

Homeric Diction in Posidippus

By

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Abstract

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This dissertation is a study of the use of Homeric diction in the epigrams of Posidippus of Pella. I place the poetry in the context of the aesthetic and scholarly interests of Ptolemaic Alexandria and I provide a stylistic and intertextual analysis of the use of Homer in these 3rd century BCE epigrams. In the subgenres of amatory and sepulchral epigrams, the repetition of Homeric diction in combination with particular *topoi* and themes in the poems of Posidippus and other epigrammatists becomes a literary trope. In other cases, Posidippus incorporates more complex thematic allusion to Homer and, by doing so, displays awareness of the self-reflexive and self-annotating experience of reading poetry. The repetition of Homeric diction within sections of the Milan papyrus reinforces arguments for cohesive structure within the λιθικά and οἰωνοσκοπικά sections. What this study of Homeric diction reveals is that Posidippus' choice of *topoi* and themes are distinguished by the way he incorporates Homeric references and thematic allusion. Other poets share his *topoi* and his themes and sometimes even his Homeric diction, but these three elements rarely match the complexity in Posidippus. The combinations are what differentiate Posidippus' stylistic tendencies from other Hellenistic epigrammatists.

This dissertation is dedicated to my mother

Kathleen Collins Reilly

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Abbreviations

- AB Austin, C. and G. Bastianini, eds. *Posidippi Pellaei Quae Supersunt Omnia*. Milan: Edizioni Universitarie di Lettere Economica Diritto, 2002
- AP *The Greek Anthology*, including *Anthologica Palatina* and *Anthologia Planudea* (= AP XVI)
- BG Bastianini, G., C. Gallazzi, and C. Austin, eds. *Posidippo di Pella : Epigrammi (P. Mil Vogl. VIII 309)*. Milan: Edizioni Universitarie di Lettere Economia Diritto, 2001.
- CEG Hansen, P.A. *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca*. 2 Vols. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1983-1989.
- FGE Page, D.L., ed. *Further Greek Epigrams*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- GP Gow, A.S.F. and D. Page, eds. *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965.
- GVI Peek, W. *Griechische Vers-Inschriften I: Grab-Epigramme*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1955.
- Page Page, D.L., ed. *Epigrammata Graeca*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975.
- Pf. Pfeiffer, R. *Callimachus*, 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949.
- PMG Davies, M. ed. *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. Vol. I. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.
- SH Lloyd-Jones, H. and P. Parsons, eds. *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1983.

Introduction

This dissertation is a study of the use of Homeric diction in the epigrams of Posidippus of Pella. I place the poetry in the context of the aesthetic and scholarly interests of Ptolemaic Alexandria and I provide a stylistic and intertextual analysis of the use of Homer in these 3rd century BCE epigrams. Posidippus is innovative in the way he incorporates Homeric diction even as he is entirely in step with other Hellenistic poets. In the subgenre of amatory and sepulchral epigrams, the repetition of the Homeric in combination with particular *topoi* and themes in the poems of Posidippus and other epigrammatists becomes a literary trope. In other cases, Posidippus incorporates more complex thematic allusion to Homer and, by doing so, displays awareness of the self-reflexive and self-annotating experience of reading poetry. The repetition of Homeric diction within sections of the Milan papyrus reinforces arguments for cohesive structure within the λιθικά and οἰωνοσκοπικά sections. In all examples of Homeric diction in the poetry, a metapoetic interpretation is possible as the poet establishes himself as a part of Greek literary history.

Until the 1990's, the text of Posidippus consisted of only thirty-two poems and already connections were being made to Homer.¹ A new era of scholarship on Posidippus and Hellenistic epigram arrived with the publication in 2001 of *Papiri dell'Università degli Studi di Milano VIII 309* (P. Mil. Vogl. VIII 309), edited by G. Bastianini and C. Galazzi with C. Austin, which

¹ The text of Posidippus: Thirteen undisputed and nine epigrams in the *Greek Anthology* ascribed to others; five fragments on papyri: P. Cair. (AB 113), P. Petrie (AB 114), P. Louvre (AB 115-116), P. Tebt. (AB 117); one on a wax tablet (P. Berol, AB 118); four quotations by Athenaeus (AB 119-122); one in Tzetzes, *Chiliades* 7.660 = AB 15. The doubly ascribed epigrams: With Asclepiades: AB 126 (= 34 GP = AP V 194 = *Pl.* VII.22); AB 127 (= 35 GP = AP V 202); AB 128 (= 36 GP = AP V 209 = *Pl.* VII 119); AB 134 (= 37 GP = AP XII 17); AB 136 (=38 GP = AP XII 77); AB 141 (= 39 GP = AP XIV (Plan.) 68); with Callimachus, AB 131 (= AP VII 170); with Plato Comicus, AB 133 (= AP IX 359); with Meleager, Meleager 54 GP (= AP V 215).

contains one hundred and twelve new epigrams, or more realistically about ninety, as two are previously known (AB 15 and 65) and twenty are too incomplete to be readable.² The subjects in the newly collected corpus (published in the 2002 *editio minor*, *Posidippi Pellae Quae Supersunt Omnia* by Austin and Bastianini, AB) range from gems, omens, and statues to shipwrecks, horses and votive offerings. The epigrams are only matched in their thematic variety by the many genres they exemplify: epideictic, sepulchral, dedicatory, ecphrastic, sympotic, epinician. The more the new papyrus is studied, the more appreciation critics have for what seemed at first to be poetry that was inferior in quality to the erotic and sympotic epigrams chosen for the *Greek Anthology* or the fascinating “seal of Posidippus” on the wax tablet now known as AB 118.³ The progress of the literary and textual criticism is reflected in the *apparatus criticus* of P. Mil. Vogl. VIII 30 which is growing longer each year, edited by B. Acosta-Hughes, E. Kosmetatou, M. Cuypers, and F. Angiò and posted electronically by the Center for Hellenic Studies.⁴ As scholars add to this *apparatus criticus*, the number of notes on Homeric language has also been accumulating. A synthesis of information of Posidippus’ Homeric references allows a fuller picture of the poet’s compositional technique and the way his poetics compare to other epigrammatists.

Examination of other Hellenistic poets has proven that the Alexandrian poets studied the Homeric texts and enjoyed taking up the most unusual words for use in their poems. In his discussion of Callimachus’s view on Homeric exegesis, Pfeiffer writes, “It is possible that he consulted the elementary explanatory notes that must have accompanied the Homeric text for a

² AB 15 (= 20 GP = 1674-1681 Page = Tzetes *Chiliades* VII 660); AB 65 (= 18 GP = 1658-1661 Page = AP XVI 119). Of the sixteen columns on the papyrus, Columns I, II, VII, IX-XI, XIII, and XVI are the least complete.

³ See H. Lloyd-Jones’s 2003 “All by Posidippus?”

⁴ The current text of Posidippus is found in the first issue of *Classics@*, available at chs.harvard.edu/chs and in Angiò’s annual updates in *Studi di Egittologia e di Papirologia*.

long time and finally became a substantial part of our so-called *D-Scholía*, in which they were mixed up with more learned grammatical comments.”⁵ There is no reason that Posidippus, one of the earliest of epigrammatists whose writing is rich with Homeric references, would not have had access to the same texts. Rengakos writes of Apollonius’s conscious use of Homeric words both for allusion and to point to problems of Homeric textual criticism.⁶ Posidippus does the same thing on a smaller scale but he is also connected with other epigrammatists’ work (as Sens has shown with Asclepiades) and a different and complementary set of *topoi*. Certainly, not all of the words that appear in both Homer and Posidippus lead to instances of exciting quotations, citations or thematic allusion. Some linguistic bonds are more important structurally in the poem than thematically. Nevertheless, all of the possible connections are worth noting because they are part of the web of connections to Homeric scholarship as it was emerging in the 3rd century BCE.

One cannot be certain about the exact state of the Homeric text at this time but, as I discuss in Chapter One, somehow a common, or vulgate text appeared in the 2nd century BCE when the prominent Homeric scholar of that time, Aristarchus, commented on his predecessors Aristophanes of Byzantium and Zenodotus of Ephesus. Fraser writes of Zenodotus that “His edition of the *Iliad* was apparently in circulation c.275.”⁷ Even with the collection of papyrological evidence for the Homeric text of the time, the Ptolemaic Papyri, there is still much that we cannot know about how early the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* became the 24-book poems that we have in our Oxford texts. Bird writes of the current views of the Homeric text: “G. S. Kirk and R. Janko take basically the same view as S. West, and also (like van der Valk) minimize the value of the work of the Alexandrians in their efforts to find the ‘original’ text of Homer. Taking

⁵ Pfeiffer 1968, p. 139.

⁶ Rengakos 1994, *Apollonios Rhodios und die antike Homererklärung*.

⁷ Fraser, p. 458.

a contrary position is G. Nagy, who attributes significant value both to the readings of the Ptolemaic papyri and to the work of the Alexandrian scholars.”⁸

In this study of Homer, I take into account not only the corpus digitized in the online *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, The Chicago Homer and other databases, but I also have in mind the continually updated news at the Center for Hellenic Studies and the Homer Multi-text project, a website devoted to research and preservation of the variations of Homer. The directors of multi-text project seek to create an online text that encompasses all the manuscripts—papyri or medieval. Digital humanities is a modern idea but this work also seems to be bringing back the idea of many versions of Homer. As they deconstruct the Homeric text in light of so much evidence, the electronic text is leading away from any individual identification of one poet’s written word and to the acceptance of the variations inherited from the oral tradition, something connected to the versions of the Rhapsodes. The task of Zenodotus was to collate all the different papyri coming his way and to find a definitive Homeric text. Centuries later, the Oxford text is definitive but now being set into a new textual tradition.⁹ The Homeric diction that appears in Posidippus may tell us little that is definitive about the early text, but this study does indicate certain preferences and common points of reference of Posidippus and his fellow poets. For example, in Chapter Four, I discuss the allusion in AB 22 to *Il.* 3.1-14, where the Trojans sound like loud cranes. This Homeric passage is also a source of allusion for Callimachus and Apollonius. Also interesting is that there does not seem to be any allusion to episodes or diction of interest from *Iliad* Book 18 or *Odyssey* Books 7, 18, or 22. A full analysis of all Homeric diction in other authors may reveal even more about the Homeric text at this time and it has become clear to me through my own research on the Homeric diction in Greek poetry that

⁸ Bird, p. 75.

⁹ Cf. Tsagalis 2008, Bird.

the two areas cannot be separated. There are enough words of interest to ancient and modern scholars in Posidippus that one cannot avoid the topic of Homeric exegesis in the 3rd century BCE.

A word on terminology is in order. Throughout this dissertation, I will refer to *topoi*, called motifs by Tarán, which are “the constituent feature or dominant idea around which the poem is built and which can be applied to various situations.”¹⁰ The *topos* is a commonplace in Greek literature, an idea that can be used in a variety of circumstances. Aristotle provides a list of *topoi* that are used to build arguments and to persuade, but there is a more common literary idea of *topos*. I will connect *topoi*, the featured motif that would be the commonly recognized, to the themes of the poems, the “situations themselves, that is, the anecdotal part of the ‘plot’ of the epigram.”¹¹ As Tarán writes, the *topos* and the theme “are expressed by means of poetic conceits which, naturally enough, are the most personal element, the one in which each poet innovates most freely...”¹² Posidippus makes use of the set of *topoi* that are common in Hellenistic epigram, and through these commonplaces, he sometimes signals Homeric allusion. Posidippus’ choice of diction is part of a technique of literary allusion, a technique built on both general references to epic poetry and on significant thematic allusion to specific passages of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*.

There are different designations of *topos*, allusion and theme in Classical scholarship and that is in part because the ideas do overlap at times. Some allusions are also more tentative than others and in the case of the well-known Homeric texts, what may seem an allusion may be more aptly described as a merely a possible reference. Consequently, Homericism is called variously

¹⁰ Tarán, p. 5. *Topoi* are not only an element of poetry: cf. Morrison “A key *topos* in Thucydides: the comparison of cities and individuals...” or Lateiner on a *topos* in Lysias, “The man who does not meddle in politics.”

¹¹ Tarán, p. 5.

¹² Tarán, p. 5.

an “echo” (Nagy, Prauscello, Williams et al.), “trace” (C. Williams et al.), quotation (Edmunds’s preference) or reference (Bing).¹³ I use these terms as a way of recognizing that parallels are not always allusions. If the context of the quotation from Homer is appropriate for the epigram’s theme, I refer to the intertextual point between source text (Homer) and target text (Posidippus) as allusion or thematic allusion.¹⁴ Bing differentiates between an allusion and the more explicit reference—allusions being defined by the indirect or hidden aspect of the signaling of a source text. An example of reference in Posidippus is AB 64 where a statue of Idomeneus and Meriones is praised for its realism. While there may be some parallel phrasing because the two heroes’ names are repeated in the epigram as they often are in the *Iliad* the poet does not seem to alluding to any specific passage in Homer.¹⁵ In both the weaker cases of reference or the stronger examples of allusion, however, the poet’s choice to include any such literary echo should still be considered a way of taking part in the literary tradition, an act as important as the intertextual link itself. One may also consider that the mention of a Homeric hero or other figure can also be considered to be itself a *topos*, as in the naming of Hector in AB 148.

As Hunter writes, “The study of the relationship between Hellenistic epigram and the archaic and classical poetry which nourished it has largely been conducted in terms of motifs and structures. Language and imagery have received less attention, in part because it is not easy to find the critical language,” for a profitable discussion.¹⁶ I consider this dissertation part of the effort to find that critical language. I set out first to establish what Homeric diction exactly is in

¹³ Cf. Nagy 2004, “Homeric Echoes in Posidippus;” L. Prauscello “A Homeric Echo in Theocritus’ *Idyll* 11.25-7: the Cyclops, Nausicaa and the Hyacinths;” or Darcus, “An Echo of Homer in Pindar, *Pythian* 4.”

¹⁴ Edmunds uses ‘quotation’ for any parallels. Barchiesi 1993, p. 335, on a link between Ovid and Propertius, “This is not just a vague impression, since the line is actually a clear allusion...”

¹⁵ In a similar way, the mention of Athena in AB 31 or Zeus in AB 34 does not function as a thematic allusion to any one source; or Callimachus’ mention of Glaucus from *Il.* 6 in ep. 48 Pf. (26 GP = 1270-1275 Page = AP VI, 310) is a reference, but not an allusion.

¹⁶ Hunter 2010, p. 265.

the epigrams and how it functions in each poem and in parallel epigrams. In order to convey fully the complex interconnections between the various *topoi*, themes, language and imagery in these Hellenistic epigrams, I rely on terms from recent studies in Classics on the “dynamics of appropriation,” which are, in turn, drawn from the wider theoretical sphere of studies in Intertextuality. The more one presses the point of common literary sources and stylistic preference in the Hellenistic epigrams, the more the meta-poetics, the generic self-awareness and the engagement with a variety of literary models stands out. Even the sounds of the poems recall each other in their generally consistent application of the elegiac couplet.¹⁷

Allusion can be self-reflexive because it allows the poet to comment on the use of a traditional model, i.e. on the use of Homer. Barchiesi, writing about Roman poets, who are “self-conscious about their intertextual origins,” states that “allusion and literary self-consciousness are not easily detachable entities.”¹⁸ The poets use the allusions as a signal of literary erudition and an invitation to the reader to join the poet in his literary activity. Sens points to the way allusion “can activate the reader’s awareness of an entire tradition, thus locating the alluding text in a continuous literary line while treating the target as a poetic ancestor.”¹⁹ C. Williams sees this sort of process in the “traces” of Ovid that are apparent in Martial’s epigrams, in that they “display various turns of phrase and metrical features reminiscent of his predecessor.”²⁰ By using certain erudite phrases from a source text, a poet may bring into his target text additional information about both his own and his predecessor’s literary interests. In this way, C. Williams explains, Martial signals “Ovid’s meditations on his own poetic activity...” and Posidippus signals his metapoetic choice to quote Homer. At times this sort of signal produces an

¹⁷ See West 1982, p. 153-157.

¹⁸ Barchiesi 1993, p. 333 and 360.

¹⁹ Sens 2007, p. 377.

²⁰ C. Williams 2002 p. 418.

“unmistakable echo ... “ in what seem to be extremely “self-referential epigrams.”²¹ Posidippus, like Martial, joins “the number of poets who have meditated on current criticism and lasting fame—and who are now successfully immortal...”²² Posidippus explicitly expresses his wish to have a statue in the square in his *sphragis* poem, AB 118, but his main outlet to express his inclusion in the literary tradition is through the use of archaic sources alongside contemporary literary or scientific language or other sources in his epigrams.

Barchiesi, in a chapter entitled, “Tropes in Intertextuality in Roman Epic,” adds to this discussion of self-referential allusion by looking at this erudite footnote as a signal for the reader to pay attention to the innovative lines of verse and consider a wider sphere of relevance for the epigram. Barchiesi writes that we should not only “be detecting relations between the texts, but also the ways these relations are represented and the tropes that translate them, figures that precipitate and render them visible.”²³ He adds that there is “a short repertoire of the ways Roman culture mirrors and mediates its intertextual consciousness.”²⁴ Barchiesi looks into epic poetry in that chapter, noting the fact that it is a “well-identified and internally coherent literary genre,” something that distinguishes that traditional form from the new literary epigram of the 3rd century BCE.²⁵ Still, like the epic poetry, epigram does “make strong references to its tradition while still abstaining from explicit citation,” and they also return again and again to the same

²¹ C. Williams 2002 p. 418; p. 425, “Martial combines the motif framing *Amores* 1.15—invidious criticism (*livor*) directed against the poet—with an allusion to his achievement of worldwide fame made in terms echoing the same Ovidian text (M. 8.61) *Livet Charinus...*”

²² C. Williams 2002 p. 434.

²³ Barchiesi 2001, p.129.

²⁴ Barchiesi 2001, p.129.

²⁵ Barchiesi 2001, p.129.

topoi and themes. The challenge of epigram is that with every new poem they seem to introduce new words and references.²⁶

What is clear from my analysis is that the Hellenistic epigrammatists are constantly revising the motifs and the way they figure into thematic spheres and this revision may be reflected in the editions of their poems. The fact that these poets are seeing their poetry in bookrolls is a crucial part of this culture. Gutzwiller proves the close ties between book production and the poetry of the age. In “The Literariness of the Milan Papyrus or ‘What Difference a Book?’” Gutzwiller asserts that the “advent of literary epigrams, apparently a phenomenon of the third century, seems directly tied to the invention of the poetry as a literary form,” which dates as early as the 5th century BCE. Bing interprets the innovations of the Hellenistic poets as a result of efforts to find novel forms and functions for epigrams are part of a change in self-image during the time of social, political, and scholarly change of Ptolemaic Alexandria. Bing points out, for example, the novelty of Hedylus 6 GP, where “the *topos* of wine and song,” which appears as “early as Archilochus” becomes a *topos* of wine and *words*.²⁷ Bing comments, “Instead of urging his friend to drink and sing, Hedylus (6 GP) urges him to drink and write: καὶ γράφε καὶ μέθυσε...”²⁸ This ‘drink and write’ directive appears at the end of that epigram, a style “which is traditionally sympotic in every other way.”²⁹ The change creates a sort

²⁶ Barchiesi 2001, p. 129ff. One may also add that there is no “hermeneutic whole” in epigram, but, there may be, as Barthes suggests of literary effects in general, “an underlying system,” which makes these effects possible, such as the expectations of topologies and themes. See Culler, p. 118 and Barthes, *Critique et Verité*.

²⁷ Bing 1988, p. 21.

²⁸ Bing 1988, p. 21.

²⁹ Bing 1988 p. 21.

of “punch line, aimed to unsettle...” or to delight and it is a sign of poetic activity that results from the book culture of the 3rd century BCE.³⁰

The popularity of poetry books must also be one reason why there are so many “shared points of reference,” in Hellenistic epigram.³¹ Hunter, writing on “language and interpretation in Greek Epigram,” discusses the way later poets “confront” their literary models.³² It is not mimesis at all, but literary adaptation and transformation. Posidippus is more subtle about his references than Meleager, for one, and Hunter’s example of Meleager 64 GP (= 4360-1463 Page = AP V 190) makes for a useful comparison to pinpoint what exactly Posidippus was subtle about.

Meleager 64 GP (= 4360-1463 Page = AP V 190)

κῦμα τὸ πικρὸν Ἔρωτος ἀκοίμητοί τε πνέοντες
ζῆλοι καὶ κώμων χειμέριον πέλαγος,
ποῖ φέρομαι; πάντῃ δὲ φρενῶν οἴακες ἀφεῖνται·
ἢ πάλι τὴν τρυφερὴν Σκύλλαν ἐπαψόμεθα;

*Bitter wave of Love and unceasing blasts of jealousy and the stormy
sea of the kōmos: where am I drifting? The rudder of my mind
is loosed out of control; shall I see the sexy Scylla again?*³³

Gow and Page comment that there are “Two common motifs” here: one is “the Jealous Lover, inebriated, walking through bad weather.... to his mistress;” and the other is “the comparison of Love to a storm at sea...”³⁴ Posidippus does apply the motif of jealousy in AB 125, 129 and 130, but he does not make use of the metaphorical stormy sea or the ‘ship of state’ motif and he tends

³⁰ Bing 1988 p. 21, he adds of the ending’s surprise, “as it did Gow and Page, who comment (on v.4) γράφε ... does not suggest a symposium.”

³¹ Hunter 2010, p. 272.

³² Hunter 2010, p. 265.

³³ Hunter 2010, p. 265; I use Hunter’s translation so that his interpretation of the poem’s meaning is clear.

³⁴ GP ad loc. as quoted in Hunter 2010, p. 266; the Roman Propertius applies these same motifs in I.3.

to be avoid Meleager’s “obvious reworking of the *Odyssey*.”³⁵ Hunter writes of Meleager that “readers do not have to guess what the ‘wave’ (desire), the ‘winds’ (jealousy), the ‘wintry sea’ (a *kômos*), and the ‘rudder’ (the reasoning mind) represent, as the poem itself quite explicitly tells us.” What is interesting is the “identity of ‘sexy Scylla,’” whom “the speaker apparently would like to (survive to?) see” again, “though seeing Scylla is the very last thing a sailor would normally wish to do (cf. *Odyssey* 12.88, 258).”³⁶ Meleager does even more with his Homeric model by also using *πικρὸν* to describe the wave, *κῦμα*. In *Od.* 5.322-3, Hunter points out, “Odysseus spits out ἄλμην πικρὴν from his mouth.” The metaphorical use of drinking as symbolic of taking in poetry is so established that Meleager can be tricky about how he builds this idea into the poem. It is a more allusive turn before the reference to Scylla at the end. Hunter suggests that “we are supposed to see the poet, not just on his passionate *kômos*, but also at work on his poem. This is literary art as *epideixis*.”³⁷ Meleager 64 GP combines the Homeric Scylla with the language of bitter taste in the *Odyssey* in a way that should please a fully informed audience. It may even be possible to read it as a statement of taste because of the epigrammatic form and the way the *topoi* of ‘bitter love,’ ‘jealous lover,’ ‘wavering mind as a storm at sea,’ connect so obviously to what was, by Meleager’s time, epigrammatic convention. Consider, furthermore, that Alcaeus 208.1-14 Voigt, where the ‘ship of state’ idea originates and which act as another reference in the poem (as it does in Horace *Odes* I.14). The further back one goes, the more “the very indeterminacy of the language,” is “crucial” to the poem.³⁸ Hunter adds another reference, that of Anacreon, PMG 417 where a “Thracian filly” is in need of being steered by a

³⁵ Hunter 2010, p. 266.

³⁶ Hunter 2010, p. 266.

³⁷ Hunter 2010, p. 266.

³⁸ Hunter 2010, p. 268.

skilled rider (as a ship at storm needs a skilled helmsman). “We may wish to invoke the sympotic traditions of riddling and role-playing,” Hunter writes, “which of course remain as powerful influences also on Hellenistic epigram, but the difference in mode between Meleager and the archaic poems is clear enough.” The metaphor in Anacreon determines the whole poem, there is no combination of sources, but a combination of messages. As Hunter notes, perhaps in Alcaeus’ poem, this “is not a ‘real’ storm at sea which is being described,” but that it “is a rather different aspect of the relationship between poet and audience.”³⁹ In that case, I think the epigrammatic tendency to self-reference and repeat itself, is an outcome of just that sort of poet/reader interaction that the epigrammatic genre exemplifies. As for the “use of the Homeric tradition” in earlier poetry, whether the allusion of Anacreon “differs in any significant way from that which is standard in early inscribed epigram,” Hunter concludes that “the epic inheritance was used in a creative manner from a relatively early date.”⁴⁰

There are various degrees of allusions (unlike *topoi* or tropes) and I want to point out a few different ideas that pertain to the analysis of Homeric diction in Posidippus. Giangrande, in his 1967 paper “‘*Arte Allusiva*’ and Alexandrian Epic Poetry,” writes that there are “two main characteristics of Alexandrian allusion to Homer, namely implied grammatical interpretation and *oppositio in imitando*.”⁴¹ Giangrande adds that the “latter, I should like to observe incidentally, was more extensively practiced than is usually believed...” Certainly, my goal for this dissertation is not only to show the way Posidippus’ use of Homeric diction compares with others, but also to show that his engagement with those epics is more profound than his modern

³⁹ Hunter 2010, p. 268. Hunter continues to show the source of Theognis in Rhianus; and Alcaeus, Anacreon, Tyrtaeus in Asclepiades and Callimachus.

⁴⁰ Hunter 2010, p. 281.

⁴¹ Giangrande 1967, p. 85.

critics generally recognize and that the “literariness” of the Hellenistic era is the main inspiration for the conceits in his poetry.

Harder, in “Intertextuality in Callimachus’ *Aetia*,” lays out a more extended list for study of allusion:

“In the *Aetia* one can distinguish several ways in which earlier texts may be alluded to: on the one hand, there are allusions to specific passages in earlier authors, on the other hand, there are certain aspects of literary technique which recall an earlier literary genre or author in general, without referring the reader to a specific passage (like, e.g., a Homeric simile or a Pindaric breaking off-formula). In the third place there are passage where the reader seems to be invited to consult other texts for further information on a specific point (like, e.g., a part of the story which is not told in the text).”⁴²

Harder adds the essential criteria for detecting an allusion: there must be “explicit reference to another author,” through quotations or “the use of the same (rare or unusual) words” or “the use of literary devices which may be considered as typical of a certain author or genre,” or through “references to material which was part of the literary or scholarly tradition.”⁴³ As I point out in my analyses, Posidippus uses all of these types of allusion and he regularly includes the literary devices (apostrophe, anaphora, homoioteleuton, etc.) that are typical of epigram.

Allusion is a part of the presentation of the epigram’s theme which leads to “reflexive annotation,” conscious imitation which requires one to reflect on what that allusion might be.⁴⁴ This sort of self-reflexive allusion can become a literary device in itself, a sort of trope. So, an allusion to Callimachus in Ovid, as Barchiesi writes, can “point to a more general quality of literary allusion,” because of the “potential for self-reference” in “the process of alluding” to other texts.⁴⁵ In the process of alluding to predecessors, poetic texts discover a potential for self-reference. ...every allusive text makes also some broader reflexive statement: ‘I am poetry’... or

⁴² Harder 2010, p. 191.

⁴³ Harder 2010, p. 191.

⁴⁴ Following Conte and Hinds.

⁴⁵ Barchiesi 1993, p. 352.

‘I belong to a tradition.’”⁴⁶ The use of Homeric diction in Posidippus points to this same perspective on metaphorical allusion in his literary epigrams.⁴⁷

The experience of writing, reading or hearing the epigrams (especially from edited poetry books) is one that is interactive. The poetry comments on itself as part of the meta-poetic element of this aesthetic program. In fact, the mere existence of literary sepulchral epigrams can be seen as meta-poetic statement.⁴⁸ The sepulchral and dedicatory epigrams direct the reader’s attention in an open way (‘read this’). The small size of the epigrams allows a more intimate engagement with the reader and, because the poet is taking advantage of this situation, one can say that the *topoi* and Homeric allusions are not only serving a primary function in the thematic expression of the epigram, but this trope is, in effect, reversed and shifted to the reader. The meaning of the poem and the recognition of the allusion is a self-annotating experience. The trope of the repeated allusion/*topos* combination is to be viewed as one way to direct the reader and draw him or her in (that didactic tone of so many epigrams). As Hinds writes, “in practice,” the meaning of each poem is “reconstructed by the reader at the point of reception.”⁴⁹ Conte and Edmunds refer to the “integrative” and “reflective” relations between the target text and the actual source of that quotation, sometimes a shift of form and function.⁵⁰

I do not try to fit Posidippus into any one theoretical approach; I want to bring his poetry into the discussions that have been so rich in critical analysis of his successors. I also do not see

⁴⁶ Barchiesi 1993, p. 352.

⁴⁷ Zanker 2007, p. 235, who adds that there are also common types of characters, as in Theophrastus.

⁴⁸ cf. Day “Interactive Offerings: Early Greek Dedicatory Epigrams and Ritual,” on ritual language from the earliest dedicatory inscriptions in poetry, and also, p. 42, on the “ways epigrams for victorious athletes adapt the form of the herald’s proclamation of the games.” Also see Barbantani, S. “Hellenistic Epinician,” p.41, on the ‘announcement’ *topos*, “e.g. at Posidippus 71.3 AB we find the verb used as a technical term for the herald’s announcement, ἀνακηρύσσω.”

⁴⁹ Hinds, p. 10; Barchiesi 1993, p.142: “Intertextuality is an event, not an object. It is not a thing, a fixed given to be analyzed, but a relation in motion, even a dynamic destabilization.”

⁵⁰ Edmunds, p. 138.

him “trapped in the language” of Homer, as Prauscello writes of Theocritus, rather the play with words seems to be more connected to the sympotic *skolion* and the sort of capping of competitively driven poetry that D. Collins writes about in his 2004 book *Masters of the Game: Competition and Performance in Greek Poetry*.⁵¹ Collins describes the Classical-era symposia *skolion* game as an event that “furnished a specific playing field for the guests to detect whatever hidden intentions lay in their neighboring symposiasts.”⁵² There seems to be a “specific playing field” for Hellenistic epigrammatists as well.

No Greek poet who composes hexameters can avoid Homer, but for Posidippus these can be pointed references to epic and to the common point of reference in other the work of other epigrammatists. Just as Hinds, Thomas, Williams, and other have shown the multivalent existence of allusion in Catullus, Vergil, Ovid, and Martial, so *their* models in the 3rd century cultivated this literary showmanship. Homer’s epic poetry was so pervasively well-known and so intensely studied at the time of Posidippus, that one can expect his audience to recognize a Homeric allusion. Therefore, one can consider his epigrams in light of Intertextuality, the critical term defined from the 1960’s onward by French literary theorists, for whom the intertextual existence of the text *is* the text; or the Reader-Response theorists who argue for the relevance of the reader in the meaning of a text.⁵³ The idea is to use terms that are useful from those treatises. Scholars been updating and adapting the underlying literary approach to intertextual interpretation in studies of Latin Literature, including ties to Hellenistic Greek poetry. The

⁵¹ Prauscello, p.90; Collins 2004, though not so much the “provocation through mockery,” that he says “informed the general atmosphere of symposia...”

⁵² Collins, p.96.

⁵³ There are many definitions of Intertextuality, those of Bahtkine, Kristeva, Barthes, Genette, are nicely laid out under the heading “Une Notion Instable,” in Samoyault, Culler, Schmitz and Edmunds. Derrida 1967, *L’écriture et la différence* explores the ways the difference between texts defines and redefines those texts in an unavoidable and essential intertextual experience.

extension of philological analysis to the theoretical considers only those points that help clarify the role of Homeric diction in the expression of theme and *topoi* in the epigrams.⁵⁴ This self-awareness is also expressed through the use of allusion as a way to share a commonly recognizable canon of literature and, in so doing, to place these new epigrams of Macedonian Egypt into the history of Greek literature.

In Chapter One, I provide the historical and cultural context for the discussions of poetry in this dissertation. Beyond the literary references lies a ‘real world’ of change in Macedon and Egypt, where Posidippus wrote and flourished. In an overview of Homer during the Hellenistic period, I recount some of the strongest evidence for the close attention to the epic poems.

Homeric references come up in public inscriptions, in Homeric shrines, in educational texts, in the work of the first scholars at Alexandria and in other authors. I include in this section the *testimonia* for Posidippus’ whereabouts and some evidence for his scholarly interests during the early to mid 3rd century BCE. I end the chapter with a section on two references to Posidippus, one in Aristarchus (through the *scholia*) and one in Stephanus of Byzantium, that link his poetry to the study of Trojan heroes and geography. It seems that he shares the interests of the scholars and poets of his time and I will build on those common interests in the other chapters.

In Chapter Two, I place Posidippus firmly in the context of the poetry of the Hellenistic period. There are common *topoi*, motifs that appear throughout the history of Greek epigrams, and at times these images call for Homeric turns of phrase. I open up the discussion of allusion consider all aspects of this literary allusion: the structural and stylistic and the intertextual and meta-poetic. I discuss the ways the repeated combination of *topoi* and Homeric references

⁵⁴ cf. K. McCabe, “Was Juvenal a Structuralist,? A Look at Anachronisms in Literary Criticism,” *Greece and Rome*, 1986, pp.78-84.

become a metaphor for the reader's experience as much as the poet's. Both reader and poet must recognize levels of reference and make associations from a shared context and this event is a crucial characteristic in epigram.

In Chapter Two, I focus on several subgenres of epigram: sympotic, didactic, amatory and sepulchral. I consider the *topoi* that appear in the poems where Homeric diction is incorporated. These *topoi* sometimes overlap with the thematic designations both within the Posidippean corpus and in other poets. I conclude this chapter by considering the common points of reference and the typologies of epigram that appear in Posidippus and how he compares with his nearest contemporaries, especially Asclepiades, Hedylus, Callimachus, Theocritus, and Leonidas of Tarentum. Posidippus stands out for the range of Homeric references and allusions in his poems.

In Chapter Three, I analyze the innovative epigrams in the λιθικά, the first section of the Milan papyrus. One of the first exciting things about the Milan papyrus were the titles of supplied for different sections of the poetry, nine in all, and there may have been more. Some of these thematic headings are familiar (ἐπιτύμβια, ναυαγικά, ἀναθηματικά, ἵππικά), but others are new to us (λιθικά, οἰώνοσκοπικά, τρόποι). The papyrus rolls ends in a unfortunately fragmented section, the τρόποι, where a sense of literary awareness can be glimpsed, (as in AB 104, discussed in Chapter One), but the first section, the λιθικά is relatively well-preserved.

Even with these new categories, certain epigrammatic *topoi* and themes reappear and remind us of the ways one epigram can fit under several headings. The use of Homeric diction is particularly striking and innovative. The theme of lapidary appreciation overlaps with the *topos* of describing marvelous gemstones and the poet seems to demand that the reader equate the

skills of writer and engraver. By extension, the intimate world of luxurious gift-giving is equated with the exchange of poetry books and, perhaps, the exchange of literary allusions.

The different combinations of *topoi* within the thematic whole of the sections are often quite complex. For example, If we read AB 7 where the gem is from some massive mountain river, we experience the poem; if we have the information to think of Hector as the rock turned into a gift and that gift as a beautiful work of art, then several *topoi* can be perceived as forming this thematic narrative; furthermore, if we have read Theocritus, again a new layer from the Castor and Pollux story, their confrontation with Amycus increases the the interest in the poem's artistry; and, finally (chronology notwithstanding), if one has read Apollonius's *Argonautica* where uses the same terminology is used yet another layer emerges. Theophrastus's work on stones is another source and these sorts of connections are abundant in AB 1-20.

From the first readings of these epigrams, scholars recognized that there is probably more to the organization of epigrams in the sections of P. Mil. Vogl. VIII 309 than the common topics of stones, omens, statues, horses, etc. As Lavigne and Romano explain, the titles on the Milan roll are not just interesting for their thematic headings, but these designations “play a central role in the interpretation of individual sections.”⁵⁵ Posidippus' innovation is evident in the abundant layers of technical and linguistic meaning, including allusion to Homer.

The same theoretical points about the literary awareness of Posidippus that I discuss in Chapter Two and Three apply to the οἰωνοσκοπικά, the second section of the Milan papyrus. In Chapter Four, I discuss further how the reading of epigrams is an interactive experience and how the expectations of typologies and themes figure into these poems on portents. A metapoetic use of allusion and a variety of *topoi* fill AB 21-35. These epigrams connect on levels that are at

⁵⁵ Lavigne and Romano, p. 14.

times reinforced by Homeric parallels and also by common points of interest among Hellenistic poets. Organization of this section is reinforced in part by the common Homeric allusion in the poems.

What this study of Homeric diction reveals is that Posidippus' choice of *topoi* and themes are distinguished by the way he incorporates Homeric references and thematic allusion. Other poets share his *topoi* and his themes and sometimes even his Homeric echoes, but these three elements rarely match the combinations in Posidippus. The same *topos* or the same Homeric reference point appear in different thematic contexts in different authors. The combinations are what differentiate Posidippus' stylistic tendencies with other Hellenistic epigrammatists.

Chapter One: Homer in the Hellenistic period

A Hellenistic marble votive relief from circa 150 BCE by Archelaus of Priene, now preserved in the British Museum depicts Homer, “being crowned by the World and Time during a ceremony in the Museum at Alexandria.”⁵⁶ Also in this elaborate scene, which Green includes in a discussion of “Middle-Period Hellenistic Art, 270-150,” three more levels portray Mnemosyne, the nine Muses, Apollo, and on the top, Zeus reclining. Significantly, the image of Time “has the features of Ptolemy IV, and the World those of this sister-wife Arsinoe III.”⁵⁷ Even though the relief dates later, Green explains, “the implication is clear: it took the Homereion, and, thus, Philopator, to give Homer true immortality.”⁵⁸

It was during the time of the first Ptolemies, under whose rule Posidippus lived and flourished, that the Homeric texts from the cities of the Greek-speaking world were gathered and collated. Of this turbulent historical period, Gutzwiller writes, “By the end of the first quarter of the third century, three of Alexander’s commanders had proved successful in establishing for their heirs kingdoms with permanent geographical centers and stable administrations: Antigonids in Macedonia and parts of Greece, the Seleucids in Asia, and the Ptolemies in Egypt.”⁵⁹ Ptolemy I Soter, son of Lagus, was, by 320 BCE, “the first king in Alexander’s city, Alexandria,” and

⁵⁶ Green, p. 357, fig. 127.

⁵⁷ Green, p. 358.

⁵⁸ Green, p. 358, who also writes on p.355, “All the porticoes, poets, and patronage in the world,” could never equal Athens in the 5th century, “Yet the nostalgia, the editing, the retrospective scholarship went on unabated.”

⁵⁹ Gutzwiller 2007, p. 3.

responsible for a new cultural and political program.⁶⁰ Ptolemy was a Macedonian general who had been close to Alexander and who seems to have been educated. Pfeiffer writes that Ptolemy I, “turning historian in the later years of his reign ... was to give the most reliable account of Alexander’s deeds.”⁶¹ As a Macedonian and *somatophylax* of Alexander, Ptolemy would have known of “Alexander’s fascination with the works of Homer,” and his claim of descent from Achilles.⁶² Continuing the tradition of reverence for Homer for the next one hundred years were Ptolemy I’s successors: Ptolemy II Philadelphus, Ptolemy III Euegetes, and Ptolemy IV Philopator who “actually founded a Homereion, a shrine honoring Homer.”⁶³

How are we sure that Posidippus lived during this period? First, there are many indications in the epigrams themselves. He does, in fact, name political figures, but the historical reality behind some of these named figures is disputed.⁶⁴ Cultural references include mention of the poets Antimachus and Mimnermus (AB 140) and the philosophers Zeno (AB 100, 123), Cleanthes (AB 123) and Menedemus (AB 104). Known sculptors are also praised for their craftsmanship, such as Alexander the Great’s favorite, Lysippus (AB 62, 65, 70, 142 (= 19 GP = AP XVI 275); Myron (AB 66, 68, 69); and, from the same period, the engraver and craftsman Chronios (AB 2, 6, 7).⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Pfeiffer 1968, p. 96.

⁶¹ Pfeiffer 1968, p. 96.

⁶² Alcock, p. 26.

⁶³ Green, p. 358.

⁶⁴ D. Thompson (in Gutzwiller 2005, pp. 269ff.) interprets the references in AB 78-82 are to the equestrian victories of Berenike, daughter of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe I, in Olympia in 248 BCE and in Nemea, 247 or 249 BCE. D. Clayman (ZPE 182, 2012) convincingly argues against this assumption. Other named figures: Alexander (AB 31, 35, 65, 70); Arsinoe I (AB 38, 39); Arsinoe Philadelphus (AB 36, 37, 78, 113, 114, 116, 119); Berenike I (AB 78, 87, 88, 141); Berenike II (AB 78, 79, 82, although see Clayman on other possibilities); Ptolemy (or Ptolemaic and it is not entirely clear which Ptolemy, in AB 20, 63, 76, 78, 82, 88, 113); Ptolemy II’s *nauarch* Callicrates (AB 39, 74, 116, 119).

⁶⁵ See Powell, p. 456 on *Laterculi Alexandrini*, the 2nd c. BCE “Alexandrian lists” where Myron is listed under “Statue-makers” (ἀνδριαντοποιοί).

The *editio minor* provides the *testimonia* for the life of Posidippus in eight notes from inscriptions, *scholia*, or other written sources. The poet's name is written on a golden lamella from the 4th c. BCE found in Pella (Φερσεφόνη | Ποσειδίππος μύστης | εὐσεβής, *to Persephone, Posidippus an initiate of the blessed [dedicated this]*).⁶⁶ This inscription is evidence of the family name in the home town of our poet and also connects Posidippus to the rites of the Eleusinian mysteries to which he refers in several poems. The suggestion has been made that this could be the grandfather of Posidippus, or another family member.⁶⁷

There is evidence that Posidippus was a proxenos for Macedonia in a dedicatory inscription from Delphi, c.276/5 or 273/2 BCE (*Fouilles de Delphes* III 3, 192) that links Posidippus and Asclepiades.⁶⁸ One of the most intriguing pieces of evidence is the appearance of Posidippus' name on a list of proxeny representatives in Thermum (IG IX 1(2) I, 17A) dating to c. 263/2 BCE.⁶⁹ An inscription from the island of Delos (IG XI 2 (Deli) 226 B 5) from circa 257 BCE names Posidippus, φιᾶλη τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλεως ἐπ' ἀρχιθεώρου Ποσειδίππου, *a cup of the city of Alexandrians from the head of the sacred embassy (θεωρία) Posidippus*.⁷⁰ Homolle writes that in addition to Posidippus, other names from this era are part of a collection of inscriptions on Delos including some from Rhodes and Cnidos.⁷¹ Among these are Straton,

⁶⁶ Translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

⁶⁷ AB, p. 19, who note Dickie and Rossi.

⁶⁸ Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν ... Ποσειδίππῳ ... Ἀσκληπιάδῃ ... αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐγόν[οις προ] | ξενίαν, *The Delphians ... gave to Posidippus ... to Asclepiades ... to them and their descendants as proxeny*. See Trypanis, p.68ff.; Fraser vol. 2, p. 796, note 45

⁶⁹ Fraser vol. 2, p. 796, note 44.

⁷⁰ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐγόνο[ις] το[ῖ]σδε ... Π[ο]σ[ε]ιδίππῳ τῶι ἐπιγραμματοποιῶι Πελλαίῳ | ἐν γυροῦ Κ(λ)εοκράτης Ἡρακλεώτας; φιᾶλη may be in AB 3 and only appears in Homer in *Il.* 23.

⁷¹ Homolle, p. 69.

tutor of Ptolemy Philadelphus from 288-270; and Pasicrates of Rhodes who was the brother of Eudemus, the associate of Aristotle.⁷²

Posidippus is named in the proem to the *Anthology* of Meleager, 1 GP = AP IV 1, ἐν δὲ Ποσειδίππὸν τε καὶ Ἡδύλον ἄγρι' ἀρούρης / Σικελίδεώ τ' ἀνέμοις ἄνθεα φυόμενα *and wild flowers from the field in Posidippus and Hedylus, anemones for Sicelides...* (4014-4015 Page). Meleager's amatory poems included selections from all of those epigrammatists and they stayed grouped together in parts of later collections, confirming their earlier date.⁷³ Also, fragment from Colophon (fr. 6, 1 Powell), addresses Posidippus and, lastly, a statue of a poet in the Vatican museum (inv. 735) has an inscription: ΠΟΣΕΙΔΙΠΠΟΣ. Although his exact dates are still under dispute, the evidence, in my view, allows us to place Posidippus squarely in the 3rd century BCE, flourishing under Ptolemy II Philadelphus.

Early in his reign, before 300 BCE, Ptolemy I welcomed Demetrius of Phaleron to Alexandria. Demetrius was “one of Theophrastus’ prominent pupils...a Peripatetic of the most varied erudition,” Pfeiffer writes, and he “belonged after 297 B.E. to the entourage of the king...and must have been a sort of link between Athens and Alexandria.”⁷⁴ At this same time, Ptolemy “brought together the Museum” (Πτολεμαῖος ὁ πρῶτος συναγαγὼν τὸ μουσεῖον).⁷⁵ The Mouseion, or house to the Muses, is said to have been ordered in a way consistent with the

⁷² Homolle, p. 69.

⁷³ See Cameron *Greek Anthology* and Gutzwiller *Poetic Garlands*. A later source, the Florentine *Scholia* (1st or 2nd century CE), includes the famous mention of Posidippus among the “*Telchines*” of Callimachus’ *Aetia*, I. 1, 1 (Τελχίνες) κ(αί) Ἀσκλη|πιάδη τῶι Σικε|λίδηι κ(αί) Ποσειδίππωι τῶι ονο).

⁷⁴ Green, p. 29. The circumstances under which Demetrius left Athens are not entirely clear, but, as Green recounts, “Antigonos sent Demetrius to free Athens from Cassander, which he did (307). Soon after, Cassander “cut off Athenian imports of Macedonian lumber...” Afterwards (with the Athenians favoring Cassander again for getting them some Syrian lumber “probably Cypriot pine,”), “The puppet dictator Demetrius of Phaleron went into exile, and a democratic government (but one under Antigonos’ control was set up).” Antigonos and Ptolemy were still fighting for control of the Mediterranean. A literary take by Alexis, quoted by Athenaeus 13.610e, “So this is the Academy, and this Xenocrates? / May the gods grant many blessings to Demetrius...” is quoted by Green, p. 49.

⁷⁵ Pfeiffer 1968, p. 96.

ideas of the Peripatetics.⁷⁶ Pfeiffer says it was called “a σύνοδος, (Strab. xvii 794), an ‘assembly,’” with “religious characteristics,” most notably “that its head was a priest nominated by the king, ἱερεὺς τοῦ Μουσείου.”⁷⁷ Fraser points out that there is a history of philosophical schools associated with the Muses and he writes of the Mouseion and Library at Alexandria “The personal interest of Aristotle and his successors in the natural sciences certainly led to a predominance of scientific over purely literary activities, but the original principle of the Mouseion remained unchanged, as the presence of an official with the title ‘Overseer of the Muses’ (ἐπιμελητῆς Μουσῶν) shows.”⁷⁸

It was Zenodotus, following Philetas of Cos, who Pfeiffer says “initiated Homeric studies on a grand scale and in a methodical way both as editor and lexicographer.”⁷⁹ The Suda records that Zenodotus was a pupil of Philetas, the famous “poet and scholar,” whom Posidippus names in an epigram on a sculpture, AB 63. Philetas was the tutor for the young Ptolemy II, son of Berenice I, “born in the spring of 308 B.C.E.”⁸⁰ He was also known for his epigrams and his glosses. Bing has shown that these lists were made up of variations on meanings of local words, “Mad departures from familiar speech—that might be an apt, if comically exaggerated, way of describing a central facet of Philetas” *Ataktoi Glossai*, which he translates “Disorderly Words or Unruly Tongues.” These glosses can be seen as both a literary and a political statement. As Bing points out, “At a time when there was growing pressure toward linguistic conformity through the

⁷⁶ Pfeiffer 1968, p. 99 adding that Wilamovitz (in “*Die hellenistische Dichtung* I 22”) “represented him as having ‘das universale Museion in Alexandria gestiftet’ and even as the first head of the library.”

⁷⁷ Pfeiffer 1968, p. 96.

⁷⁸ Fraser, p. 314 who adds that Theophrastus refers in his will to the Mouseion of Aristotle’s Lyceum.

⁷⁹ Pfeiffer 1968, p. 92.

⁸⁰ Pfeiffer 1968, p. 92, and notes 3-5.

spread of Koine Greek as the language of political administration...a sense arose that dialect was a precious marker of identity that might be lost, should be studied, needed preservation.”⁸¹

Lamberton, writing on the spread of Hellenism after the death of Alexander, analyzes the process of ‘securing the footing’ of the Homeric texts and explains that Homeric exegesis “probably had as one of its marginal effects the creation of the Hellenistic vulgate that forms the basis of all modern texts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Although the date of the formation of that vulgate is fairly clear from the disappearance of most of the ‘wild’ lines from papyri and citations after the second century BCE, the details of the process are elusive.”⁸² Stephanie West, while admitting that “the history of the Homeric text in antiquity is at many points obscure and controversial,” states that “the text was set on a relatively secure footing in the Hellenistic age.”⁸³ By the end of the 3rd century BCE a so-called ‘vulgate text’ of Homer had emerged, omitting lines that seemed to be extraneous or too repetitious and leaving many lines under dispute. By the 2nd century BCE, the 24-book divisions were the norm and Aristarchus continued a process of critical notes on texts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and responded to the scholars, most notably Philetas of Cos and Zenodotus.

In his discussion of Homeric allusion in public inscriptions, Bing examines the knowledge of Homer that could be assumed. What did a “a rudimentary level of literary schooling,” mean in the Hellenistic period?⁸⁴ We do know that Homer was the most popular author. As Bing, for one, explains, “papyri of Homer are ten times as numerous as those of the next most popular author, Euripides, with copies of the *Iliad* three times as frequent as those of

⁸¹ Bing 2009, p. 26, and he quotes Callimachus as an example of this attitude as well, as in “‘Acontius and Cydippe,’ Callimachus says: ‘Erudition is bad in one who can’t keep his tongue—his *gloss!*—in line.’”

⁸² Lamberton, pp. 43-44.

⁸³ S. West, p. 33.

⁸⁴ Bing 2009, p. 158.

the *Odyssey*.”⁸⁵ The first six books of the *Iliad* are far the more numerous than other literary works.⁸⁶ Cribiore asserts: “Ancient readers strongly preferred the *Iliad* over the *Odyssey* since Homer was indentified with the more tragic epic...”⁸⁷ In Posidippus, the tragic epic certainly is exploited in matters of love and death (see Chapter Two), which is typical, but he also extends his borrowings to other themes, such as rocks or omens (see Chapter Three and Four).

Sens explains that the Homericism is one part of the Hellenistic poets’ “persistent attention to and engagement with prior texts,” an attitude that is the “defining feature” of Hellenistic epigram.⁸⁸ Sens lays out some reasons for this: “because of the place of Homer in the school book canon...because of the philological work begun at the Alexandrian Museum and library...because they knew the archaic poets and classical poets as written documents,” and because they were interested in aetiologies, the “archeology” of poetic composition.⁸⁹

Throughout the Hellenistic period, there was “a reliance upon Homer’s universal appeal and his unquestionable authority,” and “a dependence upon his presentation of the heroic past and its lineages.”⁹⁰ Homeric language and Homeric references were known even to those who were not scholars because Homer was still recited as part of an education. His characters were archetypes, part of the common knowledge of any talk of faithful wives and servants or destructive war. Homer was everywhere and functioned as a distant model in hexameters for both aesthetic and political reasons. Alcock in a chapter entitled “The Heroic Past in a Hellenistic Present,” writes of the “Hellenistic political conditions,” under which “locally generated claims to territory and prestige were now not purely internal affairs...a shrine to Odysseus, a cult of

⁸⁵ Bing 2009, p. 158.

⁸⁶ Bing 2009, p. 158: “over half of the *Iliad* papyri.”

⁸⁷ Cribiore 2001, p. 195.

⁸⁸ Sens 2007, p. 373.

⁸⁹ Sens 2007, p. 376.

⁹⁰ Alcock, p. 32.

Agamemnon: these were names with which to conjure, with Homer (*the* poet) a solid bulwark in the background.”⁹¹ She adds that the “evocation of the heroic,” was a “pervasive element,” in all levels of discourse, from the Alexandrian Mouseion, to “small-scale shrines on the Greek mainland.”⁹² The attention was reverent at times, but Homer continued to be read critically.

It is significant that the beginning of Classical scholarship began in some form alongside the development of literary epigram and that the circulation of epigrams coincides with the beginning of Homeric exegesis in Alexandria. “In the mid-fourth century,” Bing writes, “Athenians began to be more ‘document-minded,’ as Rosalind Thomas calls it (1989:47), ‘a crop of epigrams starts appearing’ in the orators. ‘Why,’ asks Thomas, ‘were they not quoted before?...their citation must be seen against the increasing respect for written documents’ at this time.”⁹³ Greek literacy was a part of the life of the ruling powers, and the education involved Homer.⁹⁴

Rafaella Cribiore’s research into all aspects of ancient systems of education has proven that Homer continued to be part of school lessons through the Hellenistic period into the Roman and later Imperial period. She writes of the source of schoolbooks for the epic poems that, “since Homer was the subject of constant study at many levels, it is among Homeric papyri that books used in schools are most often found.”⁹⁵ The *Scholia minora* on Homer, “preserved in about a hundred papyri, some of which undoubtedly originated in the schoolroom,” Cribiore writes,

⁹¹ Alcock, p. 32.

⁹² Alcock, p. 32.

⁹³ Bing 2009, p. 134.

⁹⁴ This continues, the 4th century CE Greek sophistic rhetor Libanius notes, Cribiore adds, that “Homer, Hesiod, and the other poets’ were ‘on the reading list of the educated.’” (Cribiore 2001, p.197) Cribiore also states: “What made Greco-Roman Egypt a literature society, in spite of the fact that the mass of the population was illiterate, was that even people who did not have direct access to writing had to reckon with it in their daily lives...” (Cribiore 2001, p.163)

⁹⁵ Cribiore 2001, p. 141.

Wißmann writes that the “Ptolemy addressed is probably Ptolemy Philopator: εὐεργέται in 1.6 may very well be an allusion to Ptolemy Euergetes, and Philopator was well-known for his interest in literature and excellence in war.”¹⁰² She adds that “A connection has been drawn to Aelianus’ description of a temple Ptolemy had set up for Homer (VH 13.22).”¹⁰³ While the worship of Homer is common in the Hellenistic period, the fact that the two epigrams “are roughly contemporary to the time when the papyrus was written...is quite unusual...,” Wißmann points out.¹⁰⁴ The attention to Homer is a part of this framework for encouraging appreciation for Greek speaking culture.¹⁰⁵

I have already mentioned the relief of the apotheosis of Homer and the fact that there was a Homerion in Alexandria. Also famously depicting Homeric gods fighting the giants is the Pergamum altar (now reconstructed in Berlin) from circa 180-160 BCE. Greek hero cults have been recognized, too, and the search for the spot where Odysseus landed on Ithaca is still in the news.¹⁰⁶

Peter Bing, in a chapter entitled “Allusion from the Broad Well-Trodden Street: The *Odyssey* in Inscribed and Literary Epigram,” takes up the presence of Homeric diction in public inscriptions.¹⁰⁷ He begins with Nestor’s cup (*CEG* I 454) from the late eighth century BCE on which a verse inscription, “consisting of a somewhat flawed iambic line followed by two

¹⁰² Wißmann, p. 224.

¹⁰³ Wißmann, p. 224.

¹⁰⁴ Wißmann, p. 224; and she notes Fraser “interprets this combination within the framework of the early Ptolemies’ anxiousness ‘to encourage a fusion of Egyptian and Greek.’”

¹⁰⁵ It is fitting that one key to the dating of the Homeric poems themselves involves Egypt. S. West on the historical hints in the poems writes, “The composer of the *Iliad* appears to have heard of the revived greatness of Egyptian Thebes under the pious Nubian kings of Dyn. XXV 715-663,” and, she adds, “the reopening of Egypt to the Greeks at this period seems to be reflected in the *Odyssey*’s penchant for Egyptian adventures.” S. West, p. 33-34; Dynasty XXV, 790-760 BCE, was the reign of the Kushite Pharaoh Alara.

¹⁰⁶ Bittlestone, R. *Odysseus Unbound* and in Kristoff, N. “Odysseus Lies Here,” *New York Times*, 3/10/12. Maybe Ithaca was Paliki, off of Cephalonia.

¹⁰⁷ Bing 2009 p. 147-174.

dactylic hexameters,” recalls Homer.¹⁰⁸ The line “asserts that whoever drinks from this one will at once be seized by desire for fair-crowned Aphrodite.”¹⁰⁹ The line easily links to Nestor’s cup of *Il.* 11.631-36 and what “may well be the same cup that appears in this household and is offered to Athena” at *Od.* 3.51-53.¹¹⁰ The tradition that this Ischia cup represents continues into the Hellenistic period. Bing discusses the ways inscriptions “on public monuments of both the classical and Hellenistic eras characteristically appear less specific,” than this early example.

Consider, for example, a 2nd century BCE “marble epitaph from Cos,” whose text contains four verses in which “a cherished slave is compared with Homer’s famous swineherd Eumaios.”¹¹¹

GVI 1729 = GG 207

[π]ρὶν μὲν Ὀμήρειο[ι γρα]φίδες φιλ[οδέσπο]τον ἦθος
 Εὐμαίου χρυσέαις ἔκλαγον ἐν σελίσι·
 σεῦ δὲ καὶ εἰν Ἄϊδαο σαόφρονα μῆτιν αἰείσει
 Ἴναχ’, αἰέμνηστον γράμμα λαλεῦσα πέτρη....

*Homer’s pen once cried aloud the faithful nature
 of Eumaios in golden papyrus columns,
 and you, too, Inachos, even when you’re in Hades, the fluent stone,
 through its ever-remembering script, will sing your prudent
 counsel....*¹¹²

Bing writes that this Homeric echo is more a “reference rather than allusion, since there is nothing veiled...the epigram points explicitly to Homer and to his character Eumaios.”¹¹³ Bing adds the important point for a public inscription, “no direct knowledge of the *Odyssey* is actually

¹⁰⁸ Bing 2009 p. 151.

¹⁰⁹ Bing 2009, p.151.

¹¹⁰ Bing 2009, p. 152.

¹¹¹ Bing 2009 p. 157; cf. Fantuzzi and Hunter, p. 254 on Callimachus’s *Hecale*, where he also evokes the relationship between Odysseus and Eumaeus with “a slight modification of the two Homeric verses which conclude the conversation,” between master and swineherd, *Od.* 15.494-5.

¹¹² Bing 2009 p. 157.

¹¹³ Bing 2009 p. 157.

required to appreciate the reference,” because of the familiarity of this “cast of leading characters.”¹¹⁴ Eumaios is the archetype of a loyal slave.

An ostrakon from 2nd century BCE Thebes, “written in a ‘rapid’ hand” seems to preserve an epigram from the opening of an anthology. Wißmann writes that “this assumption is supported by a papyrus from the late first century BC (P. Freidburg 1.4) which contains remains of this epigram as the second of six epigrams preserved.”¹¹⁵ The other four epigrams are on other topics, which is a characteristic also of the arrangements in Posidippus’ Milan papyrus—that is, some connect to Homer, some not at all. “Still,” Wißmann writes, “two epigrams on Homer almost next to each other permit us to at least assume the possibility of a collection of poems on Homer which served as a model from which copies or excerpts were made.”¹¹⁶ Here is P.Freidburg 1.4

Ἄλλο.
μή πεύθου τίς Ὀμ[μη]ρος ἔφυ(γ) γένος· αἱ γὰρ ἅπασαι
εἶνεκ’ ἐμῆς δόξης φ[ασί] τεκεῖν με πόλεις·
ἄξιον αἰωνισμα . [.....]· ἔστι γὰρ ἡμῆ
πατρὶς Ὀδυσσεΐης [γράμμα καὶ] Ἰλιάδος.

*“Do not ask where I, Homer, come from. For all cities claim to have generated me, because of my fame. A worthy ? [...] For my fatherland is [the scripture] of Odyssee and Iliad.”*¹¹⁷

Compared with the public monuments that Bing discusses, these epigrams make use of Homeric diction in a similar way, if at times in a much more allusive manner. There are certainly subjects that call for Homer (Chapter Two’s topic), but in some cases a topic of interest, such as a *hapax legomenon* or a disputed line, can be a reason to use Homeric language. These lines are

¹¹⁴ Bing 2009, p. 158.

¹¹⁵ Wißmann, p. 221.

¹¹⁶ Wißmann, p. 221. She adds, “Together with the heading ἄλλο on the ostrakon, this seems even more likely.”

¹¹⁷ Wißmann p. 221, “Another ostrakon, written in the 2nd century CE, contains a poem about Homer’s fatherland (*O.Bodl.* II 2174 = SH 972 = 198 Cr.).”

not fixed, however. In AB 19, for example, Posidippus includes an address to Poseidon, names Polyphemus, and also includes obscure language from a Homeric simile. What makes a topic or language ‘obscure’? Criboire mentions that there were glossaries on Homeric vocabulary and that part of education involved parsing of words. It seems that scholars built on this sort of attention to Homeric diction in their own way in Alexandria. A look at the state of the Homeric text during the time of Posidippus may shed some light on his own source text.

The Homeric text in the Hellenistic Period

The Homer Posidippus knew is different in several ways from the modern editions. Both Homeric versions include the two great epics, but Hesiod was usually dated as older and Homer’s name was attached to other genres, even elegy.¹¹⁸ As Nagy writes: “In the era of Posidippus, Homeric poetry was thought to include a periphery of meanings and forms that later generations of Homeric scholars excluded as non-Homeric. The poetry of Posidippus, following a poetic vogue best exemplified by Callimachus, cultivated this Homeric periphery.”¹¹⁹

The process that led to the transmission of the Homeric poems began during the time of Posidippus. Evidence for 3rd century Homeric texts is found on papyri (the “Ptolemaic papyri,” and other fragments), some only recently published.¹²⁰ Haslam writes, “The papyri show us the transmissional process in action.”¹²¹ The appearance of these poems in the 3rd century BCE consisted of “merely a succession of letters, uninterrupted except by verse-termini,” and written in a succession of papyrus scrolls.¹²² As for the 24 alphabetically named books, Haslam writes,

¹¹⁸ There is an epigram in the *Greek Anthology* attributed to Homer (AP VII 153).

¹¹⁹ Nagy 2004, p. 57.

¹²⁰ Bird, p. 61 on the Ptolemaic papyri: “the first ... was published in 1891 and the most recent in 1984.”

¹²¹ Haslam, p. 55; p. 60, “Papyrus was the norm in Egypt well past the transition to parchment elsewhere.” Of the parchment codex, Haslam writes “we have extensive remains of one written around the turn of the 3rd century which contained the entire *Odyssey*, but even in late antiquity a Homer codex is still much more likely to be of papyrus.”

¹²² Haslam, p. 56.

“Some scholars link the system with the textual stabilization of the 2nd century, but it must be earlier.”¹²³ Taking a different view, Lamberton writes: “Like other pre-Hellenistic authors, Herodotus cites the *Iliad* by episode, not by book, and so lends support to the ancient observation that the division into books was first done ‘by the grammarians of the school of Aristarchus’ ([Plutarch] *De vit. Hom.* 4).”¹²⁴ Even after the 24 book division, the “scrolls of Homer might carry more than one book apiece; perhaps most of them did.”¹²⁵ For example, a 1st c. BCE scroll contains *Iliad* books 19-22 and a 4th c. papyrus codex, *Iliad* books 11-16.¹²⁶

The textual tradition for Homer begins in the 3rd century BCE and, somehow, by the 2nd century BCE, a common text existed. Haslam writes of the earliest that they “are characterized by their startling degree of difference from the text that prevailed later, sometimes known as the ‘vulgate.’”¹²⁷ He adds: “we cannot assume that the vulgate was already in existence.” However, the fact is that “over time, some variants dropped out, others came to the fore.”¹²⁸ As S. West writes, the texts were at least consistent enough early on to be quoted by Athenians, “There is no evidence that ... [there was] anything abnormal about these texts; ... Plato and Aeschines ... used very similar texts.”¹²⁹

Many of the online publications of the Center for Hellenic Studies are concerned with the transmission of the text. Bird has a chapter entitled “Ptolemaic papyri of the *Iliad*: Evidence of Eccentricity or Multitextuality?” where he takes up the fact that “all *Iliad* papyri which date

¹²³ Haslam p. 58; Haslam makes this insightful point: “The symbolism seems distinctly unalexandrian. In some texts a book line-count is given in attic stichometry: that must be prealexandrian.”

¹²⁴ Lamberton, p. 39.

¹²⁵ Lamberton, p. 39.

¹²⁶ Lamberton, p. 39, (*Il.* P60, M-P 870).

¹²⁷ Haslam p. 63.

¹²⁸ Haslam p. 63.

¹²⁹ S. West 1967, p. 11 (quoted by Bird, p. 72).

before 150 CE have ‘eccentricities’ of some sort—unusual variants and/or ‘plus verses.’”¹³⁰ Many have discussed what makes these texts “wild.” Haslam notes the fact that “Only rarely do we have the same part of the Homeric text extant in more than one of these manuscripts, and when we do, there can be a surprising amount of agreement.”¹³¹ For example, a comparison of a 3rd century and a 2nd century text reveals “in both manuscripts two separate verses unknown to the later tradition (12.189b and 190a) as well as a version of 192 quite different from the vulgate’s.”¹³² In 1890, when “the first Homeric papyrus dating to the Ptolemaic period (P8, containing *Iliad* XI 502–537) was discovered by W. M. Flinders Petrie in Gurob in Egypt and published in 1891 by J. P. Mahaffy, it was found to contain a surprisingly different version of the text: four lines not in the ‘vulgate’ (labeled according to current convention as 504a, 509a, 513a, and 514a), one ‘missing’ line (either 529 or 530), and some significant variation within two existing lines (515 and 520).”¹³³ To Bird, what may be seen as interpolation is actually a piece of the multi-text—so, he confirms that there never was a definitive Homer until well after Posidippus’ time. He writes that these ‘wild’ verses “tend to fit ‘organically,” in that “the surrounding context frequently gives the appearance of having been ‘modified’ to allow them to fit better.”¹³⁴

On the other hand, there had to be some basic consensus early on about the poems. Dué (2001) points out, as Bird notes, “that the text of Aeschines’ *Against Timarchus*—which contains an extended Homeric quotation differing from the ‘vulgate’ text—is supported by P12, a

¹³⁰ Bird, p. 61.

¹³¹ Haslam, p. 64.

¹³² Haslam, p. 64; Haslam p. 59: “A 1st cent. book-by-book list of library holdings apparently lacks *Od.* 7 and records duplicates of *Od.* 3–4 (P.J. Sijpesteijn and K.A. Worp, *Chronique d’Égypte* 98 (1974) 324–31).”

¹³³ Bird, p. 61, who adds “S. West notes that the variation in line 515 is directly related to the ‘insertion’ of the previous line, 514a.”

¹³⁴ Bird, p. 61.

Ptolemaic papyrus which covers some of the same lines.”¹³⁵ Haslam, on this question of which text was ‘standard,’ and the discrepancies between the so-called ‘vulgate’ or ‘koine’ texts: “It is rather the Ptolemaic papyri that we may see as specimens of the ‘common’ text(s).”¹³⁶ He adds, “our small numbers of Homeric papyri, when used with proper precautions (to be discussed below), are invaluable for the light they shed on the text of Homer at this period and, I hope to argue, at earlier times as well.”¹³⁷ There are also, as in many of Cribiore’s examples, texts that are evidence of the Homeric poems that are not actually contributions to the “Homeric papyri,” for example, P.Oxy. LXV 4451 which is from a 1st century BCE commentary on the first book of the *Iliad*. This Homeric source is a “good example of a papyrus containing Homer without actually being a Homer papyrus.”¹³⁸ Perhaps the references in the poets can also be considered for evidence of Homer in the Ptolemaic period, and that is one reason to focus on this aspect of the period, aside from the more immediate link to words of scholarly or common interest.

Haslam notes that “Another body of information about the text in the 3rd century BC is the Alexandrian scholarly tradition, as preserved in remnants of ancient commentaries and marginalia and in the *scholia*.”¹³⁹ No matter the disagreements with the worth of the ancient *scholia* notes, there were “Individual pre-alexandrian scholarly editions,” which include that of Antimachus and a “Pergamene (Crates). Just what these were is far from clear.”¹⁴⁰ In my analyses, I note any scholiastic comment on the words of note in Posidippus and at times there seems to be some awareness of the words of interest to other Hellenistic poets. At the end of this

¹³⁵ Bird, p. 71, note 41.

¹³⁶ Haslam p. 71.

¹³⁷ Bird, p. 69-70.

¹³⁸ M. Perale, Ancientlives.org blog 2011.

¹³⁹ Haslam, p. 69.

¹⁴⁰ Haslam, p. 70.

chapter, I use the mention of Posidippus in the *scholia* as a starting point for detailed notes on the Homericism, an essential aspect of this poetic style.

Homer and other Hellenistic poets

In Alexandria, Homer's poems continued to be a major part of any educated Greek speaker. Fantuzzi and Hunter write of Homeric language as a model for the major Hellenistic poets, Callimachus, Apollonius Rhodius and Theocritus, "for all the differences in their poetry and poetics," they, "confront and explore Homeric formularity; for them, formularity is not an unfortunate necessity inherent in hexametric poetry, but rather a new allusive opportunity in comparison with other, non-formulaic, genres."¹⁴¹ They add, "The novelty of their approach should not be underestimated, nor itself considered an inevitable product of an increasingly book-based culture."¹⁴² Bing notes that there is only one instance of writing in Homer (*Il.* 6.168-9) and Homer "may himself have been illiterate as was the world he portrayed."¹⁴³ The source of so many motifs and themes in epigram have their roots in Homer, but the contrast could not be more striking between the earlier and later poetry.

Pfeiffer writes that an earlier poet, Antimachus of Colophon who lived in the 4th and 5th centuries BCE, is "a sort of link between earlier and Hellenistic literature," and this poet is also connected with scholarship. Pfeiffer writes that Antimachus is "the only pre-Hellenistic author of an 'edition' of Homer of which we can be certain, as it is frequently referred to in our *Scholia*."¹⁴⁴ Lamberton writes that this poet "did textual work on Homer ... anticipating the

¹⁴¹ Fantuzzi and Hunter, p. 248.

¹⁴² Fantuzzi and Hunter, p. 248; BG, p. 21, "La lingua degli epigrammi è, di base, la normale koiné epica dell'ellenismo: lingua omerica ampliata dall successive tradizione rapsodica e arricchita di ionismi, con occasionali ammissioni attiche."

¹⁴³ Bing 1988, p. 11.

¹⁴⁴ Pfeiffer 1968, p. 94.

third-century scholar-poets of the Alexandrian library.”¹⁴⁵ Posidippus openly acknowledges his appreciation for Antimachus in AB 140 (9 GP, 1594-1601 = AB XII 168) with a toast to his poem *Lyde* (and toasts to other literary sources, too, including Homer). Pfeiffer adds, “Following the early Ionian tradition, Antimachus wrote on Homer’s life, and regarded him quite naturally as a Colophonian.”¹⁴⁶ Further, “His intensive study of Homeric language is shown by the many glosses with which he adorned his own verses.”¹⁴⁷ After Antimachus, Philetas of Cos and Callimachus are also associated with the scholarship in Alexandria.

Of the study of Homer in Alexandria, Lamberton asserts that the relationship with Homer was part of a tradition, “for all the damning critique, the dialogues of Plato are so permeated with Homeric material that within two centuries of this death an Alexandrian scholar named Ammonius wrote on *Plato’s Debt to Homer...*” He adds, “The philosophical polemic against Homer faded from significance in Plato’s own generation and there is little trace of it in Aristotle, though Homer as forerunner of philosophical doctrines is very much a part of Aristotle’s intellectual world.” This innate acknowledgement of Homer was not necessarily new. For example, Lamberton mentions Sophocles’ *Ajax* and Pindar *Nemean* ode 7.20-30, commenting, “In Sophocles’ play as in Pindar’s ode, the confrontation of military and athletic prowess on the one hand (Ajax) and the manipulative skills of language and intellect on the other (Odysseus) is central.”¹⁴⁸ Pindar’s poetry, like that of Sappho, Aeschylus and others, “sets out not so much to correct the Homeric account as to absorb and supersede it.”¹⁴⁹ In the sympotic,

¹⁴⁵ Lamberton, p. 48.

¹⁴⁶ Pfeiffer 1968, p. 94.

¹⁴⁷ Pfeiffer 1968, p. 94.

¹⁴⁸ Lamberton, p. 40.

¹⁴⁹ Lamberton, p. 40.

amatory and sepulchral epigrams especially (discussed in Chapter Two), Posidippus continues the comparison of the reasoned or martial approach.

As an example of Homer in other epigrams, one has only to look at the erudition shown by inclusion of Homeric rarities, a Hellenistic favorite. Giangrande comments on this Hellenistic fashion, “Every Hellenistic poet, I need hardly recall it, is *rariora captans et singularia ad analogiam fingere solitus*,” accustomed to taking rare words and applying them in new forms.¹⁵⁰

Sens writes of Asclepiades that he included many rare Homeric words, *hapax legomena*, and creates new words based on Homeric models. Sens writes of his technique, “If Asclepiades generally avoids stereotyped markers of epic dialect and morphology, however, his diction nonetheless shows in certain respects a close engagement with the text of Homer and even perhaps with some contemporary scholarly controversy concerning its constitution.”¹⁵¹

Posidippus and Asclepiades share some themes and examples of Homeric diction and are doubly ascribed to several epigrams, but they differ at times in their choice of topos, imagery and diction. Posidippus mixes his rarities with some more overt Homeric references, but they are both adept at avoiding what Sens calls, “triviality,” in the quotation of Homer. “Even in direct borrowings from Homer,” Sens writes about Asclepiades, “certain obvious epic features are eliminated,” as in, for example, “the more extended adaptation of the Homeric κῆρ ἄχει μεγάλῳ βεβολημένος (*Od.* 10.247),” which appears in Asclepiades in a new way in 29.3 GP (= 1103 Page), θυμὸν ἄχει μεγάλῳ βεβολημένα.¹⁵²

Lloyd-Jones is particularly struck by the all-too-obvious Homeric diction in a certain undated fragment and he points out the crucial sign of later authorship: “the author does not

¹⁵⁰ Giangrande 1967, p. 41.

¹⁵¹ Sens 2002, p. 205.

¹⁵² Sens 2002, p. 203.

always avoid the reproduction or slight adaptation of Homeric expressions.¹⁵³ As Giangrande also recognized, the Alexandrian poets preferred to reverse or otherwise alter the Homeric phraseology, “If Homer says ἐς ἥλιον καταδύντα (formula), Apollonius will say (Arg. I. 25) ἐς ἥλιον ἀνιόντα...”¹⁵⁴ The same holds true for Posidippus who, for one example, turns ποταμὸς χειμάρροος from *Il.* 13. 138 to the reverse, χειμάρρους ... ποταμὸς in AB 7.2. The reversal in Posidippus is combined in that poem with allusion to the simile in that Homeric passage, of Hector raging on like a rock rolling down from a mountain river. Posidippus does not use a simile; instead, he alludes to Homer’s and signals this in the reversal of his language, thereby adapting and including his poem in a literary tradition. The poet’s awareness of such allusive technique is the focus of Chapter Two and I discuss AB 7 more fully in Chapter Three, but AB 7 is one example of the way Posidippus fits in so well with other Hellenistic epigrammatists.

Callimachus is the model Hellenistic poet to compare, the one whom West points to as “the peak of refinement.”¹⁵⁵ The epigrams from the *Greek Anthology* and the many fragments that we have of Callimachus reveal him to be the most erudite of all Hellenistic poets.¹⁵⁶

Posidippus, as we know him now, does not apply the range of meters that Callimachus does, but he shares with him many innovative themes and topics. For example, Posidippus and Callimachus both seem “to be echoing the thought of the opening lines of Theocritus’ eleventh *Idyll*, the *Cyclops*,” in their new takes on the story of Polyphemus which involve scientific

¹⁵³ Lloyd-Jones 1990, p. 209. He adds, “Callimachus would not have used ἀναιδέα λάαν (l. 4) or σὺν ἀργιόδοντα (l.14), nor would he have written τὸ γὰρ φίλον ἔπλετο κούρηι (l. 16), which so closely resembles the Homeric τὸ γὰρ φίλον ἔπλετο θημῶι.”

¹⁵⁴ Giangrande 1963, p. 11.

¹⁵⁵ West 1982, p. 153.

¹⁵⁶ Parsons 2001, p.100 of Callimachus’s epigrams: “Meleager chose 55 for his *Garland*, the *Anthologia Palatina* has added two more via Diogenes Laertius (1-2), and four more from a collection of poems in odd metres (37-40); Athenaeus and Strabo contribute one each (5-6). Then further fragments (fr. 393-402) quote or refer to Callimachus ἐν ἐπιγράμμασιν or the like. Scholars have added other fragments with more or less likelihood (479, 516, 554, 621, 635, 715; inc. auct. 761, 782).”

preoccupations as well (Callimachus ep. 46 Pf. = AP XII 150 (and *Aetia*); Posidippus AB 19.¹⁵⁷

They also engage with the Homeric tradition through overt references and thematic allusion.

Fowler writes of a fragment of Callimachus' *Hecale*, that the imagery of the south wind clearing the sky recalls a Homeric simile (e.g. *Il.* 2.408, 800; 6.146, 147; 21.464). At the same time, the poem has “a vocabulary all its own and which may well be taken directly from nature rather than from literature.”¹⁵⁸ Posidippus shares this technique of Homeric reference amid contemporary diction.

In his epigrams, Callimachus, like Posidippus, applies that “formulariness” that Hunter and Fantuzzi discuss. For example, a dedication to Artemis ep. Pf. 33 (= 21 GP = 1254-1255 Page = AP 6.347) is a brief epigram that “displays,” as Gutzwiller explains, “an archaic elegance that helps Callimachus avoid any charge of excessive artificiality in style.” Callimachus combines the “prototype for the epigram formula” for dedications with archaic diction:

Callimachus Pf. ep. 33 (= 21 GP = 1254-1255 Page = AP VI 347)

Ἄρτεμι, τὴν τόνδ' ἄγαλμα Φιληρατὶς εἴσατο τῆδε·
ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν δέξαι, πότνια, τὴν δὲ σάου.

*For you, Artemis, Phileratis set up here this statue.
You, mistress, accept it and protect her.*

Gutzwiller translates ἄγαλμα ‘statue,’ but this word also appears in Homer (and Posidippus) for a precious gift to the gods. In later chapters, I will return to Callimachus and the evidence that he is aware of and makes use of various literary conventions in his poetry, including the epic language of Homer.

Theocritus, generally agreed to have preceded Posidippus and Callimachus, is also recognized for his treatment of Homeric themes and topics. In his *Idylls*, he creates new versions

¹⁵⁷ Fraser, p. 590 describing Callimachus.

¹⁵⁸ Fowler 1989, p. 24.

of Homeric and Hesiodic tales, such as that of Polyphemus in *Id.* 11, or Heracles in *Id.* 24.

Sometimes the epic world was invoked in a somewhat political way, as in *Id.* 17 where Ptolemy is equal to “heroes and divinities,” or *Id.* 18, a poem where, Gutzwiller writes, Theocritus provides “a mythical model for a Ptolemaic marriage, likely that of Arsinoe II and Philadelphus,” in his “Epithalmium for Helen.”¹⁵⁹

Krevans, writing about “Geography and the Literary Tradition in Theocritus 7,” an *Idyll* that depicts a discussion between two poets, states that this poet’s awareness of the Greek literary past is so extensive and pervades his poetry on so many levels, that he “is able to claim all sources at once.”¹⁶⁰ She adds “Theocritus refuses to resolve the debate...over the proper models for poetry, and he reinforces the insistence on diversity of models through a series of geographical allusion which are actually literary allusions to a wide range of source.”¹⁶¹ Homer is just one of many important models for Theocritus.¹⁶²

Apollonius of Rhodes’ *Argonautica* is an epic in only four books. Although it is an epic poem, it is insistently new in its choice of scenes, treatment of the gods and transformation of epic language. Rengakos lays out the uses of Homeric diction in Apollonius, and his research has shown how extensively Apollonius had studied his Homeric rarities.¹⁶³ Lamberton even states that the *Argonautica* is “not a Homeric poem, despite obvious formal similarities and its pervasive, complex dialogue with Homeric language. Apollonius uses Homer to achieve a

¹⁵⁹ Gutzwiller 2007, p. 190.

¹⁶⁰ Krevans 1983, p. 220.

¹⁶¹ Krevans 1983, p. 220.

¹⁶² Other language derives from other predecessors or technical and literary works of his time: deictic and sympotic epigram, epigraphic dedications; perhaps even comedy (cf. “Comedy and Comic Poets in Greek Epigram,” J. Raines; Callimachus, e.g. has an epigram “on the comic mask of Pamphilus,” (AP VI 311), Raines, p. 85.

¹⁶³ Rengakos 1994, who, in Chapter 2, “Homerische Wörter in den Argonautika,” provides an alphabetical and annotated list of all words of etymological interest. Some of these appear in Posidippus as well and are noted in discussions of individual poems.

different epic. Lamberton gives the example of Apollonius' description in of the dragon guarding the golden fleece. The scene in Book 4 is an echo, he writes, "of Andromache's description of the sleeping Astyanax in her lament for Hector (*Il.* 22.502) and a conspicuous juxtaposition of vocabulary that is elegantly Homeric (ἀγκαλίδεσσι, 137) and elegantly unHomeric (ἀποκιδνάμενος, 133)."¹⁶⁴ Here again, the Homeric and the contemporary Alexandrian aesthetic mix on the page: "The rapid shift of scale from the vast to the intimate is very Homeric." In Posidippus, this contrast of massive size and strength and gem-sized craftsmanship is related and is the focus of the λιθικά of the Milan papyrus. Even if Apollonius of Rhodes and Posidippus are famous for different genres of poetry, and chronological uncertainties notwithstanding, they are both playing with the Homeric texts as a structural tool in the rhythm of their poems and as a way to deepen the literary context of their poems' narratives, perhaps also as a note of scholarly interest for a certain audience.

Lamberton writes that Hellenistic poets wear their Homeric persona as a mask as Callimachus wore that of Hesiod, and that they are "performing in a mode quite self-consciously divorced from Homeric esthetics."¹⁶⁵ He writes, "The voice of Callimachus remains his own," K. Seaman, in a chapter called "Personification of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in Hellenistic and Roman art," writes that the image of art and sculpture becomes a "metaphorical image," in the literature of the Hellenistic period. The poet's view of a literary model, can "address the invisible relationship between author and audience—in this case the reception of Homer by later authors." At times, the text itself is personified, as in this anonymous epigram, AP IX 522,

Anon. AP IX 522

Ἰλιάς, ὦ μέγα ἔργον, Ὀδυσσεΐς τε τὸ σῶφρον

¹⁶⁴ Lamberton, "Homer in Antiquity," p. 49; ἀποκιδνάμενος is unique to this line of Apollonius, *Argonautika* 4.13.

¹⁶⁵ Lamberton, p. 48.

γράμμα, τὸ καὶ Τροίη θῆκεν ἴσῃν Ἰθάκην,
τόν με γέροντ' αὔξοιτ' ἐς αἰὲν νέον· ἢ γὰρ Ὀμήρου
σειρήν ὑμετέρων ρεῖται ἀπὸ στομάτων.

*Iliad, oh great work, and the wise book of the Odyssey
which set Ithaca equal even to Troy,
may you strengthen me, being old, into being forever young: for Homer's
Siren from your mouths rains/flows.*

Seaman writes that this epigram “not only addresses the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* directly, but it personifies them, giving them the power of speech.”¹⁶⁶ Another anonymous poem, AP XVI 293 praises the divine skill of Homer, suggesting it all may be the work of a god, after all. Or compare another from the *Greek Anthology* where the personification of Homer's poems as his children is an extension of their address in AP IX 522.

Anon. AP XVI 292

υἱὲ Μέλῃτος Ὀμηρε, σὺ γὰρ κλέος Ἑλλάδι πάση
καὶ Κολοφῶνι πάτρη θῆκας ἐς αἰδίων,
καὶ τὰσδ' ἀντιθέω ψυχῇ γεννήσασο κούρας,
δισσὰς ἐκ στηθέων γραψάμενος σελίδας·
ὑμνεῖ δ' ἢ μὲν νόστον Ὀδυσσεύος πολὺπλαγκτον,
ἢ δὲ τὸν Ἰλιακὸν Δαρδανιδῶν πόλεμον.

*Oh, son of Meles, Homer, for you, in all Hellas
and in your fatherland Colophon, you have a place in eternal glory,
and you produced these daughters in your divine soul,
having written double leaves/pages from your heart;
while one sings of the return involving much wandering of Odysseus,
the other [sings] of the Trojan war of the Dardanians.*

This poet writes three distichs praising Homer's poem: naming the poet and his homeland in the first, referring to his poetic composition in the seconds, and ending with a line for each of the two epics. With Ὀδυσσεύος πολὺπλαγκτον in line 5, a hexameter, there is clearly a play on the descriptive for Odysseus in *Od.* 1.1, πολὺτροπον.

¹⁶⁶ Seaman, p. 176.

One more description of Hellenistic poetry will be applied in this study, the idea of ποικιλία. In AB 46, ποικιλία, the adjective meaning ‘intricate, varied, artful,’ is used by Posidippus in a sepulchral epigram to modify the twisted, or plaited, handiwork of the women’s hairnets. As a characteristic of Hellenistic epigram, ποικιλία was, in 1924, Wilhelm Kroll’s reason for the “Kreuzung der Gattungen,” in epigram.¹⁶⁷ Fantuzzi and Hunter write, “Kroll saw a more clearly defined authorial strategy; for him “contamination” was a ‘crossing of types,’ due to the poets’ interest in “being modern at all costs and obtaining surprising effects or for ποικιλία ‘variation.’”¹⁶⁸ Acosta-Hughes, in his review of the book *Matrices of Genre: Authors, Canons, and Society* which was the result of a colloquium on ideas of genre, writes that the authors are responding through intricate details to Kroll’s idea of crossing genres. The investigations into the “subtle and sophisticated” aspects of Hellenistic poetry only open up more questions about the presences of so many different themes and motifs in the ποικιλία.

Here is an epigram from the Milan papyrus that refers to scholarship and the companionship among the students and teachers. It is fragmentary, but it provides a hint of the atmosphere of inquiry and of literary awareness and of literary play during the time of Posidippus.¹⁶⁹ The motif of the poem, the *topos*, is the greeting of a tomb to a passer-by. The tone is that of an inscribed epigram, complete with an opening call to stand and read about an honorable man. AB 104 is from the last section of the Milan papyrus, under a heading that is mysterious, *Tropoi*, (‘type’? ‘tropes’?), but even placed under a novel heading, the topic and the epigrammatic motif and diction are familiar. It could be with the ἐπιτύμβια section of the Milan papyrus or with the sepulchral epigrams in the *Greek Anthology*. Most important for the

¹⁶⁷ Fantuzzi and Hunter, p. 18; Kroll wrote of the Hellenistic penchant for crossing genres (“Kreuzung der Gattungen”), Kroll 1924, p. 202-203.

¹⁶⁸ Fantuzzi and Hunter, p. 18.

¹⁶⁹ Also, AB 140, in the next chapter, where Posidippus lists the poets.

biographical information of Posidippus is the mention of a certain philosophical school of the late 4th and early 3rd centuries BCE:

AB 104 (Column XV 32-35)¹⁷⁰

στῆθι τεταρπ[όμενος - ε]ὔμετρον, οὐ μέγα σ{ε} αἰτ[ῶ -
ὡς γνῶις [± 15] Ἐρετριέα·
εἰ δὲ βάδην ὑπαγ....[.]εκαί, φίλε, τὸν Μενεδήμ(ωι)
συ{ν}σχολάσαντ' ες.[.....] πᾶτερ, ἀνδρὶ σοφῶι.

*Stand taking enjoyment ... well-measured/well-calculated, no big things I ask of you so that you may know ... of Eretria;
But if, step by step, (you lead yourself? know also?), friend, [that I was] to Menedemus a fellow scholar... o father (Zeus?), to a wise man.*

Menedemus of Eretria lived c.339-c.265 BCE, said to have visited Athens and studied under Stilpon before moving to Elis and to the school of Phaedon, narrator of Plato's *Phaedo*.

Following Phaedon's teachings Menedemus began the Eretrian school. He is said to have died in Pella while in the court of Antigonus Gonatus in Macedonia so he would have been a fellow-countryman to Posidippus.¹⁷¹ The connection also gives us a *terminus post quem* for this epigram, after the death of Menedemus in 265 BCE. Of course, we do not know how long Menedemus had been dead, but one may still wonder if Posidippus had seen his tomb.

The Homeric echo in AB 104 begins with the celebration of an excellent companion and, specifically, the reduplicated second aorist passive participle of τέρπω in the first line. Lapini thinks that Austin's translation for τεταρπ[όμενος "be kind enough to stop," does not correspond with the more common meaning of τέρπεσθαι, as in *Iliad* 9.705, νῦν μὲν κοιμήσασθε

¹⁷⁰ The text of P. Mil. Vogl. VIII 309 is from Version 12.1 of "New Poems Attributed to Posidippus: An Electronic Text-in progress," edited by Angiò, F., Cuypers, M., Acosta-Hughes, B., Kosmetatu, E. (The Center for Hellenic Studies, August 2011). Critical remarks on missing text noted when relevant to the example of Homeric diction. All examples of Homeric *hapax legomena* are from text that has been certain since the *editio princeps* of BG.

¹⁷¹ Livrea 2002, p. 76 gives the sources for Stilpon and Menedemus, Diogenes Laertius, II. 134, 136. 137; on the date of the death of Menedemus in Pella, the range is, p.77, "277 (Zeller), 246 (Sokolowski) e 265 (von Fritz)," with the last being the most plausible, and "dunque un importante *terminus post quem* per la composizione del nostro epigramma."

τεταρπόμενοι φίλον ἦτορ / σίτου καὶ οἴνοιο· ... *so now lie down to rest, after you have had your fill of food and wine*; (*Il.* 9.705-6) or *Il.* 23.10, αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κ' ὀλοοῖο τεταρπώμεσθα γόοιο, *and then when we have had our fill of destructive lamentation...*¹⁷² Instead, he suggests that Posidippus' line recalls other Homeric passages where a combination of restoration and enjoyment is expressed, i.e. *Il.* 23.298. Echepolous who stayed home in exchange for giving Agamemnon a mare for Troy, is described, (cf. *Od.* 11.212), ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ τέρποιτο μένων· μέγα γὰρ οἱ ἔδωκε / Ζεὺς ἄφενος, ..., *but that he may take enjoy enjoyment, staying home; for great is the wealth Zeus gave him...* (*Il.* 23.298-299).¹⁷³ Or, his second parallel, *Od.* 14.244-245, ... ἐμεινα τεταρπόμενος τεκέεσσιν / κουριδίηι τ' ἀλόχῳ καὶ κτήμαισιν· *I remained, taking enjoyment in my children, my wedded wife, and my possessions*, from Odysseus' "Cretan tale," told to Eumaios and describing a stop home before he made his way to Egypt.¹⁷⁴ If Lapini is correct, then στῆθι could have a pause after it, and τεταρπ[όμενος could refer to the speaker, the monument or tomb, not the one passing by. I like this idea that there may even be a statue here speaking, as in AB 142.¹⁷⁵ The sense one gets, as Lapini writes, would then be "sappi, amico mio, che anche Menedemo è stato scolaro – e che scolaro, per Zeus! – di un uomo sapiente," which, he adds, probably refers to the ἐσθλὸς ἑταῖρος, or true companion, of the epic tradition.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷² Lapini 2007, p. 309; Text of the Homer is from the Oxford Classical Text: *Iliad* in 2 vols. Monro, D.B. and Allen, T.W. eds. (3rd edition, orig. 1920); *Odyssey* Books 1-12: Allen, T.W. and Books 13-24 Monro and Allen (2nd editions, orig. 1922).

¹⁷³ Lapini 2007, p. 309.

¹⁷⁴ Lapini 2007, p. 309.

¹⁷⁵ AB and Casanova 2002. If one follows Casanova who thinks the name Menedemos is in the accusative case (Μενέδημον), and keeps the AB suggestion, μάθε, in that third line and the AB Ζεῦ πάτερ in the last line, the statue idea stands out more.

¹⁷⁶ Lapini 2007, p. 310; Livrea also keeps all of these features except the first—he translates the first words, "Abbi la compiacenza di fermarti- ti cheido un favore modesto, non grande." Livrea, making Menedemus the student rather

This epigram on a Hellenistic philosophical school, clearer with this addition of the teacher's name, includes a Homeric echo for the purpose, it would seem, of being as pleasant as possible in the command to halt. It seems too, in light of the Homeric examples where Zeus is also mentioned, that this god is connected to a specific type of secure wealth in family and possessions. Is Posidippus a part of this circle? It is a clue to an atmosphere of writers aware of philosophers, but AB 104 is also a reminder of how little we know of his life in Macedon, before or after his time in Alexandria.

I am drawn to the scholarly side of their lives, but Cameron, in *Callimachus and his Critics* (1995) and *The Greek Anthology* (1993), makes a strong case for continuing involvement with actual symposia, with the skolia of Classical Greece. There are surely sympotic *topoi* in the epigrams of Posidippus, but what of the votive or sepulchral epigrams? Of the atmosphere these poets lived in, Cameron writes, "Asclepiades wrote an epigram on Ajax, and we know from the Homer scholia that his friend Posidippus wrote another on a non-existent Trojan hero 'Berisos' ... and, he adds, it "is tempting, with Reitzenstein, to see this as an example of a symposium game described by Athenaeus: a contest in naming Greek and Trojan heroes in alphabetical order."¹⁷⁷

Cameron places all of these poets in early 3rd century Alexandria. Of Callimachus, he thinks that this poet would have been a "regular participant in royal symposia since his teens; Posidippus was a Macedonian; and Asclepiades wrote on one of the king's mistresses (ch. IX.1)." Cameron writes that Callimachus can be linked "with an event at one of Philadelphus' symposia. The mock epitaph on Philitas," he argues, "was also surely written for an Alexandrian

than the teacher, leaves room for the mention of his own, Stilpon. Therefore, Livrea supplies [Στίλπωνος μ' ἔμμεν'] for the second line and the antecedent for the datives of the final phrase, ἀνδρὶ σοφῶι.

¹⁷⁷ Cameron 1995, p. 82; See note 75 on p. 82 on Ajax also Cameron 1993, p. 391-93 note 76 on Athen. 457 EF; Reitzenstein 1893, p. 95; Merkelbach, *Rhein. Mus.* 99 (1956), p. 124; and Cameron 1993, 371-76.

symposium.”¹⁷⁸ He adds that “a well known passage of Gellius describes a symposium at which a chorus of Greek boys and girls “sang” poems of Anacreon and Sappho and ‘some delightful and elegant erotic elegies of recent poets as well.’”¹⁷⁹ Gow and Page often express a similar view, as in their note on Hedylus 6 (quoted above), that “the epigram was no doubt intended for, and perhaps composed impromptu on, some convivial occasion.”¹⁸⁰ The issue is complicated by the very nature of the genre, but one can certainly assume a specific audience for most epigrams.

Two notes linking Posidippus to Homer (SH 700 and 701)

There are two intriguing notes to keep in mind in a study of Posidippus’ use of Homeric diction. In the *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, SH 701 concerns a question posed by Aristarchus about a Trojan name in Posidippus. Nagy explains the mention of Posidippus by this early scholar is one piece of the many kinds of “echoes” of Homer that pervade the Milan papyrus and other Hellenistic epigrams.¹⁸¹ Aristarchus wrote that Posidippus had changed the spelling of a certain name from *Iliad* 11.101 (passage is *Il.* 11.101-112), where Agamemnon kills Isos, bastard son of Priam, whom Achilles had once ransomed. *Il.* 11.101 is now printed in the Oxford Classical Text: αὐτὰρ ὁ βῆ ῥ’ Ἴσόν τε καὶ Ἄντιφον ἐξεναρίξων, *but he went on and stripped Isos and Antiphon of their armor.*

With SH 701, Parsons supplies the note from the “*Scholia A*” for *Il.* 11.101 (as in Erbse, volume 3, p.144) which states that, according to Aristarchus, the epigrammatist Posidippus may have amended the name Berisos to Isos for a later edition of the *Soros* in accordance with Zenodotus’ version (αὐτὰρ ὁ βῆ ῥ’ Ἴσόν τε Ζηνόδοτος ἔξω τοῦ ῥ’ βῆ Ἴσόν.’ μὴ ἐμφέρεσθαι δέ φησιν ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος νῦν ἐν τοῖς Ποσειδίππου ἐπιγράμμασι τὸν βῆρισον,’

¹⁷⁸ Cameron 1995, p. 84.

¹⁷⁹ Cameron 1995, p. 84, note 86 on Gellius *Attic Nights*, 19.9.3-4.

¹⁸⁰ GP, Vol. 2, p. 293.

¹⁸¹ Nagy, pp. 61ff.

ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Σωρῶ εὐρεῖν. εὐλογον δέ φησιν ἐξελεγχόμενον αὐτὸν ἀπαλιψαί.).

Again, in *Scholion T*, the note for Isos explains that Posidippus once printed ‘Berisos’ (βῆ ρ’ Ἴσόν {τε}: Ποσειδίππος ‘βήρισον’ ὑφ’ ἔν. Ἡρωδιανὸς τμόνος καλεῖ τὸ βῆρτ).¹⁸² The mention of a collection of poetry that is not extant is intriguing and Aristarchus may refer here to the *Soros*, (‘heap’) said to include also Hedylus and Asclepiades.

We may have a new poem to add to this debate, AB 42, first in the section ἐπιτύμβια of the Milan papyrus, epigrams about tombstones. AB 42.4, a pentameter, begins with the Homeric *hapax legomenon* that appear in the line following the naming of Berisos/Isos, *Il.* 11.102, υἱε δὺω Πριάμοιο νόθον καὶ γνήσιον, the line preceding the one at issue for Zenodotus (and later Aristarchus). His poem may concern a version of the same story in Homer—sons killed in battle that appears in these disputed lines.

Unfortunately, the papyrus where AB 42 is written is also missing in part. Here is the latest version of the text:

AB 42 (Column VII 10-13)

ἡ ἑκατ[± 26]ων¹⁸³
κεῖτα[ι ± 18] [. . . .] .[
σῶς ἔτι κ[± 11]ησίη ἐκ δ[ύω υἱ]ῶν
γνήσιον ἀμφοτέρων αἴμ', ἀγαθὴ γενεῆ.

*The hundred year old
lies
is still safe, as is ... of her two [sons];
both are of genuine origin, of good lineage.*

In AB 42, Posidippus begins the last pentameter with the accusative γνήσιον. In the *Iliad* this adjective distinguishes the legitimately born Antiphon from his brother Isos/Berisos. Posidippus

¹⁸² Erbse, p.143; (Willamowitz: νοεῖ διαλελυμένως τὸ βῆ ρ’ Ἴσόν; See also Maass; Ζηνόδοτος δὲ χωρὶς τοῦ ρ’, βῆ Ἴσόν {τε}= p.105 fr. 5 Schott).

¹⁸³ AB 47.5 ἦν ἑκατονταέντιν Πάφιοι μακαριστὸν Ὀν[ασᾶ.

mentions two sons and uses the word for legitimately born, γνήσιον, a Homeric *hapax legomenon* that appears only at *Il.* 11.102. Here we have a possible reference to the line after the ‘Berisos’ line where the two are identified as Priam’s two sons, one bastard and one of legitimate lineage.

Although missing so much text, AB 42 still turns out to be an important link to literary debate. Huxley writes, “Behind his “hesitant interpretation of a group of letters in the line there stood his knowledge of a real place in the Troad.”¹⁸⁴ Furthermore, Huxley argues that Posidippus took this spelling because he knew “the name of the eponymous hero of the polis of the βηρύσιοι.” “However, he was interested in at least one other hero connected with a locality in the Troad: Stephanos (295, 5 and 8-11 Meineke) cites him for the variant form Ζελίη of Ζέλεια and quotes from his epigram or elegy on Pandaros son of Lykaon, whom, as Aristotle seems also to have done (Fr. 151R), he may have regarded as a Lykaonian, not a Lykian.

These lines are attributed to Posidippus by Stephanus of Byzantium. The *editio minor* supplies his comment on Zeleia, “πόλις Τρωάδος,” a Trojan city mentioned in Homer’s catalogue of ships at *Il.* 2.824. Stephanus writes: Ποσ(ε)ίδιππος δὲ Πάνδαρον παρὰ τῷ Σιμοῦντι τετάφθαι φησὶν *Posidippus says that Pandarus was buried by the Simois.*¹⁸⁵

AB 148 (= SH 700 = Stephanus of Byzantium p.295,3)¹⁸⁶

οὐδὲ Λυκαονίη δέξατό σε Ζελίη
ἀλλὰ (παρὰ) προχοῆσι Σιμουντίσι τοῦτό σοι Ἔκτωρ
σῆμα καὶ ἀγχέμαχοι θέντο Λυκαονίδαί.

*Nor did Zelia of Lykaonia welcome you
but by the mouths of the Simois this for you Hector
a tomb and also the close fighters, the sons of Lycaon, set up*

¹⁸⁴ Huxley, p. 153.

¹⁸⁵ AB, p. 188; Eustathius also commented on the city.

¹⁸⁶ Text of Posidippus other than P. Mil. Vogl. VIII 309 is from the *editio minor* (AB 113-150), unless noted.

There may be even more to this picture of Posidippus' interest in tribal names: he has a whole section on omens on the Milan papyrus and one poem (AB 27) is about predicting from the sight of a vulture that one's child will be a good speaker. On Nestor, whose epithet Posidippus applies to an omen interpretation in AB 27, Kirk notes two points. First, it is interesting that the poet identifies Nestor in a way that he has not identified Agamemnon or Achilles.¹⁸⁷ Then, on *Il.* 1.250, two lines after the one quoted by Posidippus, Kirk comments on the description of the men of Pylos, μερόπων ἀνθρώπων, "Merops is a prophet and Trojan ally at 2.831 and 11.329; more to the point may be that the early inhabitants of Kos were called Μέροπες acc. to Pindar (e.g. *Nem.* 6.31) and others, and that μέροψ is also the name of a bird (the Bee-eater). The tribal names Doropes and Aerops are apparently based on bird-names, which has led to speculation that Meropes could be a tribal name of that kind (c.f. Chantraine *Dict. s.v.*);"¹⁸⁸ Even though it is still unclear "why men in general should be called by that tribal name,"¹⁸⁹ with the hints of Posidippus' interest in Berisos/Isos and Zeleia in mind, this note on Merops is especially telling. It seems quite possible that Posidippus' knew that with his connection in a bird omen poem to Nestor and to this passage from *Il.* 1.247ff., he could reference the good speaker and the Meropes.

Finally, these scholarly notes are valuable even if we can have only a vague picture of the actual scholarly activity in Alexandria during the 3rd century. I will return to more examples of diction noted in the *scholia* because it is evidence of commonly studied words, words of interest not just to Posidippus, but to other poets or scholars. Also, as Richardson asserts, the *scholia*

¹⁸⁷ Kirk Vol. I, p. 78.

¹⁸⁸ Kirk Vol. I, pp. 79-80.

¹⁸⁹ Kirk Vol. I, pp. 79-80.

offer “valuable observations about poetic technique and poetic qualities.”¹⁹⁰ He writes, “The Venetus A Scholia give us much of our information about Aristarchus’ views. But the other main *scholia* in Venetus B, the Towneleian manuscript, and other related manuscripts, have much more to say about poetic and rhetorical aspects.”¹⁹¹

Clearly, Homeric references were as pervasive during the time of Posidippus as in earlier centuries, both in the public and private sphere. The fact that Posidippus can be linked to studies of Homer or to words of special interest to the earliest scholars allows one to place the epigrams in the context of a tradition of interaction with the Homeric text and of a new atmosphere of scholarship in 3rd century BCE Ptolemaic Alexandria.

¹⁹⁰ Richardson, p. 265.

¹⁹¹ Richardson, p. 265.

Chapter Two: Homeric Diction and Epigrammatic *Topoi*

As I discussed in Chapter One, Posidippus is definitely not alone in his attention to Homeric diction or to certain topics, the *topoi* of epigrammatic poetry. These shared *topoi*, sometimes called motifs, appear in a range of thematic contexts. Homeric diction seems to be more fitting, or more acceptable for certain of these themes. Recent work on allusion in classics has emphasized the metapoetic aspect of poetry that knowingly directs the reader to certain allusions or linguistic play.¹⁹² In this chapter I will analyze the role of Homeric diction in epigrams on familiar themes (sympotic, amatory, dedicatory, sepulchral). I incorporate a critical investigation into the repetition of theme and *topos* and the way they overlap and combine with allusions, allusions that are signaled by the use of Homeric diction. This technique functions in the epigrams as a literary device in itself and is especially apparent in Posidippus and sheds more light on the “art of variation,” that Tarán is concerned with. Drawing from recent discussions of allusion and metapoetics in ancient Greek and Roman poetry, I expand on the structural and stylistic relevance of Homeric diction in Hellenistic epigram.

The *topoi* are repeatedly connected to certain allusions and these reference reinforce the expression of each *topos*. For example, the appropriation of military language in erotic poetry for the *topos* of ‘fighting with Eros’ is so connected to Homeric language that the combination of reference and *topos* becomes a literary device in itself, a trope.¹⁹³ Of the “reflexivity” of Alexandrian poetry of the 3rd c. BCE, Hinds writes “the poets engage in these intertextual

¹⁹² Barchiesi, Bing, Conte, Edmunds, Fantuzzi, Hinds, Hunter, Tarán, Richard Thomas, C. Williams *et alii*.

¹⁹³ Hinds pp. 2-3.

relations,” and in doing so, “they metaphorize allusion, by sometimes overt “sign posting” and sometimes by signals that are “encoded, more fully integrated into its narrative context.”¹⁹⁴ He adds that, for some Roman poets, the Alexandrian footnote was a literary device connected to “the poet’s allusive activity, a figurative turn,” that allows the poet to portray “himself as a kind of scholar,” and “his allusion as a kind of learned citation...”¹⁹⁵ Another piece of this is memory, “a metapoetic idea which may look back aetiologically to the mother of the Muses herself.”¹⁹⁶ Sens, in “One Thing Leads (back) to Another: Allusion and Invention of Tradition in Hellenistic Epigrams,” writes that allusion was, “among other things, an aetiological instrument...they wrote themselves into the continuum stretching into the past (in both cultural and temporal terms) thereby implying the stability of the tradition while simultaneously demonstrating their own creativity.”¹⁹⁷ In Posidippus, as later in Rome, the poets are linked by the same sort of scholarly and aetiological allusive activity. That they don’t overlap more in their Homeric references is a sign that they are all innovative in their own way, from Leonidas and Anyte to Callimachus and Posidippus.

Consider another *topos* noted by Tarán, that of “Reason against love and wine,”¹⁹⁸ which is connected to erotic and sympotic epigrams, along with the heroic or military language. The poets vary their take on it: some are humorous, some erotic, some name Stoic philosophers, some criticize.¹⁹⁹ In a related way, Zeno appears in AB 123 as a serious figure in a poem that toasts Bacchus; and in AB 100, in a section of the Milan Papyrus on remedies, ἰαματικά, he is about to

¹⁹⁴ Hinds, p. 4.

¹⁹⁵ Hinds, p. 2.

¹⁹⁶ Hinds, p. 4 noting Conte’s *Memoria dei poeti e sistema letterario*.

¹⁹⁷ Sens 2007, p. 377.

¹⁹⁸ Tarán, p. 183.

¹⁹⁹ Tarán, p. 183, “Selective Index of Conceits and Motifs,” where she lists others that appear in Posidippus, e.g. ‘lamp,’ ‘poet caught by love,’ ‘power of love,’ ‘wine as inspirer of the comast.’

take a rest when his blindness is suddenly cured and he dies soon after. AB 123 and AB 100 present completely different contexts, but the same reference point. Additionally, the *topos* “Reason against love and wine” (in AB 140) overlaps with the “poet caught by love,” and this interaction with different themes and contexts is part of (as Thomas writes) the intimacy of the epigrammatic form and (as Gutzwiller writes) of the reading of poetry books.²⁰⁰

Awareness of the different categorization possibilities of the epigrams is important when approaching the combination of various *topoi* in the poems. Cameron explains that we have only some of the possibilities for section headings for poems which were pulled from other poetry books and he writes of the significance of the 1st century BCE *Garland* of Meleager and another edited by the 1st century CE Philip of Thessalonica who lived “in the reign of the emperor Nero.”²⁰¹ Their choices have limited our views of the range of material in epigrams: “It was Meleager’s *selection* from this material that has shaped our perception of the character and limitations of the classical epigram.”²⁰² As Krevans notes, “there are some poems on the Milan papyrus which could be considered amatory/sympotic. They have been classified, however, in a manner which emphasizes the non-amatory feature of each poem.”²⁰³ In another example of different options of arrangement, the ‘speaking tomb’ may be a *topos*, but in Posidippus the geographical location of the tomb is often just as important (AB 93, 94) as the opportunity for memorializing (AB 43, 46, 51), and it could be linked to either motif. The confusion of typology exist not only on the level of book editing but Thomas writes, on the “Mixing and play with

²⁰⁰ Tarán, p. 182, who also gives examples on p. 80-82, Asclepiades AP V 164, 189; p. 86, Posidippus AB 130 (AP V 213); p. 101, Meleager, AP XII 117, 119; et al.

²⁰¹ Cameron 1993, p. 15.

²⁰² Cameron 1993, p. 15.

²⁰³ Krevans in Gutzwiller 2005, p. 84.

topoi in epigrams” which “is merely a part of the larger disruption of generic boundaries.”²⁰⁴ This disruption is evident in the appropriation and fusion of old and new themes in Posidippus’ epigrams.²⁰⁵

AB 140 (= 9 GP = 1594-1601 Page = AP XII 168) is an obvious place to start with an investigation of the poet’s influences and stylistic tendencies and also of his self-awareness. It is an epigram described as both sympotic and didactic in which Posidippus supplies his own list of authors.²⁰⁶ After naming Nanno and Lyde, names of woman or (most likely) titles of books inspired by those women, he toasts the authors of those poems, Mimnermus and Antimachus.²⁰⁷ After a toast also to himself and to those who have been in love, he offers additional toasts to Hesiod and Homer, then a ninth drink to the Muses. The mere naming of the authors is a *topos* in itself that figures into many Hellenistic epigram, such as Callimachus on Heraclitus (ep. 2 Pf. = 34 GP = 1308-1313 Page = AP VII 80) or Leonidas (or Meleager) on Erinna (98 GP = 2552-2555 Page = AP VII 13) and many others. As Hopkinson comments, “The *Anthology* contains a large number of poems on poets, many of them fictitious epitaphs.”²⁰⁸ Posidippus did not choose this *topos* just for his sepulchral epigrams, but also for sympotic themes.

Sympotic celebration and love of literature are the two main themes of AB 140. These are also the themes, along with “wine, song, and garlands,” that are in the poems which Gutzwiller designates as the opening section of Meleager’s *Garland* (preserved in the *Greek Anthology* as

²⁰⁴ Thomas 1998, p. 207.

²⁰⁵ Fantuzzi and Hunter p. 18, “A. Couat in 1882, Ph. E. Legrand in 1898, R. Heinze in 1919, and L. Deubner in 1921 still spoke, respectively, of ‘mélange,’ of ‘confusion des genres,’ of ‘Gemisch’ and of ‘Mischung’ of genres, without pointing to a deliberate authorial policy.”

²⁰⁶ Sider 2005 in Gutzwiller 2005, p.180-181, for the discussion of the debt to Hesiod’s catalogues and didactic poetry. This epigram may also be an example of what Bing and Bolmarcich call ‘memorializing.’

²⁰⁷ The *scholion* to Apollonius of Rhodes says that Posidippus uses the same version of the Herakles/Argo story that Antimachus uses; see Fraser.

²⁰⁸ Hopkinson, p. 255; cf. Posidippus on a statue of Philetas, AB 63; epigrams in other meters in the *Greek Anthology*, e.g. Theocritus on Hipponax, (13 GP = AP XIII 3); Theodorides on Mnascalas of Plataeae (15 GP = 3146-3153 Page = AP XIII 21).

sixteen epigrams in AP V, 134-149 and eleven in AP XII, 37-48).²⁰⁹ Meleager's 1st century BCE first section on erotic epigrams began, Gutzwiller argues, with Posidippus:

AB 123 (= 1 GP = 1562-1565 Page = AP V 134)

Κεκροπί, ραῖνε, λάγυνε, πολύδροσον ἰκμάδα Βάκχου,
ραῖνε· δροσιζέσθω συμβολικὴ πρόποσις.
σιγάσθω Ζήνων ὁ σοφὸς κύκνος, ἅ τε Κλεάνθους
μοῦσα, μέλοι δ' ἡμῖν ὁ γλυκύπικρος Ἔρωσ.

*Oh Kekropian jug, pour it, the very dewy moisture of Bacchus,
pour; fill all our cups for an opening toast!²¹⁰
Let Zeno the wise swan be quiet, and Kleanthes'
Muse; for us, rather, let bittersweet Eros be a concern.*

In AB 123, a poem on an amatory theme that evokes the *topoi* of raising a toast and Tarán's 'Reason against love and wine,' Posidippus contrasts drunken enjoyment with the reason of Stoic philosophers Zeno and Cleanthes. The mix of epigrammatic categories is also at work here, in that this is an amatory poem to Meleager, but also, Bruss recognizes that Posidippus "taps into an established tradition of sepulchral epigrams on philosophers."²¹¹ Tarán notes this poem as the source for Meleager's ποῦ δ' ἢ πρόσθε λόγων μελέτη; 'where is your former care for logic?' (19 GP = 4139 Page = AP XII 117). In Meleager's poem the speaker's two selves (drunk and sober) deliberate whether or not to go reveling and Zeno is also named in the last line (4141 Page) in opposition to Eros.

Several connections to contemporary *topoi* are also at work in AB 140 and a similar mix of themes: the raising of a toast at a symposium; recognition of the inspiration of the Muses;

²⁰⁹ Gutzwiller 1998, p. 284-285, p. 285, "I believe...they have been displaced from their original location within the body of the amatory book."

²¹⁰ Translation of second line follows Nisetich in Gutzwiller 2005, p. 45.

²¹¹ Bruss, p. 114; cf. AP VII 29, 56-67, 86-103, 106-135.

address to Eros or Aphrodite; naming of authors; sober reason vs. drunken enthusiasm for love and poetry.²¹²

AB 140 (9 GP = 1594-1601 Page = AP XII 168)

Ναννοῦς καὶ Λύδης ἐπίχει δύο καὶ φιλεράστου
Μιμνέρμου καὶ τοῦ σώφρονος Ἀντιμάχου
συγκέρασον τὸν πέμπτον ἑμοῦ, τὸν δ' ἕκτον ἐκάστου
Ἡλιόδωρ', εἶπας ὅστις ἐρῶν ἔτυχεν.
ἔβδρομον Ἡσιόδου, τὸν δ' ὄγδοον εἶπον Ὅμηρου,
τὸν δ' ἔνατον Μουσῶν, Μνηροσύνης δέκατον.
μεστὸν ὑπὲρ χεῖλους πίομαι, Κύπρι. τᾶλλα δ' Ἔρωτες,
νήφοντ' οἰνωθέντ' οὐχὶ λίην ἄχαρι.²¹³

*To Nanno and Lyde pour in two measures, and for the lover's friend
Mimnermus and another for wise Antimachus;
mix in the fifth measure for myself; and a sixth,
Heliodorus, with a toast to each person who happened to be in love;
the seventh for Hesiod, say the eighth is for Homer,
the ninth for the Muses and the tenth Mnemosyne's.
I drink full from the brim, Cypris; and for the rest, Cupids,
being still sober while drunk on wine is to be none too graceless.*

While it is true that most of the words in this poem do not appear in Homer at all, there are two exceptional links to Homer to consider. In fact, Posidippus may have chosen words that evoke all the authors he names in the poem (Mimnermus, Antimachus, Heliodorus, Hesiod and Homer), but I will focus on the Homeric.

As Sider notes, there is an odd lack of cohesive focus in AB 140 and it is unusual that the poet toasts *himself*.²¹⁴ Gutzwiller describes the “strikingly complex imagery...founded on the metaphorical identification of poetry with wine,” a *topos* that has been introduced in other Posidippus poems (e.g. AB 123, noted above). Cameron writes of the initial mention of *Lyde*,

²¹² Gutzwiller 1994, p. 162-164.

²¹³ Last line as in Page; Theiler thinks that Giangrande 1963 is too ‘playful’ and that πίομαι should not be in the last distich, and that νήφων κύαθος could represent the water filled cup that would keep the poet sober, as in AP V 135.5 on a flask where νήφειν also appears.

²¹⁴ Sider 2004, p. 37.

“Three poets — Asclepiades, Posidippus and Hedylus wrote epigrams” in praise of the poem by Antimachus of Colophon, “while Callimachus attacked it.”²¹⁵ It is this brief fragment of Callimachus that has prompted this judgement: fr. 398 Pf., Λύδη καὶ παχὺ γράμμα καὶ οὐ τορόν, *The Lyde is thick and unclear writing*.²¹⁶ Much as been written about this dispute, but, as Krevans notes, Callimachus’ statement, in its fragmentary state “can only provide evidence that Callimachus is concerned about his place in the elegiac tradiion.”²¹⁷ I think the same is the case for Posidippus for whom the mere mention of a poem or poet (a *topos* in itself) is important for placing his own poetry next to these other poets. This is an epigram where the reader is invited to openly to engage in the literary experience of the poet. The same may be said of Asclepiades who also names the *Lyde* and Antimachus:

Asclepiades 32 GP (1113-1116 Page = AP IX 63)

Λυδὴ καὶ γένος εἰμὶ καὶ οὔνομα· τῶν δ’ ἀπὸ Κόρδρου
 σεμνοτέρη πασῶν εἰμὶ δι’ Ἀντίμαχον.
 τίς γὰρ ἔμ’ οὐκ ἤεισε; τίς οὐκ ἀνελέξατο Λύδην,
 τὸ ξυνὸν Μουσῶν γράμμα καὶ Ἀντιμάχου;

*I am Lyde in race and name. Because of Antimachus
 I am more august than all the women of Codrus’s line
 Who has not sung of me? Who has not read Lyde,
 the common writing of the Muses and Antimachus?*

Sens comments on the first line that it may be parodied by Callimachus in fr. 398 Pf. through the repetition of “structure (Λυδὴ followed by καί, then two words, then another καί) and sound (οὔνομα ~ οὐ τορόν), and by taking up γράμμα” from line four.²¹⁸ I bring this up

²¹⁵ Cameron 1995 p. 83; Krevans 1993, points out, however that there are similarities between Antimachus and Callimachus, and suggests that the *Aitia* is “a natural development from the *Lyde*.”

²¹⁶ Krevans 1993, p. 156ff discusses the possible translations of παχὺς, and I quote her translation here.

²¹⁷ Krevans 1993, p. 156.

²¹⁸ Sens 2011, p. 215. In AB 140, the *homoioteleuton* of the first three lines and line five, the assonance of ‘ο’ sounds along with the numbering of toasts and listing of authors all lend coherence to the poem, but do not seem to mimic or parody any specific line.

because the possibility of parody and aesthetic preferences means that Posidippus AB 140 may add another piece of this poetic conversation. In another by Asclepiades, 45 GP, Hesiod is the poet most praised and the same authors are mentioned again.²¹⁹ Another point to make about Asclepiades *Lyde* poem, 32 GP, is the appearance of some Homeric notes, for example “the combination of the phrase γένος εἰμί, which occurs a single time, in the same metrical *sedes*, in Homer (*Od.* 15.267).”²²⁰ Sens notes that γένος εἰμί coupled with the epic form οὔνομα creates a Homeric effect in keeping with the recognized character of Antimachus’ poem;²²¹ Posidippus may have this poem in mind, or this may be a contemporary effort to make the same references.

A closer look at words that appear also in Homer (ὑπὲρ χείλους and οἰνωθέντες) only adds to the expression of this poet-scholar. One is a possible linguistic link to a passage the poet also seems to mine for other epigrams, the second is a word used only twice in Homer and placed in the line just as it is placed in AB 140. The addition of the Homeric references increases the concise literary complexity of the epigram and helps the poet place himself into the history of Greek literature as he develops the possibilities for epigrammatic subject matter.

The first example is not as secure a reference as the other, but should be considered. In line 5 of AB 140, ὑπὲρ χείλους πίομαι, Posidippus uses the word for lip metaphorically for the brim of the cup. Homer only does this in *Od.* 4.132 (χρυσῶ δ’ ἐπὶ χεῖλεα κεκράαντο, ἀργύρεον) and *Od.* 4.616=15.116 (ἔστιν, ἅπαξ χρυσῶ δ’ ἐπὶ χεῖλεα κεκράανται) where Telemachus speaks of the gifts Menelaus wants to send with him as he departs. Although the phrase does appear in other genres (cf. Thucydides 3.23.2 and 4), the Homeric source is particularly appropriate. On the “dynamic description” in *Od.* 4.125-134 of the cup, De Jong

²¹⁹ Sens 2002, p. 207, on 45 GP: “on Hesiod usually ascribed to Archias rather than to Asclepiades (and perhaps—though this is a matter of speculation—influenced by Callimachus’ *Aetia*)...”

²²⁰ Sens 2002, p. 207.

²²¹ Sens 2002, p. 207.

writes that “an external analepsis recounts how Helen got it,” and that the “mention of Egypt once again (cf. 83-9) whets the narratees’ appetite for the Egyptian tale to follow.”²²² De Jong’s note, while focussed on the context in Homer, is a reminder of the mention of Egypt in the *Odyssey* and may be one reason Posidippus may reference the line, however tentative the connection. Mimnermus (11a.3, West) and Hesiod (*Works and Days* 97) also use the word metaphorically (and Bianor, AP IX 272, a crow peaking in a pitcher of rain water) so Posidippus may be choosing the phrase to recall several poets at once.²²³

Turning back to AB 140, the mention of several authors in a sympotic epigram may be something he has in common with other epigrammatists of his time, but he does appear to also add a couple of Homeric notes perhaps to elevate the level of discourse in his poem even more. For example, in AB 140.8, the final pentameter, the aorist participle οἰνωθέντα appears after a spondaic beginning of the line. The only appearance of the verb οἰνώω in Homer is in a line repeated at *Od.* 16.292 and 19.11, μή πως οἰνωθέντες, ἔριν στήσαντες ἐν ὑμῖν, *in case when drunk on wine, there be strife among you.*²²⁴ The context is appropriate for an allusion in AB 140 because *Od.* 19.11 also concerns getting too drunk and starting a quarrel. Posidippus’ poem may be commenting on a different sort of quarrel, a literary one about poets, but the references does reinforce the idea of drinking and the balance of inspiration from wine and the loss of reason due to too much wine.²²⁵ By placing οἰνωθέντες in the same line as Homer does in *Od.* 16.292 and 19.11, Posidippus recognizes the source text even as he continues with his sympotic theme.

²²² De Jong 2002, p. 98.

²²³ Mimnermus in West, 11a 3 West: Ὀκεανοῦ παρὰ χεῖλος, ἴν’ ὤιχετο θεῖος Ἴήσων.

²²⁴ The note in the *scholia* on *Od.* 19.4-12 comments only on the task Telemachus has to hide the weapons from the suitors.

²²⁵ AB 2.3,οἰνοχοεῖσθαι. Dioscorides uses οἰνωμένος in AP VII 31.9; much later Thaetetus, at AP VII 444.1, also in an eight-line epigram, Χείματος οἰνωθέντα τὸν Ἀνταγόρεω μέγαν οἶκον.

AB 140 is a strong example of the epigram as a format for combining genres that may have previously been more fixed, either by meter or expected length. Sider has discussed AB 140 as one example of the first didactic epigrams, explaining the early deviation from the language of epigraphy.²²⁶ In his drinking toast, Posidippus lists poets in a way that is reminiscent of Hesiod's catalogues as much as it expresses a literary focus. As Sider writes, "All together, the list includes content (Lyde, Nano, 'me'), book (*Lyde* and *Nanno*), poet as author (Mimnermus, Antimachus, Posidippus), poet as persona ('me' taken together with 'everyman' in love), and poetic inspiration (Muses and Mnemosyne)."²²⁷ There is a didactic tone to this poetic inspiration and his lesson is part of a sympotic epigram.

Skiadas, in a 1966 article, notes a parallel between AB 140 and AB 138 in the double message to Eros that expresses flight from and attraction to love.²²⁸ In AB 138 (= 7 GP, 1586-1589 Page = AP XII 120), Posidippus also takes up the issue of staying sober so as not to catch trouble, here with "Ερωσ:

AB 138 (= 7 GP = 1586-1589 Page = AP XII 120)

εὐοπλῶ καὶ πρὸς σὲ μαχήσομαι, οὐδ' ἀπεροῦμαι
 θνητὸς ἐών· σὺ δ', Ἔρωσ, μηκέτι μοι πρόσαγε.
 ἦν με λάβησις μεθύοντ', ἄπαγ' ἔκδοτον, ἄχρι δὲ νήφω
 τὸν παραταξάμενον πρὸς σὲ λογισμὸν ἔχω

*I am well equipped and I will fight against you, and I will not withdraw
 even being a mortal; and you, Eros, do not come near me any more.
 Should you catch me drunk, take me away a prisoner, but as long as I am sober
 I have reason drawn up in battle order against you.*

In the first line of AB 138, Posidippus appropriates epic language to express his sexual frustration and uses the poem's ring composition to reinforce his experience in a battle of

²²⁶ Sider 2005, pp. 180-181.

²²⁷ Sider 2004, p. 37.

²²⁸ Skiadis, pp. 187-189.

emotions. There are parallels to other epigrams and, again, most of the language is not at all Homeric: εὐοπλῶ appears first in Aristophanes (*Acharnians* 592), παραταξάμενον is in Thucydides and Demosthenes.²²⁹ Nonetheless, there are words that connect to Homer.

It may be interesting also that Posidippus places μαχήσομαι exactly where Homer does four times in the *Iliad*, ending at the bucolic diarexis. The first person future middle μαχήσομαι appears only in that *sedes* in *Il.* 1.298, 3.290, 9.32, 21.498 out of 225 times in the *Iliad* and 23 times in the *Odyssey*.²³⁰ If there could be an echo, then it may extend to a metrical choice (as in AB 140) as well as a narratological or thematic strand.²³¹ I call this example an ‘echo’ because it is merely a convenient reference to Homeric diction and not an example of allusion.

Sens comments on this same mixture of epic and erotic language in Asclepiades: “Homeric formulae of more than a single word are borrowed and adapted...but are applied ...to the weapons of Eros, his mother Aphrodite, and their human agents.”²³² Gutzwiller expands this idea to include the ways AB 138 expresses a conflict of desire and stoic reason and for this reason she considers it a strong example of an erotic or sympotic epigram.

AB 138 is similar to AB 123 (1 GP= AP 5.134), noted above for the invocation of the philosopher Zeno. In both AB 123 and 138, as in some of the new poems (e.g. AB 21) the poet seems to show an interest in the type of Stoic belief found in Aratus’ *Phaenomena* where Zeus is presented as “a rational force pervading the cosmos,” and this rational focus leads, Gutzwiller explains, to “attempts to employ Stoic reason (λογισμός) against the assaults of erotic

²²⁹ AB note Rufinus (34 Page = AP V 93.1), who also uses reason against love (ὤπλισμαι πρὸς Ἔρωτα περὶ στέρνοισι λογισμὸν)

²³⁰ Four from the *Iliad*: *Il.* 1.298, χερσὶ μὲν οὐ τοι ἐγὼ γε μαχήσομαι εἴνεκα κούρης; *Il.* 3.290, αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ ἔπειτα μαχήσομαι εἴνεκα ποινῆς; *Il.* 9.32, Ἀτρεΐδην, σοὶ πρῶτα μαχήσομαι ἀφραδέοντι; *Il.* 21.498, Λητοῖ, ἐγὼ δέ τοι οὐ τι μαχήσομαι ἀργαλέον δέ.

²³¹ BG, p. 20; Another note on AB 138 is that the hexameter in line three is the only case outside of the three on the Milan papyrus of an elision in the penthemimeral caesura in Posidippus.

²³² Sens 2002, p. 207.

passion.”²³³ The Homeric language, particularly the allusion to the suitors in *Odyssey* Book 19, reinforces this situation of conflict.

There is also a note in the *editio minor* on an epigram by Rufinus 34 GP (= AP V 93.1), ὦπλισμαι πρὸς Ἔρωτα περὶ στέρνοισι λογισμὸν / οὐδέ με νικήσει, μοῦνος ἔων πρὸς ἕνα, *I am armed against Eros with logic in my breast / and he will not conquer me, being alone against one*. If Bacchus is involved, then it is a fight that he cannot win. Meleager continued this motif of extended contrast of reason and logic as weapons against love.

There may be another compositional point to make. Posidippus places himself firmly in the wine-drinking crowd. What you drink has great importance in Hellenistic epigram. Callimachus famously avoids the common source of water in a metaphorical way, referring to popular poetry. In an example from Cameron, the symposium is the setting for “*ex tempore* composition over wine,” suggesting that it is “perhaps an actual symposium contest.”²³⁴ Cameron adds, “For Giangrande, these are just motifs.” Although Cameron says himself that “Hedylus will (of course) have been familiar with Anacreon,” he also argues that “one does not have to go to literature to hear boasts about consumption of liquor (least of all at a Macedonian court).”²³⁵ From the abundant literary allusions in these poems, I tend to side with Giangrande, even with such evidence as the following (in Cameron),

Hedylus 6 GP (1486-1491 Page = Athen. 11. 473a)

ἔξ ἡοῦς εἰς νύκτα καὶ ἐκ νυκτὸς πάλι Σωκλῆς
εἰς ἡοῦν πίνει τετραχόοισι κάδοις,
εἴτ' ἐξαίφνης που τυχὸν οἴχεται· ἀλλὰ παρ' οἴνον
Σικελίδεω παίζει πουλὺ μελιχρότερον,
ἐστὶ δὲ δὴ πουλὺ στιβαρώτερος· ὥς δ' ἐπιλάμπει
ἢ χάρις, ὥστε, φίλος, καὶ γράφε καὶ μέθυε.

²³³ Gutzwiller 2005, p. 305.

²³⁴ Cameron 1995, p. 85.

²³⁵ Cameron 1995, p. 85.

*From dawn to night and at night again Socles
to dawn drinks from four-chous jugs,
until all of a sudden he is off on a whim,²³⁶ but even drunk
he plays much more sweetly than Sicelides (Asclepiades),
he is indeed more sturdy; and so brilliant
is his charm, that, friend—write and drink!*

The sympotic theme and the *topoi* of enumeration, drinking wine and naming of a poet are all here in Hedylus as they are in Posidippus AB 140, without the worry about stoic rationalism.

Hedylus has another epigram with the same mood of abandon, 5 GP, that begins πίνωμεν, καὶ γάρ τι νέον, καὶ γάρ τι παρ' οἶνον / εὐροιμ' ἄν λεπτὸν καὶ τι μελιχρὸν ἔπος, *let us drink, for something new, for even something in wine, we may find a theme/word that is elegant and sweet.*

As Gow and Page note, both 5 and 6 GP are “quoted by Athenaeus to illustrate the word κάδος,” a word for a wine vessel that appears also in Leonidas of Tarentum 97 GP = 2544-2551 Page = AP VI 154); and that they are both “intended for, and perhaps composed impromptu on, some convivial occasion.”²³⁷

The word for ‘theme’ or ‘word’ in Hedylus, ἔπος appears only once in Posidippus, in AB 117, a poem surviving on a scantily preserved papyrus found in Tebtunis in Egypt (P.Tebt. I 3 vv. 22-25, Grenfell, Hunt and Smily, London 1902; 1st century BCE):

AB 117 (= 34 GP = 1728-1731 Page = P.Tebtunis I 3 vv. 22-25)

]Μοῦσαι φίλαι, ἐστὶ τὸ γράμμα
τ]ῶν ἐπέων σοφίηι
τὸ]ν ἄνδρα -- καὶ ἐστὶ [μ]οι ὡσπερ ἀδελφός --
]ν κάλ' ἐπισταμεν[.]ν.

*... Oh dear Muses, the writing is
... by the wisdom/poetic skill of the words...*

²³⁶ Following Clauss and Cuypers, p. 125 for ‘off on a whim’ and ‘brilliant.’

²³⁷ Gow and Page, Vol. I, p. 144. Bruss 2004, p. 57 notes Catullus 50 where “the mimetic elements are stronger and spell out what Hedylus 6 implies: writing on tablets over wine with metrical play leading to an exchange.”

*the man—and he is just like a brother to me—
... he knew how to do beautiful things (?)*

Here the theme might be considered praise and the *topos* of addressing the Muses is in a context that is not sympotic, but perhaps scholastic, recalling AB 104 on the Milan papyrus (see Chapter One). AB 117 is one more note of concern for writing in Posidippus. Even in the few words here, one can see a parallel to all of the possibilities of epigrammatic *topoi*, themes, and diction that are also in Hedylus and Asclepiades. That is, the sympotic themes are also amatory or celebratory themes and they all express something of the process of literary composition. If ἔπος is considered a line of heroic poetry, or poetry itself, then one may wonder if the name of an author would be among the missing words here.

So far, we have seen that in the case of AB 140 there are two quotations of Homer which both fit into the overall thematic presentation of the poem and fit structurally into the epigram in a way that echoes a Homeric hexameter. In AB 123, the same stoic reason and amatory themes are combined; in AB 138, reason is again a focus, military language again echoes Homer's hexameter, especially in the first line. The literary interests in AB 140 are shared by Callimachus, Asclepiades, Hedylus and others and the *topos* of taking up reason against wine also appears in later epigrams by Rufinus and Meleager. Next, some poems whose amatory themes and *topoi* overlap with these sympotic epigrams.

From Sympotic to more Amatory themes and *topoi*

Posidippus' epigrams from the *Greek Anthology* are mostly amatory. In Book V, six of the eight Posidippus epigrams are amatory (AB 125-130) and in Book XII, five of seven (AB 134-136, 138, 139). Other Posidippus poems, in Book VII or XVI are on different themes (shipwrecks, sepulchral, statues, old age). The Homeric language in the erotic poems generally connects to epic through expressions of struggles with love and sober decision-making (AB 127,

129, 134, 135, 138).²³⁸ In the epigrams, this contrast of love and war is directly communicated through a poetic persona who speaks of fighting against the bow and arrows of Eros. The appropriation of heroic military language in expressions of ardent love continues alongside archaic warnings about drunkenness. The Homeric contrast of Odyssean cleverness and prowess on the battlefield comes into play as well. Some of the references are rather obscure and are reminders of the Hellenistic poets' avoidance of the obvious Homeric reference. As Hunter and Fantuzzi write, "their way of following Homer was to be 'as non-Homeric as possible.'"²³⁹ The language is here, but the tone more light-hearted than epic.

AB 135 is a more typical sympotic epigram and here the poet again calls on the Ἔρωτες:

AB 135 (= 5 GP = 1578-1581 Page = AP 12.45)

ναὶ ναὶ βάλλετ', Ἔρωτες· ἐγὼ σκοπὸς εἷς ἅμα πολλοῖς
 κεῖμαι. μὴ φείσησθ', ἄφρονες· ἦν γὰρ ἐμὲ
 νικήσητ', ὀνομαστοὶ ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἔσεσθε
 τοξόται ὡς μεγάλης δεσπότηαι ἰοδόκης.

*Yes, yes, strike, Erotes; I am a mark, one together with many
 as I lie here. Do not spare me, fools; for should you
 conquer me, you will be known by name among all mortals
 as archers, masters of the mighty quiver.*

The theme in AB 135 is amatory. The *topoi* of 'Eros shooting arrows' is combined with the sort of direct order to the reader that is found also in deictic or sepulchral epigram. The references to heroic expressions may seem at first seem to be general references to epic subjects. Consider the following parallel, however, in *Il.* 3.70-72, where Alexander/Paris speaks of fighting Menelaus ("dear to Ares") for Helen,

Il. 3.70-72

συμβάλετ' ἀμφ' Ἑλένη καὶ κτήμασι πᾶσι μάχεσθαι.

²³⁸ Also Posidippus amatory, AB 125 and 139.

²³⁹ Fantuzzi and Hunter, p. 249.

ὀππότερος δέ κε νικήση κρείσσων τε γένηται
κτῆτμαθ' ἔλων ἐὺ πάντα γυναῖκά τε οἴκαδ' ἀγέσθω·

*battle for Helen, to fight for all her possessions
whoever of the two of us should win and become the better
let him rightly take all the women and lead them home.*²⁴⁰

If a poet uses military language, of course Homer is unavoidable, but in light of the other allusions to Homer, one is tempted to think that the choice of words in AB 135 may be deliberately alluding to the battle over Helen in *Il.* 3.70-72. The fact that Posidippus draws words from two lines of Homer is also of interest because he does this in other poems (especially in AB 4, 7, 19, and 22, discussed in the next chapters). The practice may imply the poet's range of memorized phrases or favorite episodes and one may wonder if Asclepiades has the same passage in mind in 17 GP:

Asclepiades 17 GP (= 1043-1048 Page = AP XII 166)

τοῦθ', ὅ τι μοι λοιπὸν ψυχῆς, ὅ τι δήποτ', Ἔρωτες,
τοῦτο γ' ἔχειν πρὸς θεῶν ἡσυχίην ἄφετε·
ἢ μὴ δὴ τόξοις ἔτι βάλλετέ μ', ἀλλὰ κεραυνοῖς,
καὶ πάντως τέφρην θέσθε με κἀνθρακίην.
ναὶ ναὶ βάλλετ', Ἔρωτες· ἐνεσκληκῶς γὰρ ἀνίαις
† ἐξ ὑμέων τούτων, εἴτ' ἔτι † βούλομ' ἔχειν.

*Whatever is left of my soul, oh Erotes, whatever in the world it is,
by the gods let it have peace;
or do not strike me with your bows any more, but with thunderbolts,
and entirely turn me to ash and coal.
Yes, yes, strike, Erotes; for, all dried up with troubles,
I still wish to have ...from you.*²⁴¹

The phrase ναὶ ναὶ βάλλετ', Ἔρωτες is applied by Asclepiades in 17 GP and Posidippus in AB 135 in connection with the same thematic context of arming oneself against Eros. The word for coals here is a Homeric *hapax legomenon* and reappears in Posidippus in AB 128 and 134.²⁴²

²⁴⁰ See *ad. loc.* "rightly" from Leaf and Bayfield on *Il.* 3.72.

²⁴¹ Last line following Sens 2011, p.111.

Additionally, the last line of AB 135 (τοξόται ὡς μεγάλης δεσπότηι ἰοδόκης) echoes a Homeric couplet that appears also in (Pos./Ascl.) AB 136. Sens writes that “ἰοδοκος φαρέτρῃ” is “a reversal of the Homeric φαρέτρῃ / ἰοδόκος,” which appears once in the *Iliad* (at *Il.* 15.443-4, φαρέτρην / ἰοδόκον μάλα δ’ ὤκα βέλεα Τρῶεσσιν ἐφίει,) and twice in almost repeated lines in *Odyssey* (*Od.* 21.11-12, nominative case; *Od.* 21.59-60), is applied to “the quiver of Eros.”²⁴³ Here are the other *Odyssey* passages, both from Book 21:

Od. 21.11-12

ἔνθα δὲ τόξον κείτο παλίντονον ἠδὲ φαρέτρῃ
ἰοδόκος, πολλοὶ δ’ ἔνεσαν στονόεντες ὀιστοί,
δῶρα τὰ οἱ ξείνος Λακεδαίμονι δῶκε τυχήσας...

*and there lay a bent-back bow and a quiver
full of arrows, and there were many arrows bearing grief
gifts a guest-friend gave when meeting him in Lacedaemon...*

Od. 21.59-60

τόξον ἔχουσα ἐν χειρὶ παλίντονον ἠδὲ φαρέτρην
ἰοδόκον: πολλοὶ δ’ ἔνεσαν στονόεντες ὀιστοί.

*holding a bent-back bow in her hands and a quiver
holding arrows: and there were many arrows bearing grief.*

The context in the *Odyssey* is especially appropriate for an epigrammatic parallel because of the background love story of Odysseus and Penelope and the imminent killing of the suitors after the contest to string Odysseus’s bow.²⁴⁴ The taking up of the quiver and arrows becomes the *topos* in epigram, and sometimes a bow appears as well.²⁴⁵

²⁴² Sens 2011, p. 113 notes that Callimachus picks up on the Love or Death idea in ep. 41 Pf. (4 GP = 1162-1167 Page = AP XII 73).

²⁴³ Sens 2002, p. 208.

²⁴⁴ The gift of the bow in the *Odyssey*, and its placement here at the start of the line, is a point I will return to in connection with the λιθικά poems.

²⁴⁵ AB 50.6, in the ἐπιτύμβια section, has as a last word ἰστοναχάι which may recall *Od.* 21.60’s στονόεντες ὀιστοί in a different way.

AB 136 offers yet another Homeric parallel to the use of the quiver of arrows in these amatory poems:

AB 136 (= 27 Page, 1722-1725 = Ascl. 38 GP = AP XII 77)

εἰ καθύπερθε λάβοις χρύσεια πτερὰ, καί σευ ἄπ' ὤμων
τεῖνοιτ' ἀργυρέων ἰοδόκος φαρέτρη,
καὶ σταίης παρ' Ἑρωτα φιλάγλαον, οὐ μὰ τὸν Ἑρμᾶν
οὐδ' αὐτὴ Κύπρις γνῶσεται ὄν τέτοκεν.

*If you were to take up golden wings above, and on your silvery shoulders
a quiver full of arrows were slung,
and if you were to stand beside resplendent Eros, never, by Hermes,
would Cypris herself know which one she bore.*

In AB 136 the theme is still amatory and the equipment for shooting figures in, but there is no fighting here, instead the 'taking up the quiver and arrows' or 'shooting arrows' *topos* is combined with one of comparison to a divinity. The Homeric phrase εἰ καθύπερθε is emphatically placed in the opening of the epigram. Sens points out that εἰ καθύπερθε only occurs once in this opening *sedes*.²⁴⁶ In particular, note *Od.* 3.170, ἢ καθύπερθε Χίοιο ωεοίμεθα παιπαλοέσσης, *whether we should sail north of rugged Chios, (Od. 3.170)*. The preposition is not common again until after Posidippus and it never appears at the start of a line except in *Od.* 3.170 and in AB 136.²⁴⁷ Beginning and ending the poem with Homeric phrasing and reversing the order of words from Homeric passages make AB 136 either an exceptionally Homeric Asclepiades poem or a typically Homeric Posidippus poem.

The shooting of arrows, and desirous ones being referred to as young shoots is a *topos* that also occurs in Asclepiades, especially in 20 GP. Also, here, instead of naming the god

²⁴⁶ Sens 201, p. 260. Appearance of καθύπερθε elsewhere is never at the start of a line, e.g. Theoc. *Id.* 17.122; Callim. *Hymn to Delos*, 281 (with Boreas, so meaning North, see next note); Apoll. Rhod. *Argo.* 1.928, 2.159, 3.581, 3.1209, 1379; Aratus, *Phaen.* 1.1091 (of stars above); also, Simonides 9 Page, line 113 (=AP VII 251.3).

²⁴⁷ Autenrieth notes that the meaning of the adverb καθύπερθε, 'from above,' does not necessarily denote the North. Boreas' wind from the North is the usual reference point.

Hermes, as Posidippus/Asclepiades does in AB 136, Asclepiades in 20 GP imagines an object of attraction wearing the hat, a Thessalian πετάσος, and military cloak, χλαμύς both typical of an ephebe or of Hermes:

Asclepiades 20 GP (1057-1060 Page = AP XII 161)

Δόρκιον ἢ φιλέφηβος ἐπίσταται ὡς ἀπαλὸς παῖς
ἔσθαι πανδήμου Κύπριδος ὠκὺ βέλος
ἴμερον ἀστράπτουσα κατ' ὄμματος, ἢ δ' ὑπὲρ ὠμῶν
σὺν πετάσῳ γυμνὸν μηρὸν ἔφαινε χλαμύς. (Ascl. 20 GP = AP XII 161)

*Dorcion the ephebe-lover knows how, like a tender boy
to shoot a swift bolt of common Cypris
by flashing desire from her eye. The cloak over her shoulder,
together with a petasos, was revealing her naked thigh.*²⁴⁸

The theme here is again an amatory one, and again there is the ‘shooting arrows’ *topos* and the *topos* of comparison of a beloved to a divinity, perhaps both Cypris and Hermes here, which fits the interpretation of this poem as a “cross-dressing” moment in epigram that recalls a moment in the past.²⁴⁹ The name of Dorcion is diminutive for “little deer” or “little gazelle” from δορκάς and typical of a prostitute or one with a shapely form.²⁵⁰

Consider another by Asclepiades, where a third word for arrow appears (not ἰοδοκος, or, also in Homer, ὀιστοί), and there are wings, but no gesture of putting them on the shoulders,

Asclepiades 21 GP (= XII 75)

εἰ πτερά σοι προσέκειτο καὶ ἐν χερσὶ τόξα καὶ ἰοί,
οὐκ ἂν Ἔρωσ ἐγράφη Κύπριδος ἀλλὰ σὺ παῖς.

*If wings were laid on you and in your hands were a bow and arrow,
Eros would not be recorded as the son of Cypris, but you.*

²⁴⁸ Sens 2011, p. 131.

²⁴⁹ Sens 2011, p. 131.

²⁵⁰ Sens 2011, p. 133.

This two-line epigram is another on an amatory theme where a poet combines the *topos* of comparison to a divinity with the weapons of love, but in a more sexual way than Posidippus does. Sens note that πτερὰ is “in an un-Homeric *sedes*” and ἐν χειρὶ “occupies the fifth foot in Homer (*Il.* 8.289; 10.182; 24.101).” On other influences in these winged Eros poems, Sens also points out that “Eros is depicted as a flying creature in archaic lyric,” as in Sappho fr. 47 or Anacreon PMG 379.²⁵¹

Asclepiades’ language in 20 and 21 GP brings out the sexual nature of the ‘shooting arrows’ *topos* and he uses words that are not in the Posidippus examples just discussed, although the theme and some *topoi* are the same. One Homerism that both in 20 GP and AB 136 share is a phrase that is part of all arming scenes, putting armor on shoulders: a cloak ὑπὲρ ὤμων in 20 GP; and a quiver ἀπ’ ὤμων in AB 136. Sens comments on AB 136 that ἀπ’ ὤμων is “a Homeric expression always used of weapons in this *sedes*.”²⁵²

On the *topoi* Sens writes, “the epigram treats a beautiful woman and her ability to inspire desire in those who see her,” and is like AB 126 = Asclep. 34 GP.²⁵³

AB 126 (Posid. 23 Page, 1698-1703 = Asclep. 34 GP = AP V 194)

αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀπαλὴν Εἰρήνιον εἶδον Ἔρωτες
 Κύπριδος ἐκ χρυσεῶν ἐρχόμενοι θαλάμῳ,
 ἐκ τριχὸς ἄχρι ποδῶν ἱερὸν θάλος οἷά τε λύγδου
 γλυπτὴν, παρθενίων βριθομένην χαρίτων·
 καὶ πολλοὺς τότε χερσὶν ἐπ’ ἠιθέοισιν ὀιστοῦς
 τόξου πορφυρέης ἦκαν ἀφ’ ἀρπεδόνης.

*The Erotes themselves looked on tender Eirenion
 as they were coming from the gold bedchamber of Cypris,
 from head to feet a sacred shoot, as though carved from white marble,
 laden with a maiden’s graces.
 And then from their hands at the bachelors*

²⁵¹ Sens 2011, p. 141.

²⁵² Sens 2002, p. 208 who does not comment on the connection between the two poems.

²⁵³ Sens 2011, p. 227.

they sent many arrows from the purple strings of their bows.

This time the amatory theme and the *topoi* of ‘shooting arrows’ and ‘divinity comparison’ are expanded in another way by Posidippus to include those of ‘exiting a bedroom’ and ‘comparison to sculpture.’ The golden bedchamber, conventionally used for the chambers of the divinities, implies “a variation of the amatory theme in which an attractive young man or woman is said to have been raised by Aphrodite or associated deities...”²⁵⁴ The comparison to a statue is also part of the new splendor of her presence, but the interesting marble, brings Posidippus’ epigram into the current scientific trends in diction. Sens notes that λύγδος is a “type of Parian marble famed for its whiteness and smoothness,” noting Posidonios, Rufinus and Philodemos.²⁵⁵ Along with the arrival of the young woman, there is the *topos* of comparing a woman to a work of art and a young shoot. The metaphorical use of θάλος is common (cf. *Il.* 22.87, 18.56), compare, e.g., *Od.* 6.157, λευσσόντων τοιόνδε θάλος χορόν είσοιχνεύσαν, *looking upon you entering into the dance, a young shoot.*²⁵⁶

In the last line, the purple strings of a bow are emphasize by the placement τόξου “at the head of a hexameter,” as, Sens comments, in *Il.* 8.279; *Od.* 21.135, 180.²⁵⁷

AB 134 (= Asclep. 37 GP = Pos. 26, 1718-1721 Page = AP XII 17)

οὔ μοι θῆλυσ ἔρωσ ἐγκάρδιος, ἀλλά με πυρσοὶ
ἄρσενες ἀσβέστωι θῆκαν ὑπ’ ἀνθρακιῆ.
πλειότερον τόδε θάλπος· ὅσον δυνατώτερος ἄρσην

²⁵⁴ Sens 2011, p. 227 and 229.

²⁵⁵ Sens 2011, p. 231.

²⁵⁶ Sens 2011, p. 230 notes the parallel; Stanford, on *Od.* 6.66-8, “it is conn. w. θάλλω= ‘sprout, grow, thrive...a natural fresh vigour...” Also, on another epic note, ἐκ τριχὸς ἄχρι ποδῶν in line 3, on which Sens comments that Homer has ἐς πόδας ἐκ κεφαλῆς at *Il.* 18.353 and 23.169, “varied by Bianor...in a literal sense, in the same *sedes*,” at *GPh* 1658 = AP VII 388, ἐς κορυφὴν ἐκ ποδός.

²⁵⁷ Sens 2011, p. 230. p.233; Another purple arrow appears in AP XII 112.1-2 adespota, εὐφαιμεῖτε, νέοι· τὸν Ἔρωτ’ ἄγει Ἀρκεσίλαος / πορφυρέη δῆσας Κύπριδος ἀρπεδόνη. Also, ἦκαν, the last line “this third-person plural aorist active is found once in Homer,” (*Od.* 15.458) and “it does not become common in Attic prose until the middle of the fourth century). In a different way, ἀρπεδόνης recalls epigrams, such as Antip. AP VII 160.4; adesp. HE 3711).

θηλυτέρης, τόσσον χῶ πόθος ὀξύτερος.

*There is no love for a woman in my heart, but fires of love
for a man have put me on unquenchable coals.*

*This heat is greater; by as much as the male is more powerful
than the female, so also is the desire [for masculine love] sharper.*

AB 134 is another amatory themed epigram, but there is no mention of Eros or quivers full of arrows, or any specific object of affection for divine comparison. Some common language still brings the reader into the literary conversation in these epigrams, however. In the expression of the stronger bond the speaker feels toward men compared with his desire for a woman, the image of unquenchable coals comes up. Line three's ἀνθρακιῆι is a Homeric *hapax* that is also in AB 128 (on the shipwrecked Cleander, maybe by Asclepiades), AB 129 (= 3 GP, noted below) and in Asclepiades 17 GP (AP XII 166.4, noted above).

Sens points out the comparative form πλειότερον, which appears only once in Homer, at *Od.* 11.359, καὶ κεν πολὺ κέρδιον εἶη / **πλειοτέρη** σὺν χειρὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδ' ἴκεσθαι, *and it would be even better) to come to my fatherland with a fuller hand.* Like Homer's πλειοτέρη, Posidippus' πλειότερον is "also at verse beginning," and he adds that "it seems to have been connected to πλείων by Aristophanes...and is apparently used in the sense 'greater' by the author of the epigram and by Aratus... although Call. fr. 535, 757, and Nic. *Th.* 119 use it in its 'proper' Homeric senses."²⁵⁸

The fact there may be a Homeric link to one of four comparatives only highlights this repetition in the epigram, including the homoioteleuton in the start and end of the final pentameter, *θηλυτέρης, τόσσον χῶ πόθος ὀξύτερος.* Furthermore, the ὅσον ... τόσσον construction here, which ties the whole epigram together, is not used in any other Posidippus

²⁵⁸ Sens, 2002, p. 205; On Callimachus fr. 235, ὄφρα σε πλειοτέρηι δεῦρο δέχωμαι see, e.g. Hollis, A. S. "Callimachus fr. 535 Pf.: Another Piece of *Hecale*?" *ZPE* 86 1991, pp. 14-16.

poem, and is one more example of the variation in style that he and other epigrammatists are capable of amidst all of the repetition in outward form and theme.

AB 127 (= Asclep. 35 GP = Pos. 24, 1704-1709 Page = AP V 202)

πορφυρέην **μάστιγα** καὶ ἠνία σιγαλόεντα
Πλαγγῶν εὐίππων θῆκεν ἐπὶ προθύρων,
νικήσασα **κέλητι** Φιλαινίδα τὴν πολύχαρμον
ἔσπερινῶν πῶλων ἄρτι φρυασσομένων.
Κύπρι φίλη, σὺ δὲ τῆιδε πόροις νημερτέα νίκης
δόξαν, ἀείμνηστον τήνδε τιθεῖσα χάριν.

*A purple whip and splendid reins
Plango dedicated on the portico of beautiful horses
having conquered in a horse-race Philaenis who delights in contests
while the evening colts were just neighing.
dear Cypris, you, for her, give true glory for her victory
giving this favor to be remembered forever.*

AB 127 has gotten more attention than some others for its Homeric reference and also for the mixing of themes and *topoi*. Here, the amatory theme is combined with the *topoi* of dedication to Cypris, the wish for eternal memorial. The generic mobility of epigram is evident in this combination of a dedicatory, amatory, epinician epigram. Zanker writes of the epinician tone, “Plango’s exuberant personality and pride of achievement are impressively conveyed, and the naming of a well known figure like Philaenus further individualizes the poem.”²⁵⁹ A comparison he notes, is Leonidas “on the two sisters who were ‘easy-going workers of the Muses’ (43 GP = AP V 206).”²⁶⁰ The dedication of personal objects may also be compared to Leonidas (AP VI 309 on boyhood toys), Asclepiades (27 GP = 1093-1096 Page = AP VI 308 on a comic mask of Chares), or Theocritus (e.g. 4 GP = 1778-1781 Page = AP VI 339 on a tripod of a choregus) and others in Book Six of the *Greek Anthology* which contains poems on dedications.

²⁵⁹ Zanker, p. 238.

²⁶⁰ Zanker, p. 238.

The Homeric note begins in the opening dedicatory tone and in the third line where a *hapax legomenon* from *Od.* 5.371, κέλης, referring to a “racer, courser,” appears. The word is usually used with ἵππος to denote a race-horse, *Od.* 5.371, ἀμφ’ ἐνὶ δούρατι βαῖνε, **κέληθ’** ὡς ἵππον ἐλαύνων, *he walked on one plank as though a racer riding on a horse*. Hopkinson, in his commentary, calls AB 127 “Another parodic ‘dedication’, based on a similar epigram by Asclepiades,” and adds, “Mention of a whip and reins in Homeric language in line 1 of this poem leads us to expect the commemoration of a win in the horse-race, but in fact the dedicatee is a prostitute who has ‘ridden’ her client to satisfaction more quickly than a rival could ‘ride’ hers.”²⁶¹ The reins of charioteers are used in *Il.* 5.226, ἀλλ’ ἄγε νῦν **μάστιγα καὶ ἡνία σιγαλόεντα**, *Il.* 17.479 (same at *Il.* 5.226 except it begins ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν; *Il.* 5.), *Il.* 17.482 = 24.441. The two appear together as **μάστιγα καὶ ἡνία σιγαλόεντα** only one time in the *Odyssey* when Nausicaa gets in the wagon to drive on the mules at *Od.* 6.81, ἡ δ’ ἔλαβεν μάστιγα καὶ ἡνία σιγαλόεντα, *then she took the whip and the glittering reins*. If the allusion is intended to recall Nausicaa, then the image of the girl in AB 127 becomes a little more complicated, a young and beautiful maiden associated with an experienced prostitute.

One of the five appearances of the whips and reins together in the *Iliad*, consider *Il.* 5.840, λάξετο δὲ **μάστιγα καὶ ἡνία** Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη, *and Pallas Athena took up her whip and reins*. This parallel would also imply the sort of parody noted by Hopkinson and Sens. They both explain that the use of Homeric language of the first line introduces, in line 4’s ἐσπερινῶν πῶλων ἄρτι **φρυασσομένων**, an imitation of Callimachus’s Hymn 5, to Athena, line 52 (‘Bath of Pallas’) where the goddess is readying her horses, ἔζιτε τᾶν ἵππων ἄρτι φρυασσομενᾶν, *get ready, just now the neighing of her horses*. Taken together, Sens writes “these

²⁶¹ Hopkinson, p. 267.

two parodic quotations strongly suggest that engagement with the literary tradition is an implicit project of the epigram.”²⁶² Therefore, this is another example of an allusion as a metapoetic point and a sign of the common motivations of epigrammatists.²⁶³

Also of interest in AB 127 is the last word in the second hexameter, πολύχαρμον is a neologism that may be based, Sens points out, on “a disputed Homeric adjective. Early epic has the first-declension forms μενεχάρμης (*Il.* 9.529; 11.122, etc...) and ἵπποχάρμης (*Il.* 24.257; *Od.* 11.259...) always at the end of a line.”²⁶⁴ The *hapax legomenon* μενεχάρμος appears at *Il.* 14.376, ὁ δέ κ’ ἀνήρ **μενέχαρμος** ἔχη κ’ ὀλίγον σάκος ὤμῳ, *and whoever is a man strong in battle who has a small shield on his shoulder.*²⁶⁵ This connection is interesting because of the disputed lines here: “Zenodotus did not write this and the following verse, and the couplet was athetized by Aristophanes...”²⁶⁶ Moreover, Sens thinks that if the word does evoke a literary debate of a word that expresses both military and erotic connotations, then the author “would most certainly be Posidippus rather than Asclepiades.”²⁶⁷

In a similar vein to AB 127, a poem by Hedylus (2 GP = AP V 199), who gives a similar dedicatory toast that seems to break new ground in literary epigram. Zanker uses this poem as an example of the “mixture of the dedicatory and amatory epigram-types,” and of a new “ambivalence” on the part of the woman whose clothing, tattered from raucous lovemaking, is

²⁶² Sens 2002, p. 208; and he adds of the name on p. 209, “The Philaenis for the courtesan is also fitting, as Philaenus was the author of “a notorious...treatise on sexual positions.” There may be a parodic aspect of another epigram featuring Athena, AB 33.

²⁶³ The common motif may also, by extension, imply a common chronological frame for Posidippus and Callimachus.

²⁶⁴ Sens 2002, p. 206.

²⁶⁵ The shield on the shoulder echo is also in AB 136 and Asclepiades 20 GP, above.

²⁶⁶ Sens 2002, p. 206; noted in Murray’s Loeb, p. 94: Aristarchus also rejected lines 376ff. and Zenodotus moved some lines from this passage around, 14.394 was placed after 399.

²⁶⁷ Sens 2002, p. 209.

dedicated to Cypris/Aphrodite.²⁶⁸ This is also a sympotic poem that includes mention of wine and toasts,

Hedylus 2 GP (1460-1465 Page = AP V 199)

Οἶνος καὶ προπόσεις κατεκοίμισαν Ἀγλαονίκην
αἱ δόλιαι, καὶ ἔρωσ ἠδὺς ὁ Νικαγόρεω,
ἧς πάρα Κύπριδι ταῦτα μύροις ἔτι πάντα μυδῶντα
κεῖνται, παρθενίων ὑγρὰ λάφυρα πόθων,
σάνδαλα καὶ μαλακαὶ μαστῶν ἐκδύματα μίτραι,
ὑπνου καὶ σκυλμῶν τῶν τότε μαρτύρια.

*Wine and toasts lulled Aglaonike to sleep
tricky things, and the sweet love of Nicagoras,
all of these things of hers still west with myrrhs to Cypris
are dedicated, moist spoils of a maiden's passion,
sandals and soft mitrai of her breasts,
witnesses of their sleep and efforts at that time.*

Zanker writes that Hedylus fills out a picture of the symposium that Asclepiades (18 GP = AP XII 135) and Posidippus AB 127 (= Asclepiades 35 GP = AP V 202).²⁶⁹ The amatory themes have turned to ones of symposium here as in AB 127, the dedication to the goddess of love was from a prostitute, one who competes in a different way than the persona who admires one beloved. This Hedylus poem will come up again in connection with AB 4 where a gift of jewelry lies on a woman's breast and the nighttime tryst is also imagined. Like the epigrams by Posidippus and Asclepiades in this section, those of Hedylus could be categorized in a number of ways, a reminder of the overlap of themes and *topoi* in the genre of literary epigram.

From old age and death to death at sea

In the sepulchral epigrams, the interaction with tradition is ever-present because of the roots of the genre as a whole. Fantuzzi and Hunter's chapter "Inscription and epigram: the 'prehistory' of a genre," describes the constant intermingling of language from inscription in the

²⁶⁸ Zanker 2007, "Characterization in Hellenistic Epigram," pp. 236-237.

²⁶⁹ Zanker 2007, p. 237. He adds, "*Heterae* formed a stock type" in comedy and may be an influence here as well.

new literary epigrams of the Hellenistic period. Homer is evoked mostly for solemnity and to add gravity to heavier lines on the serious subject of death.

Cameron writes of “the practice of writing ‘fictitious’ epigrams” that by “the third century it had developed into a regular genre. The pioneer was perhaps Anyte of Tegea. Its most celebrated and influential exponent was Leonidas of Tarentum...”²⁷⁰ Bruss argues that the epigraphical source of the new poetry is a “hidden presence of preceding inscribed sepulchral epigram in literary epigram.”²⁷¹ Bruss points to the cleverness of Posidippus’ shipwreck poem AB 89 in particular, where “all bonds to a firmly planted monument and burial site,” are removed—there is no stone, the deceased is spoken of by an empty grave, and its crying “usurps the duty of passerby.”²⁷²

Hunter writes of the depictions of the *Argonautica* and their similarity to Homeric sequences, “The *Iliad* is full of death, both real and prospective. It is the reality of death which gives meaning to the hero’s life.”²⁷³ Apollonius, like the epigrammatists, uses a technique from Homer in the way he focuses in on one death among many. Hunter, “The basic technique is Iliadic: many brief deaths set off a more elaborate treatment of one death...”²⁷⁴ In one episode, Homer does seem to venture into literary epigram himself. Thomas, in “Melodious Tears: Sepulchral Epigram and Generic Mobility,” points out *Il.* 7.87-91 where Hector imagines the epitaph of his enemy, spelling it out to such a degree that the hexameter line becomes a sort of funerary epigram.²⁷⁵

²⁷⁰ Cameron 1993, p. 2.

²⁷¹ Bruss 2005, p. 2.

²⁷² Bruss 2005, p. 114-115.

²⁷³ Hunter 1993, p. 41.

²⁷⁴ Hunter 1993, p. 43.

²⁷⁵ Thomas 1998, p. 206, where he quotes Kirk, who observes: “The style of the comment is that of funerary epigram, in which every word counts.”

Il. 7.87-91

καί ποτέ τις εἴπησι καὶ ὀψιγόνων ἀνθρώπων,
νηὶ πολυκλήδι πλέων ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον·
ἄνδρὸς μὲν τὸδε σῆμα πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος,
ὄν ποτ' ἀριστεύοντα κατέκτανε φαίδιμος Ἴκτωρ.'

*And someone of those who are yet to be will one day say
while sailing in his well-benched ship over the wine-dark sea
'This is the mound of a man who died a long time ago,
whom once, in his aristeia glorious Hector slew.'*

Like the literary epigram of the Hellenistic poets, Homer's does not work functionally in the same way an epitaph should. In *Il.* 7.87-91, Hector imagines an unnamed victim's tomb "an absurdity," Thomas writes, "from the functional point of view, under which the whole purpose is the memorialization of that occupant."²⁷⁶ Interaction between the functional and literary sense of the sepulchral epigram persists through the Hellenistic period.

Thomas recognizes the "Homeric beginnings," of sepulchral themes and their "integration into new contexts," and sees the adaptation as the event that "both creates a literary genre and in turn provides *topoi* both for subsequent functionality and also for integration into subsequent, new generic, literary contexts."²⁷⁷ The examples in Thomas's article include Asclepiades 34 Page (= AP 7.217.1, Ἀρχεάνασσαν ἔχω *I hold Archeanassa*), where the opening words spoken by the tomb "I hold x," connect to the amatory "I possess x as a mistress," and Leonidas of Tarentum 64 Page (AP VII 503.2, εἴποις ὄντιν' ἔχεις, say whom you hold), whose speaker asks whom the tomb holds. These are similar to an anonymous epigram at AP VII 2b.3-4, τὸν ... / ποιητὴν ἐπέων θεῖον Ὅμηρον ἔχω, *I hold the poet of epics, divine Homer*. Posidippus generally describes more about the lives lived than the tomb in which the corpses rest, but he

²⁷⁶ Thomas 1998, p. 207.

²⁷⁷ Thomas 1998, p. 207.

also follows his contemporaries in such openings lines as in AB 47.1, οὗτος Ὀνασαγορᾶτιν ἔχει τάφος, *this tomb holds Onasagoratis*. V. Garulli, in “Posidippo e L’Epigrafia Sepolcrale Greca,” takes up the influence of the formula and *topoi* of traditional Greek sepulchral epigraphy on Posidippus’ sepulchral epigrams. She writes that the poet is interacting with both the tradition of the epitaph and the contemporary model of funerary epigram, which is itself a product of such interactions.²⁷⁸ “Si tratta, per l’appunto, di θάπτω, κεῖμαι e σῆμα,” or ἔχω “nel suo valore specificamente sepolcrale,” and also “θήσκω, ἴστημι, στήλη, τάφος e χαίρω,” or “Αἰδης, δάκρυον, Μοῖρα, μέλεος, ὄσιος,” all of which appear in Posidippus’ ἐπιτύμβια.²⁷⁹ The mention of the untimely death and loss to dear ones, sepulchral *topoi* also come from epitaphs. Fantuzzi notes, for example, CEG 43.3-5 “of about 525 BC,] κλῆς ἡδὲ τόδε μέτερ [...] ὀλοφύρομαι ἡόνεκ’ ἄχο[ρος], ‘...kles, whose mother this (tomb?) [...] I pity because untimely...’²⁸⁰ Posidippus is again completely in line with the Hellenistic aesthetic which is rooted in the epitaphic tradition.

Here is an example of a sepulchral epigram by Callimachus that is only two lines, truly mimicking an actual epitaph. It is also entirely self-reflexive in its depiction of the poet’s own epitaph,

Callimachus Pf. ep. 35 (=30 GP = Page 1290-1291 = AP VII 415)

Βαττιάδεω παρὰ σῆμα φέρεις πόδας, εὖ μὲν ἀοιδίην
εἰδότος, εὖ δ’ οἴνω καίρια συγγελάσαι.

*You carry your feet by the tomb of the son of Battus, well versed in song
and in mixing well laughter with wine in an appropriate way.*

²⁷⁸ Garulli 2005, p. 23.

²⁷⁹ Garulli 2005, p. 24.

²⁸⁰ Fantuzzi and Hunter, p. 294, who also note: “CEG 470 of 550/540 BC, ‘when I see this tomb of Autokleides, I am distressed, etc.’ and “CEG 51 of about 510 BC... “*I weep to see the tomb of a boy, Smikythos, who has died, destroying the fine hopes of his dear ones...*”

Not only does Callimachus write about himself, but he combines the funerary theme with the wine and song of the symposium, blurring lines of genre and reference. Posidippus, as Gutzwiller writes, “shows a preference for more extended descriptions focusing on key details of the life lost.”²⁸¹ She quotes AB 55, from the ἐπιτύμβια section of the Milan papyrus, where “Hera’s arms” are the divine comfort for a certain Nicomache:

AB 55 (Column IX 1-6)

πάντα τὰ Νικομάχης καὶ ἄθυρματα καὶ πρὸς ἑώϊαν
κερκίδα Σα(π)φώϊους ἐξ ὀά(ρ)ων ὀάρους
ὠιχετο Μοῖρα φέρουσα προ{σ}ώρια· τὴν δὲ τάλαιναν
παρθένον Ἀργείων ἀμφεβόησε πόλις,
Ἥρης τὸ τραφὲν ἔρνος ὑπ’ ὠλένο(ς)· ἃ τότε γαμβρῶν
τῶν μνηστευομένων ψύχρ{α} ἔ(μ)ενον λ(έ)χεα.

*All of the things of Nicomache both her playthings and at the morning
shuttles, from the chatting, conversations of Sappho
Fate has taken, taking it early; and the wretched
maiden the city of Argives lamented,
under the arms of Hera a young shoot reared; ah, at that time
of those courting to be related by marriage, cold the beds remained.*

The term ἔρνος (3x *Il.* 2x *Od.* nowhere else in epic corpus) refers in Homer, notably, to Euphorbus in a simile comparing him to a young olive tree that grows despite the rocky heights in *Il.* 17.53. In AB 55, as Gutzwiller writes, there is a “double reference to the transitory moment of passing by” which “increases the pathos of the reminder that someone’s child lies here, dead.”²⁸² Thomas discusses the way these epigrams waver over “the division between literary and functional.”²⁸³ The poets preserve a form that still has a function in real life—epitaphs

²⁸¹ Gutzwiller 2007, p. 109, on another brief Callimachus epigram 39 GP (= AP VII 523), οἷτινες Ἀλείοιο παρέπετε σᾶμα Κίμωνος, / ἴστε τὸν Ἴππαιῖου παῖδα παρερχόμενοι, You who pass by the tomb of Cimon from Elis, / Know that you are passing by Hipaeus’ son.” 39 is a two line poem with an all-dactylic opening hexameter.

²⁸² There are a number of epigrams that memorialize weaving women, See, e.g. Tarán, p.115ff, who mentions Nicharcus 2 GP (= AP VI 285) ; and Antipater 43 GP (= AP VI 47); “She who formerly was under Athene’s shuttle and wove many warps in the loom, Nicarete...” Zanker 2007, p.239, notes “Antipater of Sidon 43 GP (=AP 6.47) has Bitto dedicating to Athene her shuttle..giving up weaving as a widow...”

²⁸³ Thomas 1998, p. 206.

continue to commemorate the dead—but the literary version of the epitaph uses the form for a purely aesthetic expression.

Of the formalities of some of these epigrams, Tarán notes that Callimachus avoids them sometimes, as in ep. 38 Pf. (= AP VII 272), where he goes right into the news, Νάξιος οὐκ ἐπὶ γῆς ἔθανεν Λύκος ἀλλ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ.²⁸⁴ Gutzwiller points out that Callimachus is “suppressing the solemn invocation which built Asclepiades’ first verse,” as a reminder of Posidippus AB 103, οὐδ' ἐπερωτήσας με νόμου χάριν οὔτε πόθεν γῆς / εἰμι παραστείχεις ... “You pass by without having asked me, as is the custom, where I come from...” Tarán sees him borrowing from Asclepiades whose epigram 31 GP (= AP VII 500) depicts the dedicatee of an empty tomb addressing a wayfarer with the request to tell his father about the shipwreck. Callimachus also combines the form and function of a tomb, but he starts “*in medias res*.”²⁸⁵ Thomas writes that there is a diachronic perspective implied in “the development and interaction of the functional and the literary,” and is an ongoing process in the “sense in which the Homeric beginnings and some of the Latin applications are very similar, for in both there is integration into new contexts.”²⁸⁶ The poems of interest in this chapter all carry some functional language over into the purely literary contexts.

I start this discussion of *topoi* in poems on lamenting mortality with one on old age, AB 118.²⁸⁷ The poet laments his age and while he seems to be using Homeric diction to add to the solemnity, the tone is also affected by references to Parnassus, Bacchic rites, and Boeotian Thebes. AB 118 includes parallels with epigrams on the Milan papyrus and with other authors.

²⁸⁴ Tarán p. 137; this poem will come up again in Chapter Four, in connection with weather signs.

²⁸⁵ Tarán, p. 137.

²⁸⁶ Thomas 1998, p. 207.

²⁸⁷ SH, p. 340: “SB Berlin 1898, tab. Iii-iv; Schubart, Papyri Graecae Berolinenses n. 17 (tab. A);” p. 341, “elegia in tabulis duabus ceratis exscripta (1-10A tab. A col. I, 11-20 B tab. A col. Ii, 21-5 tab. B).”

The theme of lamentation is repeated, but the diction varies. For example, Antipater of Sidon (AP XI, 23) also imagine the descent to Hades, but he names Minos, rather than Posidippus' Rhadamanthus.

H. Lloyd-Jones makes it clear that the sources of diction are varied, but epic stylistic marks are there too. For Lloyd-Jones the epic “flourishes” are evidence of “the grand manner,” and give the poem a “style and vocabulary” that “strike an epic note.”²⁸⁸ Sometimes, as in the poems just discussed above, the Homeric is the obvious source of language. For example, “The appeal to a god to leave his accustomed haunts,” is “too familiar” to mention (e.g. *Il.* 16.514 in an appeal to Apollo) and the name of the Muses home on Mount Parnassus may be common in Greek literature.²⁸⁹ Nevertheless, Homeric diction does play an essential role in the poem.

AB 118 (= SH 705 = P. Berol 17)

εἶ τι καλόν, Μοῦσαι πολιήτιδες, ἢ παρὰ Φοίβου
 χρυσολύρεω καθαροῖς οὔασιν ἐκλύετε
Παρνησοῦ νιφόεντος ἀνὰ πτύχ[α]ς ἢ παρ' Ὀλύμπωι
 Βάκχωι τὰς τριετείς ἀρχόμεναι θυμέλα[ς],
 νῦν δὲ Ποσει[ι]δίππωι **στυγερόν** συναείρατε **γῆρας** (5)

γραψάμεναι δέλτων ἐν χρυσέαις σελίσι.
 λιμπάνετε σκοπιὰς Ἐλικωνίδας, εἰς δὲ τὰ Θήβης
 τείχεα Πιπ[λ]εῖης βαίνετε, Κασταλίδες.
 καὶ σὺ Ποσειδιππὸν **ποτ' ἐφίλαο**, Κύνθιε, Λητοῦς
 υἱ' **ἐκᾶε[ργ]ε**, βέλος (vacat)
 [.].[.....].ραν[.]νω.....
 φῆμη τις νιφόεντ' οἰκία τοῦ Παρίου.
 τοίην ἐκχρήσαις τε καὶ ἐξ ἀδύτων καναχήσαι[ς]
 φωνὴν ἀθανάτην, ὦ ἀνα, καὶ κατ' ἐμοῦ,
 ὄφρα με τιμήσωσι Μακηδόνες, οἳ τ' ἐπὶ ν[ή]σων (15)

οἳ τ' Ἀσίης πάσης γείτονες ἠϊόνος.
 Πελλαῖον γένος ἀμόν· ἔοιμι δὲ βίβλον ἐλίσσω
 ἄφνω λαοφόρῳ κείμενος εἰν ἀγορῆι.
 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν Παρίηι δὸς ἀηδόνη λυγρόν ἐφ.[
 νῆμα κατὰ γληνέων δάκρυα κεινὰ χέω[ν] (20)
 καὶ στενάχων, δι' ἐμόν δὲ φίλον στόμα [
 αστ[...].
 [.].

²⁸⁸ Lloyd-Jones 1963, p. 98.

²⁸⁹ Lloyd-Jones 1963, p. 85.

μηδέ τις οὔν χεύαι δάκρυον· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ
 γήραι μυστικὸν οἶμον ἐπὶ Ῥαδάμανθον ἰκοίμην (25)
 δῆμῳ καὶ λαῶι παντὶ ποθεινὸς ἑών,
 ἀσκήπων ἐν ποσσὶ καὶ ὀρθοεπῆς ἀν' ὄμιλον
 καὶ λείπων τέκνοις δῶμα καὶ ὄλβον ἐμόν.

*If anything beautiful, oh Muses of my polis, whether from Phoebus
 of the golden lyre, you have heard with your pure ears
 on the ridges of snowy Parnassus or Olympus
 as you begin the triennial offerings for Bacchus,
 now help Posidippus in bearing hateful old age,
 writing down the song on the golden leaves of your books [of papyri].
 Leave your Heliconian mountain lookouts, and come to the walls
 of Piplean Thebes, oh Muses of Castalia.
 Even you once loved Posidippus, oh Cynthian god, son of Leto
 oh god that works from afar,... a dart ...
 some prophetic voice to the houses of snowy Paros. (or snow-white houses)
 may you declare an oracle and may you pour forth from your innermost sanctuaries
 such an immortal voice, oh lord, even on my account,
 so that the Macedonians may honor me, both those on the islands
 and those neighbors of all the shores of Asia.
 My stock is Pellaeon; may I be unrolling a book
 all of a sudden standing in the agora where the people are.
 But give a mournful thread to the Parian nightingale ...
 empty tears from the eyes flowing down
 and groaning, and through my own mouth...
 let no one shed a tear; but I
 in old age may I go on the path of the mysteries to Rhadamanthys
 longed for by the community and by all people,
 without a staff on my feet and upright in speech among the crowd,
 and leaving to my children my house and wealth.*

This 28 line poem not only makes one wonder what other texts of Posidippus we do not have (what was in that *Soros*, the *Aethiopsis* or *On Cnidos*?), but what else went on in his long life.²⁹⁰

The intimacy here is not with the size of the epigram but the subject matter and the speaker is addressing the gods, not a passerby or reader (as in the sepulchral epigrams below). The theme of lamentation over old age is combined with *topoi* of prayers to the Muses, to the infernal rights of

²⁹⁰ AB 144, *Scholia* A on Homer *Iliad* 11.101 mentions the *Soros*, or heap; AB 146, Athenaeus XIII p. 596, comments that Posidippus mentions Doricha in an epigram (AB 122) and in his *Aethiopia*; AB 147, Clement of Alexandria mentions Posidippus's *On Cnidos* in relation to a question about the inspiration for Praxiteles' statue of Aphrodite at Cnidos.

Dionysus. The Homeric language is connected to solemnity here and the learned piece gives the impression of a written memorial. The terms for writing tablet and book (δέλτος, βίβλος) and the verb to write (γράφω), and the wish to be seen immortalized in a statue reading a book, indicate the “well-read Muse,” that Bing defines, muses that inspire a literary self-awareness that is evident in the sympotic and amatory epigrams discussed above. The personal, individual perspective and intimate communication combined with the linguistic choices bring it firmly into the world of Hellenistic epigram

Homeric diction is incorporated into this modern poem in the way the mountains Parnassus and Olympus appear in the third line, (Παρνησοῦ νιφόεντος ἀνά πτύχ[α]ς ἢ παρὰ Ὀλύμπωι, AB 118.3) and the description of Olympus in *Il.* 11.77, δώματα καλὰ τέτυκτο κατὰ πτύχας Οὐλύμποιο, *beautiful home(s) had been build along the ridges of Olympus.* (*Il.* 11.77)²⁹¹ Lloyd-Jones notes the epic placement of πτύχ[α]ς and comments that “The name of Parnassus has regularly an *eta* in Hellenistic hexameter and elegiac verse, as in most manuscripts of the *Odyssey*.”²⁹² He does not point out, however, that the only use of ἠ πτύξ in the *Odyssey* involves Mt. Parnassus, *Od.* 19.432, Παρνησοῦ, τάχα δ’ἴκανον πτύχας ἠωεμοέσσας, [*they came to*] *Parnassus, and they soon reached its windy ridges*. The similarity in form and placement here points to an allusion, to this account of Odysseus’ youthful hunting of the boar, cause of his scar. Odysseus at one point teases his father about his old age, and the poet may express some self-awareness here too, in teasing himself about his own lamentation.

²⁹¹ Lloyd-Jones 1963, p. 85.

²⁹² Lloyd-Jones 1963, p. 82, where he notes further: “*Eta* also in Hesiod, *Theog.* 499 and in the Homeric Hymns to Apollo (269, 282, 396, 521) and Hermes (555). It has two sigmas at Callimachus, fr. 75.27 (P. Oxy. 1011) and at Apollonius *Arg.* ii 705, but one in Callimachus, *Hymn to Delos*, 4.93 and Theocritus vii 148; so the single *sigma* may be kept.” Parsons also notes these parallels in SH.

At the same time, note the contemporary models Lloyd-Jones notes: Callimachus, *Hymn to Delos* 93, Παρνησὸν νιφόεντα περιστέφει ἑννέα κύκλοις, *it whirls around snowy Parnassus in nine circles*. Also Theocritus *Idyll* 7.148, Νύμφαι Κασταλίδες Παρνάσιον αἶπος ἔχοισαι, *Oh Castalian Nymphs who dwell on the Parnassian height*. In Theocritus, four-year-old wine is being toasted and drunk and Dover notes another of the same vintage in *Id.* 14.16 and also Nestor's ten-year-old wine in *Od.* 3.391.²⁹³ Perhaps a common theme is at work as much as the Homeric source of diction and word placement.

In his complaints of old age, Posidippus' language echoes several Homeric lines, as in line 5, νῦν δὲ Ποσε[ι]δίππῳ **στυγερὸν** συναείρατε **γῆρας**, *now help Posidippus bearing hateful old age* (AB 118.5).²⁹⁴ This sort of lament recalls *Il.* 19.336, **γῆραι** τε **στυγερῶ** καὶ ἐμὴν ποτιδέγμενον αἰεὶ, *λυγρὴν* and *[distressed] with hateful old age and always waiting for [sad news] about me*, where Achilles speaks of his father, Peleus. Also note the 'mournful thread,' in line AB 118.19. Homer describes old age as *λυγρὸν* at *Od.* 24.250 and Posidippus uses the adjective in AB 43 below.²⁹⁵

At AB 118.9, Lloyd-Jones points out that καὶ σὺ Ποσειδίππὸν ποτ' ἐφίλαο recalls "the use of this aorist form in a similar context at *Il.* 5.117, 10.280."²⁹⁶ Diomedes asks for divine help from Athena, saying εἴ ποτέ μοι καὶ πατρὶ φίλα φρονέουσα παρέστῃς / δηῖω ἐν πολέμῳ, νῦν αὖτ' ἐμὲ φίλαι, Ἀθήνη, *if you ever with kind thought stood by my father's side / in dreadful battle, no now again show your love to me, Athena* (*Il.* 5.116-117). Odysseus expresses a similar

²⁹³ Dover, *ad loc.*

²⁹⁴ Lloyd-Jones 1963, p. 84.

²⁹⁵ Later, Philodemos would write lines that echo AB 118: Σιδερ 19 (= AP XI 30), ὦ γῆρας, γῆρας, τί ποθ' ὕστερον, ἦν ἀφίκναι, *oh old age, old age, what will you do later...*

²⁹⁶ Lloyd-Jones 1963, p. 87; cf. also Callimachus *Hymn to Artemis* 184-5, τίνα δ' ἔξοχα νυμφέων / φίλαο, καὶ ποίας ἡρωίδας ἔσχεσ ἑταίρας; *which one of the nymphs did you love most, and which of the heroines were your companions?*

prayer at *Il.* 10.280, but it is also an invocation from lyric (e.g. Sappho). The entreating mortal and the language and tone are similar in Homer and Posidippus, so it is still a meta-poetic reference to formal language of appeal to a god, if not a pointed allusion to a specific line.

There is some missing text AB 118.10 and the editors of the *editio princeps* have printed υἱὸν ἐκᾶέ[ργ]ε, βέλῳς which would be an epithet for Apollo.²⁹⁷ Lloyd-Jones notes that this invocation is given “the impression of solemnity,” through the use of the Homeric epithet ἐκᾶέ[ργ]ε which appears 16 times in the *Iliad* (cf. *Il.* 7.34, 21.472, 22.15) and once in the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 8.323, Ἑρμείας, ἦλθεν δὲ ἄναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων).²⁹⁸ The context of the Homeric appearances do not seem particularly significant here: Athena address Apollo in *Il.* 7.34; at *Il.* 21.472, Artemis yells at her brother; and at *Il.* 22.15, Achilles rebukes Apollo. The *Odyssey* line is from a divine meeting where the gods are laughing at Hephaestus. Still, this “god that works from afar” epithet is formal language and adds to these dirge-like epigrams.

Two other echoes in AB 118 noted by Lloyd-Jones concern the underworld. In AB 118 the “usual to wish that one’s death might be lamented,” is a reminder of *Od.* 11.53 where Elpenor reappears complaining about being left ἄκλαυτον καὶ ἄθαπτον, *unwept and unburied*.²⁹⁹ The mention of Rhadamanthus, first inhabitant of Elysium is spoken of by Proteus’ daughter Eidothea to Menelaus while he is in Egypt on the Pharos island, *Od.* 4.564, ἀθάνατοι πέμψουσιν, ὅθι ξανθὸς Ῥαδάμανθος, *the immortals will send you on, where blond Rhadamanthus...* (*Od.* 4.564).³⁰⁰ The setting for this line, along with the prophetic message of the

²⁹⁷ App. crit. ed. min. “ἐκᾶέ[ργ]ε J.W.B. Barns ap. Ll.-J. *JHS* loc. cit. p. 80.”

²⁹⁸ This ‘far-shooter’ epithet for Apollo is also in the Homeric Hymn *to Apollo* (242, 251) and several times in the Homeric Hymn *to Hermes*.

²⁹⁹ Lloyd-Jones 1963, p. 92.

³⁰⁰ Lloyd-Jones 1963, p. 92. Also, Doricism in Theoc. 5.108, AP 9.742) “...since it is found in Homer, its occurrence in epic verse is no great surprise;” p. 95, on heirs of property, *Il.* 5.154, 481; and ἄλβος “for wealth is an epic and tragic usage” (Theoc. in *encomium*, 17.95; Call. in *Hymn to Apollo*, 84, 95, 96).

sea nymph make it a suitable line for an allusion in AB 118.

There are other literary models for the picture of old age such as the “New Sappho,” found on a papyrus from the 3rd century BCE (P. Köln 21351).³⁰¹ Boedeker points out Puelma and Angiò’s suggestion that Posidippus may allude to Sappho’s poem in AB 52 where he mentions both old age and a beautiful sun.³⁰² Sappho combines her personal experience of old age with a mythical reference, as does Posidippus. Also, Lardinois notes the mention of ‘songs of Sappho’ in AB 51 which is one more reason to think of Sappho and her own references as a model for Posidippus.³⁰³ Another important source is also Callimachus who complains in the opening lines of the *Aitia* prologue to the about his old age.

In the midst of these possible literary reflections, AB 118 still stands out as a strong example of the use of Homeric diction to lend gravity to the lamentation. The line about Parnassus, the words for mournful old age, the epithet for Apollo and the line about Rhadamanthus lead to certain Homeric echoes and to possible Homeric quotations, especially in the case of Parnassus at *Od.* 14.432 and *Il.* 19.336. Also, note how the chiasmus in the opening line in the use of ἐπι and this is one way the poem’s tightly controlled structure is maintained in the rather long poem of twenty-eight lines.

Now we have a new epigram, one on the Milan papyrus, to include in what turns out to be a series of Posidippus epigrams that mention the mysteries:

AB 43 (Column VII 14-19)

ἦλθεν ἐπ’ εὐσεβέων Νικοστράτη ἱερὰ μυστῶν
ὄργια καὶ καθαρὸν πῦρ ἐπὶ Τριπτολέ[μου,
ἦν ἄψ ἢ φ ..[.....]... ‘Ραδαμάνθυος [

³⁰¹ On the details of this find, see Greene and Skinner, eds. *The New Sappho on Old Age*.

³⁰² Boedeker, p. 73.

³⁰³ Boedeker, p. 74 and Lardinois, p. 46-47.

Αἰακὸς εἰ[.....]. δῶμα πύλας τ' [Ἄιδεω]³⁰⁴
 τῆκνων [.....] ἰδοῦσαν· αἰεὶ δ' ἅπα[λῶτερο]ς. οὔτω
 ἄνθρωπ[οις λυγρ]οῦ γήραός ἐστι λιμή[ν].

*Nicostrate came upon the place of the blessed, the sacred rites of the initiates
 and the purified fire of Triptolemus,
 her whom... of Rhadamanthus...
 Aiakos, to the homes and gates of Hades
 she beheld ... of children; always gentler. Thus
 for men it is the safe harbor of mournful old age.*

This poem is about a Dionysiac initiate, Nicostrate who, like Posidippus hopes in AB 118, to be in the “safe harbor” in Hades, for which the mysteries have prepared her. The mention of Rhadamanthys, “il giudice infernale,” and in AB 118 evokes, Zanetto writes, “un’iniziazione ai misteri.”³⁰⁵ Zanetto focuses on this second in a series of epitaphs for woman connected with the mysteries and he explains the structure. The opening distich mentions the deceased woman and Triptolemus; a second distich mentions the underworld; a third points to the memory of the deceased, “lenimento al dolore della morte.”³⁰⁶ Again, the tight organization of an epigram can be discerned.

The phrase λυγρ]οῦ γήραος in the last line of AB 43 recalls AB 118.19’s λυγρὸν, an adjective that appears four times in the *Iliad* and once in the *Odyssey* (*Il.* 5.153, 10.79, 18.434, 23.644; *Od.* 24.249-250).³⁰⁷ In that last case, there is an enjambment ending *Od.* 24.249 and starting 250:

³⁰⁴ This ending is printed in BG and AB, as is line six, λυγρ]οῦ; the rest of AB 43 is as in the latest edition of the text. cf. Hades in AB 60.2.

³⁰⁵ Livrea 2002, p. 64. The poet may be referring to Macedonian initiates, c.f. Gutzwiller 2005, p. 217-318 and Gutzwiller 2004, p. 89, “a gold lamella from a Macedonian grave bearing the name Posidippus has been taken as evidence that one of his ancestors participated in the mysteries.” As Dignas writes, the language in this and the surrounding poems on the papyrus contain language and themes that “are very familiar both from ‘inscribed’ and ‘quasi-inscriptional’ funerary epigrams: the praise of longevity, the lament for young girls...” (Dignas, p. 179) Dignas concludes that these poems are important as evidence of the mysteries, “given how scarce their epigraphic counterparts were,” (p. 186) and that they are “potentially significant as “reflections on contemporary reality.”

³⁰⁶ G. Zanetto 2002, p. 104.

³⁰⁷ BG, p. 161.

Od. 24.249-250

αὐτόν σ' οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κομιδὴ ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἅμα γῆρας
λυγρὸν ἔχεις αὐχμείς τε κακῶς καὶ ἀεικέα ἔσσαι.

*you yourself good care does not hold you, but at the same time old age
mournful you hold and you are squalid and unseemly and you have been dressed
shabbily.*

In Od. 24.249-250, Odysseus speaks to his father Laertes, in mocking tone, instead of telling him that he is Odysseus, alive and well. The state of Laertes is the epitome of the wretchedness that is the lamented state of Posidippus' epigrams, AB 118 and AB 43, but all the other Homeric appearances affirm that the phrase would be easily recognizable as traditional poetic language.

At Il. 5.153, in the description of Diomedes' lion-like attack, Diomedes kills two sons of Phaeonops, a father now ἄμφω τηλυγέτω· ὁ δὲ τείρετο γῆραι λυγρῶ *worn out with grievous old age*; at Il. 10.79 Agamemnon visits Nestor, who λαὸν ἄγνω, ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν ἐπέτρεπε γῆραι λυγρῶ *did not give in to grievous old age*; at Il. 18.434-435, Thetis complains to Hephaestus about her now-aging husband Peleus, ὁ μὲν δὴ γῆραι λυγρῶ / κεῖται ἐνὶ μεγάροις ἀρημένος *who lies in the halls overcome with grievous old age*.³⁰⁸

A parallel may be found in Antipater of Sidon AP XI, 23, who also uses the topos of going to Hades, but also includes Minos, rather than Posidippus' Rhadamanthus,

Antipater of Sidon AP XI, 23

Ὀκύμορον με λέγουσι δαήμονες ἄνδρες ἄστρον·
εἰμὶ μὲν, ἀλλ' οὐ μοι τοῦτο, Σέλευκε, μέλει.
εἰς αἰδην μίᾳ πᾶσι καταίβασις· εἰ δὲ ταχίων
ἡμετέρη, Μίνω θᾶσσον ἐποψόμεθα.
πίνωμεν· καὶ δὴ ἐτήτυμον, εἰς ὁδὸν ἵππος
οἶνος, ἐπεὶ πεζοῖς ἀτραπὸς **εἰς αἰδην**.

*They say that I am short-lived, men experienced in the stars;
So I am, Seleucis, but is no worry to me.*

³⁰⁸ Of the other words, ἱερὰ appears throughout Homer.

*To Hades there is one way down for all; but, if mine is quicker,
I will more quickly look upon Minos.
Let us drink; and indeed truly, a horse for the road
is wine, while for those on foot there is an eternal [road] to Hades.*

This epigram implies that the training of the mysteries is as enjoyable as a symposium. There is no lamenting, no grief, but instead a denial of such worry. The importance of drinking is a *topos* shared with Callimachus and Posidippus, as here the pedestrians do not drink. A comparable tone about death is also in Theocritus 22 GP (1888-1893 Page = AP IX 432) where the Hades *topos* appears, but there is no mention of the mysteries in his poetry.

Posidippus uses another Homeric epithet in AB 51 which is another poem having to do with death and mourning, this time for a young girl. Here, it is the epithet of Iris, not Apollo, but AB 51 seems to fit with AB 118 in a similar way that AB 43 does, in tone and choice of Homeric diction.

AB 51 (Column VIII 19-24)

«Δακρυόεσσα[ι ἔπεσθε, θε]οῖς ἀνατείνετε πήχεις,»
τοῦτ' ἐπὶ πα[ιδὸς ἐρεῖτ' αὐ]τόματα, Καρύαι,
Τηλεφίης, ἧς [κεῖσθε πρὸς ἡρίον· ἀλλὰ φέρουσαι
εἶαρι πορφυρέ[ου κλῶν' ἐς ἀ]γῶνα νέμους
θῆλυ ποδῆν[εμον ἔρνος] αἰείδετε, δάκρυσι δ' ὑμέων
κολλάσθω Σα[πφῶι' ἄισμ]ατα, θεῖα μέλη.

*“With your tears [go on], raise you arms [to the gods]”
this [you will say] spontaneously, Oh, Karyai,
for the child Telephia, at whose tomb you lie; but bringing
in spring a branch from the purple glade to the contest
sing the virgin [shoot] with wind-swift feet, and to your tears
let there be joined [Sapphic songs], divine melodies.*

In AB 51.5 ποδῆν[εμον] is used to describe something that has been thought to be a young, tender child for whom, it is guessed in line 2, the Karyai mourn. This word for ‘swift-footed’ appears ten times for Iris in the *Iliad*—compare the epithet ‘swift-footed’ of Achilles, ποδάρκης,

that appears twenty-one times in Homer, only in the *Iliad*, *Il.* 2.786, Τρωσὶν δ' ἄγγελος ἦλθε ποδὴνεμος ὠκέα Ἴρις, and to the Trojans as a messenger she came swift-footed quick Iris.

Di Nino, in her article on the “Primavera ‘purpurea’ e quotidianità infranta,” takes up the question of the sequence πορφυρέου ... νέμους in AB 51.4 which she thinks may be supplemented with a different ending.³⁰⁹ She points out “la *iunctura* εἴαρι πορφυρέωι,” which Livrea suggests, and a similar line in Meleager (*AP* IX 363.2) and concludes that it is a better fit to have a “purple spring.”³¹⁰ In Posidippus AB 126 (= Asclepiades 34 GP = *AP* V 194), young men are hit with “purple strings” of the bows of Eros when they see a certain, sculpture-like beauty, Irenion, τόξου πορφυρέης ἦκαν ἀφ' ἀρπεδόνης. There is also the Homeric *hapax legomenon* νέμους, ‘the shadowy grove’ here, but the mention of Sapphic songs, noted above, may be of greater importance.

Turning now to another mention of old age that includes Homeric diction, consider AB 46:

AB 46 (Column VII 30-35)

γρηὺς ἐγὼ χερνήτης ἐπὶ βρεφέεσσιν ἐγήρων,
μισθία Φωκαικῆς Βατίς Ἀθηνοδίκης
εἴρια παιδεύουσα κομεῖν καὶ νήματα μίτραις
ποικίλα καὶ τρητῶν πλέγματα κεκρυφάλων·
αἱ δ' ἤδη θαλάμων ἐπὶ νύμφιον οὐδὸν ἰοῦσαι
τὴν ναρθηκοφόρον γρηὺν ἔθαπτον ἐμέ.

*An old laborer, I, Batis, having grown old in charge of many babies
hired by Phocaeen Athenodice,
teaching how to attend to wool and to the threads for headbands
intricate ones and to the interlacings of perforated hairnets;
but these girls, already on their way to bridal threshold of bed chambers,
have buried me the old bearer of the stalk.*

³⁰⁹ Di Nino 2004, p. 36

³¹⁰ Di Nino 2004, pp. 36-38, and she also notes Antipater of Sidon, *AP* VII 23.2 (HE 247), λειμώνων πορφυρέων πέταλα; and the later Vergilian model from the *Eclogues* and *Aeneid* “dove *purpureus* è chiosato con *florens*.”

This poem from the ἐπιτύμβια section, has not received much scholarly attention aside from the fact that the deceased here is a woman and seems to be an Dionysian initiate.³¹¹ Language here may be familiar from funerary epigrams, inscribed or literary. Dignas writes of this section of the papyrus, “On the whole, the themes of the texts are very familiar both from ‘inscribed’ and ‘quasi-inscriptional’ funerary epigrams: the praise of longevity, the lament for young girls who died before having given birth...”³¹² In the midst of this familiar language, there may also be a link to an unusual Homeric usage from the scene of Hecuba and other women dropping their weaving as they lament Hector’s death. After seeing Hector’s body being dragged around the city, the fainting Andromache’s clothing is described which includes her headdress or hairnet. *Il.* 22.469, ἄμπυκα κεκρυφάλων τε ἰδὲ πλεκτὴν ἀναδέσμην, [she threw off] *headbands, hairnet and braided headband*. In AB 46, the deceased Batis has spent much of her life teaching the art of making such a hairnet.³¹³ The Homeric line is not only interesting for this feminine connection, but it may have also been of scholarly interest to Posidippus. Notably, three of four main words (ἄμπυκα, κεκρυφάλων and ἀναδέσμην) appear only in this line in the epic corpus, while the other (πλεκτὴν) appears only twice in the *Iliad* and three times in the *Odyssey*.³¹⁴

The old woman weaving or spinning wool is not an uncommon image in Greek literature, but there may be some allusion in AB 46.1 (γρηῦς ἐγὼ χερνήτις ἐπὶ βρεφέεσσιν ἐγήρων) and

³¹¹ Obbink 2005, p. 102; Gutzwiller sees a theme of “familiar bond and female gender” in this section of the sepulchral epigrams: “the old Batis, who earned her living instructing girls in weaving, not buried by her former students (AB 46).” Like the other women in these poems Batis receives “ceremonial recognition from family or community at the time of...departure from life.” (Gutzwiller 2005, p.294) Obbink notes the AB 46 as an example of epigrams “that depict individuals (most of them women) as participants in the mysteries...Book XI of the *Palatine Anthology* contains a section of related poems on astrologers and diviners, many of them skoptic.” (Obbink 2004, p. 17-18).

³¹² Dignas, p. 179.

³¹³ The same hairnet appears in other epigrams, as in Hedylus 2 GP, quoted above.

³¹⁴ Note that κεκρυφάλων does appear in epigrams of the *Greek Anthology*, e.g. Antipater of Sidon AP VI 206.4 (βαπτὸν ἀλὸς πολιῆς ἄνθεσι κεκρυφάλων); and Nossis AP VI 275.2 (ἄνθεμα κεκρυφάλων τόνδε λαβεῖν Σαμύθας). BG, p.165, note lines similar to AB 46.4 in the much later epigrams of Agathias (AP V 276.10) and Paulus Silentiarius (AP V 270.2).

(46.6, τὴν νάρθηκοφόρον γρηὺν ἔθαπτον ἐμέ) to a another scene of women in the *Iliad*. During the visit of Aphrodite to Helen, at *Il.* 3.386, the hexameter begins, as in AB 46.1, with the word for an old woman, (ἡ γρηὺς). In *Il.* 3.386 the adjective παλαιγενής and in AB 46.1, the aorist of γηράσκω also express the condition of old age, γρηὶ δέ μιν ἰκυῖα παλαιγενεῖ προσέειπεν.

In the last line of AB 46, Posidippus uses νάρθηκοφόρος to describe Batis. She is ‘one carrying a νάρθηξ,’ the term for the wand or stalk that Prometheus used for fire (Hes. *Theog.* 567, *Opera et dies* 52) or the word for the Bacchic θύρσοι. This adjective also appears in an anonymous line, AP X 106.1, πολλοί τοι νάρθηκοφόροι, παῦροι δέ τε βακχοί, *many are the thyrsis-bearers, but few the initiated*. Even with the Homeric notes of lamenting old age, in AB 46, the epigrammatic parallels stand out the most.

AB 53 is a sepulchral epigram that does not connect to the mysteries, but to what might be described as the *topos* of a person falling, in this case off a roof.

AB 53 (Column VIII 31-34)

Καλλιόπη, σὺ μὲν ὦδε· σὲ δὲ κλαίουσιν ἑταῖραι,
παρθένε, καὶ λυπρὴν τὴν τότε παννυχίδα,
ἦι σὺ καθ’ ὑψηλοῦ τέγεος κάλλιστον ἄγαλμα
μητρὶ παρ’ Οὐρανίης Κύπριδος ἐξέπεσες.

*Calliope, so you are here; so your friends lament you,
maiden, and that grievous all-night vigil
whom you, from the top of the roof, the most beautiful gift
for your mother from heavenly Cypris, you fell.*

An epigram that begins with Calliope is bound to recall Hesiod (*Theogony*, line 79, Καλλιόπη θ’ ἡ δὲ προφερεστάτη ἐστὶν ἀπασέων) more than Homer, and indeed, there is no mention of Calliope in Homer. This is not the goddess Calliope, but a girl who died by falling off a roof.³¹⁵

³¹⁵ The comic muse Calliope appears in AB 121 (= 16 GP = Athen. X p.414 d).

The theme is one of lamentation and it is spoken to the deceased in a tender way that is quite intimate in mood.³¹⁶

First there is a possible connection to use of λυπρή here at AB 53.2 and in a description from Homer of Ithaca, *Od.* 13.243 οὐδὲ λίην λυπρή, ἀτὰρ οὐδ' εὐρύα τέτυκται. In the next line of the epigram is ἄγαλμα, used only once in the *Iliad*, also ending the line at *Il.* 4.144, ἰππῆς φορέειν· βασιλῆι δὲ κείται ἄγαλμα, (it is also seven times in the *Odyssey* for precious gifts of gold or offerings to gods). The Homeric may not, however, be the source, since ἄγαλμα is used many times in the epigraphical record and appears in later epigrams from the *Greek Anthology*, including Meleager on a statue of Praxiteles of Eros, AP XII 56.3, νῦν δ' ὁ θεῶν κάλλιστος Ἔρωσ ἔμψυχον ἄγαλμα; and an epigram by Philodemos, Sider 3 (= AP IX 570) where, in line 2, a pentameter, he writes εὐλάλε, διπτερύγων καλὸν ἄγαλμα πόθων. Elsewhere, Posidippus uses τό δῶρον for a gift, as the lapis lazuli engraved by Timanthes in AB 5.5, a gift for Nicaea of Cos; or δωρητὸς 'as a gift' (AB 6.5).

The roof, the heavenly gift, and the image of a pyre and death all are part of the link of AB 53 and Homeric diction. Thematic allusion comes into play as the top of the roof fall recalls a top of the pyre line in the *Iliad* and a top of the bed chamber. Also, the girl as cherished gift to her mother recalls a gift to the gods, precious and worthy of Homeric language.³¹⁷

Shipwrecks

The sepulchral commemoration of one who has been shipwrecked or lost at sea is another common theme of Hellenistic epigram. AB 93 and AB 94 recount stories of those who died away from home. AB 93's Pythermus is not known to be buried and an unknown speaker complicates

³¹⁶ Callimachus ep. 20 Pf. (= 32 GP = 1298-1303 Page = AP VII 517) is another on a *mors immatura*, dedicated to two brothers from Cyrene, lamented by the whole city, as Lelli, p. 103 notes.

³¹⁷ AB note AP IX 158.5 (anon.) = FGE 1300 "(*puella tessaris ludens*)" in the apparatus criticus for AB 94.

the *topoi* of addressing the dead, calling for proper burial, by imagining the corpse unencumbered by the sea and on a bare shore. In AB 94, we only get the name of the stranger who performed the burial rites, Leophantus. In that case, the theme of the epitaph is linked with the *topoi* of ‘geographical concern’ and ‘unnamed memorial.’

As always, there is a Homeric parallel for the subject of mortality. The Homeric source text for that *topos* of ‘death in an unknown location’ may, in fact, assist the literary epigrammatist in his effort to advance from inscribed epigram to this new kind of literary sepulchral dedication, imagined situations. Bruss quotes *Od.* 24.290-292 as “one of the sources of inspiration for cenotaph epigram,” where “Laertes speaks to his son Odysseus disguised as a traveler and voices his twenty years’ wondering about his son’s fate.”³¹⁸

Od. 24.290-292

... που τῆλε φίλων καὶ πατρίδος αἴης
ἢ ἐ που ἐν πόντῳ φάγον ἰχθύες, ἢ ἐπὶ χέρσου
θηρσὶ καὶ οἰωνοῖσιν ἔλωρ γένητ’ ...

*Somewhere far from his friends and fatherland
either somewhere in the sea the fish ate him, or on dry land
he became prey for wild beast and birds;*

The death on dry land is preferable to any at sea. Di Nino, in her introduction to a chapter entitled “La lingua dei *nauagika*,” quotes *Od.* 5.306-312, where Odysseus laments his fate of sea-travel, wishing he had died in Troy, like a proper hero:³¹⁹

Od. 5.306-312

τρὶς μάκαρες Δαῶσαι καὶ τετράκις οἱ τότε ὄλοντο
Τροίῃ ἐν εὐρείῃ, χάριν Ἀτρείδησι φέροντες
ὥς δὴ ἐγὼ γ’ ὄφελον θανέειν καὶ πότμον ἐπισπεῖν
ἡματι τῷ ...
τῷ κ’ ἔλαχον κτερέων, καὶ μευ κλέος ἦγον Ἀχαιοὶ
νῦν δέ με λευγαλέῳ θανάτῳ εἴμαρτο ἀλῶναι.

³¹⁸ Bruss 2005, p. 144, after a discussion of Leonidas 65 GP, noted below.

³¹⁹ Di Nino 2010, p. 78.

*Three and four times blessed are the Danaans, who died then,
in the wide plain of Troy, rending service to the Atreides.
Even so would that I had died and met my fate
on that day...
then I would have had honors, and the Achaeans would give me glory;
but now, by a miserable death, I must be caught.*

All of the concerns of sepulchral epigrams appear in these *Odyssey* passages, in particular the hope for memorializing that is thwarted by death at sea. Because of the fact that Homer is a source of this convention of shipwreck epigrams, any allusion to such ideas can be seen as both a general reference and a way for epigrammatists to include themselves in the literary tradition.

In AP 93, one of five epigrams in the ναυαγικά section of the Milan Papyrus, Posidippus a speaker wonders about the whereabouts of a dead sailor and prays for return to his home country in Kyme,

AB 93 (Column XIV 19-24)

τὸν χρῆστὸν Πύθερμιον, ὅπου ποτέ, **γαῖα μέλαινα,**
ἴσχεις, ὤλετο γὰρ **ψυχροῦ** ἐπ' Αἰγόκερω,
κοῦφρα περιστεῖλον· πόντου πάτερ, εἰ δὲ σὺ κεύθεις,
ἄπληκτον **ψιλήν** ἔκθες ἐπ' ἠίονα
ἐν περιφαινομένῳ Κύμης, καὶ τὸν νέκυν, ὡς χρή,
πατρῴῃ, πόντου δέσποτα, γῆι ἀπόδος.

*The golden Pythermus, wherever, oh black earth,
you hold him, for he perished under the cold goat-horned/Capricorn,
lightly bury him; oh father of the sea, if you hide him,
set him out unwounded upon the bare shore
on a spot of Kyme visible all around, and his corpse, as it should happen,
send back to his fatherland, oh lord of the sea.*

In AB 93, the sepulchral and shipwreck theme is expressed with the *topoi* of the empty tomb, concern for geographical location and an address to a god (Poseidon, πόντου δέσποτα). Bruss writes of the way the “typical epitaphic wish that the ground may rest lightly upon the

deceased,” (κοῦφρα περιστείλον) takes on new meaning and form.³²⁰ When Posidippus refers to the dead Pythermus as not buried, but visible, and he even asks that his corpse “remain in the sea until washed ashore,” he indicates awareness of the “hidden presence” of the shipwrecked man.³²¹

Aside from the thematic parallels, there are a few cases of Homeric diction to consider. BG note the “eco omerica” in the first line of AB 93, particularly from *Il.* 2.699, ζῶδός ἐών· τότε δ’ ἤδη ἔχεν κάτα γαῖα μέλαινα, *while he was still alive; but by that time the black earth already held him down.*³²² The phrase for the black earth, γαῖα μέλαινα, that takes the dead appears four times in the *Iliad* and three times in the *Odyssey*.³²³ Leonidas, in 65 GP (= AP VII 506) opens an epigram with a similar image but his dead are speaking (κῆν γῆ κῆν πόντῳ κεκρύμμεθα·... *we have been hidden both on land and on sea...*) and Bruss points out how Posidippus’ voice of a survivor differs as it expects no safe return or tomb for Pythermus, only an epigram.³²⁴

In AB 93.2, an adjective for cold appears (ψυχροῦ) that appears twice in Homer. Posidippus places ψυχροῦ in a pentameter, before a preposition and as part of the prepositional phrase describing the time of year, while in the *Odyssey* it modifies the breeze and appears after a prepositional phrase:

Od. 5.469

αὔρη δ’ ἐκ ποταμοῦ ψυχρῆ πνέει ἠῶθι πρό.

³²⁰ Bruss 2005, p. 153-154 who also mentions an epigram of Phaedimus “who commemorates a Polyanthus recovered from the sea (Phaedimus 4 GP = AP VII 739).

³²¹ Bruss 2005, p. 153.

³²² BG, p. 220.

³²³ In the next line of the *Iliad* a word of interest which appears only in the *Iliad*, twice, ἀμφιδρυφῆς, is used for the ‘cheeks torn for grief’ of Protesilaus’ wife.

³²⁴ Bruss 2005, p. 153.

and the breeze from the river blows cold in the early morning.

In this case, the repetition in Homer seems more about the cold water reference than a specific allusion. The same can likely be said for the hexameter in AB 93.3 which opens with **κοῦφα**, a word meaning ‘light’ or ‘nimble,’ except that **κοῦφα** only appears once in each epic,

Il. 13.158

κοῦφα ποσὶ προβιβᾶς καὶ ὑπασπίδια προποδίζων

stepping forward lightly on his feet and walking forward under the cover of his shield

Od. 8.201

καὶ τῶτε **κουφότερον** μετεφώνεε Φαιήκεσσι

and then more lightly he spoke among the Phaeacians.

As for *Il.* 13.158, ποσὶ προβιβᾶς, is also used of Telemachus hurrying back home in *Od.* 17.27, planning evils for the suitors.³²⁵ Odysseus’ skill at discus throwing is the subject of the passage where *Od.* 8.201 is from, so the excellence of Pythermus in AB 93 may be reinforced by this case of Homeric diction.

In AB 93.4 φιλήν, meaning ‘bare’ possibly recalling the Calydonian boar hunt, specifically *Il.* 9.580 ἥμισυ δὲ φιλήν ἄροσιν πεδίοι ταμέσθαι, *and half of it bare plowland, plains to be cut*; or, more fittingly *Il.* 9.562 where the sea bird/cry of sorrow of Alkyone for her brother; or from the Scylla and Charybdis episode.³²⁶

In the fifth line and third hexameter of AB 93, repetition of the prefix περι picks up line three’s περίστειλον the Homeric note again. AB 93.5 begins with ἐν περιφαινομένωι, a phrase which may recall a word that appears twice in Homer: at *Il.* 13.179, ἦ τ’ ὄρεος κορυφῆ ἔκαθεν

³²⁵ Also regarding *Il.* 13.158, ὑπασπίδια appears only three times in epic corpus, here and at *Il.* 13.807, 16.609 (and only with other forms of the present participle, προποδίζων).

³²⁶ *Od.* 12.421, λῦσε κλύδων τρόποιος· τήν δὲ φιλήν φέρε κῦμα.

περιφαινομένοιο and in a closer parallel at *Od.* 5.476, ἐν περιφαινομένῳ διοιὺς δ' ἄρ' ὑπήλυθε θάμνους. The *Odyssey* line is from the episode when Odysseus lands on the shore of the Phaeacians.

AB 94 (Column XIV 25-28)

ναυηγόν με θανόντα καὶ ἔκλαυσεν καὶ ἔθαψεν
Λεώφαντος σπουδῆι, καὺτὸς ἐπειγόμενος
ὥς ἂν ἐπὶ ξείνης καὶ ὁδοιπόρος· ἀλλ' ἀποδοῦναι
Λεωφάντῳ μεγάλην μικκὸς ἐγὼ χάριτα.

*Me, having died a shipwrecked man, Leophantus mourned and buried,
in haste, also one pressed for time
as one would be in a foreign land and being a traveler; but to repay
Leophantus his great kindness, I am too small.*³²⁷

Leophantus recalls Callimachus' Leontichus in ep. 58 Pf., where there is also a “shipwrecked stranger.” Bruss writes that “the crossover between the two poems is great.” In a chapter on “Literary epigrams for cenotaphs,” he discusses the “obscurity caused by death,” and “the notion of concealment by the sea’s surface in the case of a shipwreck washed ashore and recovered,” but in an “obscurity that is permanent and cannot be obliterated by the construction of a grave.”³²⁸

Callimachus ep. 58 Pf. (= 50 GP = 1370-1373 Page = AP VII 277)

«Τίς, ξένος ὦ ναυηγέ;» Λεόντιχος ἐνθάδε νεκρόν
εὔρε μ' ἐπ' αἰγιαλοῦ χῶσε δὲ τῷδε τάφῳ
δακρύσας ἐπὶ κηρον ἐὼν βίον· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτός
ἦσυχος, αἰθυίη δ' ἴσα θαλασσοπορεῖ.

*Who are you, oh shipwrecked stranger? Leontichus, here dead
found me on the shore and he buried me in this grave,
crying at his own perishable life; for he himself is not
at rest, but equal to a shearwater she plies the sea.*

³²⁷ BG, p. 221; and Nisetich in Gutzwiller 2005, p. 38; see also De Stefani 2003, p. 85; and Gronewald 2001 who take μικκὸς as Doric (and Boeotian) for μικρός. But Lapini 2007, p. 299, brings up the possibility that this is a proper name, Mikkos (Parsons 2002, p. 108) and part of a play on words.

³²⁸ Bruss 2005, p. 157-8.

The verbal parallels in the two epigrams, Callimachus 58 Pf. and Posidippus AB 94, are numerous and Bruss lays them out in a chart as eight parts: the shipwrecked man, the similar names, the stranger, burial, tears, disquiet and traveling (over sea in Callimachus, over land in Posidippus).³²⁹ Leonidas of Tarentum also depicts a wanderer at 93 GP (= 2524-2529 Page = AP VII 715), and, in a way that recalls Callimachus' epitaph for himself. Moreover, Leonidas' name is placed, as Bruss notices, in the same metrical position as Callimachus' Leontichus in 53 Pf..³³⁰ Leonidas is entirely self-aware here, mentioning himself at the end of the poem. I quote only the lines expressing the wandering:

Leonidas of Tarentum 93.1-3 GP (= 2524-2526 Page = AP VII 715.1-3)

πολλὸν ἀπ' Ἰταλῆς κείμαι χθονὸς ἐκ τε Τάραντος
 πατρῆς, τοῦτο δέ μοι πικρότερον θανατοῦ.
 τοιοῦτος πλανίων ἄβιος βίος·

*I am lying away from my Italian earth and Tarentum
 my fatherland, and this is more bitter to me than death.
 This is the way of the non-life life of wanderers;*

Bruss quotes this epigram as an example of a “poetic persona in his own oeuvres as a wanderer” in which the state of the dead is not clear—lost at sea or “revealed and recovered, but name unknown, as in Callimachus 50 GP. There may be “inscriptional precedents” here, but also evident is that “the poets are involved in a lively, conscious, and sometimes polemical variative conversation.”³³¹ They take up the same themes and *topoi* but use them to varied effect.

In AB 94, Posidippus contributes an epigram in the same tradition, but he also adds a *hapax legomenon* from *Il.* 24.375, ὅς μοι τοιόνδ' ἦκεν ὄδοιπόρον ἀντιβολῆσαι, *who sent such a wayfarer to meet me*. This word for traveler, ὄδοιπόρος is in the same *sedes* in AB 94 as it is

³²⁹ Bruss 2005, p. 160.

³³⁰ Bruss 2005, p. 170.

³³¹ Bruss 2005, p. 170.

in the *Iliad*, just after a spondee/dactyl sequence and ending at the bucolic dieresis.³³² The Homeric diction stands out here through this emphatic placement of a rarity in a poem with words that are mostly later than Homer.³³³ Additionally, the context of the Homeric passage, where Hermes speaks to Priam, reinforces the idea of a chance meeting and of a traveler in a foreign land. This type of portentous meeting may connect the Homeric context because there is a resemblance of motives to AB 94.³³⁴ Leophantus and the stranger who buried him meet up by chance, in the same way the passer-by/reader is presumed (as a conceit, cf. Tarán) to encounter the tomb. Another Homeric rarity in *Il.* 24.375 adds to this connection--Richardson comments that “‘chance’ meetings could be ominous.”³³⁵

One more note on Homeric diction in AB 94 is regarding placement because ἐπειγόμενος is placed at the end of line in Posidippus and in twenty-four appearances, this participle is never in that *sedes* in Homer.³³⁶ This adds to a sense of juxtaposition in his use of the source text because the *hapax* from *Il.* 24.375, ὄδοιπóρος, is in the same *sedes* in AB 94.3 that it is in Homer.

Through the placement of Homeric diction in the middle-two lines of this four-line epigram the poet creates an effective cyclical structure. This ring composition is evident first in the repetition of the name Leophantus in the first and fourth line, enclosing the ‘chance meeting,’ then in the last line where the I, ἐγώ, is supplied to inform us about the accusative ναυηγόν με θανόντα of the first line. The repetition in the first line καὶ ἔκλαυσεν καὶ ἔθαψεν emphasizes the

³³² AB 28 also includes ὄδοιπóρος (see Chapter Four).

³³³ For example, the first word is noted as Ionic by BG; ἔκλαυσεν (in Theocritus *Id.* 20.36), ἀποδοῦναι and μικκός (a Doric word; in Callimachus, 49 GP=AP 7.458) do not appear in Homer.

³³⁴ The context and language is also appropriate for an omen poem, see Chapter Four, and another sign of categorical and typological overlap in epigram.

³³⁵ Richardson in Kirk, Vol. p. 312.

³³⁶ In AB 139.2 = 8 GP = AP XII 131, δάπεδον is placed at the end of the line, a *sedes* not seen in Homer (e.g. *Od.* 10.227, 11.420, 22.309, 22.455, 23.185).

ring composition. So, repetition of Leophantus’s name; the two first aorist forms “he wept for and he buried;” the two Homeric words (ἐπειγόμενος, ὄδοιπόρος) in lines two and three; the third καὶ in line three; and the polyptoton of με in the first line and ἐγὼ all contribute to the cohesion of AB 94. Furthermore, the use of the conjunction καὶ is even of interest here because it is repeated three times in four lines. Although καὶ is repeated in a few other instances (including the next poem, AB 95), asyndeton is more common in Posidippus (cf. AB 5, 7, 13, 64, 103 where there almost no conjunctions).

Consider one more poem that may be by Asclepiades and is ostensibly on a shipwreck, but, like all of the poems in this chapter, the theme overlaps with even more *topoi*,

AB 128 (=Asclepiades 36 GP = Pos. or Aescl. AP V 209 = Posidippus *Plan.* VII 119)

σὴν, Παφίη Κυθήρεια, παρ’ ἠιόν’ εἶδε Κλέανδρος
 Νικοῦν ἐν χαροποῖς κύμασι νηχομένην
 καιόμενος δ’ ὑπ’ ἔρωτος ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἀνθρακας ὠνήρ
 ξηροὺς ἐκ νοτερῆς παιδὸς ἐπεσπάσατο.
 χῶ μὲν ἐναυάγει γαίης ἔπι, τὴν δὲ θαλάσσης
 ψάουσας πρηεῖς εἶχουσαν αἰγίλαοί.
 νῦν δ’ ἴσος ἀμφοτέροις φιλήης πόθος, οὐκ ἀτελεῖς γὰρ
 εὐχαὶ τὰς κείνης εὐξατ’ ἐπ’ ἠιόνος.

*Along your shore, oh Paphian Cytherea, Cleander saw
 Nico swimming in the sparkling blue waves
 and kindled by love in his mind the man
 drew dry coals [of love] from the soaked girl.³³⁷
 And then he became shipwrecked on land, and her,
 touching the sea gently, the sea shores received.
 Now equal desire for love for both, for not without purposeful ends
 were prayers prayed from that shore.*

AB 128 is an example of an epigram that disrupts the boundaries of genre, as Thomas would say. It does involve a theme of a shipwreck, but this stranded man is in love and the coals in three also appear in two amatory epigrams, also from the *Greek Anthology* (AB 129 and,

³³⁷ Clayman 2012, p. 124ff. explains how παῖς does not necessarily denote a child in Hellenistic epigram.

discussed above, AB 139). The structure of AB 128 is partly made up of Homeric phrasing, as in AB 93 and 94, poems on the Milan papyrus.³³⁸ Here, after an understood disaster at sea, Cleander, saved on an island, sees a woman, Nico, swimming along the shores of “Paphian Cytherea.” She arrives on the beach and they live happily ever after (“not unfulfilled were the prayers he made on that shore.”).³³⁹ Di Nino notes the ironic situation of this shipwrecked man: ‘il motivo del ‘naufragio d’amore’ in cui incorre Cleandro paradossalmente in naufrago sulla terra firma...’³⁴⁰ He is shipwrecked and at the same time safe on land and now has a partner in love.³⁴¹

In the second line of AB 128, Posidippus uses the adjective χαροπός, a word of uncertain meaning (‘gray,’ ‘blue,’ ‘sparkling,’ ‘flashing,’ etc.) that only appears once in Homer referring to a lion’s look at *Od.* 11.611, ἄρκτοι τ’ ἄρότεροί τε σύες χαροποί τε λέοντες, *bears and wild boars and flashing-eyed lions*.³⁴² Paired often with a lion, but not in Posidippus or at Asclepiades, 3.3 GP, αἰ χαροπαὶ Κλεοφῶντος ἐπὶ προθύροις ἐμάραναν Κύπρι φίλη, / γλυκεροῦ βλέμματος ἀστεροπαί. *the bright lightning-bolts of Cleophon’s sweet gaze at the front door, dear Cypris quenched*.³⁴³ In his Asclepiades commentary, Sens writes of the uncertain etymology of this word. If it is earliest of animals (e.g. of dogs in the Homeric Hymn *To Hermes*, 194), it later denoted a color that was distinguished from γλαυκός, but “Hellenistic poets use the

³³⁸ Bruss 2005 on Shipwreck poems in *Hidden Presences*. Bolmarcich in HG 2000, p. 78-79, “Sepulchral Epigrams on Homer,” notes a “backhanded homage to Homer” in Alcaeus of Messene, AP VII 1.

³³⁹ In AB 44, Nico is the ‘servant of Dionysus’ who seems to have died during a Bacchic rite. whether a simile from battle turned use to appreciate the beauty of a gemstone (AB 7) or the description of death as a cure someone has prayed to Asclepius for (AB 103, discussed to comic affect by Di Nino, see review by Klooster).

³⁴⁰ Di Nino 2010, p. 59.

³⁴¹ There is no indication of the Ariadne on Naxos story here, but the reversal is still amusing in some way.

³⁴² Nisetich in Gutzwiller 2005, p. 46, translates as ‘savage.’ Homeric Hymn *To Venus*, 70: σαίνοντες πολιοί τε λύκοι χαροποί τε λέοντες; Theocritus, *Id.* 25.142, χαραποῖο λέοντος (cf. *Id.* 12.35, 25.225); also Hes. *Theog.* 321; Arist. *Pax* 1065; and in an anonymous epigram, AP IX 32, καὶ μήπω χαροποῦ κύματος ἀψαμέναν; and later, Secundus, AP IX 36, ‘in grey waves,’ χαροποῖς κύμασι.

³⁴³ Sens 2002, p. 206.

adjective without exclusive reference to a specific color.”³⁴⁴ Posidippus describes a gem as γλαυκός in AB 4 and although many gems are described as sparkling and gleaming, he does not use χαροπός in any other poem, a fact that makes the rarity in Homer stand out as a reason for inclusion in AB 128.

The poet includes a rare Homeric word, ἀτελής, in line 7, which appears only in *Odyssey* 17.546, τῷ κε καὶ οὐκ ἀτελής θάνατος μνηστῆρσι γένοιτο, *and so may death not be unaccomplished for the suitors*. The lines from *Odyssey* are from the scene of Telemachus’s sneeze and Penelope’s announcement that his sneeze is a sign of the suitors’ imminent deaths. Penelope speaks to Eumaeus here and she uses a version of a somewhat common Homeric phrase (οὐκ ἀτέλεστον, at *Il.* 4.54, 168 et al.).³⁴⁵ Stanford comments about ἀτελής that it should be translated “‘not accomplished’” and reminds us that fifty verses earlier at *Od.* 17.496 “‘τέλος’= ‘fulfillment’” and that “‘elsewhere, Homer uses ἀτέλεστος.”³⁴⁶ Sens, writing on Asclepiades, thinks this adaptation of the Homeric is particularly clever.³⁴⁷ The mention of an omen is, of course, an epigrammatic *topos* that is developed by Posidippus in the οἰωνοσκοπικά and AB 128 could have been part of that group.³⁴⁸

The opposition of the earth and the sea expressed in AB 128, another *topos*, now familiar from the λιθικά, οἰωνοσκοπικά and ναυαγικά poems on the Milan papyrus. The nicely cyclical first and last line repetition of a word for shore, ἡ ἠίων (παρ’ ἠίων’ ... ἐπ’ ἠiónος) is given more balance by the two other repetitions: the particle δὲ (two times appearing after the first word in

³⁴⁴ Sens 2011, p. 17.

³⁴⁵ Sens 2002, p. 205; Sens 2011, p. 252: ἀτέλεστος appears seven times in Homer.

³⁴⁶ Stanford on *Od.* 17.546.

³⁴⁷ Sens 2002, p. 205.

³⁴⁸ Sider 2005, p. 164 ff. on AB 21-24 of the οἰωνοσκοπικά describes them as examples of an epigrammatic *topos*.

the line, once before the last) and the preposition ἐπί.³⁴⁹ Except for the polyptoton of τῆν and τὰς, there are no other repetitions within this epigram, so each word stands out all the more.

In all the cases above, Posidippus' epigrams are parallel to other Hellenistic poets in regard to *topoi*, theme, form, function, and stylistic ποικιλία--the defining characteristics of the genre. There is variation in word choice among the different poets, but there seems to be a preference to use Homer in connection with these sub-genres of epigram seen in those poems on sympotic, erotic, and funerary themes. The use of Homeric diction in Posidippus is in line with Harder's criteria for allusion. In the sympotic and amatory poems a verb for drinking wine in AB 140 is a Homeric *hapax legomenon*; language for a battle with love in AB 135 is quoted from *Il.* 3.70-72 also used by Asclepiades; reining in of horses in AB 127 echoes Athena and Nausicaa scenes and Callimachus 'Bath of Pallas.' In the poems on old age or death, a Homeric epithet, mention of the slopes of Parnassus recall Homer and other poets; while the shipwreck poems pick up on other Homeric rarities to emphasize the situations of death at sea or in a foreign land.

Posidippus is also clearly fond of a more elusive quotation of Homer through the use of rarities, *hapax legomena* (AB 127, AB 118, AB 140, 134, 138) and these rarities signal a scholarly interest as well. In an even more elusive way, sometimes the immediate context of the Homeric passage is not of importance at all, just the use of the rarity or the inclusion of only one piece of the imagery in the target text. For example, AB 128.3, καίόμενος δ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἄνθρακας ὠνήρ; the pentameter of AB 129.2, ἐκ πυρός, εἰς ἑτέραν Κύπριδος ἄνθρακιήν); and in one ascribed also to Asclepiades, AB 134.2, ἄρσενες ἀσβέστῳ θῆκαν ὑπ' ἄνθρακι), the word for coals or embers are a way to convey intense ardor. These coals are only

³⁴⁹ The second term used for the beach here, αἰγιαλοί, a word appearing from the 3rd c. on, is a place of safety as it is in AB 11.2 (a shell saved on the shore) and AB 20.6 (Ptolemy's shore).³⁴⁹

used in Homer of the fire at the camp of Achilles , *Il.* 9.213, ἀνθρακίην στορέσας ὀβελούς ἐφύπερθε τάνυσσε, *having scattered the burning coals he spread the spits above*. One could consider the Achilles/Patroclus connection, but this line is the scene where they are both alive and well and serving Odysseus some guest/host food. Note that Posidippus (and maybe Asclepiades) end rather than begin a line, and even a pentameter with ἀνθρακίη, in an effort, perhaps, to emphasize both the depth of the love expressed in each poem and to signal their awareness of the Homeric. The poet's scholarly interests may be evidenced by the presence of these rarities and arrangements. Connected to that intellectual side of the poem is the learned world of sympotic poetry as exemplified in AB 140, a poem which also recalls AB 104 and 117, mentioned in Chapter One for their evocation of books and study.

The common *topoi* call for similar echoes of epic formalities, whether in battles of love, in moment of death or a combination of both. This repetition of *topos* and Homeric allusion implies a metapoetic assumption of recognition by both poet and reader of the epigram and it becomes a trope that signals this self-annotation in the reading of an epigram.

This self-awareness in the poems is similar to what Hinds points out in Conte's interpretation of the use of *memini* in Ovid's depiction of Ariadne. Like his example, the communication in epigram occurs through a persona, through a voice that is not the poet's own. Hinds writes "*Memini* here is Ariadne's word, not the poets. It is spoken 'in character'; and its operation as a signpost of reflexive annotation—its suspension of the artistic illusion—is covert rather than overt."³⁵⁰ In Ovid, this verb of remembering becomes a signal for the Alexandrian footnote, it "tropes the textual 'reminiscences' of Cat. 64 which informs Ariadne's speech."³⁵¹

³⁵⁰ Hinds, p. 4.

³⁵¹ Hinds, p. 4.

Hinds asks whether the point is to clarify the situation depicted in the poem, the theme of her abandonment, or to place ones poem in the literary tradition, to allude to another author, display literary tastes: “Is this narrative realism or intertextual continuity?” The fact is it can be both, as it is in Posidippus, a poet who is completing the picture of battles, love, death through Homeric diction and he is placing his poem into the history of Greek literature, and into contemporary aesthetic expectations, at the same time.

If the literary preferences are so clearly laid out in a meta-poetic awareness, this reflexive allusion that requires self-annotation on the part of poet and reader. This interpretation may also extend to the question of whether Posidippus is using Homeric echoes as metaphors for his own poetry’s subject matter.³⁵² Hinds asks of Ovid: “But why assume that in *Fast.* 3.471-6 memory is really a way of talking about allusion rather than allusion a way of talking about memory?”³⁵³ So in Posidippus, we can see the references and allusions to Homer and the use of Homeric diction as part of a trend of allusive epigrams *and* we can see him commenting on that very practice, on his own poetic tastes.

In the next two chapters, I extend this discussion to include two sections of poems on the Milan papyrus which allow the addition of comments on the arrangement of those poems.

³⁵² Hinds, p. 10, Is this “Aeneas’s intervention in an ancient Italian landscape as a metaphor for Vergil’s intervention in archaic Roman poetry? OR is it Vergil’s intervention in archaic Roman poetry as a metaphor for Aeneas’s intervention in an ancient Italian landscape?” the answer is “a disjunctive one” that is, both directions simultaneously. “Hardie...Greene go one step further” and argue for “the figural reciprocity.”

³⁵³ Hinds, p. 11.

Chapter Three: Homeric diction in the λιθικά

In this third chapter, I analyze the Homeric language of the first section of the Milan papyrus, the λιθικά. In conjunction with the discussion of Homeric diction, I add information about the arrangement of the poems. The discovery of this Hellenistic poetry book is one of the most exciting finds of the last century. Because we have the actual book roll, study of the poetry can extend to the editing which was most likely done in the 3rd century BCE, perhaps by Posidippus himself.³⁵⁴ Therefore, in addition to continuing my focus on thematic allusion and *topoi*, I now add some relevant points to interpretations of apparent cohesion within the twenty epigrams that form the λιθικά section.

One of the major contributions of the Milan papyrus lies in the fact that while some of the categories are familiar (ἐπιτύμβια, ναυαγικά, ἀναθηματικά, ἵππικά), others are new to us (λιθικά, οἰώνοσκοπικά, τρόποι). Even with these new categories, certain epigrammatic *topoi* and themes reappear and remind us of the ways one epigram can fit under several headings. The use of Homeric diction is particularly striking and innovative.

In my analysis of these poems on marvelous stones, one essential point I have in mind is Bing's suggestion that the epigrams can be read as meta-poetic commentary on the act of writing epigrams. He writes, "many of the poems of this section linger on the artist's exquisite workmanship, and it is tempting to read them programmatically: as art contemplating art, they

³⁵⁴ See Obbink, Krevans and Gutzwiller in Gutzwiller 2005; Di Nino 2013 also makes this suggestion.

invite a self-reflexive interpretation likewise part of the beginning of a work.”³⁵⁵ This idea of self-reflection may be extended to consider the metaphorical aspect of the poems. That is, in considering the boulders in AB 7, 19 and 20, one may ask if this boulder only represents the momentum of an epic hero in battle or is the boulder Homer? Are Posidippus’ epigrams equal to the gems as rubble from the mountain representing the Homeric tradition? Certainly, the epigrams are bound together through the mention and appreciation of technique in the creation of artistic works, in the same way, for example, that the section on statues, ἀνδριαντοποιικά are all focused on artistic appreciation or the way that Pindar’s odes all express appreciation of contests of athleticism. Beyond this overall thematic coherence, there is also an intratext in the λιθικά that implies an intentional plan for this section of the papyrus.

Upon the publication of P. Mil. Vogl. VIII 309, the λιθικά section was immediately recognized as a tightly knit group of poems.³⁵⁶ There are twenty (or twenty-one) poems in 126 lines of poetry, filling Column I.1 to Column IV.6 of the papyrus with AB 19 the longest at 14 lines.³⁵⁷ The marvelling at stones with special properties is the recurring topic that helps the poet create a sort of *epimone*, especially as he dwells on the craft of stone carving in AB 1-15. Some parts of the papyrus are missing, but, even with those gaps, the accumulated descriptions of beautiful stones becomes an impressive whole as one reads the poems in order and this whole is framed by appeals to Zeus and Poseidon (as other sections include appeals to Ptolemy, to Demeter, Hades). Petrain writes that these epigrams are evidence of “a coherent group of conventions and themes related to the discussion of precious stones, a third-century discourse on

³⁵⁵ Bing 2005, p. 120

³⁵⁶ BG, AB, *Un Anno Dopo* 2002, Acosta-Hughes 2004, Gutzwiller 2005.

³⁵⁷ On the possibility of AB 10 being two poems, see Version 12.1 of the text and BG. The poems are so scantily preserved that no determination can be certain.

gems of which we were earlier unaware...³⁵⁸ Petrain, Fuqua and Bing all describe Posidippus as self-aware and witty in his play with language even as he impresses upon his reader the divinely protected and extensive power of the Ptolemies.

The study of Homeric diction in the poems gives us more information to support or counter insights about this collection. Both Hunter and Gutzwiller see a pairing up of certain poems which indicates an editorial technique familiar from the *Greek Anthology* and other poetry books. Gutzwiller writes, “In at least two instances the collection contains a pair of epigrams on the same topic, placed side by side (AB 6-7 and 11-12), creating a knot of density within the flow of the collection’s variety.”³⁵⁹ Hunter also recognizes these pairings in the “juxtaposed poems on mother-of-pearl (AB 11 and AB 12) and, very probably, juxtaposed poems about a precious necklace (AB 6 and AB 7).”³⁶⁰ In the case of AB 11 and 12, a possible reference to Homeric diction in AB 12 may restrict this sense of bonding, even if the themes are similar. Also, the contrast in use of Homer in AB 6 (none of note) and AB 7 (specific and complex use of Homer) means that their link is based solely on the use of *topoi*: gift giving, gifts for a woman and the wonder of technical skill.

Throughout this section, the metapoetic aspect is revealed in linguistic and thematic links within the section. For example, AB 15 (= 20 GP and one of two epigrams known before we had the Milan papyrus) “begins with a rejection of the ‘river *topos*’” and indicates a contrast to AB 1.1 and AB 7.1-2, while the self-reflexive awareness of the poet is revealed in the way AB 8.1-2

³⁵⁸ Petrain 2005, p. 330.

³⁵⁹ Gutzwiller 2004, p. 86. She notes also “other sets of “companion pieces” are known, such as Callimachus AP VII 525 and VII 415 (29-30 GP), Leonideas AP VII 648 and VII 440 (10-11 GP), Theocritus (?) AP VII 658 and VII 659 (7-8 GP) and Meleager...”.

³⁶⁰ Hunter 2004, p. 97.

“‘rejects’ the subject matter of the immediately preceding pair of poems.”³⁶¹ The ‘river *topos*’ recurs as part of a Hellenistic preoccupation with geographical sources and at the same time these sources are also part of a theme concerning aspects of large topics in small spaces—both literally and metaphorically (see on AB 7 and 19 especially).³⁶²

Homeric quotations add another dimension that may make these “knots” seem less dense while also enlarging the sphere of intertext or intratext through references to the same or very similar Homeric passages (see e.g. below on AB 7, 19, 20). Geographical and political concerns, so typical of Hellenistic poetry, recur alongside the focus on technique and elegance and connect these poems to the social milieu of 3rd century BCE Alexandria. Hoffman interprets AB 8 as evidence of social status, writing: “the large sardion cameo that is three spans round, indicates that the epigram describes the gems of kings and royalty, not the gemstones of average citizens.”³⁶³ Connecting the artistic and the political, however indirectly, seems to be part of the program of these poems, and Hoffman notes, “Goldhill has claimed that Hellenistic ekphrasis is related to ‘cultural ideas about vision, reading, and the production of meaning.’”³⁶⁴ Additionally, guest/host relationships in the poems on gifted gems (AB 4-7) and the symposiast's roles (AB 2, 18) are connected to these topics. All of these ideas are further enhanced by the Homeric model as much as by the epigrammatic *topoi* and technical language that the poet also appropriates for these epigrams.

Lelli writes of the many *hapax legomena* in Posidippus, words only in his text, and the fact that the majority of them are technical or scientific indicates the attainment of a certain level

³⁶¹ Hunter 2004, p. 97.

³⁶² Cf. Leonidas 5 GP (= 1967-1972 Page = AP IX 326), where the cold stream comes down from a rock supplying water for a dedicator’s cup. A different thematic purpose, but the same *topos*.

³⁶³ Hoffman, p. 304.

³⁶⁴ Hoffman, p. 304.

of society, “come per esempio il linguaggio della mineralogia, dell’orefeceria, dello sport (l’equitazione) e dell botanica; ciò se da una parte testimonia l’attenzione e l’apertura di Posidippo scrittore alle lingue tecniche, conferma dall’altra i legami del poeta con diversi ambienti e livelli della società ellenistica.”³⁶⁵ The choice of these sorts of technical words, as in the weather sign language of the bird omen poems discussed in the next chapter, are as indicative of the Ptolemaic court as are the topics of political geography and luxurious gem stones. Kuttner’s chapter “Cabinet Fit for a Queen,” picks up on these points of social status, noting the fact that “Ptolemy II founded Berenice in this mother’s name on the Red Sea’s western shore (HN 37.136); it was the landfall for the mineral-bearing islands, and guarded the emerald-mining zone (AB 6, 9, 12).”³⁶⁶ The same Ptolemy “commissioned a four-cubit topaz,” (HN 37.108), an example of τρυφή, the luxury of royalty.³⁶⁷ Kuttner adds that “Egypt’s gem arts... especially suggested gifts to and from rulers.”³⁶⁸

Like Kuttner and Bing, I think that a key theme in these poems is the self-reference and reference to specific artisans. Kuttner writes, “The fantastic authorial δακτυλιοθήκη, studded with stones that are self-referential about poetic authorship (AB 9, 14, 16, 17) suggests that gem craft did embody critical positions for Posidippus.”³⁶⁹ She compares AB 5’s Demylus to “stray epigrams by Asclepiades (AP 12.163 = GP 24; ring gift?) and Adaeus (AP 9.544 = GP, *Garland* 9), whose eroticized jewels also seduce readers to meditate on serious relationships between

³⁶⁵ Lelli, p. 95-96.

³⁶⁶ Kuttner 2005, p. 159.

³⁶⁷ Kuttner 2005, p. 159.

³⁶⁸ Kuttner 2005, p. 160.

³⁶⁹ Kuttner 2005, p. 161; note 1 on p. 141, “Pliny’s review of *dactyliothecae* is HN 37.11-14. For an exemplary royal collector, who had Ptolemaic treasures too, see App. *Mith.*, esp. 23, 115-17, for Mithridates’ practices.” Also, see Hoffman, p. 304, “We also know that Hellenistic kings made collections (*dactyliotheca*) of gemstones.”

fracture, authorship, and response.”³⁷⁰ The Asclepiades epigram makes for a apt comparison because the *topoi* of the marvelous stones, the gift exchange, and image of luxury also appear. Asclepiades adds a note of friendship and the mention of Eros, *topoi* that do not appear in the Milan papyrus poems (only in Posidippus’ *Greek Anthology* contributions).

Asclepiades 24 GP (= 1071-1074 Page = AP XII 163)

εὔρεν Ἔρως τι καλῶ μείξαι καλόν, οὐχὶ μάραγδον
χρυσῶ, ὃ μήτ’ ἀνθῆι μήτε γένοιτ’ ἐν ἴσῳ,
οὐδ’ ἐλέφαντ’ ἐβένῳ, λευκῶ μέλαν, ἀλλὰ Κλέανδρον
Εὐβιότῳ, πειθοῦς ἄνθεα καὶ φιλίης.

Eros found something beautiful to mix with beauty, and not emerald with gold, which neither blooms nor could be equal, nor ivory with ebony, black with white, but [Eros found] Cleander with Eubiotus, flowers of persuasion and friendship.

In this epigram, the theme is amatory, but the focus on material wealth and power is familiar from the λιθικά. The intimacy of some of the λιθικά poems is made more apparent with this epigram in mind, however. The *topoi* the two poets have in common remind us again of the categorical choices of book editors. The anaphora, *polyptoton*, and mention of gleaming light here are also typical of Posidippus’ gem imagery. So, Asclepiades’ poem would fit thematically and aesthetically in this section of the Milan papyrus. Sens writes of 24 GP, “According to a well-known Homeric dictum, a god always brings like together with like (*Od.* 17.218, ὡς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεὸς ὡς τὸν ὁμοῖον; cf. *Call.* fr. 178. 8-9 Pf.)...” and he adds “In this context, Eros’ action is represented as an artistic innovation (εὔρεν) analogous but superior to the combination of precious substances.”³⁷¹ Sens’s interpretation is appropriate to the meta-poetic aspect that Bing and Kuttner recognize in the parallel Posidippus poems. At the same time,

³⁷⁰ Kuttner 2005, p. 161.

³⁷¹ Sens 2011, p. 157.

Ascelpiades is not making use of any Homeric reference, a stylistic trait of Posidippus that is particularly evident in the λιθικά.

To begin this analysis, I want to briefly mention AB 1-3 because, as Bing notes, “from the first fragments (AB 1: Ἰνδὸς Ὑδάσπη) of the papyrus, the politics and poetics are combined.”³⁷² While both AB 1 and 2 are missing quite a lot of text, they do initiate awareness of the geographical, political and social emphasis in AB 1-20. AB 1 begins with ‘Hydaspes’ and seems to end with a word built on the name of the god Zeus. As Fuqua, for one, recognizes, “The battle at the Hydaspes River was Alexander’s last great victory in the East,” and it became “ a highly evocative symbol of the accomplishments and authority of Alexander, whom Ptolemy I and his descendents served loyally.”³⁷³ With this political history established, AB 2 seems next to bring the reader again to the conquest of the east with what seems to be a references to the Indus River (AB 2.4). The drinking cup and ‘celebration by libation of wine’ in AB 2.1 and 2.3 and in AB 3 connects to the setting of symposia in AB 18. As Bing has shown in his discussion of AB 18, these first poems in turn connect to the drinking experience recalled by the Cyclops in AB 19 and in later poems (AB 37 as well as poems previously known from the *Greek Anthology*, such as AB 140, 138). Bing recognizes the sympotic connection of AB 2 to AB 8.5 to the geographical concerns to AB 7 and, by extension, to AB 4, 11, 19, and 20. AB 2 also includes what seems to be the name of a craftsman Cronius, which probably repeats in AB 6.2 and definitely repeats in AB 7.3.

AB 3 and 4 are an interesting pair in that they both may connect to Book 23 of the *Iliad*. AB 3 has a word for a bowl, φιάλη, used in Homer four times and only in *Iliad* 23, where it

³⁷² Bing 2005, p. 119-140, who points out that Indian Hydaspes “was essentially the furthest limit of Alexander’s conquests in the East. The section ends with a poem about a massive boulder in Euboea...”

³⁷³ Fuqua, p. 4.

twice refers to the funerary urn for Patroclus and a twice for the fifth prize of the games (*Il.* 23.213, 23.253, 23.270, 23.616). In AB 4 there is a reference to those funeral games, the shooting of the dove by Meriones at *Il.* 23.879. If not for this connection, AB 3 would be only linked through the focus on luxury and gems. AB 4 stands out for the numerous Homeric references and for the intimacy of the gift exchange and it is the first poem in the section worthy of extended discussion of Homeric diction.

AB 4 (Column I 14-19)

λᾶαν] ὄρῶν τὸν γλαυκὸν οἰμ.[
]. Δαρείου δακτυλο[
 αἴγλην] ἀντισέληνον αἶ[
]ς λύχνῳ παννυ[χ...].
 Πέρσῃ δὲ χρυσῶι σφι<γ>κτὸν λίθον ἕξ ἀγ[απ]ητ[οῦ]
 δῶρον Μανδήνη πήχεος ἐκρέμασεν.

*looking at the grey [stone] [all one color?]
 of the finger of Darius
 [a gleam]³⁷⁴ like the moon
 [or similar to?] a lamp for all night parties/vigils
 and the Persian stone set in gold from her desirable
 arm Mandene hung as a gift.*

In AB 4, Homeric diction is used to reinforce the depiction of the brilliant gleam of a gem dangling heavily from the bracelet of a woman's forearm.³⁷⁵ This epigram only partially survives on the papyrus, but from what we have of this six line epigram, it is clear that the poem is about a gray gemstone which is set in gold (as some others in AB 6, 7, 8, 12) and this surface, either of one gray shade or of many shades, shines like the moon (ἀντισέληνον, 4.3).³⁷⁶ The epigrammatic *topoi* involved with gift giving and engravings of gems become more nuanced

³⁷⁴ See below on choice of αἴγλην, Ferrari 2005; or “like the sun “in the face of the moon.”

³⁷⁵ Christensen in her 2013 dissertation on select poems of this section suggests that there may be two gems in AB 4 due to the delayed mention of the recipient Mandene (usually at beginning as in AB 3.1, 5.1-2, 7.1) and to the sense of contrast of gleam in the first lines to that in the last lines.

³⁷⁶ No other moon in Posidippus's epigrams. De Stefani (2005) suggests ὁμόχροον for the gem (τὸν γλαυκὸν) in line 1.

when interpreted in light of quotations of Homer and allusion to Homeric passages. Homeric diction, epigrammatic diction, the *topoi* of divine gifts, divine brightness, are all expressed in AB 4, an epigram first noted for its political and geographical references. The gleam of the gem in AB 4, as Bing explains, is a metaphor in many of the λιθικά poems for the far-reaching gleam of political power, Ptolemaic power inherited from Alexander. That gleam is also a metaphor for the artistic talent of engraver and poet.³⁷⁷ Engraving is an apt and common metaphor for literary epigram, and the ecphrastic description of the jewelry in AB 4, like many in the λιθικά section of the Milan papyrus, can be seen as an object of marvel as much as the gem itself. With only about twelve certain words, this poem has the possibility of being a strong example of literary self-awareness and poetic craft and it also provides evidence of the poet's Homeric interests.

Clearly the text is missing quite a lot, but some idea of what that is exactly may come from a closer look at Homeric diction. In line four, there is a word for a light or lantern, **λύχνωι** ('shining all night,' **παννυ** [χ] that appears only once in Homer, at *Od.* 19.34, **χρύσειον λύχνον** ἔχουσα φάος περικαλλές ἐποίει, *while holding a golden lamp she provided an especially splendid light.*³⁷⁸ The *Odyssey* line is from the scene where Athena is giving light from an hand-held lamp as she is walking in front of Telemachus and Odysseus.³⁷⁹ Russo writes of this line that "this 'golden lamp' of Athena has led both ancient and modern critics to question this passage."³⁸⁰ He adds that Athenaeus considered the lamp a later invention and thought that Athena must have had a torch, a point defended by most. Russo notes the role of such lamps as

³⁷⁷ Bing 2005, p. 120-140.

³⁷⁸ The lamp appears only once in the epic corpus. Stanford, p. 317 "Apparently the light given by the goddess's lamp is far in the excess of normal 'candle-power' of lamps in those days. Telemachus notices a supernatural radiance, with almost a touch of clairvoyance." Odysseus "either sees her or deduces her agency (42ff.)."

³⁷⁹ *Scholia Vetera in Odysseam* (Dindorff) note 15 on *Od.* 19.34 comments that light is *given* to the heroes, so the notion of gift giving appears there in a different, more divine way:

³⁸⁰ Russo *ad loc.*

cult objects and Pfeiffer “makes the same distinction, arguing that a lamp seems to be associated with Athena continuously from Mycenaean times down to Hellenistic and later literature.”³⁸¹

With this continuity in mind, both Posidippus and Homer can be seen, as Russo writes, to be “drawing upon that tradition for a piece of stirring imagery turned to good dramatic use.”³⁸²

One could also say that there is a resemblance of motifs between *Od.* 19.34 and AB 4.4-5 in the spreading of light and the expression of the kind of brightness only a divinity has.³⁸³

Because of the lack of a full line four, it is hard to say with certainty what placement λύχνωι has in the pentameter, but it seems to be similar to Homer’s hexameter, just after the first dactyl.

Certainly, the gleam of gold is present in both Homer and Posidippus (AB 4.5, χρυσῶι σφι<γ>κτὸν λίθον).

In Asclepiades, this lamp is associated with Demeter rather than Athena: 9.2 GP=AP V 7 (Λύχνε, σὲ γὰρ παρεοῦσα τρις ᾤμοσεν, *Oh lamp, for, being in your presence, Heracleia swore three times*) and 10.2 (1008) GP=AP V150, ἤθελε; τὸν λύχνον, παῖδες, ἀποσβέσατε, *did she want to? Boys, extinguish the lamp.*³⁸⁴ The first poem, 9 GP, is addressed to a lamp, considered a god to whom the speaker prays, wishing the lamp to extinguish itself when a certain girl is attempting a nighttime tryst. In the second poem, 10 GP, the girl swore to Demeter that she would come at night to her loved one but hasn’t arrived. Sens comments on the thematic and verbal connections of the two poems which present contrasting stories of oaths.³⁸⁵ Asclepiades’ lights are those that allow nighttime trysts, Posidippus’ is one of a gem and a beautiful recipient of the gift. Asclepiades also seems to be alluding not to Athena’s type of light, but, as Sens notes,

³⁸¹ Russo *ad loc.*

³⁸² Russo *ad loc.*

³⁸³ Merry, p. 299 on Athena walking in front with lamp in hand: “as in *Il.* 15.307 Apollo marches in front of Hector, carrying his terrible shield—neither of them being visible to human eyes—so it is here.”

³⁸⁴ Both lines noted without further comment by Sens 2002, p.206.

³⁸⁵ Sens 2011, p. 57.

to the sort in Aristophanes in the *Ecclesiazusae*, “Praxagora invokes a lamp in an extended parody of the traditional language of prayer...” No thematic connection to Posidippus in that parodic humor, but add Asclepiades’ light to the gift giving *topos* and the mention of the moon in AB 4 and these parallels expand the divine light to include the light of a woman who has “a desirable arm,” (ἀγ[απ]ητ[οῦ] ...πήχεος AB 4.5-6).

Parsons notes Callimachus, Pf. epig. 55.2, πλούσιον ἅ Κριτίου λύχνον ἔθηκε θεῶ where Kalliston “dedicates a fine lamp for her child...”³⁸⁶ In Callimachus, a woman is dedicating an especially fancy light to the god of Canopus in Egypt, a use which is in line with Russo’s and Pfeiffer’s comments that these hand-held lamps continued to be used as votive offerings from Mycenaean times on. Also, in Callimachus Pf. 49, the poet refers to the ‘lamps of Isis.’

Ferrari suggests ἡ αἴγλη for the start of line three, pointing out the initial position of this term for sunlight or a gleaming light in *Il.* 2.458, αἴγλη παμφανόσσα δι’ αἰθέρος οὐρανὸν ἴκε, the gleam all bright shining went through through the upper air to heaven. The light there is the reflection of the sun on the armor of the Greek forces and Achilles’ new armor is described in the same terms at the start of *Il.* 19.362, αἴγλη δ’ οὐρανὸν ἴκε. The ending of another line, however, combines αἴγλη with the moon in a description of Alcinous’ palace and Ferrari’s also gives this parallel for AB 4.3’s ἀντισέληνον, *Od.* 4.45=7.85, ὥς τε γὰρ ἡελίου αἴγλη πέλεν ἡὲ σελήνης, *for there was a gleam as of the sun or of the moon.*³⁸⁷

I think one more Homeric passage should also be considered as a parallel for the only moon imagery in Posidippus:

Il. 8.554-556

εἶατο παννύχιοι, πυρὰ δέ σφισι καίετο πολλά.

³⁸⁶ Parsons 2001, p.108. Posidippus uses the name Kalliston in AB 139 = 8 GP = HE II p.487.

³⁸⁷ Ferrari, p. 185; there is a mistake in Ferrari’s article, where *Od.* 4.445 is printed, instead of *Od.* 4.45.

ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄστρα φαινήν ἀμφὶ σελήνην
φαίνεται ἄριπρεπέα, ὅτε τ' ἔπλετο νήνεμος αἰθήρ.

... they sat all night long, and the many watch-fires burned around them.
As when in the sky stars around the radiant moon
appear very bright, and when the air is windless.

Here the Trojan watch fires are blazing at night like the stars shine around the moon.³⁸⁸ The simile for a bright gleam of fires burning all night long expressed with the words παννύχιοι (*Il.* 8.554) and ἀμφὶ σελήνην (*Il.* 8.555) could be seen as a parallel to AB 4.3's ἀντισέληνον and AB 4.4's λύχνωι παννυ[χ].³⁸⁹ If the poet is quoting *Il.* 8.554-5 in some way here in AB 4, this would only confirm the text of the *editio princeps*.³⁹⁰ Furthermore, the quoted Homeric text may be a link to contemporary scholarly debate in Alexandria. Kirk comments on the episode where this language appears (*Il.* 8.555-61) that it is “one last problem, typical,” of this book because it is unclear “how much of this resplendent simile properly belongs here. Aristophanes and Aristarchus athetized, and Zenodotus omitted, 557-8...as taken from 16.299f. where they recur...” and, Kirk adds, “where they are undeniably more appropriate.”³⁹¹ Is Posidippus quoting the line before the section omitted by Zenodotus? The beams of light, whether of the sun, stars or moon, as used in Homer and elsewhere are all fitting parallels for the ‘gleams’ in the AB 4 or of any of the gemstones in the λιθικά section. The reversal of language is certainly typical and similar to the first passage noted, *Od.* 19.34. Homer’s golden light is split up in AB 4 so that the light precedes the mention of the gold.

Another Homeric *hapax* may be a connection for line 6 where ἐκρέμασεν is a slight alteration of the ἀπεκρέμασεν from *Il.* 23.879, ἀλχέν' ἀπεκρέμασεν, σὺν δὲ πτερὰ πυκνὰ

³⁸⁸ Note also, though, HH to Mercury 140, παννύχιος· καλὸν δὲ φῶως κατέλαμπε Σελήνης.

³⁸⁹ Kirk, Vol. II, p. 340 on *Il.* 8.553, the line before this parallel, notes a phrase that P. uses in AB 25, “μέγα φρονέοντες, ‘with high confidence.’” And he notes that the line was of interest to Aristarchus.

³⁹⁰ BG, p. 113 notes Hdt. 2.130 for a parallel.

³⁹¹ Kirk, Vol. II, p. 340.

λίασθεν, *she drooped her neck and her beating wings went slack*. In the *Iliad*, during the funeral games, a wild dove is shot by Meriones and lands on a mast and hangs like the bracelet is draping on Mandene's arm. *Il* 23.879. There is only one occurrence of ἀπεκρέμασεν in epic corpus, on which the *D scholia* note: Σὺν δὲ πτερὰ πυκνὰ λίασθεν. Συνεκρότησε δὲ τὰ πτερὰ. Although there may be a connection to the *hapax*, the form ἐκρέμασεν does appear in a repeated line in the *Od.* 8 67 and 105, referring to Demodocus's lyre...³⁹² Even if the context of the bird that has been hit by an arrow in the closing scene of Book 23, the funeral games for Patroclus, is not exactly complimentary to the image of fine jewelry on a lady's arm, the 'wonder' moment is.³⁹³ The sure shot of Meriones, the wonder at the way he hits the dove clean through from far away and the manner in which it falls from the mast after hitting it first, is a moment that grabs everyone's attention.

This Homeric diction also appears in Asclepiades in the last line of 6 GP (=AP V 203), σοὶ κατὰ μεσσοπύλης χρύσειον ἐκρέμασεν, *for you she hung the golden [implement] down from the midgate*.³⁹⁴ This epigram also includes a second Homeric *hapax*: ἵππαστήρα, Sens notes, "is based on the verb ἵππαζομαι, 'drive horses,' a Homeric *hapax* at *Il.* 23.426."³⁹⁵ With this quotation (possibly a citation of Asclepiades by Posidippus) the literary focus is transferred to another element of the epigram's theme, from marvel to gift-giving to women treated as goddesses and women dedicating to goddesses. Again the golden imagery also gives that epic

³⁹² Richardson, p. 269 (in Kirk ed. *Iliad: Vol. VI*) comments, "The bird resting on the mast, with its neck hanging down and drooping feathers is a vivid and pathetic picture," and he notes Aristarchus's preference for "λίασσεν from the active λιάζω which occurs once in Lycophron, meaning loosen."

³⁹³ Merry, p.299: "This constitutes the great θαῦμα (l.36), that no fresh lamps are seen, and yet (ἔμπης, *Od.* 18.354) the walls and rafters seem all ablaze with light." Note AB 13 a stone that, "when it is anointed, / [a light] spreads over the whole surface, [a beguiling] marvel." (Θαῦ[μ] AB 13.2, also Persian reference here, line 4).

³⁹⁴ I follow Sens 2011, p. 36 translation "down from the midgate," for κατὰ μεσσοπύλης, which he calls an "obscure and difficult expression."

³⁹⁵ Sens 2011, p. 38.

divinity. Lloyd-Jones remarks, “objects belonging to the gods are often called golden from Homer on,” as in AB 118.6.³⁹⁶

The other words in AB 4 are either fairly common or missing. I would, however like to point out one more possible Homeric parallel, especially in view of the reversal of diction of the words for ‘light,’ ‘gold,’ ‘all night long,’ and ‘around the moon.’ The arm of Mandene in the last line reminds the reader of the finger of line 2. This term for arm or forearm in AB 4, ὁ πῆχυς appears in Homer 4 x in *Il.*, 4x in *Od.* and it appears before δάκτυλος in *Od.* 23.240-241,

Od. 23.240-241

δειρῆς δ’ οὐ πω πάμπαν ἀφίετο πῆχεε λευκῶ
καί νύ κ’ ὀδυρομένοισι φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως.

*from his neck she would not at all let go her white arms
and rose-fingered Dawn would have appeared for the weepers.*

Although notably formulaic, these lines are from the exciting moment when Penelope and Odysseus are reunited. The episode might be in any poet’s mind and so a Homeric link even if it is one that is second nature, or illocutionary.³⁹⁷ The proximity of πῆχεε to δάκτυλος would not be really anything to note except for the fact that AB 4 is an example of carefully chosen diction and the dawn does spread a particularly special light on the world.³⁹⁸ The *Odyssey* lines seem to highlight the eroticism of Mandene’s arm, finger, and the intimate moment of the gift-giving (note also the emphatic position of δῶρον in the last line of AB 4).

De Stefani argues that this gem is on a ring that once belonged to the Persian king Darius. He sees “the delay of Mandene’s name in the last line” as signaling the change in status of this

³⁹⁶ Lloyd-Jones 1963, p. 85.

³⁹⁷ Following J.L. Austin, Edmunds, p. 24, “utterances that have a conventional force.” (as opposed to “locutionary” words, such as “uttering a certain sentence with a certain sense of reference” and “perlocutionary” “what we bring about *by* saying something” (a poem as speech act) “as distinguished from *in* saying something.” (“I bet”).

³⁹⁸ C.f. Asclepiades: 30 GP =AP VII 284.1, Ὀκτώ μεν πῆχεις ἄπεχε, τρηχεῖα θάλασσα. Sens 2011, p. 201ff.

ring—once that of a king, now only a girl’s as if there were, he writes, a “shifting form the ‘heroic’ to erotic in quite an Alexandrian manner.”³⁹⁹ I disagree with his emphasis on a lesser recipient and would argue that the gem’s place in Ptolemy’s city immediately puts it in a place of statues and that there is continuity throughout the poem in the expression of the ‘marvel’ of both divine gleam and powerful presence—of king, girl, engraving, or poetic skill. The poem’s last word appears in *Iliad* 23 and leaves the reader on a note that, I think, equates the heroic and erotic through technical expertise.

In AB 4, the first thing that stands out thematically, as Hunter, Stephens and Bing point out, is the political and geographical frame of reference. If the Darius is named is the Persian leader, than the poet gives a nod to Alexander the Great’s conquest over the Persians, a reminder of Ptolemy’s rule and the political and geographical context for the craftsmanship help to place the epigram in a literary context as well.⁴⁰⁰ The epigram is novel but also represents all of the old traditions and hopes to be spread as far as Persia just as Alexander’s fame is. At the same time as this wide sphere of influence is brought to mind, a more intimate devotion to a girl is part of the *topos* here, too. As the rock goes from Persia to Alexandria, from natural setting to luxurious cosmopolitan setting, there is also an implication of the wide distribution of goods. Schur, for one, notes the “more personal change of location,” expressed “in the theme of exchange, exemplified by stones changing hands as gifts (AB 4, AB 5).”⁴⁰¹ AB 4 is an example of the way Krevans explains the grouping of λιθικά poems, which “has been created, in part, by taking amatory poems about beautiful jewels given as gifts to the beloved and shifting the emphasis

³⁹⁹ De Stefani 2005, pp. 7-8.

⁴⁰⁰ Hunter 2004, p. 97 on the relationships, that link Zeus to Poseidon and Alexander to Ptolemy “as (e.g.) Theocritus’s *Encomium* of Ptolemy makes clear.” Bing (noted in Kosmetatou, AH, p.240, n.57) on Alexander the Great and the “continuity in the rule of Egypt” of the Ptolemies in Gutzwiller, 2005.

⁴⁰¹ Schur, p. 120. Darius will reappear in AB 8.

from ‘girl’ to ‘jewel’.”⁴⁰² The gleam of both girl and gem is reinforced by the use of Homeric diction.

Posidippus places a variety of words and fits them into a brief epigram in order to appropriate Homeric language for his own purpose. AB 4 is an example of the transformation of the Homeric to the epigrammatic, a poetic transformation that mirrors the carving of the gemstone. Tarán also writes of the ways epigrammatists alter motifs to fit their themes, one of which is transformation that is both literary and about physical objects and AB 4 is also an epigram about a carved stone. Carving, as Schur, for one, notes, is “a kind of *translatio*,” and AB 4 is one example in which, as Schur writes, “associations between carving, inscribing, and writing... unfold in poetic glyptic and graphic handling of stones.”⁴⁰³ Schur’s reminder of the abundance of metaphors in epigram and the multiple layers of expressed meaning is the key to understanding these poems. The fact is that some of these stone poems could have been placed in, say, amatory or sympotic sections of a poetry collection but are here for a reason. In this case the source text is mined for language and that language is used in new ways, affecting the reading of both source and target text. In AB 4, one set of motifs (divine brightness, draping of a limb) is emphasized by Homeric diction, others (gift giving to or by women) by the epigrammatic language. In transforming these motifs, Posidippus also brings in a new perspective on the Homeric passages, a true example of Kristeva’s ideas of Intertextuality—intertext that is ongoing between all texts.

The next poems, AB 5 and 6 are also about gems as gifts, intimate exchange and luxury, but neither has the depth of Homeric reference of AB 4 or AB 7, the surrounding poems. In AB 5, Schur suggests, the technical language of the stones and the female recipient of the gem melds

⁴⁰² Krevans in Gutzwiller 2005, p. 84.

⁴⁰³ Schur 2004, p. 121.

together and the designation of the semi-precious stones, ἡμιλίθον, “traces an elegant, almost palindromic route of exchange.”⁴⁰⁴ Like many of these epigrams, Schur continues, “The poem celebrates the achievement of a skilled stone-worker.”⁴⁰⁵ Also, that transition from massive stone to jeweled gem is, he writes, a “sequence of events” that “forms a small narrative,” one that “follows the stone through two stages, expressed in two main clauses.”⁴⁰⁶ The Persian stone, carved by Timanthes is “transferred to Demylus” and the “initial position of the name Demylus in line 3, following the *hapax* ἡμιλίθον, marks the halfway point of transition to a second stage, as the stone is given by him to Nicaea.”⁴⁰⁷ All of this thematic resemblance highlights the contrast in diction.

Before turning to analysis of AB 7, I want to point out AB 6 which also has links to the surrounding poems on the papyrus by a very similar context of gift giving, the naming of craftsman (Cronius), and by the exotic source of a gem given to a woman.

AB 6 (Column I, 24-29)

τῶιδε λίθωι πᾶσιν δ[.....]εται Ἡρωσ,
 ἔλκει δὲ γραπτὴν Ἴριν [
 τοῦτο τὸ μαρμαῖρον β[ηρύλλιον· εὔ] δ' ἐπεδήθη
 Νικονόης ὁ κύβος χρύσε[ον εἰς κάθε]μα,
 καὶ δώρητὸς ὑπὴλθ[ε]η κατὰ μαστὸν
 κλίνεσθαι στηθέων π[..... ἠ]δὲ σέλας.

*Heros ... with this stone ... by all
 it ... an engraving of Iris
 in glittering beryllion; it is a cube well set
 into the golden necklace of Niconoe,
 and it has come as a gift ...
 to lie upon her breast, a sweet flash*

⁴⁰⁴ Schur 2004, p. 122.

⁴⁰⁵ Schur 2004, p. 122.

⁴⁰⁶ Schur 2004, p. 122.

⁴⁰⁷ Schur 2004, p. 122.

Compared with AB 4 or AB 7, AB 6 contains only a trace of Homer. The immediate parallel may be, as Ferrari writes, Callimachus, ep. 24 Pf. (= 60 GP = 1422-1425 Page = AP IX 336) which begins, as Pfeiffer prints it with the name Heros (GP and AP have an unnamed hero) Ἡρώς Αἰετίωνος ἐπίσταθμος Ἀμφιπολίτεω / ἴδρυμαι μικρῶι μίρῳς ἐπὶ προθύρῳι, *I, Heros, at the door of Aetion of Amphipolis am seated, a small one on a small porch*. This Heros is presumably a statue and is grouped with other dedicatory epigrams.

Without the other examples of Homeric diction in this section of the papyrus, one would not look any further into AB 6. Yet, with the Homeric diction in mind, the last word of the epigram stands out. Used for a blaze or fire in Homer, σέλας is applied by Posidippus to the carved gemstone, κλίνεσθαι στηθέων π[..... ἦ]δὺ σέλας. (AB 6.6) The gem is a cause for wonder as the fire is in *Il.* 8.76, ἦκε σέλας μετὰ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν· οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες θάμβησαν, *Zeus 'sent a blazing flash into the army of the Achaeans; and they, seeing it, were struck with wonder'*.⁴⁰⁸ Bing has written about the prevalent gleams of wealth and jewelry along with the connected reach of poetry and politics that fill these stone poems, and Odyssean pair of lines that contain σέλας may be added to the source of Homeric echoes in the poems. The two *Od.* appearances are connected to the suitor Eurymachus who first derides Odysseus, then tries to string his bow. In the same form but a different *sedes* at *Od.* 18.354, ἔμπης μοι δοκεῖ δαίδων σέλας ἔμμεναι αὐτοῦ, *it seems to me that there is a blaze of torches from him.* There δαίδων σέλας refers to *'the blaze of torches'* that Eurymachus sees as making the disguised Odysseus something special. At *Od.* 21.246, the dative singular is used when Eurymachus attempts to use

⁴⁰⁸ Appearance of σέλας in Homer: 11x in *Il.*, 2x in *Od.*

the blaze of the fire to soften the bow, θάλπων ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα σέλα πυρός· ἀλλά μιν οὐδ' ὤς.⁴⁰⁹

The suitor who speaks to the husband of Penelope and falters at stringing the bow.

AB 7 is one of more complete of the poems, one in a series of three (AB 6, 7, 8) as well as a piece of the larger section (AB 1-20) and includes a quotation from the *Iliad* that links it also to AB 19, where a second Homeric rarity is used from the same Homeric passage. AB 7 brings up contemporary literary debates as the reader may recall Theocritus or another epigram as well because of the lexical choices of the poet (and Homeric also put to work at around the same time or later by Apollonius of Rhodes).

AB 7 (Column I 30-35)

ἐξ Ἀράβων τὰ ξάνθ' ὀ[ρέων κατέρ]υτα κυλίων
εἰς ἄλλα χειμάρρους ὦκ' [ἐφόρει ποτα]μὸς
τὸν μέλιτι χροίην λίθ[ον εἴκελον, ὄ]ν Κρονίο[υ] χεῖρ
ἔγλυψε· χρυσῶι σφι<γ>κτ[±11]ῆι
Νικονόη ἰ' κάθεμα τρη[τὸν φλέγει, ῆ]ς ἐπι μαστῶι
συλ<λ>άμπει λευκῶι χρωτὶ μελιχρὰ φάη.

*From Arabian mountains, the yellow rubble rolling
to the sea swiftly the stormy [river carried out]
the stone like the color of honey which the hand of Kronios
engraved: set in gold
for Niconoe shines on her white breast
a gleam shines as sweet as gold.*

The two opening lines of AB 7 include quotations of Homeric diction that link to AB 19 and that also appear in Theocritus and Apollonius. The third line has echoes also in Callimachus. The poetic technique here seems to be both “reflective” and “integrative” (to use Conte’s terms), in that the poet specifically quotes Homer, but he once again he sets the diction to work for his own form and function. The theme of praising wondrous stones is extended to include the *topoi*

⁴⁰⁹ This repetition and only two appearances in the *Od.* are not noted in Stanford or Merry, who only point out the joke about the bald head of the shabby looking Odysseus.

of gift-giving, geographical movement, exotic origins and, possibly, rivers. As in AB 4, allusion to Homer is both thematic and specific.

AB 7 opens with a perfectly Alexandrian geographical reference to the Arabian mountains (ἐξ Ἀράβων). In line two there is a version of the Homeric ποταμὸς χειμάρρους, ('winter flowing river' or 'river swollen with rain') a phrase that appears in variations four times in the *Iliad*, most famously in this simile comparing the momentum and rage of Hector's charge to that of a huge boulder falling from wintry mountain rivers. In AB 19.9, Posidippus alludes to this same passage through the *hapax legomenon* ὀλοοίτροχος and the overall hurling-rock image, which, as noted in the introduction to this chapter is an image that functions literally as part of the poem's theme and metaphorically as part of the overarching focus on literary self-awareness in all of the epigrams:

Iliad 13.136-141:

Τρῶες δὲ προὔτυψαν ἀολλέες ἦρχε δ' ἄρ' Ἴκτωρ
ἀντικρὺ μεμαῶς, ὀλοοίτροχος ὡς ἀπὸ πέτρης
ὄν τε κατὰ στεφάνης ποταμὸς χειμάρρους ὥση
ρήξας ἀσπέτω ὄμβρω ἀναιδέος ἔχματα πέτρης·
ὑψι δ' ἀναθρόσκων πέτεται, κτυπέει δέ θ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
ὔλη·

*The Trojans rushed forward in a throng and Hector led them
raging straightforward, as a rolling rock from a rock face
which from its edge a river swollen with water has pushed
breaking it with an immense rainstorm from the grip of the reckless rock face;
bounding aloft it flies, and the forest thunders beneath it;*

P. Bing discusses AB 7 and this simile from *Iliad* 13.136ff. in an essay on the political significance of the gemstones entitled "Politics and Poetics of Geography."⁴¹⁰ In that chapter, Bing explains how the poet associates technical language from Theophrastus with diction found

⁴¹⁰ Bing 2005, p. 122.

also in Theocritus and Callimachus.⁴¹¹ Bing also notes the epigrammatic *topoi* common to other poems in this section, particularly “the details of the journey from physical source to cultural application...” and the attention to τέχνη.⁴¹² Bing explains the use of the simile in AB 7 in terms that apply to other such quotations and citations in Posidippus. The poet uses Homeric language for his own purpose, “while discarding the overt *form* of the Homeric simile,” also “recalls its *function* by subtly comparing and equating,” the stone’s honey color “to the fairness of the woman’s skin...and perhaps also to her sweetness...”⁴¹³ Instead of a simile about a hero (Hector) in a battle, the poet, in AB 7, appropriates Homeric diction for description of a woman’s jewelry. Bing explains: “Posidippus varies the source of the stone from the *Iliad*’s rocky height...to Arabian mountains; for Homer’s κυλίνδεται (l. 142) he substitutes the more modern form κυλίων (7. 1); he apparently reverses the Homeric ποταμὸς χειμάρρου (13. 138) with χειμάρρους ... ποταμὸς (7.2); and he transposes Homer’s mention of the sea as stopping point (l. 143 μέχρι θάλασσης) from the framing narrative about Hector into his account of the stone (7.2 ἐς ἄλλα).”⁴¹⁴ I want to add to Bing’s analysis by delving further into the use of Homeric diction and this “poetological subtext” of political geography in the poem.⁴¹⁵

Posidippus is using Homeric diction that is repeated in near contemporary authors. Theocritus and Apollonius also use this χειμάρρους ποταμὸς. Theocritus in *Id.* 22.50 describes Amycus, Apollonius uses χειμάρρους in *Argo* 3.71, a line referring to Jason’s upbringing in the mountains. The Theocritus reference is from the story of Amycus and he depicts a different version than Apollonius does in the *Argonautika* (Book 2).

⁴¹¹ Bing 2005, p. 122.

⁴¹² Bing 2005, p. 122.

⁴¹³ Bing 2005, p.126.

⁴¹⁴ Bing 2005, p. 126.

⁴¹⁵ Bing 2005, p. 127.

In the hymn to the Dioscuri, *Idyll* 22, Theocritus opens up the episode about Polydeuces and Amycus with a description of the Argo arriving at the land of the Bebryces, on the shores of the Black Sea. Even before the scene with the verbal echo from Homer and Posidippus AB 7, that is before they meet the monstrous king Amycus, the Argonauts in Theocritus find a spring where “the pebbles at the bottom of it were like to silver and crystal,”

Theocritus *Idyll* 22.37-40

εὔρον δ' ἀέναον κρήνην ὑπὸ λισσάδι πέτρῃ,
ὔδατι πεπληθυῖαν ἀκηράτω· αἱ δ' ὑπένερθε
λάλλαι κρυστάλλῳ ἢ δ' ἀργύρῳ ἰνδάλλοντο
ἐκ βυθοῦ·

*They found under a smooth rock an everflowing spring,
full with untouched water; and underneath, the
pebbles looked like crystal and silver
from the deep;*

The juxtaposition of a rough crag and the crystalline stones in the clear water is a similar image to the gem in AB 7 which has come from through the water from rough mountains.⁴¹⁶ It is impossible to determine the chronology, but whether or not Posidippus and his λιθικά are earlier or later than this *Idyll*, Theocritus may be highlighting the image of gleaming gemstones to echo that *topos*, the commonplace of bright, gleaming light.

Amycus appears in this story after the Dioscuri find the spring and this king of the Bebrycians is set to box with Polydeuces. There are two versions of this part of the story: Apollonius, *Argo*. 2.1ff. depicts Polydeuces killing Amycus in the fight; Theocritus, 22.27ff., has

⁴¹⁶ Posidippus uses κρυστάλλῳ in AB 16.1; AB 11.1 has ἄργυρον and in AB 97.2 the dedication to Asclepius is a silver bowl, ἀργυρέην φιάλην (same word for bowl in AB 3, but one apparently carved out of a ruby).

Amycus merely “knocked out.”⁴¹⁷ The language in AB 7 appears in both poets. In Theocritus, the description is of Amycus’ shoulders:

Theocritus *Idyll* 22.49-50

ἔστασαν ἤύτε πέτροι ὀλοίτροχοι οὔστε κυλίνδων
χειμάρρους ποταμὸς μεγάλαις περιέξεσε δίναις.

*They stood like round rocks that some rolling
wintry torrent in its great whirlpools has polished round*

In Apollonius of Rhodes at *Argonautika* 3.71, wintry gusts are described with similar language as Hera speaks to Aphrodite/Cypris about Jason’s upbringing in the mountains: χείμαρροι καναχηδὰ κυλινδόμενοι φορέοντο, *rolling torrents were being borne with a loud crashing noise*. The commonality in Homer, Theocritus and Apollonius is that their episodes are all about something with strength beyond that of an ordinary man (Hector, Amycus, Jason). This divine force is apparent in AB 7 and 19, especially connected to Poseidon’s sea and contrasted with mountains. In AB 7, the extraordinary act may be that of Cronius who engraved the stone. The language in Posidippus expresses awe at the transformation of a rock into an artistic product of technique and this technique is equalled through the use of poetic language in an epigram with an epic *topos*.

One more point about the Apollonius connection in AB 7 and AB 19, which I will return to, is the common imagery of rocks and the waves of the sea. Consider:

Apollonius *Argo*. 2.70-74

ἔνθα δὲ Βεβρύκων μὲν ἄναξ, ἄτε κῦμα θαλάσσης
τρηχὺ θοῆ ἐπὶ νηὶ κορύσσεται, ἢ δ’ ὑπὸ τυτθὸν
ιδρεΐη πυκινόιο κυβερνητῆρος ἀλύσκει

⁴¹⁷ *OCD*, p. 79; this is not the only Homeric simile Apollonius and Theocritus have in common, Effe, p. 212; Also Krevans (1983) on another description in Theocritus that is drawn from Homer, that of Lycidas in *Idyll* 7 (such as *Od.* 5.77-78). “Ott,” she writes, “has once specific episode in mind...the confrontation between Odysseus and Melantheus in *Odyssey* 17.” In *Id.* 7, she notes, “Simichidas himself mentions Asclepiades with admiration (40),” and there are also “parallels to the poems of Leonidas of Tarentum.” Krevans 1983, p. 203.

ἰεμένου φορέεσθαι ἔσω τοίχοιο κλύδωνος;

*Then the leader of the Bebrycians, as when a wave of the sea
rough, crests against a swift ship, which scarcely
escapes because of the skill of the wise helmsman
as the billow is sent to be tossed over the side;*

The description of Amycus recalls the river rock simile in Homer while the language is also very Posidippean. Although common, several words in this short passage do appear in the next section on the papyrus, on bird omens (τρηχὺ in AB 24.4; νηὶ AB 21; κυβερνήτηι in AB 22.5; κύμα θαλάσσης also ends the first line of AB 23). Additionally, at the risk of pushing this parallel too far, the skill of the helmsman may link these passages as well.

Effe describes Apollonius's use of Homer in his Amycus passage where the poet uses heroic language for a brute who will lose the fight, as "parody by contrast."⁴¹⁸ Effe is emphasizing the way Apollonius strives to keep distance from Homeric style, even considering the poem as having a "pejorative and anti-Homeric air."⁴¹⁹ I don't think Posidippus is using Homeric diction in quite the same way as Apollonius, but the poets may be referencing the same Homeric lines applying the same technique to avoid triviality.

Another poet who may be recalled in AB 7 is Callimachus, who has a line similar to AB 7.3's τὸν μέλιτι χροίηπτὸν in the *Hecale*, where a raven or crow is described as contending with images of whiteness, including swans, milk, and the foam of a wave: καὶ γάλακι χροίην καὶ κύματος ἄκρω ἄωτῳ, *and the color of milk and foam in the very flower of the top* (fr. 288.57 Pf. ,Column IV). This link may be a simple one of word choice, but it is a reminder of the way Posidippus combines the Homeric and the contemporary Alexandrian diction. Another connection to Callimachus may be here, as Bing comments on the double meaning of ἐπι

⁴¹⁸ Effe, p. 210.

⁴¹⁹ Effe, p. 211.

μαστῶι in Callimachus, *Hymn to Delos*, 48, ἢ Χίον ἢ νήσοιο διάβροχον ὕδατι μαστόν / Παρθενίης, *or to Chios or to the sea-soaked breast of the island Parthenie*.⁴²⁰ If there is a parallel here, it would highlight the sea as source for the stone which lies on the breast of a woman instead of an island in the sea.⁴²¹

On the issue of organization in this part of the λιθικά, my interpretation of AB 4 and AB 7 leads me to question part of Fuqua's 2008 argument for an internal ring-composition in AB 8-10. I certainly agree with his assertion that the "major themes of this section" are "the radiant beauty of jewels as expressions of the power of art and the power of rulers," and that the poems as a whole emphasize "the ties between Ptolemies and gods Zeus and Poseidon."⁴²² However, his insistence that AB 8-10 are distinct in "both content and approach" from AB 3-7 and AB 11-12 is only partly convincing. While AB 11 and 12 seem to refer, as Kuttner also points out, to women's unguent boxes rather than jewelry as in AB 3-7 and AB 8-10, especially Polycrates ring in AB 9, refers to men's jewelry, these poems are not as distinct in other ways. Like the other poems, the intimacy of the topic and the awareness of the reader's ability to recognize allusion and political significance is of utmost importance. So, even with the exceptional "union of royal power and the arts" in AB 9's depiction of the "finely-wrought" seal of Polycrates ring, AB 8-10 connect to other poems more than they are distinct from them. Moreover, with Homeric allusion in mind, the ring composition that is implied in the whole section by the mention of

⁴²⁰ Bing 2005, p. 126, who also notes Pindar *Pythian* 4.8 as a parallel. Also cf. Asclepiades 18.4 GP (= 1052 Page = AP XII 135.4), ἔβλεπε, χῶ σφιγχθεὶς οὐκ ἔμενε στέφανος, where a garland is bound on a neck, rather than a gem bound in gold as in AB 7.

⁴²¹ Another possible Homeric note in AB 7 may be the word for 'perforated' which is used for a fancy bed-frame twice in the *Iliad* (*Il.* 3.448 and 24.720) and four times in the *Odyssey*. Just once in Homer does τρητός refer to a stone and not carved wood: *Od.* 13.77, κόσμῳ, πείσμα δ' ἔλυσαν ἀπὸ τρητοῖο λίθοιο, where the sailors 'free a cable from a perforated stone.' Again, this echo, like those of Callimachus, does not have the significance of the integration of the Homeric simile in AB 7, but it is quite possible that Posidippus was aware of this singular use of an adjective.

⁴²² Fuqua, p. 4.

Zeus at the start and Poseidon at the end is reinforced by poems scattered throughout the section and not, necessarily by the links in AB 8-10.

AB 11 continues the *topoi* of praising engraving skill and τέχνη, political and geographical reference, measurement and emphasis on the gleam of light on a gemstone. The first line ends with a convenient dactylic hexameter ending, θαλάσσης, but the rest of the diction is technical or otherwise contemporary for Posidippus. AB 11 and 12 are seen as a pair in Hunter and others for the material, mother-of-pearl, and for the fact that both poems' gems seem to be unguent containers rather than jewelry. However, AB 12 stands out for a possible link to the Cyclops episode and is due for a closer investigation:

AB 12 (Column II 23-28)

[... θα]λάσσιός ἐστι καὶ ὄσ[τρ...ἄ]λλ' ὑπὸ τέχνης
 [.....]αῖς σφιγχθεῖς κριν[.....λι]θος
 [.....]..δεπ[.]..φ[.]..λ[.....].ε̇ σμαρράγδου
 [.....]α̇τα κολλήσας εἰς[.....]. κύτους
 [.....]νὴ ἐν χρυσέῃ κατ[.....]σεν ὄφρα φοροίη
 [.....]ς λιτὴν γλύμμα .[.... βλέ]πεται.

... *it is of the sea and (a shell?)*⁴²³ ... *but through craftsmanship*
 ... *mounted ... a stone*
 ... *an emerald ...*
 ... *inlaid ... in the hollow*
 ... *in gold ... in order to bear*
 ... *smooth engraving ... is visible.*

Clearly, there is a lot of papyrus missing, but nevertheless, AB 12 continues the theme of a well-crafted luxury item that comes from the sea. The attention to τέχνη is overtly stated in the opening hexameter. In line five, there seem to be two words from *Od.* 9.320: χλωρὸν ἐλαίνεον τὸ μὲν ἔκταμεν, ὄφρα φοροίη / ἀνανθέν, *of green olive-wood, which he had cut in order to carry with him when it was dry.* Posidippus ends his line with a phrase that in Homer refers to the

⁴²³ AB print ὄσ[τρακον], which may work, but as in other poems, stones that become gems also are 'of the sea.'

staff of the Cyclops. If this is indeed an allusion, AB 12 would recall the sympotic hints of AB 2 and prepare us for AB 19, adding to the cohesion of this section of the papyrus.

AB 13 is a four line poem that is also missing quite a bit of text, but the stone is another wonder (θαυ[μ....) to behold. One Homeric note may be found in the adjective ἀσκελής which has the meaning of ‘relentless’ or ‘unending’ as in *Od.* 10.463, τρηχείης Ἰθάκης. νῦν δ’ ἀσκελέες καὶ ἄθυμοι, [since you came] from rugged Ithaca. Now [you are] withered and heartless.⁴²⁴ The context and thematic picture of the Homeric line is fitting for Posidippus because of the reference to the rugged coast and the travels that can transform a person, or a stone. Again, though, as in AB 8-12, the Homeric echoes are slight. Posidippus references Homer in a more obvious way in the next poem, AB 14.

AB 14 (Column II 33-38)

εὖ τὸν Πήγασον ἵππον ἐπ’ ἠερόεσσαν ἴασπιν
 χεῖρά τε καὶ κατὰ νοῦν ἔγλυφ’ ὁ χειροτέχνης·
Βελλε[ρ]οφόντης μέ(ν) γάρ **Ἀλή{ν}ιον** εἰς **Κιλικῶν γῆν**
 ἤριφ’, ὁ δ’ εἰς κύανῆν ἠέρα πῶλος ἔβη,
 [ο]ὔνεκ’ ἀηγιόχητον ἔτι τρομέοντα χαλινοῖς
 [ἴ]ππ[ον ἐν] αἰθερίωι τῶιδ’ ἐτύπωσ(ε) λίθωι.

*Beautifully, the horse Pegasus onto a misty jasper,
 through both his handiwork and intelligence the craftsman engraved;
 For Bellerophon tumbled down to the Aleian land of the Cilicians,
 but the colt went off to the cyan-blue air,
 for this reason, free from the reins, still trembling at the bronze bits
 the horse he carved here on this ethereal stone.*

AB 14 presents yet another stone that has been skillfully engraved with an image, this time of Pegasus at the moment when he heads off into the air without Bellerophon. An *ecphrasis* about a carved gemstone, it includes the mythical theme of the story of Bellerophon, who oversteps his bounds and is bucked off Pegasus the flying horse. The hero falling onto the Aleian

⁴²⁴ Only other occurrence in Homer: adverb at *Il.* 19.68; neuter adj. at *Od.* 4.543, nominative masc. *Od.* 1.68 (for Poseidon).

plain appears only once in Homer, at *Il.* 6.201, ἦτοι ὃ κὰπ πεδίον τὸ Ἀλήιον οἶος ἀλᾶτο, *then it happened that he wandered alone over the Aleian plain.* This line is from the episode of Diomedes' meeting on the field with Glaucus. The opposing soldier Glaucus turns out to be an old family guest-friend whose lineage includes Bellerophon. The recognition of the guest/host relationship of the two families results in an episode of gift-exchange, a *topos* that is common in the λιθικά (cf. AB 4, 6, 7, 8, and mention of Polyphemus, proverbial bad host, in AB 19). The epigrammatic *topos* of praising skill and intelligence—both of craftsman and poet is combined with the mythological picture. The combination of diction here fits in perfectly with the other stone poems. The innovation is in the theme—Bellerophon is not common in epigram. Also, the combination of gift-giving, ecphrasis, mythical description, all in six lines, makes AB 14 a perfect example of Hellenistic ποικίλια.

Pegasus is not mentioned in Homer where only the act of killing the Chimera is recounted by Glaucus.⁴²⁵ The name Bellerophon appears seven times in Homer and only in the *Iliad*, in Book 6 (*Il.* 6.155, 162, 164, 190, 196, 216, 220). Of those seven occurrences, *Il.* 6.220, Βελλεροφόντης δὲ χρύσειον δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον, is closest to Posidippus who also begins his hexameter with the nominative at AB 14.3. Posidippus places Aleian in the same *sedes* as Homer (*Il.* 6.201), ending at the bucolic diatesis. Homer's 'plain' comes before, while Posidippus' lands after the place name, a reversal similar to ones in AB 4.⁴²⁶

AB 15 is one of the two poems on the Milan papyrus that were already known from other sources and were attributed to Posidippus. These lines were quoted by the 12th century scholar and grammarian Tzetzes in his *Chilades* (VII 653-660, Posidippus is named in VII 661). The

⁴²⁵ Hesiod, *Theog.* 278-286 describes the birth of Pegasus by Medea (with Poseidon). Pegasus and Bellerophon appear together at Hesiod, *Theog.* 325. Also Pindar *Ol.* 13.63-86 and *Isth.* 7.46. Aristophanes has a joke about Bellerophon in *Frogs* 1051 (also *Acharnians* 427, 428).

⁴²⁶ Another rarity in the construction of this poem is ἀνιόχητον, which appears only in AB 14.

common topic of impressive craftsmanship and the intertextual links within the papyrus make it a nice fit in the sequence of stone poems. On the Snakestone in AB 15 Hoffman points out the social significance, “The materials mentioned in these epigrams are notable for their value and rarity.”⁴²⁷ There is a hero, but one that Apollonius would write about rather than Homer (*Argo*. 1.151, 153; 4.1466, 1478). Lynceus is named in this poem (at AB 15.4), an Argonaut with intense eyesight. This reference was once thought to be a hint of a later author. In a 1954 article entitled, “Asclepiades and Posidippus. Notes and Queries,” Gow notes that “it may be worth remembering that the elegy on old age first published by Diels in *Sitz. Berl. Ak.* 1989, 845 (*Page, Gk. Lit. Pap.* i. 470) is ascribed by some to a younger namesake and fellow-townsmen of the epigrammatists. If they are right, he might compete for the authorship of these undistinguished lines.”⁴²⁸

Now that this epigram has appeared again, on a papyrus roll that includes a poem we used to only know from the *Greek Anthology*, AB 65, the authorship of both poems can be more securely attributed to Posidippus. Also, the way AB 15 (and AB 65) works within the collection confirms the dating to our Posidippus, but not because of any Homeric connections. Meanwhile, AB 14’s Bellerophon and AB 16’s Homeric phrase put this poem in a sequence in which makes it stand out as perhaps an especially contemporary, new poetic expression.

Kuttner sees a “cluster” in AB 13-15 where a poem with a lion and one with a snake surround AB 14 where Bellerophon is pictured as he is thrown from Pegasus. Bellerophon is seen after he has killed the Chimaera, the mythical creature made of lion, snake, and goat. AB 13-15, Kuttner argues, “resembles a hunter’s παράδεισος and contains ‘scientific observations on optics (AB 13, 15). Fact or clever fiction (is Lynceus real...?), it nests a visual joke: Pegasus

⁴²⁷ Hoffman, p. 304.

⁴²⁸ Gow 1954, p. 197.

(AB 14) separates bits of that monster which he helped dismember, lion and serpent (AB 13, 25).⁴²⁹ She adds that “Pegasus’ blue jasper sky is another, well-recognized game, pairing colour with iconography as do other contemporary Macedonian poets.”⁴³⁰ Analysis of the Homeric diction in these poems reveals that only the middle epigram AB 14 has any connection to Homer, the other two only slight “traces.” That the three work together so well in a “cluster,” is only reinforced by the contrast in diction between the middle poem with Pegasus and the outer two poems with Lynceus.

AB 16 (Column III 8-13)

τὸν πολὶὸν κρύσταλλον Ἄραψ ἐπὶ θῆνα κυλῖει
 πόντιον ἀΐει σπῶν ἐξ ὄρέων ὀχετὸς
 πλήθει πολλὴν βῶλον· ὀθούνεκα νήπιοι ἄνδρες
 τὸν λίθον εἰς χρυσέας οὐκ ἄγομεν βασάνους·
 εἰ δ’ ἦν ἐ(κ) γενεῆς σπάνιος, τὸ διαυγὲς ἄν αὐτοῦ
 τίμιον ἦν ὥσπερ καὶ καλὸς ἡέλιος.

*A radiant crystal, an Arabian channel/river rolls to the sea shore
 drawing it endlessly from the mountains
 in a multitude, a big lump; for this reason we foolish men do not
 lead it to the touchstone smudged with gold;
 If it were scarce from its source, its splendor would
 be as appreciated as the beautiful sun.*

With AB 16 the thematic focus and *topoi* of this section continue: Exotic source of the Arabian mountains, and rolling rocks that become gems after being tossed by the roughest waters. The crystals in the first line recall the Theocritus episode that Posidippus alludes to in AB 7 and there is at least one reference to Homer. Also notable is that AB 16 ends with καλὸς ἡέλιος which Gutzwiller considers the sort of repetition in “non contiguous epigrams (AB 13, 16, 52) that points to one author,” for the Milan papyrus.⁴³¹

⁴²⁹ Kuttner, p. 157.

⁴³⁰ Kuttner, p. 157, noting Gutzwiller 1995, “Cleopatra’s Ring.”

⁴³¹ Gutzwiller 2004, p. 86. I would add the same note for τόνδε λίθον in AB 5.2, 15.2 and 17.2.

In the first line there is a common word in a not-so-common phrase (πολιὸν, 21x in *Il.*, 20x in *Od.*). The form κυλίει is from the same verb noted in AB 7 as more current version of the Homeric. The Homeric phrase in the first line comes from an passage of note in the *Iliad*.⁴³²

Il. 4.247-248

ἢ μένετε Τρῳᾶς σχεδὸν ἐλθέμεν ἔνθά τε νῆες
εἰρύατ' εὐπρυμνοὶ πολιῆς ἐπὶ θινὶ θαλάσσης

*Do you wait for the Trojans to come near there where your ships
with strong prows are drawn up on the shore of the grey sea?*

Interestingly, Posidippus avoids ending his hexameter with the same θαλάσσης (as in AB 11) as Homer does in another possible parallel, *Od.* 22.385, κοῖλον ἐς αἰγιαλὸν πολιῆς ἔκτοσθε θαλάσσης *from the grey sea onto the curved shore*. Focusing on AB 16, an epigram that he sees as programmatic for this section, Petrain, focuses on the way Posidippus uses “its diction and structure to play with the expectations set up by the preceding pieces.”⁴³³ AB 16 certainly links in subject matter, theme and *topoi*, but it stands on its own for the way it departs from the others as well.

Petrain connects the language in AB 16 largely to Theophrastus and to Phoenix of Colophon, who actually addresses a certain Posidippus.⁴³⁴ Kuttner sees AB 16 and 17 as a pair “unworked masses of stone, as if scientific specimens preserved in Alexandria’s Museum.” Of the magnet in AB 17, Kuttner writes, “Stoics would see a providential θαῦμα...” but “intellectuals would especially recall Plato; the Ion’s cosmic magnet (533 CE) makes poets into

⁴³² This grey or radiant color appears also in AB 89.4, also for shores and waves, but there in connection with a shipwreck. In the Homeric line, εὐπρυμνοὶ is a Homeric *hapax* (Posidippus has εὐοπλῶ in 138.1; εὐπλοῖα 39.5; εὐπλοῖην 119.5; εὐπλοῦς, εὐπορος 58.6; εὐπώγων 15.2.

⁴³³ Petrain 2005, p. 333.

⁴³⁴ Petrain 2005, pp. 340-341.

jewelry, magnetizing bard/iron rings in dangling chains of authorial filiation.”⁴³⁵ The Homeric diction in AB 16 stands out in a parallel phrase, but AB 17 is lacking the same sort of allusion, but there is an ending that may have origins in Homer. In the midst of the other Homeric notes, the diction that may be Homeric in AB 17 stands out even more—both the mention of Olympus and the hexameter ending.⁴³⁶ Another link here maybe in the naming of different celestial elements: star in AB 17.3, starry lapis lazuli in AB 5, moon of AB 4, sun of AB 16.

I have already mentioned AB 18 as part of the background context of sympotic themes that seem to perk up in AB 2 and AB 12 and seem to prepare the reader for Polyphemus’ appearance in AB 19.

AB 18 (Column III 20-27)

[δεῦ]τ’ ἐπ’ ἔμ’, ἐννέα φῶτες, ἀνακλίνθητε δ’ [ἀολλ]εῖς·
 [..].ω γὰρ ἐγὼ τρεῖς .[...].λι.[
 [οῖνο]χόωι σὺν παιδὶ μ[]α ποδ..[
 [ῥηι]δίωσι ἔκχουν δέξ[ομαι ἀ]μφορέα·
 [ἦν]δε· τῆι μὲν πεντά[πεδος] πᾶχος, ἦι δεδ[
 [τῆ]ι δὲ τρισπίθαμος, τ[ῆι πολὺ] πίοτ[ε]ρος
 [καὶ] τετραγλώχισ πλε[...έ]π μῆκος εἰ
 [τῆι] μὲν ἐφ’ ἕξ προσθε[....]εσι, τῆι δ’ ἀφ[

*Come on, you nine men, lie down [together]
 ...for I ... three... of stone
 with a boy wine-pourer...(swift?)
 easily ...I (?) will hold a six-chous amphora
 Look! Here the width is that of five [men/feet] where [the joint is held together (?);
 here it is of three spans; [here it is much] fatter (?)
 and with four corners [but greater(?)] in length
 on the one hand six, on the other...*

AB 18 is from a somewhat damaged part of the papyrus, but there is enough text to provide evidence of a Homeric allusion in what seems to be poem about a drinking party. The

⁴³⁵ Kuttner, p. 158.

⁴³⁶ Another fact about AB 16 and 17 as a pair is that they are, according to BG, the only unjustifiable violations of Hilberg’s law in Posidippus (16.3 and 17.3).

appeal to the ‘nine men’ in the first line may be intended to recall *Iliad* 7.161, a connection that Bing points out. Nestor speaks and nine heroes stand up to fight Hector: ὡς νεΐκεσσ’ ὃ γέρων, οἷ δ’ ἐννέα πάντες ἀνέσταν, *all nine stood up*.⁴³⁷ BG provide for a Homeric parallel from the episode of Patroclus’ approach on Troy, *Il.* 16.785, σμερδαλέα ἰάχων, τρὶς δ’ ἐννέα φῶτας ἔπεφνεν, *terribly shrieking, three times he cut down nine men*. Although nine is a typical round number in epic, this is the example that Bing pursues and it is clearly the strongest case for a thematic parallel, nine men getting up in *Il.* 7.161 opposed to nine men than sitting down in AB 18.1.⁴³⁸

Bing also notes the quotation of that Homeric line in a later author, Hippolochus of Macedon, who describes the sumptuous wedding feast of Caranus the Macedonian (Athenaeus 4.129-30).” In that narrative, “the convivial *agon* is made parallel to the heroic *agon*,” in a way that is compatible with the appropriation of Homeric diction by Posidippus, who may be taking part in a general epigrammatic spirit of Homeric parody here. The setting is represented as marvelous, a luxurious symposium representative of a court setting. Bing connects this heroic echo and the many measurements in this epigram to a sense of royalty. The Ptolemaic wealth is evident in the description of the table (or krater) and recalls “the periegetic prose of the Hellenistic period, in particular those elaborate accounts of gigantic royal tents, ships, and processions—gaudy narrative show-pieces...meant to convey an impression of endless wealth

⁴³⁷ Bing 2005, p. 137.

⁴³⁸ Other ‘nines’ in the *Iliad* include the nine heralds at *Il.* 2.96; nine years at *Il.* 2.124; nine ships from Rhodes in *Il.* 2.654; nine days and nine oxen at *Il.* 6.174; nine bulls at *Od.* 3.8; nine stewards, *Od.* 2.258; nine ships *Od.* 14.248; nine muses *Od.* 24.60.

and power.”⁴³⁹ The sympotic context of the epigram can also be seen as part of the contest, the *skolia* of the Greek or Macedonian symposia.⁴⁴⁰

Although there is disagreement about what this object described is, the indications of a symposium are clearly there, as Bing writes, “its opening invitation to recline (l.1 ἀνακλίθητε), its apparent references to a young wine steward (l.3 [οἶνο]χόωι σὺν παιδὶ), as well as an amphora (l.4 ἀμφορέα)...point to a sympotic context.”⁴⁴¹ The party of guests implies a guest/host relationship, too and AB 18 may also be placed where it is to prepare the reader for mention of Polyphemus in AB 19. The Cyclops’ role as a bad host and the bad guest that Odysseus turn out to be are recalled in AB 19 by the mention of Poseidon and his son Polyphemus. The drinking of strong wine is also part of that Odyssean episode so that these ‘new’ Posidippus’ epigrams fit nicely with his other sympotic poems, such as those in the *Greek Anthology*. Kuttner sees a connection between AB 140 in the ‘old Posidippus’ poem and AB 18, “an overgrown version of Posidippus’ drinking-ware party epigrams (AB 123-4, 140),” which “comically celebrates the urge for giant things in collections, like the Parade’s fabulously enormous vessels and tables.”⁴⁴² If this Homeric echo is used for comedic effect, it would be entirely appropriate with the way the nine men of Nestor seem to be recalled here, too.

⁴³⁹ Bing 2005, p. 138-139.

⁴⁴⁰ On symposia and epigrams: Cameron; Murray; Collins; Clauss and Cuypers et alia.

⁴⁴¹ Bing 2005, p. 135. Bing disagrees with the idea put forth in BG that the poem is about a krater, and suggests a couch or a table. Luppe 2002 (p.143) prefers the couch and Lapini 2007 notes their ideas but thinks it may be an empty crater, p. 204. On the sympotic setting, Lapini 2007 also argues, p. 204-205 “...non è tuttavia l’unico scenario immaginabile; non è esclusa ad esempio una scena di mercato, “ or perhaps, “altra ipotesi...il parlante sarebbe il padrone di casa, che inviterebbe un nutrito gruppo di amici a commissare con lui.” Any sort of dinner party would really do, the Homeric connection to nine men, the drinking, and the measurements are relevant in any case.

⁴⁴² Kuttner 2005, p. 149; Also, I should note an anonymous epigram from the *Greek Anthology*, AP IX 656.4, that is much later (Hadrian is mentioned) also describes a palatial living space (Paton’s translation) “bringing a sense of wonder to all, since the architects seeing my height, length, and vast breadth, decided that the huge pile would remain unroofed.” And AB 140 where the sympotic motif immediately connects it with the sort of epigrams that were part of *skolia* in earlier Greek symposia. See Gutzwiller 1994, p. 162-164 on “the programmatic function,” of AB 140.

In addition to the way Homeric diction increases the sense of the heroic and magnificent, there is also πάχος which appears only once in Homer, at *Od.* 9.324, τόσσον ἔην μῆκος, τόσσον πάχος εισοράσασθαι, *such was the length, such the width to behold*, where the repetition of the demonstrative correlative pronoun τόσσον emphasizes the massive size of the Aloedae. The fact that μῆκος is coupled with it is expected but it is also another uncommon word which appears only two other times in Homer, in the *Odyssey*. Moreover, one of those two other examples involves a count of nine, *Od.* 11.311-312. It from a story about a woman who had two sons with Poseidon which fits in with the references in the λιθικά section to Poseidon as the conveyer of exotic gems. The Odyssean passage is also about exceptional size, which seems to be the point of the epigram. In book eleven, Odysseus describes the women spirits he sees, one of whom is Aloeus, who, with Poseidon had Otus and Ephialtes, the giants who planned on piling Ossa on Olympus and Pelion to get to the heavens (*Od.* 11.316, ἴν' οὐρανὸς ἀμβατὸς εἶη). Note the combination of measuring language here with the number nine which also seems echoes in AB 18:

Od. 11.311-312

ἐννέωροι γὰρ τοί γε καὶ ἐννεαπήχες ἦσαν
εὖρος, ἀταρ μῆκός γε γενέσθην ἐννεόργυιοι.

*For at nine years old .. they were the length of nine cubits (fore-arms)
in breath, and in height they were nine fathoms (out-stretched arms).*

In AB 18, the two words are also placed in hexameters, they are on different lines and in the same order.

The numeration is similar to many epigrams, but Lapini points out one in the 'old' Posidippus, AB 143 (= SH 702, quoted in Athenaeus, X, p. 415 a) where the poet "parla del χοῦς

come di una quantità eccessiva.”⁴⁴³ The poet uses different numbers there, Aglaïa “ate twelve pounds of meat, four days’ rations of bread and drank a jug of wine.” Notable also about AB 18 is the double use of μὲν ... δὲ, since Posidippus uses these particles together in only eight poems on the papyrus (cf. AB 22). τετραγλώχης appears only here.

AB 19 (Column III 28-41) and AB 7, AB 16

μῆ] λόγισαι **μεγάλην** τ[αύτη]ν πόσα κύμα[τα] λαῶν
 τη]λοῦ μαινομένης ἐξ[ε.....]εν ἄλός·
 ..]νδε Ποσειδάων βρια[ρ.....]όνει καὶ ἀπ[
 ρίμφ]{α} ἐφ’ ἑνὸς σκληροῦ κ[ύματο]ς ἐξέβαλεν
 ἤμικ]πλεθραῖην ὥσας πρ.[...] ἄ[.]τεα **πέτρην**, (5)
 τοῦ Πολυφημίου **σκαιοτέρ<η>ν** θυρεοῦ
 οὐκ ἄ(ω) μιν Πολύφημος ἐβάστασε, σὺν Γαλατεῖαι
 πυκνὰ κολυμβήσας αἰπολικὸς δύσερω·
 οὐδ’ Ἀνταίου ὁ γυρὸς **ὀλοίτρ<ο>χος**, ἀλλὰ τριαίνης (10)
 τοῦτο Καφηρείης τε(ι)ρατοεργὸν ἄλός·
 ἴσχε, Ποσειδάων, μεγάλην χέρα καὶ βαρὺ κύμα
 ἐκ πόντου ψιλὴν μὴ φέρ; ἐπ’ ἠίονα·
 τερτρακαεικοσίπηχυν ὅτ’ ἐ(κ) βυθοῦ ἦραο λαῶν,
 ῥεῖα καταμήσεις εἰν ἀλί νῆσον ὄλην.⁴⁴⁴

*Do [not] calculate how many waves [have carried] this great [rock]
 far from the raging sea;
 Poseidon violently drove it and [having broken it off]
 easily in a single crashing wave he threw it out,
 he thrust the rock a [half-]plethron/50 feet forward [and up?]
 more ill-omened than the door-stone of Polyphemus;
 not even Polyphemus could have lifted it, with Galatea
 often having dived, a shepherd sick in love;
 nor is the round boulder from Antaeus, but from the trident
 a portentous object (?) of the Capharean sea;
 Poseidon, check your great hand and heavy wave
 do not bring it from the sea onto the bare shore;
 when you have lifted up a twenty-four cubit rock from the deep,
 you will easily cut down a whole island in the sea.*

⁴⁴³ Lapini 2007, p. 205-6.

⁴⁴⁴ A note on the text: Ferrari is of the opinion that the text in Columns III 28-41 and IV 1-6 (of P. Mil. Vogl. VIII 309) is the text of one poem, not the pair AB 19 and AB 20. Suggestions to missing text made by Lapini 2002 and Livrea 2002, 2003, Luppe 2002b, Lapini 2007, Gärtner 2006, Schröder 2008. I keep BG and AB’s μῆ to start (defended in Livrea 2002, Lapini 2007, Ferrari).

In AB 19 the poet provides immediately recognizable references to Homer through the repetition of the names of Poseidon and Polyphemus. The Homeric echoes only increase as one moves through the poem as additional parallels with Homeric passage about treacherous waves, rocks, and seaside cliffs. Posidippus even includes the Homeric *hapax legomenon* ὀλοίτροχος and a variant of another *hapax* in the last line (καταμήσεις) and he connects his poetry with Theocritus as much as with Homer in a poem that Petrain correctly refers to as “ambitious.”⁴⁴⁵ There many recollections of Poseidon in Posidippus’ poetry (in poems on gems, birds, shipwrecks) and the Polyphemus story was also a topic for Theocritus, Apollonius and Callimachus, and other poets who portrayed the Cyclops’ love for Galatea and his dealings with Odysseus.⁴⁴⁶ In Posidippus, the image of the massive stone that only a god could move is part of both stories—Poseidon moving them in the sea or Polyphemus moving a rock to close off his cave.⁴⁴⁷ Hunter notes those Homeric passages where “figures of the past ... hurl massive rocks which would be way beyond the powers of men ‘of the present day.’”⁴⁴⁸ The Homeric diction and the hyperbolic language of divinity is continued throughout the poem alongside some technical sounding numerical language and words that appear only here.⁴⁴⁹

The reference to Polyphemus is somewhat complex in that Posidippus seems to be mixing together a few different elements of the story: the massive stone and the cliff face that is a danger to ships and islands; the throwing of that stone into the sea, in a rage; and the doomed love of a Cyclops for a sea-nymph. Hunter takes up these Homeric references in AH, writing of

⁴⁴⁵ Petrain, p. 360.

⁴⁴⁶ Gutzwiller 1991, Petrain 2003 and Livrea 2003 all note sources “as early as the late 5th-early 4th century” BCE, (Petrain, p. 362).

⁴⁴⁷ Compare the mention of Bellerophon and Pegasus in AB 14, like the story of Galatea and Polyphemus, it is not recalled elsewhere in Posidippus.

⁴⁴⁸ Hunter 2004, p. 104, *Iliad* 5.302-304, 12.380-383, 445-449, 20.285-287.

⁴⁴⁹ e.g. note σκληροῦ in Hesiod but not in Homer. Cape Capherus, noted for violent seas, see Lapini 2007, p. 1. For first line ending see *Od.* 9.482.

this rock that its wonder, unlike the gems in most of the λιθικά poems, is in the massive size. In the *Odyssey* “The Cyclops can ‘lift it up on high’” his massive door-stone in *Od.* 9.240 (=9.340, ὑψόσ’ αείρας) as Poseidon can in Posidippus (AB 19.13 ἥραο). There are three occurrences in Homer of θυρεός: *Od.* 9.240=9.340 αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ’ ἐπέθηκε θυρεὸν μέγαν ὑψόσ’ αείρας, *but then having lifted it up high he put in place a big door-stone*; and *Od.* 9.313-314, ῥηιδίως ἀφελὼν θυρεὸν μέγαν· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα / ἄψ ἐπέθηχ’ , ὡς εἴ τε φαρέτρῃ πῶμ’ ἐπιθείη, *he easily moved the big door-stone; then at once he put it in place, as if he were placing a lid on a quiver*.⁴⁵⁰ θυρεός is there, but the genitive of Posidippus does not appear in Homer and his falls at the end of the line, unlike the Homeric lines.⁴⁵¹

In both Homer and Posidippus there is an enumeration in the comparisons: ‘twenty-two four-wheeled wagons’ could not lift the door stone from the ground in Homer (οὐκ ... τετράκυκλοι, *Od.* 9.241-242), and Poseidon could lift a rock of ‘twenty-four cubits from the deep’ in Posidippus (τερτρακαεικοσίπηχυν, AB 19.13). Hunter writes of this appropriation of Homer’s rock for Posidippus’ epigram: “The huge rock, which stands as testimony to the god’s powerful effort (marked by the heavy spondaic opening of AB 19.5), and which twice fills the first half of a hexameter with a single measurement (AB 19.5 and 19.13), is larger than the most famous rock of the *Odyssey*, the Cyclops door-stone.”⁴⁵² These measurements are also a feature of AB 18 and the force of Poseidon is referenced in AB 20, too, all of which makes these last three λιθικά poems especially impressive in their presentation of strength and resilience.

⁴⁵⁰ *Odyssey* lines noted in BG, p. 131. AB 12.5 ends with ὄφρα φοροίη, a combination found only in this epigram and at *Od.* 9.320, χλωρὸν ἐλαίνεον· τὸ μὲν ἔκταμεν, ὄφρα φοροίη, (on which Apollonius in his *Lexicon Homericum* comments.) Note the proximity of that rare usage and these Polyphemus references.

⁴⁵¹ The poet may also be using the language of another of Homer’s flying boulders at *Il.* 13.140, ὕψι δ’ ἀναθρώσκων πέτεται, a passage that is the source of language in AB 7 where a rock has tumbled down from wintry mountain rivers to the shore.

⁴⁵² Hunter 2004, p. 101.

On to the throwing of that stone, Hunter continues to explain that “*Od.* 9.480ff are also relevant, “in which the blind and enraged monster attacks the departing Greeks: he ‘breaks off’...a mountain peak and hurls it ...into the sea; as the rock sinks it causes a great wave which drives the Greek boat towards the land. In the epigram, one great wave drove the huge boulder *onto* the shore, rather than into the sea.”⁴⁵³ In the *Odyssey*, Poseidon “‘lifted up a far larger rock’ ...and the pattern is repeated, except that this time the wave carries the Greeks to safety.”⁴⁵⁴ Consequently, Posidippus presents a Poseidon capable of the same sort of destruction his son was causing in Homer. On the other hand, Fuqua recognizes the wit in this part of the poem, especially when “the poet says the rock was ‘more sinister (σκαιοτέρην) than Polyphemus’ door-stone.”⁴⁵⁵

Homer is not the only author recalled in AB 19. There is an immediate reference also to Theocritus, *Id.* 6 and 11 where both the hurling of massive rocks and the love of Polyphemus for Galatea are taken up.⁴⁵⁶ There is common language, imagery and narrative strand. Hunter writes, “Both *Idylls* 6 and 11 located the young Cyclops on or near the seashore and *Idyll* 11 places him ‘on a high rock’ looking out to sea...”⁴⁵⁷ Hunter quotes these lines from *Id.* 6 where the linguistic bonds with AB 19 are evident:

Theoc. *Id.* 6.6-7

βάλλει τοι, Πολύφαμε, τὸ ποίμον ἄ Γαλάτεια
 μάλοισιν, δυσέρωτα καὶ τὸν αἰπόλον ἄνδρα καλεῖσα

*Polyphemus, you shepherd, Galatea is pelting you
 with apples, she has called to you, shepherd man sick in love*

⁴⁵³ Hunter 2004, p. 102.

⁴⁵⁴ Hunter 2004, p. 102.

⁴⁵⁵ Fuqua, p. 5.

⁴⁵⁶ Hunter 2004, p. 103 and Livrea 2003, p. 41 note this connection to Theocritus.

⁴⁵⁷ Hunter 2004, p. 103.

There are no apples in (any poem by) Posidippus, but in AB 19.8, πυκνὰ κολυμβήσας αἰπολικὸς δύσερως he presents Polyphemus as a love-sick shepherd with the same language that Theocritus uses. Raimondi and Hunter each asserts that αἰπολικὸς δύσερως “identifies this Cyclops as ‘Theocritean.’”⁴⁵⁸ Hunter concludes that even if Posidippus mines Homer for diction, “the events and characters of that book offer no real parallel to the marvel he is describing...” and the goal is not Homeric allusion but a statement about humanizing the monstrous aspect of Polyphemus to the point that he is “reduced (by poetry) to a ‘lovesick goathead’,” while Poseidon retains divine and paternal power.⁴⁵⁹ Raimondi also points out that Theocritus also uses δύσερως in *Id.* 1.85 for the love-sick Daphnis, a fact which further emphasizes the Hellenistic version of the Homeric Cyclops.

Posidippus adds the detail of the two diving together: “It may be, as Richard Thomas has suggests, that we should understand κολυμβήσας conditionally, ‘the lovesick Cyclops could not have lifted it from the sea-floor, even if he dived frequently with Galatea,’ or perhaps swimming should be seen as taking place solely in the Cyclops’ erotic fantasy (cf. Theocr. 11.54-62)”⁴⁶⁰ In *Id.* 6, he is looking out at the sea waiting for her and he cannot swim, but it seems Posidippus has him swimming.⁴⁶¹

Is this humorous, a parody of an epic story, the folktale of the Cyclops?⁴⁶² Polyphemus could not have lifted the boulder even in order to impress Galatea with whom he could dive. (— or maybe ‘even with the help of Galatea’ or ‘by his side helping’) Petrain provides an even more complete study of the Theocritean and Homeric elements in the epigram, whose literary

⁴⁵⁸ Hunter 2004, p. 104.

⁴⁵⁹ Hunter 2004, p. 104.

⁴⁶⁰ Hunter 2004, p. 103.

⁴⁶¹ On the swimming, BG on AB 19.7-8; Hunter 2004, p. 103.

⁴⁶² Mondì, pp. 17-38.

meaning, he explains, depends on the “semantic tension,” in the “confrontation” between Theocritus, Posidippus and Homer.⁴⁶³ Petrain sees Posidippus using “the stone as a metaphor for the literary appropriation.”⁴⁶⁴ Noting both *Idylls* 6 and 11 and the *Odyssey* passages above from book 9, he writes of a “playful imprecision,” in the way the epigram presents the Polyphemus stories from both Homer and Theocritus. Fuqua adds that the description of AB 19.7-8, that the poet provides a playful way to make these references: “The clear intertextual links to Homer and Theocritus show how Posidippus clearly defines his own work in a sophisticated literary context.”⁴⁶⁵

There is also a strong possibility that Callimachus had a work on the topic of Galatea and Polyphemus.⁴⁶⁶ Compare also Callimachus ep. 46 Pf. (= 3 GP = 1152-1161 = AP XII 150) where the love story is emphasized more than the strength of Poseidon’s offspring, apparent in the opening lines:

Callimachus ep. 46.1-3 Pf. (3 GP = 1152-1154 Page = AP XII 150.1-3)

Ὦς ἀγαθὸν Πολύφαμος ἀνεύρατο τὰν ἐπαιδᾶν
τῶραμένω· ναὶ Γᾶν, οὐκ ἀμαθῆς ὁ Κύκλωψ.
αἱ Μοῖσαι τὸν ἔρωτα κατισχναίνοντι, Φίλιππε·

*How good the charm is for one in love did Polyphemus discover;
Yes, by the Earth, he was not unlearned, the Cyclops.
The Muses make love waste away, Philippus.*

This is an amatory poem on the sort of unquenchable love that we see in Posidippus AB 135, for example, and is, therefore, another example of the subjectivity of categorization of epigrams. AB 19 could be paired with Callimachus ep. 46 Pf. in a group of mythical love stories,

⁴⁶³ Petrain 2003, p. 360.

⁴⁶⁴ Petrain 2003, p. 360.

⁴⁶⁵ Fuqua, p. 5.

⁴⁶⁶ Petrain 2003, p. 363; Livrea 2004, note 11 on p. 43 “Sulla cui misteriosa *Galatea* (fr. 378-9 Pfeiffer; cf. Ep. 46.1-2), forse destinata ai Soteria delfici per celebrare la vittoria sui Galli del 279, vd. ora A. Cameron, *Callimachus and his Critics...*”

but the aspect of moving the rock and the strength of Poseidon are what Posidippus chooses to emphasize in the Milan papyrus section of stone poems. Clearly, the story was a popular one and the Hellenistic drama seen in such works as Apollonius' *Argonautika*, is shared by these epigrammatists. Posidippus, however, chooses Homeric diction from the Hector simile and develops his own version of the story.

And Livrea questions the need for Posidippus to connect the immense rolling rock with the rock of Polyphemus and to include his love for the sea-nymph Galatea in this epigram. He suggests that the poet had in mind not Homer (nor Theocritus) but that he knew *Cyclops sive Galatea* by Philoxenus (fr. 818 Page), a dithyramb parodied in Aristophanes, (P. 290ff.) and paraphrased by Synesius of Cyrene (5th c. CE).⁴⁶⁷

In AB 19.6 the adjective σκαιοτέρην and the image of waves crashing against the coast both pick up, as Hunter writes, “Nestor’s description of the dangerous Cretan coast,” in the *Odyssey*.

Od. 3.285-296,

...τότε δὴ στυγερὴν ὁδὸν εὐρύσπα Ζεὺς
ἔφράσατο, λιγέων δ’ ἀνέμων ἐπ’ αὐτμένα χεῦε
κύματά τε τροφόντα πελώρια, ἴσα ὄρεσσι.
ἔνθα διατμήξας τὰς μὲν Κρήτη ἐπέλασσε,
ἦχι Κύδωνες ἔναιον Ἰαρδάνου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα.
ἔστι δέ τις λισσὴ αἰπεῖά τε εἰς ἄλλα πέτρα
ἔσχατιῇ Γόρτυνος ἐν ἠεροειδέϊ πόντῳ
ἔνθα νότος μέγα κῦμα ποτὶ σκαῖον ῥίον ὠθεῖ,
ἐς Φαιστόν, μικρὸς δὲ λίθος μέγα κῦμ’ ἀποέργει.

... then in turn far seeing Zeus
conceived a horrible voyage, he poured the breaths of whistling winds on him
and waves full and monstrous as big as mountains.
Then, dividing in two, he brought some ships to Crete

⁴⁶⁷ Livrea 2004, p. 42 (“Un epigramma di Posidippo e il *Cyclops* di Filosseno di Citera,” *ZPE* 146, p.41-46) who notes on p. 42 also that we have much too little of some other possible sources to compare: *Galatea* of Nicochares (4th c. BCE), fr. 3-6 Kassel-Austin), the *Cyclops* of Antiphanes (fr. 129-31 K-A) and the *Galatea* of Alexis, (fr. 37-40 K-A).

*Where the Cydonians lived by the streams of Iardanus
There is a smooth cliff sheer at the sea
on the edge of Gortyn in the dark sea;
at that spot where the southwest wind thrusts a great wave toward the western headland,
toward Phaestus, a small rock-face wards off the great wave.*

Note especially *Od.*3.295: ἔνθα νότος μέγα κῦμα ποτὶ σκαιὸν ῥίον ὤθει, where σκαιὸν has its only occurrence in the *Odyssey*. Hunter points out that among the *scholia* “opinion was divided as to whether it meant ‘western’ or ‘δεινὸν καὶ ἄγριον’, as it plainly does in Posidippus. The echo links two coastlines that brought terrible danger to ships (cf. *Odyssey* III 298-299).”⁴⁶⁸ This Homeric allusion is both integrative and reflexive in that the primary function of the allusion is about the rough coastline and the secondary function is to bring in the Homeric version of any sea imagery. It is also quite possible that this poem is part of a deliberate preparation for the next section of the Milan papyrus where the first several poems all have to do with sailing, weather signs, birds flying around the coasts.

While Posidippus is as consistent as his contemporaries in his metrical habits, generally sticking to the constraints of the meter, he seems to provide an exceptional hexameter in AB 19.9 where the diction is almost entirely Homeric. First, the proparoxytone ὄλοοῖτροχος appears just as it does in the *Iliad*, placed so that it ends at the bucolic diaresis: *Il.* 13.137, ἀντικρὺ μεμαῶς, ὄλοοῖτροχος ὡς ἀπὸ πέτρης *striving straight on, as a stone rolling from a rock face.*⁴⁶⁹ The *D Scholia* note this word ‘circular rock, round, destructive when rolling, bringing ruin, λίθος περιφερῆς, στρογγύλος, ὁ ἐν τῷ τρέχειν ὀλοὸς ... ὀλέθριος, ἐπεὶ κατφερόμενος πᾶν τὸ ἐμπίπτον βλάπτει, *a stone moving round, spherical, which is destructive rolling on*

⁴⁶⁸ Hunter 2004, p. 102.

⁴⁶⁹ BG, p. 132 “la parola ὄλοοῖτροχος ...che indica propriamente un grasso macigno di forma cilindrica cfr. Lo Scholia a” *Il.* 13 137. There are also more common words from this simile that appear in AB 7 and 19, a fact which only makes the allusion more certain (εἰς ἄλλα in 7.2; perhaps κατέρ]υτα (BG) in 7.1; καταμάω in 19.4; πέτρην maybe ending 19.1 but clearly in 19.5; ἄλος in 19.2, 10; εἰν ἄλι in 19.14).

anything...destructive... Petrain also points out that γυρός which is also in AB 19.9 appears only twice in Homer (*Od.* 4.500 and *Od.* 19.246).⁴⁷⁰ Other secondary function are to structure the story and “to support characterization and development of themes.”⁴⁷¹ De Jong writes, “An example is N 137-42, where the NF1 compares Hector with a boulder rolling down a slope. The primary function of the simile is to illustrate Hector’s impetuous and eager attack. However, the NF1 adds the information that the boulder, having reached the plain, stops rolling. This anticipates what is going to happen in the story: Hector’s attack, which seemed to bring him victoriously to the sea, will come to a halt when he encounters the phalanxes around the two Ajaxes.”⁴⁷²

At the end of this same line, AB 19.9, the poet uses τριαίνης that appears only once in the *Iliad* in the accusative, but it is also at the end of the line: *Il.* 12.27, αὐτὸς δ’ Ἐννοσίγαιος ἔχων χεῖρεσσι τρίαῖναν, *and the earth shaker himself, holding his trident in his hands*. Poseidon twice holds his trident in the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 4.506, 5.292), but it appears earlier in the line. Together with all of the other more obvious Homeric notes (names, seas), the Homeric allusion in AB 19.9 reminds the informed reader of Homeric associations both emphatic and parodic.

In AB 19.12 Posidippus uses the typical Homeric word for sea, ὁ πόντος, which occurs in Homer about as often as ἡ θάλασσα. Only in AB 93, a shipwreck poem where understood addressee is Poseidon, does the poet use πόντος again. This is a slight connection but, in light of the focus on that divinity in AB 19 and 20, this usage stands out as a conscious choice.

In the last line of AB 19, there seems to be a version of yet another Homeric rarity. The only use of καταμάω in Homer is aorist middle indicative used at *Il.* 24.165, τήν ῥα

⁴⁷⁰ Petrain 2003, p. 367.

⁴⁷¹ De Jong 1987, p. 124.

⁴⁷² De Jong 1987, p. 124.

κυλινδόμενος καταμήσατο χερσὶν ἐῆσι. Hunter also comments on that the verb here, καταμήσεις, “ ‘you will reap’ ” is “a verb of complex semantics” and “suggests that the wave knocks over, and thus covers, everything in its path” ...“it is to be seen in counterpoint to ἦραο ‘you lifted up’ .”⁴⁷³

The language and theme of AB 7 also tie in to AB 19’s use of Homer and Posidippus’ stylistic technique here is close to that of Apollonius. As Hunter writes, “The Hylas episode relies on our knowledge of the story of Heracles’ acquisition of the young boy, which is briefly alluded to at 1.211-14 and which was also used by Callimachus in Book I of the *Aitia* (fr. 24-5).”⁴⁷⁴ Hunter continues, “Moreover, in the *Aitia*, this story is juxtaposed to a rather similar one in which Heracles took and ate the ox of a Lindian peasant, and in which the hero’s capacity for food did play an important role...Apollonius’ version appears to give conflicting signals.”⁴⁷⁵ This is the sort of interplay with earlier models that Hinds sees in Vergil’s use of Homer and Ennius. He asks whether we should see “Aeneas’s intervention in an ancient Italian landscape as a metaphor for Vergil’s intervention in archaic Roman poetry? OR is it Vergil’s intervention in archaic Roman poetry as a metaphor for Aeneas’s intervention in an ancient Italian landscape?”⁴⁷⁶ The answer is “a disjunctive one” that is, both directions simultaneously. So Posidippus relies in AB 19 on the readers’ knowledge of the Polyphemus story in both Homer and perhaps Theocritus and the allusion serves the thematic point of the epigram and also signals his literary point of view and his literary preferences. This evidence suggests that Posidippus is using Homeric echoes as metaphors for his own poetry’s subject matter.

⁴⁷³ Hunter 2004, p. 101; and on the fact that “Poseidon can ‘harvest the sea’ ” (p. 100) which, like “counting waves,” is “another proverbial waste of time (at least for mortals).” (cf. Theognis, 105-107; Homeric Hymn *To Apollo*, 70-78...).

⁴⁷⁴ Hunter 1993, p. 37.

⁴⁷⁵ Hunter 1993, p. 37.

⁴⁷⁶ Hinds p. 13.

AB 20 (Column IV 1-6)

ὥς πάλαι ὑψηλὴν Ἑλίκην ἐνὶ κύματι παίσσας
πᾶσαν ἄμα κρηνοῖς ἤγαγες εἰς ἄμαθον,
ὥς κ' [ἔ]π' Ἐλευσίνα πρηστήρ ἑκατόγγυος ἤρθης
εἰ μὴ Δημήτηρ σὴν ἐκύνησε χέρα·
νῦν δέ, Γεραῖστι' ἄναξ, νήσων μέτα τὴν Πτολεμαίου
γαῖαν ἀκινήτην ἴσχε καὶ αἰγιαλούς.

*As when long ago in one wave lofty Helike
you took it all together with the cliffs to the beach sands,
so even against Eleusis you would have come [brought yourself?] as a hurricane a
hundred fields wide
if Demeter had not kissed your hand;
now you, lord Geraustus, with the islands of Ptolemy
keep the land unshaken (by earthquakes) and the shores.*

As the final poem in the section on stones, AB 20 acts as a sort of capping to the whole series. The theme is still one of marvelling at special rocks and the *topoi* are also familiar: address to a god, measurement and enumeration, praise of Ptolemy and concern for the geographical and political. Again, the *topos* of addressing Poseidon appears, but now with a rare name Geraustus, an address also used by Callimachus.

At the same time, AB 20 anticipates later sections of the Milan papyri. Ptolemy is the divine protector here, and then in the section after the bird omens, beginning with AB 36, many poems will praise the royal and divine Ptolemaic family. The geographical concerns will be connected to names of people who have made offerings (AB 36-41), have won in a competition (AB 71-88), have sculpted or have been sculpted (AB 62-70), have died (AB 42-61, 89-94) or have been cured (95-101). The enumeration of the hurricanes in AB 20 recalls other uses of this *topoi* of measurement in AB 18 and 19 and the enumeration of victories, children or years of age in other sections of the papyrus (ἵππικά, ἐπιτύμβια).

From the ὑψηλὴν Ἑλίκην in line one to the γαῖαν ἀκινήτην in the last line, and the other repetitions, the poet composes an effective *kyklos*. The image of the first stanza, that of a seaside

cliff and dune become an example of what the speaker does not want to happen to Ptolemy's lands. Line two of AB 20 ends with the prepositional phrase εἰς ἄμαθον and this word for 'dunes' or 'beach' in AB 20.2 is a word used in Homer that was of interest to Aristarchus. Rengakos writes that Aristarchus differentiates between ἄμαθος, 'dust' and ψάμαθός, 'sand' which appears ten times in each epic (e.g. *Il.* 9.385, οὐδ' εἴ μοι τόσα δοίη ὅσα ψάμαθός τε κόνις τε).⁴⁷⁷ Therefore, Posidippus is using an un-Aristarchan meaning of the word to mean 'sand on the shore'.⁴⁷⁸

AB 20 includes an address to Poseidon as lord of Geraustus. "Geraustus" appears in the *Odyssey* when Nestor describes his trip home from Troy:

Od. 3.176-179

ᾠρτο δ' ἐπὶ λιγύς οὔρος ἀήμεναι· αἱ δὲ μάλ' ᾠκα
 ἰχθυοέντα κέλευθα διέδραμον, ἐς δὲ Γεραιστὸν
 ἐννύχιαι καάγοντο· Ποσειδάωνι δὲ ταύρων
 πόλλ' ἐπι μῆρ' ἔθεμεν, πέλαγος μέγα πετρήσαντες.

*And a whistling wind rose up to blow, and the ships ran swiftly
 over the fish-filled ways, and at night put in to Geraestus.
 There on the altar we laid many thighs of bulls for Poseidon,
 having traversed the great sea.*

That Nestor and his companions have a pleasant sea voyage to Euboea appeals to the nicer side of Poseidon. Geraustus is an appropriate term for a prayer for calm seas, more so than, say, a reminder of some of Odysseus's more perilous moments. The name is used only once in Homer and so is of interest to a Hellenistic poet, but the quotation is also a thematic allusion—at least the reference fits with the poem's content. Callimachus uses the name Geraustus for Poseidon in

⁴⁷⁷ Rengakos, 1994, pp. 45-46, ψάμαθός appears in the *Argonautika*, 4.1239; Pindar, *Pythian* 9, Aristophanes, *Wasps*, Euripides *Iph.Aul.* all with the meaning "Meersand" Rengakos notes.

⁴⁷⁸ Hainsworth in Kirk, ed. Vol. III, p. 113 on *Il.* 9.385 as a line of interest: "Sand is such an obvious symbol for an incalculable number, that it is striking it should be so rarely used for that purpose in Homer. ψάμαθός recurs at 2.800 where it is joined by φύλλα, the usual Homeric symbol for large numbers."

his *Hymn to Delos*: Κυκλάδας ὄψομένη περιηγέας, οὔτι παλαιόν / ἀλλ' ἔτι τοι μετόπισθε
Γεραίστιον εἶπετο φῦκος· *on the way to see the round bits of the Cyclades, not far along, behind*
*you followed seaweed from Geraustus. (To Delos, 198-199).*⁴⁷⁹

On AB 20, Hunter writes of Demeter's kiss, that "kissing Poseidon's hand," is "an unusual gesture in poetic descriptions."⁴⁸⁰ He adds that "the only such Homeric gesture," is *Il.* 24.478-479, "where Priam kisses 'the terrible man-slaying hands of Achilles.'⁴⁸¹ I would add that the cutting of Aphrodite's hand by Diomedes in *Iliad* 5.397-351 may also be a factor to included in this picture. Hunter brings up the Sapphic image of "that intimate link between mortal and god which is so crucial for the granting of prayers."⁴⁸²

The poems discussed in detail in this chapter are evidence of Posidippus' use of a variety of uses of Homeric diction: use of rare words (AB 4, 7, 14, 19, 20); references to names from the heroic world (Bellerophon, AB 14; Poseidon, AB 19, 20; Polyphemus, AB 19); thematic allusion to Homer through repeated phrases (AB 7, 16, 18, 19, 20); and emphatic placement of Homeric diction. all distinguish these epigrams as literary gems in themselves. There's a certain intimacy in these poems that the comparison of divergent subject matter and length through Homeric reference reinforces. That *topos* of massive to tiny stone seems to metaphorically equate the process of reduction of epic language into the four line epigrams.

The thematic focus in many Hellenistic authors concerns this reduction of experience or imagery into a few carefully composed lines. Posidippus' epigram on a huge amphora or table supplies measurements and perspective on the massive size and the exotic gems, all in the space

⁴⁷⁹ In Euripides *Cyclops*, 295, Odysseus refers to Geraustus as a place of refuge.

⁴⁸⁰ Hunter 2004, p. 96.

⁴⁸¹ Hunter 2004, p. 96.

⁴⁸² Hunter 2004, p. 96; also BG note ἐκατόγγυος appearing nowhere else, but at *Il.* 9.579, πεντηκοντόγγυος.

of AB 18. This is an additional motif to consider along with the typical use of Homer as a source of emphasis for gravity, epic strength, divine power, heroism, or divine salvation of some sort. Posidippus also seems to have a variety of episodes in mind to represent moonlight, divinity, gemstones, the ultimate luxury in Hellenistic society.

As with the amatory and sepulchral epigrams discussed in Chapter Two, the *topoi* and themes overlap and there is usually more than one category that an epigram might fit into to. The comparison of land and sea is a literary *topos* in the λιθικά poems as a way to emphasize that these gemstones have been turned into works of art but have origins in rough mountains and waters. In the next section of the papyrus, on bird omens and the subject of Chapter Four, the same *topoi* will be used for a different themataic purpose. The Homeric simile in AB 7, which added to an expression of geographic movement, is also one of a stone from land that was formed and smoothed by the river and sea. Also, AB 11 could be described as a sea poem in opposition to AB 12, more of a land poem. In AB 19, Polyphemus, stuck on his island, cannot swim with Galatea even though he is the son of Poseidon, god of the sea.

The stones from mountains in AB 6 and 7 and the massive boulders and storms in AB 19 and 20 involve the sea shore in a way that connects to Ptolemy's political world. In the next Chapter, I discuss the images of the sea in Posidippus that are connected to weather signs and setting sail. There may be an effort in all of these poems to bestow a divine context and significance to Ptolemaic success, what Bing refers to as the politics of geography. I think that the Homeric references make the this context even more grand and Macedonian supremacy more momentous.

At the end of this chapter I provide a chart of all of the Homeric references in this section of the Milan papyrus. Although the Homeric parallels do not alone imply links between poems, it

is the case that certain verbal repetitions do back up what scholars see as a structurally cohesive section of a poetry book. The repeated links to the Cyclops and Poseidon, especially with the common references points in Homer, do reinforce the idea of organization of the λιθικά poems. Features that reappear give a sense of a whole (gems, stones, and minerals), but Poseidon comes up in the beginning and the end and the Polyphemus story with its sympotic theme do tie together perhaps AB 2 and definitely AB 7, 18 and 19.

The ‘river-*topos*’ is another unifying element that leads to common reference points in Homer through the quotations in AB 7 and 19 which seem to pick up from what little we have of AB 1 and 2 and tie together also with AB 15 and 16. The Homeric diction common to AB 7 and AB 19, from the simile involving Hector does not appear in these other epigrams, which in turn ties those two together as well.

I mentioned above that Kuttner sees “internal ordering by generic clusters” and points out both the gem collecting of the 3rd century BCE, which was as much a sign of luxury as a visual experience and a scientific venture. These poems, she explains, are a “play on the new gem encyclopedias,” whose catalogues of “medical, technological, and magical uses,” qualified the appearance and inherent qualities of the stones.⁴⁸³ Kuttner points out one cluster in AB 13-15 and calls AB 16 and 17 a pair of “unworked masses of stone, as if scientific specimens preserved in Alexandria’s Museum.”⁴⁸⁴ Both of these clusters are reinforced by the Homeric language. All of these poems involve something to marvel at: AB 13 has the deceptive stone with the engraved Persian lion; AB 14’s engraving is of Bellerophon falling on the Aleian plain; AB 15’s chariot engraving demands a skilled eye to create and appreciate; AB 16’s crystal has the beauty of the sun; and 17’s magnet is compared to a marvel from Olympus. The magical piece may be the

⁴⁸³ Kuttner, p. 142.

⁴⁸⁴ Kuttner, p. 158.

most important, as in one of the more clever suggestions for the organization of stones. Kutter explains the way Posidippus may be playing upon the image of bits of the Chimaera in AB 13-15. Pegasus appears in AB 14 and the horse helped Bellerophon kill the monster, the lion appears in AB 13 and there's a serpent in AB 15. The actual Homeric parallels in AB 13-17 are fewer than in other poems, AB 4, 7, 18, 19, and 20 where thematic allusion comes into play and not just general reference or traces of Homer.

Kuttner also brings up the “gallery-effect” of the naming of artists in the λιθικά and this technique is also a *topos*.⁴⁸⁵ Posidippus, like other epigrammatists, names poets, philosophers, sculptors, craftsmen and even himself in epigrams on many different themes: sympotic (Homer and others in AB 140), amatory (Zeno as exemplum of reason in AB 123), dedicatory (Menedemus in AB 104), sepulchral (Posidippus in AB 118), in the many epigrams on sculpture in the *Greek Anthology* (Lysippus in AB 142). Another example is the reference to sea coasts and shores that connects in theme and language to AB 19 and 20 and appears also AB 91 where ‘the dunes of the sea’ hold a shipwrecked man, θῖνες ἔχουσιν ἄλός (AB 91.4). The appearance of this *topos* in poems on gemstones and on shipwrecks adds one more example to the way epigrammatists meld genres through the repetition of *topoi*.

The *topoi* from this section include the viewing or gazing at an object of attraction (AB 1-15 especially); rolling through the waves of the sea (AB 7, 11, 12, 19, 20); focus on exotic origins (AB 6-8, 10, 15 especially); gift giving (AB 3-6); bright gleams (AB 4-6, 9, 11, 15); address or mention of Poseidon (AB 19, 20); measurement or enumeration (AB 8, 11, 18). Posidippus has tied these *topoi* to the theme of marvelling, the moment of wonder as one gazes upon an exotic or deceptive natural object, carved or in its rough state. The idea of skilled artisan

⁴⁸⁵ Kuttner, p. 145.

can pertain to either engraver or sculptor and so that would be a thematic context that Posidippus shares with others, but for the most part, he is innovative in his approach. Compare Asclepiades who applies the *topos* of gazing primarily in his amatory poems (e.g. 20, 21 GP) and in those on sculpture. Rolling with waves of the sea is more often applied to shipwreck poems. Enumeration and measurement is often associated with sympotic themes, as in several epigrams grouped together in the *Greek Anthology* such as Posidippus AB 124 (= AP V 183) or Asclepiades 35 GP (= AP V 181). Philodemos' gleam in a shining moon (Sider 14 = AP V 123) looks on revelling in an amatory epigram, not the reflection of a gem (AB 4). Asclepiades' and Callimachus' lamps are also in other contexts, amatory and dedicatory.

As for common reference points in Homer, Asclepiades uses ἀπεκρέμασεν which appears in AB 4 and in *Il.* 23.879. The lamp from AB 4, a *hapax legomenon* from *Od.* 19.34 is also in Asclepiades and Callimachus, but in each of these cases, one can not be certain of a common source, especially since those votive lamps appear elsewhere.

On the other hand, Theocritus and Apollonius refer to the same wintry river from *Il.* 13.138 as Posidippus does in AB 7 (εἰς ἄλλα χειμάρρους ... ποτα]μὸς). AB 19's ὀλοοίτροχος from *Il.* 13.137 from the same Homeric passages is only found in Posidippus and Theocritus (in poetry, cf. Herodotus 5.92b.2), a fact which indicates that the Hector simile was mined by all three poets for its effective imagery.

Like the next section on bird-omen where the scientific exploration of weather signs and birds implies a similar contemporary context of the Hellenistic centers of learning, the λιθικά combine literary tradition with popular interests. On that same note, the cohesion of this section seems to be in part about the literary focus and also part of a program to prepare the reader for

the upcoming sections. The Ptolemaic and divine references continue as does the focus on technique or skill.

Figure One: Homeric references in the λιθικά

<p><i>Il.</i> 4.247-248 ἢ μένετε Τρῶας σχεδὸν ἐλθέμεν ἔνθά τε νῆες εἰρύατ' εὐπρυμνοὶ πολιῆς ἐπὶ θινὶ θαλάσσης</p>	<p>AB 16.1 τὸν πολιὸν κρύσταλλον Ἄραψ ἐπὶ θῖνα κυλίει</p>
<p><i>Il.</i> 7.161 ὥς νείκεσσ' ὁ γέρων, οἱ δ' ἐννέα πάντες ἀνέσταν</p>	<p>AB 18.1 [δεῦ]τ' ἐπ' ἔμ', ἐννέα φῶτες, ἀνακλίνθητε δ' [ἀολλ]εῖς</p>
<p><i>Il.</i> 8.76 ἦκε σέλας μετὰ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν· οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες θάμβησαν</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 8.554-556 εἶατο παννύχιοι, πυρὰ δέ σφισι καίετο πολλὰ. ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄστρα φαεινὴν ἀμφὶ σελήνην φαίνεται ἄριπρεπέα, ὅτε τ' ἔπλετο νήνεμος αἰθήρ</p>	<p>AB 6.6 Κλίνεσθαι στηθέων π[..... ἦ]δὺ σέλας.</p> <p>AB 4.3-4, αἴγλην] ἀντισέληνον ατ[... ...] λύχνωι παννυ[χ...]</p>
<p><i>Il.</i> 9.385 οὐδ' εἴ μοι τόσα δοίη ὅσα ψάμαθός τε κόνις τε</p>	<p>AB 20.2 πᾶσαν ἅμα κρηνοῖς ἤγαγες εἰς ἅμαθον</p>
<p><i>Il.</i> 12.27 αὐτὸς δ' Ἐννοσίγαιος ἔχων χεῖρεσσι τρίαιναν,</p>	<p>AB 19.9 οὐδ' Ἀνταίου ὁ γυρὸς ὀλοίτρ<ο>χος, ἀλλὰ τριάινης</p>
<p><i>Il.</i> 13.137-138 ἀντικρὺ μεμαῶς, <u>ὀλοοίτροχος</u> ὡς ἀπὸ πέτρης ὄν τε κατὰ στεφάνης ποταμὸς χεριμάρροος ῶση</p>	<p>AB 7.2 εἰς ἅλα χειμάρρους ὦκ' [ἐφόρει ποτα]μὸς</p> <p>AB 19.5 and 9 ἡμι]πλεθραῖην ῶσας πρ.[...] ἀ [.]τεα πέτρην ... οὐδ' Ἀνταίου ὁ γυρὸς ὀλοίτρ<ο>χος, ἀλλὰ τριάινης</p>
<p><i>Il.</i> 23.253 ἄλλεγον ἐς χρυσέην φιάλην καὶ δίπλακα δημόν</p>	<p>AB 3.1 αὐγάζων ὄδ', ἐν ῶ<ι> φιάλ[</p>

<p><i>Il.</i> 23.270 πέμπτω δ' ἀμφίθετον φιάλην ἀπύρωτον ἔθηκε</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 23.850 Αὐτὰρ ὃ τοξευτῆσι τίθει ιόεντα σίδηρον.</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 23.879 αὐχέν' ἀπεκρέμασεν, σὺν δὲ πτερὰ πυκνὰ λίασθεν</p>	<p>AB 17.3 τῆϊδε μὲν ἔλκει ρεῖα τὸν ἀντή<ε>ντα σίδηρον</p> <p>AB 4.6 δῶρον Μανδήνη πῆχεος ἐκρέμασεν</p>
<p><i>Il.</i> 24.165, τὴν ῥα κυλινδόμενος καταμήσατο χερσὶν ἔῃσι</p>	<p>AB 19.14 ἴπεῖα καταμήσεις εἰν ἀλί νῆσον ὄλην</p>

<p><i>Od.</i> 3.177 ἰχθυοέντα κέλευθα διέδραμον, ἔς δὲ Γεραιστόν</p> <p><i>Od.</i> 3.295-6 ἔνθα νότος μέγα κῦμα ποτὶ σκαῖον ῥίον ὠθεῖ, ἔς Φαιστόν, μικρὸς δὲ λίθος μέγα κῦμ' ἀποέργει.</p>	<p>AB 20.5 νῦν δέ, Γεραῖσιτ' ἀναξ, νήσων μετὰ τὴν Πτολεμαίου</p> <p>AB 19.1 and 6 ..] λόγισαι μεγάλην τ[αύτη]ν πόσα κύμα [τα λᾶαν ... τοῦ Πολυφημίου σκαιοτέρ<η>ν θυρεοῦ</p>
<p><i>Od.</i> 4.45=7.85 ὥς τε γὰρ ἠελίου αἴγλη πέλεν ἠὲ σελήνης</p>	<p>AB 4.3 αἴγλην] ἀντισέληνον ατ[</p>
<p><i>Od.</i> 9.240=9.340 αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἐπέθηκε θυρεὸν μέγαν ὑψόσ' αἰέρας</p>	<p>AB 19.4-6 ...ἐξέβαλεν ἡμι]πλεθραῖην ὥσας πρ.[...] ἀ [.]τεα πέτρην, τοῦ Πολυφημίου σκαιοτέρ<η>ν θυρεοῦ·</p>
<p><i>Od.</i> 13.77 κόσμω, πείσμα δ' ἔλυσαν ἀπὸ τρητοῖο λίθοιο</p>	<p>AB 7.5 Νικονόη ἴ' κάθεμα τρη[τὸν φλέγει, ἦ]ς ἐπι μαστῶι</p>
<p><i>Od.</i> 18.354 ἔμπης μοι δοκίει δαιδων σέλας ἔμμεναι αὐτοῦ,</p>	<p>AB 6.6 κλίνεσθαι στηθέων π[..... ἦ]δὺ σέλας</p>
<p><i>Od.</i> 19.34 χρῦσειον λύχνον ἔχουσα φάος περικαλλές ἐποίει</p>	<p>AB 4.4-5 ...] λύχνωι παννυ[χ Πέρσην δὲ χρυσῶι σφι<γ>κτὸν λίθον ἐξ</p>

	ἀγ[απ]ητ[οῦ]
<i>Od.</i> 21.246 θάλπων ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα σέλῳ πυρός· ἀλλὰ μιν οὐδ' ὤς	AB 6.6 κλίνεσθαι στηθέων π[..... ἢ]δὺ σέλας
<i>Od.</i> 22.385 κοῖλον ἐς αἰγιαλὸν πολιῆς ἔκτοσθε θαλάσσης	AB 16.1 τὸν πολιὸν κρύσταλλον Ἴραψ ἐπὶ θῖνα κυλίνει
<i>Od.</i> 23.240-241, δειρῆς δ' οὐ πω πάμπαν ἀφίετο πήχεε λευκῶ καὶ νύ κ' ὄδυρομένοισι φάνη ῥοδο δάκτυλος Ἡώς.	AB 4.2 and 6 Δαρείου δακτυλο [/... δῶρον Μανδήνη πήχεος ἐκρέμασεν

Chapter Four: Homeric diction in the οἰωνοσκοπικά

The οἰωνοσκοπικά section of the Milan papyrus consists of fifteen well-preserved epigrams from Column IV, 7 to Column VI, 8. Several *topoi* that I have discussed in relation with amatory and sepulchral themes in Chapter Two or with the political and geographical themes in Chapter Three reappear in this section in an entirely new thematic context. In the previous chapters, I have shown that Homeric diction has reinforced literary opinions in a sympotic epigram; added a ferocity to amatory struggles; lent gravity to sepulchral themes; and highlighted moments of wonder in the stone poems. In this chapter, I explain how the Homeric diction in the οἰωνοσκοπικά enhances images of birds, descriptions of sea coasts and waves as the diction also signals again the literary self-awareness of the poet as he continues with a didactic tone.

AB 21-35 are, like the AB 1-20, epigrams on the contemporary themes of wonders and they come from that same social milieu that is implied in the λιθικά, but now the theme is the interpretation of omens. In addition to familiar *topoi* of chance meetings that recall some sepulchral epigrams; and there is a description of a statue in AB 30 which recalls other epigrams on appreciation for art. The Homeric diction is connected primarily to the bird, sea, and shore imagery in the first poems on weather signs. Homer is also a general reference point in those poems on signs for men going off to war in AB 28, 31, 32 and 33. In some cases, a description is a possible model for both diction and word placement, as in AB 27's mention of Nestor. In all

fifteen poems, as Lavigne and Romano write, “the practice of reading the poems is linked to the recognition and interpretation of signs.”⁴⁸⁶ The epigrams, read in order especially and more on that below, present a text to be interpreted itself, pushing the poem as event and possibilities of an interactive, self-annotative experience for the informed reader. In doing so, the poet mixes *deixis* with the didactic.

Baumbach and Trampedach write of the didactics in these poems. Posidippus directs his reader to earlier descriptions of weather and bird signs, such as Hesiod’s *Works and Days*, the *Phaenomena* of Aratus, and *De Signis* by Theophrastus. Sider interprets AB 21-24 in this context, highlighting the parallels in the way Posidippus presents the birds and their portents. The source of didactic poetry and that of bird-augury help Posidippus expand the range of topics of epigram by taking elements of other genres. “Unlike Aratus,” Baumbach and Trapedach write, “Posidippus tries to present the whole range of mantic augury in an exemplary study. In his epigrams we find both weather indicators and signs referring to everyday-life as well as political and historical *omina*. This reflects the poet’s claim to present (with the brevity of the epigrammatic form) as complete a picture of (bird-) augury as possible.”⁴⁸⁷ In this “breaking of genre-boundaries,” the poet condenses longer works including the epics of Homer.⁴⁸⁸

Sider explains clearly that AB 21-24 are epigrammatic versions of scientific writings and didactic poetry. He interprets the scientific treatises of Dionysius, Theophrastus, Aratus, Vergil, and other evidence to emphasize the didactic nature of these epigrams. Sider writes that the omens in these poems have “parallels from the prose weather treatises” which “firmly

⁴⁸⁶ Lavigne and Romano, p. 13.

⁴⁸⁷ Baumbach and Trampedach, pp. 151-152.

⁴⁸⁸ Baumbach and Trampedach, p. 152.

establish the empirical/scientific nature of the hawk,” for one, as a weather sign.”⁴⁸⁹ These were popular works, but another connection between Posidippus and Aratus is their mutual loyalty for Macedon. Aratus, Sider writes “was commissioned to compose his *Phaenomena* by none other than King Antigonus of Pella, Posidippus’ home town.”⁴⁹⁰ With this context in mind, it is clear that AB 21-24 are not bird omens “of the sort we see often in Homer and elsewhere...a sign of divine favor or displeasure.”⁴⁹¹ Indeed, Posidippus uses the Homeric diction in descriptions of heaving seas and rocky coasts and he portrays the movement of birds to convey their practical importance to sailors.

This marvelling *topos* is a point of commonality with other poets. In addition to Aratus’ *Phaenomena*, Krevans, for one, points out the contemporary 3rd century wonder-book whose popularity are recalled in these poems, books such as Callimachus’s *on Birds* (fr. 414-28, Pf.).⁴⁹² What is innovative about Posidippus, is the way he applies the *topos* and the Homeric diction in his epigrams on birds, even more novel than those on gemstones. Rather than writing a study of natural wonders, as in the scientific works of Theophrastus or the didactic poetry of Aratus’ *Phaenomena*, Posidippus stays on that “narrow path” of epigram.⁴⁹³ Images of birds are prevalent in Greek poetry and Posidippus contributes to the tradition while staying true to the Alexandrian aesthetic in form and function.

Before turning to the specific references to Homer in the poems, I want to point out that Posidippus does not use much of the language of actual bird augury moments from Homer, even

⁴⁸⁹ Sider 2005, p. 170.

⁴⁹⁰ Sider 2005, p. 170.

⁴⁹¹ Sider 2005, p. 170.

⁴⁹² Krevans 2005, p. 92.

⁴⁹³ Callimachus famously deploras popular forms in ep. 38 Pf. (2 GP = 1146-1151 Page = AP XII 43), ἐχθαίρω τὸ ποίημα τὸ κυκλικόν, οὐδὲ κελεύθῳ χαίρω τίς πολλοὺς ᾧδε καὶ ᾧδε φέρει· *I hate cyclic poetry nor do I enjoy being on some road carrying many people this way and that.*

when he includes Homeric birds. For example, in the bird-augury scene in *Odyssey* Book 2 where two eagles disrupt Telemachus' meeting with the suiters, the eagles attack each other in the air and leave the men amazed at the sight, θάμβησαν δ' ὄρνιθας, ἐπεὶ ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν· *They gazed with wonder at the birds, when they saw them with their eyes;* (*Od.* 2.155). The augur Halisthernes then gets the focus:

Od. 2.158-159

Μαστορίδης· ὁ γὰρ οἶος ὀμηλικίην ἐκέκαστο
ὄρνιθας γνῶναι καὶ ἐναίσμα μυθήσασθαι,

[Halisthernes] son of Mastor, for he surpassed all men of his day in knowing birds and speaking words of fateful things.

Homer follows this portent scene with another bird appearance thirty or so lines later in *Od.* 2.181ff. where the birds are not all fateful or ominous, ὄρνιθες δὲ τε πολλοὶ ὑπ' αὐγὰς ἠελίοιο / φοιτῶσ', οὐδέ τε πάντες ἐναίσιμοι· αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεύς, *and there are many birds roaming about under the rays of the sun, and not all are portents; as for Odysseus...* (*Od.* 2.181-182).⁴⁹⁴ Posidippus does not use any of the language in the two-line description of the bird augur in the *Odyssey* and all of the birds in his epigrams are portents. What he does take from Homer is the moment of gazing in wonder at a sight and at the gleam of light which are *topoi* Posidippus connects to the theme of portents and to other epigrammatic themes, such as the marvelous stone descriptions of the λιθικά or descriptions of sculptures in the ἀνδριαντοποιικά.⁴⁹⁵

A certain passage from Aristophanes' *Birds* evokes humans marvelling at avian flight and at their special powers:

Aristophanes, *Birds* 1131-1144

⁴⁹⁴ These lines are noted in Baumach and Trampedach, p. 123.

⁴⁹⁵ Posidippus does not use many of the Homeric words here, but he does use the most common word for bird: ὄρνις, at 21.3; 22.1; 24.1, 5 (cf. 26.1; 35.2).

ΠΕΙ. ὦ Πόσειδον ...
 ΑΓ.Α. ὄρνιθες, οὐδείς ἄλλος, οὐκ Αἰγύπτιος
 πλινθοφόρος οὐ λιθουργός, οὐ τέκτων παρῆν,...
 ἐκ μὲν γε Λιβύης ἦκον ὡς τρισμύρια
 γέρανοι θεμελίους καταπετωκυῖαι λίθους.
 ...
 ΠΕΙ. ἐπηλοφόρουν δ' αὐτοῖσι τίνες;
 ΑΓ.Α ἐρωδιοὶ

Peisthetaerus: Oh Poseidon...

*Messenger: The birds, no one else, not an Egyptian
 one bearing bricks, not a stone-mason, and no carpenter was there,
 ... but from Libya they came as a group of thirty-thousand
 cranes with foundation stones they had swallowed down...*

Peisthetarus: But who were the ones who carried the clay/mortar?

Messenger: Herons...

Posidippus does include some of these birds and images, but this passage is also a reminder that οἰωνοσκοπικά are situated after the λιθικά on the Milan papyrus and that Posidippus references Poseidon in both sections.⁴⁹⁶ Next to Zeus, Poseidon is the most often mentioned divinity in Posidippus.

Another common *topos* in the Posidippus is one that Tarán discusses in Callimachus, that of ‘conveying a message.’ The role of a sepulchral epigram, especially one on a cenotaph, is often to communicate information about the deceased, as noted in Chapter Two. It is a sign of generic mobility that *topoi* from sepulchral epigrams come up in discussion of weather-sign or portent poems. The following poem could be placed under headings of shipwrecks or weather signs:

Callimachus ep. 18 Pf. (= 38 GP = Page 1324-1329 = AP VII 272)

Νάξιος οὐκ ἐπὶ γῆς ἔθανεν Λύκος ἀλλ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ
 ναῦν ἅμα καὶ ψυχὴν εἶδεν ἀπολλυμένην
 ἔμπορος Αἰγίνηθεν ὅτ' ἔπλεε· χῶ μὲν ἐν ὑγρῇ
 νεκρός, ἐγὼ δ' ἄλλως οὔνομα τύμβος ἔχων
 κηρύσσω πανάληθες ἔπος τόδε· φεῦγε θαλάσση

⁴⁹⁶ Posidippus also includes cranes and the Egyptian sea in AB 22; mentions Libya in AB 95 and AB 116; and there is a heron in AB 26.

συμμίσγειν Ἐρίφων, ναυτίλε, δυομένων.

*Not on land did Lycus of Naxos die, but on the sea
he saw the ship and his life lost at the same time,
when he was sailing from Aegina; so it's in the deep,
the corpse, and I, his tomb, am holding only his name as merchant
as I will herald this entirely truthful word; flee having anything to do with the sea
sailor, when the kids are setting.*

Callimachus takes up the *topos* of weather-signs in the last two lines of this sepulchral epigram when he mentions the twin goats in the Auriga constellation that rises in October and is said to bring storms. The geographical origin of Naxian Lycus, the viewing of the destruction and the message of the Callimachus' epigram are all *topoi* that Posidippus employs in his οἰωνοσκοπικά.

In the opening poems of the οἰωνοσκοπικά AB 21-25, the *topos* of the ship sailing out to sea is combined with that of the propitious appearance of different sea birds. Posidippus includes an address to sailors in a shipwreck poem, AB 132 where the deceased complains about being near the sea where the sound of the waves only reminds him of how he died. In AB 39, an address to a single sailor who will benefit from the landmark of the temple of Arsinoë “of fair sailing.” The *topos* of ‘setting sail’ or ‘praying for fair sailing’ are connected to bird omens in AB 21ff, but in Callimachus and Posidippus also apply these motifs to shipwreck themes or, as in AB 39, to praise of Ptolemaic sea power. Also, in Posidippus it is the bird diving into the sea which is the bad sign, while Callimachus mentions the constellations.

Compare another sailing poem by Leonidas of Tarentum, 55 GP (= Page 2479-2486 = AP X 1), who notes the type of wind and mentions birds in connection with sailing. I quote only the relevant first four lines:

Leonidas of Tarentum 55.1-4 GP (= Page 2479-2482 = AP X 1.1-4)

Ὁ πλόος ὠραῖος· καὶ γὰρ λαλαγεῦσα χελιδῶν
ἦδη μέμβλωκεν, χῶ χάριεις Ζέφυρος·

λειμώνες δ' ἀνθεῦσι, σεσίγηκεν δὲ θάλασσα
κύμασι καὶ τρηχεῖ πνεύματι βρασσομένη....

*It is the season for sailing; for the chattering swallow
already has come, and the graceful Zephyrus;
the meadows are in bloom, and the sea has become silent
thrown about by waves and by rough winds....*

Leonidas is focused on the same theme and *topoi* as Posidippus AB 21-24, but, the diction is strikingly different. Even with the same verse, some of the same techniques (repetition; the onomatopoeic Ὁ πλόος ὠραῖος and λαλαγεῦσα), there is variation. Except for θάλασσα and κύμασι of the second distich, the language, including the bird and the naming of Zephyrus and, later in the poem, Priapus (2485 Page) contrasts with the choice of reference points in the Milan papyrus poems. Other parallels with shipwreck poems and the bird omens are noted above, and while Posidippus shares that mix of thematic application of the bird appearance *topos*, he does not refer to constellations as Callimachus does or name the winds as Leonidas does in connection with the bird omens.

Along with topics of marvels, birds, and divinities that Posidippus has in common with other poets, the political and geographical context of Hellenistic epigrams is seen through the lens of weather signs in the οἰωνοσκοπικά. The focus on the sea, while a common topic in Mediterranean literature of all sorts, is more nuanced than ever before in Hellenistic poetry because of the political atmosphere, the political and economic landscape that Alexander the Great disrupted and that his Macedonian successors were recreating. As I discuss in Chapter One, the importance of Homer at the time of the Ptolemies is his role as the most commonly known point of reference in the Greek speaking world, which spread as far south as Egypt and as far North as Macedonia, and East to the Indus. Aneziri writes of poets as “World Travellers” and

describes certain guilds of poets who travelled through cities and across regions.⁴⁹⁷ The “Wandering Poet” is a descriptive for these Hellenistic epigrammatists, including Posidippus who may have seen Pella, Delphi, Delos and Egypt in his lifetime.

Because Posidippus is so in tune with the Hellenistic aesthetic, I believe that there is also an overtone of commentary on literary taste in the bird poems, especially in the didactic tone of the prophetic explanations, that recalls Posidippus’ sympotic poetry. This tone may imply that the birds also represent an aesthetic of their own. The poet directs his audience at the start in AB 21 and in AB 22, the message is essentially, “Do not trust the country meadow bird, if you are setting sail; trust the cranes from Thrace instead.” If we keep in mind the way Posidippus seems to be both literal and metaphorical in the gem poems, then we may be able to consider an aesthetic judgement here, a literary lesson, couched in a poem on a weather sign that includes diction from several sources. If so, it is an obscure lesson, but as Gutzwiller writes of the “literariness” of the Milan papyrus, one is never far from the world of language in these epigrams, and from the interest in turns of phrase that carry a particular weight of poetic awareness. As the gift of a bracelet can turn into a literary event in the λιθικά, so the flight of a bird is cause for the same intensity of attention in the οἰωνοσκοπικά.

This literary awareness is revealed in part by a study of the arrangement of the poems on the Milan papyrus. The surrounding sections seem to be thematically connected so that, as Baumbach and Trampedach write, the οἰωνοσκοπικά seem to exhibit “an inner structure on the basis of which the epigrams are deliberately arranged.”⁴⁹⁸ The connection is one of literal “contextualization of epigrams with other poems of the same section,” which invites the reader

⁴⁹⁷ Aneziri, p. 228-229.

⁴⁹⁸ Baumbach and Trampedach, p. 127.

“to participate in an internal *Ergänzungsspiel*, i.e. to look specifically for links among the 15 epigrams.”⁴⁹⁹ In addition to two sets of omens, first positive then negative signs, there seem to be two sets of concerns, domestic affairs in the AB 21-26 and there is what seems to be a transitional poem, AB 27, on “childbirth as goal of private and beginning of public life,” followed by a second group, AB 28-33, with themes of the “public sphere and military movement away from the *oikos*.”⁵⁰⁰ I think the setting-sail images in AB 21-24 could also imply a public life, complicating that break, but Baumbach and Trampedach’s argument about different spheres of concern is a strong one.

The Homeric diction does seem to connect some of the same poems that have already been linked for reasons of repetition of diction or themes. For example, the hawk’s appearance in Homer links the ships at sea in the epigram to Poseidon’s movements in *Il.* 13.62-63 and the mention of Poseidon is a repeated *topos* in the λιθικά and other poems, including those on shipwrecks. Also, the gull of AB 21 appears in an *Odyssey* passage where Leucothea speaks of Poseidon to Odysseus (*Od.* 5.337ff.). The plan of this arrangement involves the link to Homer through quotation of words from a particular passage and through an intertextual link to the epic narrative.

In this first poem in the οἰωνοσκοπικά, AB 21 (Column IV, 8-13) the allusion to Homer is both verbal and thematic and there is a fast-paced rhythm to the epigram which is a tightly compacted ring composition with a priamel-type of opening.

AB 21 (Column IV 7-12)

νηὶ καθελκομένην πάντα πλέος ἰνὶ φανήτω
 Ἴρηξ, αἰθυίης οὐ καθαροπτέρυγος·
 δύνων εἰς βυθὸν ὄρνις ἀνάρσιος, ἀλλὰ πετέσθω

⁴⁹⁹ Baumbach and Trampedach, p. 127, using Bing’s term.

⁵⁰⁰ Baumbach and Trampedach, p. 134.

ὑπο ..[.....]..[.....].[...].φ' ὄλωσ
οἶος ἀπὸ δρυὸς ὦρτ' Ἰακῆς ὠκύπτερος ἴρηξ
ἱρῆι, Τίμων, σῆι νηὶ καθελκομένηι.

*At the launching of a ship let appear in all fullness
a hawk not the gull who does not clean its wing⁵⁰¹
an unpropitious bird diving into the deep, but let [the hawk] fly
up ... completely;
such a hawk swift of flight rose up from an Ionian oak
at the launching of your holy ship, Timon.*

In this programmatic opening poem, Posidippus establishes the theme of bird-augury.

Thematic allusion to a Homeric simile involving Poseidon recalls the previous two poems on the papyrus, AB 19 and 20, where the concerns of politics and geography situate the poet and reader in the Ptolemaic world. The addition of birds is signalled most notably by the quotation of a Homeric passage involving Poseidon and a hawk,

Il. 13.62-3

αὐτὸς δ' ὦς τ' ἴρηξ ὠκύπτερος ὦρτο πέτεσθαι,
ὅς ῥά τ' ἀπ' αἰγίλιπος πέτρης περιμήκεος ἄρθεις.

*then he himself (Poseidon) like a hawk swift in flight rose up to fly,
as one who at once has risen from the huge steep rockface/
(high rock destitute even of goats)*

In AB 21, Homer's ἴρηξ ὠκύπτερος ὦρτο πέτεσθαι becomes πετέσθω/... ὦρτ' Ἰακῆς ὠκύπτερος ἴρηξ. Of the Homeric line, Janko notes, “πέτεσθαι neatly introduces this image, because it is also used of men in a hurry...before an eagle simile; 22.143 after a hawk simile.”⁵⁰² Baumbach and Trampedach write “Posidippus not only alludes to the Homeric passage...quoting from him almost word for word...but also establishes a connection to the context of the cited

⁵⁰¹ cf. Sider, 2005, p. 166.

⁵⁰² Janko in Kirk Vol. IV, p. 50.

passage, thus inaugurating a dialogue between the two texts on different levels.”⁵⁰³ In Posidippus and Homer, the bird sign “appears in connection with the topic ‘ship.’ In contrast to Homer, where Poseidon joins the Greeks in order to prevent the impending destruction of their fleet, Posidippus refers to the far more general and peaceful situation of launching a ship. But in both cases it is nonetheless the falcon/hawk that is associated with the ship.”⁵⁰⁴ Baumbach and Trampedach also comment on this quotation at length, adding, “Posidippus deliberately links his *Oiōnoskopika* via the linguistic bonds (verse 62 of *Iliad* XIII is cited in AB 21.5), the resemblance of motifs (ship, hawk/falcon), and thematic allusion (bird augury) to the *Iliad* XIII 167-177, which thus can be seen as a classical, textual model for the οἰωνοσκοπικά (col. IV 7).”⁵⁰⁵

Overall, the epigram has a familiar structure and style: six lines that include some anaphora, particularly words in the first two lines repeated in the last two lines. There are no particles of any sort in this poem which reads quickly. Enjambment of a verb in imperative form and its subject (here the third person singular second aorist passive imperative φανήτω in line 1; and ἴρηξ, a hawk; also πετέσθω in line 3), the repetition of prepositional phrases (εἰς βυθόν, ὑπο-, ἀπὸ δρυός) and the repeated directional prefix κατα- in first two and last lines all combine to give the sense of the birds movements. The Homeric diction fits neatly into this structure (a tri-colon?) and allows for echoes that continue within this and the succeeding poems. Especially notable is the repetition of νηὶ καθελκομένῃ and ἴρηξ which are most obvious elements of the concisely structured composition.

⁵⁰³ Baumbach and Trampedach, p. 153.

⁵⁰⁴ Baumbach and Trampedach, p. 153.

⁵⁰⁵ *ibid.* Also, Durbec picks up on the epithet Ionian for the oak tree; Gutzwiller 2005, p. 309 suggests that there is a historical event we are missing out on—is there a connection between Timon’s sacred ship and the hawk flying from the Ionian oak?

AB 21's shearwater or gull (αἰθυίης) is juxtaposed to the hawk (ἵρηξ in line 2). For the second line the poet describes the gull using a compound adjective (καθαροπτέρυγος) that is also a possible neologism, adding to the novel tone here. The papyrus is missing text in the third and fourth lines, but there seems to be a new dative in the last line, ("from an Ionian oak").

The hawk may seem more interesting of the two birds because of the quotation of *Il.* 13.62, but the αἰθυία, a gull that dwells along the rocky coasts of Egypt and Greece, appears with θαλασσα in AB 23.1 and again in AB 24. This bird appears twice in Homer, in the *Odyssey*:

Od. 5.337

αἰθυίη δ' εἰκυῖα ποτῆ ἀνεδύσετο λίμνης

and like a shearwater (gull/sea-mew) in flight she (Leucothea) rose from the sea

Od. 5.351-2

αὐτὴ δ' ἄψ ἔς πόντον ἐδύσετο κυμαίνοντα
αἰθυίη εἰκυῖα· μέλαν δέ ἐ κῦμ' ἐκάλυπεν.

*And then she dove again into the surging sea
like a shearwater; and the dark wave hid her.*

In the first occurrence of the shearwater in Homer, at *Od.* 5.337, Leucothea helps Odysseus and then asks, "unhappy one, how is it that Poseidon..." has tortured him. The second passage, *Od.* 5.351-2, is a variation on the first, used for Leucothea's departure. BG also note Callimachus, *Hecale*, αἰθυίης ὑπὸ πτερύγεσσιν ἔλυσαν πείσματα νηός, *at the flight of the shearwater they let loose the ship's cables* (Pf. fr. 327.1 =SH 286.9). Callimachus also has an epigram with a shearwater, ep. 58.4 Pf. (= 50 GP = AP VII 277.4), a poem which has already come up in connection with shipwrecks, αἰθυίη δ' ἴσα θαλασσοπορεῖ, *like a gull he soars over the restless sea* (Pf. 58.4 = 50 GP). Callimachus also includes a shearwater in the *Aetia* (Pf. fr. 178.34, ἀλλ'

ἐμός αἶων / κύμασιν αἰθυίης μᾶλλον ἐσρκίσατο) and in the *Hymn to Delos*, Callimachus also portrays the contrast of the island and mainland as Posidippus does in AB 22:

Callimachus, Hymn 4, *to Delos*, lines 11-13

Κείνη δ' ἠνεμόεσσα καὶ ἄτροπος, οἷα θ' ἀλιπλήξ
αἰθυίης καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπίδρομος ἤπερ ἵπποις
πόντῳ ἐνεστέρικται...

That [land] is windswept and unchangeable (not arable?), and so is the sea swept more likely [a perch]⁵⁰⁶ for shearwaters than a course for horses she has her place in the sea...

Another parallel for this poem may be found in Leonidas 15 GP (= 2029-2036 Page = AP VII 652) where, as in Callimachus, the common *topoi* of describing bird and the swells of the sea is evoked in a sepulchral epigram about a cenotaph. Posidippus applies the same motifs and images in his bird poems. In this poem on Teleutagoras is a shipwrecked merchant whose story, as Hutchinson comments, “evokes pathos for a domestic tragedy,” through the use of some Homeric diction as in Posidippus: the roaring sea as in *Il.* 1.157, the furious wave as in *Il.* 15.624-625 and the verb for pouring water, found in Homer, *Il.* 8.158-9, ἐπιχευσαμένη.⁵⁰⁷

Each of the Homeric passages with divine bird similes, whether the hawk, crane, gives the impression that Posidippus knew his epic birds and Theophrastus, as, again, Sider discusses in regard to this epigram. Posidippus also seems to draw again on Theocritus, who includes a hawk in one of his poems, in lines that seem pulled from a short epigram, but are from the bucolic hexameters of *Idyll* 9:

Theocritus *Id.* 9.31-32

τέττιξ μὲν τέττιγι φίλος, μύρμακι δὲ μύρμαξ,
ἴρηκες δ' ἴρηξιν, ἐμὶν δ' ἅ Μοῖσα καὶ ᾠδά.

⁵⁰⁶ Following Nisetich 2001, p. 37

⁵⁰⁷ Hutchinson, p. 252

*Cricket is to cricket dear and ant to ant does,
the hawks to hawks, and, to me, the Muse and for her song.*

Also note Theocritus *Id.* 10.31 a parallel,

Theocritus *Id.* 10.31

ἄ αἶξ τὰν κύτισον, ὁ λύκος τὰν αἶγα διώκει,
ἄ γέρανος τῶροτρον, ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν μεμάνημαι.

*The goat pursues the clover, the wolf pursues the goat,
The crane the plow, and I am mad over you.*

These lines from Theocritus are simply reminders of common mentions of birds and the common use of comparisons from animals to apply to human traits, but the literary element of the bird poems comes out from these parallels as well. Krevans discusses the literary range of Theocritus and the constant metaphors in his poetry.⁵⁰⁸ Harder, writing on Callimachus' *Aitia*, points out the way the crane mentioned in that prologue is part of the poet's aesthetic judgements and I will return to that point in connection with the next poem, AB 22. Posidippus is named by Callimachus after the lines with the crane, so that his own use of the crane in AB 22 is especially interesting because it not only reinforces the common point of reference to *Il.* 3.1-7, as discussed below, but it ties him to the literary debate of Callimachus and calls into question, once again, what exactly that poet means in his discussion of the 'Telchines,' his critics.

AB 22 (Column IV 14-19)

ὄρνις μὲν β[ο]υκαῖος ἐπήρατος ἀνδρὶ γεωργῶι
φαινέσθω, λήπτης καὶ περὶ φύτλ' ἀγαθός
ἡμῖν δ' Αἰγύπτου πέλαγος μέλλουσι διώκειν
Φρῆισσα κατὰ προτόνων ἡγεμονέωσι γέρανος,
σῆμα κυβερνήτηι καταδέξιον, ἢ τὸ μέγ[]
κῦμα, δι' ἡερίων σω[ιζο]μένη πεδίων.

*[on the one hand] The wagtail around the oxen pleasing for a husbandman
let it appear, also good for fly catching around the meadows*

⁵⁰⁸ See Krevans 1983 on Theocritus' range of literary allusion.

*[on the other hand] for us, about to set out on the Egyptian sea
let the Thracian crane lead us along the forestays,
a sign propitious for the helmsmen, as it [observes/rides/avoids/checks/]
the great wave, rising up over the misty surface [of the sea]*

In AB 22 (Column IV, 14-19), the second epigram of the οἰωνοσκοπικά section of the Milan papyrus, rare Homeric words, some common ones and a possible quotation (or citation--)
of Homer all help get the point across that each bird is fit for one type of landscape and one type
of omen. In this case, the rustic bird (ὄρνις β[ο]υκαῖτος, a wagtail or flycatcher) that eats the bugs
around the oxen is a positive omen for the cowherd (ἀνδρὶ γεωργῶν) while, in a different way,
the crane (γέρανος) who knows to stay away from the stormy waves is a good sign for a
seafarer.⁵⁰⁹ Most interesting for this study is that two rare Homeric words (ἐπήρατος and
ἠερίων) link to passages where the context leads to a case of thematic allusion. There are so
many Homeric echoes that AB 22 turns out to be an exceptionally complex epigram about a
rather straightforward subject. The poem stands out for reasons apart from the Homeric diction:
not one word is repeated in the six lines in which a coherent cyclical arrangement and a sort of
priamel is signaled by an initiating μὲν (line 1)/ δὲ (line 3) construction.⁵¹⁰

The μὲν on the first line also starts up the idea of contrast between the two omens and the
two birds: the country bird with the sea bird that frames the information on bird augury in AB 22
and the two complementary omens.⁵¹¹ Consequently, a sort of contracted priamel is expressed in

⁵⁰⁹ Baumbach and Trampedach, p. 123: “In Homer it is an important means of getting and deciphering divine messages, and Hesiod regards bird augury as the most striking form of mantic practice (Hesiod, *Works and Days* 826-828)” and they add that this is part of a (p. 154) “the dialogue with Homer.”

⁵¹⁰ Only eight poems on the papyrus use these particles together and this is the poet’s only use of μὲν in the first line other than AB 130=4 GP= AP 5.213 (Πυθιάς εἰ μὲν...). Cf. AB 18 uses the pair twice.

⁵¹¹ Like the preceding epigram on the papyrus, AB 21, two birds are contrasted, but in AB 22 each bird is a *good* omen in its own right. These first two poems in the bird omen section are similar, however, in length, scope of subject matter, number of prepositional phrases, the use of another neologism, καταδέξιον, and imagery from Homer.

the first three lines that continues to apply to the other three lines: as the wagtail is good for the oxen and the cowherd on a grassy meadow; so for *us* (epigrammatic ‘we’ in line 3) the crane is a favorable omen for setting out to sea.⁵¹² A parallel to this sort of comparison may be found in a line from the *Odyssey* that contains the Homeric *hapax legomenon* in this first line of AB 22: the nominative masculine form of ἐπήρατος,

Od. 4.605-606

ἐν δ’ Ἰθάκῃ οὔτ’ ἄρ’ δρόμοι εὐρέες οὔτε τι λειμών
αἰγίβοτος, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπήρατος ἵπποβότοιο.

*But in Ithaca there are no wide running-courses nor any sort of meadows;
a goat pasture land, rather than one pleasant for horse pastures.*

The adjective ἐπήρατος is used elsewhere in Homer (*Il.* 9.228, of ‘lovely raiment’ at *Od.* 8.366), but there are only four examples of the use of exactly the nominative form before Posidippus.⁵¹³ The *Odyssey* passage is about Ithaca’s pasture land, for goats not horses. The Homeric line and the opening image of Posidippus’s epigram is one of a pasture.⁵¹⁴ The first line of AB 22 ends with the ‘husbandman,’ ἀνδρὶ γεωργῶν. The mention of a type of man in the first line is not a surprise (cf. 30.1 ἀνδρὶ πολίτην) but this phrase seems to appear nowhere

⁵¹² Race, p. 109: “its very form is consonant with the epigram. It’s ability to sketch a large context by means of representative parts, and to give force to its ‘point,’ gives it a kind of concision which is typical of so many epigrams. Furthermore, the flexibility of the priamel for expansion and contraction makes it easily adaptable to statements of two to ten lines.”

⁵¹³ Apollonius, *Lexicon Homericum*, 71.29, ἐπήρατος ἐπήραστος, ἢ ἔρωτα ἔχων. Odysseus to Achilles, *Il.* 9.228 (οὐ δαιτὸς ἐπήρατου), of Aphrodite clothed by the Graces, *Od.* 8.366 (εἴματα ἔσσαν ἐπήρατα); Hes. Fr. 76.4, Sappho, Supp. 20c.4. In the Homeric Hymn *To Apollo*, the Cretans ask Apollo, after he has revealed himself, how they can live at Delphi, in the mountains and equally tough territory for horses as rocky islands: οὔτε τρυγηφόρος ἦδε γ’ ἐπήρατος οὔτ’ εὐλείμων, / ὥς τ’ ἀπὸ τ’ εὖ ζῶειν καὶ ἄμ’ ἀνθρώποισιν ὀπηδεῖν; Xenophon *Hellenica*. 2.3.10, line 4. Κλεοσθένης, Λυκάριος, Ἐπήρατος, Ὀνομάντιος; Aresas, *Frag.*(3 B.C.), p. 50 line 23, ἀρετᾶ ποθαρμόξασθαι δ’ αὐτὰ ὁ νόος δύναται, παιδεύσις καὶ ἀρετᾶς ἐπήρατος γενόμενος; In Theocritus, a comparable idea at *Idyll* 10.31, as the goat pursues the clover, so the gray wolf pursues the goat and the crane pursues the plow.

⁵¹⁴ There may be connection between the *hapax* in AB 22 and AB 56, where, in the first line, same *sedes*, Posidippus uses the aorist of ἐπαίρω, ἐπήρατο, which may be a play on an earlier adjectival usage in AB 22, or just a sonoral preference (AB 56 is about a woman who died in childbirth).

else.⁵¹⁵ This opening line, then is both a specific allusion to Homer *Od.* 4.605-606 and a general reference to other comparisons of birds and animals, as in the Theocritus examples quoted above.

Another Homeric note concerns πέλαγος which appears only once in the nominative in Homer:

Il. 14.16-17

ὡς δ' ὅτε πορφύρη πέλαγος μέγα κύματι κωφῶ
ὀσσομένον λιγέων ἀνέμων λαιψηρὰ κέλευθα

*As when the the open sea gleams darkly with a dull-sounding wave
presaging the nimble paths of the whistling winds*

In line three of AB 22 another Homeric phrase is intertwined in the epigram, The third line ends with the common Homeric phrase μέλλουσι διώκειν, as in a line that follows the Poseidon hawk simile quoted in AB 21, *Il.* 13.64 ὀρμήση πεδίσι διώκειν ὄρνεον ἄλλο, some other bird .

In AB 22.4 The crane, γεράνος, appears in one poem of Posidippus and in Homer it appears in a vivid simile in *Iliad* 3.1-14 which is quoted in part. For Posidippus, the crane is a good omen for the helmsman, σῆμα κυβερνήτηι καταδέξιον (AB 22.5), and there is a call by the speaker of the poem to let it lead ‘us’ (ἡμῖν δ’ ‘ in line 3) along the forestays.⁵¹⁶ AB 22.4
Θρηῖσσα κατὰ προτόνων ἡγεμονέοι γέρανος The phrase κατὰ προτόνων doesn’t seem to appear anywhere else but letting the crane be the guide recalls the winds that guide Odysseus on his way. Circe assures him of the help of Boreas, the north wind, ordering him not to have a care for the lack of a guide: μή τί τοι ἡγεμόνος γε ποθὴ παρὰ νηὶ μελέσθω, *let there not be any*

⁵¹⁵ Cf. πρέσβυς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός in 25.1 (and ἀγαθός here in AB 22.2); 29.1; 30.1 ἀνδρὶ πολίτηι; 32.1, Ἀντιμάχ[ω] σπ]εύδοντι; also dative in first line at 21.1; dative with compound verb/participle ὑποκείμενος, at 35.1. Note also φαινέσθω (22.2), cf. 21.2, φανήτω, 21.3, πετέσθω and the Homeric quotation in AB 21.

⁵¹⁶ AB 22.3 begins ἡμῖν δ’ (cf. beginning of line as in *Il.* 3.323, 14.99, 15.509; *Od.* 10.445, 11.5, 12.148) and although this is not an exceptional occurrence, the parallels recur in other Posidippus epigrams.

*care for a guide for your ship (Od. 10.505). Gärtner connects the Posidippus and Homer passages for the crane and for the flight from storms.⁵¹⁷ I would also point out that the last word in the Homeric simile is the same as the last word in the epigram, *Il* 3.14, πεδίοιο, 22.6 AB, πεδίωv.⁵¹⁸*

Il. 3.1-7

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κόσμηθεν ἅμ' ἠγεμόνεσσιν ἕκαστοι
Τρῶες μὲν κλαγγῇ τ' ἐνοπῇ τ' ἴσαν ὄρνιθες ὡς
ἤυτε περ κλαγγῇ γεράνων πέλει οὐρανόθι πρό
αἴ τ' ἐπεὶ οὖν χειμῶνα φύγον καὶ ἀθέσφατον ὄμβρον
κλαγγῇ ταί γε πέτονται ἐπ' ὠκεανοῖο ῥοάων
ἀνδράσι Πυγμαίοισι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέρουσαι·
ἠέριαι δ' ἄρα ταί γε κακὴν ἔριδα προφέρονται
...

Il. 3.10-14

εὖτ' ὄρεος κορυφῆσι Νότος κατέχευεν ὀμίχλην
ποιμέσιν οὐ τι φίλην, κλέπτῃ δέ τε νυκτὸς ἀμείνω,
τόσσόν τις τ' ἐπιλεύσσει ὅσσον τ' ἐπὶ λαῶν ἴησιν·
ὡς ἄρα τῶν ὑπὸ ποσσὶ κονίσαλος ὄρνυτ' ἀελλῆς
ἐρχομένων· μάλα δ' ὤκα διέπρησον πεδίοιο.

*But when each was put in order at once by the leaders,
then the Trojans went with a clanging and a shouting like birds
just as when there is a clanging of cranes coming forth from the sky
just when they flee the winter storms and unspeakable rain
and with a clanging they fly by the streams of Ocean
and they bring death and destruction to Pygmy men;
and in early dawn then at once they offer evil strife.*

...

*In this way the south wind pours mist over the peaks of mountains
something not dear to shepherds, but to a thief is even is better than night,
someone sees only so far as he may throw a stone;
so at once a cloud of whirling dust stirred up beneath their feet
as they went; and very swiftly they passed over the plain.*

⁵¹⁷ Gärtner 2006, p. 78.

⁵¹⁸ Also Di Nino, “Archeanax’s Shipwreck,” on λυπρῆν ‘wretched’ for AB 90.1, a poem that also ends with πεδίωv (AB 90.4) and possibly has πελάγει in line 2, notes “Cf. Hom. *Od* 13.243, where the same adjective refers to Ithaca, which is said to be οὐδὲ λίην λυπρῆν. It is probably not without interest to note that only in Homer,” is it used to describe an island, “e.g. Hom. *Od*. 5.306ff. and Hes. *Op*. 687, which can be taken as clear examples of the idea ancient people had about death at sea,” so that “it is possible to think that Posidippus’ purpose was to emphasize how miserable Archeanax’s death actually was: a wretched death, near a wretched island.” (Di Nino 2005, p. 9)

In the simile that begins the third book of the *Iliad* the Trojans' tumultuous and armor-clanging noise as they approach the Greeks is compared to the din of cranes fleeing northern storms out to kill pygmy men. In Posidippus, the cranes are said to ride the waves through the sea mist, δι' ἠερίων σω[ιζο]μένη πεδίω.

Callimachus seems to use this Homeric passage in his *Aetia*: cranes, the Pygmy men as in Homer and mention of Egypt as in Posidippus: *Aetia*, Frag. 1.13-14, ον ἐπὶ Θρήικας ἀπ' Αἰγύπτιοι [πέτοιτο / αἶματ]ι Πυγμαίων ἠδομένη [γ]έρα[, *to Thrace from Egypt let them take flight who rejoicing in the blood of Pygmy men*. In AB 22, Posidippus makes no mention of the crane's bad side and instead brings them up as a reliable sea-faring bird, one fleeing from the cold Thracian north winds to follow the currents south to Egypt, whence the 'we' of this poem is sailing. Harder writes of the literary metaphor at work in Callimachus, *Aitia* 1.14, "The points of comparison with the rejected kinds of poetry seem to be length (of the crane's flight) and battle (against Pygmies), and the reader who has the passage from the *Iliad* in mind may add the notion of noise, which is prominent there."⁵¹⁹ Posidippus does not emphasize the battle or the noise, but rather the flight from the north and the practical sign for sailors. He and Callimachus share the reference point in Homer, but use it for different, if equally literary, means. The movement is contrasted as well in that Callimachus' cranes go from south to north while Posidippus' cranes are headed to Egypt from Thrace.

It is a surprise that no one has commented on the next seven lines of the extended simile, *Il.* 3.8-14, where Homer gets to the south wind which settles on the plain and is so thick a man

⁵¹⁹ Harder 2012, Vol. 2, p. 47.

can barely see his own hand. The passage ends at *Il.* 3.14 with the word *πεδίοι* and I think it is notable that the last word in AB 22 is *πεδίων*.⁵²⁰

There is also the echo of *δι' ἠερίων* (AB 22.6) and *Il.* 3.7's *ἠέριαι δ'* which appears in AB 23.1, the first line of the next poem on the Milan papyrus.⁵²¹ The mist on the plain in *Il.* 3.10 (the Trojan simile with the cranes just noted) is expressed by *ὀμίχλη* which does not appear at all in Posidippus and is more common in Homer (cf. *Iliad* 1.359, where Thetis comes “out from the gray sea like a mist” (*ὀμίχλη*) to see Achilles). This mist is different than what is used for the misty air the cranes fly through in *Il.* 3.7 (*ἠέριαι δ'*), or in AB 22.6 (*δι' ἠερίων*). The word Posidippus uses appears in the next two Thetis passages from the first book as she ascends to Olympus, one line describes her, the next Hera describes her to Zeus:

Il. 1.497

ἀλλ' ἢ γ' ἀνεδύσετο κῦμα θαλάσσης·
ἠερίη δ' ἀνέβη μέγαν οὐρανὸν Οὐλυμπόν τε.

*But she rose up from the wave of the sea
and in early morning went up to great heaven and Olympus*

Il. 1.557

ἠερίη γὰρ σοί γε παρέζετο καὶ λάβε γούνων

...for in early morning she sat by you and clasped your knees

The D *scholia* on *Il.* 1.497 defines *ἠερίη* in the way that later authors use it: Ἐωθινή, ὀρθρινή, *early in the morning, at daybreak*.⁵²² On *Il.* 3.7, the D *scholia* describe the term:

ἔαριναι, *of spring*, perhaps following Aristophanes who describes swallows with that term. In

⁵²⁰ The fifth line of AB 22 begins with *σῆμα*, which only starts a line once in Homer (*Il.* 8.171); *σῆμα* also appears in a AB 23.2, 24.5, 50.2, 59.6, 102.3, 148.3.

⁵²¹ Apollonius of Rhodes uses this word twice (*Argonautica* 3.915, 4.954).

⁵²² Heyne *ad loc.*

δ'ἀνέωη ἐπιρρηματικῶς δ' ἀνέβη, *silent, floating on the surface, she rose up*.⁵²³ On the image AB 22.5-6 μέγ' [/ κῦμα Leaf comments on source text, *Iliad* 14.16, that “This fine simile is taken from the ‘ground-swell’ provided by a storm at a distance, and often followed by the storm itself.”⁵²⁴ The image in Posidippus is of that post-surge misty moment, a combination of the hawk image from AB 21 and the mist in Homer.

Posidippus does not use the mist that is an even more fitting bird simile with Thetis in the last two lines of Book 18.

*Il.*18.616-617

ἢ δ' ἴρηξ ὥς ἄλτο κατ' Οὐλύμπου νιφόεντος
τεύχεα μαρμαίροντα παρ' Ἡφαίστοιοι φέρουσα.

*then as a falcon she sprung down from snowy Olympus
bearing the sparkling armor from Hephaestus.*

This hawk/falcon line does not appear to be quoted in AB 22, but it there may be interplay with other Posidippus poems, not of hawks but of snowy Olympus, and shining things (such as gems). The context of this hawk passage from Homer fits in with AB 21's hawk; the use, in AB 6.3, of μαρμαίρον in the same *sedes*; AB 118.3 (=SH 705 = P. Berol. 14283), Παρνησοῦ νιφόεντος ἀνὰ πτύχ[α]ς ἢ παρ' Ὀλύμπωι. Janko connects these two bird references in his commentary, noting on *Il.* 13.62, that “Poseidon leaves with the speed of a hawk, not in the shape of one...Thetis leaves from Olympus ἴρηξ ὥς at 18.616, where she has not reason for disguise.”⁵²⁵ There may be a connection to scholarship here as well, due to the fact that the lines from Book 18 appear just after those Zenodotus athetized from the Homeric text (18.483-608). Lines 18.597ff were rejected by Aristophanes and Aristarchus, so that

⁵²³ Dindorf *ad loc.* (*Scholia in Iliadem* 497a).

⁵²⁴ Leaf, p. 65-66.

⁵²⁵ Janko in *Iliad* commentary.

Posidippus's echo of Homer may lie in a passage that only the earliest librarian in Alexandria, Zenodotus, approved of.⁵²⁶

On this last point, compare another Homeric passage with the hexameter AB 22.3, ἡμῖν δ' Αἰγύπτου πέλαγος μέλλουσι διώκειν and final pentameter AB 22.6, κῦμα, δι' ἠερίων σω[ιζο]μένη πεδίον, which provides yet another example of simple reversal of the Homeric model for the epigram. This type of reversal is the sort of allusion Giangrande points out as typical of Hellenistic poets:

Od. 5.329-330

ἄμ πεδίον, πυκιναὶ δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλησιν ἔχονται.
ὥς τὴν ἄμ πέλαγος ἄνεμοι φέρον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα·

*over the plain, [thistles] stuck together hold on to one another
so the winds were carrying it [the raft] over the sea here and there;*

Apollonius also puts the words for misty air/early morning and the flat plain of the land together in *Argonautica*, 3.914-916 and 4.954-955 where he uses the same two meanings for ἠερίην ('misty' and 'early morning'):

Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica*, 3.914-916

Ἄργος, ὅτ' ἤδη τήνγε κασιγνήτων ἐσάκουσεν
ἠερίην Ἑκάτης ἱερὸν μετὰ νηὸν ἰοῦσαν,
ἦγε διὲκ πεδίου·

*Argus, as soon as he had heard from his brothers
that at dawn she had gone to the holy temple of Hecate,
and led him across the plain;*

Apollonius of Rhodes *Argonautica*, 4.954-955

πέμπε διηερίην ἐπὶ μύμασιν, αἰὲν ἄπωθεν
πετράων;

[each Nereid] were sending [the ship] through the air

⁵²⁶ Murray, p. 332 and in Kirk *Iliad* commentary.

*mist over the waves, always away from
the rocks;*

In Apollonius of Rhodes, one occurrence seems to mean ‘early morning,’ and another ‘air.’ Although the chronology here is uncertain, it does seem that both poets are using the same two meanings of a Homeric word of scholarly interest. Furthermore, Apollonius also Ἡερία, an ancient name for Egypt, at *Argonautica* 4.267. Perhaps, in AB 22 and AB 23 ἠερίην / ἠερίων could mean ‘in Egypt’ as the most propitious place to see the crane or the shearwater (even if the Egyptian sea is already a part of AB 22.3, Αἰγύπτου πέλαγος).⁵²⁷

Apollonius places πεδίου in proximity to ἠερίην at *Argonautica*, 3.915, just noted above, and these two words are significant to the overall story in Posidippus AB 22. In several of these poems, the fertile plain and the mist that settles over it are opposed to the mist in the metaphorical plain of the sea. The contrasting land and sea imagery is given emphasis through the use of Homeric diction and this emphasis is both poetic and political in ways that AB 4 or AB 20 seem to be. That is, they may be connected to the increasing focus on the Ptolemaic world, a contemporary note that is clearly expressed in the last lines of AB 20: νῦν δέ, Γεραίστι ἄναξ, νήσων μέτα τήν Πτολεμαίου/γαῖαν ἀκινήτην ἴσχε καὶ αἰγιαλούς. *Now, lord of Geraustus, with the islands/ keep free from earthquake Ptolemy’s land and shores.*

AB 23 (Column, IV 20-23)

ἠερίην αἴθριαν ἰδῶ[ν ὑπ]ο κῦμ[α] θαλάσ[σης]
δυομένην, ἀλιεῦ[ς], ἴσ[σ] ἡ[μα φ]ύλα[σ]σ[ε] ἀγαθ[όν]
καὶ πολυάγκιστρον κ[αθίει] καὶ βάλλε σαγ[ήνην]
[κ]αὶ κύρτους ἄγρης οὐ[ποτ’ ἄ]πε[ι] κενεός

*Seeing the shearwater in the morning/in the mist diving under the waves of the sea,
oh fisherman, consider it a good sign;
and drop your many-hooked line and cast your net*

⁵²⁷ *Argo*. 3.417, 3.828, 4.267, 4.270, 4.1239, noted in Rengakos, 1994, p. 93-94.

and your cages; you will never return from fishing empty-handed.

AB 23 is similar to the two preceding poems in the οἰωνοσκοπικά in which augury is connected to weather signs. Again, the *topoi* of ‘birds diving through the waves’ and ‘setting out to sea,’ are expressed with diction from a variety of sources. At AB 23.1, the first word ἡερίην, a rarity in Homer, is a repeat from the previous poem’s last line and the shearwater is also repeated from AB 21 and will reappear in 24. Homeric echoes resonate in all of these poems as much as the scientific language and oracular *topoi*. Instead of a *hapax legomenon* or actual quotation, AB 23 seems to rely on a general reference to the Homeric passages alluded to in AB 21 and 22. The echo of the quotations from *Il.* 13.62-3 continue as well as the mention of the shearwater in *Od.* 5.337 and 5.351-352 in AB 21. Also, the use of simile of *Il.* 3.1-14, where the Trojans are compared to cranes, and the diction have parallels to AB 22.

The line from Callimachus quoted in connection with the shearwater in AB 21 may have an even closer connection to Posidippus through the combination in AB 23.1 of αἰθυί- and θαλασσ-, as in a pentameter in Callimachus ep. 58.4 Pf. (= 50 GP = 1370-1374 Page = AP VII 277.4, ἦσυχον, αἰθυίη δ’ ἴσα θαλασσοπορεῖ, *he is silent, like a gull he soars over the restless sea*). This poem already mentioned in connection with the shipwreck poems in Chapter Two and with AB 21. The commonalities between the poets, even on such a basic point as bird flying over the sea, is one more reason to look more closely at their choice of diction. Sometimes they all touch on the same allusion or *topos*, sometimes they use the same words, but there is always some preference that separates them and makes one further appreciate their poetic skills. Even with the same bird, some of the same language, and perhaps the same source text, Callimachus’s shearwater and cranes are in poems that convey different messages than Posidippus does in AB

21-23. The crane and shearwater of AB 21 appear together again in AB 24, where the crane referred to as the Theban black bird:

AB 24 (Column IV 24-29)

...]εο τὸν Θηβαῖον ἰδὼν ἀ[λιεῦ,] μέλα[ν ὄρνιν·
 [αἰ]θυλίη πεισθεῖς ουκα.[...]..α.[
 ...[.]..[.]....[.]..[.....].εαυτ.[.
 τρηχη-ς Ἀρχύτα[....]θενεπα[
 εἰς γὰρ κυματοπλῆγ' ἀκ[τὴν .].τοκρυρὸ[.]ορ[
 σ]ῆμ' εὐαγρείης οὐχ ἐτέ[....]κριτον.

*Seeing the Theban black bird, oh fisherman, arise/rejoice,⁵²⁸
 Should you trust the shearwater, ..not...
 ... the rough Archytas ...
 for to the wave-beaten headland... the bird...⁵²⁹
 a sign of good fishing not good for others.⁵³⁰*

In AB 24, the theme of bird omens includes the same *topoi* as the previous three, the setting sail and mention of the rugged coastline. The shearwater is opposed to the Theban bird, a crane, and the sign of a bountiful catch of fish. The naming of Thebes again contrasts, as the mention of Thrace does in AB 22, the northern seas with the warmer coasts of Egypt. The Homeric echoes continue in a more general way here with the repeated mention of the birds flying along the rugged coast.

Both the *editio princeps* and *editio minor* print ἐτέροις ἄκριτον in the last line. It is somewhat jarring to think that the bird would be ὁ κριτὸς ὄρνις in line five and then, in AB 24.6, ἄκριτον, but some kind of enumeration seems fitting for a fisherman poem. The Homeric passages that include this adjective do not lead to any particularly compelling cases of quotation

⁵²⁸ AB print ὄρσ]εο at the start of the first line, so 'arise.' BG ἰζ]εο, 'sit still;' De Stefani 2002, γήθ]εο, 'rejoice;' Condello, ἔργ]εο, 'keep away;' Ferrari 2005, ἄζ]εο, 'dread;' Ferrari 1995, ἴσχ]εο, 'hold back,' or ἐζ]εο, 'sit down,' or ἄζ]εο. I prefer the sense, proven by Sider 2005 in AB 21-AB 23 of the crane as a good sign for the fisherman.

⁵²⁹ AB print ὄρ[νις at the end of line 5 and also Fantuzzi 2002; cf. also Ferrari 2005, ὁ κλυτὸς ὄρνις; with the repetitions of AB 21-23, it seems fitting that the bird be referred to again in the last two lines, and that it be described as excellent or splendid, perhaps even as ὁ κριτὸς ὄρνις either line five or six.

⁵³⁰ BG and AB print ἐτέροις ἄκριτον in the last line.

except for the repeated line about Penelope’s never-ending crying over her missing husband at *Od.* 18.174 and *Od.* 19.120. The *D scholia* on *Iliad* 2.796 and 24.91 both include a similar comment on this term for ‘indistinguishable’ or ‘unclear,’ supplying the definitions Ἀδιάκριτοι. Πολλοί. *Undecided. Many* (*Il.* 2.796). Rengakos notes that this adjective has two meanings in Homer: “‘nicht zu unterscheiden’ und ‘endlos, zahllos,’” both connected to the idea of confusion, inability to judge.⁵³¹ Apollonius uses it in two episodes, once for the “indistinct” or “ceaseless” voices of the Sirens (*Argonautika* 4.911).⁵³² In that scene, the music of Orpheus’ playing is heard over the roar of the sea and meant to counteract the Sirens by confusing the Argonauts and distracting from their lure. If Posidippus does include this adjective in AB 24, then it may have been a word of note for him, as Penelope is a reference point also in AB 4. Also the topos of enumeration or measurement, part of sympotic epigrams, may also be at work here, but, again, the text is not certain.

AB 25 (Column IV 30-35)

πρέσβυς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός τε [καὶ εὐ]άντητος ὁδ[οῖο]
καὶ περὶ ναυτιλίας· καὶ γάμον εἰρομ[έ]ν[ω]
ἔστω δὴ ἱερεὺς στεφανηφόρος ἢ κατ’ ἀκ[ου]ήν
ἠβηταῖς ἤδη παισὶ **μέγα φρονέων**·
ὡς αἰσχρῶς ἦντησε πατὴρ τε σὸς οἳ τε σύναιμοι,
εὖ **δαήρ** τε μὲν οὔν, νύμφα, καὶ εὖ **ἐκυρός**.

*an old man/a wren⁵³³ is good to meet up with on the road
and concerning a sea voyage; and for asking about marriage
indeed let it be a priest wearing a garland or by hearsay
is greatly mindful of his children already grown up;
so shamefully, both your father and your brothers met him
but also, oh bride, lucky your brother-in-law and lucky the father-in-law.*

⁵³¹ Rengakos 1994, p. 43.

⁵³² Race’s note on *Argonautika* 4.911.

⁵³³ N. Krevans 2005, p. 90, note 10, suggests an additional meaning for the old man of AB 25 in her footnote: “πρέσβυς, the first ‘omen’ here and the subject of poem 28, is possibly a pun: the word is also the name of a kind of wren.” If that were so, the first πρέσβυς would be a wren and the second a garlanded priest? In 22 there is a comparison of a bird that is beneficial to different types of people.

The Homeric notes in AB 25 begin in line four with μέγα φρονέων, a phrase Whitehorne asserts is “immediately recognizable as being Homeric.”⁵³⁴ Whitehorne lists some examples of this phrase in Homer: “the Trojans’ success in *Iliad* 8.553, of Hector as he advances to his aristeia in 11.296, of Deiphobus stepping forward at 13.156, of the Greek counter attack led by Patroclus at 16.258, and of Achilles’s advance at 22.21. In every example of its use by Homer, except for Achilles’s advance which will culminate in the death of Hector, the initial jaunty confidence which the phrase suggests is ultimately shown to be misplaced.”⁵³⁵

There is more to the Homeric diction in AB 25: it also has two rare Homeric words (δαήρ and έκυρός) which appear a few lines apart in the third book of the *Il.* 3.172, αἰδοῖος τέ μοι έσσι, φίλε έκυρέ, δεινός τε, *you are respected by me, dear father of my husband, and dreaded.* and 3.180, δαήρ αὖτ’ έμός έσκε κυνώπιδος, εἴ ποτ’ έην γε, and *he was husband’s brother to dog-eyed/shameless me, if ever there was such a one.* The Hellenistic poets must have paid attention to these Homeric lines, the one which immediately precedes the use of δαήρ at *Il.* 3.180 is said to have been the favorite of Alexander the Great, *Iliad* 3.179, ἀμφότερον βασιλεύς τ’ ἀγαθός κρατερός τ’ αἰχμητής, *both noble king and mighty spearman*, spoken by Helen to Priam about Agamemnon. The term of kinship for the father of one’s husband, έκυρός appears one other time in the epic corpus at *Il.* 24.770, ἦ έκυρή, έκυρός δέ πατήρ ώς ἦπιος αἰεί, *my mother in law, and my father-in-law was always kind as a father.*

AB 26 (Column IV 36-39)

οἰκῆα κτήσασθαι έρωιδιός ὄρνις ἄριστος
 πελλός, ὄν Ἄστερή μάντις έφ’ ἱρά καλεῖ·
 ὦ πεισθεῖς ἱέρων έκ[τή]σατο τόν μέν έπ’ άγρου
 τόν δ’ οἰκων άγαθῶι σύν ποδι κηδεμόνα

⁵³⁴Whitehorne, p. 58.

⁵³⁵Whitehorne, p. 58.

*For acquiring a house servant the heron is the best bird
dark-colored, whom the seer Asterie calls to her sacred rites;
trusting in it Hieron acquired one then for his land
then one for his house, a protector with a good foot.*

Among the birds included in the οἰωνοσκοπικά section is the grey heron, ἐρωιδιὸς which appears in the same *sedes* in Posidippus, AB 26.1 and in Homer, *Il.* 10.274, τοῖσι δὲ δεξιὸν ἦκεν ἐρωιδιὸν ἐγγυὺς ὁδοῖο. This heron appears only once in Homer, in a passage from the Dolonian episode. Just as Odysseus and Diomedes set out, Athena sends a bird of omen which they can't see, but they can hear the bird, κλάγξαντος ἄκουσαν, making a noise like that of the cranes in *Il.* 3.1-7, κλαγγὴ γεράνων.⁵³⁶ There is a resemblance of motives here because the grey heron in Homer is also a positive omen. The picture of the heron in Homer also reminds us of the crane of the earlier poem in this section and gives a background in the source text that complements that in the target text. However, there are no servants in the Homeric passages and that is the theme in AB 26, choosing a servant, alongside the motives of interpreting birds. Gutzwiller notes this as part of her discussion of the literary focus of the Milan papyrus poems. Of AB 26, She writes “Most bird signs work by similarity or analogy, as, for instance, a diving shearwater signals a sinking ship (AB 21). But the heron's connection with choosing a servant is not self-evident, and requires the reader to apply self-annotation. In addition to the name of the ruler who owns the slaves, Hieron, there are three words for heron in AB 26 (ἐρωιδιὸς, Ἀστερίη, and Ἴερω). Gutzwiller proves that there is an unusually illusive connection between the grey heron and choosing a servant, a connection that, she writes, “can only be found through linguistic awareness.”⁵³⁷ The grey heron is most common, she writes, but “the name of the seer Asterie may remind the reader of another kind of heron called ἀστερίας.” She adds that through

⁵³⁶ *Il.* 10.274ff. is a passage that seems to be the source of much of the imagery in AB 22 and AB 23.

⁵³⁷ Gutzwiller 2005, p. 309.

Aristotle we have a story of the heron’s origin: “metamorphosed from slaves,” and as such the *asterie* is from the lazy slave, the great heron, “the more common variety presages a servant of good character.”⁵³⁸ With the addition of the point on Hieron’s servants of AB 26.3, τὸν δ’ οἴκων ἀγαθῶι σὺν ποδὶ κηδεμόνα, and Aristophanes, *Birds*, 721 where “servants who were considered omens (‘birds’) were called καλλίποδας...καὶ καλλοιωνίστους,” Gutzwiller demonstrates that the Homeric connection may have even more merit. Furthermore, she adds that there is mention of πελλός in the ancient scholia relating to Pallas Athene (who sent the grey heron to Odysseus and Diomedes). “By postponing πελλός until the beginning of the pentameter,” Gutzwiller writes, “Posidippus is possibly referring to a disputed passage in Homer, *Il.* 10. 274-5...where the T scholiast comments (ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ Παλλὰς “πέλλον” γραφειν φησὶ δεῖν ὁ Ζώπυρος (=FGrHist 494).”⁵³⁹ If this is so, that Posidippus is intentionally using a word of interest to a Homeric scholar in his description of the bird in AB 26, then this would be an additional example of the poet’s awareness of such matters.

There is a bit more to this Homeric quotation: the use of the phrase ὄρνις ἄριστος in AB 26. The exact phrase appears in Homer in a passage concerning bird portents. In *Il.* 12. 237, Hector tells Polydamas what he thinks of this soothsayer’s “who in his mind had clear knowledge of omens, and to whom the people gave ear,” by saying he doesn’t care about such things:

Il. 12.237-240

τὴν δ’ οἴωνοῖσι τανυπτερύγεσσι κελεύεις
 πείθεσθαι, τῶν οὐ τι μετατρέπομ’ οὐδ’ ἀλεγίζω
 εἴτ’ ἐπὶ δεξι’ ἴωσι πρὸς ἠῶ τ’ ἠελίον τε,
 εἴτ’ ἐπ’ ἀριστερὰ τοί γε ποτὶ ζόφον ἠερόεντα.

⁵³⁸ Gutzwiller 2005, p. 309.

⁵³⁹ Gutzwiller 2005, p. 309.

*And you call on us to be persuaded by the winged flights of birds,
for which I have no regard nor do I care
whether they go on the right and towards the dawn and the sun,
or whether to the left/boding ill toward the cloudy darkness.*

The *scholia* include οἰωνὸς ἄριστος in *Il.* 12.243, εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης. *One bird omen is the best, to fight for one's country.*

The line before the appearance of the grey heron in the *Iliad* (10.273) ends with the formulaic πάντας ἀρίστους. The phrase refers to 'all the noble men' whom Odysseus and Diomedes are leaving behind as they go on their night mission. The sense of darkness is strong in these lines of Homer because the poet reminds us that all of their comrades are using the night for its usual purpose of rest. The two heroes can't see the bird but are familiar enough with the sound to recognize it as a common grey heron and it is an eerie scene. This phrase for the best bird of omen is also in the succeeding poem on the papyrus, AB 27. Baumbach and Trampedach call AB 27 a typical "poetological dialogue between epigram and epic, between the established, somehow *topos*-forming poetry of Homer...and the innovative poems of Posidippus."⁵⁴⁰

Homer may not be the only author who is being alluded to here, but the appearance of the heron is rare in poetry: Simonides and Hipponax both include herons, as does Aristophanes in the *Birds* quotation at the start of this chapter.

AB 27 (Column IV 40-V 5)

τέκνων εἰρ[ο]μένωι γενεήν οἰωνὸς ἄριστος,
φήνη μαρτυρίην οὐδε θεοῦ δέχεται
οὐδε συνεδρεῦσαι μέγαν ἀετόν, ἀλλὰ τελείη{ι}
φαίνεται οἰωνῶν χρῆμα τελειότατον,
φήνη παιδ' ἀγαγοῦσα καὶ ἐν θώκοισι ἀγορητήν
ἠδυεπῆ θήσει καὶ θοὸν ἐν πολέμωι.

In inquiring about the birth of children the best bird

⁵⁴⁰ Baumbach and Trampedach, p.155.

*is the vulture: he does not wait on the testimony of a god
nor for a great eagle to sit with him, but perfect
it appears; the surest event of bird omens,
the vulture, having led out your child, in council a speaker
sweet sounding he will make him and swift in battle.*

AB 27 consists of the last line at the bottom of Column IV (line 40) and the first five lines of Column V of P. Mil. Vogl. VIII 309. Therefore, we are especially lucky to have the two columns intact. There is no question that AB 27 expresses a thematic whole, one concerned with an omen involving a vulture. The Vulture is said to be surer than an eagle for fulfillment of prayers and in this case, one outcome would be a child with excellent rhetorical skills. Instead of the weather signs of the first poems in the section, the result of the vulture's appearance is said to be a son who will be a great speaker and successful warrior, both traits of Homeric heroes. The topic may be different, but the comparison of birds is a *topos* that appears also in AB 21 and 22 (cf. AB 29, on two birds seen together). Another *topos* may be the recognition of skill in the expression of an idea which implies an educated class which models itself on the tradition of Greek literature. This nod to status may also be implied in this poem's first line, where οἰωνὸς ἄριστος includes the Homeric spelling for οἰωνός and linking immediately with the first line of the preceding poem, ὄρνις ἄριστος in 26.1. By starting with what is best, that epigrammatic didactic tone comes out again, as in the first of this section where Posidippus gives lessons on weather signs.

The term for the excellent speaker may echo the proverbial figure of Nestor, and in fact, there are only two accusative uses of the word ἀγορητῆν in Homer and both end the line as they do in Posidippus's hexameter, AB 27.5:

Il. 4.293

ἔνθ' ὄ γε Νέστορ' ἔτετμε λιγύν Πυλίων ἀγορητῆν

then indeed he reached Nestor clear speaker of the men of Pylos

Od. 20.274

παύσαμεν ἐν μεγάροισι, λιγύν περ ἔόντ' ἀγορητήν

we would have stopped him in the great halls, though he be a clear speaker

The placement and position are perfect for Posidippus's epigram, but he may be doing something even more interesting here by providing a reversal of the following Homeric combination that includes the Homeric *hapax legomenon* ἠδυεπής:

Il. 1.248

Νέστωρ
ἠδυεπής ἀνόρουσε, λιγύς Πυλίων ἀγορητής

Nestor

the sweet speaking one, rose up, clear speaker of the men of Pylos

In AB 27, Posidippus writes ἀγορητήν/ἠδυεπῆ reversing the order in Homer and he adds the enjambement. This arrangement is an example, I think, of what Barnes means when he determines that the elegiac hexameter exists only in combination with the following pentameter.⁵⁴¹ This allusion may be both to the Homeric rarity and another author, such as Hesiod, known, like Nestor, for his oratorical skills. It is also, as Haslam recently discussed at the 2013 APA meeting in Seattle, a descriptive for Hesiod (particularly in *Opera et Dies*, c.f. P. Oxy. 4648.14).⁵⁴²

As for the other bird in this poem, the vulture appears twice in the *Odyssey*, but the term is αἰγυπιός and in Homer the φήνη is the sea eagle as in *Od. 16.216-7*,

Od. 16.216-7

κλαῖον δὲ λιγέως, ἀδινώτερον ἢ τ' οἴωνοί
φήναι ἢ αἰγυπιοὶ γαμψώνυχες, οἷσί τε τέκνα

⁵⁴¹ Barnes, pp. 135ff.

⁵⁴² For Haslam's abstract:

http://apaclassics.org/index.php/annual_meeting/144th_annual_meeting_abstracts/10.2.haslam/

*they wailed loudly, more densely than birds
sea eagles or vultures with crooked talons*

De Jong comments on these lines where the weeping of the reunited Odysseus and Telemachus is compared to sea eagles or vultures “who have lost their young” and compares them to another “bird” simile in the context of weeping...19.518-24,” where Penelope is compared to a nightingale.⁵⁴³ De Jong’s point of repeated bird imagery in Homer is not necessarily relevant for Posidippus’ birds, whose sources are varied, but the wailing and sound of birds may deserve more emphasis in AB 27 than in others from this section.

Baumbach and Trampedach interpret Posidippus’ technique here as a purposeful adaptation of his earliest source texts: “With the *topos* of granting eloquence Posidippus is deliberately evoking the two *loci classici* in Homer and Hesiod, but only in order to distance himself from both texts. By replacing the Homeric god and the Hesiodic muses with the vulture as the bestower of eloquence, Posidippus not only gives the *topos* a new shape and a different context but also establishes his epigram(s) in an ironic way as a new and more appropriate medium than Homeric or Hesiodic epic.”⁵⁴⁴ Once again, in AB 27 as in so many other examples, Posidippus incorporates the traditional models while establishing his place in a new genre, aware of epigram as a distant descendant of the earliest source texts.

AB 28 (Column V 6-11)

ἦν ἀνδρὸς μέλλοντος ἐπ’ Ἄρεα δῆιον ἔρπειν
ἀντήσῃ κλαίων πρέσβυς ἐπὶ τριόδου,
οὐκέτι νοστήσει κείνος βροτός· ἀλλ’ ἀναθεσθῶ
τὴν τόθ’ ὀδοιπορίην εἰς ἕτερον πόλεμον·
καὶ γὰρ Τιμολέων κεκλαυμένος ἦλθεν ὁ Φωκεὺς
ἐκ πολέμου τούτῳ σήματι μεμψάμενος.

⁵⁴³ De Jong 2001, p. 522.

⁵⁴⁴ Baumbach and Trampedach, p. 155.

*For a man about to go toward destructive Ares
should an old man, crying, stand before him at the meeting of three roads,
no longer will he return home, that mortal; but let him put off
being on a journey for a later war;
for even Phocian Timoleon, grieved over, came
from the war having scorned the omen.*

There is a connection between AB 28.4, a pentameter and AB 94.3 through the use of the same Homeric rarity, ὄδοιπορίην, and also in the use of κλαίων and κεκλαυμένος (verb κλαίω also in 53.1, 28.2, 94.1, 60.3. Petrain on this verb for birds, connects it as a onomotopoeic use of language, specifically κλαίω is “used of bird’s cries as in *Od.* 16.216 (κλαῖον δὲ λιγέως, ἀδινώτερον ἢ τ’ οἰωνοί) and Leonidas of Tarentum AP VII 654.5ff (κῆγῶ μὲν ἀλιζώοις λαρίδεσσι / κέκλαυμαι).⁵⁴⁵

Baumbach and Trampedach comment on AB 28, “This omen reflects the death of the soldier symbolically as the old man resembles the father of the soldier who laments his dead son. The crossroads can also be interpreted symbolically because it offers a soldier the alternative of dying at war or cowardly retreating from it.”⁵⁴⁶ Although most of the language in AB 28 from elsewhere, this world of soldiery is echoed and it is notable that the one Homeric word is also a rare word in another poem.

AB 29

ἐχθρόν, ἀνὴρ κορύδους καὶ ἀκανθίδας ἦν ἐνὶ χώρῳ
ἀθρήσει· χαλεποὶ σύνδυο φαινόμενοι·
ὥς Εὐέλθων εἶδε· κακοὶ δέ μιν αὐτὸν ὀδίτην
κλῶπες Σιδήνηι κτεῖναν ἐν Αἰολίδι.

*It is hateful, should a man observe larks and goldfinches in one place;
They are difficult when appearing together;
so Euelthon saw them; and evil thieves killed him as he was on the road
at Sidene in Aeolia.*

⁵⁴⁵ Petrain 2002, p. 9.

⁵⁴⁶ Baumbach and Trampedach, p. 147.

AB 29 is notable for its lack of Homeric diction in a section of the papyrus that seems to have many echoes to the epic poems. Odysseus lands in Aeolia, of course, but that doesn't really connect to anything but the general travel idea. Fitting with this series of bad omens, in AB 29 Euelthon ('good traveller' as Gutzwiller notes) is killed by thieves on the road to Sidene after seeing an unlikely combination of birds. Baumabach and Trampedach comment that in order to read the sign, one has to know that "Larks and goldfinches normally do not gather in the same place."⁵⁴⁷ These birds do not appear in Homer, but the diction is similar to the next epigram (AB 30), another four line poem about a bad omen.⁵⁴⁸

AB 30

ξέσματος ἰδρώσαντος ὅσος πόνος ἀνδρὶ πολίτηι
καὶ δοράτων ὅσος προσφέρεται νιφετός·
ἀλλὰ τὸν ἰδρ[ώσα]ντα κάλει θεόν, ὅστις ἀπώσε[ι]
πῦρ ἐπὶ δυ[σμε]νέων αὔλια καὶ καλάμα[ς].

*A perspiring statue—what trouble for the man of the polis
and what a snowstorm of spears is approaching;
but call the perspiring god, who will push back
the fire against the cottages and corn of the enemies.*

This poem has not been given too much attention, perhaps because the diction does not have the variety of some of the other poems. Baumbach and Trampedach write of the perspiring statue that, "The sweating of the cult statue is a conventional sign that always indicates destruction or devastation in war."⁵⁴⁹ This is a poem that crosses boundaries of genre because it could be a statue poem or an omen poem?

⁵⁴⁷ Baumbach and Trampedach, p. 147.

⁵⁴⁸ Euelthon is a name famous from Herodotus (Herod. 4.162.1). He is the ruler who gives the fun gifts, but no army to Pheretima (and her son Arcesilaus) who wanted to retake Cyrene.

⁵⁴⁹ Baumbach and Trampedach, p. 148 (see also BG, p. 143); AP IX 534 (anon.) "which regards a sweating Artemis statue as messenger of a devastating war..." Cf. AP XIV 92. Baumbach and Trampedach mention the story that Alexander before this "march against the Persians, a statue of Orpheus in a Prierian sanctuary was seen sweating."

There are some familiar Posidippean features in this epigram in addition to the *topos* of the omen. There is a repetition from first line to third line (ιδρώσαντος and ιδρ[ώσα]ντα for the sweating statue), but is unusual, though, that the word falls into the in the same *sedes* in each line.⁵⁵⁰ The dative of the person affected by the portent, ...ἀνδρὶ recalls AB 22's ἀνδρὶ γεωργῶν placed also at the end of the first line (and beginning AB 21, the ship being launched; and others—note with 22). Certainly, most of this language is from literature closer the Posidippus's time than Homer's.⁵⁵¹ The only echo of Homer may exist in νιφετός, as in *Od.* 4.566, οὐ νιφετός.⁵⁵²

AB 31 (Column V 20-25)

ἀετὸς ἐκ νε[φέω]ν καὶ ἅμα στεροπή καταβᾶ[σα]
 νίκης οἴων[οὶ δε]ξιῶν ἐς πόλεμον
 Ἀργεάδαις βα[σιλε]ῦσιν, Ἀθηναίη δὲ πρὸ ναο[ῦ]
 ἴχνος κίνη[σεν δε]ξιὸν ἐκ μολύβου·
 οἶον Ἀλεξά[νδρ]ωι ἐφάνη **τέρας**, ἐνίκα Περσ[ῶν]
 ταῖς ἀναρ[ιθμ]ήτοις πῦρ ἐκύει στρατιαῖ[ς].

*An eagle from the [clouds] and at once a flash of lightning coming down
 bird omens on the right/good omens for victory in battle
 for the Argead kings, and Athena in front of her temple
 moved a footstep to her right from the lead clamp,
 only for Alexander a sign appeared, he inspired
 for countless armies of Persians a fire.*

The eagle, with the spelling αἰετός in Homer appears nine times in the *Iliad*, seven in the *Od.* and begins three lines. Note especially *Il.* 12.200-201 and 12.208-209:

Il. 12.200-202

The Telmessian seer Aristandros “explained the sweating by saying that the poets of his time would have a lot to do (i.e. sweat) in order to praise Alexander and his future deeds.” (Baumbach and Trampedach, p. 148)

⁵⁵⁰ In AB 27 φήνη begins two lines, but one line is a pentameter, the second a hexameter; different placement is more common as in AB 19 or 21.

⁵⁵¹ ξέσματος here first; δорάτων in Thucydides first; προσφέρεται used by Plato; αὔλια in Aeschines; Theocritus *Id.* 7.153, 25.87; Apollonius Rhodes, *Argonautica* 2.142, 3.533, 4.327.

⁵⁵² And a very common word, πῦρ begins nine Homeric lines, in this nominative form (*Il.* 9.211, 9.436, 15.472, 420; *Od.* 5.59, 15.322, 19.63, 22.491, 23.51).

ὄρνις γὰρ σφιν ἐπῆλθε περησέμεναι μεμαῶσιν
αἰετὸς ὑψιπέτης ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ λαὸν ἔέργων
φοινήσεντα δράκοντα φέρων ὀνύχεσσι πέλωρον

Il. 12.208-209

Τρῶες δὲ ἐρρίγησαν ὅπως ἴδον αἰόλον ὄφιν
κείμενον ἐν μέσσοισι Διὸς τέρας αἰγιόχοιο.

Most interesting is *Il.* 12.200-209 where an eagle appears with the snake and the word for portent, τέρας is used for a significant sight, whether an omen, as in AB 31 and AB 57.7 and, in the case of AB 8, the marvel of an engraved carnelian. In *Od.* 15.161, eagle with a white goose appears (αἰετὸς ἀργὴν χῆνα φέρων ὀνύχεσσι πέλωρον). Helen interprets this omen, explaining that since it was from the mountains and came down here, so Odysseus will come from the sea to take revenge. At *Od.* 20.243, αἰετος ὑψιπέτης, ἔχε δὲ τρήρωνα πέλειαν, an eagle appears also at the start of a line, this one with a dove that comes from the left, a bad sign for the suitors. There is a rather brutal connection between the celebrated weather signs and the birds of omen in epic which indicate bloodshed.⁵⁵³ As in the comparison of the cranes in Posidippus and Callimachus, the message in AB 31 may mention war, but it is more a literary experience for the reader and poet than one about battles.

The neuter noun ἵχνος is a paroxytone that appears in AB 31.4 and 96.2 (both accusative singular) and only once in Homer. In the lines describing Odysseus' dog Argus at *Od.* 17.317, κνώδαλον, ὅττι δίστο· καὶ ἵχνεσι γὰρ περιήδη· [*no*] *wild animal [could escape him] that he chased; and in he had been skilled also in tracking*. There are two other rarities in the Homeric line (κνώδαλον appears only here in Homer and περιήδη, pluperfect indicative active of περίοιδα appears in this line and twice in the *Iliad*) which makes it notably unique. The mention

⁵⁵³ In another Homeric appearance of an eagle, *Il.* 13.822, the bird appears on the right, αἰετὸς ὑψιπέτης ἐπὶ δ'ἴαχε λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν, *an eagle flying on high and at that the host of the Achaeans shouted out*.

of skill may be echoed here by Posidippus as well, but it is more likely Hesiod is the more fitting source text.

In Hesiod *Works and Days* 680, ἴχνος begins the line and is also in the accusative singular, as it is in Posidippus: ἴχνος ἐποίησεν, τόσσον πέταλ' ἀνδρὶ φανήη, the footprint [the crow] makes, so big (Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 680). Beginning from line 641, Hesiod instructs his brother Perses to 'admire a small ship' (νῆ' ὀλίγην αἰνεῖν, line 642) and to sail 50 days after the solstice (line 663) or after the Fig tree leaves have grown. Line 680 refer's to to a crow's step, the size of which the leaves on a fig tree should be. It is a fitting allusion in bird-omen poem even if the foot in Posidippus AB 31 is Athena's. The link to Athena may come out in an even more obscure allusion made possible if one pays attention to one of the other rarities in *Od.* 17.317, (the only use of ἴχνος). The Homeric *hapax legomenon* κνώδαλον also appears in the scene of the birth of Athena from Hesiod's *Theogony*. On the goddess's golden crown Hephaestus carved κνώδαλ', ὅσ' ἤπειρος πολλὰ τρέφει ἠδὲ θάλασσα, *creatures, as many that the land and sea rear up*, (*Theogony* 582).⁵⁵⁴ These parallels from Hesiod are all from passages about the sea and so they seem to fit Hellenistic epigram perfectly, unlike the line from the *Odyssey*. Therefore, AB 31's sphere of allusion stands out in contrast to the first poems of the section, AB 21-26 where each seems to have a Homeric point of references, specific or generic.

In a more overt reference to Homer, AB 33, where Posidippus mentions the Olympian gods, there may be even a parody of epic dreams.

AB 33 (Column V 32-39)

μεῖζον Ἀριστόξεινος ἐνύπνιον ἢ καθ' ἑωυτὸν
Ἵρκας ἰδὼν μεγάλων νήπιος ὠρέγετο·
ὦιετ' Ἀθήνης γαμβρὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἐν Διὸς οἴκῳ
εὔδειν χρυσεῖωι πάννυχος ἐν θαλάμῳ·

⁵⁵⁴ Homeric Hymn *To Hermes*, 188 where Apollo asks about his lost cattle, he uses the term κνώδαλον.

ἦρι δ' ἀνεγρόμενος δῆϊων προσέμισγε φάλαγγι,
ὡς τὸν Ἀθηναίης ἐν φρενὶ θυμὸν ἔχων·
τὸν δὲ θεοῖος ἐρίσαντα μέλας κατεκοίμισεν Ἄρης,
ὥιχετο δὲ ψευδῆς νυμφίος εἰς Αἴδεω.

*Aristoxenos in a dream was greater than himself
the Arcadian, seeing this, acting the fool, reached out for great things;
He thought that, as the bridegroom of Athena in the home of Olympian Zeus
he was sleeping in her golden bedchamber all night long;
So at dawn, upon waking, he engaged with the phalanx of the enemies
As though he had the heart of Athena in his mind;
he who struggled with the gods, black Ares put to sleep,
and as a false bridegroom he went to Hades.*

AB 33 contains the sort of heroic and erotic epigrammatic imagery found in other poems in the *Greek Anthology* (cf. AB 134, AB 138). This epigram is from the section that is mostly about bird omens, the οἰωνοσκοπικά (AB 21-35), but this omen is a dream. A soldier who dreams that he spent the night in Athena's golden bed chamber in the home of the gods, overreaches his abilities on the battlefield and dies. On dreams and prophecy, Barchiesi writes "Dreams have a Homeric tradition of their own, but it is well known that Virgil puts them to new and diverse uses."⁵⁵⁵

Obbink writes of AB 33, it "is a grave epigram that describes the death of the deceased as ironically and tragically determined by acting on an erroneous interpretation of a dream."⁵⁵⁶ The Homeric feature is the assumption of the heroic subject and the hero's dream on the eve of battle (cf. Agamemnon's dream in Book 2 of the *Iliad*). The topic is expressed through another genre, a short epigram where the emphasis is on the fool who oversteps his bounds. The story of Aristoxenos can also be seen as a sort of parody of the epic hero who dreams of Athena and Zeus only to confront Ares on his way to Hades. At the same time, the huge topic is constricted

⁵⁵⁵ Barchiesi 2001, p. 132 (Hector appears in a dream to Aeneas in Vergil's *Aeneid* and Homer appears in a dream to Ennius in his *Annales*).

⁵⁵⁶ Obbink 2004, p. 17.

by the choice of verse and length and may also be a parallel for the *topos* of the poet who oversteps his bounds—to write epic poems, for example.

In addition to the names that are familiar from Homer, there is the epic adverb ἦρι at the start of line five and a formulaic ending to the pentameter in line six. Posidippus also ends his third of four pentameters with the phrase ἐν φρενὶ θυμὸν ἔχων. Homer only uses φρενὶ once, when Nausicaa speaks to her father about taking care of everything for her brothers at *Od.* 6.65, ...τὰ δ' ἐμῇ φρενὶ πάντα μέμηλεν.” *all of these things are objects of care in my mind* (*Od.* 6.65). Though very common, θυμὸν ἔχων (14x in *Il.*, 5x in *Od.*) is usually accompanied by κατὰ φρένα (22x in epic, 10x *Il.*, 11x *Od.*) or θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι (63x in epic corpus). An example of θυμὸν ἔχων that stands out is *Il.* 13.487, “ὦς ἐφαθ', ὃ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἕνα φρεσὶ θυμὸν ἔχοντες, *so he spoke, and they all, having great spirit [as if] in one mind...* (*Il.* 13.487). Aeneas figures in this scene, about to take on Idomeneus and Meriones; and in his confrontation with Diomedes, especially, he is certainly one hero who learns about the limits of his own abilities as Aristoxenos does in Posidippus' epigram.

The birds in the omens are not all Homeric birds, but several are and their Homeric sources are recalled through verbal and thematic allusion. The commonalities with other Hellenistic poets, especially Callimachus and Asclepiades continue to imply a self-reflexive literary preoccupation. Posidippus borrows Homeric diction from bird similes, and also from descriptions of the rocky coast of Ithaca or of other islands, or coastal pasture land. The cranes who are the guides for ships, the birds rushing through the waves, and some of the scenes with ominous birds in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* all figure in this section.

Other poems are less connected to archaic turns of phrase: AB 28 includes mention of the god Ares, but aside from the mention of death in battle, there is no particular Homeric echo. The

larks and finches of AB 29 do not appear in Homer and the language is again more contemporary or more common to epigram. AB 34 mentions Zeus, but the omen there seems composed of purely epigraphic or contemporary language. The last poem in this section, AB 35, is about Alexander and it, too, expresses its point in language that has no evident allusion to Homer.

There is a pattern of repetition in this section of the papyrus in both structure and content. Homeric language is quoted but there is also a different group of lexical repetitions from a parallel list of more contemporary words and from within the papyrus. And, as, Giangrande notes of Hellenistic poets in general, Posidippus does “not only allude to *unica* (morphological, syntactical or semantic) present in Homer, but also to such *unica* present in their contemporaroy colleagues or rivals.”⁵⁵⁷

The literary aspect of the οἰωνοσκοπικά is significant. Just as military or solemn language is mined from Homer in the epigrams I discuss in Chapter Two and the rivers, seas, gleaming lights and other motifs are adapted from Homer in the λιθικά as seen in Chapter Three, so the birds and other portents in the οἰωνοσκοπικά are drawn from Homer for new purposes. As Sider notes, these are not divine messengers or gods appearing as messengers, but signs for mortals in practical situations. For the poet, the theme is an opportunity to apply many literary sources and to join in the development of the same *topoi* we see in other poets. They are all working away on erudite new poetry. Certainly, this is the image that the philosopher Timon of Philus (c. 320 – c. 230 BCE) provides in his satiric hexameters:

Fr. 786 SH

Πολλοὶ μὲν βόσκονται ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πολυφίλῳ
βιβλιακοὶ χαρακίται ἀπείριτα δηριόωντες
Μουσέων ἐν ταλάρῳ

⁵⁵⁷ Giangrande 1967, p. 52 before an anlysis of Theocritus, *Id.* 16.29.

*Many are feeding in populous Egypt
book writers endlessly wrangling
in the bird-cage of the Muses.*⁵⁵⁸

Pfeiffer writes of the Alexandrian scholars that there “was plenty of opportunity for quarelling with each other,” and the contrasts in use of diction, *topoi*, and theme between Posidippus and others can imply a quarrel as much as a common intellectual focus. In his *Aetia*, Callimachus’ cranes appear in his treatise on poetic preferences. Callimachus is “concerned with the transmission of knowledge,” and his poetry has a didactic tone that is more evident than the epigrams of Posidippus, but the cultural context seems to be the same.⁵⁵⁹

A note on poetic technique may be relevant to the discussion of allusion in this section as well. In a 1981 article on a point of intertext in Homer *Od.* 8.166-77 and Hesiod, *Theogony* 79-93, Braswell argues for the precedence of Homer. He bases his argument on the assumption that a poet would be expected to borrow the two and half lines from Homer and include them over the space of seven and a half lines in a new poem, rather than to take words from several lines and put them together in the new composition.⁵⁶⁰ Braswell writes that, considering the oral tradition, Hesiod, like Homer, was still working in, “then clearly from the technical standpoint alone it would be very much easier to expand a passage which was found as a compact unit than to produce such a unit from scattered elements.”⁵⁶¹ Therefore, “Hesiod expanded on a text of Homer which was available to him.”⁵⁶² I think it is clear from the examples in this thesis that

⁵⁵⁸ Or ‘basket of the Muses,’ but the ‘bird-cage’ in Pfeiffer 1968, p. 97 helps to link the bird-poems with this image of scholars in Alexandria.

⁵⁵⁹ Harder 2012, Vol. 1, p. 23.

⁵⁶⁰ Braswell, pp. 237-239. The text in question does contain an epic adverb also found in Posidippus, ἀσφαλέως (*Od.* 8.171, *Th.* 86, AB 124.5 (=10 GP = AP V 183), ‘fast, firm, steady.’ See on AB 124 in Chapter Two.

⁵⁶¹ Braswell, p. 239.

⁵⁶² Braswell, p. 239.

Posidippus continually produced compositions from scattered elements to compose epigrams which were compact units.

A couple of observations from the chart in Appendix A: in all of Posidippus, the only references to *Il.* 1 are in the bird poems, AB 22, 23, 27; quotations from *Od.* 20 also only appear in AB 27 and 31. From the chart below, *Il.* 3 and 13 stand out for the number of parallels in diction for birds, mist, early morning, plains and waves of the sea. One may, therefore, consider those Homeric passages as original source texts for the epigrammatic *topoi* that in Posidippus and other poets employ.

Figure Two: Homeric diction in the οἰωνοσκοπικά

<p><i>Il.</i> 1.248 ἠδυεπής ἀνόρουσε, λιγύς Πυλίων ἀγορητής</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 1.497 ἀλλ' ἢ γ' ἀνεδύσετο κῦμα θαλάσσης· ἠερίη δ' ἀνέβη μέγαν οὐρανὸν Οὐλυμπόν τε.</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 1.557 ἠερίη γὰρ σοί γε παρέζετο καὶ λάβε γούνων</p>	<p>AB 27.5-6 ...ἀγορητήν ἠδυεπή θήσει καὶ θοὸν ἐν πολέμῳ.</p> <p>AB 22.6 κῦμα, δι' ἠερίων σω[ιζο]μένη πεδίων.</p> <p>AB 23.1 ἠερίην αἴθυιαν ἰδῶ[ν ὑπ]ὸ κῦμ[α] θαλάσ[σης]</p>
<p><i>Il.</i> 3.1-7 Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κόσμηθεν ἄμ' ἠγεμόνεσσιν ἕκαστοι Τρῶες μὲν κλαγγῇ τ' ἐνοπή τ' ἴσαν ὄρνιθες ὡς ἠύτε περ κλαγγῇ γεράνων πέλει οὐρανόθι πρό αἴ τ' ἐπεὶ οὖν χειμῶνα φύγον καὶ ἀθέσφατον ὄμβρον κλαγγῇ ταί γε πέτονται ἐπ' ὠκεανοῖο ῥοάων ἀνδράσι Πυγμαίοισι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέρουσαι· ἠέριαι δ' ἄρα ταί γε κακὴν ἔριδα προφέρονται</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 3.10-14 εὔτ' ὄρεος κορυφῆσι Νότος κατέχευεν ὀμίχλην ποιμέσιν οὔ τι φίλην, κλέπτῃ δέ τε νυκτὸς ἀμείνω, τόσσόν τις τ' ἐπιλεύσσει ὅσσον τ' ἐπὶ λᾶαν ἴησιν· ὡς ἄρα τῶν ὑπὸ ποσσὶ κονίσαλος ὄρνυτ' ἀελλῆς ἐρχομένων· μάλα δ' ὤκα διέπρησσον πεδίοιο.</p>	<p>AB 22.1 ὄρνις μὲν β[ο]υκαῖος ἐπήρατος ἀνδρὶ γεωργῶι</p> <p>AB 22.4 (pent.) Θρηῖσσα κατὰ προτόνων ἠγεμονέοι γέρανος,</p> <p>AB 23.1 ἠερίην αἴθυιαν ἰδῶ[ν ὑπ]ὸ κῦμ[α] θαλάσ[σης]</p> <p>AB 22.6 (pent.) κῦμα, δι' ἠερίων σω[ιζο]μένη πεδίων</p>

<p><i>Il.</i> 3.172, αἰδοῖος τέ μοι ἔσσι, φίλε έκυρέ, δεινός τε</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 3.180, δαήρ αὐτ' ἔμὸς ἔσκε κυνώπιδος, εἴ ποτ' ἔην γε</p>	<p>AB 25.6 (pent.) εὖ δαήρ τε μὲν οὔν, νύμφα, καὶ εὖ έκυρός.</p>
<p><i>Il.</i> 4.293 ἔνθ' ὅ γε Νέστορ' ἔτετμε λιγύν Πυλίων άγορητήν</p>	<p>AB 27.5 φήνη παιῖδ' ἀγαγοῦσα καὶ ἐν θώκοις άγορητήν</p>
<p><i>Il.</i> 10.274 τοῖσι δὲ δεξιὸν ἦκεν έρωδιὸν ἐγγυς ὁδοῖο.</p>	<p>AB 26.1 οἰκῆα κτήσασθαι έρωιδιὸς ὄρνις ἄριστος</p>
<p><i>Il.</i> 12.201 αιετὸς ὑπιπέτης ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ λαὸν ἔέργων</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 12.208-209 Τρῶες δὲ ἐρρίγησαν ὅπως ἴδον αἰόλον ὄφιν κείμενον ἐν μέσσοισι Διὸς τέρας αἰγιόχοιο</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 12.243 εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης</p>	<p>AB 31.1 άετὸς ἐκ νε[φέω]ν καὶ ἅμα στεροπῆ καταβᾶ[σα]</p> <p>AB 31.5 οἶον Ἀλεξά[νδρ]ωι ἐφάνη τέρας, ἐνίκα Περσ[ῶν]</p> <p>AB 26.1 οἰκῆα κτήσασθαι ἔρωιδιὸς ὄρνις ἄριστος</p> <p>AB 27.1 τέκνων ἐρ[ο]μένωι γενεὴν οἰωνὸς ἄριστος</p>
<p><i>Il.</i> 13.62 αὐτὸς δ' ὥς τ' ἴρηξ ώκύπτερος ὄρτο πέτεσθαι,</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 13.487 ὣς ἐφαθ', ὃ δ' ἄρα πάντες ένα φρεσι θυμὸν έχοντες,</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 13.797-798 πολλὰ / κύματα παφλάζοντα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 13.822 αιετὸς ὑπιπέτης ἐπὶ δ' ἴαχε λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν</p>	<p>AB 21.5 οἶος ἀπὸ δρυὸς ὄρτ' Ἰακῆς ώκύπτερος ἴρηξ</p> <p>AB 33.6 ὥς τὸν Ἀθηναίης ἐν φρενὶ θυμὸν έχων.</p> <p>AB 23.1 ἠερίην αἴθυιαν ἰδῶ[ν ὑπ]ὸ κῦμ[α] θαλάσ[σης]</p> <p>AB 31.1 άετὸς ἐκ νε[φέω]ν καὶ ἅμα στεροπῆ καταβᾶ[σα]</p>
<p><i>Il.</i> 14.16 ὥς δ' ὅτε πορφύρη πέλαγος μέγα κύματι</p>	<p>AB 22.3, 5-6 ἡμῖν δ' Αἰγύπτου πέλαγος μέλλουσι διώκειν</p>

κωφῶ	... σῆμα κυβερνήτηι καταδέξιον, ἢ τὸ μέγ' [κῦμα , δι' ἠερίων σω[ιζο]μένη πεδίων
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Odyssey

<i>Od.</i> 3.295-6 ἔνθα νότος μέγα κῦμα ποτὶ σκαῖον ῥίον ὠθεῖ, ἔς Φαιστόν, μικρὸς δὲ λίθος μέγα κῦμ' ἀποέργει.	AB 22.5-6 κῦμα , δι' ἠερίων σω[ιζο]μένη πεδίων
<i>Od.</i> 4.606 αἰγίβοτος, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπήρατος ἵπποβότοιο	AB 22.1 ὄρνις μὲν β[ο]υκαῖος ἐπήρατος ἀνδρὶ γεωργῶι
<i>Od.</i> 5.329-330 ἄμ πεδίων , πυκιναὶ δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλησιν ἔχονται ὡς τὴν ἄμ πέλαγος ἄνεμοι φέρον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα· <i>Od.</i> 5.337 αἰθυίη δ' εἰκυῖα ποτῆ ἀνεδύσετο λίμνης <i>Od.</i> 5.351-2, αὐτὴ δ' ἄψ ἔς πόντον ἐδύσετο κυμαίνοντα αἰθυίη εἰκυῖα· μέλαν δὲ ἐ κῦμ' ἐκάλυπεν	AB 22.3 and 6 (pent.) ἡμῖν δ' Αἰγύπτου πέλαγος μέλλουσι διώκειν ... κῦμα, δι' ἠερίων σω[ιζο]μένη πεδίων AB 21.2-3 ἴρηξ, αἰθυίης οὐ καθαροπτέρυγος AB 23.1 ἠερίην αἰθυίαν ἰδῶ[ν ὑπ]ὸ κῦμ[α] θαλάσ[σης]
<i>Od.</i> 15.161, αἰετὸς ἀργὴν χῆνα φέρων ὀνύχεσσι πέλωρον	AB 31.1 ἄετὸς ἐκ νε[φέω]ν καὶ ἄμα στεροπὴ καταβᾶ[σα]
<i>Od.</i> 20.243 αἰετος ὑψιπέτης, ἔχε δὲ τρήρωνα πέλειαν <i>Od.</i> 20.274, παύσαμεν ἐν μεγάροισι, λιγύν περ έόντ' ἀγορητήν	AB 31.1 ἄετὸς ἐκ νε[φέω]ν καὶ ἄμα στεροπὴ καταβᾶ[σα] AB 27.5 φήνη παῖδ' ἀγαγοῦσα καὶ ἐν θώκοις ἀγορητήν

From this list, one can see that Homer is the source for much of the language and themes in AB 21-35. AB 22 and the other bird poems may be full of Homeric references through the

birds themselves but he does not use the language of bird-augury that Homer uses (i.e. *Il.* and *Od.* 2.158ff, and *Od.* 2.181ff.). The Homeric diction is part of the bird and coast line descriptions, the wonder moments of the bird omens, like the stones poems, which call for interpretation. To refer to the birds, he also uses technical language. Posidippus also favors neologisms and, if we had all of this text, there would no doubt be more of everything.⁵⁶³

Some of these references are more about literary or scholarly interests than thematic allusion. Not the number of underlined words, the Homeric hapax legomena. The many *scholia* notes on the words Posidippus chooses are also interesting, such as the use of a phrase in AB 4 that appear so close to the lines commented on by early scholars. Or the use of lines so close to those Zenodotus attributed, *Il.* 18.483-608, for AB 21, on the hawk appearing to a ship setting out to sea. Hephaestus finishes Achilles' shield "And like a falcon," Thetis brings the armor to her son. Also note that Theocritus uses the hawk in *Idyll 9* and it appears Hesiod *Works and Days*, but not in any intervening literature in this way.

The intertextuality or intratextuality within the epigrams of the οἰωνοσκοπικά, can also mirror the play of diction in the epics. Tsagalis writes about the Thetis scenes where the sea-goddess flies like a hawk to consult with Zeus and notes that there seems to be an intentionally oppositional point to the supplication of the sea-goddess.⁵⁶⁴ There is a "deliberate paradox of Thetis' request to Zeus," he writes of *Il.* 1.493-516."⁵⁶⁵ It is "interwoven with another song-tradition in which Thetis had saved Zeus from the usurpation of his preeminence by his divine rivals."⁵⁶⁶ Tsagalis adds that "Intertextuality here takes the form of dictional allusion, i.e. it is

⁵⁶³ Di Nino 2011 on the *hapax legomena* of Posidippus.

⁵⁶⁴ Tsagalis 2008, p. xxii.

⁵⁶⁵ Tsagalis 2008, p. xxii.

⁵⁶⁶ Tsagalis 2008, p. xxii.

reflected on the very formulation and staging of the supplication scene...⁵⁶⁷ The Homeric allusion in Posidippus also seems to be staged at times in this way. He intertwines the Homeric diction and allusions to give even more weight to their essential meaning or theme.

Proof for literary meaning of the bird poems comes from a number of examples. The use of birds themselves may be a metaphor and one reason to pursue that idea is the mention of cranes in Callimachus' *Aetia* prologue. The comment on literature is interspersed with Thracian cranes heading to Egypt. Posidippus is in that list—did his epigrams come first? The combination of influences is no surprise, but the interpretation can be difficult. For example, Barchiesi writes on Callimachus's *Hymn to Apollo*, that it is “at once religious and metaliterary, Envy attacks the poet who cannot sing ‘like the sea’ (i.e. like the great Homer), and the god responds with the famous critique aimed at the ‘Assyrian river.’”⁵⁶⁸ Barchiesi continues, discussing the way Vergil appropriates this imagery: “Aeneas takes on one of Odysseus’ companions on board and has him tell, first the episode of the Cyclops, and then also a kind of erudite catalogue of Sicilian cities that seems modelled on Callimachus’ aetiological elegies. This is perhaps another –slightly audacious—way of joining what seemed incompatible qualities, epic sublimity and Callimachean erudition.”⁵⁶⁹ Posidippus takes on some of Homer’s forms and imagery, but he, like his contemporaries, do keep their distance through other innovations of form and content, theme and *topoi*, and diction both scientific and literary.

⁵⁶⁷ Tsagalis 2008, p. xxi.

⁵⁶⁸ Barchiesi 2001, p. 134.

⁵⁶⁹ Barchiesi 2001, p. 135.

Conclusion

In this study of the use of Homeric diction in the epigrams of Posidippus of Pella, I have discussed the poetry in the context of the aesthetic and scholarly interests of Ptolemaic Alexandria in order to fully analyze the use of Homer in these 3rd century BCE epigrams. My research has revealed that Posidippus is exceptional in the variety of Homeric references he incorporates into his epigrams. There are certain subgenres that are especially suited to the use of Homeric diction. In his sympotic, amatory and sepulchral epigrams, the poet repeatedly refers to the Homeric model and connects the epic language with particular *topoi* and themes. The Homeric diction signals the literary awareness of the poet as much as it enhances the thematic focus of the epigrams. Posidippus parades his awareness of the self-reflexive and self-annotating experience of reading poetry and to fully recognize the complex allusions in Posidippus' poetry, the reader must possess a certain level of cultural sophistication. Other poets share the *topoi* and themes and sometimes echoes or allude to the same Homeric images and passages, but the variety of references to Homer distinguishes Posidippus' stylistic tendencies from other Hellenistic epigrammatists.⁵⁷⁰

The repetition of Homeric diction within the λιθικά and οἰωνοσκοπικά sections of the Milan papyrus further reinforces arguments for cohesive structure. In these two groups of poems, a focus on certain Homeric passages highlights the literary preoccupations of the poet. The allusion to specific epic figures in AB 14, 19 and 20 or to similes from Books 1, 3, and 13 of the

⁵⁷⁰ I have discussed 51 *topoi* which are variably connected to only 8 epigrammatic themes (sympotic, erotic, didactic, dedicatory, sepulchral, and poems of wonder or praise, shipwrecks and portents).

Iliad in AB 22, 23, 27 and 31 are meant to enhance the epigrams as much as they are meant to signal the erudition of the poet. The literary aspect of these two sections is significant and the poems should be interpreted both in light of their literal message (the marvelous stones or ominous appearance of birds) and of their metaphorical possibilities (e.g. a skillful engraving as composition; a bird as signal for a type of poetry). The “gallery-effect” that Kuttner describes can therefore be understood visually (looking at gems, sighting birds) and intellectually (recognizing Homeric diction and other literary allusions).⁵⁷¹

Posidippus’ epigrams are from a time when references to Homer were common in literature. My interpretation of Posidippus’ poetry assumes an awareness of, and engagement with the scholarly atmosphere in Alexandria in the 3rd century BCE. Furthermore, the shared reference points in Homer tie his poetry even more firmly to this time frame. For example, the appearance of the crane in AB 22 may fit the portent of weather signs, but it all signals an allusion to *Iliad* 3.1-14, an allusion that also figures into Callimachus’ *Aitia* where the crane is a metaphor for literary composition. Similarly, Theocritus and Apollonius of Rhodes share with Posidippus an allusion to the same wintry river of *Il.* 13.138. The chronology is still in need of investigation and that is one area to pursue for further study of Posidippus.

The use of rare or disputed Homeric words is another link to early 3rd century BCE. In Appendix B, I provide 24 words that appear only once in Homer that have been part of the discussion in this study of Homeric diction.⁵⁷² 16 rarities appear over sections of the Milan papyrus (AB 1-112) and there are 8 more rare words in the poems from other sources (papyri, wax tablet, *Greek Anthology*, Athenaeus, Stephanus of Byzantium), now known as AB 113-148.

⁵⁷¹ Kuttner, p. 145.

⁵⁷² In the Appendix B chart, I have put the text in order of appearance in the *editio minor* so that the spread of 16 rarities over sections of the Milan papyrus (AB 1-112) may be evident. Note that this number is on par with Sens’ designation of 21 Homeric *hapax legomena* in Asclepiades.

The fact that Posidippus employs words of interest to scholars and other poets is proof of his literary focus. This data also begs for further research and it may be worthwhile to compare the earliest evidence we have of the Homeric texts, the Ptolemaic papyri, with all of the Homeric references in the Hellenistic poets in order to add to our knowledge of the Homeric text they knew.

Lelli, comparing Posidippus and Callimachus, concludes that “le distanze fondamentali – e incolmabili – fra i due autori pertengono alle differenti aspettative di pubblico, e conseguentemente si manifestano meno in quei sottogeneri epigrammatici che appaiono essere destinati, nel’uno e nell’altro poeta, ad un pubblico culturalmente simile (come la produzione erotica, destinata al simposio cólto)...”⁵⁷³ Lelli’s deduction about the variation in attention to subgenres is relevant, I think, in a comparison of Posidippus with other poets as well. They confront the same material and the same literary models in their own ways, applying diction and topological expectations in surprising thematic contexts. With this connection in mind, further study of Posidippus and Callimachus, Leonidas of Tarentum, Asclepiades and other Hellenistic epigrammatists may reveal even more about their common reference points and about the cultural atmosphere of their literary world.

Another area to consider is the Roman poetry that has long been associated with Hellenistic models, such as Catullus, Vergil, Ovid and the elegists. For example, both Vergil and Ovid recount versions of epic encounters with the Cyclops in way that presupposes prior knowledge.⁵⁷⁴ Their artistry should be interpreted with Posidippus, Callimachus and Theocritus in mind because they all employ the technique that Barchiesi calls “future reflexive.” That is,

⁵⁷³ Lelli, p. 99.

⁵⁷⁴ Hinds, p. 115-119.

they give background to the story in Homer and further investigation may reveal even more to that background.

Appendix A: Homeric and Posidippus passages discussed

Iliad

<p><i>Il.</i> 1.248 ἠδυεπῆς ἀνόρουσε, λιγύς Πυλίων ἀγορητής</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 1.497 ἀλλ' ἦ γ' ἀνεδύσετο κῦμα θαλάσσης· ἠερίη δ' ἀνέβη μέγαν οὐρανὸν Οὐλύμπόν τε.</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 1.557 ἠερίη γὰρ σοί γε παρέζετο καὶ λάβε γούνων</p>	<p>AB 27.5-6 ...ἀγορητήν ἠδυεπῆ θήσει καὶ θεὸν ἐν πολέμῳ.</p> <p>AB 22 κῦμα, δι' ἠερίων σω[ιζο]μένη πεδίων.</p> <p>AB 23 ἠερίην αἴθυιαν ἰδῶ[ν ὑπ]ὸ κῦμ[α] θαλάσ[σης]</p>
<p><i>Il.</i> 2.699 ζῶδς ἐών· τότε δ' ἤδη ἔχεν κατά γαῖα μέλαινα</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 2.786 Τρῶσιν δ' ἄγγελος ἦλθε ποδήνεμος ὠκέα Ἴρις.</p>	<p>AB 93.1 τὸν χρηστὸν Πύθερμιον, ὅπου ποτέ, γαῖα μέλαινα</p> <p>AB 51.5 θῆλυ ποδήν[εμον ἔρνος] αἰείδετε, δάκρυσι δ' ὑμέων</p>
<p><i>Il.</i> 3.1-7 Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κόσμηθεν ἄμ' ἠγεμόνεσσιν ἕκαστοι Τρῶες μὲν κλαγγῆ τ' ἐνοπῆ τ' ἴσαν ὄρνιαθες ὡς ἤνυτε περ κλαγγῆ γεράνων πέλει οὐρανόθι πρό αἴ τ' ἐπεὶ οὖν χειμῶνα φύγον καὶ ἀθέσφατον ὄμβρον κλαγγῆ ταί γε πέτονται ἐπ' ὠκεανοῖο ῥοάων ἀνδράσι Πυγμαίοισι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέρουσαι· ἠέριαι δ' ἄρα ταί γε κακὴν ἔριδα προφέρονται</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 3.10-14 εὖτ' ὄρεος κορυφῆσι Νότος κατέχευεν ὀμίχλην ποιμέσιν οὐ τι φίλην, κλέπτῃ δέ τε νυκτὸς ἀμείνω, τόσσόν τῖς τ' ἐπιλεύσει ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ λᾶαν ἴησιν· ὡς ἄρα τῶν ὑπὸ ποσσὶ κούισαλος ὄρνυτ' ἀελλῆς ἐρχομένων· μάλα δ' ὤκα διέπρησσαν πεδίοιο.</p>	<p>AB 22 ὄρνις μὲν β[ο]υκαῖος ἐπήρατος ἀνδρὶ γεωργῶι φαιέσθω, λήπτῃ καὶ περὶ φύτλ' ἀγαθός ἤμῃν δ' Αἰγύπτου πέλαγος μέλλουσι διώκειν Φρήισσα κατὰ προτόνων ἠγεμονέωι γέρανος, σῆμα κυβερνήτη καταδέξιον, ἢ τὸ μέγ[α] κῦμα, δι' ἠερίων σω[ιζο]μένη πεδίων</p>

<p><i>Il.</i> 3.70-72 συμβάλετ' ἀμφ' Ἑλένη καὶ κτήμασι πᾶσι μάχεσθαι ὀππότερος δέ κε νικήση κρείσσον τε γένηται κτῆμαθ' εὖ πάντα γυναικὰ τε οἴκαδε ἀγέσθω</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 3.172, αἰδοῖος τέ μοι ἔσσι, φίλε έκυρέ, δεινός τε</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 3.180, δαήρ αὐτ' ἐμός ἔσκε κυνώπιδος, εἴ ποτ' ἔην γε</p>	<p>AB 135.1-3 ναὶ ναὶ βάλετε', Ἔρωτες· ἐγὼ σκοπὸς εἰς ἅμα πολλοῖς κεῖμαι· μὴ φείσησθ', ἄφρονες· ἦν γὰρ ἐμὲ νικήσητ', ὄνομαστοὶ ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἔσεσθε</p> <p>AB 25.6 (pent.) εὖ δαήρ τε μὲν οὖν, νύμφα, καὶ εὖ έκυρός.</p>
<p><i>Il.</i> 4.144 ἱππῆς φορέειν· βασιλῆι δὲ κεῖται ἄγαλμα</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 4.248 εἰρύατ' εὐπρυμνοὶ πολιῆς ἐπὶ θινὶ θαλάσσης</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 4.252-254 οἳ δ' ἀμφ' Ἰδομενῆα daίφρονα θωρήσσαντο· Ἰδομενεύς μὲν ἐνὶ προμάχοις σὺν εἴκελος ἀλκῆν, Μηριόνης δ' ἄρα οἱ πυμάτας ὄτρυνε φάλαγγας.</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 4.293 ἐνθ' ὃ γε Νέστορ' ἔτετμε λιγὺν Πυλίων ἀγορητὴν</p>	<p>AB 53.3 ἦι σὺ καθ' ὑψηλοῦ τέγεος κάλλιστον ἄγαλμα</p> <p>AB 16.1 τὸν πολιὸν κρύσταλλον Ἄραψ ἐπὶ θῖνα κυλίει</p> <p>AB 64.1 and 3: αἴ]νεέγ' Ἰδομενῆα θέλων χάλκειον ἐκεῖν[ον] Κρησίλα· ὡς ἄκρωσ ἠργάσατ' εἶδομεν εὖ· [γ]αρύ[ει] Ἰδομενεύς· ἄλ[λ']ῶ ἄγαθὲ Μηριόνα, θεῖ,</p> <p>AB 27.5 φῆνη παῖδ' ἀγαγοῦσα καὶ ἐν θώκοισι ἀγορητὴν</p>
<p><i>Il.</i> 5.116-117 εἴ ποτέ μοι καὶ πατρὶ φίλα φρονέουσα παρέστης / δηῖω ἐν πολέμῳ, νῦν αὐτ' ἐμὲ φίλαι, Ἀθήνη</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 5.226 (cf. 17.479, 17.482 = 24.441) ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν μάστιγα καὶ ἠνία σιγαλόεντα</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 5.840, λάξετο δὲ μάστιγα καὶ ἠνία Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.</p>	<p>AB 118.9 καὶ σὺ Ποσειδίππον ποτ' ἐφίλασ, Κύνθιε, Λητοῦς</p> <p>AB 127.1 πορφυρέην μάστιγα καὶ ἠνία σιγαλόεντα</p>
<p><i>Il.</i> 6.17 πρόσθεν ὑπαντάσας, ἀλλ' ἄμφω θυμὸν ἀπηύρα</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 6.139</p>	<p>AB 142.7 ἢ δὲ κόμη τί κατ' ὄψιν; ὑπαντιάσαντι λαβέσθαι</p> <p>AB 100.2-3 πέμπτον ἐπ' εἰκοστῶι τυφλὸν ἐόντα θέρει,</p>

<p>καί μιν τυφλόν ἔθηκε Κρόνου πάις· οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτι δὴν</p> <p><i>II.</i> 6.220, Βελλεροφόντης δὲ χρύσειον δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον</p> <p><i>II.</i> 6.248 Δώδεκ' ἔσαν τέγχοι θάλαμοι ξεστοῖο λίθοιο,</p>	<p>AB 14.3, Βελλε[ρ]οφόντης μέ(ν) γάρ Ἀλή{ν}ιον εἰς Κιλίκων γῆν</p> <p>AB 53.3 ἦι σὺ καθ' ὑψηλοῦ τέγχος κάλλιστον ἄγαλμα</p>
<p><i>II.</i> 7.161 ὥς νεῖκεσσ' ὃ γέρων, οἳ δ' ἐννέα πάντες ἀνέσταν</p>	<p>AB 18.1 [δεῦ]τ' ἐπ' ἔμ', ἐννέα φῶτες, ἀνακλίνθητε δ' [ἀολλ]εῖς</p>
<p><i>II.</i> 8.76 ἦκε σέλας μετὰ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν· οἳ δὲ ἰδόντες θάμβησαν</p> <p><i>II.</i> 8.524 μῦθος δ', ὅς μὲν νῦν ὑγιῆς, εἰρημένος ἔστω,</p> <p><i>II.</i> 8.554-556 εἶατο παννύχιοι, πυρὰ δέ σφισι καίετο πολλά. ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄστρα φαεινὴν ἀμφισελήνην</p>	<p>AB 6.6 Κλίνεσθαι στηθέων π[..... ἦ]δὺ σέλας.</p> <p>AB 100.2-3, ὀγδωκονταέτης ὑγιῆς γένετ', ἠέλιον δέ</p> <p>AB 4.3-4] ἀντισέληνον ατ[.....]ς λύχνωι παννυ[χ...]..[</p>
<p><i>II.</i> 9.385 οὐδ' εἴ μοι τόσα δοίη ὅσα ψάμαθός τε κόνις τε</p> <p><i>II.</i> 9.580 ἦμισυ δὲ ψιλὴν ἄροσιν πεδίοι ταμέσθαι,</p> <p><i>II.</i> 9.213 πῦρ δὲ Μενoitιάδης δαῖεν μέγα ἰσόθεος φῶς. αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ πῦρ ἐκάη καὶ φλόξ ἐμαράνθη, ἀνθρακιήν στορέσας ὀβελούς ἐφύπερθε τάνυσσε</p>	<p>AB 20.2 (pent.) πᾶσαν ἅμα κρηνοῖς ἤγαγες εἰς ἄμαθον</p> <p>AB 93.4 (pent.) ἄπληκτον ψιλὴν ἔκθες ἐπ' ἠίονα</p> <p>AB 129.2=Pos. 3 GP=AP 5.211 ἐκ πυρός, εἰς ἐτέρην Κύπριδος ἀνθρακιήν</p> <p>AB 134.2=Asclep. 37.2 GP=Page Pos. 27=AP 12.17.2 (pent.) ἄρσενες ἀσβέστωι θῆκαν ὑπ' ἀνθρακιῆι.</p>
<p><i>II.</i> 10.173 νῦν γὰρ δὴ πάντεσσιν ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἴσεται ἀκμῆς</p> <p><i>II.</i> 10.274 τοῖσι δὲ δεξιὸν ἦκεν ἔρωδιόν ἐγγύς ὁδοῖο.</p>	<p>AB 142.5 χειρὶ δὲ δεξιτερῆι τί φέρεις ξυρόν; ἀνδράσι δεῖγμα</p> <p>AB 26.1 οἰκῆα κτήσασθαι ἔρωιδιός ὄρνις ἄριστος</p>

<p><i>II. 11.77</i> δώματα καλά τέτυκτο κατὰ πτύχας Ούλύμποιο</p> <p><i>II. 11.102</i> υἱε δύω Πριάμοιο νόθον καὶ γνήσιον</p>	<p>AB 118.3 (SH 705) Παρνησοῦ νιφόεντος ἀνὰ πτύχ[α]ς ἢ παρ' Ὀλύμπωι</p> <p>AB 42.3-4 ἐκ δ[ύω υἱ]ῶν γνήσιον ἀμφοτέρων αἴμ', ἀγαθὴ γενεή.</p>
<p><i>II. 12.27</i> αὐτὸς δ' Ἐννοσίγαιος ἔχων χεῖρεςσι τρίαιναν</p> <p><i>II. 12.133</i> αἶ τ' ἄνεμον μίνουσι καὶ <u>ὑετὸν</u> ἤματα πάντα</p> <p><i>II. 12.201</i> αἰετὸς ὑψιπέτης ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ λαὸν ἔέργων</p> <p><i>II. 12.208-209</i> Τρῶες δὲ ἐρρίγησαν ὅπως ἴδον αἰόλον ῥφιν κείμενον ἐν μέσσοισι Διὸς τέρας αἰγιόχοιο.</p> <p><i>II. 12.243</i> εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.</p> <p><i>II. 12.433</i> ἀλλ' ἔχον ὥς τε τάλαντα γυνὴ <u>χερνῆτις</u> ἀληθής</p>	<p>AB 19.9 οὐδ' Ἄνταίου ὁ γυρὸς ὀλοίτρ<ο>χος, ἀλλὰ τριάινης</p> <p>AB 114.16]ἰων ὑετὸς αἶθρο.....</p> <p>AB 31.1 and 5 ἄετὸς ἐκ νε[φέω]ν καὶ ἄμα στεροπῆ καταβᾶ[σα]</p> <p>AB 31.5 οἶον Ἀλεξά[νδρ]ωι ἐφάνη τέρας, ἐνίκα Περσ[ῶν]</p> <p>AB 57.2 and 7 σπεῖραν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἐξεκύλιε[ν] ῥφισ ἔσχα]τά γ' ἐκ τεράων ἔπαθες, γῦναι, ἀλ[λά] σὸς υἱὸς</p> <p>AB 26.1 οἰκῆα κτήσασθαι ἐρωιδιὸς ῥρνις ἄριστος</p> <p>AB 27.1 τέκνων ἐρ[ο]μένωι γενεὴν οἰωνὸς ἄριστος</p> <p>AB 46.1 γρηὺς ἐγὼ χερνῆτις ἐπὶ βρεφέεσσιν ἐγήρων</p>
<p><i>II. 13.62</i> αὐτὸς δ' ὥς τ' Ἴρηξ <u>ὠκύπτερος</u> ὄρτο πέτεσθαι,</p> <p><i>II. 13.137</i> ἀντικρὺ μεμαῶς, <u>ὀλοοίτροχος</u> ὥς ἀπὸ πέτρης</p> <p><i>II. 13.138</i> ὄν τε κατὰ στεφάνης ποταμὸς χεριμάρρους</p>	<p>AB 21.5 οἶος ἀπὸ δρυὸς ὄρτ' Ἰακῆς ὠκύπτερος Ἴρηξ</p> <p>AB 19.5 and 9 ἡμι]πλεθραίην ὥσας πρ.[...] ἀ [.]τεα πέτρην ... οὐδ' Ἄνταίου ὁ γυρὸς ὀλοίτρ<ο>χος, ἀλλὰ τριάινης</p> <p>AB 7.2 εἷς ἄλα χειμάρρους ὥκ' [ἐφόρει ποτα]μὸς</p>

<p>ῶση</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 13.158 κοῦφα ποσὶ προβιβὰς καὶ ὑπασπίδια προποδίζων</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 13.487 ᾿ὡς ἔφαθ', ὃ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἕνα φρεσι θυμὸν ἔχοντες</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 13.797-798 πολλὰ / κύματα παφλάζοντα πολυφλοίσβοιοι θαλάσσης</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 13.799 κυρτὰ φαληριόωντα, πρὸ μὲν τ' ἄλλ', αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλοι</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 13.822 αἰετὸς ὑψιπέτης ἐπὶ δ' ἴαχε λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν</p>	<p>AB 93.3 κοῦφρα περιστειλον· πόντου πάτερ, εἰ δὲ σὺ κεύθει</p> <p>AB 33.6 ὡς τὸν Ἀθηναίης ἐν φρενὶ θυμὸν ἔχων·</p> <p>AB 23.1 ἠερίην αἴθυιαν ἰδῶ[ν ὑπ]ὸ κῦμ[α] θαλάσ[σης]</p> <p>AB 128.2 and 5 κύμασι νηχομένην/... χῶ μὲν ἐναυάγει γαίης ἔπι, τὴν δὲ θαλάσσης</p> <p>AB 15.3 πυκνὰ φαληριόωντα· τὸ δὲ γλυφὲν ἄρμα κατ' αὐτοῦ</p> <p>AB 31.1 ἀετὸς ἐκ νε[φέω]ν καὶ ἅμα στεροπὴ καταβᾶ[σα]</p>
<p><i>Il.</i> 14.16 ὡς δ' ὅτε πορφύρη πέλαγος μέγα κύματι κωφῶ</p>	<p>AB 22.3, 5-6 ἡμῖν δ' Αἰγύπτου πέλαγος μέλλουσι διώκειν ... σῆμα κυβερνήτηι καταδέξιον, ἢ τὸ μέγ' [] κῦμα, δι' ἠερίων σω[ιζο]μένη πεδίων</p>
<p><i>Il.</i> 15.443-444 ...φαρέτρη ιοδόκος μάλα ὤκα βέλεα Τρῶεσσιν ἐφύει</p>	<p>AB 136.2 (pent.) Τείνοιτ' ἀργυρέων ιοδόκος φαρέτρη</p>
<p><i>Il.</i> 16.723 τῶ κε τάχα στυγερώς πολέμου ἀπερωήσεας</p>	<p>AB 138.1 εὐοπλῶ καὶ πρὸς σὲ μαχήσομαι, οὐδ' ἀπεροῦμαι</p>
<p><i>Il.</i> 17.720 ἴσον θυμὸν ἔχοντες ὁμώνυμοι, οἳ ὃ πάρος περ</p>	<p>AB 88.3 εἷς μὲν ἐγὼ [Π]τολεμαίου ὁμώνυμος, ἐκ Βερενίκας</p>
<p><i>Il.</i> 19.336, γῆραι τε στυγερῶ καὶ ἐμὴν ποτιδέγμενον αἰεῖ</p>	<p>AB 118.5 νῦν δὲ Ποσει[ι]δίππῳ στυγερόν συναείρατε γῆρας</p>

<p><i>Il.</i> 22.18 Νῦν δ' ἐμὲ μὲν μέγα κῦδος ἀφείλεο, τοὺς δὲ σάωσας</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 22.152 ἢ χιόνι ψυχρῇ ἢ ἐξ ὕδατος κρυστάλλῳ</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 22.469 ἄμπυκα κεκρυφάλων τε ἰδὲ πλεκτῆν ἀναδέσμην</p>	<p>AB 87.4 (pent.) ἐν Σπά[ρ]ται χρόνιον κῦδος ἀφειλόμεθα</p> <p>AB 93.2 (pent.) ἴσχεις, ὤλετο γὰρ ψυχροῦ ἐπ' Αἰγόκερω</p> <p>AB 46.4 (pent.) ποικίλα καὶ τρητῶν πλέγματα κεκρυφάλων</p>
<p><i>Il.</i> 23.253 ἄλλεγον ἐς χρυσέην φιάλην καὶ δίπλακα δημόν</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 23.270 πέμπτω δ' ἀμφίθετον φιάλην ἀπύρωτον ἔθηκε</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 23.726, κόψ' ὄπιθεν κώληπα τυχών, ὑπέλυσε δὲ γυῖα</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 23.850 Αὐτὰρ ὁ τοξευτῆσι τίθει ἰόντα σίδηρον.</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 23.879 αὐχέν' ἀπεκρέμασεν, σὺν δὲ πτερὰ πυκνὰ λίασθεν</p>	<p>AB 3.1 αὐγάζων ὄδ', ἐν ᾧ<ι> φιάλ[</p> <p>AB 57.6 (pent.) [δει]νόν, τῆς δὲ φόβῳι γυῖ' ὑπέλυσε [λεχοῦς]</p> <p>AB 17.3 τῆιδε μὲν ἔλκει ρεῖα τὸν ἀντή<ε>ντα σίδηρον</p> <p>AB 4.6 (pent.) δῶρον Μανδήνη πήχεος ἐκρέμασεν</p>
<p><i>Il.</i> 24.165 τὴν ῥα κυλινδόμενος καταμήσατο χερσὶν ἐῆσι</p> <p><i>Il.</i> 24.375 ὅς μοι τοιόνδ' ἦκεν ὄδοιπόρον ἀντιβολῆσαι</p>	<p>AB 19.14 (pent.) πεῖα καταμήσεις εἰν ἀλί νῆσον ὄλην</p> <p>AB 52.3 (see also AB 94.3) Ἄστη παῖς θ[εραπεύει, ὄ]δοιπόρε, τὴν ἔλιφ', εἴως</p> <p>AB 94.3 ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ ξείνης καὶ ὄδοιπόρος· ἀλλ' ἀποδοῦναι</p>

<p><i>Od.</i> 3.170 ἢ καθύπερθε Χίοιο νεοίμεθα παιπαλαοέσσης</p> <p><i>Od.</i> 3.177 ἰχθυοέντα κέλευθα διέδραμον, ἐς δὲ Γεραιστόν</p> <p><i>Od.</i> 3.295-6 ἔνθα νότος μέγα κῦμα ποτὶ σκαιὸν ρίον ὠθεῖ, ἐς Φαιστόν, μικρὸς δὲ λίθος μέγα κῦμ' ἀποέργει.</p>	<p>AB 136.1 (=Ascl.) εἰ καθύπερθε λάβοις χρύσεια πτερά, καὶ σευ ἀπ' ὤμων</p> <p>AB 20.5 νῦν δέ, Γεραίστι' ἄναξ, νήσων μέτα τὴν Πτολεμαίου</p> <p>AB 19.1 and 6 ..] λόγισαι μεγάλην τ[αύτη]ν πόσα κύμα[τα] λᾶαν ... τοῦ Πολυφημείου σκαιοτέρ<η>ν θυρεοῦ</p> <p>AB 22.5-6 κῦμα, δι' ἠερίων σω[ιζο]μένη πεδίων</p>
<p><i>Od.</i> 4.45=7.85 ὥς τε γὰρ ἠελίου αἶγλη πέλεν ἠὲ σελήνης</p> <p><i>Od.</i> 4.606 αἰγίβοτος, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπήρατος ἵπποβότοιο</p> <p><i>Od.</i> 4.132 χρυσῶ δ' ἐπὶ χείλεα κεκράαντο, ἀργύρεον</p> <p><i>Od.</i> 4.616=15.116 ἔστιν, ἅπαξ χρυσῶ δ' ἐπὶ χείλεα κεκράανται</p> <p><i>Od.</i> 4.564 ἀθάνατοι πέμπουσιν, ὅθι ξανθὸς Ῥαδάμανθος</p>	<p>AB 4.3 αἶγλην] ἀντισέληνον ατ[</p> <p>AB 22.1 ὄρνις μὲν β[ο]υκαῖος ἐπήρατος ἀνδρὶ γεωργῶι</p> <p>AB 140.7 μεστόν ὑπὲρ χείλους πίομαι, Κύπρι. τᾶλλα δ' Ἔρωτες,</p> <p>AB 43.3 ἦν ἀψήφ ..[.....]... Ῥαδαμάνθος</p> <p>AB 118.25 γῆραι μυστικὸν οἶμον ἐπὶ Ῥαδάμανθου ἰκοίμην</p>
<p><i>Od.</i> 5.83 = 5.157 δάκρυσι καὶ στοναχῆσι καὶ ἄλγεσι θυμὸν ἐρέχθων.</p> <p><i>Od.</i> 5.329-330 ἄμ πεδίων, πυκινὰ δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλησιν ἔχονται ὥς τὴν ἄμ πέλαγος ἄνεμοι φέρον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα·</p> <p><i>Od.</i> 5.337 αἰθυίη δ' εἰκυῖα ποτῆ ἀνεδύσετο λίμνης</p>	<p>AB 50.6 (pent.) ἀστῶν ἀρκε[ίτω δάκρυ]α καὶ στοναχαὶ</p> <p>AB 22.3 and 6 (pent.) ἡμῖν δ' Αἰγύπτου πέλαγος μέλλουσι διώκειν ... κῦμα, δι' ἠερίων σω[ιζο]μένη πεδίων.</p> <p>AB 21.2-3 (pent./hex.) ἴρηξ, αἰθυίης οὐ καθαροπτέρυγος· δύνων εἰς βυθὸν ὄρνις ἀνάρισος, ἀλλὰ πετέσθω</p> <p>AB 23.1</p>

<p><i>Od.</i> 5.412 βέβρυχεν ρόθιον, λισσὴ δ' ἀναδέδρομε πέτρη,</p> <p><i>Od.</i> 5.469 αὔρη δ' ἐκ ποταμοῦ ψυχρὴ πνέει ἠῶθι πρό</p> <p><i>Od.</i> 5.351-2, αὐτὴ δ' ἄψ ἔς πόντον ἐδύσετο κυμαίνοντα αἰθυίη εἰκυῖα· μέλαν δέ ἐ κῦμ' ἐκάλυψεν</p> <p><i>Od.</i> 5.371, ἀμφ' ἐνὶ δούρατι βαῖνε, κέληθ' ὡς ἵππον ἐλαύνων</p> <p><i>Od.</i> 5.476 ἐν περιφαινομένῳ διοιούς δ' ἄρ' ὑπήλυθε θάμνους</p>	<p>ἠερίην αἴθυιαν ἰδῶ[ν ὑπ]ὸ κῦμ[α] θαλάσ[σης]</p> <p>AB 99.2 αἰγιαλῶν ρόθιον μηδ' ἀνέμων πάνταγον</p> <p>AB 93.2 (pent.) ἴσχεις, ὤλετο γὰρ ψυχροῦ ἐπ' Αἰγόκερω</p> <p>AB 21.2-3 ἴρηξ, αἰθυίης οὐ καθαροπτέρυγος</p> <p>AB 23.1 ἠερίην αἴθυιαν ἰδῶ[ν ὑπ]ὸ κῦμ[α] θαλάσ[σης]</p> <p>AB 127.3 νικήσασα κέλητι Φιλαινίδα τὴν πολύχαρμον</p> <p>AB 93.5 ἐν περιφαινομένῳ Κύμης, καὶ τὸν νέκυν, ὡς χρή</p> <p>AB 116.2 (pent.) ἐν περιφαινομένῳ κύματι χῶρον ἔχω</p>
<p><i>Od.</i> 6.81, ἠ δ' ἔλαβεν μάστιγα καὶ ἠνία σιγαλόεντα</p> <p><i>Od.</i> 6.157 λευσσόντων τοιόνδε θάλος χορὸν εἰσοιχνεῦσαν</p>	<p>AB 127.1 πορφυρέην μάστιγα καὶ ἠνία σιγαλόεντα</p> <p>AB 126.3 (= Ascl. 34 GP) ἐκ τριχὸς ἄχρι ποδῶν ἱερὸν θάλος οἶά τε λύγδου</p>
<p><i>Od.</i> 8.323 Ἑρμείας, ἦλθεν δὲ ἄναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων</p>	<p>AB 118.10 (pent.) υἷ' ἐκ ἄε[ργ]ε, βέλος</p>
<p><i>Od.</i> 9.240=9.340 αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἐπέθηκε θυρεὸν μέγαν ὑψόσ' ἀείρας,</p> <p><i>Od.</i> 9.320 χλωρὸν ἐλαίνεον· τὸ μὲν ἔκταμεν, ῥοφρα φοροίη</p> <p><i>Od.</i> 9.393</p>	<p>AB 19.4-6 ...ἐξέβαλεν ἡμι πλεθραῖην ὥσας πρ.[...] ἄ[.] τεα πέτρην, τοῦ Πολυφημείου σκαιοτέρ<η>ν θυρεοῦ·</p> <p>AB 12.5 σφενδό νη ἐν χρυσείη κατ[ενήρμο]σεν ῥοφρα φοροίη</p> <p>AB 95.4 δήγματα φαρμάσσειν ἀσπίδος εὐρόμενος</p>

φαρμάσσων : τὸ γὰρ αὐτε σιδήρου γε κράτος ἐστίν	
<i>Od.</i> 10.38 “ ’’ὠ πόποι, ὡς ὄδε πᾶσι φίλος καὶ τίμιος ἐστίν	AB 16.6 (pent.) τίμιον ἦν ὥσπερ καὶ καλὸς ἡέλιος.
<i>Od.</i> 11.75 σῆμά τέ μοι χεῦται πολιῆς ἐπὶ θινὶ θαλάσσης <i>Od.</i> 11.311-312 ἐννέωροι γὰρ τοί γε καὶ ἐννεαπήχες ἦσαν εὖρος, ἀταρ μῆκός γε γενέσθην ἐννεόργυιοι. <i>Od.</i> 11.359 πλειότερη σὺν χειρὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδ’ ἰκέσθαι <i>Od.</i> 11.611 ἄρκτοι τ’ ἄρότεροί τε σύες χαροποί τε λέοντες	AB 16.1 τὸν πολιὸν κρύσταλλον Ἄραφ ἐπὶ θῖνα κυλίει AB 18.5-7 ἠνί]δε· τῆι μὲν πεντά[πεδος] πάχος , ἦι δεδ[] [τῆ]ι δὲ τρισπίθαμος, τ[ῆι πολὺ] πιότ[ε]ρος [καί] τετραγλώχισ πλε[....έ]π μῆκος ε[] AB 134.3 πλειότερον τόδε θάλος· ὅσον δυνατώτερος ἄρσην AB 128.2 (pent.) Νικοῦν ἐν χαροποῖς κύμασι νηχομένην
<i>Od.</i> 12.421 λύσε κλύδων τρόποιος· τὴν δὲ ψιλὴν φέρε κῦμα	AB 93.4 (pent.) ἄπληκτον ψιλὴν ἔκθες ἐπ’ ἠίονα
<i>Od.</i> 13.77 κόσμῳ, πείσμα δ’ ἔλυσαν ἀπὸ τρητοῖο λίθιο	AB 7.5 Νικονόη’ ἰ’ κάθεμα τρη[τὸν] φλέγει, ἦ]ς ἐπι μαστῶι
<i>Od.</i> 14.244 μῆνα γὰρ οἶον ἐμεινα τεταρπόμενος τεκέεσσιν	AB 104.1 στῆθι τεταρπ[όμενος] -
<i>Od.</i> 15.161, αἰετὸς ἀργὴν χῆνα φέρων ὀνύχεσσι πέλωρον	AB 31.1 ἄετὸς ἐκ νε[φέω]ν καὶ ἅμα στεροπῆ καταβᾶ[σα]
<i>Od.</i> 16.292 = 19.11 μή πως οἰνωθέντες , ἔριν στήσαντες ἐν ὑμῖν,	AB 140.8 (pent.) νήφειν οἰνωθέντ’ οὐχὶ λίην ἄχαρι
<i>Od.</i> 17.546 Τῶ κε καὶ οὐκ ἄτελής θάνατος μνηστῆροι	AB 128.7 νῦν δ’ ἴσος ἀμφοτέροις φιλήης πόθος, οὐκ

γένοιτο	ἄτελεῖς γάρ
<p><i>Od.</i> 19.11 = 16.292 μή πως οἰνωθέντες, ἔριν στήσαντες ἐν ὑμῖν</p> <p><i>Od.</i> 19.34 χρύσειον <u>λύχνον</u> ἔχουσα φάος περικαλλές ἐποίει</p> <p><i>Od.</i> 19.432, Παρνησοῦ, τάχα δ' ἴκανον πτύζας ἠωεμοέσσας,</p> <p><i>Od.</i> 19.469 ἐν δὲ λέβητι πέσε κνήμη <u>κανάχησε</u> δὲ χαλκός</p>	<p>AB 140.8 (pent.) νήφειν οἰνωθέντ' οὐχὶ λίην ἄχαρι</p> <p>AB 4.4-5]ς λύχνωι παννυ[χ...]. Πέρσην δὲ χρυσῶι σφι<γ>κτόν λίθον</p> <p>AB 118.3 Παρνησοῦ νιφόεντος ἀνά πτύχ[α]ς ἢ παρὰ Φοῖβον</p> <p>AB 118.13 τοίην ἐκχρήσας τε καὶ ἐξ ἀδύτων καναχήσαι[ς]</p>
<p><i>Od.</i> 20.243 αἰετος ὑψιπέτης, ἔχε δὲ τρήρωνα πέλειαν</p> <p><i>Od.</i> 20.274, παύσαμεν ἐν μεγάροισι, λιγύν περ ἔοντ' ἀγορητήν</p>	<p>AB 31.1 ἀετὸς ἐκ νε[φέω]ν καὶ ἄμα στεροπὴ καταβᾶ[σα]</p> <p>AB 27.5 φήνη παῖδ' ἀγαγοῦσα καὶ ἐν θώκοισι ἀγορητήν</p>
<p><i>Od.</i> 21.11-12 ἔνθα δὲ τόξον κεῖτο παλίντονον ἠδὲ φαρέτρη ιοδόκος, πολλοὶ δ' ἔνεσαν στονόεντες οἰστοί,</p> <p><i>Od.</i> 21.59-60 τόξον ἔχουσα ἐν χειρὶ παλίντονον ἠδὲ φαρέτρην ιοδόκον: πολλοὶ δ' ἔνεσαν στονόεντες οἰστοί.</p>	<p>AB 136.2 (= Ascl.) τείνοιτ' ἀργυρέων ιοδοκος φαρέτρη</p>
<p><i>Od.</i> 23.240-241 δειρῆς δ' οὐ πω πάμπαν ἀφίετο πήχεε λευκῶς καὶ νύ κ' ὄδυρομένοισι φάνη ρόδοδάκτυλος Ἡώς.</p>	<p>AB 4.2 and 6]. Δαρείου δακτυλο[/ ... δῶρον Μανδήνη πήχεος ἐκρέμασεν</p>
<p><i>Od.</i> 24.249-250 αὐτόν σ' οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κομιδὴ ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἄμα γῆρας λυγρόν ἔχεις ἀύχμης τε κακῶς καὶ ἀεικέα ἔσσαι.</p>	<p>AB 43.6 ἀνθρώπ[οις λυγρ]οῦ γήραός ἐστι λιμή[ν]</p> <p>AB 118.19 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν Παρίηι δὸς ἀνδόνι λυγρόν ἐφ.[</p>

Appendix B: Homeric hapax legomena in Posidippus

This list is in the order of AB numeration, including epigrams from sources other than P. Mil.

Vogl. VIII 309.

1	AB 4.4-5]ς λύχνωι παννυ[χ...]. Πέρσην δὲ χρυσῶι σφι<γ>κτὸν λίθον	<i>Od.</i> 19.34 χρύσειον λύχνον ἔχουσα φάος περικαλλὲς ἔποιει
2	AB 4.6 (pent.) δῶρον Μανδήνη πήχεος ἐκρέμασεν	<i>Il.</i> 23.879 αὐχέν' ἀπεκρέμασεν , σὺν δὲ πτερὰ πυκνὰ λίασθεν
3	AB 15.3 πυκνὰ φαληριόωντα · τὸ δὲ γλυφέν ἄρμα κατ' αὐτοῦ	<i>Il.</i> 13.799 κυρτὰ φαληριόωντα , πρὸ μὲν τ' ἄλλ', αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλοι
4	AB 16.6 (pent.) τίμιον ἦν ὥσπερ καὶ καλὸς ἠέλιος.	<i>Od.</i> 10.38 “ ὦ πόποι, ὡς ὄδε πᾶσι φίλος καὶ τίμιος ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις, ὄτεών τε πόλιν καὶ γαῖαν ἵκηται.
5	AB 19.5 and 9 ἡμι]πλεθραῖν ὥσας πρ.[...] ἄ [.]τεα πέτρην ... οὐδ' Ἄνταίου ὁ γυρὸς ὀλοίτρ<ο>χος , ἀλλὰ τριαίνης	<i>Il.</i> 13.137 ἀντικρὺ μεμαῶς, ὀλοίτροχος ὡς ἀπὸ πέτρης
6	AB 21.5 οἶος ἀπὸ δρυὸς ῶρτ' Ἰακῆς ὠκύπτερος Ἰρηξ	<i>Il.</i> 13.62-3 αὐτὸς δ' ὡς τ' Ἰρηξ ὠκύπτερος ῶρτο πέτεσθαι ,
7	AB 22.1 ὄρνις μὲν β[ο]υκαῖος ἐπήρατος ἀνδρὶ γεωργῶι	<i>Od.</i> 4.606 αἰγίβοτος, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπήρατος ἵπποβότοιο
8		

	AB 26.1 οικήα κτήσασθαι έρωιδιός ὄρνις ἄριστος	<i>Il.</i> 10.274 τοῖσι δὲ δεξιὸν ἦκεν έρωδιόν ἐγγυς ὁδοῖο.
9	AB 27.5-6 ...ἀγορητὴν ἠδυεπῆ θήσει καὶ θοὸν ἐν πολέμῳ.	<i>Il.</i> 1.248 ἠδυεπῆς ἀνόρουσε, λιγυς Πυλίων ἀγορητῆς
10	AB 46.1 γρηυς ἐγὼ χερνῆτις ἐπὶ βρεφέεσσιν ἐγήρων, AB 46.4 (pent.) Ποικίλα καὶ τρητῶν πλέγματα κεκρύφαλων .	<i>Il.</i> 12.433 ἀλλ' ἔχον ὡς τε τάλαντα γυνὴ χερνῆτις ἀληθῆς <i>Il.</i> 22.469 ἄμπυκα κεκρύφαλόν τε ἰδὲ πλεκτῆν ἀναδέσμην
11	AB 52.3 (see also AB 94.3) Ἄστη παῖς θ[εραπεύει, ὄ]δοιπόρε , τὴν ἔλιφ', εἴως	<i>Il.</i> 24.375 ὅς μοι τοιόνδ' ἦκεν ὄδοιπόρον ἀντιβολῆσαι
12	AB 53.3 ἦι οὐ καθ' ὑψηλοῦ τέγεος κάλλιστον ἄγαλμα	<i>Il.</i> 6.248 Δώδεκ' ἔσαν τέγαιοι θάλαμοι ξεστοῖο λίθοιο
13	AB 88.3 εἷς μὲν ἐγὼ [Π]τολεμαίου ὁμώνυμος , ἐκ Βερενίκας	<i>Il.</i> 17.720 ἴσον θυμὸν ἔχοντες ὁμώνυμοι , οἳ ὁ πάρος περ
	AB 94.3 (same as AB 52.3) ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ ξεινῆς καὶ ὄδοιπόρος . ἀλλ' ἀποδοῦναι	<i>Il.</i> 24.375 ὅς μοι τοιόνδ' ἦκεν ὄδοιπόρον ἀντιβολῆσαι
14	AB 95.4 (pent.) δήγματα φαρμάσσειν ἀσπίδος εὐρόμενος	<i>Od.</i> 9.393 φαρμάσσεων . τὸ γὰρ αὐτε σιδήρου γε κράτος ἐστίν
15	AB 99.2 (pent.) αἰγιαλῶν ρόθιον μηδ' ἀνέμων πάνταγον (Angiò, 1996)	<i>Od.</i> 5.412 βέβρυχεν ρόθιον , λισσὴ δ' ἀναδέδρομε πέτρη, ἀγχιβαθῆς δὲ θάλασσα καὶ οὐ πῶς ἔστι πόδεσσι
16	AB 100.2-3 πέμπτον ἐπ' εἰκοστῷ τυφλόν ἐόντα θέρει,	<i>Il.</i> 6.139 καὶ μιν τυφλόν ἔθηκε Κρόνου παῖς. οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτι δὴν

	ὄγδωκονταέτης ὑγιῆς γένετ', ἠέλιον δέ	<i>Il.</i> 8.524 μῦθος δ', ὅς μὲν νῦν ὑγιῆς , εἰρημένος ἔστω,
17	AB 114.16 (pent.) Ἰων ὑετὸς αἶθρο.....	<i>Il.</i> 12.133 αἴ τ' ἄνεμον μίνουσι καὶ ὑετὸν ἤματα πάντα
18	AB 118.13 τοίην ἐκχρήσας τε καὶ ἐξ ἀδύτων καναχήσαι[ς]	<i>Od.</i> 19.469 ἐν δὲ λέβητι πέσε κνήμη κανάχησε δὲ χαλκός
19	AB 127.3 νικήσασα κέλητι Φιλαινίδα τὴν πολύχαρμον	<i>Od.</i> 5.371, ἀμφ' ἐνὶ δούρατι βαῖνε, κέληθ' ὡς ἵππον ἐλαύνων
20	AB 128.2 (pent.) Νικοῦν ἐν χαροποῖς κύμασι νηχομένην	<i>Od.</i> 11.611 ἄρκτοι τ' ἄρότεροί τε σύες χαροποί τε λέοντες
21	AB 129.2 (=Pos. 3 GP=AP V 211) (pent.) ἐκ πυρός, εἰς ἐτέρην Κύπριδος ἀνθρακιήν AB 134.2 (=Asclep. 37.2 GP=Page Pos. 27=AP XII 17.2) (pent.) ἄρσενες ἀσβέστῳ θῆκαν ὑπ' ἀνθρακιῆι .	<i>Il.</i> 9.213 πῦρ δὲ Μενoitιάδης δαῖεν μέγα ἰσόθεος φῶς. αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ πῦρ ἐκάη καὶ φλόξ ἐμαράνθη, ἀνθρακιήν στορέσας ὄβελους ἐφύπερθε τάνυσσε
22	AB 138.1 εὐοπλῶ καὶ πρὸς σὲ μαχήσομαι, οὐδ' ἀπεροῦμαι	<i>Il.</i> 16.723 τῷ κε τάχα στυγερῶς πολέμου ἀπερωήσεας
23 24	AB 142.5 χειρὶ δὲ δεξιτερῇ τί φέρεις ξυρόν ; ἀνδράσι δεῖγμα AB 142.7 ἢ δὲ κόμη τί κατ' ὄψιν; ὑπαντιάσαντι λαβέσθαι	<i>Il.</i> 10.173 νῦν γὰρ δὴ πάντεσσιν ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἴσταται ἀκμῆς <i>Il.</i> 6.17 πρόσθεν ὑπαντάσας , ἀλλ' ἄμφω θυμὸν ἀπηύρα

Appendix C: Alphabetical list of *topoi*

- Account of achievements, AB 127
- Address to Aphrodite, Cypris, or Eros, AB 127, 130, 135, 136
- Alexander reference, AB 1, 8, 13, 31, 35, 65, 70
- Appearance of birds, AB 21-35, 37, 41
- Battle with Eros, AB 126, 135, 138
- Bittersweet love/Eros, AB 123
- Bright light/gleam, AB 4-6, 9, 11, 15, 16, 128
- Call for critics to be silent, AB 123
- Companionship, AB 104, 117
- Comparison of mortal to a divinity, AB 53, 126, 136
- Comparison of strength/quantity, AB 19, 134
- Comparison to animals, AB 127
- Comparison to art, AB 126
- Comparison to Hermes, AB 136
- Gaze, views, AB 1-15, 34, 65, 67, 93, 116
- Geographical/exotic origins, AB 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 10, 15
- Gift giving, AB 3-7
- Granting eloquence, AB 27
- Hades, going to Hades, AB 43, 118
- Healing, AB 96-101
- Hunting, fishing, AB 21, 23, 24
- Jealous, lovesick lover AB 19, 125, 129, 130
- Lamentation (early deaths, old age), AB 43, 46, 51, 53, 93, 118

Lamp, AB 4

Literary praise/concerns, AB 117, 140

Measurement, enumeration, or vastness AB 8, 11, 18, 19, 42, 104, 116, 140

Mention of Poseidon and his offspring (incl. Polyphemus), AB 19, 20

Naming poets, artists, philosophers, AB 2, 6, 7, 62, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 100, 104, 140, 142

Paraclausithyron, AB 50, 134

Parnassus, AB 118

Placing weapons/equipment on shoulders, AB 135, 136

Poet caught by love, AB 129, 130, 134, 135

Praise of skill, craftsmanship, AB 1-16, 46

Protection (of coasts, tombs, statues) AB 20, 115, 116

Raising a toast/wine drinking AB 123, 130, 140

Reason against drunken Eros, AB 130, 138, 140

Recognition of inspiration from the Muses, AB 117, 123, 140

Request for help from a god, AB 118

Rivers to sea, rivers, AB 1, 2, 7, 10-12, 15, 16, 19

Setting sail, AB 21, 22, 37, 39

Sky, weather, AB 21-24

Speaking tomb, AB 102-105

Students, learning, AB 104

Thrace to Egypt, AB 22, 35

Unnamed or foreign memorial/cenotaph, AB 93, 94

Unquenchable love/burning love, AB 128, 129, 134

Voyages, wandering poets, wayfarers AB 1-22, 25, 28, 29 37, 38, 39, 59, 60, 89-94, 102, 107

War, going to war, AB 27, 28, 32, 36

Waves of the sea, AB 11, 12, 19, 23, 128

Weaving, AB 46, 55

Young shoots (comparison to plants), AB 51, 126

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