Fraenkel, Griechische Denominativa in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung und Verbreitung (1906). We could get a suitable sense while keeping the φίλον of the stone, reading τιθάσε[υμα and reading something like μεριμνῶν: cf. Theognis 343 τεθναίην, εἰ μή τι κακῶν ἄμπαυμα μεριμνέων εὐροίμην, with Van Groningen ad loc.

The cult-title Σχοινηίς is found at Lycophron 832, where the word is disyllabic, but Σχοινίτις is a perfectly possible alternative form. In Pliny’s description of Caria (V 104) we read: . . . promunturium Aphrodisias, oppidum Hydas, sinus Schoenus, regio Bubassus. There was in Samos a place called Κάλαμοι, and it is possible that this cult-title alluded to a temple there. However, the title may well come from Schoinos near Anthedon in Boeotia. Anthedon, like Halicarnassus, was founded by Anthes (or Antheus) of Tro(e)zen (on the spelling of that name, see Barrett on Euripides, Hippolytos 12), and the cults of these three places were in several cases linked (see below).

2 μυροπνεύστων: cf. μυρόπνοος (-πνοος), a favourite adjective of Meleager, μυρίπνοος (-πνοος). Note Crates of Thebes, SH 352 Ἐρώτων τηξινόθων, and for „the frequent association between Pothos (or the Pothoi) and Eros, Himeros, Aphrodite, etc.“, see Sider on Philodemus, Epigr. 3,2.

At Euphorion fr. 9,11 Powell = 11,11 Van Groningen γυναικῶν ἐμπελάτεια, used of Artemis, means that she ‘approaches’ women, as Van Groningen puts it, ‘dans un sens défavorable’. But the verb ἐμπελάζω can be transitive, as at [Hesiod], Scutum 109, and the supplement is highly probable.

4 γὰρ φρυασσομένη: cf. Meleager 4482 H.–E. μὴ γὰρ φρυάσσου. See Page ad loc. and on Rufinus, Epic fr. 5,3 = A.P. 5,18,3; the verb means ‘sneer, show scorn or contempt’, a sense derived from its original use to denote a horse’s snorting. That the poet makes use of it when he simply needs to express the sense ‘proudly’ is one of several indications that he is no great artist.

5 ff. The legend of the birth of Zeus which appears first at Hesiod, Theog. 459 f., who places it in Crete, is located in many different places; note Pausanias 4,33,1 πάντα μὲν οὖν καταριθμήσασθαι καὶ προθυμηθέντι ἄπορον, ὅποσοι θέλουσι γενέσθαι καὶ τραφήναι παρὰ σφίσι Δία. Cf. Callimachus, Hy. 1,4 f. with McLennan’s notes, and see A. B. Cook, Zeus III (1925) 928 f. The Earth-Goddess usually plays a part; see Hesiod, op. cit., 479 with West’s note. Often the infant is protected by the Kouretes or Korybantēs. Many communities in historical times contained associations which called themselves Kouretes, see J. Poerner, De curretibus et corybantibus, Diss. Halle, 1913; the indexes to each volume of Cook’s Zeus, H. Jeanmaire, Couroï et Couretes (1939, reprinted 1975); F. Graf, Nordionische Kulte (1985), 118 f. and 416–7; and Ruth Lindner, in LIMC VIII 1 (1997), s.v. Kouretes, Korybantēs, 737 f. Kouretes are given different genealogies, but seem nowhere else to be said to be earthborn.

Our poet does not use the names Kouretes or Korybantēs, but tells us that the protectors of the infant sprang from the earth. On the various Greek communities that claimed that their ancestors, or some of them, were earthborn, or autochthonous, see W. K. C. Guthrie, In the Beginning (1957), 23 f. The most famous instance is that of the Spartoi at Thebes. The story that they sprang from the dragon’s teeth sown by Cadmus is comparatively late, and surely results from contamination with the legend about Jason; those Spartoi killed each other. People in Thebes claimed to be descended from earthborn ancestors, and it seems clear that these were distinguished from those whose ancestors were thought to have come from elsewhere (see O. Crusius in Roscher’s Lexikon II 1, 887–8, K. Latte s.v. Kadmos in R.E. A X (1919), 1465 and Wilamowitz, Pindaros (1922), 33); their view has not been effectively refuted by those who try to make the Theban Spartoi a military caste to fit in with the theories of G. Dumézil.

This supplies an interesting parallel to the story told by our poet. Herodotus 1,171,5 tells us that the Carians claimed to be autochthonous, and our poet attributes this origin to the ancestors of the priests who looked after a temple of Zeus Akraios (or Askraios; see Laumonier, op. cit., p. 629). Two Halicarnassian inscriptions mention this temple, Le Bas – Waddington 501 = McCabe, Halicarnassus 81 and J. and L. Robert, Bull. ép. 1966, 421 = McCabe 37 and H. Schwabl s.v. Zeus in R.E. A X 265/6, who lists many places where Zeus has this cult-title; see also Appendix B (‘The Mountain-cults of Zeus’) in Cook, Zeus II 2 (1925), 868–987. παρέδρον in l. 6 indicates that the curators themselves had quarters in the neighbourhood of the temple of which they had the care (l. 12); Strabo 466 calls the Kouretes δαίμονας ἢ προπόλους θεῶν. At Ephesus the Kouretes were a college of priests, in theory descended from those who had facilitated the birth of Apollo and Artemis as the Cretan Kouretes had facilitated the birth of Zeus (see Strabo XIV 1,20 p. 639/40 C. and D. Knibbe, ‘Ursprung, Begriff und Wesen der ephesischen Kureten’, Forschungen in Ephesos IX/1/1, 1981, 70–92).

Also close at hand must have been the shrine of Ge mentioned in l. 9; there was one shrine of Ge at Athens on the Acropolis, another near the temple of Zeus Olympios, and another near the temple of Zeus at Olympia. One remembers how according to Hesiod, Theog. 479 f. Gaia received and nourished the infant Zeus; see West ad loc., who cites Nilsson, The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion, 2nd. edn. (1968), 572. On Ge in relation to Hecate, see Cook, JHS 11 (1890) 232 f.; Laumonier, op. cit., 423.

This cult of Zeus would seem to have had much in common with that of Zeus Panamaros, located not far away, on the mountain Bağyaka near Stratonikeia, not far from Halicarnassus, about which we are well informed, thanks to the 400 or so inscriptions found there. See H. Oppermann, *Zeus Panamaros*, *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* 19, 1924; also Cook, *Zeus I* (1914), 18 f. and *Inscr. griech. Städte aus Kleinasien* 21 (1981, M. Ç. Şahin). An important feature of the cult was the offering of men's hair, which took place at the festival of the Komyria, a name which recalls the cult-title of Zeus Komyrios, found at Halicarnassus (Lycophron, *Alex.* 459 with Sch. and Tzetzes ad loc.; see Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, 1906, 28, n. 1). The nature of this offering makes in favour of the derivation of the name Kouretes from κείρω (first in *Et. Magn.* 534,4 f., and see Cook, op. cit., p. 19 f. and 23 f. and West on Hesiod, *Theog.* 347). The chief native god of Caria was commonly identified with Zeus from early times, so that shrines of Zeus often have an early origin; see in general Iohannes Schaefer, *De Jove apud Cares culto* (Diss. Halle, 1912).

One is also reminded of the east side of the frieze of the temple of Hecate at Lagina, also near Stratonikeia; on this and the neighbouring temple of Zeus Chrysaoreus, see Strabo 660, and cf. Cook, *Zeus III* (1940), 714, Laumonier, op. cit., 344–425, Arnold Schober, *Der Fries des Hekateions von Lagina* (1933), Th. Kraus, *Hekate: Studien zu Wesen und Bild der Göttin in Kleinasien und Griechenland* (1960), and S. I. Johnston, *Hekate Soteira* (1990), p. 41, n. 31. Here Hecate acts as midwife, and is shown handing Kronos a stone to swallow instead of the newborn infant. On Ge in relation to Hecate, see Laumonier, op. cit., 423. Did Hecate in this play the part assigned in other birth-stories to Ge? The cult of Hecate is thought to have originated in Caria, and one recalls the great cosmic importance assigned to her by Hesiod, *Theog.* 411 f.; see West ad loc., and other authorities cited by Johnston, op. cit., p. 22, n. 4; also Laumonier, op. cit., 406–28, and Nilsson, op. cit., p. 508, n. 86.

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 figures labelled with the significant names of Labrandos, Panamaros and Spalaxos (see Cook, *Zeus I* (1914), 18, n. 4) are dancing and clanging their shields to drown the baby's crying. These are the so-called Carian Kouretes, representative one of Mylasa, one of Stratonikeia and one of Aphrodisias; see Schaefer, op. cit., 348. It seems not unlikely that the πρόπολοι of the temple of Zeus at Halicarnassus called themselves Kouretes.

Presumably that temple stood on the headland on the east horn of the harbour which now carries the castle of the Knights of St. John, in ancient times known as Zephyrion.

The high status assigned to the autochthonous curators of the temple, who are here clearly distinguished from the Greek colonists, is a reminder that in Halicarnassus Greeks and Carians had settled down amicably together; see Laumonier, op. cit., 622, and cf. Jacoby, *R.E. Suppl.* II (1913) s.v. Herodotos, 216 f. The famous inscription that mentions Lygdamis (Meiggs and Lewis, *Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century*, revised edition, 1988, no. 32 = Dittenberger, *SIG* no. 45 = McCabe, *Halicarnassus* 1) and the inscription concerning the sale of temple properties (*SIG* no. 46 = McCabe 31) show that Greek and Carian names occurred indiscriminately in the same families (see O. Masson, *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 10 (1959) 159 f.); Herodotus was the son of Lyxes and the nephew or cousin of the poet Panyassis (see V. J. Matthews, *Panyassis of Halicarnassus* (1974), p. 5 f.).

5 f. The word στάχυς, meaning 'a crop' is used of men who sprang from the earth, as by Euripides, *H.F.* 4–5, *Phoen.* 939 and *Bacch.* 264. μέγανυχος, μέγανυχίς, μέγαλούχητος are not often terms of praise in early Greek poetry, but at Aeschylus, *Pers.* 642 Darius is called δαίμονα μέγανυχῆ.

6: κῦδος in the words of Hermann Fränkel, *Wege und Formen frühgriechischen Denkens*, 2nd edn., 1960, 'heißt nie "Ruhm", sondern "Überlegenheit (Sieg), Macht, Ansehn, Geltung, Hoheit"'; for Emile Benveniste, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* II (1969), 57 il 'désigne un pouvoir magique, irresistible, apanage des dieux qui le concèdent occasionnellement au héros de leur choix'.

7: It is not implied that these ‘γγενεῖς’ were the first men on earth; οἱ πρῶτοι simply indicates that they were the first to care for the infant Zeus.

9 ἀγκυλομήτης: see West on Hesiod, Theog. 18.

10 ὑποβρύχιος is used to mean ‘below the surface’, as opposed to ἐπιπολάζων, for example at Plato, Phaedrus 248 A; its collocation with λαϊμῶι seems curious. On +βρύξ, βρύχα, see A. W. James, *Studies in the Language of Oppian of Cilicia* (1970), 239 f.

11 Note Antimachus fr. 67 Wyss and West = 78 Matthews +γενεᾶι Καβάρνους θῆκεν ἀγακλέας ὀργειῶνας. The new poem helps to show why Wyss was right to prefer ἀγακλέας, the reading of Photius, to ἀβακλέας, the reading of the Suda. Wyss deleted γενεᾶι: but how did it get in? Perhaps the poet wrote Καβάρνους γηγενέας Ζεὺς θῆκεν.

The borrowing of a line from Antimachus is surely another mark of the provincial local poet; compare the manner in which l. 2 of the other verse epigram from Halicarnassus, possibly by the same author (see below) borrows Antipater of Sidon 411 H.–E. At Hy. Hom. 3,388 f., Apollo is deciding which men he is to choose to serve him in his shrine at Delphi: οὓς τινας ἀνθρώπους ὀργειόνας (see Chantraine, DEL 816: ὀργιόνας codd.) εἰσαγάγοιτο. The word ὀργέων occurs in Aeschylus’ Μυσοί (fr. 144,1), in a conversation taking place not very far from Caria: ποταμοῦ Καΐκου χαίρε πρῶτος ὀργέων. It is used by Hermesianax 7,19, who calls a priest of Demeter at Eleusis Ῥάριον ὀργειῶνα (Blomfield: ὀργιῶνα (sic) cod. Athenaei): O. Ellenberger, *Quaestiones Hermesianactae* (Diss. Gießen, 1907) ad loc. thought that Hermesianax might have taken it from Antimachus. It would be a mistake to write ὀργειῶνας; we must not deprive the poet of his σπονδειάζων.

12 The word ἄρρητος is often used of the Eleusinian goddesses and their accessories (see Kannicht on Euripides, Helena 1306–7) ; did the poet take it from an Eleusinian context?

13–14 Cf. Hesiod, Op. 334 ἔργων ἀντ’ ἀδίκων χαλεπὴν ἐπέθηκεν ἀμοιβήν, where West comments ‘a nicely balanced chiasmus’.

15–16 τε: with regard to this word here and at 21 and 29, see K. A. Garbrah, ‘On the Enumerative Use of τε’, ZPE 96 (1993), 191 f. ἐρατὸν agrees with μακάρεσσιν and γλυκερὸν with χεῦμα. The subject of κατέχει in l. 17 is Halicarnassus, as it is of τέκνωσε in l. 5; throughout the poem the city is personified.

15–22 Salmakis was the name of the fountain on the south-western side of the bay (see on 1–2). It gave its name to a whole community, as we see from the use of the word Σαλμακίται in Halicarnassian inscriptions; see Laumonier, op. cit., 621, with n.4. It has been located on the promontory Kaplan Kalesi on the western side of the harbour. On a hill beside it was the temple of Aphrodite and Hermes; Merkelbach cites Vitruvius II 8,11/2 . . . Veneris et Mercuri fanum ad ipsum Salmacidis fontem. Ovid, Met. 4,285–388 tells how Hermaphroditus, the handsome son of Aphrodite and Hermes, came to the fountain and was seized on with such passion by the amorous nymph that they became fused in a single bisexual identity. In consequence of his experience Hermaphroditus prayed both his parents to cause every man who bathed in that water to emerge an eunuch. Thus Festus s.v. Salmacis writes *quam qui bibisset, vitio impudicitiae mollesceret*. Ovid himself asks (Met. 15,319) *cui non audita est obscaenae Salmacis undae?*, Statius, Silv. 1,5,20–1 speaks of *fonte doloso Salmacis*, and Martial 6,68 also alludes to the story (see F. Grewing, *Martial*, Buch VI, 1997, p. 445 f.). Vitruvius and Strabo are both at pains to rescue the fountain from the evil imputation of this legend. That legend seems to go back further than the time of Vitruvius and Strabo. Cicero, De Officiis 1,61 quotes a fragment of a tragedy of Ennius (347 Jocelyn):

Salmacida spolia sine sudore et sanguine.

Andrew Dyck in his commentary on the *De Officiis* (1996), p. 186 considers the problem presented by the word *Salmacida*; is this word a vocative and *spolia* imperative, he asks, or has it adjectival force and is *spolia* a substantive? It is clear from his discussion that neither alternative is satisfactory, and I suggest that the poet intended *Salmaci* (vocative), followed by *da*, imperative. Someone was calling upon the nymph to grant him victory, doubtless an erotic victory, by means of her known powers. One wonders from what author Ennius got the story. Vitruvius (l.c.) continues *is autem falsa opinione putatur venerio morbo implicare eos qui ex eo biberint*, and goes on to explain that one of the Greek colonists set up a taberna near the fountain, where the local barbarians could drink the salubrious water and so be cured of their barbarism, a story recalled by l. 22 of our poem. Strabo 656 speaks of the fountain as διαβεβλημένη οὐκ οἶδ' ὀπόθεν ὡς μαλακίζουσα τοὺς πίνοντας ἀπ' αὐτῆς, but goes on to remark that men often blame airs and places for troubles caused by their own luxury and debauchery. This would have comforted our poet, who so touchingly describes the tender welcome which the nymph gave to the visitor.

The cult of Hermaphroditus is not mentioned before the fourth century; see the very good article by Aileen Ajootian in LIMC V 1, p. 268 f. Some doubt attaches to each of the earliest apparent mentions of it. In Theophrastus, Char. 16,11, the Superstitious Man likes to place garlands on the Hermaphrodites, but this may refer to a kind of herm, whose existence would not imply the existence of a cult. In Alciphron 2,35 Schepers (1905) and Benner – Fobes = 3,37 Meineke and Schepers (1901) the widow Epiphyllis says that she set out to dedicate an εἰρεσιώνη at a shrine in the Attic deme of Alopeke (ἐς Ἑρμαφροδίτου τοῦ (τῶι codd.) Ἀλωπεκῆθεν). Meineke ingeniously emended this to ἐς ἔρμα Φαιδρίου τοῦ, which Schepers (1905) and Fobes – Benner accepted. But those who have accepted the manuscript reading have argued that it shows that Hermaphroditus was a god of marriage (see O. Jessen in R.E. VIII (1912) 717). That inference is by no means certain; those who have defended the manuscript reading have believed that Epiphyllis was making an offering to Hermaphroditus in the hope of marrying again, but the context shows her as faithful to the memory of her husband, to whose funeral cairn the text as emended by Meineke refers, and not as eager to find another. Still, the belief that Hermaphroditus was a god of marriage gains some support from the present passage. λέχεα . . . ἔδησε νόμῳι (20) is a peculiar expression, but makes sense if one takes it to mean that Hermaphroditus created the institution of the marriage bond.

19 The word πανέξοχος does not occur before Oppian, Cyn. 1,477 and the Orphic Argonautica 81.

21–22 Like Vitruvius and Strabo (see on 15–22), the poet believes that far from making men soft, as we know had been commonly alleged, Salmacis has the beneficial effect of calming their ferocity. The word ἀγριότης is found only in Nicander, Alex. 30 and 604.

23–26 Homer, Il. 6,152 f. tells how Bellerophontes, born in Ephyre, which is an ancient name of Corinth, as the result of an experience with the queen Anteia like that of Joseph with Potiphar's wife is sent by her husband Proitos, king of Tiryns, to Iobates, king of Lycia, and how after returning in triumph from several desperate missions he marries Iobates' daughter; cf. Hesiod, fr. 43 a, 81 f. The story would seem to indicate that Homer, writing in Ionia, was aware of Greek colonization in the south of Asia Minor, and of the friendly relations of some Greeks with some of the natives. Like Bellerophontes, his grandson Sarpedon, leader of the Lycian contingent at Troy, played an important part in the mythology of southern Anatolia; his fight with Tlepolemos, the founder of Rhodes, appears to have been transferred to Troy from somewhere in that area (see Nilsson, Homer and Mycenae, 1933, 261 f.) Bellerophontes had his shrine at Tlos in Lycia (Quintus 10,163, on which see F. Vian, Recherches sur les Posthomeric de Quintus de Smyrne, 1959, 138 f.), and may well derive from a local divinity in that country; see Catherine Luchin s.v. Pegasos, LIMC VII 1, p. 214 f. He was said to have

founded Bargylia, not far from Halicarnassus, called after another alleged founder, his friend Bargylos who had been killed by Pegasus (see Stephanus of Byzantium 158 f. Meineke), just as Herakles called Abdera after his friend Abderos who had been killed by the horses of Diomedes (see Pindar's Second Paian, fr. 52 b, 1 f.). Athena is not mentioned in Homer or Hesiod as his patroness, but in Pindar, Ol. 13,65 f. it is she who appears to him while sleeping and gives him the bridle which will tame Pegasus. Athena had a temple at Halicarnassus (SIG 46,4), and also at the neighbouring Myndos (Lycophron, Alex. 1261); she had temples at Trozen (see S. Wide, *De sacris Troezeniorum, Hermionensium, Epidauriorum* (Diss. Uppsala, 1908), p. 15), where she had disputed against Poseidon for the patronage of the city, as she did at Athens, only this time unsuccessfully.

26 There are as many as four places called Pedasa, Pidasa or Pedasos; see Louis Robert, BCH 102, 1978, 490 f. = Documents d'Asie Mineure 186–196. The Πηδασίς γῆ and the town Pedasos or Pedasa that was in the mesogeia near Halicarnassus (Herodotus 1,175) were originally settled according to Strabo 611 by the Leleges, who occupied all the territory as far as Myndos and Bargylia. It was from this Pedasos that the Pedasos near the Grion, now called Ilbira Dağı, in the territory of Miletus, originally came (Herodotus 6,20). They must have brought with them Athena, who was their principal deity; according to Herodotus 8,104 when any disaster was imminent the priestess of Athena in the Pedasos near Halicarnassus grew a beard. O. Gruppe, BPW for 25 March, 1905, 381 f. argued that Bellerophon and Pegasus came to Lycia not from Argos by way of Rhodes but from Trozen via Halicarnassus and Bargylia.

27–28 *ναὶ μὴν* occurs first at Empedocles fr. 76 D.–K. = 69 Wright, l. 2, and later at [Theocritus] 27, 27, in a poem of which Gow (II 485) has written that 'the ascription is maintained by no competent scholar'; it is common in Nicander (see Gow's note on p. 489). Kranaos is one of the most shadowy of the legendary kings of Athens, a city whose legendary history in the words of West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women* (1985) 103 'presents a strangely complex appearance'; according to Apollodorus 3,14,5 he was the successor of Kekrops and the predecessor of Amphiktyon (see G. de Sanctis, *Atthis* (1912) 93). He is doubtless a projection of Κραναοί, an ancient designation of the Athenians. Kranaos may have been chosen as the leader of the Athenian contingent alleged to have come to Halicarnassus because he was said to have been dethroned by his son-in-law Amphiktyon; but his tomb was shown in the Athenian deme of Lamprai, where the Athenian family of the Charidai supplied his priests.

29–30 'These two Endymions, the King of Elis and the Latmian sleeper, have little in common and are seldom confused in ancient literature and scholarship': Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (1955), 274, who sets out the literary details. But Pausanias 5,1,2 mentions the dispute between the Eleans, who claimed that his tomb was in Elis, and the men of Heraclea near Mount Latmos, who claimed that he had retreated into their mountain, where he had a shrine. Clearly Endymion had to be the leader of the Peloponnesian contingent because Endymion was the name of both these personages. Considering that the poet now goes on to speak of the colonization from Trozen, it would appear that the expression 'the Apian land' (on which see Friis Johansen and Whittle on Aeschylus, Suppl. 260–70) is being used here of the Peloponnese exclusive of the Akte (the peninsula on which Trozen, Hermione, Epidaurus and Asine are located).

31–32 Now at last we come to Anthes (Anthas, Antheus), the oecist of Trozen and also of Anthedon in Boeotia and the ancestor of the Halicarnassian family of the Antheadai; on this person, see Callimachus fr. 703 with Pfeiffer's note, Cook, *Zeus* I 73 f. and F. Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum* (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 5,1, 1909), 54 f. According to Strabo 374 (cf. Pausanias 2,30,8), Anthes left for Halicarnassus after the sons of Pelops, Pittheus and Trozen, had come from the territory of Pisa to Trozen. The principal deity of Trozen and its neighbourhood was Poseidon

Phytalmios, who is said to have exchanged Delphi with Apollo for Calauria, and Anthes was the son of Poseidon by the Pleiad Alkyone (see West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women*, 97 f. and 162, and cf. F. Schachermeyr, *Poseidon und die Entstehung des griechischen Götterglaubens* (1950), 24 f.). The descendants of Anthes held the priesthood of Poseidon Isthmios; see CIG 2655 = SIG 1020 = McCabe, *Halikarnassos 2*, where they are described as γεγεννημένους ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως κατὰ γένος ἱερεῖς τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τοῦ καθιδρυθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐκ Τροιζῆνος ἀγαγόντων Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι (are the words Ποσειδῶνι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι an afterthought or a mistaken addition, as the curious second reference to Poseidon would seem to suggest?). With some confidence one can supplement l. 31 as follows: Ἄνθης τ' ἐκ Τροιζῆνος ἰὼν Ποσιδίωνιος υἱός (short iota is attested in Ποσιδώνιος; Kaibel 858 = I.Didyma 282; also in Ποσιδῆϊος). At the end of l. 32, ἦρο]σεν seems likely (cf. l. 44). Ἀνθεάδαι is found as a name of the Halicarnassians in general (see Habron apud Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀθηναίαι p. 34,17 Meineke), but the reference here may be to the descendants of Anthes; see I. Malkin, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* (1987), 253 on the use of patronymics to denote a family claiming descent from the oecist. At Alexander Aetolus fr. 3,5 Powell a certain Antheus is described as Ἀσσησοῦ βασιλῆος ἔκγονος, and according to Parthenius 14, who preserves the fragment, 'Assesos' means Halicarnassus.

Herodotus 1,144 tells us that the pentapolis consisting of the three Rhodian towns of Lindos, Ialysos and Kamiros together with Kos and Knidos, which had its centre at the temple of Triopian Apollo, was originally an hexapolis, including Halicarnassus, but that Halicarnassus was expelled because one of its citizens, Agasikles, after winning a victory at the Triopian games took home his prize, a tripod, instead of dedicating it at the shrine, as was the custom. This explanation seems facetious, and the expulsion is usually held to have taken place because Halicarnassus was insufficiently Dorian (see S. M. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos* (Hypomnemata 51, 1978), 30). This may be true, but even though Herodotus 7,99,3 designates Halicarnassus as being Dorian, it is a mistake to think that Halicarnassus had begun by being Dorian and gradually became Ionian. It is clear that the colonization took place before the Dorian invasion had reached Trozen; G. Gilbert, *Handbuch der griechischen Staatsaltertümer*, 2nd edn., 1893, 167 observed that this must be so, otherwise the Halicarnassians would have spoken a Doric dialect; Pausanias 2,30,9 explicitly says that after the return of the Herakleidai the Trozians received Dorian colonists from Argos. See the brief but important remarks of Wilamowitz, *Die griechische Heldensage II* (1925) 236 f. = *Kl. Schr.* V 2, 117 f. (cf. also *Der Glaube der Hellenen I* (1932), 62), and L. Büchler, *R.E.* 2 VII (1912), 2255. Even after they had become part of a Dorian Argos, the towns of the Akte, were to some degree less Dorian than their neighbours in the remainder of the Argolid; at Trozen one of the four tribes, the Scheliadai (SIG 162), was non-Dorian; see R. A. Tomlinson, *Argos and the Argolid*, 1972, 189, whose discussion is more helpful in this matter than the very detailed chapter on the ethnic populations of the Argolid in Jonathan Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (1997), 67 f. On p. 200 Tomlinson writes 'At the basis of the religion of the Argolid in classical times are the practices and beliefs of the Bronze Age'. There was a link with Athens; it is significant that Aithra, the mother of Theseus, was the daughter of Pittheus, son of Pelops and brother of the eponymous hero of Trozen. In Euripides' *Hippolytus*, Theseus is staying in Trozen and has taken over its government from the aged Pittheus, and the shrine of his son Hippolytus played an important role in the religious life of the place. It would seem that the Dorian element in the population of Halicarnassus derived not from Trozen, but from the later arrival of Dorian immigrants, perhaps by way of Rhodes; note ll. 29–30 of this poem. The connection between the Akte and Caria may be very ancient; see Strabo 374. Laumonier, p. 622, writes of 'un va-et-vient incessant d'une rive à l'autre de l'Égée, dès les plus hautes époques, et comme conséquence une parenté foncière des cultes'.

33 Isager has suggested Ἰαδαμά]νθος, and that is the only one of the proper names with genitives ending in this fashion that are listed in B. Hansen's *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (SB Leipzig, Bd. 102, 1957) p. 306 that seems anything like suitable: but despite the mention of

his niece in l. 37, I can see no way of relating that person to the present context. None of the nouns with genitives in -νθος listed in Buck and Petersen's *Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives* (1944) 20 seems likely; it is conceivable that we have here the word θύος, 'a burnt offering', which is found in the same *sedes* in a famous passage of Callimachus (fr. 1, 23).

κορύσσομαι, originally 'to put on a helmet', can mean 'to rear one's head in aggressive fashion'. In Theophrastus, *De signis tempestatum* 16, that verb is used of the behaviour of an aggressive bird, at Semonides 7,105 the scolding wife εὐροῦσα μῶμον ἐξ μάχην κορύσσεται (see the note in Lloyd-Jones, *Females of the Species*, 1975, 89), and at Athenaeus 127A Aemilianus tells his host that after giving his guests so magnificent a dinner he is welcome to δίκην ἀλεκτρυόνος . . . κορύξασθαι and give a lecture on the dishes.

35–42 Following the mention of a son of Apollo in l. 35, Φοίβου ἐφημοσύνας in l. 42 suggests that this person may have played a part in a chain of events described in this whole passage. Apollo had at least one temple at Halicarnassus; he is mentioned in the inscription about sales of sacred property (SIG 46,2), the epigram of Nossos (Kaibel 786) discussed on l. 53 below mentions Apollo Aguius, and the existence of games called Ἀρχηγέσια (SIG 1066, 12) implies the existence of a cult of Apollo Archegetes; see Wide, *op. cit.* on 23 f. above, p. 19, and Laumonier, *op. cit.*, p. 615. O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* (1906) 261 thought that the Halicarnassian worship of Apollo could not with certainty be traced back to Trozen, but that it was probably either derived from there or influenced by the worship of that place.

But who is the son of Apollo? We can find no son of Apollo who was connected with the 'new foundation' of Halicarnassus, though it is worth mentioning Keos, son of Apollo and Melie (Callimachus fr. 75,63), the oecist of the island named after him. A somewhat likelier candidate is Mopsos, according to one account a son of Apollo by Tiresias' daughter Manto, who founded the oracle of Apollo at Klaros, near Kolophon, and was active in several places in Anatolis. In this context there might be mention of a μάντις in some way connected with the foundation of the colony.

In 37 there is mention of someone who brought Ariadne from a certain land. Theseus, of course, brought her from Crete to Naxos, and his Trozenian connection is familiar; but among all the stories about Ariadne I have found none which connects her with Halicarnassus or any place near it. It might conceivably be relevant that according to the obscure poet Euanthes (SH p. 194) she had a fling with Glaukos, the sea-god, on Dia (the ancient name of Naxos), and Glaukos was associated with Anthedon, that other foundation of Anthes. L. 38 might refer to the abandonment of Ariadne by Theseus, but that is not the only possibility. Is it Ariadne who is left, or is some other person designated by παῖδ' ?

39: One might consider the supplement ἐπερρίζωσεν (at Nonnus, *Dion.* 40, 532 Keydell rightly prints Ludwich's emendation of ἐπερρίζωσε to that word). But who installed whom as a colonist, while taking care of him (l. 40), and where? In l. 41, the masculine Δωρικὸν appears oddly between the feminines; is there question of a garland made from some plant which is considered specifically Dorian? There could conceivably be an allusion to the famous 'crown' or 'garland' of Ariadne (on which see M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen*, 259–267) and D. Kidd on Aratus, *Phaen.* 71–73? What was done 'on the instructions of Phoebus' ?

43 'Longinus' 13,3 asks μόνος Ἡρόδοτος Ὀμηρικώτατος ἐγένετο, and Dionysius, *Ad Pompeium* 3 says of his fellow-townsmen that he ποικίλην ἐβουλήθη ποιῆσαι τὴν γραφὴν Ὀμήρου ζηλωτῆς γενόμενος. Note the frequent references to Homer of John Gould, *Herodotus* (1989), who on p. 119 quotes Gregory Nagy as presenting Herodotus as the representative of 'a tradition parallel to that of the Homeric epic, a prose tradition which, like epic, has the function of preserving and incorporating the 'renown' (kleos) of heroic actions'; he refers to Nagy, 'Herodotus the Logios' in *Arethusa* 20 (1987), 175–84 and *The Best of the Achaeans* (1979), 15 f., 26 f. and 94 f. On the use of πεζός and its Latin equivalent,

pedestris, see Peterson on Quintilian 10,81. It seems unlikely that this poet was the first author to call Herodotus ‘the prose Homer’.

44 The fourth-century historian Andron, author of *Συγγένεια* or *Ἱστορία*, is FGrH 10.

45 The poet Panyassis was uncle or cousin of Herodotus; see V. J. Matthews’ edition of his fragments, cited on l. 5 above. ἀρίσημος occurs first in HH Merc. 12; Gow on Theocritus 25,158 observes that in that place it has the literal meaning ‘visible’, but elsewhere means ‘illustrious’.

46 Demodamas of Halicarnassus FGrH 428 fr. 1 attributed the *Cypria* to Kyprias; see *Cypria* fr. 4 in M. Davies, *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, p. 36. It is now beyond doubt that in Athenaeus 334 B (cited by Davies, *ib.*, on fr. 7) West was right in emending Κύπριός in the sentence ὁ τὰ Κύπρια ποιήσας ἔπη, εἴτε Κύπριός τις ἐστὶν ἢ Στασίνοσ . . . to Κυπρίας: Davies here and on p. 44 has been too cautious. The notion that Ἰλιακῶν refers to the *Little Iliad* might be encouraged by Aristotle, *Poetics* 1459 B 2: ὁ τὰ Κύπρια ποιήσας καὶ τὴν μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα. But Vahlen (3rd edn., 1885, reprinted 1964) showed that even without the addition of ὁ after ποιήσας this need not imply that the same man wrote both poems; Bywater (1909) refers to Bonitz Index 109 B 48 for more evidence, Lucas (1968) cites Herodotus 2,57,3 and Aristotle, *De Caelo* 316 A 10, and though Butcher in his translation (3rd edn., 1922) writes ‘the author of the *Cypria* and the *Little Iliad*’, Halliwell in his (1987) writes ‘the authors’. Still, a second ὁ could easily have dropped out.

The word ἀοιδοθέτης (cf. l. 54) has hitherto been known only from the epigram of Archimedes (A.P. 7,50 = Page, FGE 77–8, warning a poet against competing with Euripides by writing a *Medea* (see *Cl. Rev.* 85, 1990, 303 f. for A. S. Hollis’s attractive emendation of ἐπίρροθος in l. 3 to ἐπίδρομος); see above on l. 49. Page, *op. cit.*, 24 remarks that the epigram of Archimedes ‘is one of a series of nine on Euripides within a long sequence on celebrated authors’. Archimedes, Page adds, ‘stands between Bianor and Adaios, two of Philip’s authors, and there is nothing in the epigram to preclude him from that company’.

47 Menestheus is presumably the third-century comic poet (PCG VII, 3); in IG II 2325, 173 he follows the third-century poets Diodorus, Eumedes and Pandaetes.

48 Theaitetos is doubtless the third-century poet praised by Callimachus, *Epigr.* 7 Pf. = 57 H.–E. See H.–E. 3342–3371 for six of his epigrams, which are of a high quality.

49 One thinks of the comic poet Dionysios III, for whom see PCG V p. 41, but one must be cautious, because Dionysios is such a common name. ὑμνοθέτην does not show that Dionysios was a writer of hymns; it seems clear that this word, like ἀοιδοθέτης in l. 46 and l. 54, is simply a general word for ‘poet’ coined by Hellenistic poets to fulfil a particular metrical function. But note that Kassel and Austin place this Dionysios in the second century.

50 Snell – Kannicht on the tragedian Zenodotos (TGrF I no. 215) identify him with Ζ[ηνώ]δ[οτος] σατύρων ποιητής who was victorious at Teos ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι τῷ τεθέντι Ἀττάλωι. They take this to be presumably Attalus II, who reigned from 159 to 138.

51 The tragedian Phanostratos, son of Herakleides, of Halicarnassus (Snell – Kannicht, *op. cit.*, no. 94, where the two inscriptions relating to him, one of them from the base of a statue erected by the demos of Halicarnassus, are cited), is attested (see DID B 7, on p. 40 of S.–K.) as having won the prize at the Lenaea of 306.

53 Merkelbach in his first notes on the poem argued that the chronographer Nossos, who is not known from any other source, is not likely to be identical with the Nossos of the second-century epigram 786 Kaibel = McCabe, Halicarnassus 124. That Nossos dedicated a statue of Artemis in gratitude to her brother for his crown of bay and priesthood, in all probability a reward for literary distinction.

Νόσσοσ Μυρμιδόνοσ κούραν Διὸσ ἄνθετο παῖδα
 Ἕρτεμιν εὐόλβωι τῶιδε παρὰ προπύλωι,
 Φοίβωι Ἄγυιῆι τάνδε νέμων χάριν, οὐ̄ περὶ κρατ[ί
 δάφνας εὐσάμωσ κλῶνας ἀναστέφεται.
 ἀλλὰ σ[ὺ] οἶ τιμᾶσ [μέροσ ἄλλο τι πέμπ'] ἐπὶ τῶιδε,
 ὦ̄ ἄ[να], τᾶ[ι] μεγάλα[ι ταύται] ἐπ' εὐσεβίαι.

This opinion seems to be grounded on the belief, which we will come to later, that our poem is the work of Herakleitos the friend of Callimachus. It would be rash to pronounce that the two persons called Nossos must be the same; but the Nossos of the inscription was a person of some standing, and might easily have been a chronographer. If he was not this person, he may well have been a relation.

54 Of Timokrates we know nothing.

55–56 μυρῖοσ αἰών: for this manner of expression, cf. Euripides, *Medea* 429 μακρὸσ δ' αἰὼν ἔχει πολλὰ μὲν ἀμετέραν ἀνδρῶν τε μοῖραν εἶπειν. For μυρῖοσ αἰὼν, cf. Dioscorides 1589–90 H.–E. = A.P. 7, 410

οἱ δὲ μεταπλάσσωσι νέοι τάδε· μυρῖοσ αἰὼν
 πολλὰ προσευρήσει χᾶτερα, τὰμὰ δ' ἐμά.

G. Zuntz in the opening chapter of 'Aion, Gott des Römerreichs', *Abh. der Heidelberger Akademie*, 1989, 11–30 has sketched the history of the word. This kind of expression, in which the word simply means 'time', which is so far personified as to be said to 'give birth to' events, marks a stage in its progress towards becoming the name of a divinity. One speaks of the πείρατα νίκης or τέχνης, meaning their means of execution, the means by which they take effect; see Page on Meleager 93,8 = H.–E. 4503.

57 ἐν χέρσωι . . . πόντωι: cf. Homer, *Od.*, 24, 290 f. ἐν πόντωι . . . ἢ ἐπὶ χέρσου, Pindar, *Nem.* 1, 63 ἐν χέρσωι . . . πόντωι, etc. φέρεται here is 'brings off, carries off'.

The following epigram (IG XII 1, 145 = SEG 36, 975), though found on Rhodes, relates to Halicarnassus, and might well be the work of the author of the new poem from that place. Its author's borrowing of l. 2 from Antipater of Sidon recalls the other poem's borrowing of l. 11 from Antimachus.

 λάινο[ν Ἀ]σσυρή [χῶμ]α Σεμι[ρά]μιτοσ.
 ἀλλ' Ἄνδρων' οὐκ ἔσχε Νίνου πόλισ, οὐδὲ παρ' Ἰνδοῖσ
 ῥιζοφυῆσ Μουσέων πτόρθοσ ἐνετρέφετο·
 5 [κοῦ] μὴν Ἡροδότου γλύκιον στόμα καὶ Πανύασσιν
 ἠ[δ]υ[ε]πῆ Βαβυλῶν ἔτρεφεν ὠγγύη,
 ἀλλ' Ἀλικαρνάσσοσ κραναὸν πέδον, ὦν διὰ μολπὰσ
 κλειτὸν ἐν Ἑλλήνων ἄστεσι κῦδοσ ἔχει.

See J. Ebert, *Philologus* 130 (1986), 37–43 = *Agonismata* (1997), 140–148; for a photograph of the stone, found serving as a threshold in Rhodes, see ZPE 31 (1978), Taf. XIII.

2 This line comes from Antipater of Sidon, A.P. 7,748,2 (H.–E. 411); see Gow's commentary, II 61. Antipater of Sidon died perhaps as late as about 100 B.C. (see Alan Cameron, *The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes* (1993), 50–1), and is most unlikely to have borrowed from this poet; Hiller von Gaertringen's suggestion that he may have written this poem is most improbable.

4 ῥιζοφυῆς Μουσέων πτόρθος appears to be a tortuous allusion to the eight poets (Panyassis, Kyprias, Menestheus, Theaitetos, Dionysios, Zenodotos, Phanostratos, Timokrates) enumerated in the other poem.

5 γλύκιον: Why the comparative? Did the writer intend γλυκερόν?

8 κλειτόν . . . κῦδος: the tautology is unimpressive. As in the last six lines of the longer poem, a certain triteness and flatness of the phrasing may be discerned.

As mentioned above, Merkelbach in his first notes on the new poem took the view that this poet can have been Herakleitos, the subject of the famous epigram of Callimachus 2 Pfeiffer = 34 H.–E. (familiar to English readers from the sentimental Victorian translation by the Eton master, William Johnson Cory, so far removed from the spareness and tautness of the original).

Εἶπέ τις, Ἡράκλειτε, τεὸν μόρον, ἔς δέ με δάκρυ
 ἤγαγεν, ἐμνήσθην δ' ὅσσάκις ἀμφοτέρω
 ἥλιον ἐν λέσχη καταδύσαμεν. ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν που,
 ξεῖν' Ἀλικαρνησεῦ, τετράπαλια σποδιή·
 αἰ δὲ τεαὶ ζώουσιν ἀηδόνες, ἦισιν ὁ πάντων
 ἀρπακτὴρ Αἴδης οὐκ ἐπὶ χεῖρα βαλεῖ.

Merkelbach argued that if the poem had been by any other author, it would have mentioned Herakleitos, who is one of the only three Halicarnassian authors mentioned by Strabo (656). That is an argument that has some force, but it is not conclusive; we need to give careful consideration to the style and language of the poem. The surviving epigram of Herakleitos (1935–1942 H.–E.), as I. points out, is in the Doric dialect, and in the words of Gow ‘its quality is such as to make us regret the loss of H.’s other “Nightingales”’.

Ἄ κόνις ἀρτίσκαπτος, ἐπὶ στάλας δὲ μετώπων
 σείονται φύλλων ἡμιθαλεῖς στέφανοι.
 γράμμα διακρίναντες, ὁδοιπόρε, πέτρον ἴδωμεν,
 λευρὰ περιστέλλειν ὅστέα φατὶ τίνος.
 ‘ξεῖν’, Ἀρετιμιάς εἰμι· πάτρα Κνίδος· Εὐφρονος ἦλθον
 εἰς λέχος· ὠδίνων οὐκ ἄμορος γενόμαν·
 δισσὰ δ' ὁμοῦ τίκτουσα τὸ μὲν λίπον ἀνδρὶ ποδηγόν
 γήρωσ, ἐν δ' ἀπάγω μναμόσυνον πόσιος’.

The new poem is respectable when compared with much of the fourth-century verse contained in the second volume of P. A. Hansen’s *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca*; but when set beside this and the other work of accomplished writers like many of those to be found in Gow and Page’s *Hellenistic Epigrams*, it is seen to be the work of a competent but hardly very distinguished local poet. The writing seems to be not earlier and maybe later than the second century, and this is borne out both by the dates of some of the Halicarnassians mentioned, as well as by the style and language of the verses. The second century is probably the period of Zenodotos, and very likely of Dionysios and Nossos also. The resemblance of the style and language to those of the more undistinguished versifiers to be found in the *Garland of Philip*, together with the habit of incorporating flosculi from earlier poets, would seem to point to a date late in the second century or in the first. The limitations of this worthy provincial poet are quite obvious enough to account for his failure to include Herakleitos in his list. The epigram in Rhodes, perhaps the work of the same poet, has been assigned to the first century. It would be strange for a poem to be published in a book and then incised on stone more than a century later; it is far likelier that the poem was commissioned from a local poet in order to be inscribed upon the temple wall.

The whole poem is an excellent example of the way in which the Greeks of the Hellenistic and imperial periods used history and tradition to define and assert their Greek and civic identity, admirably sketched in two valuable recent books, Simon Swain’s *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism*

and Power in the Greek World, AD 50–250 (1996), especially its third chapter, headed ‘Past and Present’, and Thomas Schmitz’s *Bildung und Macht: Zur sozialen und politischen Funktion der zweiten Sophistik in der griechischen Welt der Kaiserzeit* (Zetemata, Heft 97, 1997), especially the fifth section of chapter 6, headed ‘Sprache und lokale Tradition als identitätsstiftende Faktoren’ (p. 181 f.). Swain observes (p. 75) that ‘the primacy of Athens, Sparta and Argos in the Greek heritage was particularly important in the demonstration of this Greekness’ (note ll. 27–30 of our poem), and that ‘emphasis was laid on proving a respectable background by promoting eponyms, local cults, and foundation legends’. The last century of the Roman republic was not a happy time in the history of Halicarnassus, which suffered severely from the Mithridatic Wars and from the deprivations of Verres. Cicero, *Ad Quintum fratrem*, 1,25 claims that his brother’s administration has restored *urbis complures dirutas ac paene desertas, in quibus unam Ioniae nobilissimam, alteram Cariae, Samum et Halicarnassum*, and one hopes that the inscription did something to keep up the people’s spirits.

Wellesley

Hugh Lloyd-Jones